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Violets between cherry blossoms : the diffusion of classical motifs to the East : traces in Japanese art : fictions, conjectures, facts

Arts, P.L.W.

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VIOLETS BETWEEN CHERRY BLOSSOMS

The Diffusion of Classical Motifs to the East: Traces in Japanese Art

Fictions Conjectures Facts

P.L.W. Arts

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THE DIFFUSION OF CLASSICAL MOTIFS TO THE EAST: TRACES IN JAPANESE ART

FICTIONS, CONJECTURES, FACTS

P.L.W. ARTS

Leiden University Press

In the hey-day of the Classical culture in Greece (ca. 450-400 B.C.), Athens was the centre of a tremendously flowering civilization, which was destined to influence the western world for ages to come. Athens' leader in those years, until his death in 429 B.C., was Perikles and he held Athens to be "the school of Greece"[1]. The city is said to have once been governed by a king called Ion (ion meaning "violet" in Greek), the legendary eponymous ancestor of the Ionians. Thus, Athens was the city of Ion, crowned king, and therefore the playwright Aristophanes, contemporary of Perikles, called it the "violet-crowned city"[2]. In reality Athens' landscape was and still is coloured by the violet gilly-flower[3].

Japan is called "the land of the cherry blossom". Besides having a large number of cherries growing in the wild, the Japanese people have, from ancient times, made efforts to cultivate their favourite trees, cherries, and to produce and multiply excellent garden varieties.

Already in 794 A.D., after the establishment of the Imperial Palace in Kyōto, many stately mansions of distinguished courtiers and nobles followed the Emperor's example and adorned their gardens with choice-specimens of cherry trees..

The cherry flower has always been one of the foremost objects of the nation's admiration. The cherry that in early springtime not long after the dark and dreary winter months, bursts open almost at once to full bloom with immaculate white flowers, symbolizes the nation's vitality as well as the purity of life and the *samurai*-spirit.

The reason for this symbolism is that the petals of the cherry blossom leave their calyx when still fresh and at the best of their vigour and beauty. This unlike all other flowers of which petals cling to their calyx until they wither and rot as if afraid to die. Similarly it is said of the *samurai,* who, when still in full vigour, was always ready to give his life for a good cause.

A Japanese poet says: "If one should ask you about the true Japanese spirit, point to the wild cherry-blossom shining in the sun"[4].

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FOREWORD

The survival and expression of 'the Classical tradition' are subjects of increasing interest to scholars, and to those alert members of the public who remember, compare and reflect. The eastward fortunes of the tradition in antiquity have attracted much attention in recent years, largely thanks to discoveries in Central Asia, but long fuelled by the obvious classical elements in early Buddhist arts. The farther east has not been ignored, and in China the subject becomes involved with relations via Silk Roads and the long-term effects of the Persian Empire and Alexander the Great. Our author explores this progress and tradition, but excitingly takes it yet farther east, to Japan, where few have sought it seriously hitherto except in a desultory and haphazard way. The Japanese experience of the tradition was inevitably less direct, mediated by other Asian arts, and the processes of influence and translation are more subtle and need the more conscious exploration that Dr Arts has given them.

This is not a book that can be ignored by any lover of the history of art and significance of images, both for its lavish illustration and its message. The gods, goddesses, heroes and monsters of ancient Greece enjoyed a longer life and wider familiarity than even an ancient Greek could have imagined.

John Boardman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the years, in compiling the material for these pages, friends and scholars have offered information, advice, and other forms of assistance.

The first debt of gratitude is owed to those who have contributed a great deal by carefully reading (parts of) the manuscript. Frans Wiggermann (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam) acted as general reader and meticulously went through all of the drafts with great patience. He offered many useful suggestions and alerted me to many errors.

In an early stage of the project John Boardman (Oxford University) commented on various chapters in Part II. Kurt Behrendt (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) assisted with criticism on various draft chapters, where issues related to Gandhāra are touched. To Ben Meulenbeld (Royal Tropical Museum, Amsterdam) I acknowledge my indebtedness for the demanding hours he spent in reading through a considerable number of chapters.

A pre-final draft of the text was read and commented on by Ruurd Halbertsma (Leiden University) and Adele Schlombs (Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne). I am grateful for their rescue from several pitfalls.

Of course, the interpretations presented here are my responsibility alone, and if errors have found their way into the text inspite of all assistance , the fault rests entirely with me .

Then there were people who were readily available when I have fallen upon them and asked them questions. Often their generous response far exceeded what one might expect from a request for information. I mention Remco Breuker (School of Asian Studies, Leiden University); Craig Clunas (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London); Peter Koffijberg (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam); Daan Kok (School of Asian Studies, Leiden University); Koos Kuiper (Leiden University); Gina van Ling (School of Asian Studies, Leiden University); Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and Erik Zürcher (Leiden University), who unfortunately deceased in February 2008.

The book owes much to the diligence and expert craftsmanship of Mikko Kriek (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam), who not only produced the maps and drawings, but who also arranged all the photographs through the text and took care of the design and lay-out.

Finally I want to acknowledge my indebtedness to the scholars in many areas, whose works I consulted and on which I heavily depended. If, as I venture to hope, I have been able in some aspects to take the matter further than they left it, it is largely because of standing on their shoulders.

Above all I wish to thank my wife Johanna for her responsiveness whenever the subject matter touched the realm of Ancient Cultures and for her encouragement and loving support in this and all my endeavours.

NOTE TO THE READER

Transliterations have been made as consistent as possible. For names related to the Classical world, in general Greek, rather than Latinized, forms have been employed, except where the Latin form is particularly familiar (e.g. Aiolos, not Aeolus; but Achilles, not Achilleus). However, conventional transliterations have been used even at the cost of consistency (thus Dionysos, not Dionusos). Further examples where familiar terminology is preferred are Homer, Athens, etc.

For Chinese the Pinyin convention has been used. The only exceptions are Chinese terms and proper names within quotations, which are left in their original form. For Japanese the Hepburn style has been used. However, in many aspects the recent recommendations of the Monumenta Japonica Style Sheet (2008) have been implemented, such as the use of "n" rather than "m" before syllables beginning with "m", "b" and "p", and an apostrophe after "n", when it is part of the preceding syllable and the following syllable begins with "yo", "yu" or a vowel (e.g. Tenpyō, nanban, and Hon'ami). Moreover, the use of hyphens have been evaded as in the case of temple names (e.g. Tōdaiji instead of Tōdai-ji, Asukadera instead of Asuka-dera). This Style Sheet also advises to omit macrons in the transcription of place names and words which today appear in large European dictionaries (i.e. to use e.g. Tokyo, Kyoto, shogun, etc instead of Tokyō, Kyōto, shōgun). In our work, however, we did not comply with this last suggestion because it leaves too much room for arbitrary choices.

Names of Japanese authors have been given as they appear on the title page of the (translated) book , i.e. often without macrons.

McCune-Reischauer has been used for Korean except for names of museums and other institutions, which have adopted the new romanization system established by the Korean government in July 2000. Thus, the city of Kyŏngju (McCune-Reischauer), but the Gyeongju National Museum. Sanskrit is transcribed following the system used by the Royal Asiatic Society and the American Oriental Society, but omitting subscript diacriticals and substituting approximate phonetic spelling for these (e.g. ushnisha, krishna, yaksha, etc.). Superscript dots have been ommited. For Sanskrit geographical names in the maps all diacriticals have been omitted according to common practice.

Chinese, Korean and Japanese personal names are cited in the traditional fashion, family name followed by given name(s). However, in the Bibliography all authors' names as part of the full bibliographic reference are given in the European way with given names first.

When referring to architecture, sculpture, painting, etc, left and right mean proper left and proper right, not the viewer's left and the viewer's right.

As to the captions of the illustrations, the present location of art objects in Asian collections, particularly those in private collections, is often hard to ascertain. However, it has been tried to provide correct information. If no museum or collection is specified, the object is in situ, or has been mentioned in a bibliographical reference without further detail. In those cases this bibliographic reference is indicated. Dates in the captions are based on documentary evidence.

For the bibliographic references in the notes and captions, a shortened form is given for each publication (usually author or exhibition title, date of publication, page or picture reference), while the corresponding full entry can be found in the main Bibliography.

References to illustrations in the text are in bold, to maps in cursive.

ABBREVIATIONS

General

A.D.	Anno Domini; in the (given) year since the beginning of the Christian era
b.	born
B.C.	before Christ
b/w	black and white, said of an illustration
ca.	circa; about
cat.	catalogue
cf.	confer
cm.	centimetre(s)
coll.	collection (followed by name of museum or institute)
cplt.	colour plate
d.	died
d.n.a.	does not apply (here)
ed(s)	editor(s); edited by
e.g.	exempli gratia; for example
et al.	et alii, and others
exh. cat.	exhibition catalogue
f.	following page
fem.	feminine
ff.	following pages
fig(s)	figure(s) in other works than this one
ht.	height
ibid.	the same, usually said of a bibliographic reference
i.e.	id(em) est; that is
ill.	illustration, or illustrated
km.	kilometre(s)
Lit. (or lit.)	literally
m.	masculine
n.d.	no date of publication
no(s).	number(s)
n.p.	no place of publication
p.	page
par.	paragraph
pl.	plural
plt.	plate
publ.	published (followed by entry in Bibliography and further details)
r.	reigned, ruled

sic	thus; so; used between brackets to show that a word or passage is precisely reproduced
s.v.	sub voce, (see) under the word; used between brackets and referring to the Glossary
tr.	translator(s); translated by
vol.	volume (of a book)
vs.	versus
w.	worked (followed by date(s), with reference to the active period of the artist)

Languages

Indication of languages, as used in the Glossary, have been given as follows:

Ch	Chinese
F	French
Ger	German
Gr	Greek
It	Italian
J	Japanese
Jav	Javanese
K	Korean
L	Latin
P	Persian
Po	Portuguese
R	Russian
S	Sanskrit
Sum	Sumerian
T	Turkish

Museums and institutions

Names of museums and institutions, to which reference is made frequently in the captions of the illustrations, have been abbreviated as follows:

BML	British Museum, London
FGW	Freer Gallery of Art, Washington
IMC	Indian Museum, Calcutta
ISS	Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura
MAN	Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples
MCR	Museo Capitolino, Rome
MGP	Musée Nationale des Arts-Guimet, Paris

MIK	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin = Museum of Asian Art, Berlin
MLP	Musée du Louvre, Paris
MMN	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MNR	Museo Nazionale Romano (Therme Museum), Rome
MPV	Museo Profano, Vatican City, Rome
NAK	Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri
NMA	National Archaeological Museum, Athens
NMD	National Museum, New Delhi
NMP	National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi
NMT	National Museum, Tōkyō
PGL	J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Los Angeles
ROT	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
SHP	State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
SMB	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

Principle periods in Greek and Roman art

Greece

Early Helladic, Minoan and Cycladic periods	ca. 3200-2000 B.C.
Middle Helladic, Minoan and Cycladic periods	ca. 2000-1600 B.C.
Late Helladic (Mycenaean), Minoan, and Cycladic periods	ca. 1600-1100 B.C.
Sub-Mycenaean and Sub-Minoan periods	ca. 1100-1000 B.C.
Proto-Geometric period	ca. 1050-900 B.C.
Geometric period	ca. 900-700 B.C.
Orientalizing period	ca. 700-600 B.C.
Archaic period	ca. 600-480 B.C.
Classical period	ca. 480-323 B.C.
Early Classical period	ca. 480-450 B.C.
High Classical period	ca. 450-430 B.C.
Late Classical period	ca. 370-330 B.C.
Alexander the Great	336-323 B.C.
Hellenistic period	ca. 323-30 B.C.
Early Hellenistic period	ca. 320-220 B.C.
High Hellenistic period	ca. 220-150 B.C.
Late Hellenistic period	ca. 150-30 B.C.

Rome

Roman Republic period	510-27 B.C.
Roman Imperial period	(27 B.C.- A.D.476)
(Only the most prominent emperors are listed)	
Augustan period	31 B.C.- A.D.14
Octavian (later Augustus)	27 B.C.- A.D.14
Julio-Claudian period	14-68
Tiberius	14-37
Claudius	41-54
Nero	54-68
Flavian period	69-98
Vespasian	69-79
Domitian	81-96

Trajanic period	98-117
Trajan	98-117
Hadrianic period	117-138
Hadrian	117-138
Antonine period	138-192
Antoninus Pius	138-161
Marcus Aurelius	161-180
Commodus	180-192
Severan period	193-235
Septimius Severus	193-211
Caracalla	198-217
Severus Alexander	222-235
Transitional period	235-260
Gallienus	253-260
Late Classical period	260-313
Aurelian	270-275
Diocletian	284-305
Constantinian period	305-360
Constantine I, the Great	307-337
Late Roman period	323-491
Theodosius I	379-395
Theodosius II	402-450
Zeno	474-491
Byzantine period	491-1453
Justinian I	527-565

Indian art

Pre-Buddhist period: early times	until ca. 322 B.C.
Indus Valley Civilization	ca.2500-ca.1500B.C.
Aryan Invasions	ca.2000-ca.1500B.C.
Śaiśunāga-Nanda period	ca. 642-322 B.C.
Period of Buddhist dominance	ca. 322 B.C.- after A.D. 600
Maurya (Aśoka) period	322-185 B.C.
Śunga period	185-72 B.C.
Āndhra period	ca. 70 B.C.-3rd century A.D.
Kushān period (including Gandhāra)	late 1st century-3rd century A.D.
Gupta period (including Harsha)	320-647

Medieval period	ca. 600-1200
Pallava period (eastern peninsular India, conquering southward)	ca. 500-800
Cālukyan period (western peninsular India, conquering eastward)	550-end of 12th century
Rāshtrakūta period	753-ca. 900
Pāla and Sena periods (west Bengal, Bihār, Bangladesh)	ca. 730-ca. 1197
Medieval Kingdoms of Rājputāna and the Deccan (north)	8th century-ca. 1190
Cōla period (eastern peninsular India)	897-after 1200
Later Medieval period	1200-1756
Sultanate of Delhi (north)	1206-14th century
Vijayanagar period (south)	13th century-1565
Madura period (south)	1646-ca. 1900
Mughal dynasty	1526-1756
Rājput style (north)	ca. 1500-ca. 1900

Chinese art

Neolithic period	ca. 8000-ca. 2000 B.C.
Yangshao Culture (north central China)	ca. 5000-ca. 3000 B.C.
Hongshan Culture (north-eastern China)	ca. 3600-ca. 2000 B.C.
Liangzhu Culture (south-eastern China)	ca. 3600-ca. 2000 B.C.
Longshan Culture (eastern China)	ca. 3000-ca. 1700 B.C.
Early Dynastic China	
Xia period (Protohistoric)	ca. 2100-ca. 1600 B.C.
Shang dynasty	ca. 1600-ca. 1100 B.C.
Zhou dynasty	ca. 1100-256 B.C.
Western Zhou	1100-771 B.C.
Eastern Zhou	771-256 B.C.
Spring and Autumn period	771-476 B.C.
Warring States period	475-221 B.C.
Dynastic China	
Qin dynasty	221-207 B.C.
Han dynasty	206 B.C.- A.D.220
Former (or Western) Han	206 B.C.- A.D. 24
Later (or Eastern) Han	25-220
Period of Disunity	220-589
Three Kingdoms	220-265
Wei	220-265
Shu Han	220-265
Wu	222-280

Six Dynasties (in south)	265-589
Western Jin	265-316
Eastern Jin	317-420
Song	420-479
Southern Qi	479-502
Liang	502-557
Chen	557-589
Northern Dynasties	316-589
Sixteen Kingdoms	316-438
Northern Wei	386-535
Eastern Wei	534-550
Western Wei	535-557
Northern Qi	550-577
Northern Zhou	557-581
Sui dynasty	581-618
Tang dynasty	618-906
Five Dynasties	907-960
Liao dynasty	960-1279
Northern Song	960-1126
Southern Song	1127-1279
Jin dynasty	1115-1234
Yuan dynasty	1279-1368
Ming dynasty	1368-1644
Hongwu	1368-1398
Jianwen	1399-1402
Yongle	1403-1424
Hongxi	1425
Xuande	1426-1435
Zhengtong	1436-1449
Jingtai	1450-1456
Tianshun	1457-1464
Chenghua	1465-1487
Hongzhi	1488-1505
Zhengde	1506-1521
Jiajing	1522-1566
Longqing	1567-1572
Wanli	1573-1620
Taichang	1620
Tianqi	1621-1627
Chongzhen	1628-1644
Qing dynasty	1644-1911
Shunzhi	1644-1661
Kangxi	1662-1722
Yongzheng	1723-1735

Qianlong	1736-1795
Jiaqing	1796-1820
Daoguang	1821-1850
Xianfeng	1851-1861
Tongzhi	1862-1874
Guangxu	1875-1908
Xuantong	1909-1911
Republic of China	1912-1949
People's Republic of China	1949-

Korean art

Neolithic, Bronze, Iron Ages	ca. 6000 B.C.-300 A.D.
Nangnang (Lelang; Han Chinese dominance)	108 B.C.-313 A.D.
Three Kingdoms	57 B.C.-668 A.D.
Koguryŏ	37 B.C.-668 A.D.
Paekche	18 B.C.-663 A.D.
Old Silla	57 B.C.-668 A.D.
Unified Silla Kingdom	668-935
Koryo period	936-1392
Chosŏn period (Yi dynasty)	1392-1910

Japanese art

Archaeological age	ca. 10,500 B.C.-646 A.D.
Jōmon period	ca. 10,500-300 B.C.
Yayoi period	ca. 300 B.C.-ca. 300 A.D.
Kofun period (Haniwa culture)	248-646
Asuka period	552-645
Nara period	645-794
Early Nara (Hakuhō) period	645-710
Late Nara (Tenpyō) period	710-794
Heian period	794-1185
Early Heian (Jōgan) period	794-897
Late Heian (Fujiwara) period	897-1185
Kamakura period	1185-1333
Nanbokuchō period (Southern and Northern Courts)	1333-1392
Muromachi (Ashikaga) period	1392-1573
Momoyama period	1573-1615
Edo (Tokugawa) period	1615-1868
Early Edo period	1615-1704
Middle Edo period	1704-1801

Late Edo period	1801-1868
Meiji period	1868-1912
Taishō	1912-1926
Shōwa	1926-1989
Heisei	1989-

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INTRODUCTION

This book explores the birth and development of some aspects of culture and art in ancient Greece, their spread and endurance in the ancient world, and their gradual diffusion via Central Asia to China and Japan.

It is a story of persistence of Greek, and to a lesser extent, Roman forms, motifs and images, particularly but not exclusively, mythological ones. It shows the assimilation of classical forms and ideas with those existing in the more eastern world, and demonstrates the interaction of peoples and cultural exchange.

The story starts with the foundation of colonies in almost every direction within the Mediterranean and Pontic world, followed by the conquests of Alexander the Great in the East and the subsequent Hellenization of the former Persian Empire. Then, the Greek world was incorporated into the Roman Empire, where the Emperors Augustus and later Hadrian became addicted to Greek culture. The need of the Romans for Chinese silk urged the extension of trade through Central Asia, while almost contemporarily Buddhism spread, first from India northwards, picking up classical elements, and then gradually via Central Asia and China to Japan.

All this activity, in the course of about twelve centuries (6th century B.C. - 6th century A.D.), was not simply connected to geographical expansion and extension of contacts for commercial reasons. Basically it had to do with adoption, adaptation and assimilation of cultures over a long period and over an enormous distance and it has been our interest to follow this process for a number of classical motifs and images during this period.

Next, their preservation in the art of the Tang period (618-906 A.D.) and thereafter, their diffusion to Japan as well as their development within a Japanese artistic context has been made part of this study.

The process of diffusion as indicated above is not always to be taken for granted. For almost a century ethnologists have worked with two opposing theories: diffusion of techniques, ideas, concepts and art forms *versus* their independent "spontaneous generation". The evolutionary concept, proposed during the second half of the 19th century, suggested that similar cultural characteristics arise at parallel phases in the development of different societies because of something universal and common in mankind's elementary problem-solving abilities.

However, in an art-historical context diffusion is usually accepted as the leading principle, although perhaps the degree and character of diffusion may be discussed[1].

Another term in the title deserves attention from the outset. The term "classical" is used in the title (and elsewhere in the book) in a strictly historical sense, meaning "of or pertaining to Greek and Roman culture"[2]. However, the subject matter deals more often with Greek than with Roman culture, the Romans being intermediaries for Greek culture. Thus, the word "classical" refers to the general style of art and culture devised in Greece and propagated in our era by the Roman Empire.

In our subtitle "fiction, conjectures, facts" there is an increasing component of reality suggested, as "fiction" is the making up of imaginary happenings, and "conjectures"

is inferring, theorizing or predicting from incomplete or uncertain evidence. All three degrees of reliability are represented when we follow the diffusion of ideas, motifs and artefacts from the classical world to the East.

In the 19th century –after the final opening of Japan in 1868- the interest in the West for Japanese culture was greatly fostered by international exhibitions of Japanese art, fully sponsored by the Japanese government, the first in Vienna in 1873, followed by Melbourne (1875), Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1889), Chicago (1893), Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904) and London (1904).
In an article entitled "Grèce et Japon" in the Gazette des Beaux Arts, E. Pottler gave a report of his visit to the exhibition of 1889 in Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris:

"Dès ma première visite au Quai Malaquais, une comparaison s'imposa inviciblement à mon esprit : je trouvais à chaque pas, dans un contour de bras, dans les plis d'étoffes, dans une silhouette d'homme nu, des rapprochements à faire avec des œuvres grecques, et, en particulier, avec des dessins de style attique …. J'en parlai à plusieurs personnes dont le jugement m'intéressait …. En particulier M. Rayet. Collectionneur passionné de terres cuites grecques, Rayet avait été très frappé de l'expression vivante et familière que les Japonais ont su donner à leurs odorable netskés ou figurines d'ivoires ; il rêvait de placer dans sa vitrine un de ces types populaires d'extrême Orient à côté des amusants bâterleurs et marchands forains, fabriquées par les céramistes ioniens, qu'il avait le premier fait connaître"[3].

Obviously Pottler became impressed by stylistic elements in Japanese art similar to classical ones. He then continued comparing all sorts of examples and details of Japanese art with Greek ones, and wondered if the analogies were the result of climatological and psychological influences[4], thus suggesting independent invention. Further on in his article, however, he concludes that diffusion must have taken place between Greece and Japan, Persia being the intermediary[5].

In the minutes of the meeting of the Japanese Society of London of February 18th, 1883, the following remark of Mr Alfred East has been recorded.

"Mr Alfred East, member of the council, called attention to the remarkable similarity between certain features of ancient Greek ornament and old Japanese designs. He was willing to admit that, as the lecturer had stated, these designs, such as the Greek Fret or key-pattern, might have been produced in Japan quite independently of any influence from the outer world, yet the similarity was so striking, the instances of accord were so numerous and parallelism of some rites and customs – such as providing the dead with coin to pay their fare over the Styx, - so remarkable, that he sincerely hoped some of the members versed in classical archaeology would turn their attention to the subject and ascertain what possibility there was of any contact having ever existed between the Hellenic race and the nation who deserved the title of Greeks of the Far East. …"[6]

Certainly, by the turn of the century a craze in the appreciation of Japanese art can be spoken of, and the interest in a resemblance between Greek and Japanese culture remained alive in the decades thereafter as revealed e.g. by the article of Walter Weston in the magazine Discovery of August 1929, entitled "The Greece of the Far East".

"While in a fondness of athletics and bodily training the ancient Greeks have been compared with the English, they also bore a more remarkable resemblance to the Japanese in many striking points of detail regarding the customs, manners and religious practices of the two peoples. We will here think of the Japanese in a general way, as represented by the ordinary type, which is as yet little touched by Western Civiliza-

tion, and of the Greek as we find him, mainly in Athens, during the age of Pericles"[7].

However, about that time research in various areas had started already, which may be seen as the beginning of a process where knowledge replaced speculation about the interference between East and West.

At Turfan, at the eastern section of the Northern Silk Road, a cemetery containing about four hundred tombs, dating from ca. 300-800 A.D., was excavated by the Japanese explorer Count Kozui Ōtani in 1902 and 1910 and by Aurel Stein in 1914. Thousands of objects were unearthed and revealed that e.g. during the early Tang period (618-906 A.D.) Central Asian merchants had settled there and artistic motifs from the empires of Persia and Gandhāra flowed freely into the region.

Between 1913 and 1934 John Marshall unearthed a veritable treasure trove of artifacts at the site of Taxila, in the Gandhāran area, which had been founded by Bactrian Greeks during the 2nd century B.C., although the Achaemenids and the Indian Mauryans had occupied the site earlier (6th to 3rd centuries B.C.). Greek rule was maintained there until the 1st century A.D. Taxila was situated at the meeting-point of three great highways linking India with China, Western and Central Asia, and Europe.

In 1929 a study of Indian art was published by the pioneering scholar in the field, A. Coomaraswamy, covering art history (in particular architecture and sculpture), aesthetics, language, history and philosophy, and based on archaeological evidence from the earliest period up to the mid 19th century. The greatest part of the study dealt with Indian art, but Indonesia and the peripheries of south-east Asia were covered also in as far as they reflect Indian influences.

In 1931 Hudson published a scholarly study on the relationship between Europe and China, also covering the influences of Hellenistic culture upon China, the development of trade routes by land and by sea, and the commercial contacts between Rome and China.

The French Archaeological Mission under J. Hackin and J. Carl between 1939 and 1940 carried out excavations in Gandhāra at Begram, some 70 km north of Kābul. The older section of the city dates back to the Greco-Bactrian kings of the 2nd century B.C. It was one of the cities that sat astride the ancient routes linking the western world, Central Asia and China and it had a direct link to the maritime routes between India and the Mediterranean. Between the 1st and 3rd centuries A.D., Begram must have been one of the richest of all cities on the Silk Road, as testified by the contents of the excavated rooms of a palace-complex. Glass vessels from Egypt and Syria, Greco-Roman bronzes, jewellery and robes, Indian ivories, all decorated with motifs from their respective area were found, but also fragments of Eastern Han-period (25-220 A.D.) Chinese lacquer.

Today we know that the art of Gandhāra –almost exclusively Buddhist in subject matter- drew its inspiration from Greek, Roman, Persian and local Indian styles. The art discovered in the early years of the 20th century, however, looked so "Greek" that it was dubbed "Greco-Buddhist". Fully aware of the fact that Roman art was founded upon the Greek, René Grousset entitled his book, published in 1948, "De la Grèce à la Chine".

Detailed studies on the history of Greek rule in Bactria (present-day Afghanistan) and northern India after the conquests of Alexander the Great have been published in the book of Tarn in 1938 and in the second edition of 1951 with revisions to indicate the advance of knowledge. Tarn considered the Bactrian kingdom as a purely Hellenis-

tic state, in which opinion he was challenged by Narain in 1957, who stated that Bactria was part of the Indian history. More recently F.W. Holt (1999) proposed the truth to lie somewhere in between.

In 1963, the Tang specialist Edward Schafer provided a comprehensive account of the exotic goods brought to the Tang court of China. Among the many different goods were textiles like wool, silk damask, brocades and embroideries. Coins, -Sasanian, Byzantine and their imitations- were used in great number as currency, bullion and even decoration. Along with the merchants and monks, other travellers joined the caravans: missionaries, pilgrims, ambassadors, soldiers, scholars, artisans, horse trainers, acrobats, musicians and dancers. All these people carried with them their personal goods, symbols, talismans, artistic ideas and motifs, thus becoming intermediaries in the diffusion of images.

More recently, excavations (1965-1968) have been conducted at places such as Ai Khanum, a Greco-Bactrian city on the banks of the Oxus River in northern Afghanistan, which may well have been "Alexandria on the Oxus", one of the cities founded by Alexander the Great. The finds have not only dramatically removed all doubt about the Greek presence in that area by the mid-2nd century B.C., but also clearly support the view that the artists in Gandhāra adopted classical prototypes that were already known to them, and that they adapted them to their own purposes.

Further evidence of a similar process of Hellenization was discovered by a joint Soviet-Afghan expedition in 1978-1979 at Tillya Tepe in northern Afghanistan. Over 20,000 objects were found there, many decorated in a Greco-Bactrian and Roman style.

Jessica Rawson's pioneering research, published in 1984, demonstrated in detail that the source of Chinese flower patterns lies not in the Far East but in the Mediterranean world of Alexander the Great. Hellenistic architects then further developed the floral motifs to decorate buildings in the Near East. Subsequently these were reinterpreted in Buddhist temples of Central Asia and taken to China with the spread of the Buddhist faith.

John Boardman offered an overview with his publication in 1994, in which he shows how art of Classical Greece was carried far from the Greek land by colonists, merchants and armies to Italy, Egypt, and further east, at first by Greeks and later, with and in the wake of Alexander the Great, up to the River Indus.

By the nineties of the last century, Katsumi Tanabe and Frantz Grenet, contributed much to the understanding of the assimilation, during the 1st century A.D., of representations of Greek gods and heroes with those of the Near East and western Asia, and its subsequent influence in Central Asia and the Far East.

The recent publications of Etienne de la Vaissière revealed the dominant role of the Sogdians as merchants along the Silk Roads and in China.

Between the fall of the Han Empire in 220 A.D. and the rise of the Tang Empire in 618, China was ruled by a succession of short-lived dynasties. During these centuries, China's ancient civilization and art was almost totally transformed by the flourishing of Buddhism and by the increased commercial activity along the Silk Road. The gateway to China was through Gansu and Ningxia in north-west China, connecting the desert regions of the West with China's heartland and its imperial cities Chang'an (present-day Xi'an) and Luoyang. Gansu's cities became, from the 4th century on, thriving centres of religion, commerce and culture, where Buddhism and Buddhist art flourished.

Excavations carried out in the People's Republic of China during the last quart of the 20th century have greatly contributed to an understanding of the complex cultural interactions that took place in the period between the Han and the Tang Empires, which saw the coming together of cultural influences from all over Asia, including reflections from the Mediterranean world. Yet, much is still unpublished or published in Chinese only, and therefore only partly available to the scholarly world to improve the synthesis of all extant information.

In some works diffusion of classical motifs to the East has been discussed in various degrees of detail with results of various conviction. Often, comparison of hypotheses brings controversies to light. In others, strong cases for recognizing the classical pedigree have been advanced or the dissemination has been convincingly demonstrated for specific motifs. When appropriate, we have borrowed from the monographs and articles of specialists in widely separated areas of expertise.
We have done our best to locate and consult every scholarly work, at least in a western language, which bears upon our theme; certainly we have not succeeded but hopefully we have found nearly everything of importance.
However, almost all of these works follow motifs on their way from the Mediterranean world to Central Asia and China. Only very few follow a motif into Japan, the main interest of this work.

It is worth noting from the outset that throughout this book tacitly a number of guiding principles have been followed as summarized below.

Uncertainty

On their way motifs were often transformed and adapted to local needs and became difficult to recognize as descending from their original. This is especially so for forms of imaginary mythical beings that change continuously because their iconography is based on oral or pictorial tradition. This is contrary to the treatment of e.g. live-animals for which the artist can turn to nature for his model.

Also, by paucity of archaeological evidence, the precise track of a diffused motif may be unclear and only resemblance to a presumed classical original makes the relationship likely, although it cannot be proven.

Regularly, in the past, a classical ancestry of a motif has been proposed by scholars without much factual support, and their opinion may then not be accepted unreservedly. However, often we have incorporated their conclusions in our discussion in order to evaluate their usefulness in the context of the present knowledge, also at points where experts disagree.

Sometimes these uncertainties caused us to enter into the realm of speculation and conjectures, but we were happy to do so, because the suggestions may stimulate others into refuting or reshaping the propositions.

Ubiquity

For a motif or image to fit in the discussion of this book, it is not important whether it can be demonstrated or not that it has its ultimate origin in the classical world. In fact, many motifs and images current in Greece before ca. 600 B.C. were not indigenous there, but were probably introduced from the Near East. Rather the criterion will be whether it was or became an essential and prominent element of Greek and Roman culture, and therefore it has been applied ubiquitously as a decorative motif or image in art and architecture.
This ubiquity was the reason for its spread into the empire of Alexander the Great and later to Gandhāra and further east in Buddhist context.

Local interpretation

It will not be our primary concern whether or not, or to what extent, a western motif or image was appreciated as such in the recipient culture. For example, the image of the Heavenly Horse as decorum on Tang mirrors has certainly triggered the awareness of Chinese people that they had to do with a motif borrowed from the West. The same holds for grapes. But whether or how these symbols fitted in their notions of cosmology is beyond the scope of this book.

This book is not a strictly chronological survey. Rather it adopts a more thematic approach. It has been organized in two Parts.

Part I contains background information, which is considered essential and preliminary to the discussion of the subjects in Part II. In Part I the development of Greek culture has been briefly described, together with its expansion in the Mediterranean area, followed by its diffusion to the East into the empire of Alexander the Great. Then, the opening of the trade routes between China and the Near East by the initiative of the Chinese, not of the West, and the role of the Roman Empire are reviewed. Finally the second major propelling force after Alexander, Buddhism, is discussed. These are all indispensable elements in order to understand generally the most important features of these interacting cultures.
A specific point that has to be mentioned is that we described the Greek culture as the major "donor" culture. But following the conquests of Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C., Greek civilization spread over the entire area of the former Persian Empire and beyond. Greek motifs were affected by those of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Iran to produce a hybrid culture called "Hellenistic", united by the use of the Greek tongue as a *lingua franca*. Later, cultures of Central Asia and China acted likewise as "recipient" cultures and had their influence, while India has been a factor of importance as well.
Thus, any attempt at completeness would require a sketch of the individual characteristics of all these cultures, but so great a task cannot be undertaken within the scope of the present work. Moreover, we try to indicate and elaborate some classical elements which survived on their way to the East in these recipient cultures, ultimately to Japan,

and therefore a detailed insight in these cultures is not of primary importance. Therefore –apart from in Part I- we have chosen to present relevant characteristics of these cultures at various instances throughout the work as appropriate.

In Part II, for a number of subjects, details have been treated such as: their role played in the classical world; their diffusion to Gandhāra, if so; their appearance in Central Asia and China; and their appearance in Japan. In all cases, the cross-cultural modifications which the images experienced on their way were explored.

Japan has continually absorbed influences from the Asiatic continent and often, not always, the foreign cultural impulses were transformed according to Japanese preferences. How did the Japanese artist select and transform his models? Answer to this question will be pursued elsewhere, not in this book, by analysing basic Japanese patterns of adaptation. Here we concentrate on the identification of classical elements.

We tried to improve the accessibility of the work by cautiously incorporating terminology and short explanations in the Glossary, instead of explaining the terms on the spot in the text where they appear.

It is our hope that readers with different interests and levels of knowledge may be stimulated to look further into the subject area of this book, and that they may be intrigued by the tokens of interaction between different cultures from Greece to Japan.

Part I

CULTURAL FLOW FROM GREECE TO JAPAN: CENTRES, CARRIERS AND TRACKS

1 THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF GREEK CULTURE UNTIL 323 B.C.

1.1 Historical background[1]

Around 1000 B.C. in Greece, three main tribes had settled: the Aeolians, the Ionians and the Dorians. They covered areas roughly indicated by three horizontal zones, stretching from West to East, from Greece crossing the isles towards the coast of Anatolia (*Map 1.1*). The northern zone was inhabited by the Aeolians and consisted of Thessaly and Boeotia, the islands Lesbos and Lemnos and the northern part of the west coast of Anatolia. The middle zone belonged to the Ionians: Attica and Euboea, islands like Delos, Chios and Samos and the opposite coastal areas. The southern zone belonged to the Dorians: the Peloponnese, islands like Crete, Rhodes and the south-west corner of the Anatolian coast.

The Aeolian tribe in Thessaly carried the name "Hellenes". By the 7th century B.C. this name seems to have been used to indicate the Greek people as a whole. Before that, Homer spoke usually of the Achaeans. The name "Greek" is derived from the "Graeci", the term used by the Romans.

For these three tribes the sea was everywhere nearby and in fact the general connecting route between the more than 600 islands in the area. As Plato said: the Greeks lived "like frogs around a pond".

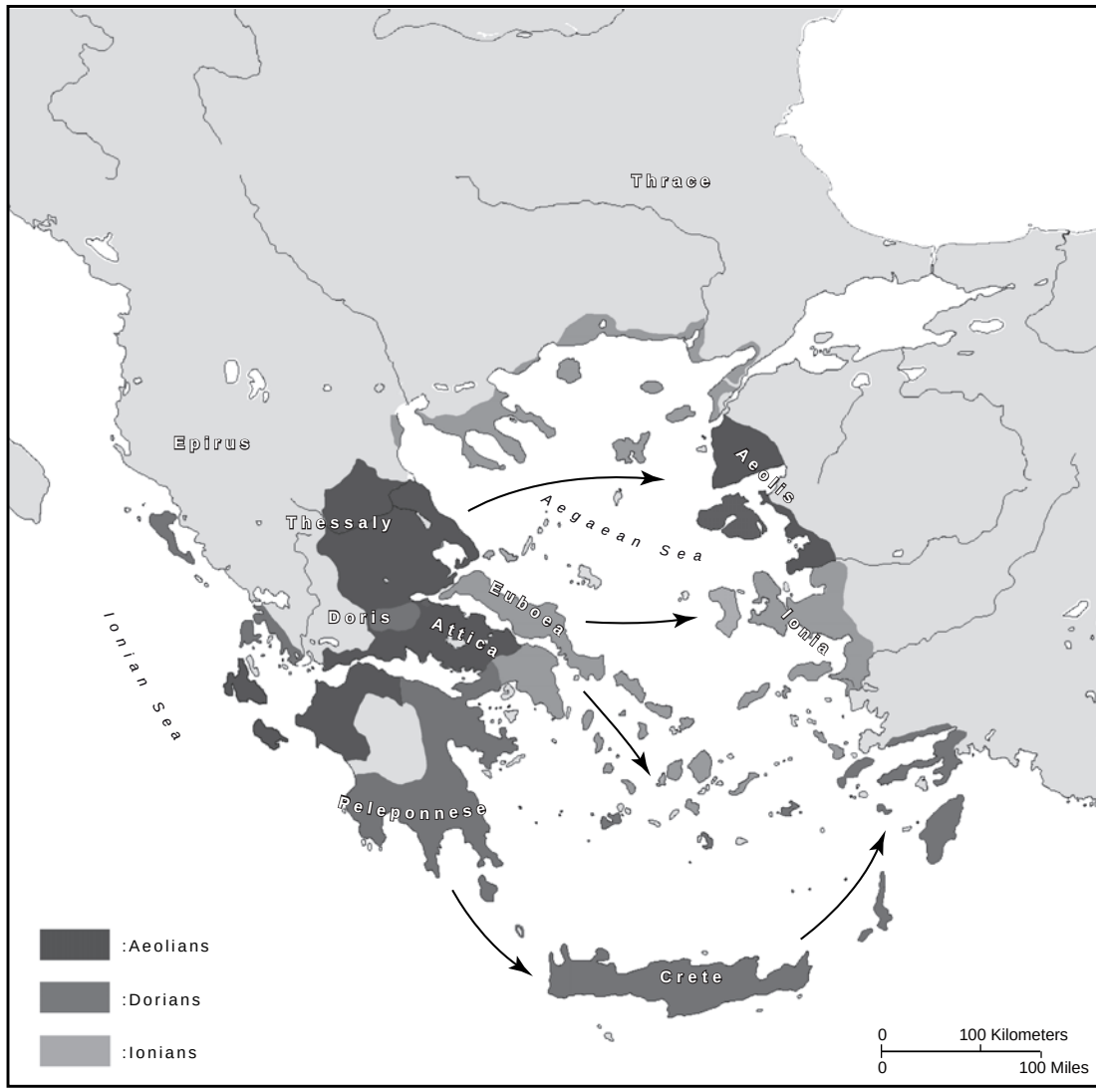
In a way, nature itself, different in the various areas, had contributed to the geographical division of Greece, which was therefore difficult to unify. But also the character of the Hellenes was individualistic. They saw in every circumstance a rivalry and a contest, unless a common enemy forced them to unite. This individualism and ensuing competition, on the other hand, was a trigger for great achievements, e.g. in art. Around 600 B.C. it had led to the awareness of an individual freedom, which made the distinction between a Greek and a barbarian.

Around 800 B.C. the coastal cities of Anatolia had become mainly Greek in nature. They mastered the sea in that area, while their competitors the Phoenicians were more dominant in the western areas and had established Carthage on the North-African coast around that time as well as colonies in Spain.

Greece did not dominantly participate in this seafaring trade. The individualistic disposition had fostered the people to live in small family-clans, but the need for safety had urged them gradually to live together in larger fortifications, the *polis*. In some areas, also, there were several *poleis*, of which one was considered as the local political centre. And certainly the success of the Ionic cities along the coast of Asia Minor promoted the establishing of *poleis*.

But the social situation changed: overpopulation became the problem in Greece, where the farmers hardly succeeded anymore in making a living. So they were inclined to flee towards the *poleis,* where already different classes were developed, causing all sorts of political contrasts.

There seemed to be only one solution out of this situation: emigration. This was the primary cause of an important and quickly developing movement: the Greek colonization.



Map 1.1 The Greek main tribes around 1000 BC.

The first aim was to provide land to the farmers. Trading ships directed them to Sicily, South Italy and the Black Sea. These ships maintained the contact and provided the colonists with supplies. The motherland started to produce more, shipbuilding increased, trade expanded, and the society changed from land-economy to money-economy.

The colonization took place in almost every direction. A single city like Miletus established a whole suite of daughter-cities along the coast of the Black Sea. From there came large supplies of grain and dried fish. Chalcis in Euboea had a large metal market. Miletus and Chalcis became trade centres for goods from Asia, which reached more remote western areas via the colonies.

Also North Africa became colonized by the Greeks: the Greek city Naucratis in Egypt and Cyrenaica were prosperous places. The majority of the Greek cities were established on the east coast of Sicily -e.g. Syracuse in c. 733 B.C.- and along the south coast of Italy,

from Tarente to Naples: Magna Graecia (s.v.).

From the middle of the 8th century B.C., trading contacts between Greece and Near Eastern (s.v.) civilisations as Phoenicia, Syria, Assyria and Egypt increased significantly. This had great consequences for the Greeks later, in the 7th century, as will be discussed later on in this Chapter. During the 8th century, also the first full awareness of Greeks as Greeks developed, an awareness that can be seen e.g. in the founding of the Olympic games, traditionally in 776 B.C., and which must have been fostered by intensified contacts with other peoples.

Up to about 550 B.C. the Greeks had met severe competition from the Phoenicians, but these had mainly trading interests in the western part of the Mediterranean and were not aggressive. But from then on, a fast expansion of the Persians in the Near East took place and the Persians did not intend to stop at the borders of the Aegean Sea, which was, with all its small islands, rather a connecting route than a natural frontier. The Danube River and the mountainous areas of Thrace and North-West Greece would serve that purpose much better.

Around 500 B.C. Greece became threatened by the Persian kings, who -after the victory of Cyrus over the philhellene king Croesus of Lydia in 546- more and more occupied the Greek colonies on the west coast of Asia Minor and even advanced to Thrace and Macedonia. Consequently an upheaval broke out in Ionia against the suppression of the Persians, but the Ionians were defeated in 495. Only Athens and Eretria -Ionians themselves- had participated in the battle. In 490 the Persians undertook an action of revenge against Athens and Eretria. Eretria was destroyed but Athens sustained and defeated its enemies at Marathon. The Persians tried to subdue the Greeks during a decade in several combats at land and at sea and were partly successful in the battle of Thermopylae in 480, shortly after which Athens was destroyed. But finally, in the same year, they suffered a decisive defeat in a sea battle at Salamis and were driven out of the Aegean Sea.

In order to protect themselves against the Persians in the future and, ultimately, to drive the Persians from all Greek territories, the Greeks formed the Delian League in 478 B.C., with Athens as its leader. The headquarters of the League were on the sacred island of Delos, and there too was the Treasury. To this confederacy the city-states paid money in exchange for protection in the form of hoplites - the heavily armed infantry-, ships and weapons. Through the Delian League, Athens protected the city-states, while at the same time seeking to gain control over a number of them on the mainland, Boeotia, Megara and Euboea. In general, those states that were either unwilling or unable to contribute ships and manpower, paid tribute in the form of silver. In 454 B.C., the Treasury of the Delian League was moved from Delos to Athens, thereby further establishing Athens as the main power in Greece.

The victory over the mighty Persians had of course increased the self-consciousness and the national feelings of the Hellenes. Especially Athens positioned herself as the most powerful city in Greece, also because of her strong maritime influence. From a small polis, suddenly forced into a situation of self-defence, Athens was now a leading power aiming for expansion. Especially the statesman Perikles (495-429 B.C.) is known to have established the leading position of Athens as a flourishing centre of spiritual and material prosperity.

"Classical" civilization as it is called, developed strongly from about 480 B.C. on, because of steeply increasing trade and industries. After the victory over Persia, Greeks could move freely along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, and export of refined products like oil, wine, ceramics and metalwork became more intensified. Ores, grain and spices were imported.
Religious ideas were the basis of this civilization, which were reflected in architecture by the monumental temples, in sculpture by the statues of the gods and heroes.
Not only in Athens but in numerous other Greek poleis too an open-minded atmosphere prevailed. Although religion was the basis for this culture, it did not limit freedom of thought, nor freedom of creating artefacts, nor freedom of choosing a way of life. There was no systematic principle, no holy book, no clerical organisation, no class of priests that put boundaries to belief or knowledge or exerted pressure on the conscience of people.

Greece entered another lengthy war in 431 B.C. Unlike the earlier Persian war, the Peloponnesian War pitted Greek city-states against one another, particularly Athens against Sparta. In addition, the Greek people were struck with a plague in 430-427 B.C. The end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. witnessed the defeat of Athens and a power vacuum was created which gave opportunity to various parties to enforce, among which the Macedonian state in the northern part of Greece. By the middle of the 4th century B.C., all of Greece was faced with a new ruler in a new centre of power, Philip II of Macedon. Philip died in 336 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Alexander. After taking control of mainland Greece, Alexander extended the boundaries of the Macedonian Empire to the furthest point ever in Greek history -east to the Indus, north to southern Russia, and south to Egypt-. The Classical period ended in 323 B.C. when Alexander the Great died in Babylon.

1.2 The rise of Greek culture to its Golden Age

1.2.1 The Bronze Age (ca. 3000-1100 B.C.)

The Bronze Age (s.v.) in Greece witnessed the flowering of three cultures, the Cycladic, the Minoan and the Mycenaean. During the early Bronze Age, up to about 2000 B.C., the most distinctive and influential culture was the Cycladic. The Cyclades, a group of islands in the Aegean Sea that encircled the island of Delos, functioned like stepping stones between Crete, the mainland of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor. The craftsmen of these islands produced carved marble statuettes of women and men and handmade -i.e. without use of the potters wheel- terracotta (s.v.) vessels, sometimes with a lid. As copper, tin and silver occur as minerals on the Cyclades, bronze tools and weapons were cast, but also silver was used to produce bracelets and other jewellery.

Around 2000 B.C. the Aegean became increasingly under the influence of the Minoan culture of Crete. Most characteristic of this Minoan culture were the large palaces, e.g. in Knossos in central Crete, where numerous objects like jewellery, statuettes and other artefacts have been found. Wall-paintings give an impression of the already complex society of this civilization as judged from the images of the people, architecture, animals and

ships. Minoan pottery was varied, ranging from large vases to thin walled delicate cups, in different colours, decorated with stripes and flowers, but also octopuses, fish and shells. Also bronze statuettes were produced and jewellery of gold and silver with seal-stones with all sorts of carved decorations like swirls and spirals, hunting scenes, birds and other animals.

By the 16th century B.C. the Mycenaean culture developed on the Greek mainland. Unlike the Minoans, the Mycenaeans constructed highly fortified palaces. Their craftsmen made pottery vessels for storing liquids, but also elegant drinking cups, often decorated with designs of human figures and animals. Bulls seem to have been especially in favour. Like the Minoans, the Mycenaeans were active traders, hence their craftsmen had plenty of copper (from the East) and gold (from Egypt) to produce fine vessels and jewellery. Their buildings were decorated with frescoes, a technique possibly borrowed from the Minoans.

Probably, the Mycenaeans were attacked by outside invaders by the 12th century B.C. and Greece entered into the so-called Dark Ages which lasted until about 900 B.C.

1.2.2 The Geometric period (ca. 900-700 B.C.)

The culture of the period from about 900-700 B.C. is called the "Geometric" after its most characteristic form of art, pottery decorated with geometric patterns. These were usually accurately arranged in friezes around the vase. Maeanders -usually cross-latched- were very popular, but also concentric circles, zigzags, swastikas, checker-board designs, rows of diamonds and rosettes (**1.1**).

After about 800 B.C. figures from nature began to appear regularly in geometric painting, like grazing deer or marsh birds and horses. These animals and birds were pressed into geometric shapes in the overall ornament. Human figures soon appeared, especially in the zone of the handles of the vase.

A typical development of the 8th century is the production of gigantic vases to be used as grave markers, which had often man's height. These great amphoras and *kraters* usually bore a principle decorative zone at the handle level, depicting the prothesis, a funeral scene showing the lying corpse and processions of mourners. Human figures are pictured in a peculiar way: a man having a triangular torso with a blob for the head, female figures are defined as having long hair and breasts which appear as strokes one above the other under the armpit.

Two-handled vases were designed to transport large amounts of liquid, especially wine. Each city shipped its product in a distinctively shaped vessel, so that it would be recognized immediately. Further marks of identification were stamps impressed on the handles, in order to guarantee the origin and the quality of the wine. In addition to vases, solid cast bronzes and terracotta statuettes were produced, representing animal and human figures.

A great variety of geometric fibulae, sometimes made of precious metals, appears shortly after the middle of the 8th century and continues well into the 7th century. The most important early discoveries of these artefacts have been made at Athens, Eleusis and

1.1 Large pedestalled *krater* with "geometric" design. From Rhodes. Geometric period, ca. 800-750 B.C. BML.

Eretria. They are decorated with figural designs, which are often composed of simple geometric motifs, but sometimes represent scenes from nature, war and occasionally mythology (**1.2**).

1.2 Two gold rings and two brooches, decorated with intricate granulation design of animals and geometric patterns. Found in tombs in and around Athens. 8th century B.C. BML

1.2.3 The Orientalizing period (ca. 700-600 B.C.)

From the middle of the 8th century B.C., as already mentioned, trading contacts between Greece and Near Eastern civilizations intensified significantly. From the East the Greeks learned new techniques for metalwork and ivory-carving. Also eastern motifs entered the repertoire of the geometric designs, such as plants, animals and imaginary beasts as griffins and winged lions. These "Orientalizing" influences reached their peak during the 7th century B.C., which is therefore often referred to as the "Orientalizing period".

1.3 Proto-Corinthian *aryballos* decorated with various beasts. Ca. 720 B.C. BML

The Oriental influence appears most prominently as designs on pottery, architectural reliefs and to a lesser extent on sculpture.

Geometric pottery was being produced in Corinth in the 8th century B.C., but orientalizing motifs appear around 725 B.C. This pottery is called "Proto-Corinthian". Popular shapes in this early period are the *aryballos* (a perfume or oil flask) (**1.3**), the *olpe* (a broad lipped jug with one handle), the *oinochoe* (a pouring vessel with bulbous body and one handle) and the *kotyle* (a cup). Orientalizing motifs include floral designs and various animals. There are feline beasts shown in frontal face, lions, boars, bulls, birds, dogs, geese, hares, but also hybrids like the siren (a bird with the head of a woman). Soon these figures were drawn in black silhouette against reddish clay, but with anatomical details picked out by incision. This allowed the colour of the clay to appear in thin, sharp lines. This technique -using silhouette with incision and added colour- is termed "black-figure".

Special attention is drawn here to the introduction in Greek art of the monstrous creature. There is no doubt that the motif of two facing animals, which join in a single frontal head (**1.4**) is one which appears in the East before it appears in Greek art[2]. It is but one of the many faces of the monsters which Greeks in the 7th century B.C. borrowed from or developed from Oriental origins. These monsters, some resembling real animals, often

completely dissimilar, invaded objects of all sorts. They came to characterize Corinthian pottery of the second half of the 7th century B.C.

By the middle of the 7th century human figures were added to the decorum, notably soldiers (hoplites) carrying spears and wearing *cuirasses,* sometimes decorated with monstrous frontal heads.

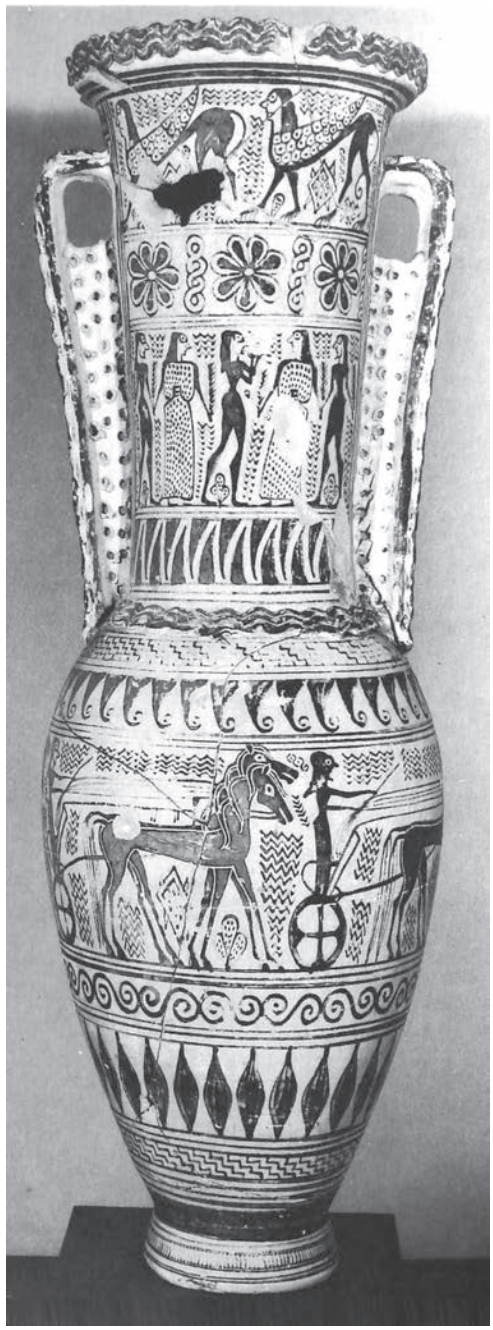
Corinth in the 7th century was becoming an important trading state. Corinthian colonies were established throughout the Mediterranean -especially in southern Italy and Sicily- and in all colonies Corinthian vases were used.

1.4 Corinthian *olpe* with design of two facing animals, which join in a single frontal head, a pattern of Oriental origin. Rhodes, 7th century B.C. BML

In Athens the pottery of the Orientalizing period is called "Proto-Attic". It did not use the black-figure technique of Corinth until the end of the 7th century B.C., nor did it enjoy the popularity of the Proto-Corinthian. It is rarely found outside the Athenian area. The designs on this pottery show less interest in eastern animals and hybrids, and more in human figures, while there seems to have been an increasing focus on mythological scenes. However, strong oriental influences, probably introduced via Corinth, are clearly visible (**1.5**).

Although Corinth and Athens were the main pottery centres in the 7th century, there were important developments elsewhere in Greece too. The main tendency was the introduction of eastern animals and other motifs. For example, pottery made in the Cyclades frequently shows the decor of *griffins*. *Griffins* of various types are found in Near Eastern art, but in Greece a distinctive type evolved, with a lion's body, eagle's beak, hare's ears and a knob or spike on the brow. Especially popular on Cycladic pottery became the technique of making part of the vase, the spout-area in particular, as an animal (griffin) head (**1.6).**

Small-scale sculpture in bronze and terracotta also flourished during the Orientalizing period. Conflicts among the Greek city-states ensured that the male warrior type would continue to be a favourite subject of dedications in sanctuaries. These sanctuaries seem to have played an increasingly important part in social and political affairs in the Greek world. The sanctuary of Artemis at Sparta, for example, though never as large and wealthy as those at Delphi, Ephesus or Olympia, has yielded a fascinating range of small



1.5 Proto-Attic *amphora* from Athens, decorated with various animals and designs, reminiscent of the geometric style. 700-675 B.C. MLP

objects. These were almost certainly locally produced to be sold to visitors who would dedicate them to the goddess. Apart from the warrior-type of statuettes, the nude, athletic male form became a focus of attention of sculptors.

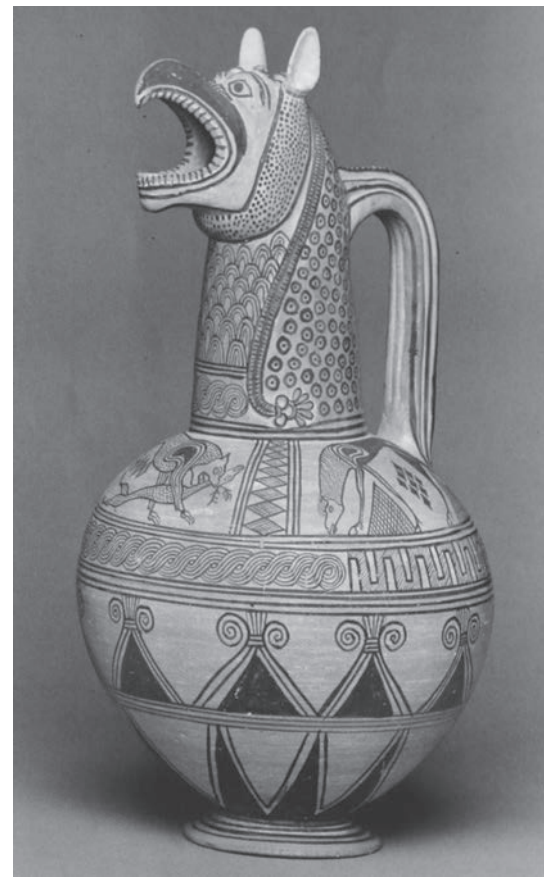
The Greek world was also flooded by small mould-made (hence mass-produced) terracotta female figurines. Some early ones resemble oriental representations of a nude eastern goddess, which soon became dressed and identified as Aphrodite. Others represented different female deities, and all were used as votive offerings in sanctuaries. The major centres of production seem to have been at Corinth, Crete, Sparta and Rhodes. Terracotta is the usual material, but also figurines in bronze, lead, ivory, gold and stone were frequent.

At about the same time (ca. 650 B.C.) Greek sculptors turned to a new material -marble- and a new scale. The trigger came from Egypt. From the early years of the century, visiting Greeks had seen not only gigantic buildings made of stone, but also life-size and colossal statues of standing and seating figures. Egyptian sculptors frequently used very hard stones, like granite, which were worked laboriously with abrasives and stonepounders according to traditional techniques. Up to this point, Greek sculptors, working soft limestone, had needed little more than carpenter skills to create larger statuettes. Now, however, they began to use the white marble from the islands of the Cyclades, notably Naxos and Pharos. Though the influence of Egyptian buildings and statuettes on Greeks is quite clear, the earliest Greek marble-working techniques came from Anatolia and not from Egypt.

Oriental influence is remarkable too in bronze-working techniques for household purposes. Tripods and cauldrons were decorated with animal or mythological *protomes*. Such *protomes*, the independent upper part -head, or head and neck of an animal or mythological creature- were perched on the necks or rims of cauldrons, and usually faced outward. *Pro-*

tomes of griffins and siren-head attachments were especially popular. This type of decoration seems to have originated in Urartu (a kingdom covering the area roughly coextensive with Armenia, i.e. it is centred in eastern Turkey), but it was imported and imitated all over the Near East and in Italy as well as in Greece.

Also typical of the Orientalizing period are the products of small scale arts, notably jewellery and engraved sealstones. Bronze *fibulae* (brooches) survive, believed to have been made in Boeotia, expertly decorated with figures of birds and animals, often deer or horses, but also with mythological subjects. Sealstones, usually cut in steatite, seem to have been made principally in the Cyclades, notably Melos and Naxos, and both their shape and style suggest the influence of finds of Mycenaean seals. The designs represent animals, fish and birds and occasionally a mythological figure.

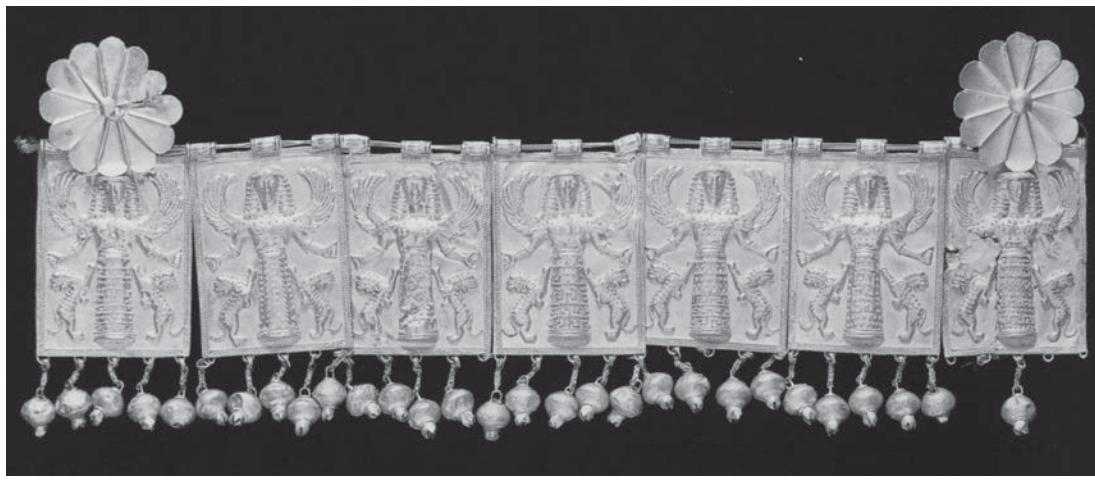


1.6 Jug with a spout in the form of a griffin head. The design is borrowed from the Near East during the Orientalizing period. From Aegina, 675-650 B.C. BML

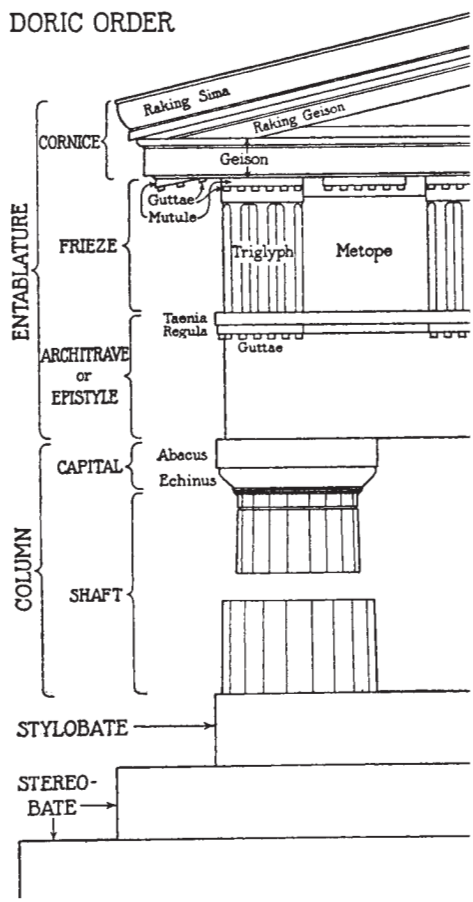
Much of the finest gold work has been found on the wealthy island of Rhodes, where many pendants, beads, pins and earrings and pictorial plates have been found. These plates are designed to be worn in strings across the top of the garment, pinned to it at the shoulders. They are decorated with a variety of subjects, from centaurs to goddess figures, winged, and holding a lion or bird in each hand; this is the Near Eastern mistress of the animals whom the Greeks adopted and worshipped as Artemis (**1.7**).

Another important centre from the middle of the 7th century B.C. was Cyprus, which must have been one of the chief markets of precious metals in the Mediterranean. A composite style developed out of the different ethnic and cultural influences -Greek, Near Eastern and Egyptian-. In jewellery the Oriental taste for richness and luxury is clear.

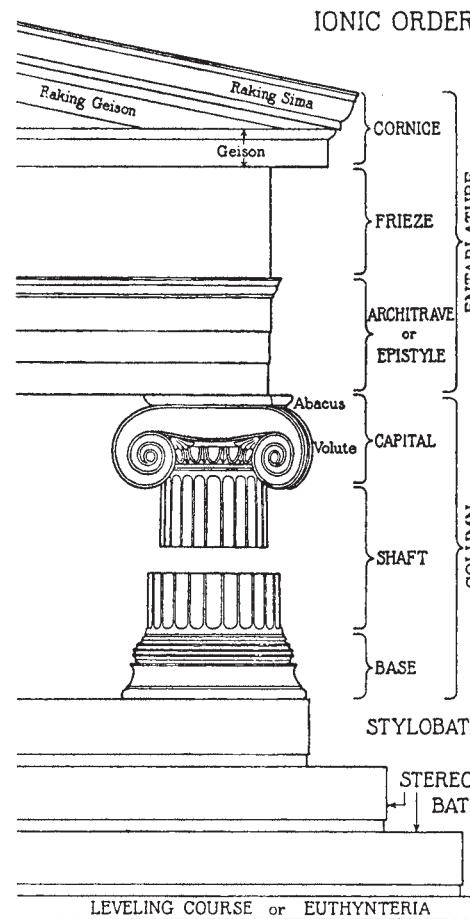
The 7th century B.C. is also the time of the development of the two major styles of Greek architecture, the Doric order and the Ionic order **(1.8** and **1.9**). The extent of outside influence involved in these styles as well as their origin is much debated. The final forms of these two orders seem to be uniquely Greek although some scholars maintain that certain details of the decoration and probably the technique of masonry came from the East. In particular, in the Near East, volutes had never been anything grander than small-scale elements in wood, e.g. on furniture. Where they had appeared on a large scale,



1.7 Seven gold plaques, strung together and worn across the chest, with the rosettes pinned at the shoulder. Decoration of the plaques in filigree and granulation. The pomegranates hanging down from the plaque are symbols of fertility. From Rhodes, 7th century B.C. BML



1.8 Elevation of the Doric order. After Biers 1987, 128, fig. 6.2



1.9 Elevation of the Ionic order. After Biers 1987, 128, fig. 6.3

in Phoenician volute capitals, they had not belonged to any coherent order.
The Doric order is much the plainer of the two and may have developed somewhat earlier than the Ionic. The principle characteristic, easiest to discriminate for the non-expert eye, is the capital, the transition from the vertical column shaft to the mainly horizontal upper entablature. In the Doric order this is a geometric member, consisting below of a trapezium-shaped block, topped by a rectangular slab.
The Ionic capital consists of two joined hanging volutes, and palmettes are relegated to the small area beneath them.
The two principle orders, developed and discernible in the 7th century, find full expression in the Archaic period.

During the Orientalizing period the culture in Greece as a whole developed towards a firm basis for the finest artistic expression in the Archaic and Classical periods.

1.2.4 The Archaic period (ca. 600-480 B.C.)

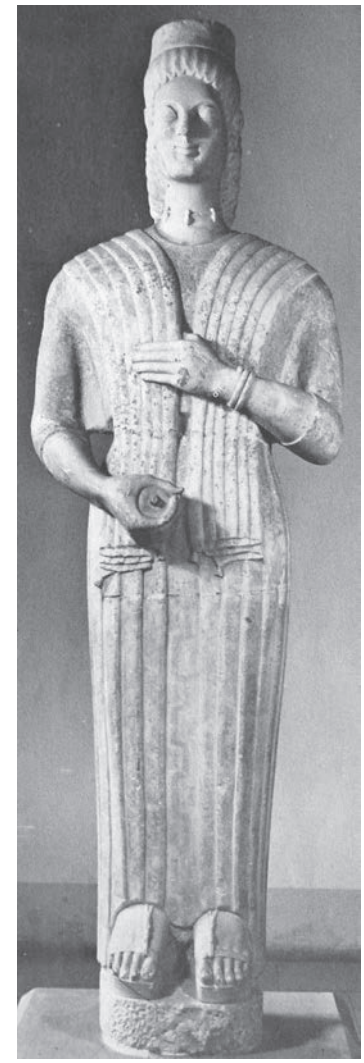
In architecture the increasing prosperity in Greece at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. is clearly visible. Until then the Greeks built fairly simple temples of stone, wood or brick, without much sculptural decoration. But now temples became constructed on the post-and-lintel principle. The ground-plan is of an essentially rectangular shape. Columns with decorated capitals along the sides surround the *cella*, the central area that housed the cult statue. The columns supported the horizontal *entablature* and the pitched roof.
The first large all-stone temple erected (ca. 580 B.C.) was the temple of Artemis on Corfu. This temple, of the Doric order, is also known as the Gorgon temple, because a limestone pediment of the building has a relief sculpture of a central Gorgon figure, flanked by Pegasos and Chrysaor, the children born at the moment of her death[3].
Other large temples were erected all over Greece as well as in the East -of which those of the Ionic order on Samos and at Ephesos were famous- and the West; a great number of large stone temples are known from southern Italy and Sicily, where the architecture in general followed the architecture of mainland Greece. Throughout the Archaic Greek world these temples were adorned with relief sculptures in the spaces provided by pediments, metopes and friezes. Relief carving was also adopted at this time in other contexts, e.g. for the decoration of gravestones, both on the mainland as on the islands.

Reliefs appeared in bronze too. They include figures decorating the frieze and handles of large vessels, like an enormous *krater* of around 510 B.C., found in the grave of Celtic princess near Châtillon-sur-Seine in France (**1.10**). This suggests a trading network up to France and an interest of non-Greek chieftains in Greek goods. The handles of this *krater* are decorated with Gorgon's heads and lions.
By this time, bronze cast figures in the round were produced too, like the life-size *kouros* of around 520 B.C., which was found in Piraeus, the harbour of Athens.
Casters made their bronzes hollow and large figures were made in sections, which were then soldered or riveted together. They used a core of clay or other material and added a wax-layer with a thickness equal to the anticipated thickness of the metal. In fact this was the *cire perdue* method.

1.10 Large sheet-bronze *krater* found near Vix in south-eastern France, thus called the Vix vase. Handles and relief-figures separately cast. Archaic period (600-480 B.C.). Musée de Châtillon-sur-Seine

In sculpture, by the end of the 7th century, the introduction of marble gave an impetus to the production of large statues. The two major types of sculpture prevalent in the 6th century B.C. were the standing nude male, the *kouros* (**1.11**), and the standing clothed female, the *kore* (**1.12**). One of the earliest known nude figures dates close to the 600 B.C. Nudity was taken for granted in Greece, where men regularly exercised nude in the gymnasiums.
From 600 to 500 B.C. a continuous development of the *kouros* can be seen, in the sense of an increasing ability to render the anatomical details of the human body, gradually becoming more organic and realistic. Particularly characteristic are the lips formed into a shallow smile, the so-called "Archaic smile", not an attempt at representing an emotional state but an index of vitality, and the typical stance where the weight of the body is shifted to one leg (*contrapposto*).

1.11 Front view of a *kouros*. Archaic smile. 575 B.C. NMA



1.12 One of the earliest 6th century B.C. *korai,* found in Attica. Note the headdress, the jewellery and the "Archaic smile". Ca. 565 B.C. SMB

The *korai* show a similar process of enlivenment in the course of the 6th century. The changes throughout the period, however, are measured more in terms of the rendering of the drapery than of the anatomy. The *korai* are often very pretty, their smiling faces enhanced by their beautifully carved drapery, representing either the simpler, heavy woollen *peplos* favoured on the mainland, or the elaborate *chiton*, often made of linen, of Ionia (**1.13**). With the last quarter of the century, the fashion of clothing changed, and the cross-slung *himation* or mantle, worn over the crinkly *chiton*, finds favour.

Female figures other than *korai* were appearing by the mid-century. An example is a sphinx from Delphi of c. 560 B.C. It is placed on the Ionic capital with widely separate volutes (**1.14**). Another is the personification of Nike, dedicated in Apollo's sanctuary on Delos, shown in a kneeling/running posture.

1.13 *Kore* dressed in Ionic style. Note the "Archaic smile". Ca. 525 B.C. Acropolis Museum, Athens

1.14 Sphinx from Delphi. Ca. 560 B.C. Delphi Museum

Vase-painting also flourished in the Archaic period. Throughout the Greek world, in the islands and Asia Minor as well as the mainland, the black-figure technique of vase painting, which had been pioneered by Corinth in the Orientalizing period, had become dominant. The subject matter of these black-figure vases in the early years of the 6th century was drawn either from daily life, as at the drinking party (*symposium*), in the gymnasium, at the hunt, or else from the realm of mythology (**1.15**).

Shortly after 530 B.C. the red-figure style of painting arose in Athens, and by the end of the century most painters had switched to the new technique (**1.16**). In the red-figure technique the figures and patterns were reserved in the colour of the red clay ground and the background was filled in with black - just the reverse of the black-figure style. Musculature and other details were painted in a dilute glaze, which varied in hue with the thickness of application. Contours and specific details were often indicated by relief lines. The relief line, restricted to red-figure painting, was achieved by use of a thick glaze that actually formed a raised line on the surface.

1.15 Black-figure *kylix,* portraying Bellerophon with Pegasus, killing the Chimaera. From Sparta, ca. 570 B.C. PGL

1.16 Attic red-figure *kylix*, decorated with exercising males. Athens, ca. 510 B.C. PGL

1.17 Silver *tetradrachm*, with running winged figure (*obverse*), perhaps Boreas, and bunch of grapes (*reverse*), an illusion to the wine trade on the island where this coin was made: Peparethos. Ca. 500 B.C. BML

There were obvious advantages in the new technique. The black-figure graver may have been easier to use than the brush for miniature details, but in all other aspects the brush offered greater freedom. The figures were now lifelike, or at least closer to life than the unrealistic black. Closer observation of anatomy had been a progressive characteristic in sculpture, as we have seen. The draughtsman of red-figure exploited these new trends in a way denied to the black-figure artist.

After the turn of the century a tendency towards scenes of everyday life can be seen in the decorative repertoire, rather than myth.

The 6th century saw the rise of coinage, the process of shaping a lump of metal and stamping it with a symbol of some authority that guarantees its weight and purity. It began in the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor or in Lydia at the end of the 7th century B.C. and spread quickly throughout the Aegean. In Athens it was not until late in the 6th century that the famous series with the head of (the goddess) Athena first appeared. The reverse bears her favourite companion, the owl, and an olive branch together with the first letter of the city's name. The olive spray was the emblem of the tree that tradition said Athena had made to grow on the Acropolis.

Other cities established their coin types by late in the century. The city of Corinth adopted the winged horse Pegasos as the most important obverse design and a helmeted Athena on the reverse. On other ones, especially those which exported wine, a grapevine was incorporated in the design, like the coin of Peparethos, having on the obverse a running winged figure, probably the wind god Boreas, and on the reverse a bunch of grapes (**1.17**).

Seal-stones were cut in soft materials in the Orientalizing period, but in the 6th century a greater range of stones, such as cornelian, jasper and onyx, started to be used with the introduction of new techniques, principally the use of the drill. The favourite shape, which was to be retained until well into the 5th century, was that of the scarab beetle, borrowed from Egypt and Phoenicia.

1.2.5 The Classical period (ca. 480-323 B.C.)

The normal approach of the archaic artists to the representation of humans may probably be typified best by the *kouroi*. Although the "archaic smile", as we have seen, suggests an emotional expression, it was not, but was rather a symbol of vitality. The *kouroi* did not express any emotion at all, because the artists of the period had not the intention to express emotion and changing states of mind, but rather relied on pure formal qualities of the design to express the orderly world. Emotions were thought to be expressions of reactions to the uncertainty of human circumstances, and therefore did not fit into the awareness of an orderly world.

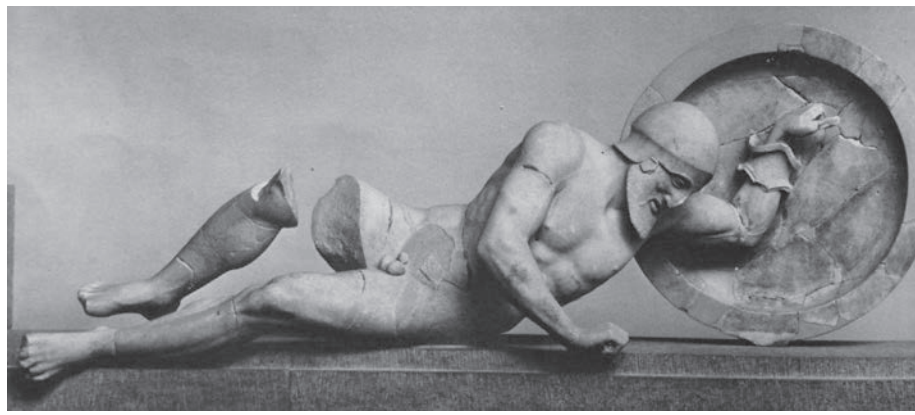
The greatest difference between the Archaic and the Classical periods was a visible new attitude during the early stages of the latter towards the representation of emotions and changing states of consciousness. This change of mentality was in accordance with the political events in the early 5th century B.C., when the Persians -as we have seen- crushed the revolt of the Ionians in 494 B.C. and, later, sacked Athens. The naval victory of the Greeks at Salamis in 480 B.C. turned everything to the right and was felt by the Greeks as a victory of order over chaos, but a notice of reality had certainly taken its position in the mentality of the Greek people.

In sculpture, during the early 5th century, the change is seen in the expression of vulnerability, e.g. when on pediments of large temples we meet the complete figures of fallen, wounded warriors, as on the temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina (**1.18**). He has been struck in the chest with a spear which he tries to remove with his right hand, while he props himself up on his left elbow. His face, however, is expressionless, yet with a vague smile. His musculature is realistic and well developed. Another fallen warrior of the same temple sinks to the earth, while obviously life ebbs away, seemingly heavily breathing, yet trying to raise himself staring at the earth (**1.19**). Certainly the artist identified himself with this wounded soldier, struggling for life in his last moments. Again, the musculature of the powerful body is accurately represented.

One of the foremost artists of the Classical period, the writer of a treatise on how to represent the human figure in three-dimensional space, was Polykleitos (**1.20**). His canon of proportions dictated how each part of the body should be related proportionally to other parts. In the later Classical period the artist Lysippos refined this canon of proportions by creating statues that reproduced the human figure as it appeared in real life.

On the remains of the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens we meet another development of the 5th century in the realistic representation of the female figure. One of the best preserved fragments is a torso identified as that of Iris. She is shown at the moment of anticipated forward movement with her finely pleated garment, pressing back against her body to reveal the form beneath. Similar drapery effects may be seen on other female figures on the temple, e.g. where three of them are seated and the sensuously clinging, pleated *chitons* accentuate the forms of their breasts and stomachs (**1.21**). The representation of clinging transparent drapery, the so-called wet-drapery style, was current at the end of the 5th century, and its most famous examples are found in Athens, near a Ionic temple erected on the Acropolis. The relief depicts Nikai (Victories) erecting trophies or bringing sacrificial animals to Athena (**1.22**).

1.18 Fallen warrior from the west pediment of the temple of Aphaia, Aegina. Note the hairdress and the "archaic" smile. Ca. 500 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

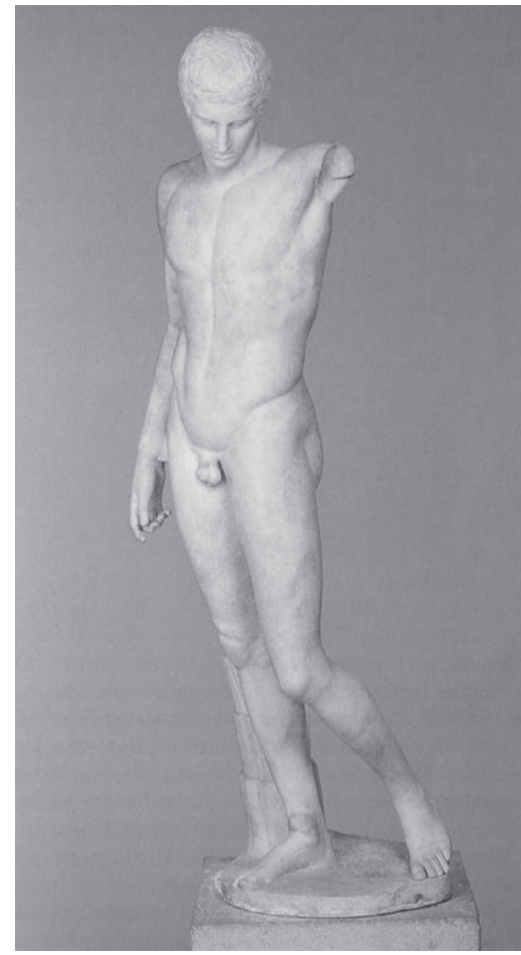


1.19 Fallen warrior from the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia, Aigina. Ca. 500 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

The 4th century saw important developments in Greek sculpture, in particular the further movement away from austerity towards an even more expressive style in which a greater display of emotion was shown. One of the most famous sculptors of this period -together with Skopas and the already mentioned Lysippos- was Praxiteles, who worked around 350 B.C. He was most successful in marble and excelled in representing emotion. In particular the facial expression, sometimes almost introspective and signalling calmness with deep-set eyes and expressive mouth, as well as the attitude of the head, often smoothed and highly polished, are characteristics of his work (**1.23**). The first nude female statue was made by him: the Aphrodite of Knidos.

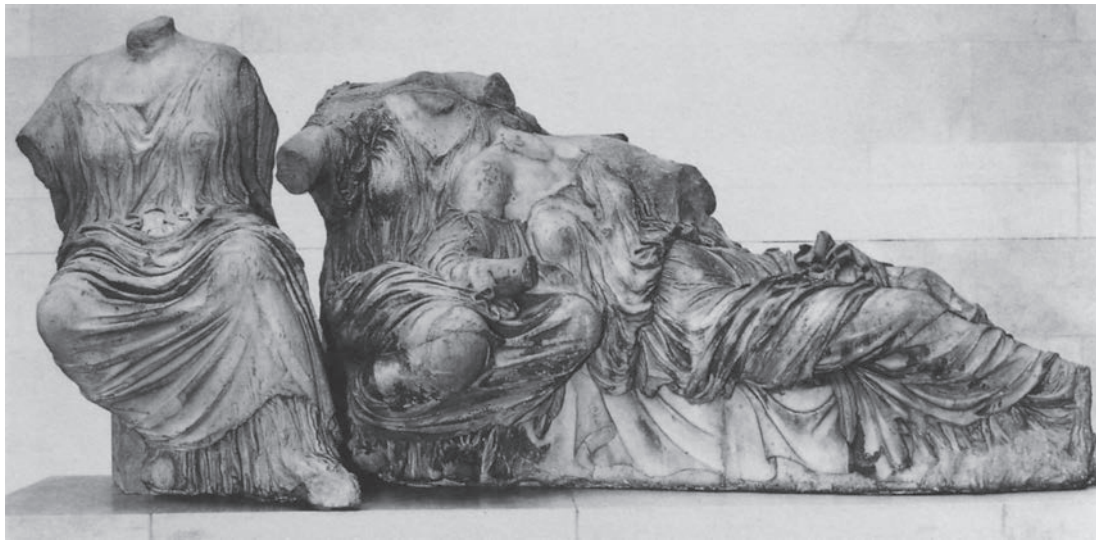
In relation to sculpture, but even more in relation to luxury and modelling, mention is to be made of the great projects of constructing the massive so-called chryselephantine, i.e. "gold-and-ivory" cult statues, especially after the middle of the 5th century B.C. These cult statues were placed in the *cella* of a temple, and were constructed on a wooden framework with removable sheets of thin gold. In fact they were more than cult statues: they were gigantic offerings that were looked upon as part of the state treasury.
The statue of Athena Parthenos by Phidias was the chief nucleus of the Treasury of

the Delian League, which had been transferred to Athens by Pericles from its original location in Delos. Phidias' other statue, the Zeus of Olympus, is known to us only from ancient descriptions; no faithful copy exists. Even less well-known is the great chryselephantine statue of Hera, made by Polykleitos for the sanctuary of Argos.
For the Zeus of Olympia there is a detailed description by Pausanias (ca. 150 A.D.), the Greek traveller, geographer and historian. The seated figure, about forty feet high, was composed mainly of gold and ivory. It is said that a single lock of hair weighted nearly six lb. Other materials were used for small detail, such as ebony, precious stones, glass and obsidian. The excavations in Phidias' workshop at Olympia yielded fragments of ivory and clay moulds, used to make the golden drapery of the god. It was, in effect, an enormous piece of goldsmith's work in which dozens of artists must have taken part.
With only the light of the entrance to illuminate the statue, the effect on the visitor, stepping in (entering) from the bright sunlight, is not difficult to imagine.



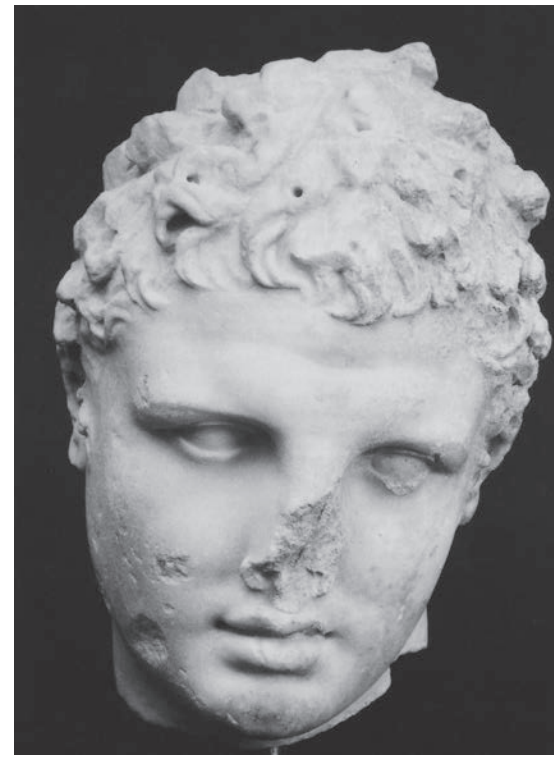
1.20 Roman marble copy of a bronze statue by the sculptor Polykleitos, dating ca. 440 B.C. BML

In pottery, the red-figure technique, invented in Athens by the end of the 6th century B.C., was dominant throughout the Greek world for the next two centuries. Many of the finest red-figure vases were produced in the period of about 500-480 B.C. During that period an important innovation is sometimes seen on red-figure vases, where the painter tried to represent spatial depth. Figures were placed at different levels, which rose according to notional distance from the foreground, though there was no attempt to reduce them in size (as in perspective). Attic vase-painting of the later 5th century B.C. shows tendencies to a more passionate representation of feeling.
During the last decades of the 6th century a new technique, using a white ground, appeared and vases decorated with this technique became more common in the Classical period (**1.24**). In fact it was an outline technique, where the figures were outlined in dilute glaze on a white ground, but gradually colours like grey, red, blue, green and mauve were used too. Most colours were added after firing, which made the technique less suitable to be applied on vases for use in daily life, as the contours of the decorations would quickly fade away. The technique was therefore often used on *lekythoi,* the tall cylindrical containers of perfumed oil that were offered as a gift to the dead.



1.21 Three figures from the east pediment of the Parthenon. Note the drapery clinging to the bodies. Ca. 430 B.C. BML

1.22 Standing Nike from temple on Acropolis. Note the "wet look". Ca. 410 B.C. Acropolis Museum, Athens



1.23 Marble head of Herakles. Ca. 350 B.C. BML

1.24 Three white-ground *lekythoi*, decorated with funerary subjects. 5th century B.C. BML

1.25 Corinthian mosaic with centaur and feline. Corinth, ca. 425 B.C. American School of Classical Studies, Athens

1.26 Bronze mirror, the stand in the form of a female figure, perhaps the goddess Aphrodite, flanked by hovering Erotes. Athens, ca. 450 B.C. BML

The arrangement of figures on various ground lines, as indicated above, parallels with the scheme used by wall and panel painters of the period 480-460 B.C. to suggest depth and space. Moreover, these artists brought more "ethos" or character to their figures, where they used posture and gesture to create these effects, an innovation they shared with vase-painters.

Allied to painting is the art of mosaic, or the fitting together of little coloured stones to form a picture or design. In Greece the technique was used to produce patterned floors. The earliest mosaic floors go back to the city of Gordion in Phrygia, in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. The arrival of the technique in Greece is obscure, but by the 5th century some examples were in use. Floral patterns were popular, but by the end of this century also figures began to appear.

Modern excavations in Corinth have unearthed a mosaic with a four-spoked wheel as a central motif and with figured scenes at the corners. In one of the corners is a centaur chasing a feline (**1.25**). It is dated in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.

A wide range of terracotta figurines continued to be produced in most parts of the Greek world in de Classical period. Their function is largely unknown, but a votive context is likely. These figurines were mostly solid, but also hollow figurines were produced in two separate parts. Athens and Boeotia seem to have been the main centres of terracotta production at this time.

Like terracotta, small bronze figurines were made in large numbers, both for putting in graves and for dedication in sanctuaries. Many fine small bronze figurines of the 5th century were made for mirror-handles or -supports (**1.26**). Usually they are female figures, dressed in the standard garment of Classical women, the *peplos*. Many of these mirror-handles may be intended to represent Aphrodite, goddess of love, for they are frequently attended by Erotes. The production of these bronze figurines, also in connection to mirrors, was continued well into the 4th century B.C.

Not much jewellery survives from the Classical period, but there are some remarkable examples of very fine jewellery-work extant. Some of these, extremely intricately fashioned, prove that the techniques were very well mastered. Filigree, granulation and enamelling were all employed.

Fine coin dies and seal-stones continued to be engraved throughout the Classical period. The most important cities in Greece, such as Athens and Corinth, continued to use the same designs that were favoured in the Archaic period, but others were added in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Examples of designs are the winged Nike (Victory) from Elis, (360 B.C.), bearing the victor's wreath, presumed to have been connected with the Olympic Games over which the Eleans presided; the winged horse Pegasos (from Corinth, 380 B.C.); the Labours of Herakles (from Thebes, 390 B.C.); Dionysos and grapevine (from Mende, 450 B.C.).

Seal-engraving reached its peak of excellence on scarabs and flat ring-stones. Designs included people, animals and birds like geese or herons with the feathers rendered in every detail.

The Classical period is often called the Golden Age, because the Hellenic culture in that period reached unparalleled height.

1.3 Early colonization and contacts with the East

Literary and archaeological evidence points strongly towards the 8th century B.C. as being the period of focus for the settlements of Greeks in the West, in southern Italy and Sicily. A little later, during the 7th century, this settlement in the West continued, but that century also saw Greek settling in Egypt, e.g. at Naukratis, in North-Africa, e.g. Cyrene, along the eastern Mediterranean coast in the North-East, the Propontis and the Black Sea. New settlements were made also relatively close to home, in the north Aegean.

This large increase of the number of Greek cities (*poleis*) outside Greece is known as the colonization. A new *polis* was a split off, a daughter-city, from an old *polis*, which was called the mother-city (*metropolis*). Each colony was in principle an autonomous society of citizens, independent of the mother-city that initiated the colony. Civil rights of the mother-city were replaced by those of the colony. Emigrants from a mother-city were not necessarily inhabitants of that city, but they often assembled there, either because of its position on a coast or because of its already established connections overseas.

The colonies along the Thracian coast of the Aegean Sea were established by Chalcis and Eretria as mother-cities. Those along the coasts of the Black Sea were initiated by Megara and Miletus. Syracuse at Sicily was established by Corinth in 733 B.C., while in South Italy Cumae was established by Chalcis in about 750.

Cumae herself became the mother-city of Neapolis (modern Naples) and of a colony called Dicaearchia, which was later called Puteoli and became an important harbour in Roman times.

What were the driving factors for this early colonization? It is believed that, generally speaking, three motives played a major role. Firstly, commercial interest. Cumae is a good example because from there iron that was in great demand in those days was transported

to Chalcis. Secondly, shortage of land due to relative over-population or conflicts between various noble families. Thirdly, a common expectation of a better life elsewhere, some common threat to be escaped or some common goal to be acquired[4]. Probably a combination of these factors existed, while in general the elite of a mother-city stimulated emigration as an exhaust-valve for economic, social and political conflicts.

In the context of the subject of this work attention is focussed on those areas of colonization which played a crucial role in the early days and later with respect to the diffusion of Greek culture towards the East. Looking in this way to the areas to which Greek culture expanded during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., it is evident that Egypt and the western coast of the Near East play a role of only secondary importance.

The Greeks were beginning to prospect the eastern shores of the Mediterranean by the 8th century B.C. mainly from the ports of Euboea in central Greece and the Aegean islands. They brought back trinkets and metalwork from Mesopotamia via North-Syria, from Phoenicia and probably -via Phoenicia- from Egypt. The Greeks had carried their Protogeometric pottery to the East, but that never became a subject of significant interest to the easterners, apart perhaps in the area around Al Mina, a seaport and trade centre in North-Syria at the mouth of the Orontes River. It seems that the Greeks did not carry any cultural objects that had artistic influence on the East until the middle of the 6th century B.C.

In broad lines the same holds for Egypt. There has been some borrowing by the Greeks from Egypt in the monumental arts during the 7th century B.C., when architects and sculptors started to copy the technique to work with hard stones on colossal objects. There is evidence of Egyptian influence on Greek work, hardly vice versa. In the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. there are isolated finds of Greek objects in Egypt, but these testify to the presence of Greeks in Egypt rather than amounting to influence of Greece on Egyptian art.

On the west coast of present-day Turkey lived indigenous Anatolian people called the Lycians and the Carians (*Map 1.2*). Lycia in the South was virtually untouched by the Greek colonisation movement of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. Colonies were, however, established on the coast of Caria, the two largest being Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum) and Cnidos. These cities became centres of Greek learning and culture, until Persia gained control over them in 546 B.C. Persia, however, was defeated by the Greeks in 480 B.C., and with the establishment of the Delian League, Athenian influence in these areas was paramount until the collapse of Athens in the late 5th century and the recovery of all Asian cities by Persia in 337 B.C.

After the Greek cities in the eastern Aegean were freed from Persian rule, the relationship between Greeks and Persians was rather mercenary than hostile. This explains why, in some details, Greek influence on Persian culture is visible after the middle of the 5th century B.C. The Ionian capital is found throughout the Persian Empire[5]. The treatment of the drapery, a Greek invention of rendering the folds of the dress as semi-realistic patterns, appears on reliefs in Pasargadae, North-East of Persepolis. In Persepolis a marble statue of Penelope, datable to the early Classical period was found, but it is unclear whether these and other objects were included in the loot from Greek cities, or that they were made by Greek artists in Persia. All in all, there is virtually nothing in the Persian cities that

Map 1.2 Anatolia and Persia ca. 600 BC.

reminds of Greece, unless some architectural and sculptural details and techniques.

This is, however, different in the satrapies of the Persian Empire. Greek style in coinage entered the Persian Empire in the Hellenized satrapies of Anatolia and the Levant. Persian cylinder seals of the 5th century B.C. began to show purely Greek devices cut in a Greek style with Greek subjects like Herakles with a lion, and the Gorgoneion. Anatolian wall paintings of the early 5th century B.C. show purely Greek subject matter, often mythological. At the Lycian capital Xanthos, tomb monuments have been decorated with stone reliefs in a pure Ionian Greek style.

Gemstones, almost all scaraboid, are very alike the basic Greek type of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., and are attributed to workshops in Anatolia. Again, here it is not known whether Greek craftsmen were involved, but because the designs often show a detailed knowledge of Greek myth, a direct Greek intervention may be suspected.

Although, therefore, Greek influence to a certain extent in the Persian Empire is undeniable, in particular in the Hellenized satrapies, awareness of Greek art was only superficial. Greek influence was too short and incidental to be qualified as a block of Greek culture dominant and developed enough to play an important role in the later dissemination eastwards of Greek culture, which will be discussed in the next Chapters. But what there was of Greek art in Persia can certainly be considered as durable and in a way preparatory for more effective cultural infiltration.

Therefore, what is left to consider as basically important areas for the spread of Greek culture eastwards in the period from the 8th to the 4th century B.C. are the coastal areas of the Black Sea and Italy and Sicily. The former, because Greek culture diffused eastwards from that area at least from the 5th century B.C. on, as will be discussed in par. 1.3.2. The latter because, during the same period, it became a dominant area of imported Greek culture that later developed into the monumental Hellenistic cultural power of Rome. From the Roman world Hellenistic imagery and style were transmitted, together with Indian features, to Central Asia and further east as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3.1 Italy and Sicily

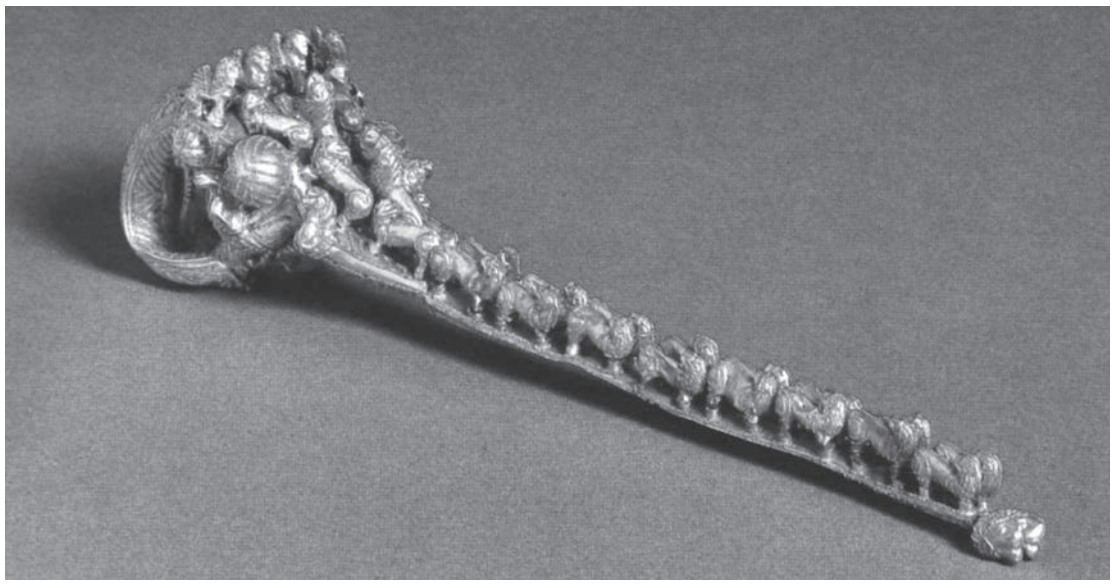
Etruria

Ancient Etruria, the heartland of the Etruscan people, was bounded to the west by the Tyrrhenian Sea, to the north by the Arno River and to the south and east by the Tiber River *(Map 1.3*). It had important sources of iron and there were mines of copper, silver and lead. The land was fertile.

When and how the Etruscans established themselves in this area is uncertain, but probably they invaded in small groups of conquerors the mid-Italy area by the early 8th century B.C.

By the end of the 8th century B.C. the wealth of the Etruscans grew rapidly when they started to sell their rich mineral resources to Greeks who established cities along the south coast of Italy and Sicily[6]. The Greeks were beginning to explore the West by then, mainly in search for land and minerals, in particular iron. And they came from the south via

Map 1.3 Italy and Sicily



1.27 Gold *fibula*, decorated with modelled animals. Details in granulation. From Vulci, Italy. Ca. 660 B.C. BML

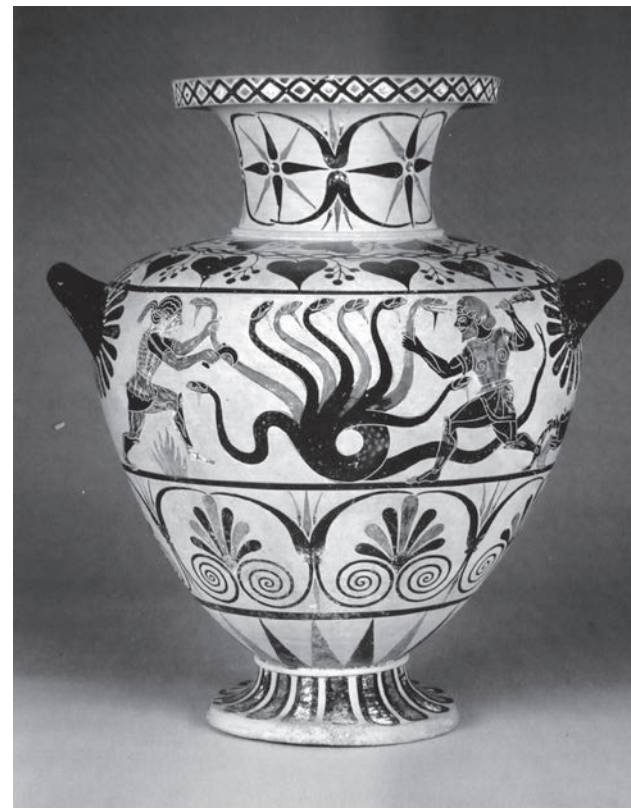
1.28 Back of bronze mirror. Herakles in an abducting action. From Atri, Italy. Ca. 480 B.C. BML

1.29 Bronze statuette of Zeus. From Etruria, Italy. Ca. 480 B.C. PGL

Sicily and South Italy. The first and most northerly settlement of Greeks was at Pithekoussai on the isle of Ischia, but a mainland community was soon set up as well at Cumae, north of Naples, both probably by 750 B.C.

Etruria was organised in city-states and also in the conquered areas this organisational model was maintained: Rome as a city was an Etruscan establishment and also in the Po Valley and Campania they established cities. In fact the city-state was the basis for their presence in Italy.

The Etruscan expansion was directed initially, during the 7th century B.C., to the south, later also to the north. To the south they established in Latium –also in Rome- and in Campania, e.g. Capua, Nola and Pompeii, where they became a threat for the Greek coastal cities like Cumae and Naples. During the 6th century the expansion was directed to the north. By the end of the 6th century B.C. the decline set in, when Latium, supported by Cumae, revolted and freed itself from the Etruscans, followed by Rome, which became a republic and gradually overruled the Etruscans.



1.30 *Hydria* showing Herakles and Iolaos slaying the Lernan hydra. Etruria, Italy. Ca. 525 B.C. PGL

Etruscan art, initially influenced by the art of the Near East, became gradually more and more influenced by the arts of the Greeks and, in turn, it influenced the art of the other regions in the Italic peninsula. Coinciding with the Geometric period in Greece (ca. 900-700 B.C.), pottery, jewellery and other objects were placed in the graves of their deceased.

During the Orientalizing period (ca. 700-600 B.C.), Greek merchants were already living alongside the local Etruscans, obviously fully accepted, because they built their own sanctuaries to the Greek goddesses Hera and Aphrodite. The art of writing was probably adopted from the Greeks at Cumae and there is evidence that Greek immigrant craftsmen manufactured luxury goods. Magnificent and extremely elaborate gold and silver jewellery like earrings, bracelets, brooches and clasps were produced in Etruria in the 7th century, using stamping, filigree and granulation techniques, and decorated with a mixture of contemporary Greek and favourite Etruscan designs (**1.27**).

During the Archaic period (ca. 600-480 B.C.) the power of the Etruscans reached its zenith, with political control expanding to the north and south of Etruria. Especially in

the coastal areas Greek influx of art and artists was easy. The port of Tarquinia seems to have been considerably Greek in character, with a strong Ionian element, its sanctuaries filled with Greek votives from the 6th century B.C. on. In this period Greek myths increasingly become the subject-matter of Etruscan art, as is shown in the wall-paintings of their tombs, but also on their famous bronze work, like circular mirrors (**1.28**), statuettes (**1.29**) and pottery (**1.30**).

The Classical period (480-323 B.C.) witnessed the political decline of the Etruscans, with military conflicts with the Greeks and other neighbours, such as the quickly expanding Roman Republic. Developments in art seem to have been stagnating with a reluctance to follow the contemporary developments of Greek art. On the other hand there was a continuing massive import of Greek goods.

Rome

Until the Etruscans arrived in Rome, perhaps by the late 7th century B.C., Rome was just one of a number of small villages in the region of Latium, traditionally founded by Romulus in 753 B.C.[7] From then on, Rome was ruled by Etruscan kings until the last of them, Tarquinius Superbus, was driven from the city in the late 6th century. It was therefore the influence of Etruria that established the artistic contacts of Rome with Greece in the 6th century B.C., although Etruscan culture continued to exert a great influence on Rome also after that.

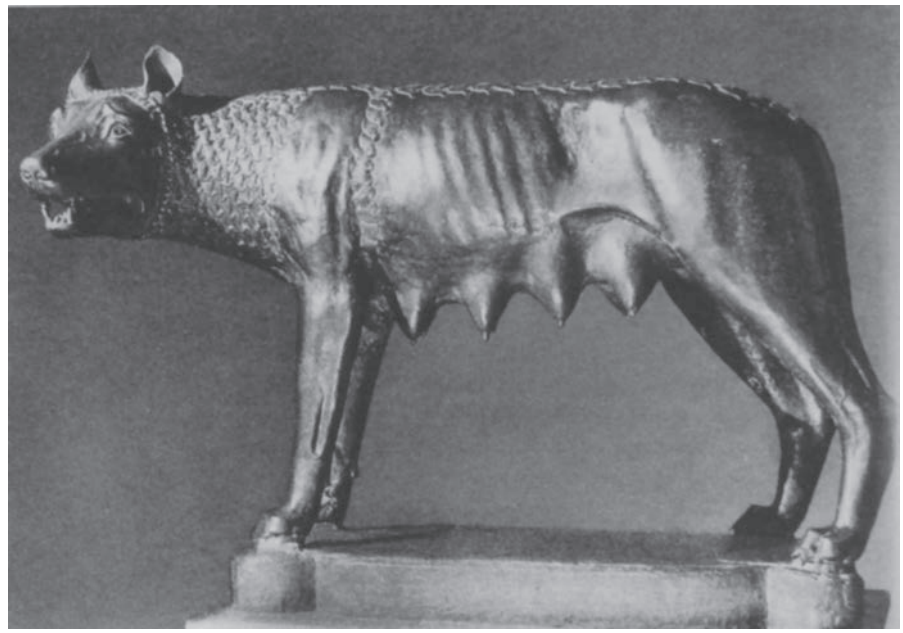
When Rome broke away from Etruria with the expulsion of the last Etruscan king and the creation of the Roman Republic in 509 B.C., gradually Etruscan influence waned and Greek contacts became more direct.

There is evidence that Greek painters and sculptors applied their skills to temples in Rome. Most of the monumental sculpture was made of terracotta. Early sculptors were also fond of bronze. Bronze casting was highly developed in the cities of south Etruria and bronze was also used for early statues set up in Rome. The earliest surviving large-scale hollow-cast bronze so far known from central Italy is the Capitolina Wolf (**1.31**), which was made perhaps in the early 5th century somewhere in Rome, either by Etruscan or Greek artists. The Romans[8], like the Etruscans, preferred their statues draped and, like the Greeks, they chose to set up statues of public figures, consuls, magistrates and generals.

Greek imports to Rome continued until about 450 B.C., followed by a gap down to 400, while in Etruria the break in direct contact seems to have come rather earlier. Therefore it may be suggested that Rome was the chief medium through which Greek influence spread in central Italy about 480 B.C. After 400 B.C. contacts remained open, however, all the time.

Subject matter of Roman art was -and continued to be- mainly the mythology of the Greeks, which had been inherited by the Romans from Etruscan sources and was kept fresh in their minds by constantly renewed contacts with the Greek cities.

It is therefore very difficult to distinguish Roman art from that of the rest of central Italy, either in style or subject matter, during the 5th and 4th centuries. Unquestionably by the end of the 4th century B.C. Rome was becoming the leading artistic influence in central Italy.



1.31 Bronze wolf. Rome. Early 5th century B.C. MCR

South Italy and Sicily

Once a Greek foothold was made by the Euboeans at Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia around 750 B.C., and soon afterwards at Cumae on the mainland opposite, progress was rapid. In a short period of time settlements were made in the most fertile places of Sicily and around the south coast of Italy (*Map 1.4*). In Sicily early settlements concentrated on the east coast initially and subsequently spread west along the south and north coasts[9].
From the moment of their foundation the Greek colonies in southern Italy and Sicily seem to have prospered, as the remains of their culture testify. It seems that the important ones, like Gela, Selinus and Syracuse on Sicily, and like the 7th century B.C. settlement at Paestum in South Italy, rapidly established their monumental presence in the form of impressive sanctuaries. Such sanctuaries made the new town a focus for the surrounding countryside and made the town a centre for display[10].
It is not only in the impressive Greek temples of Akragas (modern Agrigento) or Selinus (Selinunte) in Sicily where we meet the grandeur of the artists and the wealth of the citizens, but also the vases, jewellery and small bronzes from the graves throughout Italy give a glimpse of the rich civilization.

Temple sculptures of the 6th century B.C. in Italy and Sicily disclose that their sculptors worked largely with the same body of imagery as their peers on the Greek mainland. They employed the same sort of artistic devices to impress the power of the gods on the worshippers[11]. For example, on pediments and metopes of temples on Corfu, in Athens, Delphi, Selinous and Foce del Sele (Italy), almost identical compositions of Perseus decapitating Medusa and/or the works of Herakles may be found[12] (**1.32**).

Much of the fine pottery used in the colonies in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. was

Map 1.4 The Greek settlements in Italy and Sicily, 8th and 7th century BC.

imported from Corinth and Athens, but there were also Greek artists among the groups that colonized Magna Graecia. Moreover, local artists extensively imitated the imported wares in the black-figure technique and later in the red-figure technique. Very strongly, Greek gods, heroes and myths were represented by the artists in their works, in step with the developments in mainland Greece. But local specialties were produced too. For example, from the late 6th century to the 3rd century B.C. terracotta plaques were produced in the very south of Italy. They were moulded in high relief and supported at the back by a strut. They seem to have been made especially for dedication in sanctuaries. Their favourite subject of decoration was Dionysos, reclining at a banquet.

The south Italian Greeks were skilled bronze workers too, as the bronze statues, breastplates, greaves and helmets from the 5th century testify. They were often decorated with mythological scenes. In (**1.33**) an example of the image of Nike (Victory) is offered in the typical running pose, dating from about 550 B.C.

The jewellery reflects the wealth of the people of the south Italian and Sicilian colonies particularly well. Often made in thin gold sheet and finely decorated with filigree and granulation, they display motives as Erotes, Victories and other mythological personages,

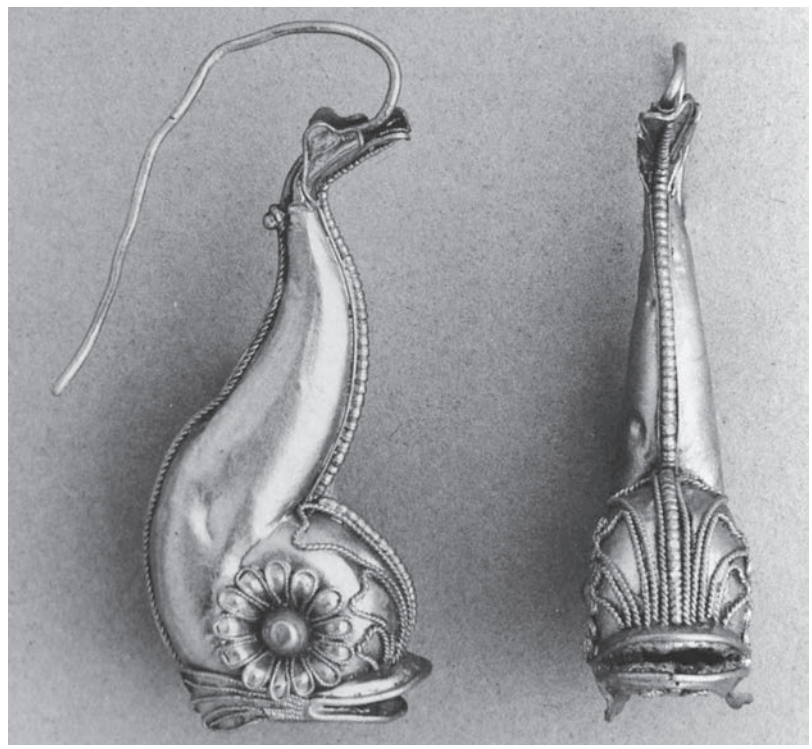
1.32 Perseus beheading the Gorgon. Metope of Temple C at Selinous, Sicily. Ca. 550 B.C. Hirmer Verlag, Munich

but also animals and plant motives like rosettes and half-palmettes. An example in silver is shown in (**1.34**) of a pair of earrings in the form of dolphins, dating from the 4th century B.C.

Also gold and silver vessels are among the artefacts that survive from South-Italy and Sicily. An example from the late 4th century is a *phialè*, made in South-Italy, with a decoration showing chariots driven by Victory, and Herakles, Hermes, Dionysos, Athena and Ares as passengers (**1.35**). A silver decadrachm issued by the Sicilian city of Syracuse in about 404 B.C. (**1.36**) shows a four-horse chariot with Victory about to crown the charioteer.

As a result of the wars between Carthage and Syracuse for control of Sicily by the end of the 5th century B.C., Greek influence waned and the Greek colonies in southern Italy focussed more on their own. After Syracuse had surrendered to Rome in 211 B.C. the Greek art and culture, accumulated in the south Italian and Sicilian cities, was plundered by the Romans who admired it and copied it on a large scale.

1.33 Bronze figure of winged Nike. From Italy. Ca. 550 B.C. BML



1.34 Pair of gold earrings in the form of plunging dolphins. Possibly from Taranto, Italy. 4th century B.C. BML

1.35 Silver *phiale*, decorated with chariots, each driven by Nike and with Athena, Herakles, Ares, Hermes and Dionysos as passengers. From Eze, southern France. Late 4th century B.C. BML

1.36 Silver *tetradrachm*, issued by the city of Syracuse, Sicily. Four-horse chariot with Victory about to crown the charioteer (*obverse*) and the head of the nymph Arethusa (*reverse*). Ca. 400 B.C. BML

1.3.2 The countries of the Black Sea

It is suspected that Homer, when he was putting his *Odyssey* into shape in the 8th century B.C., had at least some idea about the Black Sea, and the dangerous adventures of Odysseus over vast waters took place when he sailed the Euxine[13]. To the Greeks of that time too, and especially to the sailors from the town of Miletus in Asia Minor that is said to have taken the first initiatives, the navigation of the Black Sea was dangerous, because of the sudden storms, rocky coasts, hostile tribes and pirates. The reward of facing those dangers, however, was considerable: the wealth and resources along the coasts and up its rivers -the Danube, Dniestr, Bug and Dniepr, Don and Phasis- in particular slaves, gold, furs, fish and corn. But such commerce depended on regular relations.

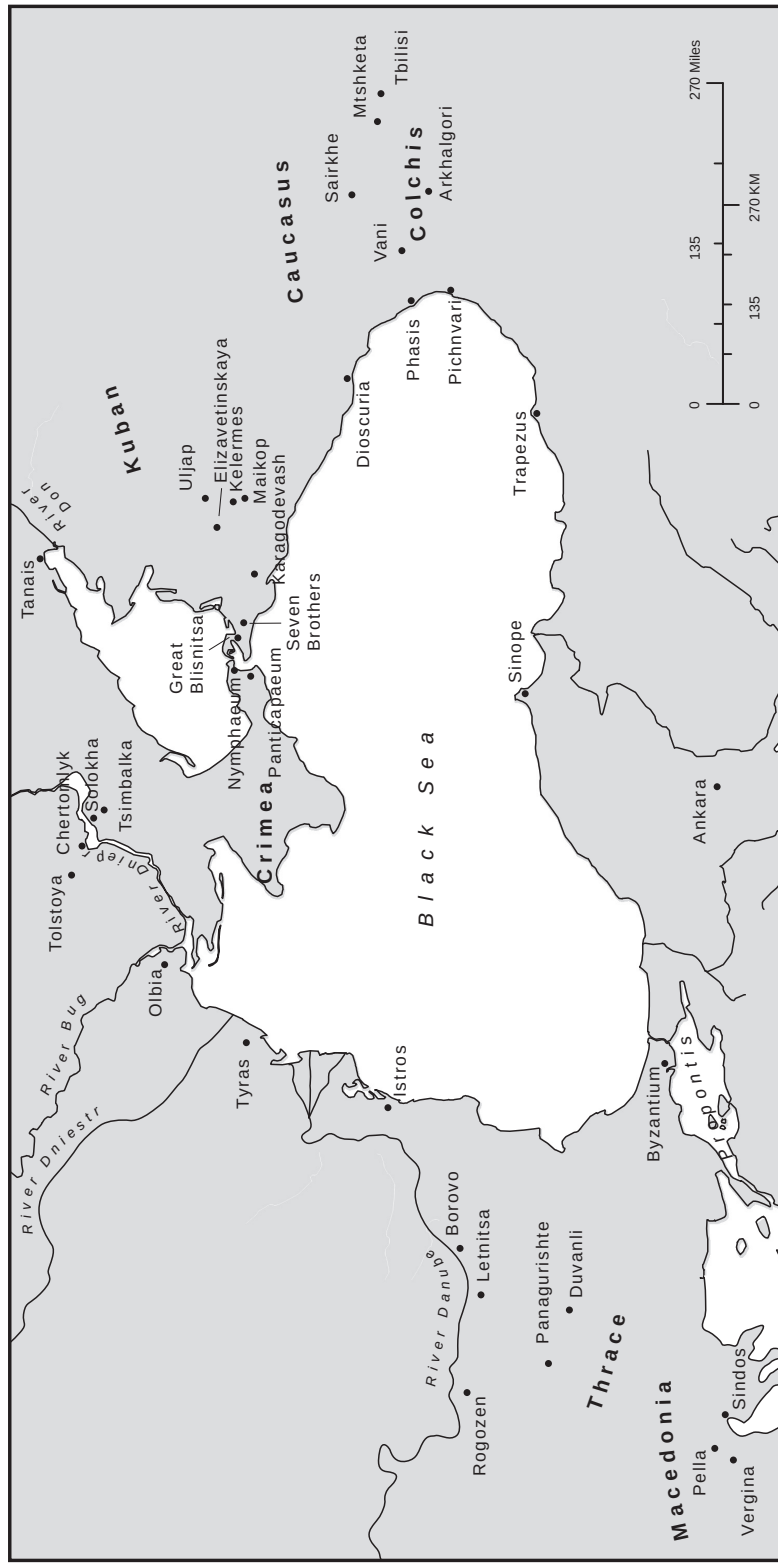
During the 7th century B.C., Greek colonies were settled along the coast, generally near the mouth of the great rivers (*Map 1.5*). The most important new foundations, which soon developed into towns, were Olbia, situated on the estuary of two large rivers, the Hypanis (present-day Bug) and the Borysthenes (Dniepr), Tyras (modern Belgorod-Dnestrovski) on the bank of the Dniestr, and Nymphaion in the Crimea. A further group of settlements developed on the banks of the Cimmerian Bosporus, which the Greeks considered to be the boundary between Europe and Asia. Among these were Panticapaeum (modern Kerch) -still on the European side- and Tanais in the Don delta, on the North-East tip of the ancient Maeotis (Sea of Azov).

At that time the vast north-Pontic area was settled by various ethnically distinct peoples, dominated by Scythian tribes, and Homer in his *Iliad*[14], obviously fully aware of their nomadic lifestyle, refers to them as *hippemolgi*, i.e. horse-milkers[15]. They occupied the coastal regions and hinterland from the North of the Danube, across the northern shores of the Black Sea, including the Crimea, round to the Caucasus in the East. They roamed the rich valleys and plains between the great rivers -Danube, Dniestr, Bug, Dniepr, Don- and most of southern Ukraine at least as far north as Kiev.

Thracian tribes occupied the area between the Danube and the north coast of the Aegean with the Black Sea on the East. To the east of the Black Sea and south of the Caucasus Mountains lies the area known to the Greeks as Colchis, modern Georgia. The main river was the Phasis (present-day Rion) and at its mouth the Milesians are said to have started a colony.

These areas -Thrace, Scythia and Colchis- play a major role in the context of our subject, because they strongly experienced the influence of Greek culture, and were situated on a west-east route from the Black Sea via the southern Caspian to Central Asia.

The Persian king Darius I (r. 521-486 B.C.) invaded Thrace in 513 B.C. and the area was held under Persian control until 479 B.C. when they were expelled from the Greek mainland. Consequently the area was exposed for several decades to both Greek and Persian cultural influence, albeit too short to have a major impact at that time. Yet, imported Greek pottery and jewellery have been found in Late Archaic Thracian tombs. A stemmed *kantharos* from a tumulus at Duvanli, dating from the middle of the 5th century B.C., shows engraved decorations of Dionysos, a satyr and a maenad[16]. Remarkable silver vessels, made by local craftsmen, have been found at Rogozen, dating from the 4th century. Although Persian influence is displayed, the style is dominantly Greek and Greek figures



Map 1.5 The Black Sea, ca. 700 BC.

1.37 Gilt silver dish from Rogozen, Bulgaria, showing Herakles with his club and the lion-skin, with an Amazon. 4th century B.C. National Muzeum, Rogozen, Bulgaria

and groups were borrowed from Greek originals. For example on a gilt silver bowl, Herakles with his club and a dress, remnant of the lion skin, is depicted together with an Amazon (**1.37**). At Letnitsa a group of gilt silver plaques was found, dating from the 2nd half of the 4th century, showing Greek forms and motifs, which have been borrowed by local craftsmen, such as a goddess riding the Greek sea monster *ketos*.

Towards the 3rd century B.C. Greek influence on artefacts becomes much more frequent and substantial. Rhyta, head-vases, *phialai* and amphora, all the products of Thracian studios, were found in Panagurishte, dating from about 300 B.C. Of the gold *rhyta*, all upperparts are decorated with repoussé reliefs depicting Greek mythological subjects: a Judgement of Paris, Dionysos and maenads, Herakles and Theseus, and a group of Hera, Apollo, Artemis and Nike[17]. From Borovo comes a flask with the whole scheme of Dionysiac motifs: Dionysos, dancing maenads, satyrs and Erotes. Pure Greek influence is seen on Thracian armour too, e.g. on a silver plaque from a shield, where Herakles with his club is found in action, dragging along a boar. At Kazanlak, about 100 km south of Borovo, a painted ceiling, also from about 300 B.C., shows purely Greek elements (**1.38**).

Olbia was founded in the middle of the 7th century B.C. as a Milesian colony at the north coast of the Black Sea[18], near the mouth of the Bug River and not far from the mouth of the Dniepr River. It gradually developed into the chief emporium of the

1.38 Painted ceiling in a tomb at Kazanlak, Bulgaria. Ca. 300 B.C. After Boardman 1994, 191, fig. 6.10

North Western Euxine. Herodotus, writing in the middle of the 5th century B.C., gave his impressions of his journey to Olbia[19] and up the Borysthenes River[20]. Herodotus seems to have been interested in this country and her people, and wanted to visit and observe the scenes of certain events of which he had heard. Perhaps he had been told different stories about the ancestry of these people before he undertook his travels to the area, but, being there, he recorded the myth that the hero Herakles fathered three sons by a local viper-woman: Agathyrsos, Gelonos and Scythes. The elder two were unable to string their father's bow or put on a girdle Herakles had left for them. The youngest son, Scythes, accomplished these tasks and became the first Scythian king[21].

In particular, Herodotus was interested in the area of the Persian campaign, where Darius I crossed the Danube in 513 B.C. in order to get a grip on the Scythians, whose main territories lay beyond. These people had attacked North-West Persia in the 7th century,

before being thrust back, north and west through the Caucasus into the Kuban peninsula, to reoccupy areas abandoned by the related Cimmerians. Thereafter, during the 6th century B.C., the Scythians spread across the north of the Black Sea to become in possession of the land between the north of the Danube, across the northern shores of the Black Sea, to the Caucasus.

When they came back from Asia to the north of the Black Sea region, they brought with them many elements of the ancient oriental cultures and social structure. For almost a century they had been in close contact with the greatest civilisations of the time and they had seen and adopted the despotic ways of the eastern monarchs, their love of pomp and splendour, which distinguished the rulers from the ordinary people. They took the animal traditions from the art of Assyria, Babylon and Urartu and these zoomorphic elements spread with them along the northern shores of the Black Sea. There these elements they had adopted from the East were added to images of local inspiration to shape the Animal Style, which is expressed mainly in small objects and especially on dress, weapons and horse harnesses.

When Darius I swept into the steppes in the North-West of the Black Sea region in order to bring the Greek cities there under his sway, he met the Scythians playing the leading part in throwing back the invaders. They always avoided battle, retreating before the Persian army, and carrying out a scorched earth policy, destroying as they went all means of existence and harassing the Persians in minor skirmishes. Finally the Persian troupes had to retreat and the Scythians thus gained a reputation of being invincible.

It is easy to explain why Olbia was the goal of Herodotus. At the time of his visit, the town was experiencing a massive expansion and was the pivot of trade and traffic with the peoples of the steppes. It was the departure point of the great caravan route to the East, which led far into the Asian interior. With the help of interpreters and middle-men, Greeks and Scythians were able to do extensive business owing to this trade route. And inevitably part of the traded goods and objects carried the elements of the confrontation of the two cultural styles dominant in the area: the Greek and the Animal Style.

In Olbia, but also in e.g. Panticapaeum, special workshops of Greek craftsmen sprung up to make articles designed and ornamented to please the Scythian taste, i.e. articles deliberately made in Scythian style with ornaments in Greek style. Greek craftsmen made even the articles used in Scythian ceremonies, but they gave the Scythian deities Greek features. Elements of Greek culture penetrated into the everyday life and culture of the Scythians and as the participation of Greek in the production of Scythian ornaments increased, it brought about the decline of Scythian art in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.

The growing economic ties with the Greek colonies caused considerable changes in the internal structure of the Scythian society. The Scythian aristocracy became Hellenized and gradually integrated with the Greek aristocracy. This Hellenization of the Scythian aristocracy can be seen in the barrows situated near the city of Nymphaeum and Panticapaeum from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Due to their connection with the Greek cities and the process of Hellenization, the Scythian kings began to think of extending their rule over the Greek colonies, leading to bitter fights and ultimately, by the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., to the decline of Scythian culture.

The next lines give an impression of artefacts found in various tombs, dating from

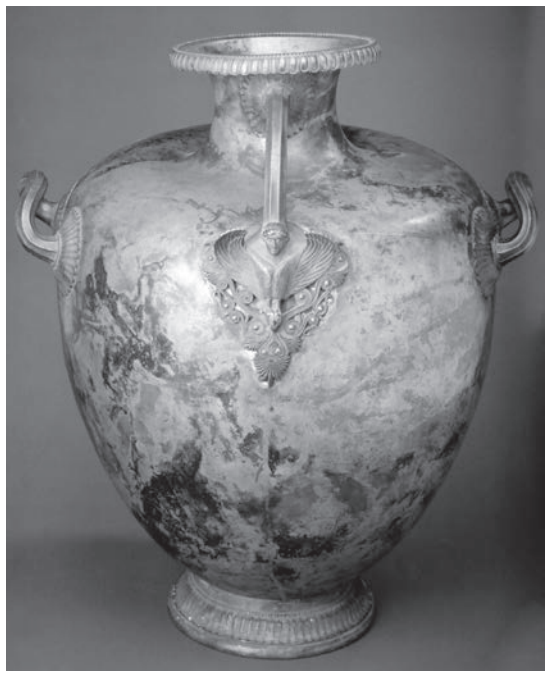
the 6th to the 3rd centuries B.C., which show distinct elements introduced from Greece, without particularly stressing either the fact that these objects may retain traditional features characteristic of Scythian style, or even that they may have been imported from Greece. Our intention is mainly to show the corpus of Greek culture that settled in the Black Sea region in that period and acted as a potential reservoir for further dissemination eastwards.

In doing so, one has to keep in mind that the amount of Greek art found in Scythia and in the coastal settlements is enormous and any selection almost by definition ignores the extent to which Greek art and civilization penetrated the area. Moreover, no special attention is paid to the quality of the objects, which is in many cases superb. For example, in silver there are vessels of all kinds of shapes and varied decoration, dating from late Archaic to Roman times. In gold work, specimens from Kul Oba, Theodosia (Crimea), Bliznitsa and Chertomlyk are the finest examples of goldsmith's work.

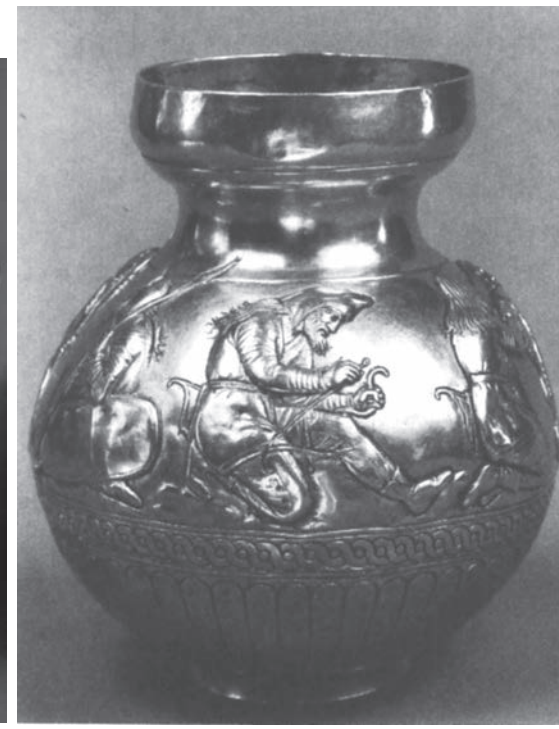
In the Olbia district many fragments have been found of Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, Cyprian and early Boeotian ceramics, as well as black-figured and red-figured vases, with all their decorative themes already mentioned[22]. At Chersone, at the south-west coast of the Crimea, hoards of terracotta's were found from the 3rd century B.C.[23], decorated with medallions in high relief. They depict scenes with Herakles, Nike, Eros, Athena, Dionysiac procession and Hermes. By far the greater parts of terracotta's were found in the environment of Panticapaeum[24]. Their decorations represent Aphrodite with or without a dolphin or an Eros, Eros alone or with Psyche, Dionysos and his crew, Demeter and Core, Muses, Gorgoneia, Nereids and Tritons, Herakles, Pan, Bes, all commonly known throughout the whole Greek world.

Of the early bronzes, specimens of the most familiar Greek types of the 6th century are found in the Scythian area. For instance, there are Medusa heads which seem to have been very popular among the Scythians[25], but also the familiar *korai*. Later specimens, in particular from Greek tombs, are boxes decorated e.g. with Dionysos and Ariadne, accompanied by Eros and a panther, *phalerae* for horses, showing battles of Amazons and Greeks, and cuirasses and helmets sometimes adorned with Gorgon heads. Several bronze utensils were found in Pishchane, some hundred miles up the Dniepr River, decorated with *protomai* in the shape of Sirens, surrounded by an ornamental plate of palmettes and scrolling volutes (**1.39**). They date from the 5th century B.C.

Early silverwork found in the Seven Brothers (*Map 1.5*) and dating from the 5th century B.C. show engravings of Nike and Bellerophon. An interesting piece from Kul Oba of the same period shows a Scythian warrior in an attempt of bow-stringing, probably meant to be Scythes, the first king of the Scythians (**1.40**). In a barrow nearby from the 4th century a *kylix* with Dionysos and Maenads was found. Later examples are those from Olbia. In Chmyreva Mohyla, near Solokha, silver plates and *phialai*, decorated with palmettes, Dionysiac scenes and Nereids were found[26]. At Babyna Mohyla, near Tolstoya, silver *phalerae* were found dating from the middle of the 3rd century B.C., showing Herakles in full action against Cerberus (**1.41**) and against the Nemean lion. On another one from the same grave we meet Scylla (**1.42**), the sea monster Odysseus had to deal with on his journey home. On a *prometopidion*, also from the same grave, the image of Herakles is modelled, leaning on his club and with the lion scalp on his head (**1.43**). The curious ele-



1.39 Hammered bronze hydria with ornamental *protome* of Siren, found on the north coast of the Black Sea. Greek. 5th century B.C. National Museum of History of the Ukraine, Kiev



1.40 Electrum cup, decorated with a scene of a warrior attempting to string a bow. From Kul Olba, Crimea. 5th century B.C. HMP

1.41 Silver *phalera* with Herakles and Cerberus. From Black Sea area. Ca. 350-300 B.C. NAL

1.42 Silver *phalera*, with the sea monster Scylla, a female with four dog foreparts in stead of legs. Black Sea area. Ca. 350-300 B.C. NAL

ments of this front plate are the gilded details, such as his nipples, pubic hair, beard, the lion skin, the dots on the club.

In gold work, too, numerous examples have been unearthed, testifying to the far-reaching impact of Greek culture on Scythian art. An example is a ring with the engraved image of Hermes, dating from the 5th century B.C., found near Panticapaeum[27]. Others of the 4th century and from the same area are plaques depicting Herakles with the Nemean lion[28] and dancing Maenads[29]. A golden diadem of the same period (**1.44**) shows a decoration of symmetrical pairs of volutes and tendrils borrowed from the Greek world and with numerous parallels in gold jewellery from South Italy, Macedonia and Greek cities of the Black Sea coast[30].

1.43 Silver *prometopidion* with the image of Herakles. Black Sea area. Ca. 350-300 B.C. NAL

From the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. dates a golden plaque with a Gorgon mask, found in Theodosia, Crimea (**1.45**). From the same periods date earrings found in graves in Kul Oba, just west of Nymphaeum, decorated with palmettes and winged Nike-figures. The same kind of work was found in Theodosia, with designs of a winged Nike flanked by Erotes. Almost identical earrings were found in Chersonese, as well as in women's graves in Great Bliznitsa. In these cases the figures of Nike and of Eros are modelled as pendants. The Erotes take all kinds of attitudes, dancing, playing the lyre, or with a *caduceus*. Less common figures are Sirens, Pegasos or Maenads[31].

The cities north of the Black Sea also struck coins which show Greek influence. For example, from the middle of the 4th century to the middle of the 1st century B.C., those minted in Chersonese, a Dorian colony on the south-west coast of the Crimea, show chiefly the images of Artemis, Herakles, Athena, Hermes, Aphrodite and Zeus. Many secondary ones show -amongst other motifs- also Nike[32]. At Panticapaeum coins with the image of Dionysos were minted[33].

Colchis is the area east of the Black Sea and south of the Caucasus Mountains, and roughly occupying the land of modern Georgia. It was positioned on the one hand between Mesopotamia and the Russian steppes, on the other it lay on the west-east route from the Black Sea via the southern Caspian to Central Asia. It was known for its rich local resources, among which gold and the knowledge to work it. It had a relatively strong indigenous culture with Persian and Mesopotamian influences.

The Greeks arrived in the area by the end of the archaic period and with them Greek

1.44 Golden diadem with foliage and floral decorations (central palmette, branches with half-palmettes). From Kurhan, Black Sea area. 4th century B.C. National Museum of History of the Ukraine, Kiev

objects were imported. By the 5th century B.C. Greeks had settled with colonies in numbers in various parts of Colchis. However, archaeological finds at Vani, a town in western Georgia, show that intermittent contacts with the Greek world were established well before that time. Terracotta figurines, also common in the Greek world and generally assigned to the Geometric period, have been unearthed at Vani from layers dating ca. 800-600 B.C.[34].

Vani was situated in a strategic position, on a hill and flanked on two sides by steep ravines that served as natural defences. It developed as an important commercial, political and cultural centre in the area, at the cross point of significant roads.

Individual sections of these roads served the spread of Greek imports from the coastal areas of western Georgia to the hinterland in the pre-Hellenistic period, but certainly also the introduction of detailed knowledge of metalworking techniques, such as granulation and filigree from the Near East. Indeed Colchian culture is most vividly characterized by the abundance and astonishing variety of its jewellery. Motifs common in the Near East and Classical art were used by local masters in this so-called Greco-Persian art[35].

In the 5th-4th centuries in Colchis -and primarily in Vani- a highly artistic and original school of goldsmiths skilfully employed the most intricate techniques of forging, chasing and stamping, casting, granulation and filigree, and it was well-known for it in the Greek world.

Greek imports were relatively few in the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th, but became more numerous and varied around ca. 450-350, when Athens dominated commercial relations with Colchis and the entire Black Sea littoral. They comprise ceramic containers, painted black-glaze pottery, glass vessels, metal ware and gold rings.

The well-established Greek influence in the area by the 5th century is testified to by archaeological finds. On a silver *phialè*, dating from the end of the 5th century and found in a grave in the east-Kuban area, there is an inscription "Apollo the leader am I who is at Phasis", suggesting that this piece came from a temple of Apollo at Phasis at the east coast of the Black Sea[36]. Greek influence intensified during the 4th and 3rd centuries. Imported articles like necklaces, polychrome plaques, etc., decorated with rosettes and palmettes, Attic red-figure and black-figure vessels testify to the Greek trade with Colchis.

1.45 Golden round plaque decorated with the frontal face of a Gorgon with tongue extended. Representations of Gorgon faces were introduced in the Pontic region during the Archaic period by Greek colonists and became familiar to the Scythians through coins. From Theodosia, Crimea. 4th-3rd century B.C. National Museum of History of the Ukraine, Kiev

This is also the period when a single trading route developed from Phasis to India from the already existing individual sections. It ran from Phasis at the Black Sea coast, via the Surami Pass, on or along the Kura (the ancient Cyrus) River through Transcaucasia to the Caspian Sea and from there to India[37].

It is clear, however, that, although the Colchis area must have been flooded with imported Greek objects, the receptiveness of the people and craftsmen for Greek life and religion was limited, at least up to Hellenistic times. This in particular so compared to what happened in the Scythian area where, to a certain extent, Greek culture was adopted and integrated in local art and daily life, and where also a new figure style developed.

In conclusion, the areas around the Black Sea responded in a different way to Greek influence. Thrace and Colchis, with their relatively settled populations and strong local traditions, were less sensitive for the Hellenizing of the arts than the land of the Scythians. Nevertheless the colonization of the Black Sea area by the Greeks created a large and solid corpus of Greek culture there, in a strategic position with respect to early west-east contacts.

1.3.3 Early routes and contacts with the East

According to Herodotus (ca. 484-420 B.C.) there was a trade-route leading from the north-east corner of the Sea of Azov to a people called the Argippaei, who were contiguous with the Issedones. Six people and a desert are mentioned by Herodotus as positioned between the Scythians and the Issedones. Beyond the Issedones Herodotus relied on an account of a certain Aristeas of Proconnesus, who is said to have lived about the late 7th or the early 6th century B.C.:

'Aristeas, son of Caystrobius, a native of Proconnesus, declares in his hexameter poem, that he journeyed to the Issedones by the inspiration of Apollo; that beyond the Issedones dwell the Arimaspe, a one-eyed people, beyond them the gold-guarding griffins, and beyond them the Hyperboreans who reach the sea, that each of these nations, except the Hyperboreans, encroached on its neighbour, the Arimaspi giving the initial impulse; that the Issedones were driven from their country by the Arimaspi, the Scythians by the Issedones, and that the Cimmerians, who lived by the southern sea, were pressed by the Scythians and abandoned their territory.'[38]

It is not surprising that both statements of Herodotus, derived from the information he assembled from people around him, as his quotations of Aristeas, have not been taken very seriously by many scholars. Yet, careful scrutiny afterwards has disclosed that some elements of this account are perhaps more reliable than initially anticipated and "no matter how fantastic the individual details, there are enough rational explanations to string us along in the hope that we are onto something that is at least partially real"[39].

The sequence of the people identified by Herodotus is as follows:

1. The Sauromatae
2. The Budini
3. A desert
4. The Thyssagetae
5. The Iyrcae
6. A detached horde of Scythians
7. The Argippaei
8. The Issedones
9. The Arimaspi
10. The Hyperboreans

About the Argippaei Herodotus says:

'… the country and the nations that inhabit it are well known, for it are the Scythians who journey to them, and it is not difficult to obtain information from these or from Greeks of the mart on the Borysthenes and the other Pontic marts. The Scythians who make the journey do business through seven interpreters in seven languages...' [40]

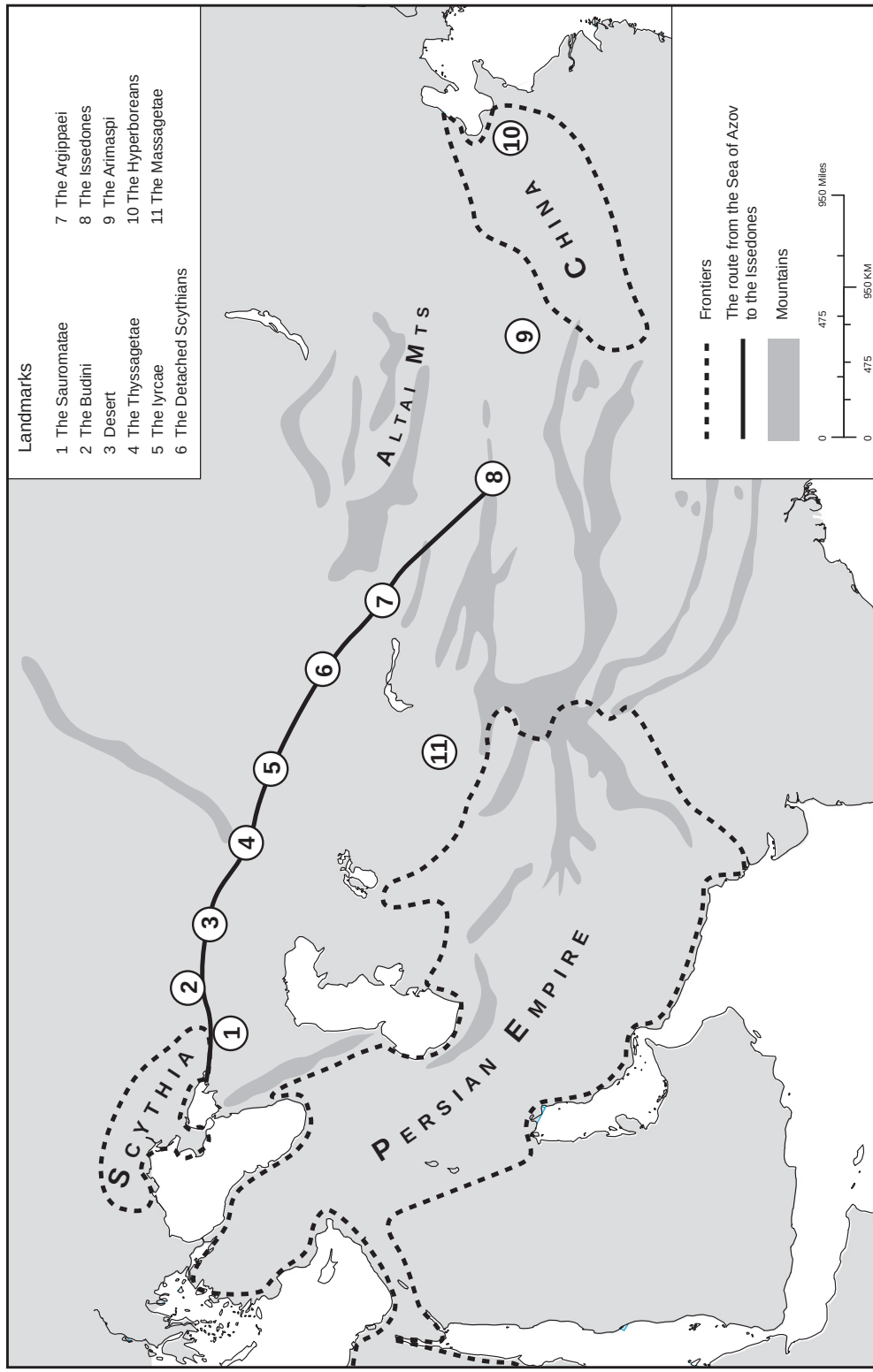
Detailed analysis of the text of Herodotus of the geography of the area has led scholars in the past to the conclusion that the journey of the Scythians from the Black Sea to the Argippaei must have been virtually due east to the south-west area of the Altai[41].

Further analysis, with the aid of texts of the geographer Ptolemy (writing in the 2nd century A.D.) and Chinese sources on the nomad tribe known as the Wusun, suggested that the Issedones were the Wusun occupying the region of Lop Nor and proposed that the Arimaspi, beyond the Issedones, might represent the Xiongnu tribe, holding probably not

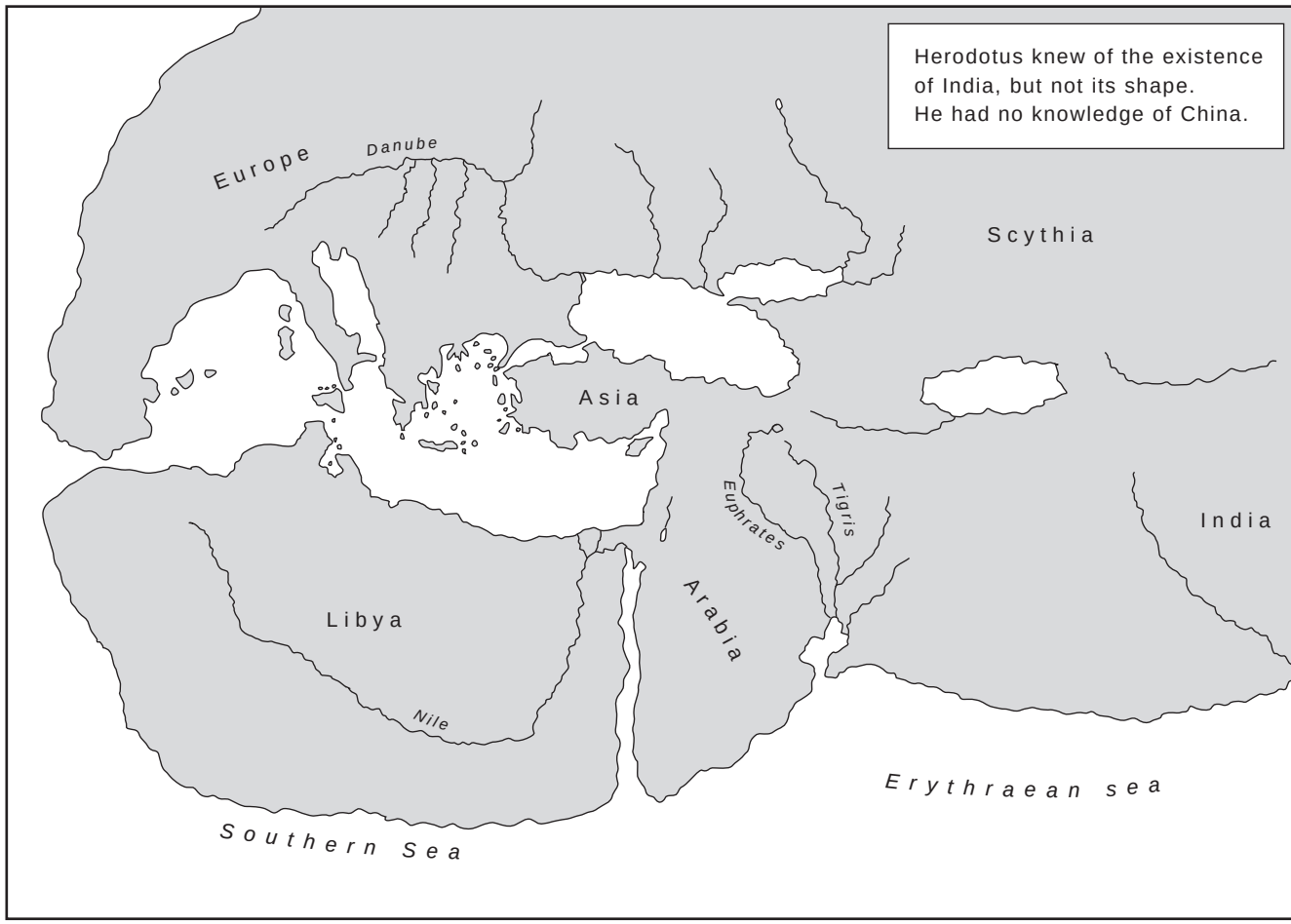
only central Mongolia but also the greater part of modern Gansu[42].
Finally, the analysis suggests that the Hyperboreans, who according to Herodotus (and Aristeas) dwelt beyond the Arimaspi, might have been the Chinese[43].
According to this analysis then, the "northern trade route" at the time of Herodotus may be plotted on a modern map (*Map 1.6*).

Whether this was all the way a real trade-route is to be doubted. There had been some trade between the Scythians and the Argippaei, but this trade was probably interrupted about the end of the 5th century B.C., when the Sarmatians started to move westwards. By that time probably also turmoil in Central Asia broke up commercial links, and China of those days consisted of many feudal principalities. That does not mean that the Eurasian steppe lands were not a vast area of transit and exchange during the 1st millennium B.C. and probably even earlier[44].
Archaeological finds of weapons, horse harnesses, "animal-style" art, cauldrons, mirrors and stone stelae attest to these intercommunications, but there was not any great through commerce to China[45].

Yet, indirect cultural exchange between Scythians and China has certainly taken place. The Arimaspi were producers of gold, according to Herodotus. They took it possibly from the southern Altai and traded it to the Argippaei via the Issedones, from whom the Scythians could have purchased it, in need as they were for enormous quantities to produce their famous golden artefacts. However, the Altai were not necessarily the only source of supply for the Scythians, as they could have obtained their gold also by trade from the Caucasus region, especially Colchis, or Kazakhstan or Transylvania[46].
In the tombs of Pazyryk in the Altai, dated to the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C.[47], nomads related to Scythians buried their chiefs under stone-topped barrows, which have preserved normally perishable things. The stone has had the effect of freezing the contents. These contents generally are closely like those of the south Russian tombs of the Scythians, although much less rich in metal[48]. Bodies were tattooed with designs in the best "animal style", and were embalmed using a process exactly as described by Herodotus. Numerous floral motifs in Pazyryk are related to South Russian prototypes derived from Greek art[49]. Forehead plaques for horses, dating from the 4th century B.C., found at Dhmuz and Soboleva Mokyla in the northern Black Sea area, are decorated with the same motifs of feline predation on deer or the struggle of bird against feline that are represented on harness ornaments from Pazyryk[50]. The influence of Western Asia of the Persian period is strongly present too.
Clearly, some connection existed between the Altai region and China. A series of excavations have been carried out in 1957 on tombs near Shenmu in Shanxi[51], where gold plaques were found together with sculptured animal statuettes. The sculptured representation of a horned cervid closely resembles the designs tattooed on the man from Pazyryk[52].
A broken Chinese mirror found in Pazyryk corresponds in its decoration and diameter to a group of Chinese mirrors which has been assigned to the 4th century B.C. on general stylistic grounds[53]. Other well-established evidence testifies to cultural contact between China and the Minusinsk Valley (just north of the Altai) already from the late 2nd millennium B.C., even to the extent of a racial admixture with Mongol strain predominating at that period[54]. In fact, there is evidence that by the end of the 5th century B.C. there was



Map 1.6 Trade route from the Sea of Azov to the Issedones in the time of Herodotus

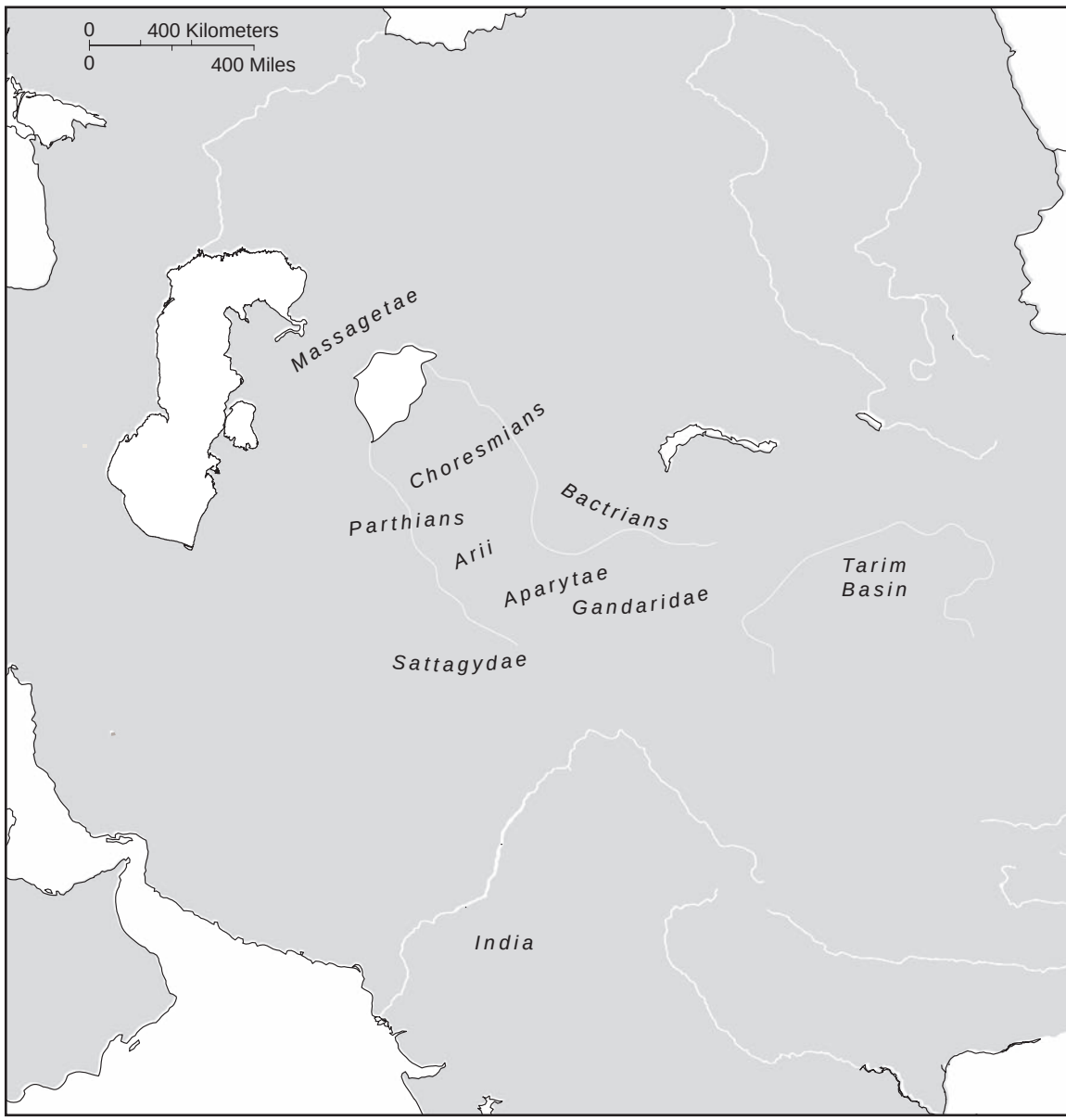


Map 1.7 The world according to Herodotus, ca. 450 B.C.

a common sphere of influence extending over a region stretching from the Carpathians to the border of China, engendering easy and rapid intercourse both of artefacts, trade objects and motifs[55].

It is to be noted too, that *Map 1.6* is a modern one, in which the supposed knowledge of Herodotus about peoples has been plotted. Herodotus did not have any idea about the geography other than shown in *Map 1.7*. The Greek geographer Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.-23 A.D.) was not aware of any Argippaean trade-route, and other evidence related to ancient Greek knowledge about the existence or nature of the area as far as the Altai mountains is absent.

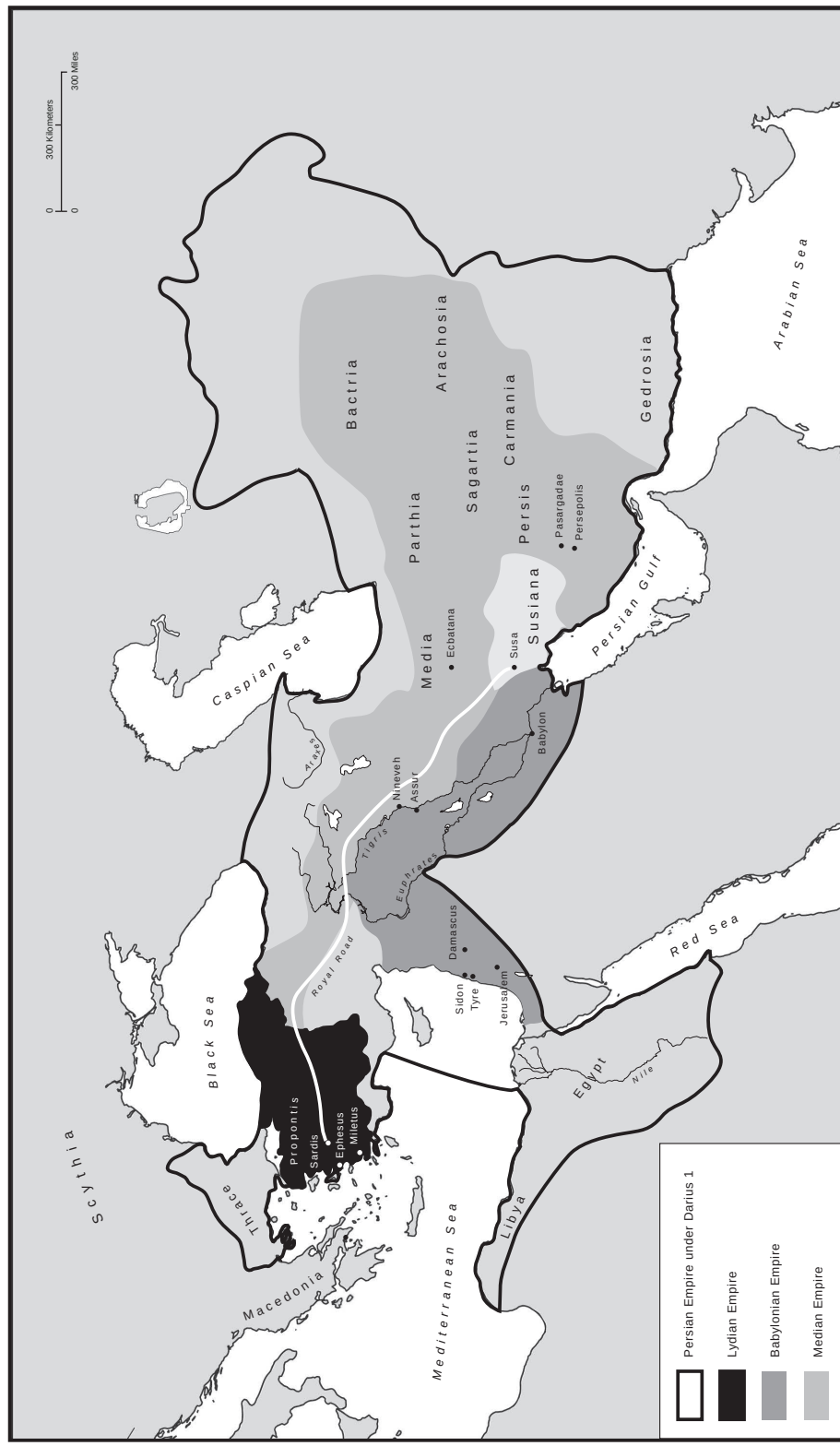
Apart from the "northern route" as described above, Herodotus knew about a "southern route" through the vast Persian Empire, which was divided in twenty provinces or satrapies by king Darius I (550-486 B.C.). A Greek could travel to India, starting from Phasis at the east of the Black Sea coast, to pick up the Kura River, which is confluent with the Araxes River at the west coast of the Caspian Sea, then, rounding its southern coast, east into the 16th province occupied by the Chorasmians, Parthians, Sogdians and Arii. Further east, in what is modern Afghanistan, was the 12th province, Bactria (*Map 1.8*).



Map 1.8 Provinces of the Persian Empire of Darius I (550-486 B.C.), according to Herodotus

Alternatively he could initially proceed through Anatolia (Turkey) and Mesopotamia, along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea right into the 16th province and further east to Bactria. In fact he could use the first stretches of the Royal Road, a system of roads presumably built and maintained by Darius, from Susa in present-day south-western Iran to Sardis, the capital of the Lydian satrapy and Ephesos in western Anatolia (*Map 1.9*).

Almost 2700 km long, with over a hundred post stations, the Royal Road fostered economic life of the Persian Empire, and facilitated swift commercial and military movement. It was this road, too, which brought Ionians into direct contact with the eastern trade, and thus ensured the rapid rise of the Ionians of Asia Minor[56]



Map 1.9 The Persian Empire under Darius I (550-486 BC.): conquests and the Royal Road from Sardis to Susa

Herodotus describes this road as follows:

'As regards this road the truth is as follows. Everywhere there are royal stations with excellent resting places, and the whole road runs through country which is inhabited and safe.

1. Through Lydia and Phrygia there extend twenty stages, amounting to 520 kilometres.
2. After Phrygia succeeds the river Halys, at which there is a gate which one must needs pass through in order to cross the river, and a strong guard-post is established there.
3. Then after crossing over into Cappadocia it is by this way twenty-eight stages, being 572 kilometres, to the borders of Cilicia.
4. On the borders of the Cilicians you will pass through two sets of gates and guard-posts: then after passing through these it is three stages, amounting to 85 kilometres, to journey through Cilicia.
5. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a navigable river called Euphrates. In Armenia the number of stages with resting-places is fifteen, and 310 kilometres, and there is a guard-post on the way.
6. Then from Armenia, when one enters the land of Matiene, there are thirty-four stages, amounting to 753 kilometers. Through this land flow four navigable rivers, which can not be crossed but by ferries, first the Tigris, then a second and a third called both by the same name, Zabatus, though they are not the same river and do not flow from the same region (for the first-mentioned of them flows from the Armenian land and the other from that of the Matienians), and the fourth of the rivers is called Gyndes [...].
7. Passing thence into the Cissian land, there are eleven stages, 234 kilometres, to the river Choaspes, which is also a navigable stream; and upon this is built the city of Susa. The number of these stages amounts in all to one hundred and eleven.

This is the number of stages with resting-places, as one goes up from Sardes to Susa. If the royal road has been rightly measured [...] the number of kilometres from Sardes to the palace of [king Artaxerxes II] Mnemon is 2500. So if one travels 30 kilometres each day, some ninety days are spent on the journey.' [57]

Whether this road was actually built by the Persians is not known. Possibly it existed already partly when the Assyrians established trade relations with Kanesh (modern Kültepe) in central Anatolia during the 2nd millennium B.C.[58]

The Royal Road was crossed near Opis[59] by another important road that connected Babylon and Ecbatana (modern Hamadan, Iran), and from there due east to Bactria.

Still another road, a shorter one, must have been available to the Greek traveller who wanted to reach India. From one of the cities on the west coast of Asia Minor, like Ephesus or Miletus, he could have gone over sea to Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, and from there straight along the Euphrates to Babylon, where he could have picked up the route to Ecbatana and further to Bactria.

Bactria in those days was the major crossroads of movement from west to east. From there one could travel south into the 7th province, the area known today as Swāt and north-west India-Pakistan. Then, finally to the Indus. The source of the Indus was located in what we would call today the Hindu Kush, a mountain range beyond which was the limit of the world, the great Ocean.

Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.-ca. 20 A.D.), quoting Aristobulus (who accompanied Alexander) and Patrocles (commander at Babylon under Seleucis I), both of whom wrote at the end of the 4th century B.C., refers to the importance of this old route to India. Between Lake Maeotis (Sea of Azov) and the Hyrcanian Sea (the Caspian) lived the Siraces and the Aorsi, the latter along the Tanais (Don) and the former along the Achardeus (Kuban), which flows from the

Caucasus and empties itself into the Maeotis. The Upper Aorsi, he said, ruled at that time over most of the Caspian littoral and imported on camels Indian and Babylonian merchandise, receiving it from the Armenians and the Medes. The Oxus River that divided Bactriana from Sogdiana, which Aristobulus declared was the largest river he had seen in Asia except in India, was so easily navigable that large quantities of Indian wares which came up over the Hindu Kush were easily brought down it on their way to the Hyrcanian Sea. From here they were transported across to Albania and so up the Cyrus River and down the Phasis to the Euxine[60]. Implicitly the description of this road suggests that the Oxus River had a branch which emptied into the Caspian Sea. However, there is no evidence at all that in Greek time any such trade route from India ever existed[61]. Most likely the old trade route passed south of the Caspian Sea into Bactria, where it turned south to cross the Khyber Pass and to pick up the Indus River.

Geographical knowledge of the east increased only slowly during the next centuries: for Strabo the most eastern end of the world consisted of the Himalayas.

2 Alexander the Great and the heritage of Hellenism in the Middle East and India

2.1 The conquests of Alexander

Alexander III, born in Pella in 356 B.C., was the son of the Macedonian king Philippus II and Olympias of Epirus[1]. His mother was a very ambitious woman, who told her young boy, among other things, that he was the son of Zeus. His father, not a particularly modest person either, had some ideas how the future should look like. By the mid 4th century he had subjected the Greeks, who were weakened and disunited by the constant hostilities between their states. He planned a war of all Greeks and Macedonians against the Persian king, with the aim to conquer the Greek cities of Asia Minor and to punish the Great King for the invasions of the previous century..

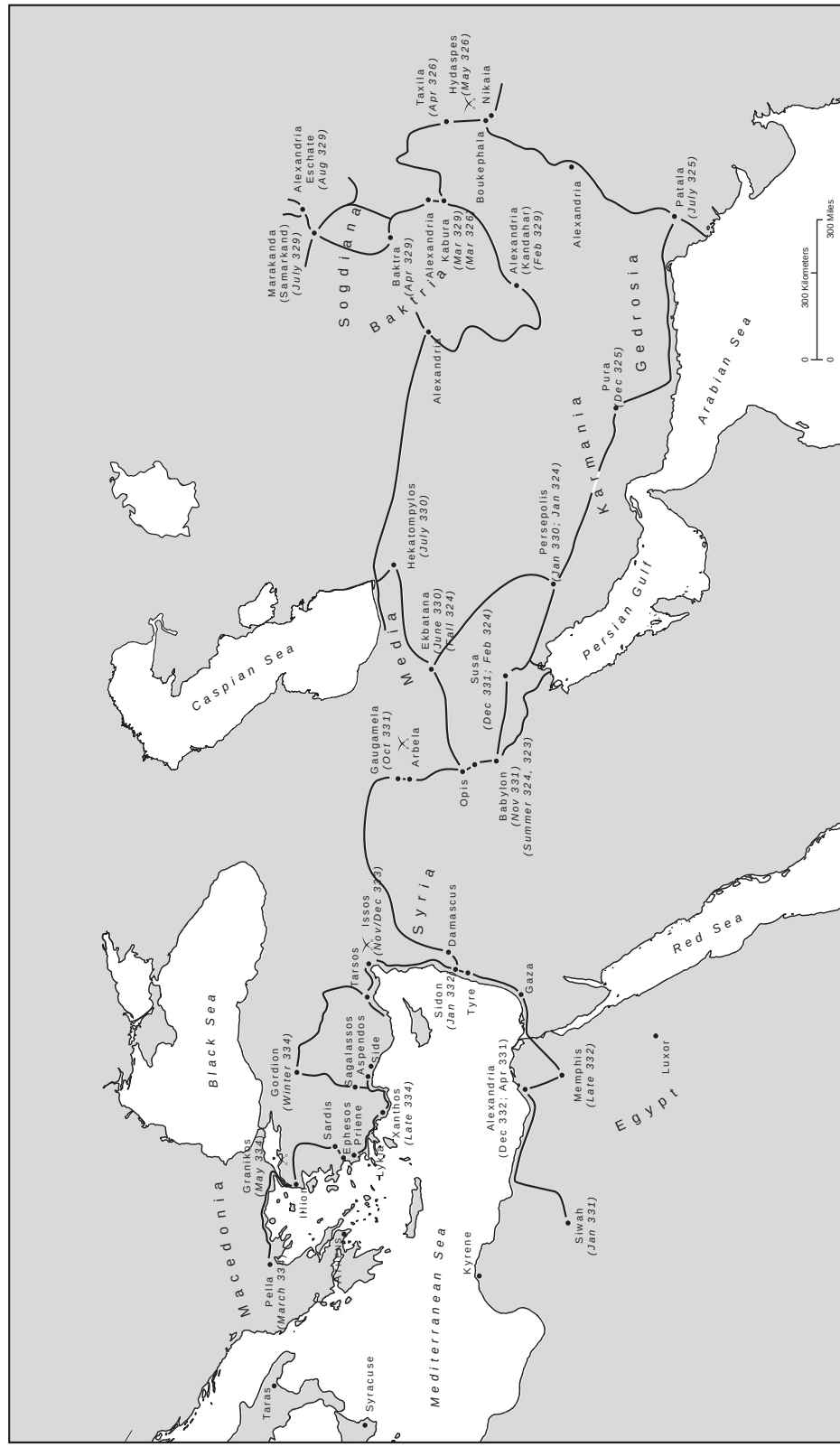
From his 13th year on, Alexander was taught Greek poetry and science by Aristotle. Of his years of adolescence it is said that he tamed the horse Bucephalus, reputedly impossible to ride for anyone.

After his father had been murdered in 336 B.C., Alexander was proclaimed king of Macedonia, and was tested immediately by a Greek revolt which he crushed. Then the Corinthian League chose him as the successor of his father, Leader of the Hellenes and supreme commander, in the retaliation upon the Persians, who had heaped such sufferings to the Greeks some 150 years before. Before Alexander started this war, he subdued in 335 the aggressive Thracian tribes in the northern area of the Balkan, in order to be sure that they would not take advantage of his absence. The rumour was that he was killed in this action, which prompted Demosthenes to declare war against Macedonia. Alexander quickly turned against them, destroyed Thebe but spared Athens.

He did not want to be the king of Hellas, in deference to the Greek feeling of freedom. Only after the decisive battle of Gaugamela in 331 against the Persians he denounced himself King of Asia and only after the destruction of Persepolis he felt the attack on Greece by Darius and Xerxes as revenged and his punitive expedition completed. The subsequent part of his conquest was done without pressure on his men to go with him.

In 334 he left Antipater -the Macedonian general and right-hand of his father in war and diplomacy- in Greece, and crossed-over to Asia with an army of 30.000 infantry and 5.000 horsemen (*Map 2.1*). He defeated an army of 20.000 Persians and numerous Greek mercenaries of King Darius III (ca. 380-330 B.C.) in Asia Minor at the Granikos River in 334, where his friend Kleistos saved his life. This victory opened his way into that area. He liberated the Greek cities on the southern coast, took Sardes, Ephesus, Milete and Halikarnassos, and then proceeded inland towards Gordion in Phrygia. In Gordion he cut the Gordion knot, tied by king Gordius of Phrygia, which an oracle revealed would be undone only by the future master of Asia. Alexander, failing to untie it, cut the knot with his sword.

In Cilicia he fell ill for some time, but after his recovery he headed south with his army. In the meantime, king Darius had advanced into Asia Minor and tried to catch up on him with an army of 400.000 men. Alexander turned back and defeated him at Issos in 333



Map 2.1 Alexander's campaigns 334-323 BC.

B.C. He then conquered Phoenicia and its coastal cities that were the bases of the Persian fleet and Persian units in the Aegean Sea, and reduced Tyrus in 332 after a siege of seven months. Now in control of the fleet of Phoenicia, there were no fears anymore of an attack in his back.

He advanced to Egypt, also to be able to cut-off the corn supplies of Greece in case that would be necessary. Egypt was rendered to him by the Persian governor while the people did not resist because they considered Alexander as liberator from the Persian rule. On the western mouth of the Nile he established the first of a series of Alexandria's. The Egyptian Alexandria developed quickly into a large centre of commerce, and later became one of the most important cities in Hellenistic and Roman times. He went through the desert to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in the oasis of Siwa, where the priests welcomed him as the Son of God (Zeus) and promised him world-dominion.

Meanwhile, Darius had offered him peace, which Alexander refused. Then Darius assembled a huge army. Alexander however, with fresh reinforcements from Greece, immediately turned against him, crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris and defeated him in the battle of Gaugamela in October 331 B.C., by breaking through the centre of the enemy's defence, after his general Parmelis had attacked the left wing. Darius fled to Ecbatana (modern Hamadan) and Alexander attacked and took the capitals of the Persian Empire: Babylon, Susa and Persepolis. At Susa he found works of art that Xerxes had plundered from Athens and returned them to the Athenians. At Babylon he burned the royal palaces to ashes as a token of the completion of the war of revenge. The huge treasures of the Persian kings became his war-booty.

In these conquered cities, as elsewhere in Persia, Persian governors were often maintained in their position, and Alexander no longer relied on circles of Macedonian trusted representatives only. He developed the idea that the upper classes of the empire should be a mixture of Persians and Macedonians. On the other hand, Greek and Macedonian veterans were offered land in the new colonies that were established in the conquered areas.

In the spring of 330 he went to Ecbatana where he demobilized all the divisions originating from southern Greece, rewarding them generously for their services.

His next goal was to find Darius, who was taken prisoner by the satrap of Bactria, Bessos. As Alexander approached, Bessos killed Darius. Alexander had Darius buried with royal ceremonies.

Proceeding through the eastern part of the Persian Empire, he reached Bactria and Sogdiana in 329 B.C. He tried to fortify the frontier to exclude the dangerous Scythians from his newly won empire, but the Sogdians revolted and provided the greatest military opposition to Alexander in his advance through Asia, slaughtering 2000 of his men. Alexander ultimately pacified the region when he abandoned his own harsh policy and accepted local rulers. There he married a Bactrian wife, the celebrated Roxane, daughter of one of the local kings. Also, Bessos was arrested there, tried and brought to death. The occupation of the conquered territories was secured by founding new cities, many of which got the name of Alexandria, in which mighty garrisons were installed. He then returned towards the Hindu Kush to prepare a journey to India.

At that time various conspiracies were discovered. Consequently, Alexander's general Philotas was executed and also his father Parmenio was killed. His biographer too, a nephew

of Aristotle, died a violent death. His friend Kleitos, who once saved his life, was killed by Alexander, unable to keep his temper in drunkenness. But in fact these incidents were indications that Alexander, who now really had come to believe that he was a god, had lost control over his immediate environment.

The march to India was intended to reach the borders of the world. When he reached the Indus in 326 B.C., he gave support to the king of Taxila in a conflict with his neighbour, and defeated at the Hydaspes River the king of the Punjab area, Poros. When he wanted to proceed east to the Ganges, his soldiers refused to follow him any further. He therefore abandoned the trip, headed south over the Indus to the Arabian Sea, made an offer to Poseidon and returned to the West.

Back in Persia, he punished disloyal satraps and re-established order. In Susa, in 324, he married Darius' daughter Stateira and asked his friends and soldiers to marry Persian women too, -the so-called "Wedding of Susa"-, in order to mix Macedons and Persians as future inhabitants of his world empire. It is said that 10.000 Macedonian soldiers followed the example of their commanders, because they were held out the prospect of a premium. He organised exercises and trainings in the Macedonian style for 30.000 young Persians, which caused a revolt that he kept under control with a feast of reconciliation. He then went to Babylon where he fell ill, probably because of malaria, and died on the 10th of June 323 B.C. Roxane -one of his Asiatic wives- bore him a posthumous son.

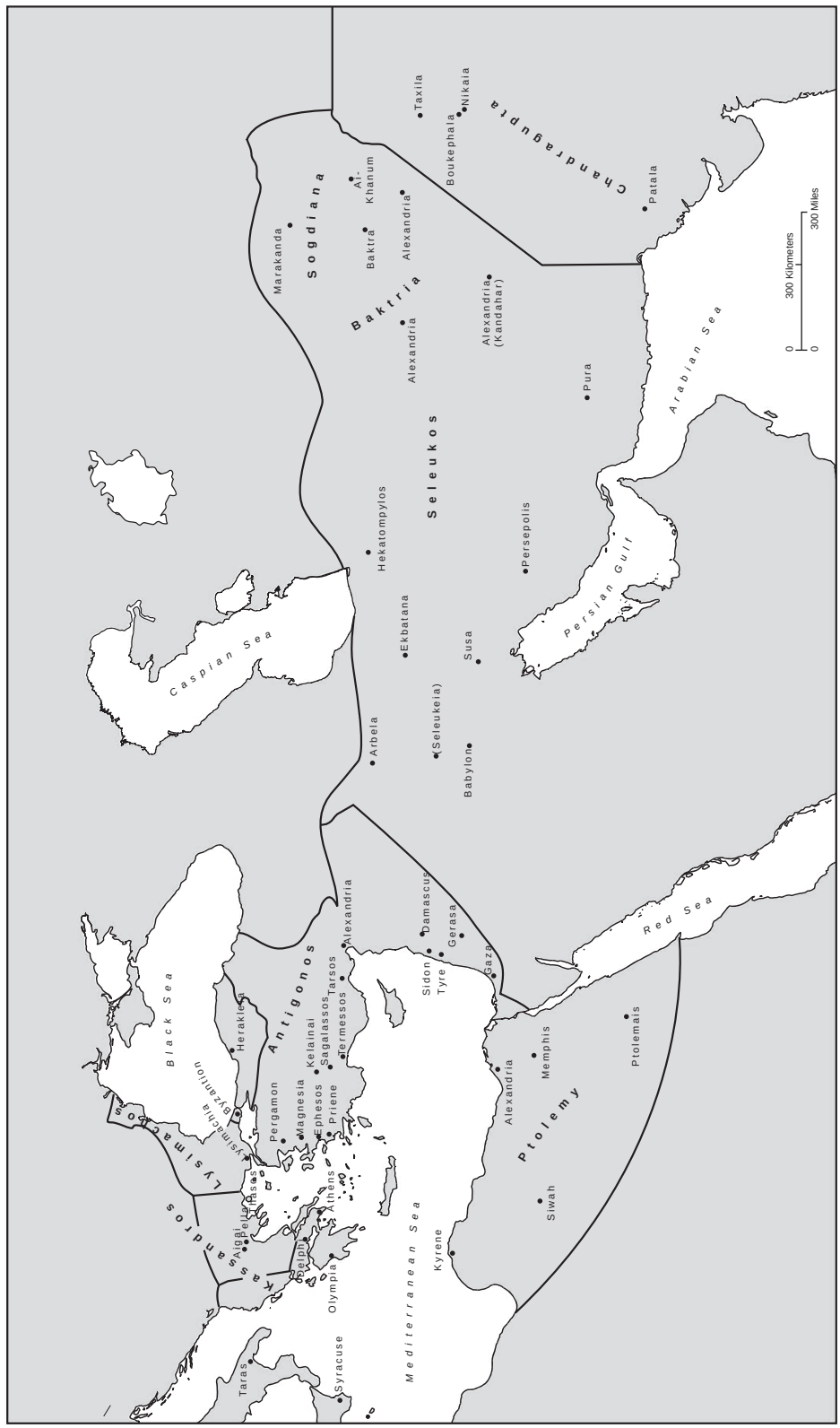
His unexpected death caused the end of his empire, which then comprised roughly, apart from Greece, Macedonia and Egypt, all the land to the East up to an artificial line, in the north-east following the northern border of Sogdiana, then turning to the south-east via the east of Punjab towards the Arabian sea, just east of the delta of the Indus.

Even to the modern mind the enterprises of Alexander are amazing, also considering his age, and one could wonder what the motives were which pushed him forward in such an extraordinary way. Probably, as a Macedonian, he wanted to show that he could do better than any Greek, who considered his people as barbarian. As a son he wanted to excel over his father and to carry out the vengeance on the Persians, as his father had planned. Probably also, fed by a boundless curiosity, he felt the urge to reach the uttermost confines of the world. This all was not only supported by the idea that he was the son of Zeus, as his mother had told him, but also by a dominant feature in his character to try to achieve targets which other humans would hold for impossible, and by his intelligence, which made him a military genius capable to outwit any enemy on the battlefield.

After Alexander's death, his gigantic empire was suddenly without a leader, and his generals struggled for some decennia to divide the territory and power. The outcome was three kingdoms (*Map 2.2)*.

The smallest, Macedonia, was based in the old Macedonian capital Pella and included roughly European Greece. It was established by Antigonus I (ca. 382-301 B.C.). Ruled by the Antigonid dynasty, it maintained its authority over the area, but constantly had to fight alliances of small city states. Eventually the Antigonids came into conflict with Rome and, after the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C., the kingdom ceased to exist.

The Seleucid kingdom, established by Seleucus I Nicator (r. 311-280 B.C.), included much of the eastern territory conquered by Alexander. The military colonies, established by Alexander, developed into more or less independent cities. They were Greek in culture



Map 2.2 The world of Alexander's successors, 303 BC

and through them Hellenistic culture spread to the East. The Seleucid kingdom fell to the Romans in 65 B.C.
Egypt was taken by Alexander's general Ptolemy (r. 323-283 B.C.), who founded a stable dynasty. Ruling from the new capital city of Alexandria on the Mediterranean, the Ptolemies aspired to head a maritime empire and therefore inevitably came into conflict with the other states. Eventually, the last queen, Cleopatra, lost her throne to the Romans in 30 B.C.

2.2 The Hellenistic culture in Greece

2.2.1 General

The Hellenistic age covers the period between the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.) and the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), when Greece lost her independence and Augustus assumed control of the Mediterranean.

We have surveyed the principle elements of design inherent in Archaic and Classical art in Greece in preceding paragraphs (1.2.4 and 1.2.5), and to a large extent the arts of the Hellenistic age continue on that basis. Yet differences are remarkable. Variety and diversity are the keynotes, clearly materialized in novel subjects and new experiments. In many ways, the Hellenistic period was dominated by Alexander the Great: his personality and achievements sparked the imagination, the ideas and ambitions of the epoch. He had roamed the world, had conquered and enlarged it. The respect -not to say the admiration- for the human personality, the power one man could exercise and individual performance became a focus of attention. It is therefore hardly surprising that portraiture is one of the new art forms of the period[2].

The small democratic city states of the Classical period (ca. 480-323 B.C.) were replaced by empires and kingdoms, and Greek culture spread well beyond the boundaries of the relatively small area of the eastern Mediterranean. However, the major developments took place within this relatively small area and are therefore the subject of this section, before attention is paid to the eastward diffusion of the Hellenistic culture in the next paragraphs of this Chapter.
In doing so, the subject will not be approached by going through the various domains of Hellenistic art, such as portraiture, sculpture and architecture, etc., as often practised in handbooks, but rather follow the developments in view of the temperament of the new age. Against this background the highlights in each area will then be illustrated.

Particularly characteristic for the Hellenistic age -as far as pertinent to our subject- are two developments of the state of mind, of the general attitude, which became clearly expressed in the visual arts. These are: a preoccupation with fortune and an emphasis on realism and emotional expression. These topics will be elaborated in general terms in the next paragraphs[3].

2.2.2 Preoccupation with fortune

The obsession with fortune focuses particularly on the mutability of the goddess Fortune (Tyche) in her treatment of individuals: you never know what to expect, what fate is awaiting you. The Greek historian Polybios (ca.203-c.120 B.C.), citing the Athenian writer and statesmen Demetrios of Phaleron (b. ca. 350 B.C.) expresses this basic uncertainty in life, when alluding to the successes of Alexander and the misfortune of the Persians:

"For if you take into account not an endless expanse of time nor even many generations, but rather only the last fifty years, you should be able to understand from them the harshness of Fortune. For do you think that the Persians, or the King of the Persians, or the Macedonians, or the King of the Macedonians, even if one of the gods had prophesied the future for them, would ever have believed that the very name of the Persians would have vanished utterly -they who were the masters of the whole world- and that the Macedonians, whose name was scarcely known earlier, would now rule over all? But since this is the case, it seems to me now that Tyche, who makes no treaties with this human life of ours, who devises all sorts of new twists to confound our calculations, and who shows her power in completely unexpected ways, is demonstrating to all men, by settling on the Macedonians the prosperity that had once belonged to the Persians, that she has merely lent them these blessings until such time as she decides to do something else with them."[4]

Demetrios' friend, the Athenian playwright Menander (ca. 341-ca. 290 B.C.), wrote:

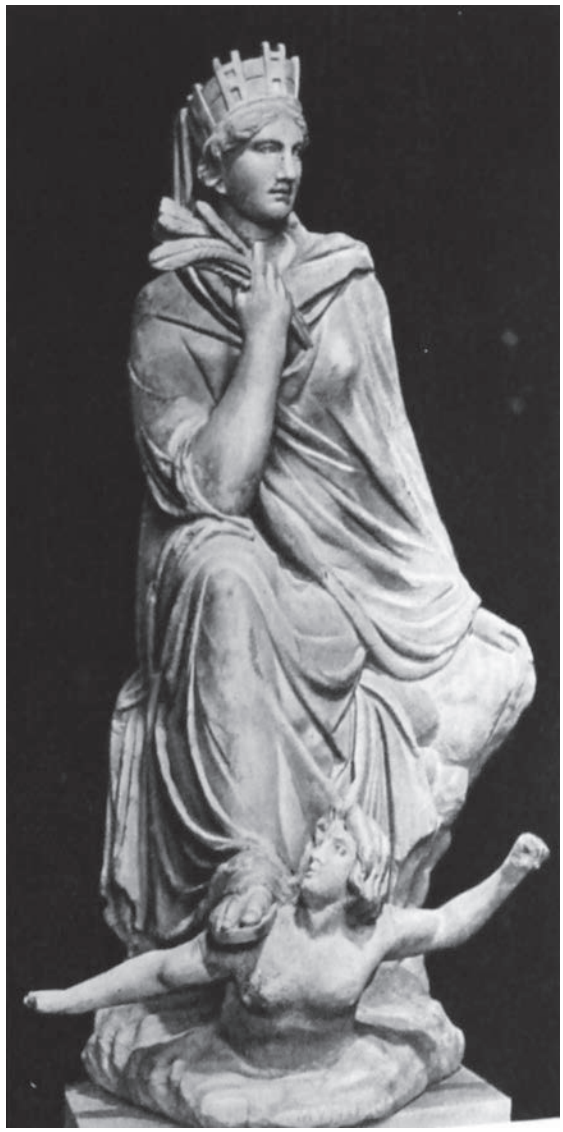
"Fortune observes no rules by which she decides human affaires. Nor is it possible, while still alive, to say, "I will not suffer this fate""[5]

This last statement expresses the feeling that Fortune was to be feared because of her unpredictability, not only with respect to the fate of countries, cities or mighty rulers, but also with respect to each and every individual. Everyone had his individual *tyche*. In cases where a person's *tyche* had been very favourable during his lifetime, that powerful fortunate influence could be invoked and sworn by. A favourite, of course, was the *tyche* of Alexander the Great.

Images of Tyche

The preoccupation with Fortune is seen in a number of forms in Hellenistic art. Firstly, in the popularity of the images of Tyche, the most famous of which is the sculpture of the Tyche of Antioch, of which a faithful Roman marble replica, now in the Vatican Museum, is shown in (**2.1**). Tyche will be discussed again in Chapter 6, par. 6.4[6]. Here it suffices to realize that from such large statues in cities magical and apotropaic qualities for the cities were derived, as much as from the miniature figures of Tyche in the form of statuettes and gems. In Pompeii a small statue of Tyche, very recognizable in her attribute and in full glory was unearthed (**2.2**). It was certainly made after Hellenistic models.

A related figure was Kairos (Chance or Opportunity), reputedly created by Lysippos, and found in decorative reliefs and gems (**2.3**). The idea was that opportunities appear only for a moment and can never be recaptured if missed, and that the turn of human events, and therefore the appearance of fortune, is delicately balanced as if on a razor blade[7].



2.1 Marble statuette of Tyche of Antioch, Roman copy of original. From 300-290 B.C. MPV

2.2 Bronze statuette of Isis-Fortuna. Example of the wide-spread syncretism between the Egyptian goddess Isis and Fortuna in the Greek-Roman period, but leaving Fortuna in her full glory. Found at Boscoreale (near Pompeii), Italy. 2nd half of 1st century A.D. MAN

2.3 Relief based on the *kairos* of Lysippos of the 4th century B.C. Museo di Antichità, Turin

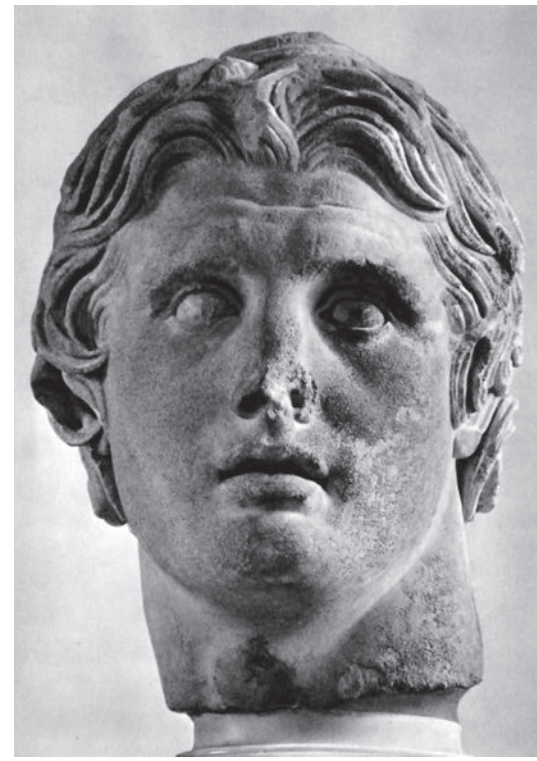
Portraiture of Alexander

Secondly, the continuing popularity of the images of Alexander the Great testifies, amongst others, to the preoccupation with fortune in the Hellenistic period: almost everyone aspired to have a fortune like Alexander's and treasuring his image gave hope that his good fortune would pass on to the holder. This mentality caused the development of the royal portraiture as a particularly characteristic genre of the visual arts of the Hellenistic age.

The name of the sculptor par excellence, Lysippos of Sikyon, is unbreakably connected to the images of Alexander, because -according to Plutarch- he was the only one who could convey the characteristic physical appearance of Alexander, and therefore it was decreed by Alexander that only Lysippos should make his portrait[8]. The characteristic elements in the appearance of Lysippos' Alexander are the turn of the neck, the upward, aspiring gaze and the typical way the hair above the centre of the forehead stands right up (**2.4**).

However, we have still to remember that Plutarch is describing Lysippos's statues, not

2.4 Marble statuette of Alexander (fragment), showing his handsome appearance as mentioned in literature. 330-320 B.C. SMB



2.5 Marble statuette of Alexander (head). Ca. 160 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

Alexander himself[9]. Another portrait of Alexander, found at Pergamon and dated some 150 years later (i.e. ca. 160 B.C.), shows roughly the same characteristics, yet the expression of the face is different and more intense (**2.5**).

The same exclusive right given to Lysippos to make sculptured portraits of Alexander was given to other artists for other media. In painting this right was given to perhaps the most famous painter of antiquity Apelles (356-308 B.C.). The best known work of Apelles depicts Alexander as Zeus, holding a thunderbolt, and was placed in the temple of Artemis in Ephesos, where many people would be reminded that Alexander was indeed the son of Zeus. A portraiture found in the House of the Vetii at Pompeii is thought to be a close copy of Apelles' work (**2.6**).

The right of engraving the king's images on gems and presumably also on coins was assigned to an artist named Pyrgoteles. The work of this engraver is difficult to identify. There are, however, a few gems which are believed to date from about 300 B.C. One of these gems shows Alexander, again as Zeus, holding a thunderbolt and an *aegis* over his arm, while on his one side is the eagle of Zeus and a shield on the other (**2.7**).

The work of Pyrgoteles is also found in the images of Alexander on coins. Alexander was fully aware of the broadcasting potentials of coins to spread political ideas among people. However, during his life Alexander never had his own image struck on a coin, but rather the one of Herakles[10]. Herakles was one of the most popular heroes, a son of

2.6 Painting of Alexander as Zeus (?), perhaps based on a Greek original by Apelles of Kos. 1st century A.D. House of the Vetii, Pompeii

2.7 Carnelian ring stone with the image of Alexander, with –instead of a lance- holding a thunderbolt in his left hand and a sheathed sword in his right. Ca. 300 B.C. HMP

Zeus, the performer of great works (see also Chapter 6). Alexander introduced a silver coin, on the obverse of which was the head of Herakles wearing the skin of the Nemean lion and on the reverse the image of the seated Zeus, holding an eagle and a sceptre (**2.8**).

After Alexander's death, the empire was divided among his generals, the Diadochoi, into separate kingdoms. The smallest was the Macedonian kingdom, established by Antigonus I (ca. 382-301 B.C.), who was succeeded in 301 B.C., after wars, by Cassander (ca. 358-297 B.C.) in Macedonia and Lysimachus (ca. 360-281 B.C.) in Thrace.
Initially, all Diadochoi issued a series of gold and silver coins depicting Alexander, but gradually Alexander's image was replaced by the features of the reigning monarch or of the dynasty founder. Thus the influence of the early Alexander image is found long after Alexander's death on coins everywhere in the Hellenistic world.

Sculptured images of Alexander were produced for almost as long as, and in greater variety than, the numismatic images. An example is the sculpture of the head of Mithradates VI Eupator, who tried to break up Roman domination of the East in 88 B.C. (**2.9**). He is depicted with the steep hair above his forehead, the features of the young Alexander, and the head of the Nemean lion on top, suggesting his Alexander-and-Herakles

2.8 Silver *tetradrachm* issued by Alexander with his portrait, ostentatiously showing the characteristics of Herakles. 325 B.C. SMB

2.9 Marble head of Mithradates VI, with the head of the Nemean lion on top, suggesting Herakles-Alexander identity. 1st quarter of 1st century B.C. ML*P*

position, qualities and fortune[11]. Literary sources suggest that painted representations of Alexander were as popular as those in sculpture.

Royal exploits

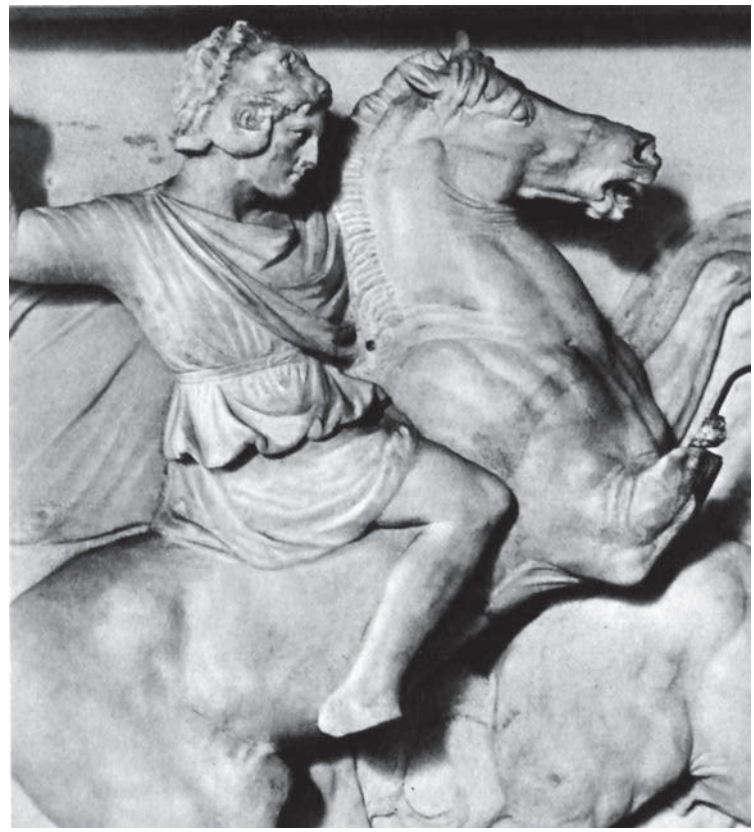
In addition to creating portraits of the kings, or what they wanted to look like, the artists of the Hellenistic age were also asked to create monuments to commemorate the deeds of the king.
Two subjects were particularly selected to express his bravery, the hunting scenes and the battle scenes.

The royal hunt, particularly the lion hunt, was already a well-known motif from the ancient Orient[12]. From Mesopotamia it spread into the Near and Middle East, and was adopted by the artists who sculptured Alexander. The motif served to remind everyone of the political fact that Alexander was the one who defeated the king of the Persian Empire, and also to show his bravery. Moreover, Alexander is said to have been fond of the sport as a diversion during his military campaigns.

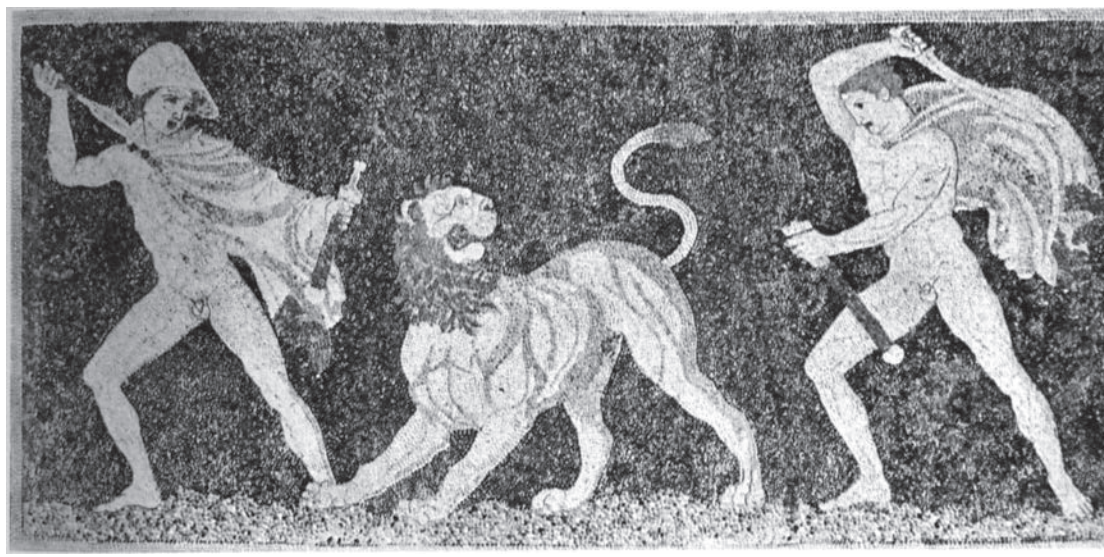
On one side of the so-called "Alexander Sarcophagus", found in the necropolis near

2.10 "Alexander Sarcophagus", lion-hunt scene. Marble. From Sidon. Ca. 325-311 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

2.11 "Alexander Sarcophagus", Greeks and Persians engaged in battle. The Persians distinguished by their long trousers. From Sidon. Ca. 325-311 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul



2.12 "Alexander Sarcophagus", Alexander involved in the battle of Greeks and Persians. He wears the lion's-head helmet. Compare preceding figure. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul



2.13 Lion-hunt mosaic found at Pella, Italy. Ca. 300 B.C. Il Parnaso Editore, Pella, Italy

2.14 Bronze equestrian statuette of Alexander. From Herculaneum. Late 1st century B.C.- early 1st century A.D., based on a work of ca. 330 B.C. MAN

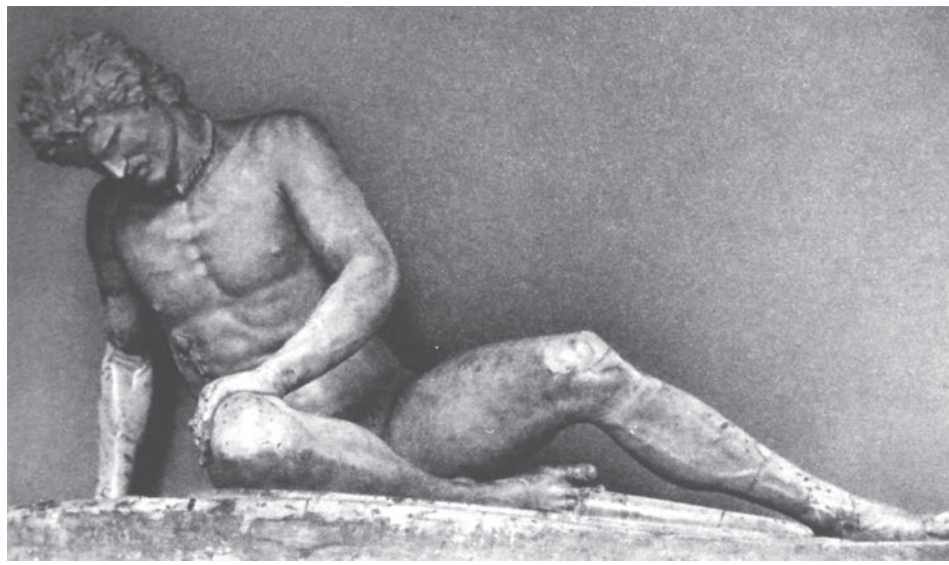
2.15 Reconstruction of Victory Monument of Attalos of ca. 200 B.C. by A. Schober. After Havelock 1971, fig. 141

Sidon in 1887, and dating from around 320 B.C., a lion hunt was depicted (**2.10**), on the other the Greeks and Persians engaged in battle (**2.11**)[13]. The head of the mounted Greek in this last sculpture, wearing the lion's head helmet, has been compared to the heads of Alexander on coins and has therefore been termed "idealized" (**2.12**).
The hunt seems to have become quickly a part of the royal iconography as is suggested by the scenery on the pebble mosaic pavements found in 1957 in the Macedonian capital of Pella, dating from around 300 B.C. (**2.13**). Alexander is said to have been assisted during the lion hunt by his good friend Krateros, so it is suggested that the mosaic depicts this episode[14].

The battle scene is the second great genre of monuments that was used to demonstrate the royal exploits. The most important of all was Lysippos' "Granikos Monument", a group set up to commemorate those who had died in Alexander's first victory over the Persians. It consisted of some twenty bronze equestrian figures, one of which is a portrait of Alexander himself. The monument was transported to Rome in 146 B.C., but no trace of it survives. A probably close copy of it, portraying Alexander, comes from the Herculaneum (**2.14**).
The most obvious successors of the royal battle scene, as it must have been part of the Granikos Monument, were the sculptures commemorating the victories of Attalos I over the Gauls between ca. 233 and 223 B.C. Migrating Celtic tribes, called *Galati* by the Greeks and *Galli* by the Romans, had crossed the Hellespont in 278 B.C. and settled in a territory, Galatia, in central Asia Minor. After much raiding and plundering they were finally checked by Attalus I of Pergamon (269-197 B.C.), who then seized control over most of Seleucid Asia Minor north of Cilicia. Pergamon thus became a kingdom and a rival for the kingdoms founded by the Diadochoi.
The victory over the Gauls not only gave Pergamon power, but also gave Attalos and his people the feeling of pride to have saved the Hellenistic world from barbarism and to have successfully protected the Greek heritage.
The most immediate consequence of this feeling was the mounting of several large bronze monuments in Pergamon commemorating the defeat of the Gauls[15]. A reconstruction of the entire monument was published in 1936 (**2.15**), and Roman copies of parts of the monument as it possibly looked, survive (**2.16**) and (**2.17**).

The battle scene has been a subject of painting too. The famous "Alexander mosaic" was found in the Casa dei Fauni in Pompeii in 1831, and is a copy, dating from the 2nd century B.C., of an original from ca. 300 B.C. (**2.18**).
The mosaic measures five by two meters and depicts one of Alexander's battles against Darius, probably the battle of Issos in 333. Alexander is bare headed and charges from the left while looking Darius straight into the eyes. The mosaic is believed to have been made after a painting by Philoxenos of Eretria, who painted for Cassander of Macedon[16].

2.16 Gaul killing himself. Roman copy of late 3rd century B.C. original. See Fig. 2.15. MNR



2.17 Dying trumpeter. Roman copy of late 3rd century B.C. original. See Fig. 2.15. MCR

2.18 The "Alexander Mosaic", found in the Casa dei Fauni in Pompeii, depicting the battle against Darius, king of Persia. It is a copy dating from the 2nd century B.C. of an earlier original, probably of the late 4th century B.C. MAN

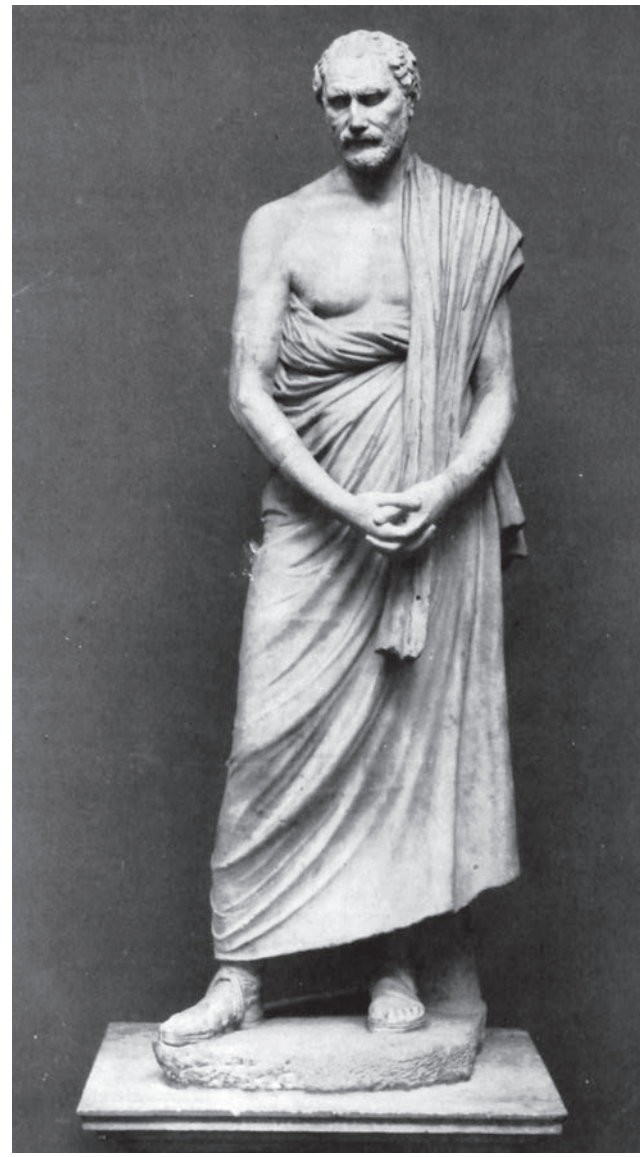
2.2.3 Realism and emotional expression

We have seen, in the history of Greek art, a more or less constant development toward a realistic representation. In the Hellenistic period this development reached a certain climax. For the first time all classes of society and all gradations of physical condition were realistically shown. Technically, Greek art had never reached such heights as those attained by Hellenistic practitioners.
The development of the attitude of the people can be clearly followed, but not exclusively, in the area of sculpture. The new cities demanded sculpture in great quantities. Many of the original works have been preserved, and more are known from Roman copies. Diversity in form and presentation of emotion and the state of the human mind, executed in a realistic manner, is the hallmark of Hellenistic sculpture.

The period of Hellenistic art –and of Hellenistic sculpture in particular- is usually divided into three chronological phases. The first phase, down to 250 B.C., may be seen as a period of transition. The second or High Hellenistic phase, covering the period from 250 B.C. to 150 B.C., is dominated by the style of sculptures from Pergamon and is often indicated as "Hellenistic baroque". The Late Hellenistic phase, from about 150 B.C. onward, saw a recurrence of Classicism, which corresponded with the Roman conquest of Greece and the shipment of countless old Greek statues from Greece to Italy, in order to satisfy the demands of the Roman upper-class. But at the same time the baroque style continued vigorously.

Through these phases, realism and emotional expression to various degrees were main-

tained. The standing male figure remained in use for images of gods and commemorative statuary, and the draped female figure continued to be popular.
The generalized mortal figure was used to represent both leaders of society and those who wished to remind the gods of their piety by placing a statue in a sanctuary. This honorific realistic portraiture was initially confined to the use of upper classes of society, but proliferated, and by the 2nd century B.C. even the middle classes were commissioning their own portrait statues.
Interest in realism produced real-life portraits and images of individuals, as e.g. of an aged fisherman or a drunken old woman. Interest in eroticism produced sensuous statues of a nude Aphrodite, images of coupling satyrs and nymphs, and even hermaphrodites. There were caricatures of dwarfs, slaves and hunchbacks, and statues of smiling children. Interest in emotion produced images of suffering, anguish, pain, brutality, anxiety and pleasure.



2.19 Portrait of Demosthenes. Roman copy of an original of 280 B.C. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

Innovations of the period of transition can be read from the image of *Tyche* of Antioch. It was made in bronze around 300 B.C. by Lysippos' pupil Eutychides. Small copies in marble and other materials survive (**2.1**)[17]. Characteristic for the Hellenistic age are the torsion of the body and the pyramidal construction. The torsion of the body and the arrangement of the drapery to the right, with the swimming figure to the left strongly suggest an intrinsic motion.
Another example of this period is the portrait statue of the famous Athenian orator Demosthenes, set up in bronze in the Agora in Athens in 280 B.C. A large number of copies survive including the full-length marble statue now in Copenhagen (**2.19**). The portrait reveals in detail the personality of the individual, by the posture, the condition of the body and by the facial expression.

2.20 Victory of Samothrace. 180-160 B.C. MLP

2.21 Aphrodite (Venus) of Milo. Marble. Ca. 150-100 B.C. MLP

Also the early portrait of Alexander (**2.4**) is a representative of the transitional phase. Alexander's extremely handsome appearance, which is mentioned abundantly in literary sources, is fully apparent here, while the details -like the partially raised arm, the athletic build, the lively hair and facial expression- all contribute to an impression of controlled energy and alertness.

The baroque style of the High Hellenistic phase is extremely well rendered by the group of the Gaul and his wife. The original dates from about 220 B.C. and a Roman copy is in the Therme Museum in Rome[18] (**2.16**). The defeated Gaul prefers suicide to surrender. He has already killed his wife in order to prevent her becoming a slave. Baroque is the extended twisting posture, the extended pyramidal arrangement in the round, the exaggerated musculature of the torso and the high drama of the moment.

Similar in subject and style is the "Dying Gaul", a trumpeter as the instrument on the ground testifies. The original bronze was made in c. 220 B.C. in Pergamon. He wears a torque around his neck, is shown supporting himself on one arm, his hand close to his broken sword, while a wound in his side realistically spurts blood. Despair and pain are expressed in his face, just as with the Gaul and his dying wife.

The winged victory of Samothrace was found in 1863 in a sanctuary at Samothrace[19]. Originally the statue was set in a romantic and baroque environment. She was on the prow of a ship executed in black marble, she herself in contrasting white marble. The ship stood in a shallow basin of water. A second pool extended in front of and slightly below the first, and contained large boulders, suggesting the ship came to harbour. The theatrical setting was enhanced by the location of the sanctuary itself at the top of a cliff. The statue is a supreme example of Hellenistic baroque (**2.20**). The body seems to be at the moment of touchdown from flight, the wings large and open, the torso twisted slightly to the right, the drapery slightly to the right, suggesting motion. The swirling folds in the drapery also express rapid movement. The sea wind seems to rush all around her, filling her wings like sails.

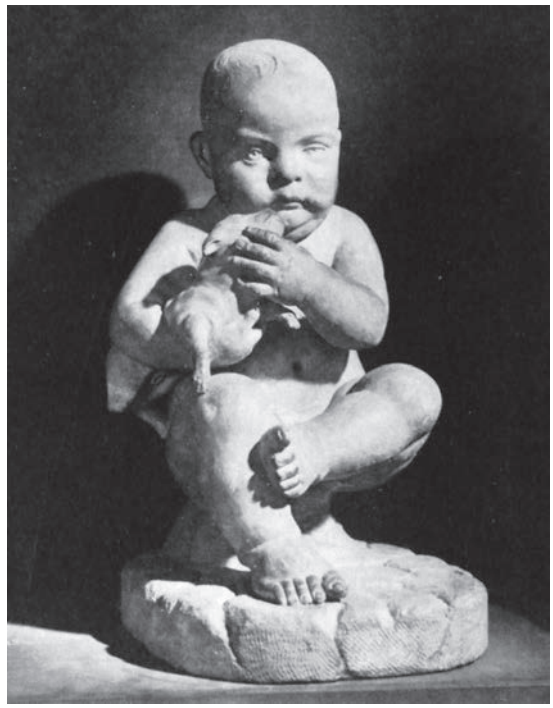
The Late Hellenistic phase, from 150 B.C. onward, witnessed a renewed interest in Classical sculpture. With the Roman conquest of Greece came Roman enthusiasm for Greek culture and in particular for statuary of the Classical period (ca. 480-323 B.C.), which will be further reviewed in par. 3.1.

2.22 Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles. Roman copy of ca. 350 B.C. marble Greek original. MPV

Here it suffices to mention the plunder of Greek art by the Romans after the capitulation of Tarentum in 272 B.C. and of Syracuse in 212 B.C. Aurelius Paullus had taken a huge number of statues and paintings after defeating Perseus in 168 B.C. Mummius collected cartloads of all sorts of works of art from Corinth in 146 B.C. The Romans demanded masterpieces of the 5th and 4th centuries to decorate their houses and gardens. Soon the demand exceeded the supply and workshops were set up in Greece, in particular in Athens, and Italy, that turned out vast quantities of copies and imitations.

This craze certainly affected the style of the Late Hellenistic period in that classical elements were introduced into the art of that period. A good example is the Aphrodite of Melos (Venus of Melo), found on the island of Melos and made ca. 150-100 B.C. (**2.21**). Characteristic are the left leg, sharply set forward, bent at the knee and turning, as well as the slight S-curve of the body, the small head and the face. These features are very much similar to the famous Aphrodite of Knidos, made by Praxiteles around 350 B.C., of which a Roman copy is now in the Vatican Museum (**2.22**).

2.23 Bronze statue of a seated boxer. Ca. 100-50 B.C. MNR



2.24 Boy and puppy. Marble. Roman copy of an original dating from ca. 100 B.C. MCR

Also the famous statue of the seated boxer is an example of this style (**2.23**). The realism of the fighter is extremely well represented -his nose is broken, his cheeks and forehead are scarred, his teeth are broken and he has "cauliflower" ears-, but combines with the heroic ideal of the Classical athlete.

A totally different element in the style of Late Hellenism is typified by a highly ornamental and playful, often erotic, expression, particularly useful for the decoration of houses and immediate environment. Gods and demi-gods yielded to satyrs and nymphs, and heroes gave way to children and decorative figures of women. But also, subjects from daily life -such as women playing with knucklebones, nurses with babies- were popular, as well as -strange enough- caricatures of dwarfs and deformed people. Examples are the boy playing with his puppy (**2.24**); the sleeping Eros (**2.25**); the group of Aphrodite, Pan and Eros (**2.26**) with Aphrodite covering her genitals with her hand, a typical classical gesture for a woman in distress[20]; and Eros and Psyche (**2.27**), all originals or copies of originals dating from 150-100 B.C.

Grotesque dwarfs were found in a shipwreck dated 90 B.C., off the coast of Tunisia, together with other sculptures in both bronze and marble, the cargo probably destined for the Italian market[21] (**2.28**).

Social realism is expressed in the sculptures of the old woman in the market (**2.29**) and the old fisherman wading through the water[22] (**2.30**).

2.25 Sleeping Eros. Bronze. Probably 150-100 B.C. MMN

2.26 Aphrodite, Pan and Eros. From the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos (Beirut) on Delos, Greece. Ca. 100 B.C. NMA

2.27 Eros and Psyche. Marble. Roman copy of an original of ca. 150-100 B.C. MCR

2.28 Dwarfs from the Mahdia shipwreck. Bronze. Ca. 150-100 B.C. Bardo Museum, Tunis.

2.29 Old woman. Marble. Ca. 100 B.C. MMN

2.30 Old fisherman. Black marble with garment in alabaster. Roman copy of an original probably of ca. 200-150 B.C. MLP

Hellenistic painting of which very little survived, and the related art of mosaics, of which is more available of the original material, also reflected the atmosphere of the age in the same way as the sculptured arts[23].

Already mentioned is the work of Apelles, which emphasized that Alexander was a god indeed, and the lion hunt as a typical token of the popularity of the royal exploits.

Realism and its increasing popularity can be seen when comparing the details in the representation of e.g. the head of the lion in the lion-hunt mosaic of ca. 300 B.C. (**2.13**) and that of the tiger head mosaic (**2.31**).

Vanishing-point principles seem to have begun to be understood and applied by 300 B.C.[24].

In a mosaic of uncertain date but probably of about 200 B.C., children, particularly in the form of Erotes, appear, playing with adult armour. Caricatures and scenes of daily life become more and more regular through the time. For example, a mosaic by Dioskourides of Samos from the 3rd century B.C. was copied in ca. 100 B.C. as a floor decoration in the villa of Cicero at Pompeii. It shows masked musicians with wreaths who seem to move in an odd way. One looks like a dwarf. A small painting recovered from Pompeii showing three nude graces, remarkably realistic in execution with their flowered wreath, gold anklets, bracelets and earring, beautifully rendered in their sensuous poses. It is a copy of a

2.31 Mosaic of a tiger head from a peristyle of the House of Dionysos at Delos. Late 2nd century B.C. After Havelock 1971, plt. VIII

2.32 Painting of the Three Graces. Copy of Hellenistic sculpture of the 1st century B.C. MAN

2.33 Painting on a panel, depicting a boy playing with a dove. After a Greek original of the 2nd century B.C. Pompeii, Home of Successus

2.34 Fragment of a painting with Victoria, after a Greek original, probably of the 2nd century B.C. Pompeii, Suburbane Villa of Murecine

Greek Hellenistic sculpture of ca. 100 B.C. (**2.32**). Later, in the Roman period, the same composition was popular in mosaics, gems, coins and sculpture.

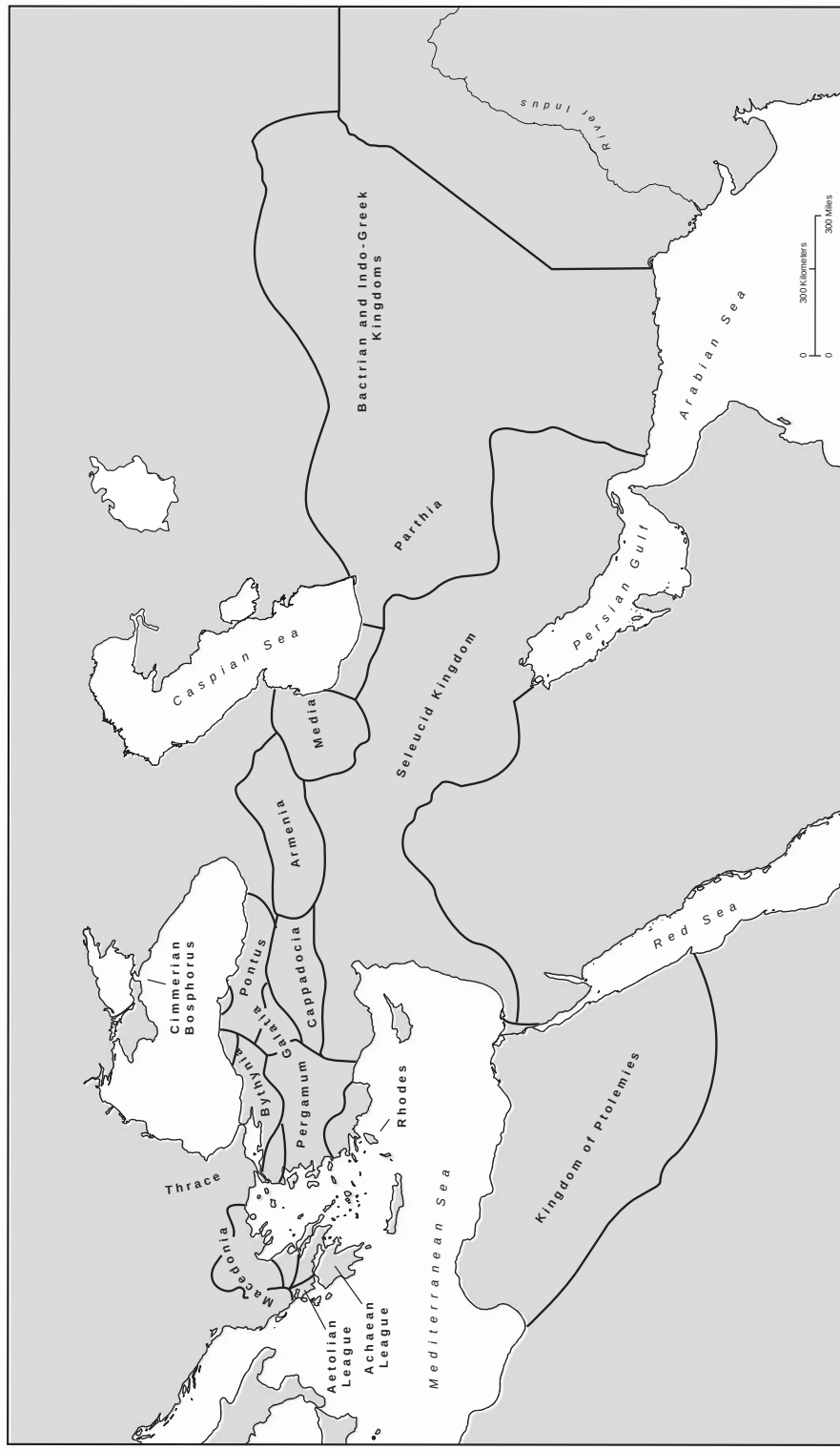
The finds in Pompeii often testify to early Hellenistic and Classical inspiration. The painting of the boy playing with his dove (**2.33**) certainly has an earlier Greek ancestor in sculpture of the 2nd century B.C.
The same holds for the wall painting of Victory (**2.34**), which reminds us of the Victory of Samothrace.

2.3 Persia and Parthia

After Alexander's death Seleucus I took control over the vast western area of the Empire, comprising roughly northern Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran, and established the Hellenistic Seleucid dynasty there. He preserved the old boundaries of the provinces (satrapies), which were divided into smaller units, townships, tribes and vassal kingdoms of differing status. He tried to preserve control, partly by the army, partly by veteran Macedonian and Greek soldiers settling the colonies at strategic points along the main trade routes.
By the time of Seleucus' death in 280 B.C. the Seleucid Empire controlled the area of present-day Turkey, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran.

After Seleucus' death, the precise course of events is not quite clear but may have been as follows[25]. Andragoras, the provincial governor of the Parthians -a nomadic Iranian tribe from Central Asia, who had settled in the area adjoining the south-east coast of the Caspian Sea- claimed independence around 250 B.C., issuing coins bearing his own name[26]. In the neighbouring province of Bactria the governor Diodotus, as well as the leader Arsaces of a semi-nomadic tribe (the Parni) had the same intent. When the Seleucids suffered a defeat by the Celts in 240 B.C., Arsaces (r. ca. 250-ca. 211 B.C.) saw his chance, occupied the province of Parthia in about 247 B.C. and expelled Andragoras. Capitals were founded at Nisa in Russian Turkestan, which became a flourishing town, and at Dara, about 100 km south-east of Nisa. Diodotus, probably inspired by Arsaces' seizure of Parthia, declared himself king of Bactria in 239 B.C.[27] The Parni, probably after some mixing with the local population, came to be called Parthians and about 185 B.C. their geographical position had developed as shown in (*Map 2.3)*. Later, their territory expanded with conquests, under the reigns of Mithradates I (r. 171-138 B.C.) and Artabanus II (r. 127-124 B.C.), to include the Iranian Plateau, and the Euphrates and Tigris valley. A new capital was established at Ctesiphon around 140 B.C. as a twin-town of Seleucia on the opposite bank of the Tigris. The westward movement of the Parthians had thus brought them to the Euphrates, while the eastward expansions of the Roman republic carried the Romans to the same river. In ca. 96 B.C. the ambassadors of the Parthian king Mithradates II (r. 123-88 B.C.) and the Roman consul Sulla met, and the Euphrates henceforth became the mutual frontier. But no further treaties were concluded, which left the political situation open for future conflicts. Under Mithradates II northern Mesopotamia was occupied as well as the important caravan city of Dura Europos in modern Syria, near the border of Iraq.

The Parthians were essentially a north Persian aristocracy and their culture was hybrid



Map 2.3 The Hellenistic kingdoms, 185 BC.

in a way, because it preserved Greek styles introduced since Alexander together with native Persian. This was to a certain extent a heritage of Alexander himself, as we recall that he developed the idea that the upper classes of his empire should be a mixture of Persians and Macedonians, of which the "Wedding of Susa" was an extreme exponent[28]. But after Alexander's death the Seleucid Empire was immediately under a strong Hellenizing influence.

A stream of Athenian Greek black-glazed pottery followed Alexander and Greek amphorae from the Mediterranean reached Susa and Ai Khanum, where also Hellenistic relief (Megarian) bowls were used[29]. Macedonian and other Greek colonists set up workshops for the production of their own art across the conquered regions from Syria to Afghanistan.

Of significance, too, was Alexander's coinage, which circulated everywhere in his empire. The important types, each issued in different denominations, were: a gold stater, with a helmeted head of Athena on the obverse and a standing winged personified Victory (Nike) on the reverse; a silver drachme and tetradrachme, with the head of the young Herakles in lion-skin headdress and a seated Zeus on a throne on the reverse.

So, in the early period after Alexander's death all sorts of products and symbols from the Greek world were lavishly spread over the empire. However, while the Seleucid Greek communities manufactured coins, figurines, sarcophagi, inscriptions, metalwork and pottery of Hellenistic type from local and imported materials -as finds from Seleucia-Tigris and elsewhere reveal- Asiatic workshops carried on in traditional local ways, producing figurines, rock-reliefs, pottery, textiles, etc.

This then was the situation when around 247-238 B.C. the Iranian Parthians split off from Seleucid rule. The subsequent westward expansion of the Parthians and the submission of Iran and Mesopotamia in particular, fostered a gradual blending of Greek with Iranian motifs into an Asiatic style, in which the marks of Hellenism were often clearly visible. Greek figures and motifs remained widespread over Asia, although predominantly in and around Seleucia and Syria, thus close to Hellenistic and Roman art. Therefore, Parthian art is complex and a mixture of various elements and cannot be described in terms of its apparently classical features only.

This is to be kept in mind when the focus in the next lines of this paragraph is on the traces of Classical art up to the early 3rd century A.D., when the Parthians were subdued by the Sasanians.

Bronze figurines of pure early to mid-Hellenistic Greek style, representing Zeus, Apollo, Athena and others were unearthed in West Iranian Nihavand, like the one of Fortuna dating from the 2nd century B.C. (**2.35**). This type of figurine, made of other materials too, found its way to the area during the 2nd century B.C., as silver-gilt examples found in Nisa of Athena, Eros, a centaur, siren, together with marble ones of semi-nude goddesses, indicate (**2.36).**

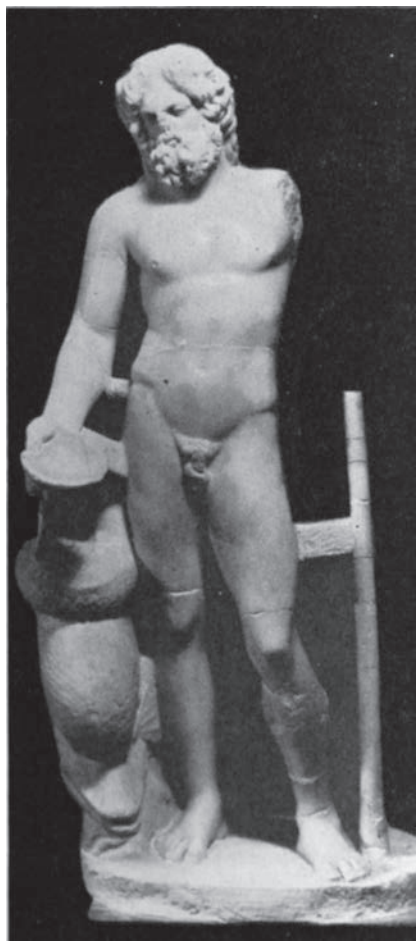
Less easily transportable full-scale statuary seems to have penetrated not further east than western Iran. To this group belong examples from Persepolis, Shami, Dura Europos, Hatra, all Greek deities, heroes, female and male (**2.37**).

Sculpture in the round, the medium *par excellence* of the Greeks to represent deities and important persons, was eagerly adopted between Syria and Central Iran and elsewhere, but

2.35 Imported Greek bronze figurine of Furtuna-Isis from Nihavand (west Iran). 2nd century B.C. Muzeh-e Iran-e Bastan, Teheran

2.36 Imported Greek marble figurine representing a goddess. From the Old Nisa Treasure,Turkmenistan. 2nd century B.C. After Colledge 1977, pl. 3b

initially less in the western areas, where a preference for colossal figures prevailed, like one of the composite figures of Zeus, Apollo and Herakles and local gods, found in Nemrud Dagh, dating from 69-31 B.C.[30]. Generally Greek figure types were used to represent oriental divinities or persons. (**2.38**) shows a female head from Susa, dating from ca. 100 B.C. - 100 A.D. It was thought to represent Musa, a royal consort, but portrays more likely the city's Fortuna or Tyche, who usually wore a mural crown in Greek iconography.
By the 2nd century A.D., statues in Syria and Mesopotamia became more widely used. Examples are the figures of the local goddess of fortune, represented as Fortuna or Tyche, from Palmyra, as well as the image of the winged Victory or Nike; a limestone figure of a reclining Adonis from Damascus; a bearded head from Dura Europos; heads



2.37 Imported Roman marble statue of Poseidon. From Hatra, "Hellenistic" temple E. Early 3rd century A.D. Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad

2.38 Grey-streaked marble head of Fortuna (Tyche). From Susa. Ca. 100 B.C.-100 A.D. Muzeh-e Iran-e Bastan, Teheran

of Hermes and Tyche **(2.39**) from Hatra, which offered also statues of Nike, a nude Aphrodite and about thirty figures of Herakles. A striking example of mixed cultural elements is the greenish-marble figure of a god (Assur-Bel or Apollo (?)) also from Hatra and dating from the 2nd century A.D. It has a Hellenistic cuirass with the bust of the sun god Shamash on the chest and the Medusa head on the back, a crouching Tyche-like figure at his feet and an almost Assyrian beard (**2.40**).

The practice in the Greek Hellenistic world to represent mortal figures -leaders of society and others- in a honorific portrait statue has been discussed in par. 2.2.3. The Greeks reproduced their figure types in the East[31], as for example near Susa, where several figures in a mountain sanctuary were placed as commemoration of piety. One of them dressed in a Greek *himation*, and the full-size bronze figure of a chieftain in commanding posture from Shami certainly had the commemorative function as the Hellenistic Greeks

2.39 Limestone head of a goddess, probably Fortuna. From Hatra. Ca. 200 A.D. Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad

were accustomed to (**2.41**). Palmyra produced honorific, sanctuary and funeral pieces, mostly standing, many based on Roman models, but others in Iranian dress sometimes hidden beneath a Greek himation.

Small-scale statuettes and figurines reflected major statuary[32]. Made of gypsum, limestone or terracotta they were found in Assur and Dura Europos. Bone was reserved largely for nude goddess figurines and these were mass-produced for religious purposes. They were found in Seleucia, Uruk and Susa. For the production of more costly items imported marble was used. Numerous marble male and female figurines were found in Babylonia, portraying nude reclining goddesses and standing men and women in Greek dress, often with faience inlaid eyes. Also alabaster was applied for the more precious figurines, as found in Babylonia and Hatra, to represent the city deities wearing a combination of Iranian and Greek dress, Herakles nude and clothed, Aphrodite, and seated females. Bronze too was often applied, as for the Erotes from Babylonia or a Herakles, Hermes, Eros, Nike figures from Hatra (**2.42**). However, the most favoured medium was terracotta, which was used to model the whole scala of statuary of the Hellenistic Greeks such as Aphrodite, Eros, Herakles, Europa, musicians, women, children, couples, dwarfs and grotesques.

Figured architectural relief adorned buildings throughout the period[33] and comprised traces of classical culture on a large scale together with innumerable decorations of various kinds like animals, florals and humans. The humans -male and female, nude and dressed- represented gods and goddesses, heroes, members of ruling families or their ancestors. In the case of deities, Greek figure types were used to represent eastern divinities. For our purposes a few examples of classical influence will be shown. Hellenized vine scrolls were carved on a peristyle beam of a Bel temple of ca. 32 A.D. in Palmyra (**2.43**). Victories were found on a lintel relief in Hatra, dating from ca. 150 A.D. (**2.44**), and in many more occasions.

Many figures of Herakles survive e.g. from Palmyra, Dura Europos and Assur, either standing or reclining or even executing one of his labours, e.g. like slaying the Cretan bull in the relief found in Dura Europos[34]. Famous is the relief from Nemrud Dagh depicting the Commagene king Antiochus I (ca. 69-31 B.C.) shaking hands with the composite god

2.40 Dark-green Mosul marble statue of Assur-Bel (or Apollo) in cuirass. From Hatra. 2nd century A.D. Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad

2.41 Bronze statue of a chieftain, perhaps a Parthian vassal ruler. From the Shami shrine. 50 B.C.-150 A.D. Muzeh-e Iran-e Bastan, Teheran

2.42 Bronze figurine of Herakles. From Hatra. 100-140 A.D. Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad

Artages-Herakles on equal terms (**2.45**).

In the domain of the applied arts of Parthia the rhyton takes a special position. The form appears in clay in Greece in the 6th century B.C. but becomes more familiar in the 5th[35]. Its form derives from the cattle horn which may be used as a drinking cup or as a pouring device directly to the mouth if the tip is pierced. The latter application is usual for the silver Parthian rhyton, an elaborate piece of craftsmanship, where the lower narrowing part of the horn has been modelled into an animal body with head and foreparts. (**2.46**) shows a Parthian rhyton where the shaft has been decorated with acanthus leaves. In Nisa a hoard of about fifty ivory rytha was discovered also dating from the 2nd century B.C.[36]. They were richly decorated with reliefs of Bacchic scenes, sacrifice, heads and animals, and ending in the foreparts of a horse, griffin, centaur, or the upper part of a female body.

Another type of silverwork, a cup, attracted much attention because -although clearly reflecting Greek influences- the precise location of manufacture and dating are subject to discussion. They are often termed the "Bactrian" cups[37], but are nevertheless thought to belong to, or be related to, the domain of the Parthian silversmith's work, also because in styling they seem to be vaguely related to the later (?) Sasanian silverware. (**2.47**) shows an

2.43 Limestone peristyle beam of temple of Bel at Palmyra, showing religious procession. Ca. 3 A.D. After Colledge 1977, pl. 21

2.44 Limestone lintel from shrine V at Hatra, showing the local king (Vologases) reclining between Victories. Ca. 155-165 A.D. After Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad

example of these, decorated in relief on the outside only, with a Herakles-type of scenery. Perhaps more instructive as an example of adaptation of a purely classical motif by eastern artists is the silver dish from Badakshan, now in the British Museum (**2.48**). The Badakshan area is roughly 500 km east of Ai Khanum and not part of the Parthian territory. The dish is supposed to have been part of the heirloom of the now extinct family of the Mirs (rulers) of Badakshan, and is dated not later than the 3rd century A.D.[38]. This dish, however, is placed in a Parthian context because it has been copied by the Sasanians about two hundred years later (**2.49**) who obviously regarded it important enough to be used as a model. Although misunderstood, the theme of both dishes is purely classical: Dionysos in his chariot, drawn by two Psychai (winged girls) and an Eros helping push

2.45 Propaganda relief at Nemrud Dagh (Turkey), depicting king Antiochus I of Commagene (ca. 69-31 B.C.), shaking hands on equal terms with the composite god Artagnes/Herakles/Ares. Arsameia, mid-1st century B.C. After Colledge 1977, pl. 32b

2.46 Parthian silver *rhyton* with feline foreparts and the shaft decorated with acanthus leaves. 2nd century B.C. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo

the wheel[39]. Both dishes show in their lower register the image of Dionysos' panther drinking from a vase, an important theme in our context, which will be further discussed in Chapter 12, par. 12.2.
The above survey exemplifies the absorption of Greek motifs as well as Iranian and local, into a mixed style, widespread, but most clearly visible in the western regions.

In the early 3rd century A.D. the Sasanian dynasty subdued the Parthians, and in their art many classical subjects recurred. After the establishment of the Byzantine Empire in 330 A.D. in the West, the osmotic cultural process with the western part of the Sasanian Empire not only continued, but saw an increase of the role of classical motifs, as will be discussed in par. 3.7 and 4.4.

2.4 Bactria and North India

The lands to the north of the Hindu Kush Mountains and south of the Hissar Mountains comprised ancient Bactria. Its eastern limits were the mountain regions of the Badakhshan and the Pamirs, while to the west, between Merv and Balkh, was an eastern

2.47 Silver cup with Herakles-type scenery, probably made by a Parthian silversmith in the 4th-5th century A.D. FGW

2.48 Silver dish decorated with scenery derived from the classical original of Dionysos in his chariot, drawn by two Psychai and a winged Eros assisting by pushing the wheel. 3rd century A.D. BML

2.49 Sasanian silver dish with the same Dionysiac scenery as in the preceding figure. 5th century A.D. FGW

stretch of the Karakum ("Black Sands") Desert. From Bactria one could go north over the Hissar Mountains of modern Tajikistan through the Iron Gate Pass into the land of the Sogdians (*Map 2.4*).

In 329 B.C. Alexander traversed Bactria and Sogdiana to the Jaxartes River and stood at the very limit of the Persian territory to the north-east (*Map 2.1*). But it had taken him two years to pacify Bactria, "the land of a thousand cities", comprising hundreds of walled and fortified towns.

In order to arrest political rebellion Alexander, or perhaps his successor Seleucis I Nicator, established a new colony at the Bactrian city of Ai Khanum and another at Kandahar in Arachosia, part of a pattern of about a dozen colonies in these distant eastern regions. However, the Indian ruler Candragupta Maurya (ca. 311-287 B.C.), who –after Alexander's premature death in 323 B.C.- had conquered the whole of north India, could not be checked by Seleucus. The Mauryans had their capital at Pātaliputra (modern Patna in Bihār), and a regional seat of government at Taxila (*Map 2.2*). Seleucus recognized Candragupta's control of the huge region extending from Kandahar to the East, and including Gandhāra and the Punjab, i.e. the former Persian satrapies south of the Hindu Kush. In exchange Seleucus obtained some hundreds of elephants which he needed to enforce his army.

When the Parthians, whose territory separated Bactria from the rest of the Seleucid dominions, were preparing their break-away from Seleucid rule, the Seleucid Bactrian governor Diodotus I Soter declared himself independent. But it was his son Diodotus II

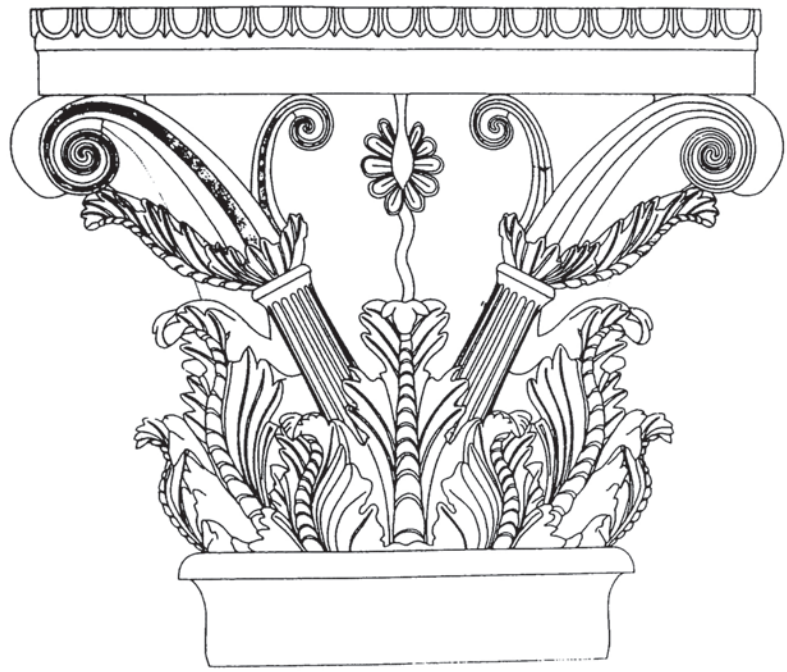
(ca. 248-235) who formally established a new kingdom after the Parthian rebellion had taken place and cut him off from the Seleucid Empire[40]. Diodotus II was killed and supplanted by Euthydemus I Theos (r. ca. 235-200). He and his successors again extended the Bactrian territory towards the south-east, and before the mid-2nd century Bactrian rule reached into the upper Indus valley up to Taxila (*Map 2.3*)[41]. In the latter half of the 2nd century B.C., the Greeks of Bactria pushed further south into India towards the River Ganges, but they stayed there only temporarily. Almost entirely cut off from the Greek world they ruled in north-western India until about 50 B.C. They lived, spoke and thought as independent Greek kings after Greece itself had fallen wholly under the power of Rome. Therefore they are often called the Indo-Greeks or Indo-Bactrians.

One might expect that Greek influence in this huge and remote area of Alexander's empire had been less than elsewhere. But this is not the truth. Already before the conquests of Alexander, the Achaemenid government had the practice of exiling whole villages or towns to the east and -according to Herodotus- Greeks were sent to Sogdiana[42]. Not only exiles were settled but presumably also Ionian Greeks of various kinds were sent to Bactria by Xerxes[43]. Greek coins had reached Bactria before Alexander and it is thought that the presence of Greek culture in Bactria might help explain the strength of the Greek response after the death of Alexander[44]. The Greek presence, more dominant in Bactria than in areas more to the West, could possibly be explained by the policy of the Persian kings to deport unreliable and potentially hostile Greeks to the most remote satrapy of their empire. This is certainly not to say that Bactria in Achaemenid times was dominated by Greek culture. It is quite clear that the Persians had integrated the area fully into the cultural and economic life of the empire and that perhaps it was even the key satrapy on the eastern frontier[45]. Excavations executed in 1976 at Takht-i-Sangin, a Greco-Bactrian temple site, have brought to light an impressive amount of offerings, dating from the 6th through 4th centuries B.C., which shows Achaemenid as well as Greek artistic traditions[46].

The Seleucid kingdom has never been some sort of second Achaemenid empire. Right from the beginning there were innovations and alterations and the superstructure of the empire was principally Greek in its language, customs and aspiration[47]. In Bactria, too, Greek colonies were planted on a considerable scale, where Hellenism flourished in a highly concentrated form[48]. Long after Bactria had become independent with the political breakaway under Diodotus in 239 B.C., it remained a domain of Greek culture. The finds at Ai Khanum on the Oxus River, excavated in 1965-1968, have dramatically removed all doubt about the Greek presence in that area by the mid-2nd century B.C.[49] The world of the Indo-Greek empire was a Greek world, where the Greek language was spoken and taught in the schools, was engraved on coins and was used in the theatres. And Bactria was no exception; on the contrary, the Greek theatre at Ai Khanum could take 5,000 spectators[50].

This Bactrian Greek tradition turned out to be crucial in the diffusion of Greek culture, because later, under Parthian and Kushān rule in North India, it became re-enforced by influences of Hellenistic-Roman art and blended with the art of India in Gandhāra. From there it was carried by Buddhism to China and Japan[51].

More attention will be given to these important developments in Chapter 4 (par. 4.2), but



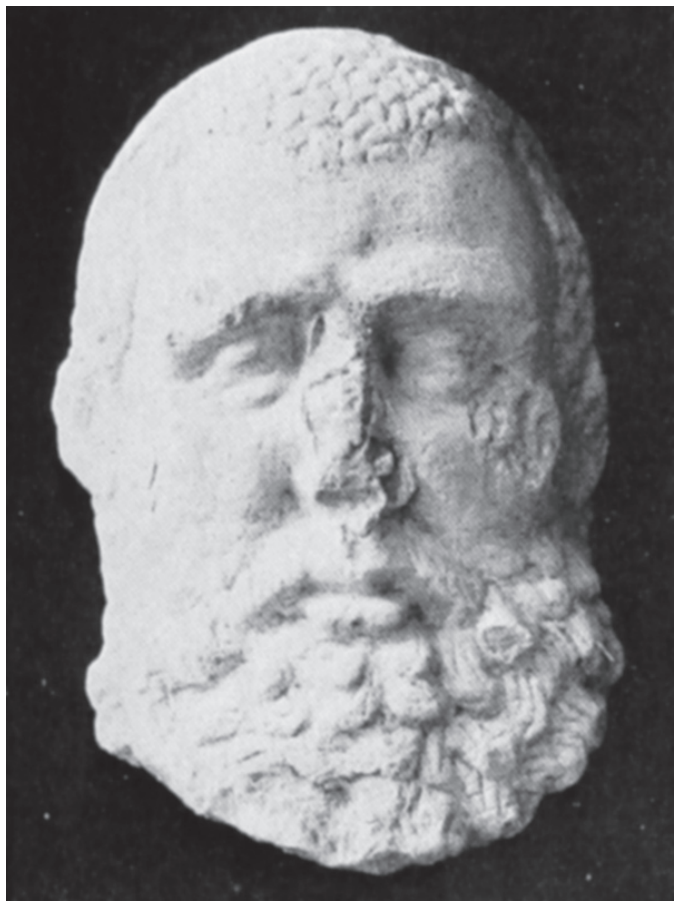
2.50 Drawing of a capital of the Corinthian order from Ai Khanum. 2nd century B.C. After Boardman 1994, 102, fig. 4.32

here, where the focus is on the heritage of Alexander, only the evidence of Greek cultural influence that dates from the last centuries B.C. up to our era will be discussed.

Foreign objects penetrated into Bactria, e.g. a silver disc with the goddess Cybele, possibly a Greek or Roman medallion, was found in Ai Khanum[52]. There, obviously, Greek metal vases were reproduced using imported moulds of Athena, Poseidon and others.
The Hellenistic nature of the Bactrian city Ai Khanum is unmistakable: amphitheatre, gymnasium and courtyard houses were all constructed in Doric, Ionic and Corinthian style (**2.50**). An inscription at the gymnasium invokes the protection of the gods Herakles and Hermes, and fountain spouts were found in the form of dolphins and lions[53].

Honorific portrait statues, popular in Greece in the Hellenistic period, were copied in the East as for example of a limestone bearded herm (**2.51**) found in Ai Khanum and dating from the 2nd century B.C. In execution and type this head comes very close to the busts of *sileni* that have come to light in various places in Iran[54]. This points not only to the extension of Hellenistic art to the East, but possibly also to presence of the Dionysiac cult in the area. A limestone statuette of a standing woman found in Ai Khanum reveals Greek (*contrapposto* attitude) as well as Asiatic (stiffness and stylized draperies) tradition (**2.52**).
The temple of Ai Khanum contained a massive statue of -presumably- Zeus seated on an ivory throne, and the complete figure must have closely resembled the seated images of Zeus depicted on the coins of Alexander.

Mass-produced figurines of nude goddesses, made of bone, were found in Ai Khanum as well as a bronze statuette of Herakles[55], but also in other cities in Bactria like Bactra and Kapiśa. The Greek influence on small-scale statuettes is demonstrated in various finds.



2.51 Limestone bearded head from a cloaked *herm*. Ai Khanum gymnasium. 2nd century B.C. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

2.52 Limestone statue of a woman beside a pillar. From the "indented" temple of Ai Khanum. 2nd-1st century B.C. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

Figured architectural reliefs show the popularity of the acanthus leaf, as on a limestone frieze found in Airtum, situated about 18 km east of Termez on the bank of the Amu Darya, with "musicians" alternating the foliage (**2.53**).
The Greek artists of Alexandria and on Cyprus had developed the technique of modelling clay and stucco, together with wooden frames and layers of cloth, to build up large-scale wall reliefs. This technique was first applied in Ai Khanum, but was also found in other cities in Bactria[56].

In the applied arts, jewellery like head ornaments, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, finger-rings, belts and anklets testified to the Hellenistic Greeks and were immensely influential wherever Greeks had settled[57]. Pottery transmitted the Greek forms, like *alabastron* and *amphora*, to the East.

2.53 Limestone relief from Buddhist building, with musicians' busts between acanthus leaves. From Aïrtam, Russian Turkestan. Probably 2nd century A.D. After Colledge 1977, pl. 24a

At this point we have to enter into some more detail about the political events in the Bactrian area during the last two centuries B.C. (*Map 2.4*).
The Yuezhi were living in an area which is now West Gansu, but by about 165 B.C., under pressure of the Xiongnu, they moved to the West into the land of the Śakas (Scythians) between the Jaxartes and Lake Issyk Kul. A little later, again under pressure of the Xiongnu, they moved further west and occupied Sogdiana around 130 B.C., but stayed north of the Oxus[58].
The majority of the Śakas, dislodged from the Ili River basin by the Yuezhi, overran most of northern and western present-day Afghanistan, where they founded Indo-Scythian city-states[59]. The Indo-Greek rulers, in the meantime, carried on to maintain their position as effective as possible under the rather unstable political situation, as the issuing of their coins at Taxila and Kapiśa (Begram) testifies. However, by about 90 B.C. Greek rule was overthrown, when the Indo-Scythians moved up to the Indus River and captured Taxila. Then, around 30 B.C., the Yuezhi crossed the Oxus and it took them about thirty years to penetrate through Bactria and the Indo-Greek area. Their chief, Kudjala Kadphises I, was bringing into being at the beginning of the Christian era the huge Kushān Empire. Meanwhile, by about 25 A.D., the Parthians had overthrown the Śaka-rule in the area, which covered most of northern and western present-day Afghanistan and the extensions to the Indus. They gave a new impulse to the Hellenistic culture there, fostered by the fact that they had regular commercial and cultural contacts with the Hellenism of the Greco-Roman world. They are sometimes called the Indo-Parthians. About 40 years later, in ca. 64 A.D., the Kushāns incorporated into their empire the whole of the traditional Bactrian territory and the region of the Indo-Greeks, which also ended the rule of the Indo-Parthians.

Thus, northern India already felt Greek cultural influence shortly after Euthydemus I, i.e. from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. on. Greco-Bactrian rule lasted approximately a hundred years until ca. 90 B.C., when control passed to the Śakas. The end of the Śaka-rule came by about 25 A.D. with the arrival of the Parthians, who were subdued by the Kushāns around 64 A.D.
What was the effect of this on the diffusion of Hellenistic art style and technique, which -as we have seen- had been accepted and adapted in Bactria as the finds in e.g. Ai Kha-

Map 2.4 Central Asia and north India

num give evidence of? In other words, what is the extent to which Greco-Bactrian art was introduced in northern India, in particular in the area called Gandhāra (west of Kābul and as far north as the southern valleys of the Hindu Kush), and in particular *before* the dominance of the Indo-Parthians and Kushāns, i.e. before say the beginning of our era? The answer to this question is of considerable importance, because it distinguishes the component of Hellenistic culture in Gandhāra which is to be considered as the direct heritage of Alexander the Great, from the component which was introduced from the West by the philhellenic Parthians by about 25 A.D. and, about forty years later, from the south by the Kushāns when they introduced Hellenistic influences in the area within a Buddhist context, a subject which will be treated in paragraphs 3.6 and 4.2.

The answer to this question necessarily has to take into account the fact that Buddhism was introduced into the Gandhāra area by about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., when the Maurya emperor Aśoka sent missions in every direction of his empire to spread the new belief.

In the rocks at Shābāz-Garhī in the Peshāwar valley the edicts of the emperor were engraved, comprising the Buddhist principles of religion and ethic, and rules of conduct[60]. The earliest datable Buddhist site was established in Butkara I in the Swāt Valley by the early 2nd century B.C.[61] But Buddhism in the next two centuries does not seem to have had a real impact on the persistence of Greek culture, although it was a flourishing and powerful religion under Greek rule.

Also the ruling families of the Śakas who followed and imitated the behaviour of their Greek predecessors, readily adopted Buddhism[62], but this adhesion to the religion must have had mainly political significance.

As Tarn says, "... the Greek empire of Bactria and India was a Hellenistic state ... as a Hellenistic state it must be treated"[63]. Although there has been some debate about this statement[64], there is no doubt, as we have seen, that the Indo-Greeks carefully preserved their cultural identity.

Their coins for example, are regularly inscribed in both Greek and Kharoshthī and on their reverse appear Athena, Nike and other deities, but also non-Greek images. (**2.54**) shows the Indo-Greek king Menander (r. ca. 155-130 B.C.) on the obverse and the inscription *Basileos Soteros Menandrou* (of the Saviour, King Menander), and Pallas-Athena on the reverse holding an aegis and thunderbolt, with a cloak over her shoulder.

A silver *tetradrachm* of Heliokles of ca. 155-140 B.C. (**2.55**) bears his portrait on the obverse and Zeus on the reverse. A gold double decadrachm of Eukratides, of ca. 160 B.C., shows his portrait on the obverse and the Dioscouri on the reverse (**2.56).**

Also the tetradrachm of Diomedes, ca. 150 B.C., has the king's bust on the obverse and the Dioscouri on horseback on the reverse (**2.57**). The silver double decadrachm of Amyntas of ca. 85-75 B.C. has his portrait on the obverse and a seated Zeus on the reverse, with scepter and palm branch, holding in his hand an image of his warrior daughter Athena (**2.58**), but Amyntas had also large silver coins minted with Tyche/Fortuna holding a cornucopia on the reverse (**2.59**).

The Indo-Scythians, in their coinage, too, followed the customs of their predecessors of which the coin of Azilises, ca. 50 B.C., is a good example (**2.60**). On the obverse the king is shown on horseback holding a whip and carrying a bow, thus emphasizing his Scythian

2.54 Coin with Indo-Greek king Menander on the obverse, and Pallas Athena on the reverse. Mid-2nd century B.C. BML

2.55 Silver tetradrachm of Heliokles with his portrait on the obverse and Zeus on the reverse. Ca. 155-140 B.C. Yale University Library, New Haven

2.56 Gold double decadrachm of Eukratides with his portrait on the obverse and the Dioscouri on the reverse. Ca. 186 B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

2.57 Tetradrachm of Diomedes, with the king's bust on the obverse and the Dioscouri on horseback on the reverse. Second half of 2nd century B.C. BML

2.58 Silver double decadrachm of Amyntas with his portrait on the obverse and a seated Zeus on the reverse with sceptre and palm branch, in his hand holding the image of his daughter Athena. Ca. 85-75 B.C. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

2.59 Silver double decadrachm of Amyntas with his portrait on the obverse and Tyche holding a *cornucopia* on the reverse. Ca. 85-75 B.C. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

2.60 Silver tetradrachm of Azilizes with the king on horseback on the obverse and the Dioscouri on the reverse. Ca. 50 B.C. BML

2.61 Steatite toilet-tray with the rape of Europe, i.e. Europe riding a bull, a metamorphosis of Zeus. Gandhāra, Indo-Greek period. 2nd century B.C. After Alexander the Great 2003, 123, fig. 119

2.62 Steatite toilet-tray with Aphrodite beating Eros. 2nd-1st century B.C. BML

2.63 Grey schist toilet-tray with a pair of lovers. From Sirkap. Early 1st century B.C. NMP

nomadic horseman origin, with a Greek inscription reading *Basileos Basileon Megalou Azilisou* (of the King of Kings, Great Azilises), and on the reverse stand the Dioscouri with Kharoshthī text around them.

In architecture, too, the Hellenistic heritage is clearly visible in the Gandhāra area, like the fact that the Greek city (of Sirkap at) Taxila was organized in its lay-out and wall structure according to Hellenistic principles, while its Greek temple of the 2nd century B.C. was adorned with Ionic capitals[65].

In the applied arts the toilet trays found in Taxila are remarkable. They are made of fine schist or marble, and are clearly Hellenistic in style. They were decorated with relief figures, usually allowing for one or more sinkings in which oil or perfume could be mixed and dispensed. They were introduced in Bactria and elsewhere from the West, where numerous specimens have been found.

The older ones, from the Indo-Greek period (2nd century B.C.), found in Taxila where they were particularly en vogue[66], usually show Greek themes with satyrs, nymphs, reclining figures and floral designs. From Gandhāra, too, are the examples with the rape of Europe (**2.61**) and Aphrodite beating one of three winged Erotes (**2.62**).

The later ones, from the Indo-Scythian period, more often show more secular themes like in (**2.63**), where an erotic scene is depicted in high relief and in Greek style. The tray is referable to the early 1st century B.C. From the latter part of the 1st century B.C. comes the tray decorated with such Hellenistic elements like figures clad in a himation and chi-

2.64 Grey schist toilet-tray with drinking scene. Latter part of 1st century B.C. NMP

ton, a wine-cup, a garland, and wide-open eyes (**2.64).**

The above examples indicate that Hellenistic culture in the North India area was preserved during the last centuries B.C. by the Indo-Greeks as well as by the Indo-Scythians, this notwithstanding the growing influence of Buddhism.

It means that the Greco-Bactrian art style, as found in Ai Khanum, was introduced to Gandhāra, where it was preserved to a certain extent prior to the advent of the Parthians and, later, the Kushāns, who -with their fresh impulses from the Hellenistic Rome- caused its revival.

3 THE ROMAN WORLD AND THE EAST

3.1 Rome as a centre of Hellenistic culture

In the course of the 3rd century B.C., the Greek cities in Italy succumbed gradually to Roman control and faded into insignificance, with the exception of Tarentum (modern Taranto). The Tarentines had an attitude of rebellion against the Romans. They had sunken some Roman ships in minor scrimmages, and invited King Pyrrhos of Epirus to Italy to protect them from Roman vengeance. This led to the Pyrrhic wars (280-275 B.C.), ending in the settlement of a Roman garrison in Tarentum. But when the city tried to ally with Hannibal, it was besieged, captured and plundered by Fabius Maximus in 209 B.C.

The Romans also assumed control of the ancient centres of Greek culture in Sicily and southern Italy. Sicily had been ruled by Hieron II of Syracuse (269-215 B.C.), who had contracted an alliance with Rome in 263 B.C. and stuck to it for about fifty years. As a consequence his reign brought peace and prosperity to Syracuse and other Sicilian cities. Upon his death in 215, Hieron was succeeded by his son Hieronymos, who tended to ally with Carthage. A Roman army under M. Claudius Marcellus was sent to Sicily. Syracuse was besieged for two years (213-211 B.C.) and finally captured. The Syracuse kingdom was incorporated in the Roman province of Sicily.

During the first decennia of the 2nd century B.C. the aggressive policy of King Philip V of Macedonia forced Rome several times to intervene directly in Greece. In 168 B.C., the army of Consul L. Aemilius Paullus defeated Perseus, the son of Philip V, at Pydna in southern Macedonia. Although Paullus took forceful measures against various anti-Roman factions in Greece and Perseus was humiliated in Paullus' triumphal procession in Rome, Macedonia was treated mildly and allowed to be governed by its own senate and magistrates. But when, in about 150 B.C., a certain Andriskos declared himself king of a reunited Macedonia, a strong army under Quintus Caecilius Metellus was sent to put an end to this idea. Macedonia was converted into a Roman province ruled by a Roman governor and ceased to be of political importance in the ancient world.

Until that time, the Achaean League had been an ally of the Romans, although anti-Roman feelings were already well-developed, but because now apparent and dominant, culminating in a clash in 146 B.C. between the army of Lucius Mummius, the successor of Metellus, and the Greek army of the League. The Romans overwhelmed them, captured Corinth and plundered it and dissolved the Achaean League.

The fall of Syracuse is an important event in the history of Hellenistic art and culture, since it resulted in the first massive influx of works of Greek art into Rome and gave an enormous impetus to the Hellenization of Roman taste in the arts. In fact the cities that were sacked by the Romans, beginning with Marcellus' victory over Syracuse and ending with Mummius' sack of Corinth in 146 B.C., were plundered to an extent which made Rome to become flooded with works of Greek art.

Plutarch, writing in ca. 100 B.C., gave an impression of the attitude of Marcellus in connection with the sack of Syracuse:

"When the Romans recalled Marcellus to the war with which they were faced at home, he returned bringing with him many of the most beautiful public monuments in Syracuse, realizing that they would both make a visual impression of his triumph and also be an ornament for the city. Prior to this, Rome neither had nor even knew these exquisite and refined things, nor was there in the city any love of what was charming and elegant; rather it was full of barbaric weapons and bloody spoils; and though it was garlanded with memorials and trophies of triumphs, there was no sight which was either joyful or even unfearful to gentle and refined spectators..."[1]

When Tarentum was put to sack in 209 B.C. after its collaboration with Hannibal, Livy records that the Romans carried off "… a huge amount of silver, both wrought and coined, 83.000 pounds of gold, and statues and paintings which will almost have equalled the decorations taken from Syracuse"[2].

After the victories of the Macedonian wars artistic treasures from the mainland of Greece began to supplement the plunder from Italy and Sicily. For example, when the city of Eretria on Euboea was captured in 194 B.C., statues in bronze and marble in huge quantities were carried back to Rome and exhibited. Likewise, 285 bronze statues and 230 marble statues were taken to Rome in 187 B.C. after the capture of the Aetolian capital Ambracia.

The triumphal procession celebrated in Rome to honour Aemilius Paullus in 167 B.C. appears to have emptied Macedonia of art treasures. The procession lasted for three days. According to Plutarch, the first day "… was just barely sufficient for seeing the statues which had been seized, and the paintings, and the colossal images, all carried along on 250 wagons drawn by teams". On the second day, in addition to armour, "... silver mixing bowls, horn-shaped goblets [i.e. *rhyta*], offering bowls and drinking cups ..." were exhibited, each specimen being "... outstanding in size and in the density of its engravings". On the third day more metalwork was exhibited including "the Antigonid and Seleucid ... cups and all the gold utensils used at the table of Perseus."[3].

The triumph celebrated by Metellus after the final conquest of Macedonia in 148 B.C. seems to have been influential in spreading Hellenistic architecture in Rome. From the Macedonian city of Dion he confiscated a group of 25 bronze equestrian figures and constructed several buildings and temples around and within a specially dedicated area, known as the Porticus Metelli. Presumably Metellus built the first marble temple in Rome[4].

Mummius' sack of Corinth in 146 B.C. seems to have flooded Rome with more Greek art than ever before: "the greatest number and best of public monuments of Rome came from it"[5].

During the second part of the 2nd century B.C. gradually a notion of appreciation of the Hellenistic art developed into the establishment of an ethical code regarding works of art among the Roman upper class, and collecting and connoisseurship became popular. In fact a complete art market arose, with all its characteristics of passionate collectors, dealers, forgers, restorers and inflating prices.

The collectors had a strong preference for works which were in the Classical Greek style. This preference lasted for several centuries in the Roman world, not only because the Roman educational system inspired a taste for classicism in art, but also because the city itself -plundered in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.- had become a museum of Classi-

cal Greek sculpture. Greek culture in general became increasingly dominant among the higher layers of Roman society, where the Greek language was fashionable together with Greek scholarship.

As the source for these collectors soon became exhausted, the practice of making copies of works of famous artists of the past became a thriving business. Also, an artist could produce contemporary originals in the Classical style. Anyway, the houses of the Roman upper class eventually became filled with such copies or contemporary originals, many of them replicas of Greek sculpture of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[6] Hence Rome, in the late 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., saw a fusion of Greek artistic transitions -in particular the Hellenistic one- with Roman taste and patronage, resulting in an art that is usually termed "Greco-Roman".

The victory of Julius Caesar's adopted son Octavian over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 B.C. signalled the end of the Republican period. The beginning of the Imperial period of ancient Rome in 27 B.C. coincided with the change of Octavian's name to Augustus. The civil wars were still fresh in public memory and in order to establish a sense of trust in his rule, Augustus sought to liken Rome to the Golden Age of Greece. So he promoted every branch of art at Rome and in the provinces. But as far as the visual arts were concerned, rather than adopting the Hellenistic style, he fostered the further revival of the Classical spirit of 5th century B.C. Athens. The reason behind this idea was that the artistic style of the Athenian democracy could serve as a model for representing the personality cult of the emperor, and could support the notion of a "Golden Age" –as the Classical period was called[7]- which would bring peace to the Romans. The tradition of promoting the arts, established by Augustus, was continued by his successors, most of who realized that artistic expression had become an essential vehicle for the assertion of authority and power. During the Imperial period the population, the extent of the empire, and both personal and public wealth increased to their greatest point. The literary and visual arts flourished throughout.

The influence of Greek art remained paramount, visible in all media, although different styles and epochs were favoured at different times. Several emperors, such as Nero in the 1st century A.D., appear to have been genuinely supporting Greek art and culture. But it was in particular Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) who started a second wave of classicism. He was very well informed and trained in the Greek language, philosophy and art and is known to have been elected chief magistrate of Athens. His collection of Greek statues was famous and he built copies of Greek monuments.

As wealthy citizens followed the emperor's lead, the city of Rome continued to be a magnet for artists and craftsmen from all over the empire, especially from Greece and the East, and fashions -set in Rome- gradually filtered out into the provinces.

3.2 Attempts at direct contact between Rome and China

The first expedition that took the Chinese comparatively close to areas of classical civilization occurred between 138 and 126 B.C., when Zhang Qian, as ambassador of the emperor Wudi, reached as far as Ferghana (Dayuan), which was the north-eastern portion of the Bactrian kingdom, and possibly Bactria itself, on a mission which had both exploratory and diplomatic intentions. This was during the period of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.), when China had expanded as far west as Central Asia, and had built a considerable part of the Great Wall[8] in an effort to check the Xiongnu (*Map 3.1*). This was also the period when the Hellenistic kingdoms and domains in the West, starting with Greece and Asia Minor, were beginning to collapse under the power of Rome, while Bactria, the eastern most outpost of Hellenism, suffered from the invading Śakas and was trying to make contact with China for aid.

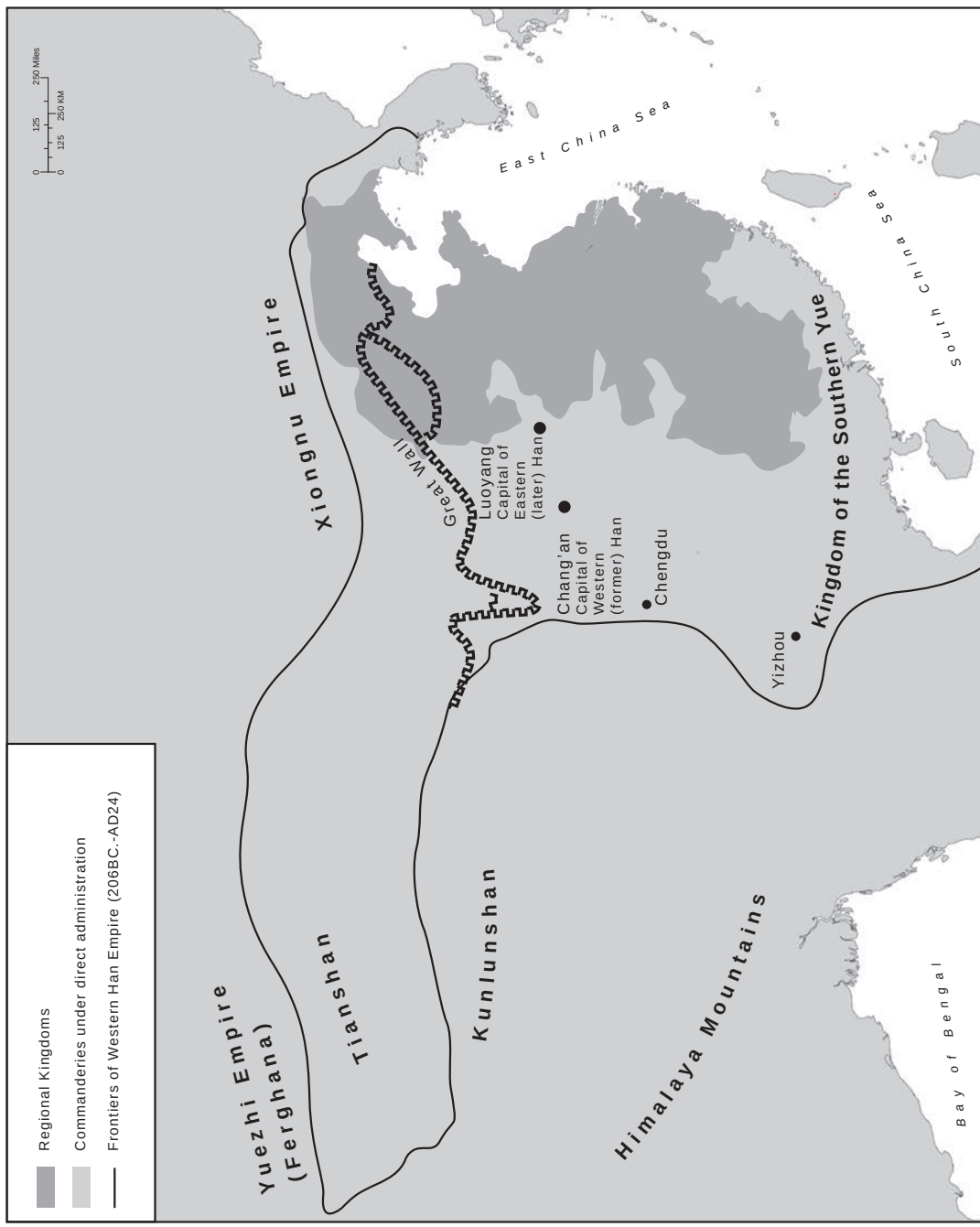
The immediate cause of the expedition arose when in 140 B.C. Wudi made inquiries among Xiongnu prisoners and found out that the Xiongnu had overcome the king of the Yuezhi and made a drinking cup out of his skull. The Yuezhi had decamped and were hiding somewhere, and seeking an ally to join them in revenge. Wudi then wanted to communicate with the Yuezhi, and -aware of the difficulty of such a mission through Xiongnu territory- selected Zhang Qian as his most able leader of such a journey. Zhang Qian set out, was taken prisoner by the Xiongnu, spent ten years in captivity, escaped and finally reached Ferghana in 128 B.C.

The story of Zhang Qian's expedition was recorded in the *Shiji* or *Historical Records*, which were completed about 99 B.C. and written by Sima Qian (136-85 B.C.), the first Chinese historian[9]. But there is nothing in the brief reference to Bactria of anything resembling a trace of Hellenistic civilization whatsoever. On the contrary, the only detail the writer felt impelled to record was the apparent interest of the Bactrians in things Chinese. For Zhang Qian saw there Chinese bamboo and silk and found out that the Bactrians bought these in India. Another thing in which Zhang Qian was interested was the "blood-sweating" horses of Dayuan (Ferghana), which his emperor wanted, because, if they would be obtained in sufficient numbers, they might enable the Chinese to subjugate the Xiongnu. Further, it were the jugglers from Li-Kan (Seleucid Syria), later identified with Daqin (Ta Ts'in; Roman Empire), which he wanted.

The expedition of Zhang Qian was only partly successful, in that he was able to give to his emperor a survey of the lands to the West of China's border, including Parthia (Anxi), Greco-Bactria (Daxia), Ferghana (DaYuan) and Transoxiana (Kangju)[10].

In his diplomatic endeavours, however, he failed. "The countries west of Dayuan (Ferghana) which being of the opinion that they were too far away from China, had as yet calmly stood upon their national pride, could not be won over by our polite civilization into the state of vassalage"[11].

The reports of Zhang Qian on the countries he had visited, and especially the story of the bamboo and other goods bought in India, made Wudi to decide to resume war on a large scale against the Xiongnu and to open up a north-west route. Operations were successful and Chinese dominion was advanced as far as Lop Nor (121 B.C.), while the



Map 3.1 The Han Empire (206 B.C.- A.D. 220)

nomads were driven back –if only temporarily- to the north side of the Gobi desert. The problem, however, was to create stability. The idea this time was to make an alliance with a tribe named the Wusun, who were living in the Ili Valley south of Lake Balkash. They were much nearer to China than the Yuezhi. Perhaps they could be persuaded to move into the Gansu-corridor (s.v.), now empty of nomads, and be a buffer state for China. So, in 115 B.C., Zhang Qian was sent on his second mission, which was not totally successful either, but at least an embassy of the Wusun returned to China with gifts among which a number of Wusun horses[12]

The mission of Zhang Qian was the beginning of the development of the silk trade, which may be said to have been arisen partly as a by-product of Wudi's energetic diplomatic and military policy in Central Asia[13]. (*Maps 3.4 and 3.5*)

From 106 B.C. on, on a regular basis, missions were sent to the countries mentioned by Zhang Qian. In return for ordinary Chinese silks accepted as precious things in Ferghana, Bactria or Parthia, the Chinese court received corresponding rarities from those lands. Thus the embassies constituted a kind of trade and opened up the way for further, non-official commerce by creating habits and demands.

It is not likely, however, that any of these embassies reached Antioch, not only because there is no report of such an event from the Greek side, but also because a Chinese source, the *Hou Hanshu*, or *Annals of the Later Han Dynasty*, tells us that no Chinese envoy had been as far west as Babylonia before the time of a journey by Gan Ying in 97 A.D.

At this point, we have to observe briefly the special position that the Parthians maintained in the silk trade. The Parthians owed much of the wealth, which enabled them to live in the luxurious manner prevalent in their capital at Nisa, to the decision of the Han emperor of China, Wudi, to sell silk to the West. The silk industry had become established in China in the 14th century B.C.[14], but for many centuries the precious fabric was produced for the exclusive use of the imperial family and court circles. By the 5th century B.C. the emperors had begun presenting lengths of silk to the nomad chieftains whom they wished to behave peacefully. In the 2nd century B.C. Wudi's desire to obtain certain western products induced him to start exporting silk to the West. Many difficulties had to be overcome in order to do so. The most important was the need to establish international routes which the silk caravans could travel along in complete safety. Several roads of a suitable character were already in existence. The western was the least difficult and it therefore quickly became the most popular. It led from China across Ferghana, Sogdiana and Chorasmia to northern Iran, where it could either turn south-eastward to Afghanistan and India, or proceed to Ecbatana where goods could either be directed to Syria and Asia Minor or sent northward to the Urals or the Black Sea. However, the north-eastern section of this road traversed areas which lay within easy raiding distance of the Hunnic and Sakian nomads. The Chinese were therefore obliged to mount costly punitive expeditions against these tribes and, even when they had restored peace, they were often forced to satisfy them with expensive gifts in order to maintain it. A vital section of this route was owned by the Parthians who levied heavy dues from the caravans traversing their territory.

India had already been making use of part of this route to provide the West with food, linen, cotton, jewels, ivory, dyes and hardwoods, directing these goods to Ecbatana. China,

using the same road, obtained from the West lead, woven Egyptian and Syrian textiles, Syrian cut glass and crystal as well as lucerne and vines from Ferghana in return for her silk exports. The West was no less anxious than China to enter into trading relations, for it wanted China's silks. From the start, the revenue which China obtained from the silk trade was so considerable that the emperor decided to expand exports. But he was well aware of the fact that the Parthians were all-powerful in Iran and tried to gain control of the silk trade with Rome. Their ruler Tiridates had been ceremonially crowned in Rome as king of Armenia in A.D. 66, with the result that peace temporarily reigned between Parthia and Rome for fifty years, but, in fact, the interests of Rome and Parthia conflicted so sharply that even then silk, intended for Rome, travelled through Media and Armenia to Colchis and the Black Sea coast. Thus, until they were supplanted by the Sasanians, the Parthians did control the section of the silk trade between Merv and Seleucia on the Tigris[15].

After the expedition of Zhang Qian in 138 BC, it took about 225 years before a second Chinese attempt was made: the envoy Gan Ying was sent out in 97 A.D. with formal instructions to proceed to Daqin (the Roman Empire). He arrived in Parthia that was involved in a conflict with Rome at that time. The intention of Gan Ying was to proceed from Babylonia down the Persian Gulf, round southern Arabia and up the Red Sea, to reach an Egyptian port. But the Parthians persuaded him to abandon the trip by exaggerating the difficulties and dangers involved in such a voyage:

"From Parthia (the original kingdom) you go west to Ecbatana, from Ecbatana to Ctesiphon, from Ctesiphon you go south, crossing a river (the Tigris), and again south-west to the country of Yü-lo (Hira, on the Babylonian Lake, at the southern end of the Pallacopas canal), and the extreme west frontier of Parthia; from here you travel south by sea, and so reach Ta Ts'in (Syria).... The city of the country of T'iao-chih... borders on the western sea (the Hira or Babylonian Lake)...In the 9th year of Yung-yüan of Ho-ti (A.D. 97) the tu-hu [general] Pan Ch'ao sent Gan Ying as an ambassador to Ta Ts'in, who arrived in T'iao-chih [Chaldae, Mesopotamia], on the coast of the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of An-hsi [Parthia] told Gan Ying: -The sea is vast and great; with favourable winds it is possible to cross within three months; but if you meet slow winds, it may also take you two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea take on board a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make men homesick, and several have thus lost their lives-. When Gan Ying heard this he stopped... The country of Ta Ts'in is also called Li-chien (Li-kan)...They (the Romans) traffic by sea with Parthia and India... Their kings always desired to send embassies to China, but the Parthians (themselves) wished to trade with them (the Romans)....It is further said that, coming from the land-road of Parthia, you make a round at sea and, taking a northern turn, come out from the western part of the sea, and from there you proceed to Ta Ts'in (Syria)"[16]

The Parthians, who were still unable to control trade in southern Arabia, were obviously unwilling to see China develop ties with Rome and open a trade route by sea. They simply put Gan Ying off by frightening him for the sea route and not telling him of the existence of the land route. They were obviously exceedingly anxious to prevent an intercourse between Chinese and Romans, which would bring to each the profits of the Parthian merchants and perhaps lead to measures to cut them out[17]. Whether the trip of Gan Ying was in principle peaceful and solely aimed at reaching Daqin to establish relations, because the trade was said to be extremely profitable, is unclear. The embassy was sent under the auspices of the general Ban Chao (31-103 A.D.), who had succeeded in

re-establishing Han domain over Central Asia, and was seeking to go further west. Therefore, an element of potential aggression may have been present. Significant, however, is the fact that during this period Roman control was extending eastward. In a few years Trajan's troops would be standing in Chaldea, Mesopotamia that Gan Ying reached in his mission. (*Map 3.2*)

But Gan Ying failed for the same reason why the Romans did not succeed to get into more direct contact with China, namely the obstacles put in the way by the Parthians[18].

Despite Gan Ying's failure to reach his destination of Egypt, he had travelled to many parts of West Asia, never before visited by other Chinese. His visits to these countries triggered the dispatch of envoys by such remote states as Mocha and Adulis to Luoyang, the capital of the Later Han Dynasty, to seek friendly ties with China. Both located by the Red Sea, Mocha was a commercial centre in South Arabia, while Adulis was the principle port of the ancient Ethiopian nation Axum. Envoys of these two remote states arrived in Luoyang in 100 A.D.

The first suggestion that Roman merchants may have visited a part of the Chinese Empire is given by Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) in his *Natural History*, written in the third quart of the 1st century A.D. He mentions an embassy sent to the Emperor Claudius (10 B.C.-54 A.D.) by a king of Taprobane (Ceylon) as follows:

"The Seres, too, who dwell beyond the mountains of Emodus [the Himalayas], and who are known to us by the commerce which is carried on with them, had been seen these people [i.e. the convoys from Ceylon]; the father of Rachias [the chief envoy], had visited their country, and they themselves on their travels had met with people of the Seres. They described these as surpassing the ordinary stature of mankind, as having red hair, blue eyes, hoarse voices, and no common language for communication. The rest of what they told was just as we have it from our own [i.e. Roman] traders. The goods carried thither are deposited on the further side of a certain river besides what the Seres have for sale, and the latter, if content with the bargain, carry them off; acting, in fact, as if in contempt of the luxury to which they ministered, and just as if they saw in the mind's eye the object and destination and result of this traffic"[19]

The problem of course is the fact that Pliny describes the Seres as red-haired and blue-eyed, not particularly corresponding to the physical traits of the Chinese. The Seres of Pliny and his informants, the Ceylonese, were therefore more likely the silk-people, i.e. Caucasians in Central Asia who traded silk. That these people were thought to be Chinese is quite understandable also because the Han Empire at the time included Chinese Turkestan up to the borders of Bactria and India from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. to the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

A further suggestion comes from a Roman document, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. It states that Hadrian (r. 117-138 A.D.) received an embassy from Bactria. This may have been related to an attempt of Rome to get into closer contact with China by way of Bactria, thus avoiding Parthia[20].

Much more definite statements indicating that inhabitants of the Roman Empire had set foot in the Chinese Empire are those of Ptolemy's report, on the authority of Marinus of Tyre, about two journeys to the East: one overland by the agents of the Greek merchant Maës Titianus to the Seres and another of a certain ship captain Alexander to the Sinai by sea.

Map 3.2 The Eastern part of the Roman Empire from Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) to Trajan (A.D. 98-117)

Marinus of Tyre (ca. 70- ca. 130 A.D.) was a geographer who became known primarily because Ptolemy based much of his work *Geography* on the information provided by Marinus. Maës Titianus, though of Macedonian decent, was undoubtedly a Roman subject as can be seen from his surname, Titianus. He was probably an inhabitant of Alexandria, an important centre of trade with the East[21].

In the report about the first trip, after discussing the difficulties and distance of the overland route from Lithinos Purgos in Central Asia to the land of the Seres, Ptolemy says:

> "Now it is by means of commerce that this [i.e. distance] became known. For he [i.e. Marinus] says that a certain Maës, also called Titianus, a Macedonian and a hereditary merchant, wrote down the measurement of the distance. He did not go himself, but sent some people to the Seres"[22]

The journeys made by the agents of Maës were across Parthia and therefore probably made feasible by the good offices of Roman imperial diplomacy, that is around 120 A.D. after Hadrian had concluded peace with Parthia. The agents covered the first part of the overland route by going from Zeugma, where the Euphrates was crossed, to Ecbatana (modern Hamadan). Beyond Merv they followed the route via Bactria over the Pamirs into Kashgar. From Ptolemy's description, derived from Maës through Marinus of Tyre, we can recognize the chief mountain ranges, the Rivers Tarim and Huanghe (Yellow River), and the city of Chang'an, Sera Metropolis, the Former Han capital.

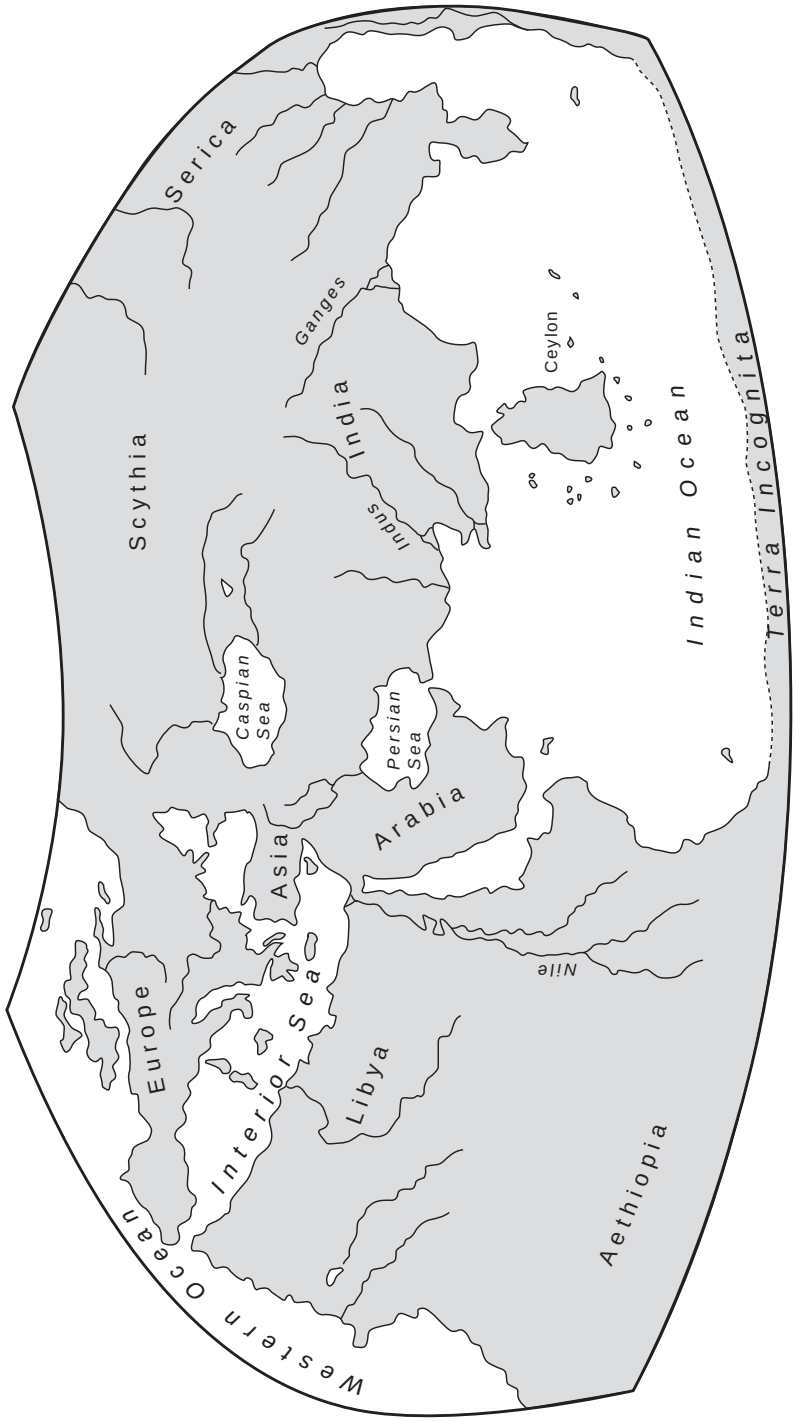
Because more accurate information about the silkworm appears after the period of this expedition and detailed information on both the route to Sera and about the Seres is based by Ptolemy on this expedition, it seems reasonable to consider that Maës' people indeed visited China. However, Ptolemy did not have any knowledge of the geography of China (*Map 3.3*).

The second voyage reported by Ptolemy, also on the authority of Marinus, was the trip of the ship captain Alexander to the seaport Cattigara, which was in the land of the Sinai[23]. Cattigara has been located in southern China, -specifically in Canton (modern Guangzhou, Guangdong province), or in Indochina, -specifically in Hanoi. In any case, if Cattigara was in the southern Chinese domains, as most authorities agree, this is the first specific instance mentioned in Greco-Roman sources of a sea-voyage to China.

Trade relations continued to develop in subsequent years, as a Roman envoy sent by Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (r. 161-180) arrived in 166 A.D. at the court in Luoyang. They had travelled by sea around India, then overland by way of Vietnam. The Roman envoy offered ivory, rhino-horn and tortoise-shell to the Han emperor as gifts from the Roman ruler. Although the Chinese, at first, were not impressed by these gifts, they were flattered by the pretence of "tribute". Hirth believes that, because of the nature of these gifts, Annamese articles, the mission was not a formal embassy, but a private expedition of a group of merchants from a wealthy guild in Antioch or Alexandria[24].

Whether or not the embassies between the Roman and Chinese court were really official ones may be unclear, but certainly trade relations were further established. The Chinese records already mentioned in this paragraph, that specified the advance of China towards the West, were followed by the Annals of later dynasties, in particular by those of the Liu Song, a southern dynasty, covering the period from 420-479 A.D., and of Wei, a northern dynasty, from 386-556 A.D., both of which continued to refer to trade between China and Daqin (the Roman Empire), as overland to "Parthia" and from there onward

By the time of Ptolemy geographers could map a world that carried one as far as the western frontiers of China



Map 3.3 The world according to Ptolemy, ca. A.D. 150

"by sea". When almost four centuries after Marcus Aurelius' envoy Greco-Roman sources report on the bringing of the silkworm eggs to the West, there is no indication that such a trip was extraordinary. It was rather the bringing in of the eggs that made the incident worth recording. Apparently a trip to China and back from the Eastern Roman Empire was not to be considered unusual.

3.3 The Silk Road

The ancient world, as known in the map of Ptolemy, had trade routes that stretched from China to the Mediterranean. These routes were overland routes, yet, because the presence of water was essential, they often followed rivers. The means of locomotion and transport on land principally was the Bactrian camel, the Arabian dromedary of the single hump[25], the yak, the horse, the mule, the bullock, the elephant, the ass and human portage. Conditions were generally terrible along large stretches of these roads, because partly they ran through absolute deserts. If any wells were available, they were often brackish or contaminated with sulphur, and thirst creating[26]. In fact these roads were only passable because of the peculiar virtues of the Bactrian camel, which could sniff out subterranean springs and also predict deadly sandstorms:

"When such a wind is about to arrive, only the old camels have advance knowledge of it, and they immediately stand snarling together, and bury their mouth in the sand. The men always take this as a sign, and they too immediately cover their noses and mouths by wrapping them in felt. This wind moves swiftly, and passes in a moment, and is gone, but if they did not so protect themselves, they would be in danger of sudden death."[27]

But even if the traveller with experience could overcome these difficulties, and if attacks by nomads could be countered or evaded, there were phantoms that lured men off the paths to their death.

"...this desert is the abode of many evil spirits, which amuse travellers to their destruction with most extraordinary illusions. If, during the daytime, any persons remain behind on the road...they unexpectedly hear themselves called to by their names, and in a tone of voice to which they are accustomed. Supposing the call to proceed from their companions, they are led away by it from the direct road, and not knowing in what direction to advance, are left to perish...Marvellous indeed and almost passing belief are the stories related of these spirits of the desert, which are said at times to fill the air with the sounds of all kinds of musical instruments, and also of drums and the clash of arms; obliging the travellers to close their line of march and to proceed in more compact order"[28]

Broadly speaking, the western terminals of the great Silk Roads were Byzantium, Antioch, Petra and Alexandria, and in the East Luoyang. From Luoyang to Seleucia or Ctesiphon, where it forked on one side to Antioch and on the other to Petra via de Persian Gulf, was a distance of about 4.500 miles. From Luoyang, the *Sinae Metropolis* of Ptolemy, it passed through Chang'an, his *Sera Metropolis*, the chief market of silk, where the caravan made its formal departure (*Map 3.5*). From there it proceeded westwards to Lanzhou, Wuwei (Liangzhou), Changye, Yumen (the "Jade Gate") to the city Anxi. At Anxi it forked in a route north, which had the advantage of avoiding the Pamirs much further west, and a southern route to Lop Nor near Loulan.

The northern route struck off from Anxi and from there followed the Tian Shan or

Heavenly Mountains on their northern side, via Hami, Turfan, Urumqi, the valley of the Ili River, Alma-ata, the valley and lake of the Issyk River, toward Tashkent and Samarkand. The southern route from Anxi went straight westwards via the Jade Gate of Dunhuang to the salt swamp of Lop Nor, just east of Loulan. At Lop Nor it split once more in a southern and a northern branch, each around the Taklamakan desert to the west of the swamp, until they were re-united at Kashgar.

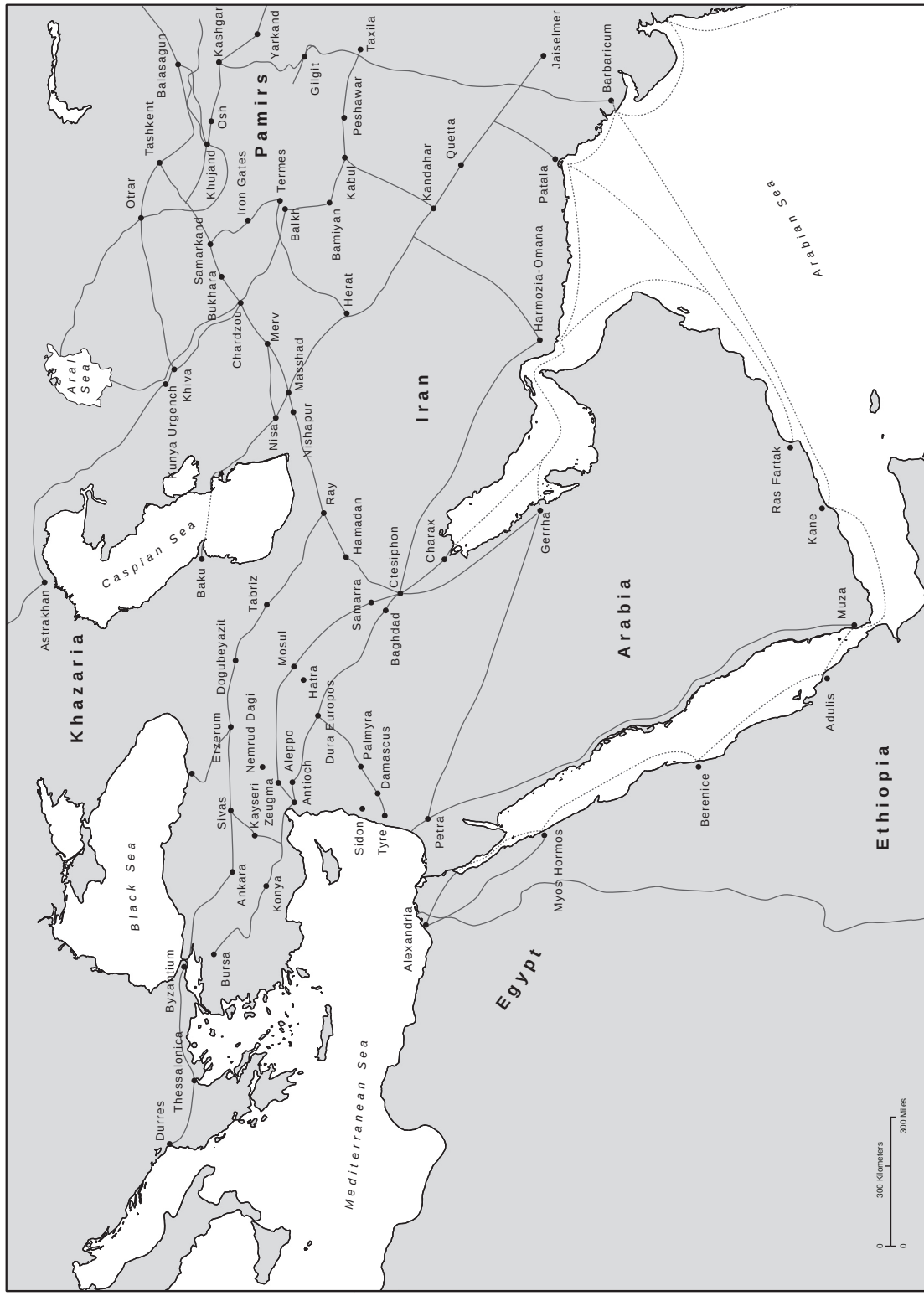
The southern route, opened by general Ban Chao in 74 A.D., ran south of the Taklamakan desert under the northern slopes of the Kunlun Mountains. The main points west of Lop Nor were Cherchen, Niya, Keriya, Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar. The Chinese monk Faxian, who visited India around 400 A.D., travelled westward from Lop Nor across the desert along this southern road, which he described as follows:

"In the river of sand, there are evil demons in great number and winds so scorching that, when you meet them, all die and not one escapes. Above, no bird flies; below, no beast walks. In whatever direction you look, and as far as you can see, when you seek to know where you must go, you are unable to decide. There are only the relics of the dead to serve as guide."[29]

The later and alternative route from Lop Nor was opened by Ban Chao in 94 A.D. It ran north of the Taklamakan desert and along the southern slopes of the Tian Shan. This northern route, while it lacked the attractions of trade at Khotan, was more comfortable as it enabled the merchant to send his camels through the various passes into the grazing grounds north of the range. On the other hand, it was more exposed to the raids from the Mongol steppes. The principal posts on this route from Lop Nor to Kashgar were Korla, Kucha and Aksu. The stretch of the road between Dunhuang via Loulan to Korla is also known as the Route of the Centre. West of Kashgar were the Pamirs, a mountainous plateau that, owing to its valleys, rivers, lakes and mountain peaks, has been called Roof of the World. (*Map 3.4*)

At Kashgar the route forked again into a northern and southern branch. Travellers from China, whose object was Bactra and the Roman West, and similarly merchants from the West, who wished to meet those coming from China, would prefer the northern line, namely (for those coming from the West) up the main Oxus valley, across to the valley of the Surghab (a northern tributary of the Oxus), up the ravine under the Karateghin Mountains, which opened out into a broad valley under the Altai Mountains, and thence over the saddle of the Sarikol range and down the valley of the Kashgar River to Kashgar. The southern branch from Kashgar led directly into the southern part of the main Oxus valley and from there to Bactra (Balkh). This road would be followed by merchants who had business in India and wished to get there in the shortest possible time.

The crossing through the Pamirs has been subject of much discussion because of the "Stone Tower" along that route, mentioned by Ptolemy as a meeting place for merchants of silk from China and also as a reference point of measurement: from here was measured the journey of seven months which it took the Chinese or their agents to return to Sera Metropolis (Chang'an). He also records that the halfway point on the journey and therefore the point midway between China and the West, was the "Stone Tower". Many have tried to locate this Stone Tower precisely. The words "stone tower" could be rendered in Turkish as Tashkurgan, the major fortified site on the western rim of the Tarim and a natural outpost. The name Tashkent, however, also renders "stone tower" in Turk-



Map 3.4 Western section of trade routes

ish and was once suggested as the original gathering place of merchants along the Silk Road. Whatever the precise location, it was within its vicinity that major transactions were made between those trading in silk from the East and their counterparts who exchanged glass, fragrances, gold and other precious goods.

West of the Pamirs the route ran through Bactria, from about 130 B.C. the country of the Yuezhi, later the Kushāns, and from there to Merv in the Parthian Empire which extended to the Euphrates. The course lay under the Elburz mountains to what was first the Greek city of Hecatompylos, later Dara or Apauarctica, near the modern Meshed, capital of the original Parthia, thence to Apamia, the Caspian Gates, Ragae and Ecbatana (Hamadan), capital of the Empire, thence down from the Iranian plateau through the Diyala Gap to Ctesiphon, the Tigris, and Seleucia, and so north up one or other of the great rivers to the Roman frontier, *or* south via the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. From Bactria, linked as it was through the Hindu Kush with India, this was a trade route of considerable antiquity. From Alexander's time, it was the road of the Hellenized East.

From Seleucia, situated on the right bank of the Tigris and opposite the Parthian town of Ctesiphon, about twenty-five miles below modern Baghdad, routes ran north to Antioch, while that from China, recorded by the Chinese Annals, turned south through Babylonia to the Persian Gulf. In fact, the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty, which describe the principal places on the route to Daqin, do not mention Seleucia but only Ctesiphon. The emphasis on Ctesiphon at the expense of Seleucia can be explained by the fact that destination of the Chinese goods, according to Chinese records, was reported to be Petra and not Antioch, and the route was round Arabia by sea. Nevertheless, Antioch, the capital of Syria, was a great city. Routes from it led to bridges over the Euphrates, the road from Zeugma on the Euphrates to Seleucia on the Tigris being a model of good repair, safety and Roman peace. So Maës, beginning his journey, according to Ptolemy, at the Bay of Issos in Cilicia, travelled through northern Mesopotamia. Antioch, in western eyes, was the traditional terminus of the Silk Road. In those of the Chinese, however, it was Petra. Seleucia, as already indicated, was probably the principal western silk market, leading to both termini.

Under the Later Han Dynasty, direct official intercourse is reported to have been established between India and China. During the reign of Emperor He (89-105 A.D.), Indian envoys several times visited the Chinese court with tribute. That these commercial contacts must have been rather flourishing is clearly indicated by the fact that even a 1st century Roman writer knew exactly how Chinese silk was brought to India. The anonymous work *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, probably dating from the reign of Nero, gives the following passage:

"Behind this country [Chryse, i.e. Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula] the sea comes to an end somewhere in Thin [China]; and in the interior of that country, somewhat to the north, there is a very great city called Thinae, from which raw silk and silk thread and silk stuffs are brought overland through Bactria to Barygaza, as they are on the other hand by the Ganges River to Limyrice [Coromandel Coast]. It is not easy however to get to this Thin, and few and far between are those who come from it"[30]

The route to Barygaza through Bactria, as indicated in the above report, was a result of the founding of the Kushān Empire in India that during the 1st century A.D. was

extended from north India to Samarkand. Therefore it became of mutual interest for both Kushān and Roman merchants to enter into direct commercial relations and divert trade from the always intervening Parthians. Thus silk brought from Kashgar over the Pamirs to Bactria could, instead of being sent to Parthian Merv, be taken over one of the passes of the Hindu Kush and through the Khyber Pass to the city of Taxila. Thence down to the Indus to Barbaricon or by a more eastern route via Ozene to Barygaza. Alternatively, the Silk Road could be left at Balkh (Bactra), which was some twenty miles south of the Oxus and outside the former frontier of Parthia and a nodal point in the Asian traffic system. From it the old branch-route strikes south-eastward to the Kābul River and India through clefts of the Hindu Kush, thus circumventing the more formidable mountain barriers further east.

The other route indicated in the above passage of the *Periplus*, was not a diversion from the Silk Road, but connected to a route from China to India across Tibet. According to Ptolemy[31], "They say that there is not only a road from these lands [of the Seres and Sinae] to Bactriana by the Stone Tower [in the Pamirs], but also one to India which goes through Palimbothra [Pātaliputra, now Patna]".

This route possibly followed the line of the present route from Gansu to Lhasa, and thence across the Himalayas through Sikkim; whether Palimbothra can really be identified as Pātaliputra, modern Patna in Bihār, is not sure[32], but if so silk could be taken from there down the Ganges River to ports on the Bay of Bengal[33].

The constant and successful efforts of the Parthians to hold the Romans at bay, also made those merchants heading west to the Black Sea to divert more and more to northern routes. Merchants from the East using the Jaxartes or the Oxus moved up the Volga and down the Don to the *Regnum Bospori*. Alternatively they went down the Oxus to Khiva, and from there by a portage to the Caspian, which they crossed, and so up the Cyrus and down the Phasis to the Euxine. The latter was reached by the same crossing of the Caspian, with a landing at the mouth of the Araxes, and so up the Araxes and across the divide of Ararat and down to Trebizond. These routes safeguarded the movement of trade between Rome, India and China without crossing Parthian territory. Another (which ran partly through Parthian territory) left the Silk Road at Rhagae, struck north-west through Tabriz and proceeded by Lake Van and Erzerum to Trebizond. There were two deviations northward from the Caspian route: one from the modern Tashkent down the Jaxartes to Orenburg on the Ural River and from there across the Volga and down the Don to Tanais (Rostov), the other from Khiva overland to the modern Astrakhan and so up the Volga and down the Don again to Tanais.

By the end of the Roman republic the silk caravans came from China to the West, along either of two ways: *either* by the land routes which from Kashgar ended at the Black Sea, or, crossing Persia, at Seleucia between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and thence to the Persian Gulf, *or* down the Indus by boat and then coastwise to the Persian Gulf.

But then, during the early years of the Roman Empire, matters changed dramatically because of the new practice of sea-navigation using the monsoons.

3.4 The sea-route

According to the *Periplus*, sailors who wanted to reach the Indus valley "...set out with the Indian Etesian winds, about the month of July...: it is more dangerous then, but through these winds the voyage is more direct and sooner completed..." These Etesian winds were in fact the south-western monsoon which begins regularly at the end of June and lasts until September. By keeping it on the quarter, the sailors from the ports near the mouth of the Red Sea, like Adulis (Aden), Ocelis or Kane, were able to steer a fairly straight course across the Arab Sea to the Indus and Barygaza on the northwest coast of India. Similarly, those heading for South India sailed a little more south-eastern course and could make the voyage to Muziris[34] in forty days. (*Map 3.4*)

In the *Periplus* a certain pilot, Hippalus, is mentioned as the one who first discovered how to navigate straight across the ocean[35]. Several authors have debated the date of Hippalus, but it is now assumed that "the Hippalus" (monsoon wind) was in full use by the end of the reign of Emperor Augustus (died 14 A.D.). Whether the Hippalus was known, and if so to whom, before the latter years of Augustus, is a matter of conjecture, but it may well have been a trade secret of the Arab middlemen or other merchants long before it became familiar to the Romans. Also it may have been a process of trial and error, i.e. of slow development, until Hippalus succeeded in mastering the wind by "ordering his helmsman to pull constantly on his rudder and his sailors to make a shift of the yard".

With the practice of the use of the monsoon for open sea voyaging, the long and tedious coastal journeys came to an end and regular trade with India was enabled, also because in 24 B.C. Augustus had dispatched his army to Adulis and seized the key port essential for this trade. Most important in this context is the fact that Alexandria became the focus for the trade of the world:

> "...the outer waters that lie beyond [the Mediterranean] are in your grasp, both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean...I behold among you not merely Greeks and Italians and people from neighbouring Syria, Libya, Cilicia, not merely Ethiopians and Arabs from more distant regions, but even Bactrians and Scythians and Persians and a few Indians"[36]

The Romans, in the early 1st century A.D., appear to have moved a lot of merchandise from Alexandria via the Red Sea and crossing the Arabian Sea, using the monsoon winds, to Barygaza. There these were sold to Gandhāran merchants who took them to the Silk Road, whence they were carried to China[37]. Chinese silk in the 1st century A.D. could be obtained by the Romans via monsoon navigation towards e.g. Muziris, where it was brought to by middlemen from the Coromandel Coast. Strabo, in the time of Augustus, wrote that in his time only stray individuals had sailed around India to the River Ganges, and that Roman agencies, established on the east coast of India during the days of Augustus and Tiberius, were as far as the Westerners were concerned the termini of transpeninsular routes[38].

Towards the end of the 1st century A.D. a few Roman ships regularly passed around Cape Comorin, and from the Coromandel Coast the monsoon was again used to cut the Bay of Bengal, and open-sea voyages could be made, first to the ports of the mouths of the Irrawaddy and Salween Rivers, and then to Sumatra and the Straits of Malacca. The crews of these "Roman" ships were unlikely to have included many men from Italy. They

were more likely to have been manned by Levantines, Arabs and others who had never seen Rome[39]. The ships' captains and traders were often Greeks, principally from Alexandria[40].

By sailing round the Malay Peninsula Roman merchants could operate an all-sea route to China[41], but that was in those days not the regular practice. Usually the travellers on their way to China ended their voyage around the Bay of Bengal at the Isthmus of Kra, the Malay Peninsula's narrowest point. From there they moved their goods overland to the Gulf of Thailand, where the maritime journey was resumed. In this way they avoided the trip around the 1600 km length of the Malay Peninsula[42], but they took the chance of a more exposed voyage around the island of Singapore, through the Riau Archipelago where pirates were known to abound[43].

But now, in principle, direct maritime commerce based on the Red Sea ports of Roman Egypt opened up the whole southern coastline of Asia and even could penetrate into the Pacific. In the 2nd century there was no absolute barrier to prevent a Roman subject from sailing from Egypt to Tonkin or to any intermediate point[44]. But it was not until 350 A.D. that international traffic between India and China regularly used the Strait of Malacca[45]. However, because of the paucity of archaeological evidence, it may be anticipated that the volume of trade was limited.

In par. 3.3 the ongoing problems in the 2nd century A.D. with Parthians have been indicated. It prompted the Romans to further develop the overseas trade route. As a result they opened a route by way of the transit port of Harmezia-Omana on the northern coast of the Strait of Hormuz to reach the east section of the Silk Road on land through south Iran. They could also go from Harmezia-Omana to Patala at the mouth of the Indus River or to Barygaza further south.

So, in the 2nd century Roman commerce with China, either by land, coastal voyage or deep-sea navigation, was not hindered anywhere by hostile monopolies, who could corner the traffic.

In the already mentioned *Annals of the Later Han Dynasty*, written about 90 A.D., an important passage gives details about the Chinese sea-trade.

"By boat, it takes five months to travel from Hsü-wen and Ho-p'u on the border of Jih-nan to the country named Tu-yüan, then from Tu-yüan it takes four months to reach the country known as I-lu-mo, and further on more than twenty days to that of Shen-li. After arriving at Shen-li, however, one [has to] travel on foot. In more than ten days he comes to the country Fu-kan-tu-lu. From there he again [has to] travel by boat and in about two months he reaches Huang-chih, where the local custom is somewhat similar to that of Chu-yai (Hainan Island). It is a big land with a large population, and has many curious products, which have been presented [to the court] as tribute since the time of Emperor Wu.

Previously there was a Chief Interpreter of the office of *huang-men* (Yellow-Gate of the Palace), who, together with those summoned by the government for overseas adventures, went to sail to the sea with the purpose of purchasing pearls, byrel, curious stones and other precious things. They brought with them gold and silk of various shades. Wherever they went they were provided with both food and women. The trading boats of the barbarians which carried them from one place to another were also engaged in trade as well as in rapacity. It was a great danger to sail on these boats. Besides the seas were rough and often times they perished on the sea. It took those who did not quit the round trip several years to return [to China]. [They brought back]

large pearls with a circumference of slightly below two inches. During the Yuan-shih period of Emperor P'ing [A.D. 1-6] Wang Mang was in power. As he was bent on displaying his influence and virtue, he sent envoys to the King of Huang-chih with rich gifts and asked the latter to return the favor by dispatching envoys to present live rhinoceroses [to the court as tribute]. It takes eight months to sail from Huang-chih to P'i-tsung and two months to the border of Hsiang-lin in Jih-nan. South of Huang-chih is the country called I-ch'eng-pu whence the Han interpreter-envoys started their returning trip"[46].

Most of the problems in this passage pertain to the identification of the geographical names, but it has been satisfactorily established that the place indicated by the name Huang-chih must have been Kāñcīpura or Kāñcī, now known as Conjeveram on the Coromandel Coast. Although the route, according to this record, is very confusing and even specifies a stretch overland, it seems that since the end of the 2nd century B.C., the Chinese sailors were familiar with a route along the coast of the Indo-China Peninsula, that went southward until the Malacca Strait, turned northward through the Strait, then southward again along the Burma and India coastline to arrive at Kāñcī [47]. (*Map 3.5*)
Therefore it is believed that China had already established trading relations not only with peoples in south-east Asia, but also with those in India, through a coastal sea route with the help of trade winds, well before the beginning of the Christian era. It is also worth noting from this passage that the Chinese trading party brought with it gold and silk in exchange for foreign rarities.

A considerable part of Han China's silk trade with India -and therefore, via India, with Rome-, was probably conducted along the sea route. The *Sung Shu* records, written about 500 A.D., state that:

"As regards Ta-Ts'in [Rome] and T'ien-chu [India], far out on the western ocean, we have to say that, although the envoys of the two Han Dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this road, yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out by way of Chiao-pu [Tongkin], the force of winds driving them far away across the waves of the sea... All the precious things of land and water come from there, as well as the gems made of rhinoceros' [horn] and king-fishers' stones, *she-chu* [serpent pearls] and asbestos cloths, there being innumerable varieties of these curiosities; ... all this having caused boats to sail along this [sea] route one after another as well as the exchange of both envoys and merchants."[48]

The city of Chiao-pu (or Chiao-chih, i.e. Tonkin), as mentioned in this passage, played an important role by serving as a link of intercourse between China and the various maritime countries. The prosperity of Tonkin as a seaport during the Later Han period came from its production of such curiosities as pearls, ivory, tortoise shell, incense, etc. It explains its position as a magnet for foreigners there.
On the south coast of China, in Guangdong province, another port, Canton (modern Guangzhou) took a similar position. It flourished already from Former Han times as a centre for pearl trade, rhinoceros horns, tortoise shells and textiles.
A third important port of trade was a city nowadays called Oceo, located in the Mekong River delta in what is now Vietnam, very near the Cambodian border, at the point where the Gulf of Thailand coast recedes closest to the river. During the 1st century A.D. there was a booming Roman market for Asian goods.
These south-east Asian ports had all, because of the agricultural productivity in their neighbourhood, a good means of feeding (rice) a large number of people. Because of the monsoon winds, the ships tended to arrive at the same time and depart at the same

Map 3.5 Eastern section of trade routes

time and in between -sometimes for as long as five months- to stay in port waiting for the winds to shift[49].

It is remarkable that no Chinese vessel had ever sailed around the western tip of Cape Comorin until the end of the 2nd century A.D.

In the case of Rome, it is very clear that when the so-called Roman envoy first came to the Han court in 166 A.D.[50], he travelled by sea via Annam and the Indo-Chinese port of Tonkin. This arrival of a Roman envoy spurred the Chinese to make further attempts. Some decades later, in the beginning of the 3rd century, Chinese sailing ships finally reached Port Adulis by the Red Sea. In 226 A.D. an envoy from the Wu kingdom (222-280 A.D.), was sent to Funan (Cambodia) to gather information on the possibility of developing direct trade with the Roman Empire. Their reports told of a Chinese merchant ship which set sail from Kāñcī in India and arrived after one month at Kusa of the Roman Empire. Kusa was the Kushite nation living in Ethiopia and Nubia in Africa at that time[51]. However, no direct economic intercourse with that region resulted by then.

When Roman power was waning, the sea route was intercepted by the growth of the Abessynian kingdom of Axum[52] and its port Adulis, near the lower end of the Red Sea, became a centre of great maritime commerce. It attained a middleman position as important as that of the Parthians and caused distress in Alexandria, then the greatest commercial city of the Mediterranean. Early in the 4th century, with the foundation of Byzantium, Alexandria lost all its remaining importance as an entrepot, and new overland routes were developed leading straight from Merv through Armenia and Georgia without touching Mesopotamia at all[53].

In summary, the growth of the overseas silk trade between the East and the West resulted partly from the fact that both sides found it desirable to avoid the Parthian monopoly. It is beyond doubt that Sino-Indian economic intercourse often resorted to the sea route. Ever since the visit to China by a Roman envoy in 166 A.D., trade between the two countries was shifted to the overseas route via India and ceased to use the overland route across the Iranian plateau. Roman sea-trade lost its importance by the early 4th century, while Byzantium constructed its own solutions for the overland routes.

3.5 Roman objects found in Central Asia and the Far East

In this paragraph reference will not be made to the many instances in Part II of this work, where examples have been given testifying that artefacts related to the specific subjects of interest in those paragraphs travelled from West to East. Rather the focus will be now on items that show more generally the flow of western classical motifs into the areas of Chinese sphere of influence, and attention will be limited in this paragraph to the earlier periods, i.e. of Hellenistic, Imperial and Roman Republic periods to about the Byzantine period (5th century A.D.).

The archaeological evidence consists of a number of Greek and Roman articles and articles of local manufacture influenced by Greco-Roman civilization, found in China proper, the Chinese Empire, or in the Chinese sphere of influence.

Exactly how these articles travelled and arrived in the place where they were found is not known, but they found their way along the overland route(s) as well as along the sea route to the East.

During the first half of the 20th century evidence of indirect contact between the Greco-Roman world and the Chinese Empire was found in the latter's westernmost part, Chinese Turkestan. This is a part of the Central Asian territories to which Chinese influence was first extended in the years 140-87 B.C., and which was finally incorporated into the empire in the last quarter of the 1st century A.D., under the leadership of the general Ban Chao already mentioned. This territory, extending to Gansu, played a crucial role in the East-West trade and participated in a culture which was a mixture of Indo-Parthian, Greco-Roman, and Chinese elements.

Many documents were found here, written in the Kharosthi (s.v.) script, containing seals and impressions with Greco-Roman symbols or designs. Their date falls within the first two centuries A.D.[54].

In this collection are the following:

The image of Pallas Athena on a seal restored from several seal impressions in clay[55]; clay impressions of classical seals from Kharosthi tablets[56]; a covering tablet of a Kharosthi document, showing a seal with Eros[57]; other seal impressions, many with Athena, or Eros, as well as Herakles[58]; a covering tablet containing both a seal with Chinese characters and one showing a portrait head "unmistakably cut after Western models"[59], and seal impressions consisting of a winged nude male figure, probably Eros[60]. It may be suspected that many of these items were imports from Gandhāra.

Also figures, in frescoes in a temple at Miran, near Lop Nor, "with the ease and abandon of true *putti*. Among them wingless Erotes alternated with young figures wearing the Phrygian cap and of a type which in spite of a certain girlish cast of face, unmistakably recalled the Mithras worshipped throughout the Roman Empire."[61]

Two of the winged youths with almost identical facial traits are shown in (**3.1**) and one below the picture of a youth in combat with a griffin (**3.2**).

On the wall of a temple, the head of a garland-carrying girl wearing a white Phrygian cap was found, her right hand carrying a *patera* of wine against her breast[62]. The motif of the garland-bearer is of classical origin[63].

The site of Miran is known to have experienced strong Gandhāran influences[64].

Thus, Greco-Roman designs and art forms in the western part of the Chinese Empire may originally have been introduced through the influence of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom and the Buddhist-Gandhāra kingdom of northern India which had a strong Hellenistic strain. Of importance, too, is the fact that classical influence, once established in Gandhāra, appears not to have needed much more impulses to be maintained for centuries afterwards[65].

That Greco-Roman products and motifs travelled even further east to northern Mongolia is shown by the discoveries of the Kozlov Expedition, March 1924-February 1925[66]. The territory was part of the empire of the Xiongnu, who for centuries threatened the Chinese Empire from the northwest, sometimes conquering, sometimes conquered, but usually living in difficult but peaceful relations with the Chinese. In later centuries portions of this group invaded the Roman Empire as the Huns. The tribes known to the Western

3.1 Winged figures on a fresco in a stūpa-shrine at Miran, Xinjiang province. 3rd century A.D. After Grousset 1948, cplt. III

3.2 Winged figure below a youth in combat with a griffin. From the inner wall of the south passage of stūpa-shrine MV at Miran, Xinjiang province. Presumably 3rd century A.D. After Stein 1921

world as Scythians and Sarmatians were also generally part of their empire. Their native culture was strongly influenced by the Chinese and to some extent by the Indo-Scythian and Parthian. The Kozlov finds indicate Greco-Roman influences too. The excavated tombs are probably of the period of the Later Han, though their dates may extend from 118 B.C. to 618 A.D.[67]. Most striking among the finds are textile fabrics of markedly Hellenic design, either imported from Asia Minor, or perhaps made by Greek craftsmen in

the employ of Scythian chieftains. The embroidered designs include winged griffins, birds, foliage in vases, human figures ending below the waist in plant forms which are almost identical with those found on the walls of Roman villas, especially the one excavated close to the Farnese palace whose designs were executed by Greek workmen[68].
The spread of Greco-Roman motifs so far to the northeast to a comparatively rude area indicates the wide expanse of trade, but it is doubtful if Roman merchants ever found their way directly to China itself[69].

Another area of the Chinese domain where a Roman find was made was Indo-China. This area, together with the whole south-eastern coastal region, first came into Chinese hands under the Qin between 221 and 214 B.C. In 108 B.C. the area was conquered more firmly and Chinese colonies were established there[70].
The Daqin (i.e. Roman Empire) "ambassadors" are reported in the Han annals to have entered the Chinese domains first via Vietnam, where they probably bought the gifts which they offered as "tribute" to the Emperor[71]. Finally the city of Cattigara, recorded by Ptolemy as an important port of the Sinai, i.e. South Chinese, may have been in Indo-China (specifically in Hanoi), though some authorities put it near Canton. This was the port which the skipper Alexander reached in his sea voyage beyond India ca. 100 A.D., as mentioned in par. 3.2.
Through the efforts of L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient several Roman, or Greco-Roman objects were unearthed there on the site of Oceo, in southern Vietnam near the Cambodian border, which appears to have been situated at a strategic junction of canals that linked the Gulf of Siam with the main channels of the Mekong[72]. Although this area is south of the parts of Indo-China (Annam, Tonkin) that were under Chinese control in the Han period, the discovery is significant in showing how far to the East Roman products found their way along the sea route. On the basis of classification of the various objects found, Indian, Chinese and Roman, the excavators have concluded that Oceo flourished from the second to the sixth century A.D. This is the period of the kingdom of Funan of which Oceo may have been a part[73], and which had commercial, cultural and diplomatic ties with China during the period[74]. The Chinese annals also report that Daqin merchants frequently visited Funan[75].

The finds which concern us are two intaglios on carnelian which are "manifestement romaine"[76]. Both represent bearded men, one of whom is definitely a Roman, and the other, with his index finger pointed in a gesture of argumentation, gives Malleret the impression of an Alexandrian philosopher. The beards and the style make it likely that these are of the period from the second half of the 2nd century to the first half of the 4th century A.D.
Also two Roman medals of the period of the Antonines are of interest. One gold medal contains a representation of one of the Antonines and a mutilated legend which may be the name of Marcus Aurelius. Another, a very well preserved medal, bears the garlanded figure and the name of Antoninus Pius with the indication of the fifteenth year of his tribunate which corresponds to 152 A.D.[77].
A little to the West, in Siam (modern Thailand), not far from the sea route, another object of the Roman world was found, a lamp[78]. The site is Pong Tük, in lower Siam, not far from Bangkok. It lies along a route of great historic importance which comes from lower

Burma and crosses the mountains at the famous Three Pagodas Pass[79]. Judging by the other objects found at the site, Coedès concludes that they were all there before the 6th century A.D. The lamp itself is much earlier. It is an oil lamp of bronze, quite similar to those discovered in the ruins of Pompeii, with a spout for the wick, a round hole on the top for pouring in oil, and a handle. It also has a mortise underneath so that it could be used on a tripod or candlestick. The handle is in the shape of a palmette between two dolphins. On the lid is engraved the head of Silenus crowned with ivy leaf. Its date is probably the 1st or 2nd century A.D. and it was probably made in the Mediterranean area[80].

Korea, too, which in antiquity consisted of several kingdoms under Chinese suzerainty and which shared in Chinese culture, has revealed two pieces of evidence of contact with the Roman world. Whether it were Roman traders who ranged so far east along the land route, or, more probably, Chinese or other Oriental merchants who brought these articles to Korea, the fact remains that here are at least two Roman objects as far east on the continent as it is possible to go at any time. Thus, even if no such finds had been discovered in China proper, one could conjecture that the cause was not the actual absence of such material but the fact that it had not yet turned up.

The Korean find consists of two glass vessels, considered to have been made in the Roman Orient about the 4th century A.D. and excavated by the Japanese from the graves of the kings of Silla, a kingdom that occupied south-eastern Korea from about 100 B.C. to about 700 A.D.[81].

The glass bowls correspond in form and decoration closely to the beaker of the *scyphos*-form reported by Kisa to be characteristic of the middle of the 3rd century[82].

In China proper a glass dish found in Henan province resembles very much the type of *patera* which was produced all during the period of the Roman Empire from the late republic on[83]. Seligman assigns it to the period from the 3rd to the 5th century A.D.[84].

Numerous beads were dug up in China proper, which are almost exactly the same as those in the Roman Orient in design and chemical composition[85]. Most were imported; those made later, in imitation, in China can be detected by chemical analysis[86]. Though glass beads had been imported into China from the West since the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., a considerable number came from the Roman East during the Han period[87]. Examples of the latter are beads discovered at old Luoyang of a type common in the Mediterranean area during the latter half of the 1st millennium B.C. Careful examination, as well as chemical analysis, proves them identical with Egyptian beads of the period[88].

Another bead from China is reputed to be of the Han age[89], and three lying lions of blue glass, from Egypt, Teheran and China respectively, are dated 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.[90]. Furthermore, numerous beads of Roman-Egyptian type from Chinese Turkestan and Java[91] have to be mentioned in this context.

Bushell, in 1908, reported 16 Roman copper coins to have been found in Shanxi province, China[92]. They are dated from Tiberius (r. 14-37 A.D.) to Aurelianus (r. 270-275 A.D.). On the reverse of these coins the images of various goddesses appear, like Minerva, Victory, Concordia, and of the god Jupiter. However, these coins are problematic, because they were not dug up by archaeologists, but were in the hands of private collectors. There is no information on what else was in the ground with these coins. So, even if they were genuine, there is no evidence that they arrived in China in antiquity.

On the other hand, it is not impossible that Roman coins may have reached China proper during the Roman Empire period. Pliny, after all, did complain on the amount of Roman sesterces being sent to Arabia, India and China to pay for luxuries, but because the number of coins found in China is very small, compared to the great hoards which have turned up in India, it is sometimes doubted "that Roman money reached China at all except for a quite negligible amount"[93].

More recently, during the last four decades of the 20th century, various textiles were recovered from graves in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (s.v.). They are dated from the first two centuries A.D. and are decorated with classical figures, grapevines, etc. In 1959 a wooden coffin was discovered at Niya, in the desert north of Minfeng and some 150 miles east of Khotan[94]. Among the furnishings were two fragments of dyed cotton textiles. One of these is decorated with a nude female holding a *cornucopia* (**3.3**) and may be identified as Tyche/Hāritī[95].

Further to the West, two digs in 1984 at necropoli located at Saiyiwake, near Shanpula, thirty miles south-east of Khotan, opened fifty-two tomb areas dating from the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.) through the Eastern Han dynasty (25-221 A.D.). The 2nd century A.D. cemetery no. 1, which contained 133 individuals, was especially rich with textiles[96]. A cotton fabric from this cemetery has patterns of six-petalled rosettes, typically derived from Classical sources.

One of the corpses in this tomb wore a pair of tapestry leggings, one with a design of a human face, presumably of Roman origin[97] (**3.4**). This face seems closely related to the one on a tapestry discovered by Stein in 1914 in Loulan and which he suggested to be Hermes. (**3.5**). He appears on the woollen legging as a fully dressed and beardless man. Whether this was really meant to be Hermes is difficult to say. Hermes is a bearded man in Archaic Greek art as in (**6.41**), but later his best known image as a messenger of the gods is naked and beardless (**6.43**). Since the image of the woollen legging is that of a fully dressed man, it is uncertain if it is meant to be Hermes. More important therefore is the fact that the style of the design is definitely that of ancient Greece[98].

The other legging is decorated with a centaur blowing a pan pipe. It is surrounded with eight-petal rosettes. The figure is quite similar to that on an amphora, dating from the 3rd century B.C., which makes experts believe that the image on the legging must also be the centaur of ancient Greek mythology[99].

In 1995 tombs at Yingpan, about 200 km west of Loulan in Yuli County, have been excavated. Most of the artefacts found date to the Han Dynasty (206 B.C-220 A.D.). The corps in one of the tombs was dressed in a robe decorated with human figures, animals and trees in unmistakably Hellenistic style (**3.6**)[100].

A large, elaborately decorated gilt-silver platter was found in 1988 in Beitan, Jingyuan County, Gansu province. It is decorated with grapevines with birds, human heads and a central figure wearing a toga and holding a staff while seated on a lion. The use of foreign-made textiles was certainly a status-symbol as is demonstrated by the rich Chinese textiles in the various graves[101]. The find site is situated on the road from the Yellow River to the west, which was used from the Han through the Tang periods. The design is suggested to be a Roman Dionysiac theme, because it resembles the ornaments on Roman sarcophagi and mosaics made in North Africa and West Asia. The platter is thought to be

3.3 Dyed cotton fabric from a wooden coffin excavated at Niya. 2nd century A.D. Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, Urumqi

3.4 Remains of a trouser from Tomb I at Shanpula, Xinjiang province, excavated in 1984. It shows a warrior with distinct non-Chinese appearance. 1st century A.D. Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Regional Museum, Urumqi

3.5 Tapestry with, according to Stein, the head of Hermes. From Loulan, Xinjiang. 3rd century A.D. Stein collection; National Museum, New Delhi

3.6 Red woollen robe with designs of paired warriors in Hellenistic style. Unearthed in 1955 at tomb 15, Yingpan, Yuli County, Xinjiang province.3rd century B.C.-5th century A.D. Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, Urumqi

3.7 Moulded glass bowl from Guangzhou, Guandong province. Roman manufacture. 1st century B.C. National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing

produced during the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and then exported to Bactria, where it was inscribed in the 3rd-4th century and then brought to Gansu in the 4th-5th century[102].

On a lacquer plate unearthed at the tomb of general Zhu Ran (d. 249 A.D.), unearthed in 1984, in Ma'anshan in Anhui province, the image of a *putto* hunting for fish with a trident among vine-scrolls appears. The plate dates from the Later Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.) and contains a description that suggests it was manufactured in Chengdu, Sichuan province. The motif, of course, is definitely classical as it occurs frequently in Roman mosaics and on silver vessels in precisely the same form[103].

On a vessel from the same tomb, a wine flask, three semi-naked figures are depicted in a scene which is very reminiscent of the Roman theme of *putti* gathering grapes. Captions on the flask mention the drunkenness of men and women and therefore the scenery appears a translation of Bacchic imagery common on Roman silver vessels intended for wine[104]

In 1954 a delicately made glass vessel (**3.7**) was found at Hengzhigang, Guangzhou, Guangdong province. It is typically a Hellenistic cast grooved bowl, made on the Syro-Palestinian coast, in the mid-2nd to 1st century B.C. The earliest of bowls of this type, datable shortly before 150 B.C., have been found in the Athenian agora. Fragments of these bowls have been found almost everywhere in the Roman Empire[105]. This bowl is the earliest Hellenistic glass vessel to be found in China and it is proof of the early development of trade with the West[106].

Other glassware from securely dated Chinese tombs has been discovered more recently[107]. Beakers with a rounded foot and ornamented with engraved designs of elliptical flower petals and seven elliptical motifs around the lower part of the body were found in a tomb near Nanjing (East-Central China), probably dating to about 322 A.D.[108]. A very unusual duck-shaped vessel, probably used as a water dropper, was found in an early 5th century tomb far to the north in Liaoning province. It has trailed threads of glass around the neck and upper body. Both the form and the technique were commonly employed in Roman glass.

A pale green trail-patterned bowl, similar to Roman examples found on the north coast of the Black Sea, was unearthed in a tomb constructed in 521 A.D. in the northern province of Hebei. An undecorated green bowl on a low foot ring, the body encircled by a thin raised ridge, was also recovered from this Hebei tomb.
At Echeng in Hubei province fragments were found of a light yellow glass bowl of a typically Roman style of the 4th century A.D. The tomb in which this broken vessel was discovered dates no later than the early 4th century[109].

3.6 The Indo-Parthians and the Kushāns

Parthians

In par. 2.4 the impact of Hellenistic culture in the area of Bactria and North India has been discussed, as far as it can be considered as a direct heritage of the conquests of Alexander the Great, i.e. without immediate influence from the Hellenistic culture in Rome with its classical overtones. Therefore attention has been limited in that paragraph to the beginning of our era, i.e. roughly until the time that the rule over that region was taken over by the Parthians (ca. 25 A.D.), who had intensive contacts with Rome. About 40 years later the region was incorporated in the Kushān Empire.
In this paragraph the influence of Roman culture, via Indo-Parthians and Kushāns, on this region will be reviewed.

The area comprising eastern Afghanistan and northern India was many times in contact with the western world, at least from the days of Alexander the Great on to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and thereafter. The area was ruled by the Indo-Greeks during the 2nd century B.C., who preserved their Hellenistic culture[110], and even the rule of the Indo-Scythians during the 1st century B.C. did not change much in that respect.
The Parthians took over the area by about 25 A.D. and temporarily good relations between Rome and Parthia, during the reigns of Augustus and Phraates IV[111] set a stage for a particularly strong wave of Hellenism. This was reflected in Gandhāra where the Parthian rulers, from 25 A.D. on, fostered the revival of the Hellenistic culture, which the Indo-Greeks had preserved there as the heritage of Alexander the Great[112].

Of this revival under Indo-Parthian rule the finds at Taxila testify with objects of stone, terracotta, metal, gold and silver jewellery, silver and bronze vessels, engraved gems and seals. Some of these articles may have been imported from the West, but most were undoubtedly made on the spot. Examples of this revived Roman art found in Taxila and dating from the 1st century A.D., but before the advent of the Kushāns in ca. 65 A.D., are a head of Dionysos or Silenus in silver repoussé (wreathed with grape-vine, in his right hand a *kantharos*) (**3.8**) and a bronze statuette of the Egyptian child-god Harpocrates[113] as very well-known in many parts of the Greco-Roman world (**3.9**); (**3.10**) shows a toilet-tray, referable to the first half of the 1st century A.D. and found at Taxila, decorated with a sea-monster and ridden by a half-draped female with baby. On these trays Greek mythology was widely illustrated as e.g. the one from Peshāwar with the image of a drunken Herakles shows[114].

3.8 Head of Dionysos. From Sirkap. 1st century A.D. NMP

3.9 Statuette of Egyptian child-god Harpocrates. From Sirkap. 1st century A.D. NMP

In jewellery the small gold group of Cupid and Psyche is representative (**3.11**) for fine craftsmanship.

In architecture, the great Buddhist temple at Sirkap (Taxila), dating from about 40 A.D., provides a good example of the embedding of Hellenistic influence in the work of artists of considerable ability. Such a competent artist sculptured the stucco head of a satyr (**3.12**), with pointed ears, broad flat nose, moustache, beard and free-flowing locks, typical of Greek art. The same holds for the head of a bearded man[115], which -although mutilated- has been made with an eye for detail and with intimate knowledge of Hellenistic art, and which would not be misplaced in a Greek sculpture-group of the 3rd century B.C.

These reliefs were modelled on the spot by sculptors familiar with Hellenistic ideals, style and techniques. They might even have been educated on the spot or come from the Near East to work under Parthian patronage. There is a story of the apostle St. Thomas, who was an able craftsman and who was recruited in Syria to take service at the court of the Parthian king Gondophares (r. ca. 20-46 A.D.?). Therefore the Parthian conquest of

3.10 Toilet-tray with sea-monster ridden by half-draped female with baby. From Taxila. 1st century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Taxila, Pakistan

North India not only caused an influx of small objects of Hellenistic art, but probably also of artists who were encouraged to work under patronage of the philhellene Parthians[116].

Kushāns

The main branch from the East-West Silk Road, which connected Central Asia with India, forked sharply south-eastward, from Bactra (Balkh) to Begram, some 70 km north of Kābul, and further via the Khyber Pass to Taxila (now Sirkap) on the north-west frontier of present-day Pakistan *(Map 3.6)*. From there the traveller could continue either via the valleys of the Indus directly to the port of Barbaricum at the mouth of the Indus River, or via Mathurā (Muttra), south of Delhi to the port of Barygaza on the Arabian Sea coast. Barbaricum and Barygaza were, during the 1st century A.D., the main termini of the coastal sea routes via South Arabia to the Red Sea and Alexandria, the dominant trade centre of the Roman Empire. Perhaps the most important aspect of this overland trade artery was the fact that it crossed through the Kushān Empire.

The name Kushān derives from the Chinese *Guishuang* that identified one of the five tribes of the Yuezhi, which originally occupied an area in China's Gansu province. They

3.11 Gold jewellery group of Cupid and Psyche. From Sirkap. 1st century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Taxila, Pakistan

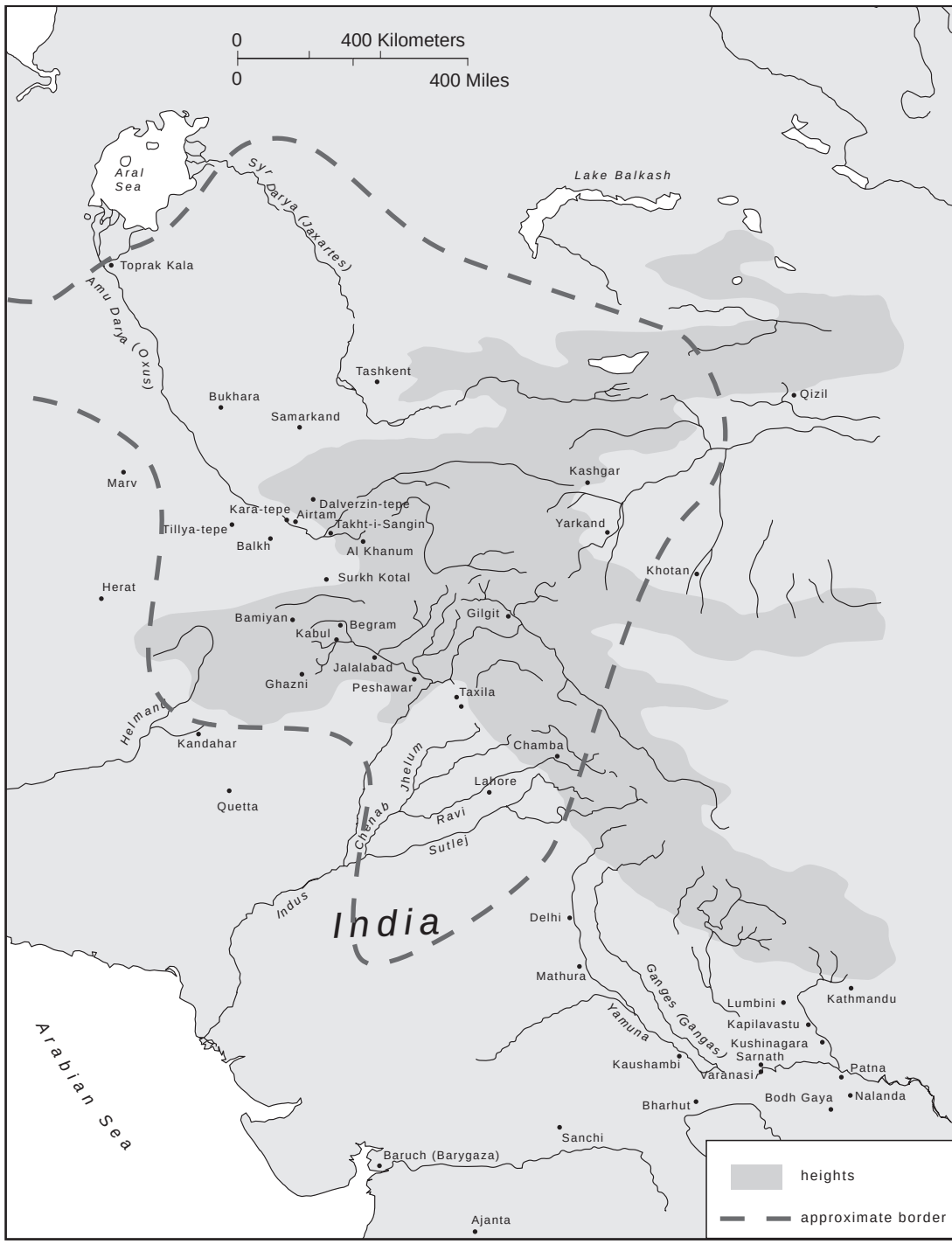
3.12 Stucco head of a *satyr*. From Apsidal temple at Sirkap. Reputedly of 1st century A.D. but probably later. Archaeological Museum, Taxila, Pakistan

were attacked by the Xiongnu around 170 B.C. and were forced to migrate westwards. They reached the Bactrian territory around 140 B.C. and displaced the Greek dynasties there, who resettled in the Indus basin.

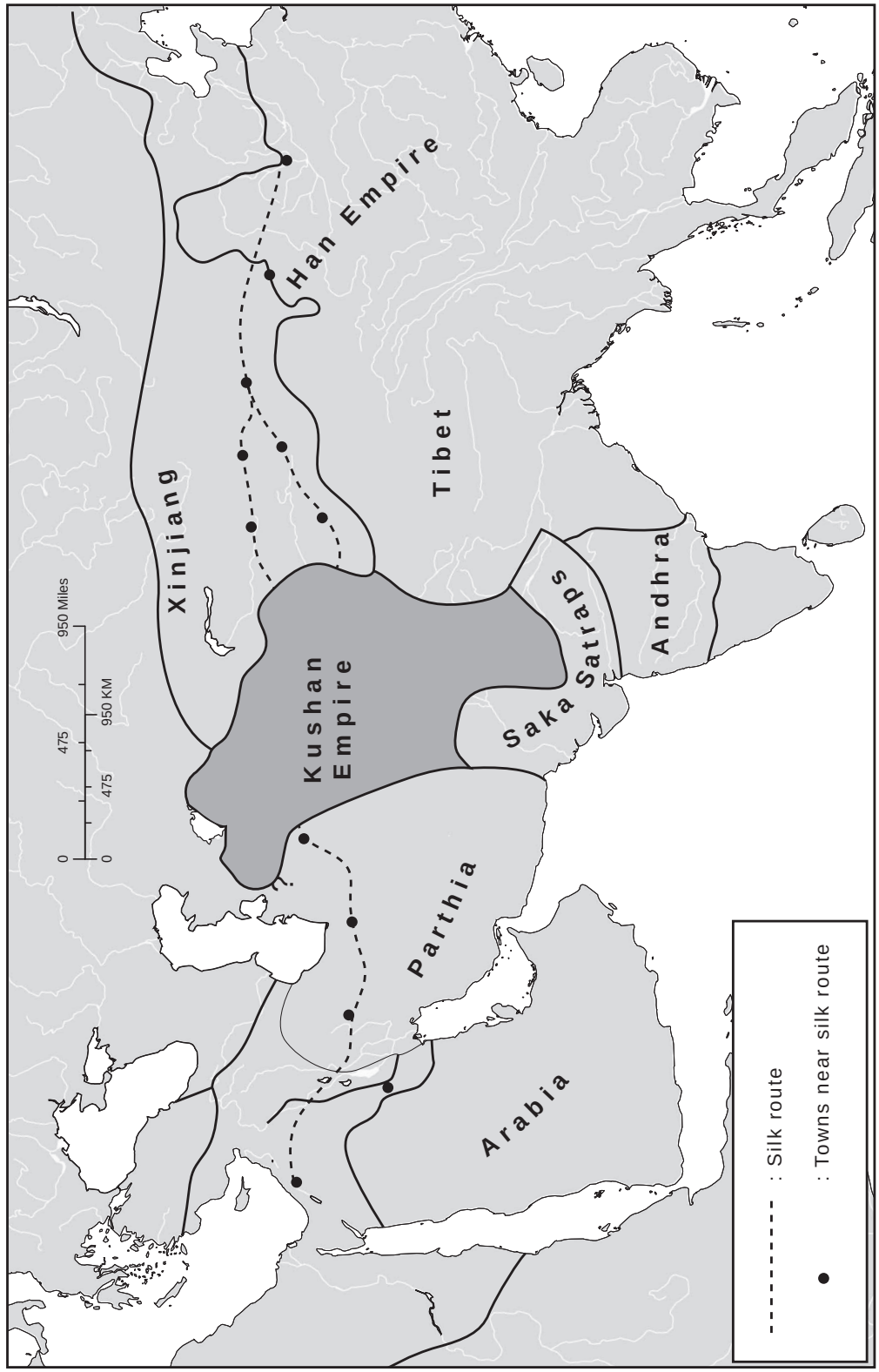
During the 1st century A.D., under the leadership of Kujula Kadphises (r. ca. 30-80 A.D.), the Yuezhi steadily expanded their territory across the Kābul region to include the Gandhāra region, thus ending Parthian rule in the area. The date of formation of the Kushān Empire is uncertain, but it should be some years after the beginning of our era. At the height of the dynasty, the Kushāns exercised political control over a territory that extended to the Aral Sea through present-day Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan into northern India as far east as Pātaliputra (now Patna in Bihār) and as far south as Sāñcī (*Map 3.7*). The Kushāns were great supporters of the Roman Empire. Not only did they model their gold coins on that of the Romans, who applied the images of the Hellenistic or Roman Heracles, Helios, Hephaistos, Selene and Serapis, but they also adopted many more elements of the Classical and Hellenistic culture so characteristic of Rome and the Roman Empire (par. 3.1). There can be no doubt that western trade, which passed through their territory (*Map 3.8*), was by them directly fostered.

Contacts between India and Rome were regular from the beginning of our era. An important factor here was the new sea-route from Alexandria to India, using the monsoons, and which was possibly already in use during the 1st century B.C. and was described in some detail by a 1st century A.D. Greek in the *Periplus*[117]. Strabo[118] tells us that an

Map 3.6 The trade routes from India



Map 3.7 The Kushān world



Map 3.8 The strategic position of the Kushān Empire with respect to the central part of the Silk Road

embassy came to Augustus from "Porus", a king in the Punjab. Strabo[119] also mentions an embassy to Augustus from a king "Pandion", who probably ruled over Pandya, the southernmost kingdom of India. According to Pliny[120] four envoys to the emperor Claudius (r. 41-54 A.D.) came from the king of Ceylon, and shortly afterwards Roman trade was extended to that island. Amongst the embassies received by Trajan (r. 98-117 A.D.) in 107 A.D. was one from India[121].

Several sources describe the visit of ambassadors from the Kings of Bactria and India during the 2nd century A.D., probably referring to the Kushāns. The report by the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* states that Hadrian (r. 117-138 A.D.) received an embassy from Bactria[122]. In the *Epitome de Caesaribus*[123], Antoninus Pius, the successor of Hadrian, is said to have received "some Indian, Bactrian and Hyrcanian ambassadors". So there is considerable literary evidence that diplomatic contacts, already begun during the very beginning of the Roman Empire, were continued on a regular basis during the Kushān rule.

Material evidence, found along the trade route through the Kushān Empire, throws a particular light on the character of the trade with the Roman Empire, to which subject we will return later in this paragraph. First some examples will be discussed which make the issue clear.

A joint Soviet-Afghan expedition in 1978-79 found a necropolis at Tillya Tepe in northern Afghanistan. It was built by the Kushāns during the first centuries before and after the birth of Christ. Funerary offerings found in Tillya Tepe included Indian, Roman and Parthian coins, mirrors inscribed in Chinese, an Indian ivory comb reminiscent of carvings from Begram (see below) and cameos in Roman and Greco-Bactrian style. Over 20,000 gold objects were found, including jewel-encrusted daggers and a sword, clothing plaques and a vast array of jewellery[124]. All sorts of motifs from classical mythology, among others, adorned these artefacts, which are dated to the second half of the 1st century A.D.

(**3.13**) shows six figures in relief on a slab from Gandhāra, clearly carrying the Hellenistic tradition with their drapery with graceful folds. The second figure to the left is the Buddha, distinguished by his halo. This is believed to be the earliest representation of the Buddha by a Gandhāran artist[125].

From Peshāwar is a relief dated 1st-2nd century A.D. with mariners shouldering oars and one holding a dolphin (**3.14**). Their torsos are very well developed and recall the Hellenistic statues, while their acanthus-leaf-skirts are borrowed from other Greek figures where the device is used to mask the transition between human and animal of mixed creatures like centaurs[126].

Also from the Peshāwar District comes a 2nd century A.D. grey schist relief panel with an episode of the Trojan-horse-story, where Lacoön, in western costume, is seen prodding the Trojan horse with a very Indian Cassandra in the back-ground: a distinctive western theme in a mixed western-Indian execution (**3.15**).

The Tyche/Fortuna of (**3.16**) represents the Indian Hāritī, still in very definite Classical Greek style, who carries a somewhat adapted classical *cornucopia*.

From Chārsada some tens of kilometres to the north of Peshāwar city, comes a gauche stone statuette of Herakles with the lion skin[127].

At Begram (ancient Kapiśa) important Roman artefacts have been recovered from a

3.13 Relief with six figures with classical characteristics. From Gandhāra. 1st century A.D. Peshāwar Museum, Pakistan

3.14 Stone relief with marine deities. From Peshāwar. 2nd century A.D. BML

rich Kushān site, where two rooms were found filled with objects of such variety that it must have been a treasure house of those days, and possibly a customs-house. The objects date from the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. Among these are plaster casts of late Hellenistic metalwork with classical themes in relief[128] and a bronze incense or unguent bottle of a type widely distributed in the early Roman Empire and mostly deriving from Alexandria[129]. This one represents Athena, daughter of Zeus (**3.17**). The breastplate of Athena is decorated with a *Gorgoneion*.

Various Roman glass vessels were recovered from the cache of luxury objects in Begram[130]. Famous are the painted relief glass, with a representation of the Lighthouse of Alexandria (**3.18**), one of the Seven Wonders of the World, and a painted glass goblet (**3.19**), one of

3.15 Grey schist relief panel with episode of the Trojan horse story. Gandhāra, Peshāwar district. 2nd century A.D. BML

3.16 Stone statuette of Tyche. From Taxila. 2nd century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Taxila, Pakistan

3.17 Bronze bust of Athena, the short breast-piece (*aegis*) decorated with *Gorgoneion*. From Begram. Ca. 100 A.D. MGP

3.18 Blown glass bottle with scene of the Lighthouse of Alexandria. From Begram. Ca. 100 A.D. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

3.19 Blown glass goblet decorated with Ganymedes abducted by an eagle and Europe riding on a white bull. From Begram. Ca. 100 A.D. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

3.20 Part of an ivory casket, with details of ladies with their maids, showing Greek influences. From Begram. 1st century A.D. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

the various glassware depicting Greek and Roman myths and battle scenes. This one shows Ganymedes abducted by an eagle, and Europe riding a bull. Both motifs are related to the myths of Zeus[131].

Roman influence is also felt on an ivory with border patterns of meander, floral scrolls, wave patterns and friezes recalling classical ancestors, which surround a scenery of unmistakably Indian female figures (**3.20**).

However, also elements of southern Indian flower decors may have influenced these ornaments[132]. There is a feeling of classical inspiration and perhaps a Bacchanalian sentiment emanating from this piece[133].

More Indianized, but still with distinct classical elements, is the ivory group of an Aphrodite wringing her hair, with her swan at her side (**3.21**).

3.21 Ivory relief, depicting Aphrodite with her swan at her side and wringing her hair. From Begram. 1st century A.D. Formerly in Archaeological Museum, Kābul

All these examples of art, mostly from Gandhāra, in and about the Peshāwar plain, indicate that the trade during the Kushān period did not serve a need for the usual Mediterranean commodities, but rather facilitated a careful selection of objects from the Roman Empire that exposed strikingly and significantly various elements of the classical culture. This was obviously the governing principle, although, in copying the western examples, local craftsmen introduced the Indian elements to a lesser or greater extent. Dominantly in this art, the human figure was represented either in free sculpture or in relief by the workshops of Gandhāra and the adjacent region of Afghanistan.

The fundamental circumstance that fostered this development was the fact that the wealthy Kushāns were whole-hearted supporters of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which needed a comprehensive idiom of figural representations to express its ideas.

This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

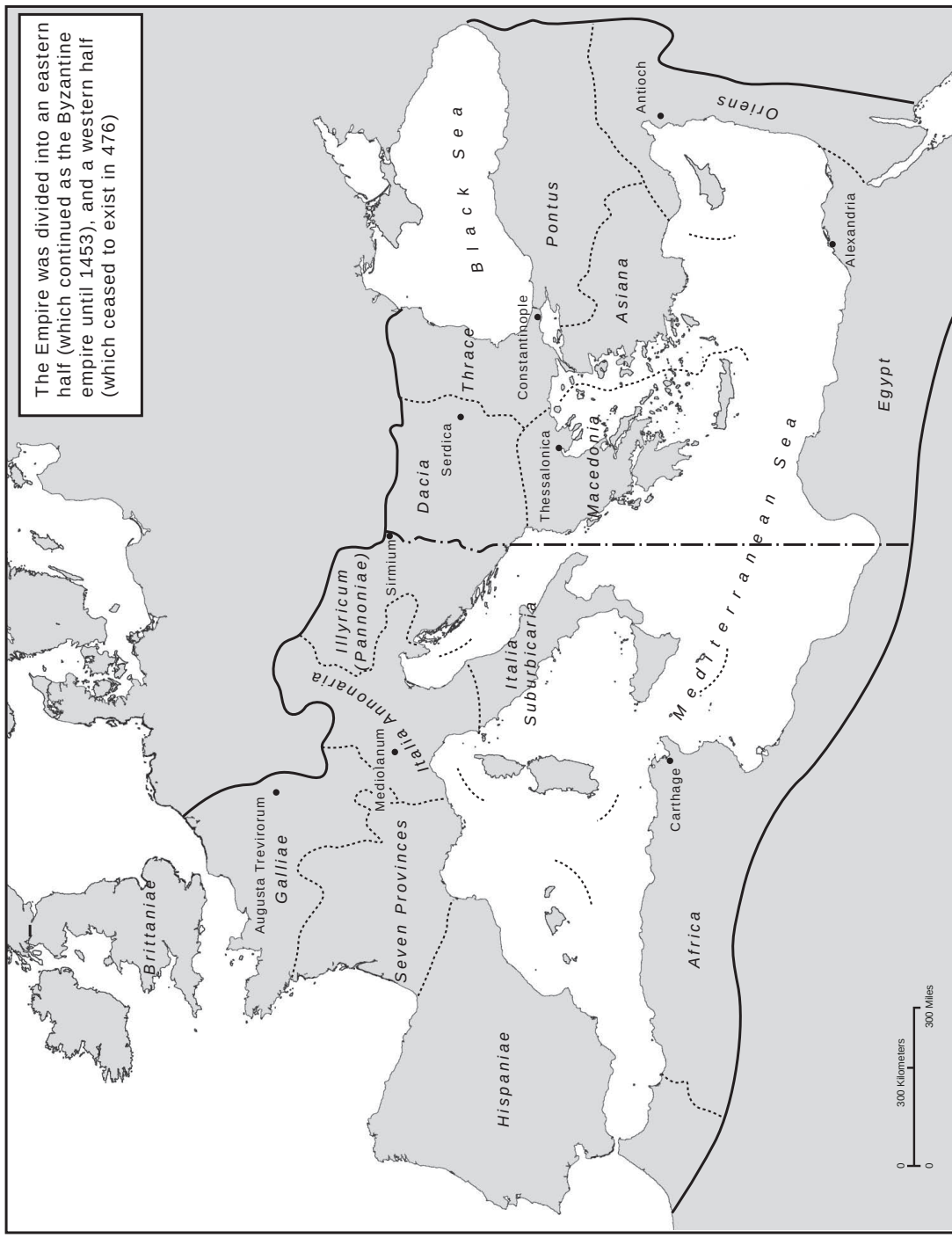
3.7 The East Roman Empire

The East Roman, or Byzantine, Empire had been created out of the eastern half of the Roman Empire, after the decline of the imperial Roman state in the West. Its most important city was Constantinople, present-day Istanbul, on the Bosporus, rebuilt from Byzantium and officially declared capital of this eastern empire by the emperor Constantine I (ca. 274-337 A.D.) in 330 A.D. It remained the residence of the emperor and his court until 1453. The Byzantine Empire in the 4th century A.D. comprised most of the Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and was beginning to range westward as far as areas of the North African coast (*Map 3.9*). As one would expect, with its strong Greco-Roman roots, Byzantine culture and art were greatly influenced by its classical inheritance. Byzantine scholars were well familiar with the works of the Greek writers Homer, Thucydides and Sophocles. Byzantines identified themselves as Romans and Greeks at the same time: on the one hand they wanted to express their continued Roman citizenship; on the other they were very much aware of their Hellenic heritage. Greek was the prevalent language but Latin was continued in official use up to the 6th century.

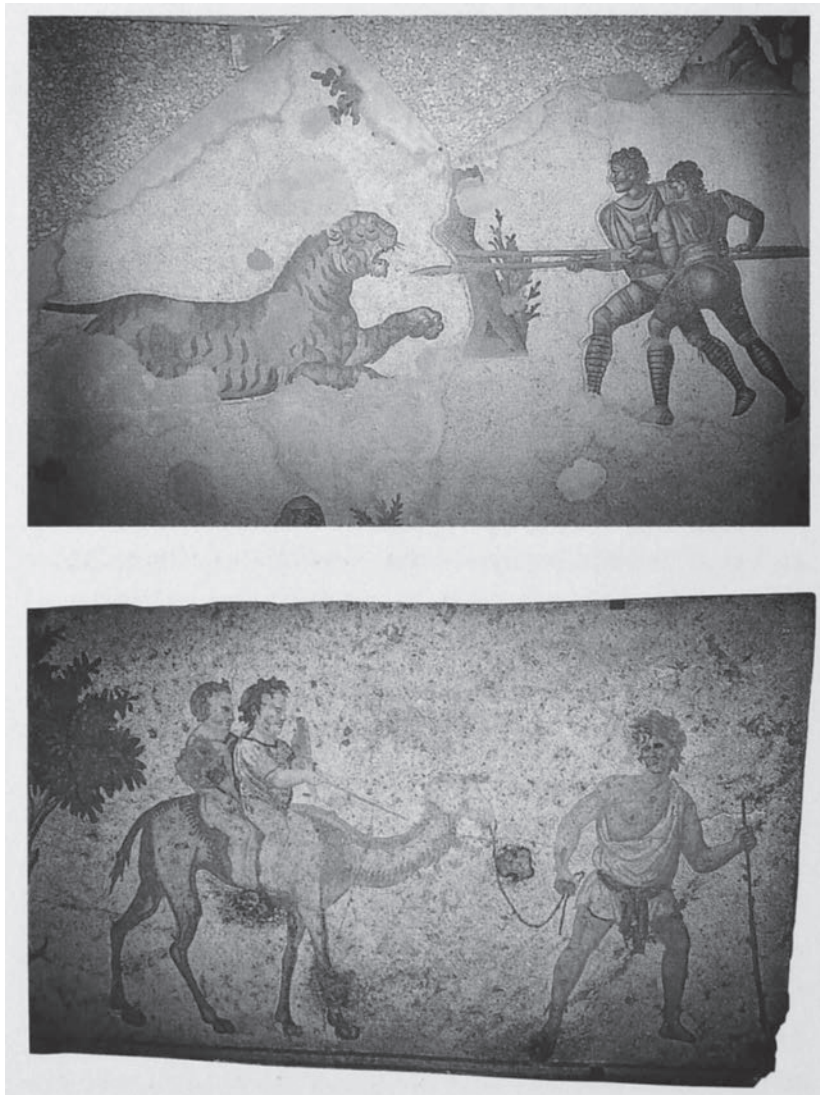
Constantine declared that it was no longer illegal to be Christian and Christianity, the Greek Orthodox Church, was accepted as the official state religion of the Roman Empire by Theodosius I (r. 379-395)[134]. Consequently, in the 4th century, particularly in Hellenistic centres as Alexandria, Antioch and Ephesus, a new art started to develop, the Christian art, which, to a certain extent, started to absorb the pagan -i.e. Greco-Roman- art. Nevertheless the mosaic floors of the Great Palace of Byzantium, built during the early 5th century, still contain many elements from the Classical World (**3.22**).
Although under the rule of emperor Justinian I (527-565 A.D.) a revival of Hellenism took place and Byzantine art and architecture saw their most glorious period, much of it was lost under his successors and classical culture and art, so it seems, disappeared.
During the 7th century, again a wave of Hellenization took place, outwardly symbolized by the adoption of the Greek title Basileus by the emperors, but that did not restore classical culture in the Byzantine Empire.

Yet, in the above view of the development of art in the early Byzantine Empire, with particular emphasis on the fact that Christian images and culture gradually came to dominate all areas of public and private life, an extremely important aspect of continuing appreciation of classical culture has long been overlooked, as recent studies have disclosed. The truth is that only certain aspects of classical culture did decline, while others -less visible than e.g. portrait sculpture- flourished. The joined studies of the State Hermitage Museum and the Courtauld Institute of Art on the luxury arts of the Byzantine Empire leave no doubt about that[135].

In the luxury arts there was a persistence of classical forms and subjects, particularly from mythology[136]. The people of the metropolis Constantinople identified themselves on the one hand as members of an empire where the Christian religion became more and more dominant, on the other hand as Romans with their emperors as direct successors of Caesar and Augustus. The consequence was the absorption of Greco-Roman imagery which allowed for interpretation in a Christian context[137].
An example of this is the 5th century A.D. textile from Byzantine Egypt (**3.23**). The sub-



Map 3.9 The Roman Empire in A.D. 395

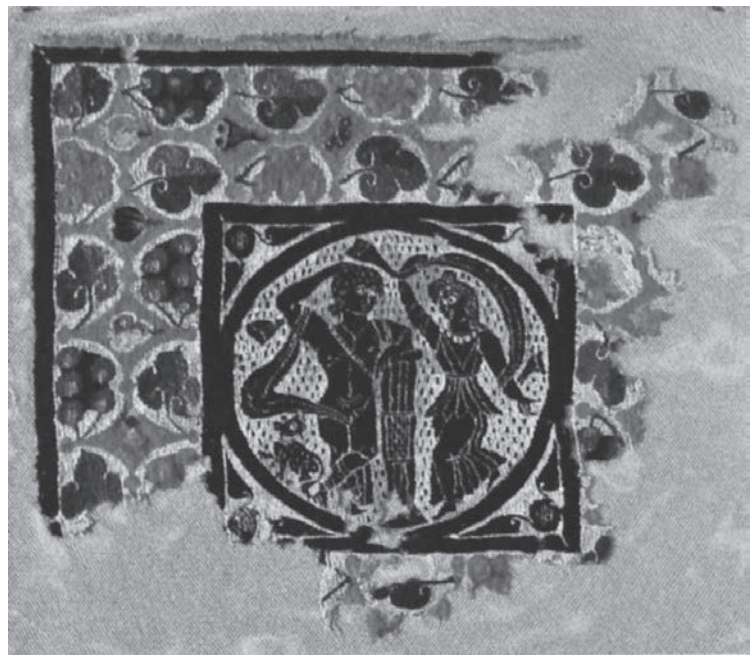


3.22 Mosaic from the courtyard of the Great Palace of Byzantium. The upper scene shows a tiger hunt; the lower scene boys riding a dromedary; both pictures show many elements of the classical world. Byzantium. Ca. 500 A.D. After Tucker 2003, fig. 433

ject matter is classical, style and execution typically Byzantine. In the centre is the image of Dionysos and Ariadne in a chariot with three panthers. There is a coachman in front and Herakles is on the left with a club over his shoulder. Around the medallion in the centre the twelve labours of Herakles are shown. The triumph of Dionysos, with its promise of rebirth in a new life, as well as Herakles, the saviour and redeemer of mankind whose hard labours brought him immortality and a place on the Olympus, are metaphors with Christian connotations[138].

Another example is the textile shown in (**3.24**) with Dionysos and a dancing maenad, also from Byzantine Egypt and referable to the 4th century A.D. The space around the central frame contains images of flowers and fruits, bunches of grapes and vine leaves in

3.23 Textile decorated with Dionysos, Ariadne and the Twelve Labours of Herakles. Egypt. 5th century A.D. HMP



3.24 Textile decorated with Dionysos and a dancing Maenad. Egypt. 4th century A.D. HMP

3.25 Gilded silver *amphora* with central frieze depicting battle scenes of Greek warriors with Amazons. Byzantium. 4th century A.D. HMP

3.26a Detail of a silver flask, decorated with a Nereid riding a *ketos*. Constantinople. 641-651 A.D. HMP

3.26b Detail of Fig. 3.25, showing Nereid riding a hippocamp. HMP

particular. Apocryphal Coptic texts interpreted this scenery as depicting Adam and Eve[139]. The presence of grape vines in relation to Dionysos was associated by Christians with the famous words of Christ "I am the true vine"[140]. In Byzantine Egypt the figure of Dionysos could be replaced by images of Erotes collecting grapes, symbolizing the Eucharist[141]. These textiles were for secular use and not necessarily in an elite environment.

Luxury objects tell more about the attitude of the elite towards classical traditions. These people were still educated in the traditional way of the Greco-Roman world, a process commonly referred to as *paideia*[142]. They learned language and classical literature, i.e. Homer and Euripides in Greek and Virgil and Ovid in Latin. The late antique elite continued to value *paideia* as an important part of the self-definition and regarded it as an intellectual and cultural bond between their members, which enforced social cohesion.

One of the media, used by the elite to express their classical education, was silverware[143]. Silver-plates and other vessels, lavishly decorated with mythological themes, were displayed in their houses, not only to reinforce the wealth of the owner, but also to stipulate his cultural baggage. At the same time it gave his guests the opportunity to display their *paideia* in the conversation, which the mythological themes could trigger. In this way

3.27 Silver plate, decorated with a scene of a quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus over Achilles' armour. Asia Minor (?). 6th century A.D. HMP

3.28 Silver *pyxis* with Erotes and garland and Medusa head. Eastern Mediterranean. 3rd century A.D. HMP

3.29 Silver wash basin, the handle decorated with the image of Neptune with a trident, spearing a fish. Constantinople. 641-651 A.D. HMP

3.30 Silver plate with Silenus and Maenad. The Silenus holds a wineskin over his shoulder; the maenad holds percussion musical instruments. Constantinople. 630 A.D. HMP

the culture of *paideia* influenced the decoration of silverware throughout the early Byzantine period well into the 7th century A.D.
Here, for further elucidation of the point, the recurrent theme of a Nereid riding a sea-creature has been chosen, one on a silver amphora of the 4th century A.D. and one on a silver flask of about 650 A.D. The amphora (**3.25**) is decorated with three friezes, the middle one showing elaborate scenes of Greek warriors with Amazons, the upper one depicts two hunting scenes, and a lower frieze represents three Nereids riding composite animals with fishtails, one of these a hippocampus (**3.26b**).
Another flask[144] shows a Nereid riding a *ketos* on each side (see Part II, Chapter The Fish-tailed dragon). (**3.26a**) shows the details of one side. The mythology of the Nereids is detailed and has broad connections to many gods and heroes, among which Achilles, and must have been a perfect subject for a host and his guests to show off their *paideia*.
Another example is the plate with the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus over the armour of the dead Achilles (**3.27**), dating from the 6th century A.D. In the centre is Athena, goddess of wisdom, raising her right hand in blessing towards Ajax. Odysseus stands on Athena's left-hand side. The figure in top of the composition is thought to be a shepherd, and is puzzling because there is no mention of such a character in the text of Homer. Modern scholars speculate about the meaning of this scenery[145], and in late antiquity it must have been a topic of conversation between well-educated people too.

Apart from the elite, people of several levels of society owned domestic silver. This was made predominantly in Constantinople, Antioch, Tarsus and Carthage as stamps naming these cities suggest[146]. An abundant production of this silverware is explained by the general cessation of silver coins in the Byzantine Empire between 400 and 615 and includes display and serving plates, bowls, spoons, amphorae, ewers, washbasins, mirrors, etc. The *pyxis* from the 3rd century A.D., decorated with Erotes and a garland and the head of Medusa shown in (**3.28**), and the washbasin of the 7th century A.D., decorated with the image of Neptune with a trident (**3.29**), are examples of domestic silverware with classical-subject decorations.
To the same category -although more testifying to fine craftsmanship- is a plate with a dancing Silenus and maenad of the early 7th century A.D. (**3.30**). Clearly these pieces could have lent themselves for the display of the *paideia* of the owner and his guests.

The continuity of Greek classicism in the luxury arts of the higher levels of society in Byzantium, amidst a world of increasingly dominant Christian outlook and images and coinciding with the traditional story of decline of classical culture, was a core element in the identity of the empire[147]. It certainly influenced the dissemination of Greek mythological themes eastwards because these luxury media travelled far as gifts or in the hands of merchants[148]. In fact it provided a continuing and important source of inspiration of Greek classical culture from the East Roman Empire.

4 BUDDHISM AND TRADE: THE VEHICLES OF CLASSICAL CULTURE

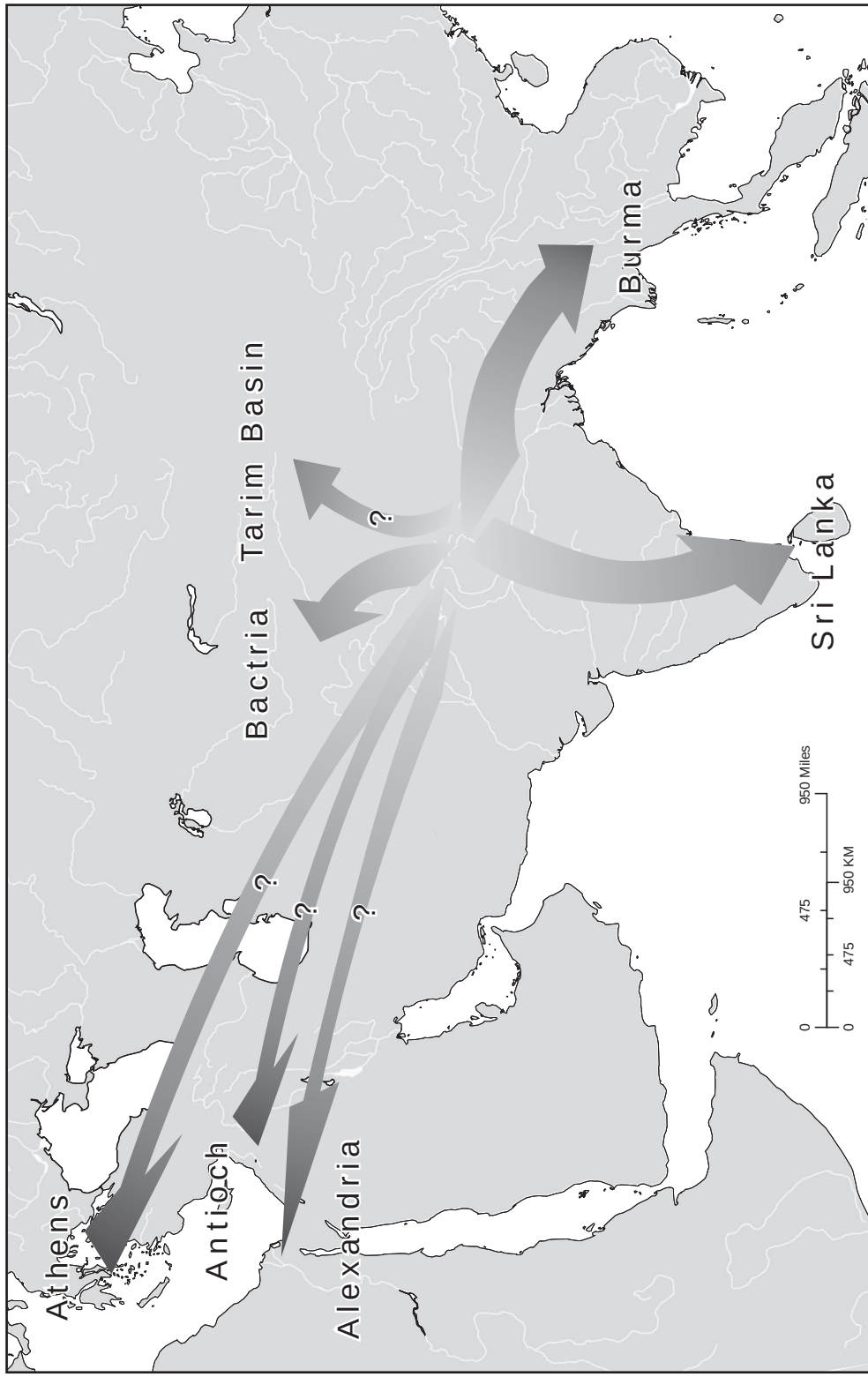
4.1 Buddhism in India

Buddhism was founded by a man of royal birth, Siddhārtha Gautama, also named Śākyamuni, who lived in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. and died ca. 487 B.C.[1] He was the son of a king of a small state at the foot of the Himalayas and was brought up amidst the luxuries and pleasures as according to his birth and class. Soon, however, he became displeased with this life of sensual pleasures and left the comfortable environment of his home to become a religious mendicant. After years of weaning himself from all the entanglements of his former princely status and becoming just a man among men, he attained enlightenment at the age of thirty five. His philosophy was that it is a man's fate to be attached to his individuality and self-consciousness. Thus his individual existence, his personal grabbing, his private love for individuals, his restless activity and his false knowledge, leave him no way of escape from misery in life and in afterlife, unless he could gain the real knowledge. With that he has no longer the itch for activity, no longer seeks personal fulfilment, has no use in what he can get from grabbing, is content not to have an individual existence. Thus he becomes free from the principle of cause and effect. This was the enlightenment, the *nirvāna*, the state of supreme detachment, which Śākyamuni achieved.

There was a practical complication to the post-enlightenment period of Śākyamuni's life: how could the body of the Buddha, the Enlightened one, in the never-ending state of *nirvāna*, still be seen by his disciples and his voice be heard.

To one set of believers the answer was that, whatever might appear to the contrary, their master had achieved *nirvāna* and from that time on he was in a state of *nirvāna*, i.e. the state of non-existence, and thus –inevitably- he was invisible and could not be heard. This type of Buddhism, Theravāda, to be known afterwards as Hīnayāna (Smaller Vehicle), adhered to this view. This was the type that first spread during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. to cover the ancient states Gandhāra, Bactria, Parthia and Sogdia, and from there later to China, but also to more southern areas like Ceylon and Burma (*Map 4.1*). The other type, to be known afterwards as Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle), and which came up in north-west India probably during the 1st century B.C., supported a different view. For them Śākyamuni, having earned the state of *nirvāna*, renounced it in order that he might remain in touch with all poor, sin-stained humanity and continue his beneficent work of salvation. With him were a number of other beings called bodhisattvas, semi-human beings who are found in Mahāyāna literature to qualify as *devas*, active deities, with the power to save those who call on them trusting in their power. In other words, here is that distinctive feature in the higher religions of the world, trust on the part of an individual in some superhuman Being or Power able to help him save his soul in a way which he cannot do himself alone. This feature crept into the original Buddhist tradition and became more and more its central appeal.

The Kushān Emperor Kanishka (r. 129-155 A.D.) is said to have convened a Buddhist



Map 4.1 The spread of Buddhism at the time of Emperor Aśoka the Great (260-218 B.C.)

council, which is usually associated with the formal establishment of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This council, which was not recognized by the Hīnayāna line of Buddhism, did not simply rely on the *tripitaka*. Instead a set of new scriptures, the Lotus Sūtra, was approved, together with the concept of salvation for all beings and of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. From then on, in a few centuries, Mahāyāna Buddhism spread from India to south-east Asia, and to the north and east via Central Asia into China where Mahāyāna was sinicized. This sinicized Mahāyāna passed on to Korea and finally to Japan in 530 A.D. (par. 4.3.3). The names 'Greater Vehicle' (or more all-embracing) and 'Smaller Vehicle' (or less all-embracing) were invented by the Mahāyāna Buddhists for distinction from the Hīnayāna tradition.

The Hīnayāna Buddhists were concerned with their own salvation by following the path the Buddha had gone. The objective was thereby guaranteed as attainable, provided there was rigorous adhesion to the sacred *dharma* (law) in every detail. The Mahāyāna believers were concerned with the salvation of the world: pity for all creatures was for them not only one of the practical devices for achieving personal salvation, but the essential transcendent power which made salvation possible. The Hīnayāna Buddhists demonstrated the zeal of the convert in spreading the good tidings of the Law, but their motive tended to be that of achieving personal merit, while to the Mahāyāna Buddhists missionary fervour was a compelling inner law of the man who was on his way to becoming a bodhisattva and so sharing in the task of saving the world.

Hīnayāna Buddhism as it developed in India, Ceylon and Burma, could not isolate itself from the animistic atmosphere in which it lived. The result was a mass of stories, in which demons of every kind tempted the faithful, and Śākyamuni's objective of individual salvation became debased to the level of a magical device for defeating them.

Mahāyāna Buddhism on the other hand, developing in the same religious atmosphere at first, had a device which enabled it to put up a better fight against this age-old disease of devil worship. That device was the worship of the more spiritual class of beings, the bodhisattvas.

Belief in their existence and help gave the religious imagination a new framework to work in, namely the paradise in which these sublime beings lived, while at the same time giving divine help to suffering mortals.

Both types of Buddhism were alike in two important aspects. First, both stressed the importance of the contemplative life and committed the guardianship of the faith to communities of monks whose vows entailed separation from all worldly ties and daily practice of ascetic rules. Second, in these monastic communities there was an immense activity with regard to the production of books; to begin with, the recording of Śākyamuni's teaching, later the amplifying of that teaching, exploring every possible implication of it, philosophical and practical alike. To illustrate the proportions of this industry, we may take the corpus of Buddhist canonical writings known as the *tripitaka*. It has three main divisions, the *sūtras*, containing what claim to be Śākyamuni's own words, the *vinayas*, giving the monastic rules, and the *sāstras*, dialectical essays and dialogues by famous early teachers. In total it achieves a bulk which contains tens of thousands of documents.

Traditional scholarship believed that in artistic expression the outstanding difference between these two types of Buddhism was that, in the early stages, during the prevalence

of the Hīnayāna teaching, the Buddha himself was never represented. His presence was symbolized by e.g. an empty chair, a footprint, an umbrella, a riderless horse. Around this symbol grouped the other participants in the scene, but there is no central commanding figure. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, on the contrary, the figure of the divine Buddha controls the assembly and is the focus of the composition. Both iconographically and aesthetically the change was revolutionary. Modern insight, however, abandons this rather simplistic antithesis between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna: Hīnayāna believers appear to have worshipped the Buddha image in much the same fashion as the Mahāyānists. The symbols were used generally in the early Buddhist world in India to depict events from the sacred biography of the Buddha[2]

As a particular aspect of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the so-called "Pure Land" school deserves separate attention. It developed somewhere in the Kushān Empire by the 3rd century A.D. This school takes as its principle text the Pure Land Sūtra, which exists in a long and a short version[3]. Both the long and short version contain the description of the Pure Land, or Western Paradise, where the Buddha Amitābha (s.v.) presides, and which he has created for anyone, who has absolute faith in him, to be reborn in. In the long version the rebirth in the Pure Land comes as a result of meritorious deeds as well as faith and devotion to Amitābha, whereas the short version specifically states that only faith and prayer are necessary. In that Pure Land Amitābha has as his chief minister Avalokiteśvara, the always compassionate bodhisattva, who is ever ready to go anywhere to lead the faithful to the land of purity and bliss.

The Pure Land is described as being rich, fertile, comfortable, and filled with gods and men but none of the evil modes of existence such as animals, ghosts or creatures of hell. It is adorned with fragrant trees and flowers, especially the lotus, and decorated with jewels and gems. Rivers with sweetly scented waters produce pleasant musical sounds. The heavenly beings sporting in the water can cause it to be hot or cold as they wish. There is nothing unpleasant, unwholesome or painful. Whatever the inhabitants wish, they will obtain.

4.2 The merging of western culture with Buddhism: Gandhāra

During the first two centuries of its existence, Buddhism was confined to the Ganges Valley. In the middle of the 3rd century B.C. it began to expand in all directions, southward across the sea to Ceylon, and north-westward into Gandhāra and Kaśmīr in northwest India.

The propelling force behind this sudden development was provided by the third ruler of the Mauryan Dynasty, the great Indian monarch Aśoka (r. 268 to ca. 231 B.C.). Aśoka became converted to Buddhism and thereafter decided to use Buddhism as the ideology needed to unify his domain. To this end he dispatched missionaries to the neighbouring countries and appointed ministers of the law to propagate the Buddhist teachings among his subjects. As a display of his own religious zeal, he visited the sacred places connected with the life of Buddha, and at Lumbinī he had a pillar erected commemorating Buddha's birth.

In the Roman Imperial West the figure of the emperor was established as the dominant feature of an artistic composition, and artistic expression was an essential vehicle for the assertion of authority and power (see par. 3.1). And the artistic expression in the Roman Empire was essentially figural in the Hellenistic style with a clear and very present classical accent.

So, when around the beginning of our era Mahāyāna Buddhism entered the Gandhāra area, with its need to represent the figure of the divine Buddha himself together with other participants in the Buddha scene, there was a natural match as well as an immediate opportunity for interchange and borrowing. Possibly, the first representations of Buddha in bodily form date back to the beginning of the 1st century A.D.[4] Generally it has been held that either Mathurā or Gandhāra was the region where the innovation first occurred, but it is most likely that the change occurred more or less simultaneously in both, and possibly also elsewhere. Whatever the truth may be, the Gandhāran artist certainly had his Hellenistic background and Greco-Roman examples in his mind when he was asked to shape the Buddha.

The support of Mahāyāna Buddhism by the wealthy Kushāns only intensified the process: the idiom of the new Buddhist art became essentially a by-product of the Kushān commerce which brought into and through the kingdom objects and craftsmanship of the Roman Empire.

As Wheeler says[5], figures clad in western clothing, western types such as *putti* or *erotes* with garlands, satyrs, Apollos, Minervas and other gods and heroes, even an occasional scene from western myths such as the Trojan horse, and western grouping such as that associated with the state arrival or departure of the Roman emperor, found their way into the sculptors' workshops of Gandhāra and the adjacent region of Afghanistan. There they were to a greater or lesser extent transmuted by the Buddhist craftsmen and given a Buddhist context.

In fact, in and about the plain of Peshāwar, the ancient Gandhāra, and thence further in Asia, the whole complex of Greco-Roman culture was drawn into the service of Buddhism.

In this context it is to be remembered that the first centuries A.D. were the period of main contact of Gandhāra with the Roman Empire. By the 2nd century A.D., the Gandhāran artists were very familiar with classical forms, which had been circulating from Hellenistic times on in the area. Moreover, it appears that classical forms, which had been established in Gandhāra, did not need on-going influence to be preserved. This trend has favoured a re-emergence of the highly classical style in Gandhāra and Afghanistan in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.[6].

4.3 The spread of Buddhism

4.3.1 Bactria and Central Asia[7]

A trip from India to China usually started from northwest India. The traveller would first journey via Taxila –the south-Asian metropolis at the main route from India to the north- to Bāmiyān in Afghanistan, then across the Hindu Kush mountains to Balkh. From Balkh his route would take him across the Pamirs to Kashgar. This stopping place with its numerous Buddhist monasteries provided a welcome haven for the tired travellers who had been climbing over dangerous mountain passes and cliffs since leaving India.
As the traveller left Kashgar, he could either take the northern route around the Taklamakan desert, or the southern route. Should he follow the southern route, he would then pass through a series of oasis centres of which Khotan was by far the most important. If he were to follow the northern route, his journey would take him through Kucha, Korla, Karashar (modern Yanqi) and Turfan. Alternatively, at Korla he could take the "Route of the Centre" via Loulan. The two routes then converged in Dunhuang on the Chinese northwest frontier.
Buddhist monks and pilgrims were not the only travellers to be encountered on this overland route. Even before they started to travel, merchants and diplomatic envoys had already left their footprints on these same roads. It was indeed the great international highway for over a thousand years, beginning with Zang Qian, the Chinese envoy to the Yuezhi by the mid-2nd century B.C. on to Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller during the time of the Mongols.

Roughly midway between Balkh and Samarkand, in northern Uzbekistan, are the ruins of Khalchayan, which are considered to have been a Kushān palace, where Hellenistic deities and ornaments such as Herakles and a garland carried by *putti* have been excavated along with clay portrait sculptures of the kings and notables. Also in the nearby temple-ruins of Dalverzin-tepe (Uzbekistan), clay sculptures, covered with stucco have been unearthed, which clearly reflect Hellenistic influence (**4.1**).
At Bāmiyān, on the western curve of the route from Kābul to Balkh, huge statues (55 metres high) were cut into the face of rocks. There are also images of the seated Buddha, carved from the rock, as well as about 750 caves, which are thought to have been used primarily between the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Wall paintings in these caves, of which many have disappeared, show a new style, often termed "Irano-Buddhist" because they reveal new influences introduced to the area by the Sasanian invasions of the 3rd century. Generally, the decorative elements and the composition of this style are more Persian than Hellenistic. Remarkably, *apsarasas* with flowing ribbons are regularly depicted[8].

The city of Khotan, and the kingdom of the same name, along the *southern* branch of the Silk Road is said to have been one of the first kingdoms in the Tarim basin to adopt (Hīnayāna) Buddhism[9]. Khotan was the headquarters of the Chinese general Ban Chao between 77 and 91 A.D., but continued to prosper as a centre of trade and for the study and practice of Hīnayāna, and later Mahāyāna Buddhism.
Yotkan, shortly west of Khotan, is thought to have been the ancient capital of Khotan. Stein explored many sites there and found pottery fragments, terracotta figures, jade, seals,

coins and manuscripts. The coins he found evidence that there was already a substantial Indian community in Khotan during the Han dynasty and that it coexisted with the Chinese settlers in the area. About the pottery fragments Andrews observes: "Greco-Buddhist influence gives a characteristic note to all Yotkan pottery. The Gorgoneion plaque, the acanthus at the attachment of the handles, the Bacchic figure holding up a rhyton, and other examples proclaim their Hellenistic origin as do also many of the shapes of the vessels, such as the miniature amphora[10]. The representatives of the Japanese count Ōtani who excavated the site in 1910, found a pair of large bronze Buddha heads, as well as two moulded clay figures of Harpocrates (the Egyptian god of silence) and a chubby baby Herakles. The Buddha heads date to around the 3rd century A.D. and may well be the oldest Buddhist sculptures of eastern Central Asia.

4.1 Clay covered with stucco. Head of a man or woman, the face expressing kindness, with narrow eyes and a small mouth. The wavy hair is woven and held toward the back of the head. From Dalverzin-tepe, Uzbekistan. 2nd-3rd century A.D. The Khamza Scientific Research Institute of Arts

In Niya, about one hundred kilometres north-east of Khotan, Stein unearthed, during several expeditions, various shrines, where he discovered Kharosthi documents which were tied with clay seals that show, among others, classical motifs that are repeated on the wooden architecture of the site. Figures of Athena, Herakles, Zeus, helmeted busts and winged horses are common[11]. Also pillars with acanthus decoration, Corinthian capitals and images of griffin-like creatures were found[12].

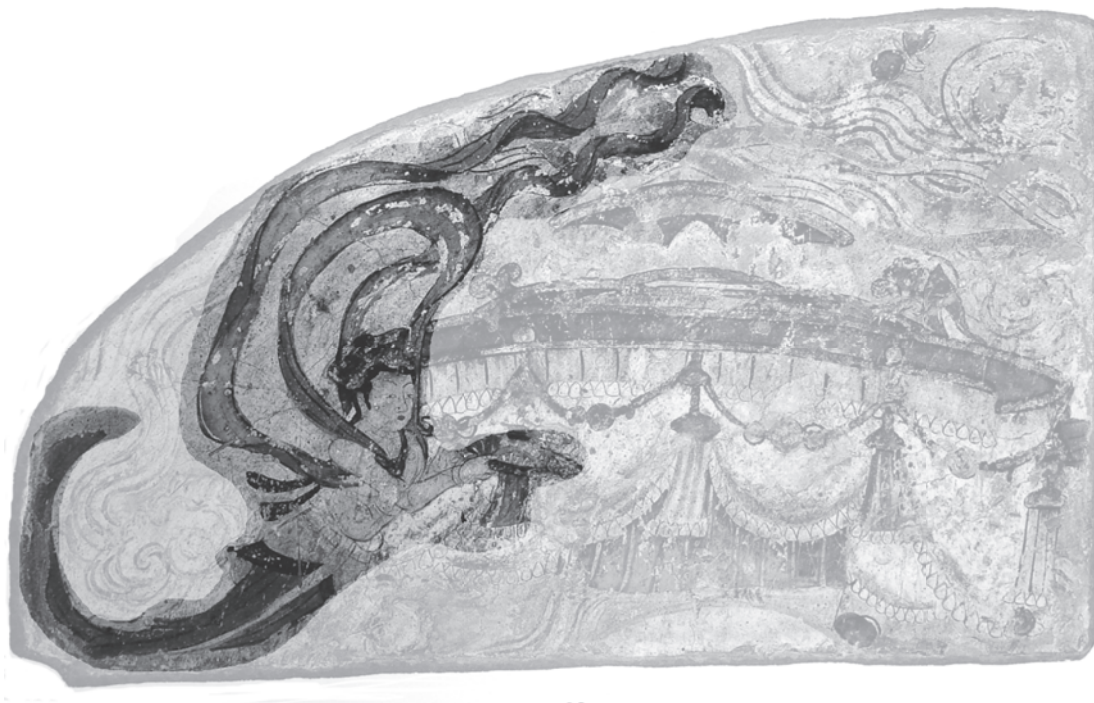
More East along the southern route around the Tarim basin and the Taklamakan desert, wood carvings from Miran recall motifs of the Greco-Buddhist buildings of Gandhāra[13].

Stein excavated Miran during his second expedition (1906-1908) and discovered many artefacts with influences from the Greco-Roman world and Gandhāra. For example stūpas and shrines embellished with fresco's and other art objects including some stucco heads and a palm-leaf manuscript. Other subjects painted on the walls were angels' heads in Greco-Roman style (**3.2**), garland bearers -a motif popular in Gandhāra and also at Amarāvati, a centre of Buddhist sculpture in south India-, and other Buddhist scenes

4.2 Mural depicting swimmers. Facial expressions remind of those frequently seen on statues of Bodhisattva figures of Gandhāra. From the Cave of the Seafarers, Kizil, Xinjiang province. 6th-7th century A.D. MIK

and subjects[14]. Stein also found niches with the remains of colossal stucco sculptures. Five large seated figures of Buddha in the style of Gandhāra images of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. were among these. The evidence of foreign influence from the Greco-Roman world, Gandhāra and India, in the caves of Miran is so overwhelming that Miran is sometimes called an "outpost of Gandhāran art[15]. It is suspected that fugitives from the Sasanian invasions of the Kushān Empire during the 3rd century may have populated Miran.

Kucha, along the *northern* branch of the silk route around the Tarim Basin, was an important centre of Buddhism and of Buddhist art. Buddhism (Hīnayāna) came to Kucha towards the end of the 1st century A.D. According to Chinese records there were nearly one thousand Buddhist stūpas and temples in Kucha around 300 A.D.[16]. Around 400 A.D. Kucha had a population of one hundred thousand inhabitants, of which ten thousand were monks[17]. When Kucha, including Kizil in its vicinity, and the neighbouring site Kumtura were explored, everywhere remains of Buddhist temples and art objects were found. The Kizil site, discovered by the expeditions of von Le Coq in 1906 and 1913, consisted of about 235 cave temples cut into the hillside, among them the earliest Buddhist caves in China. The Kizil paintings, famous for their exceptional quality, depict scenes of the



4.3 Fragment of a wall-painting depicting a textile canopy over a Buddha figure, showing floating *apsarasas* in an offering attitude. From Kumtura, Kinnari Cave. 8th-9th century A.D. MIK

Buddha preaching, flying *devatas*, scenes from the Buddha's life and previous lives, and depictions of the heroic exploits of bodhisattvas. From another cave in Kizil comes the fragment that shows three men swimming among water lilies (**4.2**). From the "Kinnari cave" in the nearby Kumtura comes the fragment of a wall painting (now in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin), depicting a textile canopy originally over a Buddha figure, dated to about 800 A.D. It shows a floating *apsaras* in an offering attitude (**4.3**).
The art of the Kucha area betrays Indian and Iranian elements although Gandhāran modelling remains visible.

A second centre of Buddhism along the northern silk route was the more easterly located city of Turfan. It was an important centre in the silk trade for the Chinese, and had become a thriving city by 500 A.D.[18] A Chinese report of an Imperial Chinese envoy who visited Turfan in 982 A.D., mentions the flourishing condition prevailing in Turfan, the abundance of Buddhist convents, and the presence of Manichaean priests from Persia[19].
Archaeological evidence from Turfan includes a variety of objects, such as mural fragments and stucco illustrations of Buddhist art, but also many works of art indicating the co-existence of different people like Uighur, a tribe related to the Eastern Turks, Tibetans and Chinese, with their various religions among which Zoroastrianism.
Zoroastrianism was introduced from Iran by Sogdian merchants during the 6th century, when increasing numbers of Central Asian settlers arrived in the Turfan area. The art of the Turfan area testifies this mix of cultural influences[20]. For example in the early wall paintings the Iranian and the Chinese elements are dominant although Indian elements

are not absent. Among the Buddhist sculptures discovered by Albert Grünwedel are serene Buddha images, smiling *devatas* and grotesque demon heads in both Chinese and Indo-Persian style. It is to be noted that, although Buddhism certainly existed to a considerable extent in Turfan, it did not entirely dominate the culture, as was apparently the case in e.g. Khotan and Kucha along the southern branch of the Silk Road. Reason for this was probably the multinational character of the population, as described above, and the dominance of commerce[21]. This phenomenon will be discussed in par. 4.4.

Bezeklik, situated about 55 kilometres east of Turfan, is the largest cave complex in the Turfan area. More than eighty caves have survived about forty of which were decorated with paintings. They were first explored by von Le Coq in 1905, then by representatives of Baron Ōtani in 1908-1909 and by Aurel Stein by the end of 1914. Bezeklik flourished as a centre of Buddhist learning, after the Uighur imperial family converted to Buddhism. The Bezeklik paintings of the 9th and 10th centuries[22] are predominantly Buddhist in inspiration, but betray a Chinese style of execution. Bezeklik has yielded Buddha figures of different types, seated and standing, and various scenes of Buddha's life besides other subjects of Indian inspiration[23].

About 100 kilometres southeast of Korla, roughly midway between Korla and Loulan, was Yingpan, one of the city states of the Tarim Basin located on the Route of the Centre.While Loulan had fallen into oblivion by the mid-4th century, it appears that Yingpan continued to survive into the Tang period (618-906). During excavations of a cemetery, between 1989 and 1999, textiles were recovered dating from the 5th century A.D., which were decorated with *putti* very much in the Hellenistic manner with curly hair, high nose, big eyes and a muscular well-proportioned body[24].

Aurel Stein explored the ruins of Loulan in 1906 and found a large number of coins and documents written on wood, paper and silk in the Chinese and Kharosthi script. The documents date from about 220 to 360 A.D. Moreover he found wooden architectural fragments decorated with classical motifs, among which a Corinthian and a Ionian capital. Also sculptures of Buddha, bodhisattvas and guardian figures, dating from about the 3rd century were found recalling the Gandhāran style[25].

4.3.2 China

The history of the introduction of Buddhism in China is packed with legends[26]. One of these tells of the dream of the Emperor Ming (r. 58-75 A.D.) of the Han dynasty. The story is as follows. One night, in a dream, Emperor Ming saw a golden deity flying in front of his palace. The next morning he asked his ministers to explain the identity of this deity. One of them, Fu Yi, replied that he heard there was a sage in India who had attained salvation and was designated the Buddha who was able to fly, and whose body was of a golden hue. He went on to say that the deity seen in this dream was this Buddha. The ruler accepted the explanation and dispatched envoys abroad to learn more about this sage and his teachings. The envoys returned, bringing back with them the *Sūtra in forty-two Sections*, which was received by the emperor and deposited in a temple constructed outside the wall of the capital, Luoyang.

Another legend says that Zang Qian, the Chinese envoy who travelled across Central Asia to Bactria in the 2nd century B.C.[27], heard about the Buddhist faith in his travels abroad and brought back to China some of this information. But only in Buddhist records of the Tang dynasty was it indicated that Zang Qian brought back such information, while in earlier sources there is no record of him having mentioned the Buddha.
However, a link of the envoy of Zang Qian with the introduction of Buddhism in China is found in the circumstantial evidence that Zang Qian paved the way for transmission of Buddhism into China. As a result of Zang Qian's travels the Han Empire had pushed its diplomatic and military force into Central Asia, and in the succeeding years countries like Bactria, Ferghana, Parthia and Scythia all sent envoys to the Chinese court. At the time in question, the Scythians (Śakas) were dominant in northwest and northern India and were already converted to Buddhism. In the wake of these diplomatic missions came merchants carrying jade from Khotan and tapestry from Parthia. In due time Buddhist monks must have come also.
Moreover, it is known that oral transmission was the chief method of spreading the *dharma* during this early period of Buddhism[28]. A Chinese record, compiled in the 3rd century A.D., called the *Wei-Lüe* (*Brief Account of the Wei Dynasty*) mentions that "in the year 2 B.C. oral transmissions of the Buddhist scriptures were received from the king of Yuezhi". Also the place where Buddha was born (Lumbinī) and some further details in the biography of the Buddha were specified together with some technical details about the order of the sect. These details indicate that there had been access to some authentic Buddhist material. The earliest mention of a Buddhist community in Chinese records dates from 65 A.D.[29].
The above points of consideration support the accepted opinion that Buddhism was introduced in Han China during the beginning of the Christian era.

The first Buddhist community mentioned above, that consisted of monks and pious laymen was not in Luoyang, the capital, but in a remote area. This indicates that initially only with considerable hesitation from the side of the imperial court the monastery was allowed to be established. In a way, Buddhism in the early days in China survived because successive emperors were willing to give a patronizing support to a couple of monasteries, in or near their capital. Their reason for doing this seems to have been on the one hand that the rituals and prayers of these holy foreigners might foster divine protection for the throne: by generously patronizing Buddhism the rulers invoked the protection of the innumerable and all-powerful Buddhist pantheon upon themselves and, by extension, upon the people they ruled, on the other hand that the monks possessed books of ancient wisdom. In a nation where traditionally the knowledge of books was venerated, it might help for the imperial prestige to have such books in the court. Also, one can imagine that a dull day at court might be enlivened by inviting monks to talk, or by stimulating the court scholars to investigate the new doctrines. It is significant that one of the earliest evidences of the new creed being taken seriously, is the record in 166 A.D. of a shrine having been set up in the palace in combined honour to the Taoists saints -Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor) and Laozi- and to the Buddha.

As already indicated above, the Greater Vehicle was a philosophical creed easily acces-

sible to popular understanding: a faith which was possible to attain for everyone, including the humblest man or woman. The result was converts from all classes of society. High officials became interested and gave land for new monasteries, while gradually more and more people were prepared to take the vows.

In the years that followed, Buddhist monks were invited from everywhere to the capital where they joined in the translation of Buddhist scripture along with their Chinese colleagues, marking the beginning of an enormous translation venture. Among these was the celebrated monk Kumārajīva (343-413). He was the son of an Indian father and a princess from Kucha and translated some 300 Mahāyāna Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese.

At about the same time, in 399 A.D., the first important Chinese pilgrim, Faxian, left China in search for the holy law. The success of his pilgrimage started a movement in which a considerable number of Chinese monks participated after him. For some of them it was to search for famous Indian masters, for others it was to visit the holy sites of Buddhism: Lumbinī Grove, the birthplace of the Buddha; Benares, where the wheel of the law was first turned and Kuśinagara, where the Buddha passed away. Some went alone, others in groups. Many started and never reached their destination or returned to China[30].

The importance of Faxian lies in the fact that he was the first Chinese monk to arrive in India, to study there for a lengthy period, and then to return, in 414, to China with the sacred scriptures. He then devoted himself to translating the *sūtras* he had acquired into Chinese. The account of his travels, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, is an important source of information about the geography and customs of the countries along the Silk Road.

In the 5th and 6th centuries times were almost continuously bad and, both in the barbarian kingdoms in the north and the native Chinese ones in the south, the desire for peace, if not in this world then in another, became a passion[31]. Scholars as well as the illiterate lost their faith in the efficacy of Confucianism and were happy to take refuge in the protection of monastic life.

The result was that a considerable section of the population became removed from their ordinary work and activities which made wealth for the community as a whole. In the eyes of the emperor's ministers there was an *imperium* within an *imperium*, and the country was flooded with beggars wearing the monkish yellow robe and holding a begging bowl, having official permits from their abbots, to whom they paid taxes over the contributions they received.

Thus the interests of church and state clashed. Twice in the 4th and 5th centuries, both in the northern and southern kingdoms, quite fierce persecutions took place. Monastery lands were confiscated, the monks and nuns forbidden to weir their robes or conduct their services, and although the number of victims seems to have been small, tens of thousands of these monks and nuns and their lay followers were driven back into ordinary life. In the Tang era (618-907 A.D.), when the power of the Buddhists reached its height, and later, there were periodical persecutions but never the religious authority of Buddhism was affected. There was a vitality in the creed which made it untouchable for the attacks of its enemies.

This is the more amazing when we realize the scale, violence and extreme action which

was taken, e.g. in 846 A.D. against Buddhism throughout the country.

"More than 4,600 monasteries are being destroyed throughout the empire, more than 260,500 monks and nuns are being returned to lay life and being subjected to the double tax; more than 40,000 temples and shrines are being destroyed; several tens of millions of *ch'ing* of fertile lands and fine fields are being confiscated; 150,000 slaves are being taken over to become payers of the double tax. Monks and nuns are to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Guests, to indicate clearly that Buddhism is a foreign religion. We are returning more than 3,000 Nestorians and Zoroastrians to lay life, so that they will not adulterate the customs of China"[32]

By far the most famous of the travelling monks was Xuanzang (ca. 596-664)[33]. He left the capital Chang'an in 629 in a clandestine way, for his petition to the court for permission to leave had been refused. He had studied the Buddhist philosophy intensively, but many unsolved problems, such as discrepancies in the Sūtra-texts made him eager for answers. However, the emperor wanted to have Xuanzang close to him and to engage him in translation efforts in Chang'an.

Xuanzang proceeded from Chang'an (modern Xian) to Liangzhou (Wuwei), where he learned of the emperor's edict prohibiting anyone from leaving the country. He hid by day and travelled by night along the Gansu corridor and arrived at Guazhou (Anxi). From there he took the northern branch of the Silk Road and proceeded through the desert to arrive via Hami at Turfan, in those days a flourishing oasis linking the East and the West. After Turfan he visited Kucha and Aksu, from where he went straight west through the Bedal Pass and reached Tashkent (modern Chach), the capital of present-day Uzbekistan. He then turned southward to Samarkand, the ancient capital of Sogdiana. From there he went south over the Iron Gate pass where he entered Afghanistan to visit Bactra. Xuanzang went south from Bactra through the Hindu Kush Mountains to Bāmiyān, a flourishing centre of Buddhism in Xuanzang's time, with the important temples already mentioned[34]. He then headed for Begram, where Kanishka I had his summer palace some centuries earlier. In Xuanzang's time it was still an influential centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. From Begram he visited the region Nagarahara, in present-day southern Afghanistan, and Gandhāra in modern-day Pakistan, together with Peshāwar and Taxila, the areas which had been the melting pots of the Hellenistic-Roman, Iranian and central-Indian traditions.

At Xuanzang's time Buddhism in India thrived in Kaśmīr, where he stayed for two years. In 633 he penetrated further into India, where he visited all the famous sacred places connected with Buddhist history. In this period he achieved such a great reputation throughout India that many rulers wanted to meet and to honour him.

He then decided to return to China. This time he took the southern route across Central Asia, finally arriving in Chang'an in 645, after an absence of sixteen years. It is said that he brought back with him 657 items, packed in 520 cases. Of these he translated only 73 items. He also wrote the *Records of the Western Regions*, which contained many data of great value to historians and archaeologists.

We have lingered a little on these Chinese pilgrims because their role in the development and transmission of Buddhism can hardly be over-estimated. At the time when Buddhism began to loose its ground in India in favour of Hinduism, they appeared on

the scene to learn everything they could in India and carried their knowledge to China, to contribute to the flowering of Buddhism under the Tang Dynasty. They then transmitted that learning to the Japanese monks who came to them, who in turn became the agents of the cultural transformation of their country.

Let us now return to the spread of Buddhism in China and follow its dissemination from the area of Dunhuang eastwards. As in par. 4.3.1, where the diffusion of the religion through Central Asia has been followed, the focus will be on the most important places which testify to the early establishment of Buddhism.

Dunhuang, at the extreme north-western border of the ancient Chinese territory, was an important cultural centre. It was established in 111 B.C. as a control post of the Han dynasty. Dunhuang was the cross-roads of main Silk Road tracks, and the meeting place of peoples from different countries as attested by the discovery here of manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit, Khotanese and many other languages. Buddhism came to Dunhuang by both northern and southern silk routes and seems to have been well established here by the 2nd-3rd century A.D.[35]. By the end of the 3rd century there was already a flourishing colony of monks in Dunhuang.

The Caves of the Thousand Buddhas lie in a valley some 25 kilometres south-east of the Dunhuang oasis[36]. It is there that in the year 366 A.D. a local monk set about carving out a cave for solitary meditation, followed by many more after him. The caves were carved from gravel conglomerate of the cliffs and many were decorated with wall paintings. The statuary at Dunhuang was made of clay, moulded around wooden armatures and then painted. No fewer than 492 caves have been identified, with 45.000 square metres of murals and over 2.000 sculptures. The paintings and sculpture reveal Chinese, Indian, Greco-Roman and Iranian influences.

By the 4th century A.D., when the oldest caves were carved, Dunhuang had developed as a centre for Buddhist monks and other travellers along the Silk Road. As merchants and pilgrims passed through, they would make a donation to improve the site, as a prayer for protection from the dangers they expected to face on their journey to the West, or as thanks for their safe arrival in China[37].

In the caves monks gathered to hold religious discussions, to translate the sacred scriptures, and to promote the development of Buddhist art. In one of these caves a library of about 13,500 paper scrolls was found, almost all Buddhist texts in Chinese, but some were in Sanskrit, Tibetan, or other Central Asian languages such as Khotanese, Uighur and Sogdian. This find accentuates the important position of Dunhuang along the Silk Road as a translation centre, but also as a place where colonies of merchants from different oases of north-west China and Central Asia settled to conduct trade[38].

Gradually the increasing level of activity brought great prosperity to the area, which is reflected in the splendour of the caves established later during the last quarter of the 6th century A.D. A detailed treatment of the Buddhist art and different styles and elements in the caves of Dunhuang is beyond the context of this work[39].

Here, to refer to one of the many instances where Greco-Roman elements are found in the caves of Dunhuang, an early mural depicting seven seated Buddha's with six *apsarasas* is shown (**4.4**). In cave 268, the sides of the main Buddha's niche on the west wall are

flanked by pillars topped with the Ionian-style capitals of Greece[40], while in the same cave the posture of the Maitreya with the legs in the cross-ankled position (**4.5**) is believed to be 3rd century B.C. Hellenistic[41], and is not uncommon in Gandhāran art[42].

The city of Anxi (ancient Guazhou), Gansu province, is the point where the Silk Road's main branches of the northern and the southern route come together. From the Yulin Caves, some seventy-five kilometres south of Anxi, an ivory carving was unearthed representing a bodhisattva riding an elephant and carrying a *pagoda*, one of the most fascinating Buddhist artefacts found in China (**4.6**). It can be opened and then shows some 300 depictions of stories from the Buddha's previous lifes. It dates from the 7th century and was probably brought to China by one of the many monks who travelled to India during the Tang Dynasty to seek Buddhist scriptures.

More to the south, Wuwei (formerly Liangzhou) was an important military checkpoint along the Silk Road during the Han Dynasty and became the main commercial centre for the region. A tomb, shortly north of Wuwei, was excavated in 1969, containing bronze artefacts, all dated around 200 A.D., most notably among them the so-called flying horse of Gansu[43] (**4.7**). Wuwei became an important Buddhist centre after about 400 A.D.

Travelling further south-east from Wuwei, the Silk Road crossed the Yellow River at Binglingsi, where the river was small, and a bridge is said to have existed there from 400 A.D. on. Around that time caves were constructed where the sculptures recall the style of Gandhāra and Central Asia (**4.8**). One of the sculptured images wears a Hellenistic-style outer garment[44]. In one of these caves an impressive wall painting has been preserved depicting a seated Buddha, accompanied by bodhisattvas and flying *apsarasas*.

4.4 Mural depicting seven seated Buddhas with six *apsarasas*. Dunhuang, Cave 263, Gansu province. China, Northern Wei dynasty (386-534). SHP

Some 50 kilometres southeast of the city of Tianshui are the Maijishan caves, carved from the granite walls[45]. Of the hundreds of caves there, about seventy were constructed

4.5 Seated Maitreya, painted clay and stucco. Legs in cross-ankled position. Dunhuang, Cave 268. China, Northern Liang dynasty (398-439 A.D.) After Juliano and Lerner 2001, 212, fig. 1

4.6 Ivory carving, probably Indian, of a Bodhisattva riding an elephant. Presumably brought to China by a monk travelling to India during the Tang dynasty to seek Buddhist scriptures. From Yulin Cave, Anxi County, Gansu province, China. National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing

4.7 Bronze figure of a flying horse, one leg catching or carrying a swallow. Unearthed at Leitai, Wuwei county, Gansu province, in 1969. Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 A.D.). Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou

4.8 Painted clay figure of a Bodhisattva in Cave 169, Binglingsi, Gansu province. Ca. 420 A.D. After Tucker 2003, 115, fig. 137

during the Northern Wei period (386-535) and about forty during the Northern Zhou period (557-581)[46]. Some 7,000 statues and a large number of murals are contained in these caves. The Maijishan caves are considered as belonging to the most important Buddhist sites, together with others like Dunhuang, Longmen and Yungang (near Datong, Shanxi province, the first Northern Wei capital). On the walls of Cave 4 are paintings of *apsarasas* that recall those of Dunhuang[47]. The site was active as a Buddhist centre from the 5th century on to the Song dynasty (960-1279 A.D.).

Chang'an (modern Xian), Shaanxi province, was the capital of the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.) and an immense city with a population of over 500,000. The descriptions of the life and wealth of the upper class and the well-to-do in Chang'an, based on Han documents, paint an almost unbelievable impression of luxury, in contrast to the conditions of the poor. Following the journey of Zang Qian in 138 B.C. from Chang'an to the West, exotic goods began to appear in Chang'an, such as grapes, walnuts, pomegranates, and horses from Ferghana.

After the establishment of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 A.D.), the capital was moved to Luoyang in 25 A.D., but Chang'an remained an important commercial and political centre. The first emperor of the Sui Dynasty, emperor Wendi (r. 581-604), established the capital again in Chang'an.

A Chinese record dating from 130 A.D. gives evidence that by that time Buddhist monks were an accepted part of life in Chang'an and that Buddhism had probably been making its way slowly into China, taking root in scattered centres throughout the empire[48]. Progress of Buddhism increased during the 3rd and 4th centuries, when social and intellectual climate improved. By about 300 A.D., Buddhist establishments in Chang'an and Luoyang together numbered 180 and their clergy some 3,700.

Then a catastrophe unprecedented in Chinese history took place: the Xiongnu attacked from the north and the emperor, the Son of Heaven, shamefully fled before them.

> "And, Sir, the last Emperor -so they say- fled from Saragh (Luoyang) because of famine and his palace and walled city were set on fire. So Saragh is no more, Ngap (the great city of Yeh), further north, no more!"[49]

In these words a Sogdian merchant, writing to his partner in Samarkand, recorded the destruction of Luoyang in 311 A.D.[50].

After the catastrophic loss of the north, members of the Chinese elite fled in large numbers to the area south of the Yangzi River, and for nearly three hundred years thereafter the country was politically divided between unstable Chinese dynasties with their capital at Nanjing and a succession of non-Chinese states controlling all or part of the north.

However, eventually for Buddhism these tragic political developments did turn out to be not unfavourable. The barbarian chiefs in the north quickly learned that their own tribal ways would not sustain them in control in North China, and that Buddhism was an effective instrument to support their power. This apparent advantage won for Buddhism the protection of the rulers and enabled the religion to spread in a greater pace throughout the whole society.

The great monk and translator Kumārajīva, already mentioned, arrived at Chang'an in 410, where he found royal patronage, and Chinese monks were assembled from far and near to work with him in translating the sacred texts.

From about 400 A.D., Buddhism gained favour everywhere and by the end of the 5th

century the existence of almost 8,500 temples and over 100,000 monks and nuns bears witness of an remarkable expansion of religious communities and devotees[51].

The Tang emperors were enthusiastic patrons of Buddhism and Chang'an, by then the largest city in the world with almost two million people living within its walls, was the melting pot of cultures. The relationship between the Buddhist monks and the citizens of Chang'an, but probably also in other cities, was rather intense. Resident monks conducted funerals, prayed for the dead, and celebrated the various holidays of the calendar. Because Buddhist teachings also stressed helping others, even strangers, the monks offered many services to the city's inhabitants, including free dispensaries, pawnshops, hotels and public baths. The city hired Buddhists to run hospitals and awarded them bonuses if less than one-fifth of their patients died[52]. The endless stream of visitors created by arriving and departing emissaries, students, merchants, travellers, artists and performers from the different countries of the world gave the capital a truly cosmopolitan air. From the south came the Indians, from the north arrived nomadic tribes, from Central Asia came the visitors from the oasis towns, and also from the Korean kingdom of Silla and Japan people flooded in. There were a Sasanian Zoroastrian temple, a Manichaean church and a Nestorian church. Especially Persian influence was intense, not only at the court but also among the common people.

Foreigners who came to Chang'an were for the Chinese on the one hand a great source of fascination, but on the other hand treated with reservation. For example, by the early Tang Dynasty, the long existent practice of burying terracotta figurines became particularly widespread and foreigners, the representatives of the mysterious West who could give a certain status to the deceased, were frequently depicted on tomb figures[53]. An example is shown in (**4.9**), depicting a Central Asian holding a *cornucopia*.

The multicultural character of Chang'an does not mean that classical influence in Chang'an or in the Henan province is dominant or clearly visible: on the contrary, elements of classical culture are scarce. Very few specimens of woodwork or dyed and woven fabric have been preserved; only articles made of durable substances that deteriorate slowly such as semi-precious stone, earthenware and metal remain. However, from time to time glimpses occur. An example, probably from Chang'an, is the twelve-headed Guanyin fragment, sculptured in fine-grained sandstone, the face expressing easy grace (**4.10**). Another example is the agate *rhyton*, which is probably of Central Asian or Sasanian Persian origin. Also the clay rhyton-cup from the Tang period, modelled in the form of an ox-head developing into an octagonal cup-lip and decorated with streaked green and cream glazes[54] testifies that this basic classical shape was known in Chang'an (**4.11**).

After the new capital of the Later Han dynasty had been established in Luoyang, the first emperor Guang Wudi (r. 25-57 A.D.) started reconstruction projects there. His successor Mingdi (r. 57-75 A.D.) had played the legendary role of having a dream that led to the introduction of Buddhism in China (see above in this paragraph). After its destruction in 313 A.D., it took about 200 years before Luoyang regained its former glory and flourished as a Silk Road entrepot, after the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535) had established their capital there in 494 (*Map 4.2*). In 538 Luoyang was ruined again and almost depopulated due to the rivalry between two factions within the Northern Wei dynasty. By 589 the whole of China was re-united by the first Sui Emperor Wendi (r. 581-604), who

4.9 Terracotta tomb figure of a Central Asian, holding a *cornucopia*. China, Early Tang, 7th century A.D. Musée Cernuschi, Paris

4.10 Eleven-headed Guanyin (fragment). Sandstone. China, Tang dynasty, ca. 8th century. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland

displaced his capital back to Chang'an (*Map 4.3*).

As we have seen, also in Luoyang, there is evidence of early Buddhist communities in the years of decline of the Han Empire and presence of a considerable number of temples and monasteries by 300 A.D.[55]. When Luoyang flourished by the beginning of the 6th century also Buddhism reached its peak under the Northern Wei dynasty. In the luxury and splendour of the capital an enormous amount of money and energy was spent for the construction of the Yongning temple. Within its precincts was a nine-storied *stūpa* rising 90 feet above the ground. On top of it was a mast of another ten feet ending in a golden jar, below which were thirty plates of gold to receive the evening dew. From the eaves of the roofs of the nine stories, golden bells were suspended, 120 in all, which could be heard from far away during windy nights. In those days there were about 600,000 people in Luoyang and about 1,300 temples.

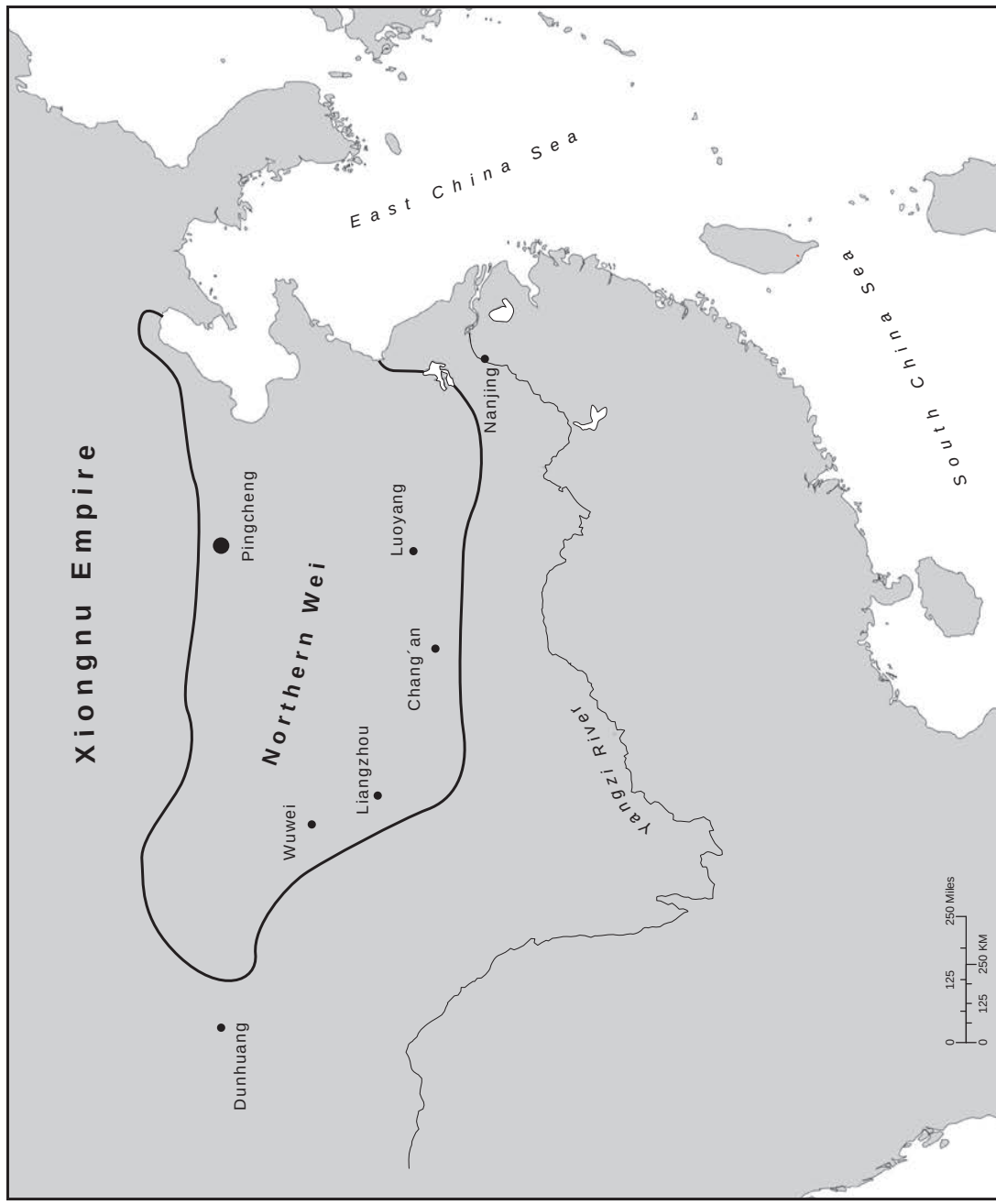
Thirteen kilometres south of Luoyang, the Longmen caves were constructed by the Northern Wei between 493 and 535, and later by other dynasties. The last major dated project at the site was in 730 A.D. There are more than 2,300 caves and niches at Long-

4.11 Agate drinking horn (*rhyton*) in the shape of an ox-head with gold spout. Unearthed in 1970 at Heija village, Xian, Shaanxi province. Probably of Sasanian origin. China, Tang dynasty (618-907). Shaanxi History Museum, Xian

men, containing some 100,000 images of the Buddha and his attendants[56]. Some of these will be reviewed in other chapters in this book.
Occasionally, in Henan province, artefacts have been found which signal western influence. In a *mandorla* in a niche near Cave 16 of the Longmen caves, dating from the end of the 5th century A.D., grapevines have been carved around a nude figure (**4.12**).
In a Tang-period grave in Henan (not further specified) a bowl is said to have been found, decorated with a *Greek key*, relief palmettes and three incised medallions containing heads with Minerva-like helmets[57]. Also from Luoyang comes a Tang-period clay ewer with green glaze, with an Indo-Hellenistic decoration of a dancing figure in applied relief (**4.13**).
These above examples are shown here, of course, not to suggest that Buddhist monks carried the object or even a prototype to the area where they were found. Others might have done this as well. On the other hand, involvement of Buddhist monks and Chinese pilgrims in this process cannot be excluded either. This subject will be further reviewed in par. 4.4.

4.3.3 Korea and Japan

In 108 B.C. the Chinese emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty established colonies in northwestern Korea. One of these, the Nangnang, had its capital in the vicinity of P'yŏngyang. The tombs of this colony, which lasted until 313 A.D., give evidence of a strong Chinese influence on Korean culture. Bronze mirrors, baskets of lacquer work, headdresses and many other artefacts are some of the finest examples of Han dynasty workmanship. The influence of these Chinese colonies spread over the Yalu River into adjacent Manchuria and to southern Korea.
Eventually most of northern Korea was dominated by a strongly organized kingdom, Koguryŏ, founded in 37 B.C. which absorbed gradually the areas colonized by the Chi-



Map 4.2 China divided during the Six Dynasties Period (A.D. 220-589)

Map 4.3 China united during the Sui and early Tang Dynasties (589-755)

4.12 Carved grapevines on *mandorla* from Milei niche outside Cave XVI at Longmen Cave Temple, Luoyang, Henan province, China. Late 5th century A.D. After Juliano and Lerner 2001, 324, fig. c

4.13 Ewer of buff clay with streaked cream and green glazes, decorated with dancing figure in relief. Indo-Hellenistic style. From Luoyang, China. Tang dynasty. ROT

nese settlers and exercised, by 313 A.D., control over an area extending beyond the Yalu River far into Manchuria. In the south, at the same time, two kingdoms emerged, Silla and Paekche. Hence this period of Korean history is known as the Period of the Three Kingdoms (*Map 4.4*). Silla had its core area in south-eastern Korea, mainly in the Naktong River basin. Its capital was located at Kyŏngju. Paekche, the weakest of the kingdoms, had its centre in south-western Korea. Rivalries were sharp between these kingdoms. Moreover, a confederacy of smaller tribes, Kaya, was founded in southern Korea and established trade relations with Japan across the South Sea, but was caught between these rivalries and finally annexed by Silla in 562 A.D. Much of the Buddhism that reached Japan in the 6th century came via these three Korean kingdoms.

Of the three great kingdoms that were settled on the Korean peninsula during the 4th century A.D., Koguryŏ increased in size and strength under the rule of King Sosurim (r. 371-384).

In 372, King Fujian of the Eastern Jin dynasty (r. 338-385) sent a Buddhist monk to Sosurim, bringing with him Buddhist scriptures and images. Two years later Sosurim responded with an envoy to China and from that time on Buddhism in Koguryŏ expanded quickly: by the end of the century about a dozen Buddhist temples were built. This expansion of Buddhism was strongly supported by the later Koguryŏ kings, who tried to strengthen their spiritual authority by playing a leading role in the development of Buddhism. Interesting to note is the appearance of the images of Korean pilgrims on the north wall of cave 169 in Binglingsi, dated 420 A.D.[58].

After the second independent kingdom, Paekche, had been established during the first half of the 4th century A.D., Buddhism is said to have been introduced there in 384 by an Indian or west-Asian monk, Maranant'a, who was sent by the king of Eastern Jin to the king of Paekche. Although the royal family, which came from an immigrant clan, embraced Buddhism, it took more than a century before Buddhism, under the reign of king Munyŏng (r. 501-523) became a major religious current. The golden age of Buddhism in Paekche did not begin, however, until about 540, during the reign of king Sŏngmyŏng (r. 523-545), when numerous temples were erected. As we shall see, it was during this time, with Paekche, in particular, as a stepping stone, that Buddhism was introduced in Japan.

When Paekche came into existence on the south-western side of the Korean peninsula, the third independent kingdom, Silla, was emerging in the southeast. Until the first half of the 6th century Silla was constantly in struggle with its neighbours: Koguryŏ to the north, Paekche to the west, and Kaya to the south.

Then, a strong leader, king Pŏphŭng, introduced advanced technical and administrative changes and adopted Buddhism as a means of increasing his spiritual authority. This happened probably some time after an envoy was sent to China in 521, and responded by an envoy from the Chinese emperor in 522 to Silla with recommendations to accept Buddhism. In 527, Buddhism was denounced to be the state religion in Silla. Silla's golden age of Buddhist prosperity and territorial expansion came under the reign of king Chinhŭng (r. 540-575).

During the middle of the 7th century the ambitious kingdom of Silla made an alliance with the Tang dynasty of China. Their combined forces conquered Paekche in 660. Later they invaded Koguryŏ territory simultaneously from both north and south. Finally, in 668,

Map 4.4 The Three Kingdoms of Korea, ca. 300 A.D.

the capital P'yŏngyang was taken.

The Tang army occupied most of the territories of the two conquered kingdoms and established a military administration, which lasted eight years after Silla had supposedly unified the country in 668. Silla's rulers were anxious to get rid of the Tang military occupation, and after various struggles and military clashes the Tang rulers withdrew their armies from the Korean peninsula in 676. Silla now became the sole ruler of Korea.

United Silla, established in 668 A.D., lasted until 935, when a new kingdom, Koryo, was formed. The period of united Silla coincides roughly with the period of the Chinese Tang dynasty (618-906).

The ties with Tang China were strong almost from the very beginning. New Buddhist

sects were introduced and commercial contacts, especially via the Yellow Sea, were intensified. The increase in trade and travel stimulated the Sillans in their self confidence and they gradually developed their own individuality.
The extent to which Koreans participated in Tang China's trade and travel may be grasped from a wall-painting discovered at Afrasiab, the archaeological site of ancient Samarkand, and datable to about 660 A.D. On one of the walls of the reception hall of an aristocratic Sogdian house, foreign envoys from several countries are shown, among them the most important Chinese delegation together with Koreans, recognizable from their head gear, adorned by a pair of feathers[59].

The chief channel through which foreign importation reached Korea was Buddhism. Through Buddhist initiatives the building skills quickly improved and dozens of great temples were built, many of these similar to those of Tang China. Smaller arts and crafts were developed to furnish the various palaces and temples. Many of these temples operated workshops which manufactured a great variety of bronze ware, clay products, textiles, etc. Because of their portability small gilt bronzes and wooden images played a vital part in transmitting iconography, techniques and style. An example of an early Korean small Buddhist statuette is shown in (**4.14**).
Unfortunately not much of the larger Buddhist statues survived in Korea. Chinese armies invaded Korea many times, also during the later centuries and so did the Japanese. These wars devastated architectural monuments and major sculptures and almost no pre-Tang architecture remains in Korea[60].
This contrary to the situation in Japan where, after the very beginning of the transmission of Buddhism and its art and architecture, a considerable number of works of art from Korea, but in the style of the Six Dynasties (265-589) in China and in the Korean style of the Three Kingdoms, were carefully preserved. This as a direct consequence of the Japanese mental attitude of reverence for anything from the past.

About the date of introduction of Buddhism in Japan, two opposing theories have emerged[61].
The first states that Buddhism was introduced when king Sŏngmyŏng of Paekche sent to king Kinmei of Yamato an envoy in 552 A.D., carrying not only Buddhist images and scriptures, but also a recommendation for the adoption of Buddhism on the ground that this religion had already greatly benefited the rulers of other countries. The ministers of the Yamato court were divided in their opinion whether to adopt the new religion or not. One of them was Soga no Iname -head of an increasingly powerful immigrant clan- and, because he was in favour of adoption, he was ordered to perform Buddhist rituals experimentally. Then, in 585, a pestilence broke out and Kinmei ordered Buddhist statues to be thrown into the river and recently constructed Buddhist halls to be burned.
The second theory is based on an early record that specifies details about the establishment of Yamato's first great Buddhist temple, the Asukadera temple, and claims that Buddhism was introduced in 538.
Usually 552 is taken as a convenient date to mark the introduction of Buddhism to Japan from Korea.
The disagreement between the various clans about the acceptance of Buddhism culminat-

ed in 587 in a military clash. Soga no Umako vowed to propagate the Buddhist faith throughout the country if he and his allies should win. After his victory envoys arrived from Paekche, bringing Buddhist priests and relics, temple builders, metalworkers, potters and painters. In 593 Empress Suiko, just enthroned, ordered her court nobles to support Buddhism. The imperial family and their advisors were devout and zealous Buddhists, but also perceived clearly that unity, obedience and loyalty could be promoted by presenting themselves as principal and most illustrious adherents to the popular faith. Prince Shōtoku (572-622 A.D.), just appointed crown-prince, became involved in Buddhist activities that led to his reputation as the father of Japanese Buddhism.

One of the most important innovations of Prince Shōtoku was the sending of a large official embassy to the Sui court in China in the year 607[62]. This embassy, and many others following its precedent during the next two centuries, played a vital role in the great period of learning from China. The Japanese leaders carefully chose promising young scholars and artists to accompany the embassies in order to study at the sources of knowledge in China. These young men, selected for their knowledge of Chinese literature, philosophy, history, or Buddhist theology and ritual, or for their skill in the arts of painting, poetry or music, studied in China during the year of the embassy's stay, and some remained in China for a decade or two between embassies. Upon their return to Japan, they became leaders in their respective fields, the men most responsible for the successful transmission to Japan of the science, arts and ideals of the great continental civilization. Students who had returned from China formed an important element within the Yamato court, which seized power through

4.14 Gilt bronze statue of Avalokiteśvara. Korea, Old Silla period, early 7th century A.D. National Museum of Korea, Seoul

a carefully engineered coup in 645[63]. From that time on, the Yamato state was definitely committed to a policy of trying to create in Japan a small replica of Tang China. It was little wonder that the Japanese made this attempt. Other petty states in Korea, Manchuria –where the kingdom of Bohai (699-926) emerged-, and on the south-western borders of China, dazzled by the grandeur and might of Tang, did exactly the same.

Under the influence of Chinese ideas, the Japanese for the first time conceived the idea of the Yamato state as an empire, and in particular, an empire on an equal level with China. Prince Shōtoku even dared to phrase a letter to the Chinese emperor as coming from the Emperor of the Rising Sun to the Emperor of the Setting Sun. This was daring indeed, because in Chang'an, although foreigners and imported goods played a vital role, everything non-Chinese was inferior and visiting princes were regarded as vassals of the Son of Heaven. As long as the superiority of the Chinese was understood, all foreigners were welcome, including every aspect of their cultures. With the new imperial concept, the ruler of the Yamato state for the first time assumed the dignity and majesty of an emperor.

One gains some idea of the scope of the undertaking and the degree of success achieved by considering the capital cities founded by the Japanese as part of their attempt to transform Japan into a little Tang. In earlier ages there had been no cities, towns, nor even any semi-permanent buildings. Now the Japanese attempted to build a capital city comparable to Chang'an, the great capital of Tang, with a population of close to two million people and probably the greatest city in the world by the middle of the 8th century. The first Japanese imitation of Chang'an, Heijō (near present-day Nara), was established in the year 710, where stately tile-roofed Buddhist temples and towering pagodas, palaces and residences were constructed. Even today several of these Buddhist temples still stand, the oldest wooden structures in the world and the finest remaining examples of Far Eastern architecture of the Tang epoch.

Toward the end of the 8th century, the Japanese court, possibly with a view to escaping the increasing influence of the great Buddhist temples which ringed the Heijō capital, decided to abandon this first city and build a new capital. In 794 this second city was laid out at Heian (present-day Kyōto), some thirty miles north of Nara. Again the scale was grandiose, and this second capital never disappeared, as did the first. It survived the vicissitudes of the ages, remaining the imperial city of Japan until 1868.

After the triumph of the pro-Buddhist faction at the Yamato Court in the second half of the 6th century, Buddhism enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of the central government. Splendid temples were erected at government expense and impressive Buddhist ceremonies were sponsored by the court and the noble families. Often a Japanese emperor retired from the heavy burdens of his dual secular and religious role to the more peaceful life of the Buddhist monk. As was the case with so much else in the newly imported continental culture, the influence of Buddhism was still weak in the provinces, but in the capital district the new religion was supreme, and enjoyed official favour far greater than that of the native cult of Shintō.

With Buddhism came many of the arts and crafts of China. The Buddhist temples were

themselves great architectural achievements, and housed beautiful bronze and wooden statues of Buddhist divinities, exquisite religious paintings and other magnificent works of art. Some had been brought from the continent. Others of equal beauty and artistic merit were produced in Japan, showing how readily the Japanese acquired the artistic skills developed during the course of centuries by the Chinese.

In this context a word has to be devoted to the Shōsōin. The emperor Shōmu (r. 724-749) decreed the construction of the Tōdaiji, the greatest (largest) temple-monastery at Nara. The complex was completed in 751 and is called the Shōsōin. Within its walls lived a large population of monks, and it is estimated to have included nearly fifty storehouses, where Buddhist paraphernalia were kept. The Shōsōin served as the Tōdaiji's chief repository and was under formal temple-administration for a long time.

Among the treasures of the Shōsōin are a large number of foreign made articles. Most of these are probably gifts and other items brought back to Japan from China by the numerous Japanese embassies dispatched to the Tang court between the 7th and late 9th centuries. Emperor Shōmu's large collection of imported belongings were dedicated to the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji upon his death and stored in the Shōsōin, where they were preserved in excellent condition for many centuries.

Although the great majority of the Shōsōin treasures were imported from Tang China, also Japanese artefacts of astonishing quality are part of the collection. Obviously the Japanese craftsmen of the Tenpyō period (710-794), deeply impressed by the degree of technical excellence of the Chinese objects but extremely able artisans themselves, produced articles that can sometimes hardly be distinguished from their Tang prototypes.

Significant to note in evaluating the religious and artistic relationships and exchanges between China, Korea and Japan is the political stability in the area. From the late 7th through the 9th centuries the same lineage of rulers continued to hold sway in Manchuria (Bohai, 699-926 A.D.), China (Tang, 618-906 A.D.), Korea (Silla, 668-935 A.D.) and Japan (Nara, 645-794 A.D. and Early Heian, 794-897 A.D., when the emperor moved his capital from Nara to Kyōto in 795) (*Map 4.5*). These periods, in effect, comprised an era of unparalleled international tranquillity in East Asia, which fostered the expansion of contacts.

4.4 The role of monks and merchants

Monks

In the preceding paragraphs of this Chapter it has been discussed, at various occasions, how Buddhism acted as a means of distributing elements of classical culture. Basically, from the perspective of Buddhism, there were two mechanisms, both intrinsically related to Buddhism, that generated the momentum.

First, the patronage of expanding empires. This started in India when the monarch of the Mauryan dynasty, Aśoka, decided to use Buddhism as a means of unifying the empire. Then, when Buddhism spread, the Kushāns supported the religion and after them, across Central Asia to China, the emperors of the Han dynasty patronized Buddhism. After

Map 4.5 East Asia, ca. 715 A.D.

the Han period, China was in turmoil for more than three centuries until a new empire was established in 589 by the first Sui emperor. In China, Buddhism became gradually honoured, especially in north China, mainly for its magical power to provide material benefits and as a support for kingly authority. The king of Korea as well as the Japanese recognized, although instructed in that direction by the Chinese, the central position of Buddhism as a concept of establishing sovereignty.

Second, the material transmission of Buddhism was to a considerable extent realized by the many ten thousands of Buddhist monks and Chinese pilgrims, travelling in the course of the centuries, alone or in groups or as part of embassies, over land or by sea, to India and many Asian countries, carrying with them not only Buddhist paraphernalia but also other artefacts as gifts or otherwise. Moreover, monks from various parts of China moved throughout China itself, thus enhancing the cultural mix everywhere. This means that, in fact, these monks played very influential roles in the transfer of foreign designs, objects, customs and ideas towards the Chinese culture, although a direct connection with Buddhism itself was not necessarily apparent.

However, there are a few characteristic elements in the Buddhist monastic culture, which need to be emphasized in order to understand fully the influential role which the monks played along the trading routes.

Monastic culture was uniform and cosmopolitan, meaning not only that everywhere the monks dressed the same way and could be easily identified as such, a uniformity which they cherished with pride, but more that they strongly felt themselves to be part of a distinct community, independent of the specific cultural background of the individual.

It was this independence of monks, who wished to maintain a characteristic way of life they believed had been instituted by Buddha that allowed them to maintain an open mind toward the practices and attitudes of other people[64]. This was extremely useful too, as most monks were expected to spend some part of their career travelling around, to maintain contacts of various sorts with people in all classes of society. In fact one of the most prominent characteristics of Buddhist monks is that they were assumed to depend upon the support of lay people, and that they would attempt to change the behaviour of people around them.

Another major characteristic of Buddhist monastic culture was the doctrine of merit, in particular the belief that one could transfer to one's intimates the merit derived from making certain material objects. This doctrine was stated in the most influential scripture of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the *Lotus Sūtra*, and became a real benefit to Buddhist art, because, as a result, lay followers, monks, and nuns often became patrons of art[65].

The production, use and propagation of objects usually involved co-operation and meetings between monks and other people. Travelling monks often gave and received gifts as they asked for and received favours from monks, officials and other figures who supplied them with food, lodging, travel passes and conversation[66]. These objects were usually, but not necessarily, appropriate in association with Buddhist practices and facilitated social interaction.

Such a social interaction was essential in cases where monks participated in large construction efforts, which were many along the trading routes. For example large Buddhist sculptures, cave-building and -ornamentation often involved negotiations between promi-

nent patrons (who wanted to be sure that the merit of the act would go to their deceased relatives), eminent monks and artisans[67].
More generally, the concept of meritorious deeds of monks to laymen comprised various merit fields, which were cultivated by the following activities[68].
1. constructing stūpas, monastic halls and pavilions
2. setting up orchards, bath houses, groves for shade
3. dispensing medicine and treating diseases
4. building sturdy boats to ferry people
5. digging wells close to travelled roads
6. building convenient toilet facilities for the public.

The cave-temple complexes within oasis cities along the trade routes attracted lay travellers, traders and pilgrims and greatly fostered commercial activities and could bring considerable prosperity to the region. Moreover, in many such cities, translation centres were established, where the scriptures or *sūtra's*, written in languages such as Prakit and Sanskrit, were translated into Chinese for the convenience of the expanding body of Chinese converts and clergy. These translation centres, established by foreign monks with the patronage from nomadic rulers, became magnets for monks and merchants of various origins, such as Parthian, Sogdian and Yuezhi[69], and were even essential in the spread of Buddhism into China. But before all, they were centres of social interaction, the key task of all Buddhist monks.

Merchants

In support of the spread of the teachings of Buddha, from its very beginnings under the *bodhi* tree in India to its ubiquity in Asia, overland as well as to a certain extent over sea, three basic factors were instrumental from the perspective of merchants.
First, a network of roads was already available, prepared by a long established trade or sometimes by military action.
Second, Buddhism's doctrine of self-reliance and non-violence appealed to the merchant class in India and elsewhere. Commercial relations can only be developed and maintained in a friendly atmosphere of mutual benevolence. So, Buddhists were welcomed by the traders on the roads because they contributed to evade conflicts and therefore served their purposes. It is even probable that the majority of the first Indian missionaries were also merchants[70].
Third, there was a definite interaction between traders and Buddhism, the more essential in areas where the tracks were difficult. For example, in the oases around the Taklamakan desert, in the sandstone hills, caves were carved, which served as Buddhist festival halls and educational, instruction and accommodation centres for the local people and travellers.

There was no shortage of funds for these works, not only because the local rulers greatly supported the development of Buddhism, but also because of the wealthy merchants, anxious to invoke protection or give thanks for a safe desert crossing. Gifts and donations of these people were seen as an act of merit, which might enable the donor to

escape rebirth into this world. In many of the murals the donors themselves are depicted, often in pious attitude. This explains why e.g. in the grottos of Dunhuang -the starting point for the most difficult crossing of the Taklamakan desert- Buddhist works are so elaborate and of high quality.
In addition, Buddhist temples and monasteries served as banks and warehouses for the merchants.
Another aspect of the interaction between traders and Buddhism was the protection that the merchant caravans, often guided by armed members of nomad tribes, provided for monks and pilgrims through the treacherous terrains.

As we have seen, the Kushān Empire, in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, was located in the centre of the international exchanges. They fostered multicultural interaction as indicated by their 1st and 2nd century A.D. hoards, filled with products of the Greco-Roman world, China and India, such as e.g. in the archaeological site of Begram. So it seems that, during the first centuries of our era, the main traders along the Silk Road were Indians and Bactrians.
However, from the middle of the 1980's on, attention of scientists has been drawn to the role of the Sogdians as intermediaries along the Silk Road, partly because archaeological information came to light, partly because Sogdian studies revealed a considerable Sogdian influx in the cultural history of China during the 5th to 8th centuries.

Sogdiana was part of Western Turkestan, the area of modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, which is also called Transoxiana, i.e. across the Oxus, geographically the land between the Oxus (Amu Darya) and Jaxartes (Syr Darya) Rivers. It is a semi-arid area, containing the fearsome Kara Kum and Kyzyl Kum deserts, traversed by some rivers, from which water could be diverted into agriculture and thus support some cities with large populations. On the other hand, the area abutted on the steppes and there was almost constant pressure from nomads to the north and east to move in with their herds, to conquer the rich land and settle down. This was precisely what the inhabitants of Transoxiana, being of Iranian stock, had done themselves earlier.
The area can be divided in three parts, Sogdiana, Ferghana and Choresmia (*Map 4.6*). Sogdiana was north of the Zarafshan River, Ferghana is along the upper Syr Darya River, and Choresmia is in the delta region of the Amu Darya. The region was conquered by the Persian armies of the Achaemenid dynasty (559-330 B.C.).
After the destruction of the Achaemenids by Alexander the Great, Sogdiana was one of the regions which heavily opposed the Macedonians, but eventually Alexander subjugated the region. After his death Alexander's empire broke up and Sogdiana was briefly incorporated in the Greek-Bactrian kingdom, but soon became an independent state, constantly submitted to the incursions of nomadic populations.
When Central Asia and Northern India passed under the control of the Kushāns (ca. 50 B.C.-250 A.D.), Sogdiana was not actually conquered but left some independency. Hence their influence, especially in art and coinage, was very strong. In the period between 250 and 270 A.D. the Sasanids of Persia (224-642 A.D.) destroyed the Kushān Empire, occupied Bactria and rendered Sogdiana tributary.
Then, from the 5th century on, the Hephthalites (or Chionites, also known as the White Huns) moved in from north-west China. Their empire was enlarged slowly during the 5th

century until they became a threat to the Gupta rulers of the Punjab region. Hephtalite rule lasted until about 560 A.D., when an alliance was formed between the Sasanian king Khusrau I (r. ca. 531-579 A.D.) and the Western Turks of Northern China, who came from the Altai Mountains. The two allies shared the domains of the common enemy, the Sasanians took Bactria and the Turks Sogdiana.
Under Turkish rule Sogdiana was practically independent and it stayed that way even after the Turks were defeated by the Chinese under the Tang dynasty.

It is sometimes believed that the Sogdians were the leading merchants along the Silk Road from the 5th century on to the 8th, and that before that period the Indian and Bactrian traders were the most active ones. The latter were active and of paramount importance indeed -especially in the context of our subject-, but in fact the Sogdians became gradually more dominant already from about the very beginning of our era. With the early Byzantine Empire and the Sasanian Empire to its west, the Russian steppes to its north, Bactria and India to its south and China to its east, it was ideally located to establish a vast trade network and to become closely connected with all these neighbouring powers through trade and culture.
Initially though, it seems that the Indian traders preferred the southern arm of the Silk Road through Yarkand and Khotan eastwards, while the Sogdians favoured the northern route through Kucha and Turfan[71].

When Chinese embassies in the 2nd century B.C. started to create a market for Han products, especially silk, in Central Asia and Parthia, merchants in north-western India and eastern Iran quickly appreciated the potential for this exchange and followed the steps of the ambassadors back to China[72].

A Chinese record from 25 B.C. states that

"There are no members of the royal family or noblemen among those who bring the gifts. The latter are all merchants and men of low origin. They wish to exchange their goods and conduct trade, under the pretext of presenting gifts."[73]

Who these merchants and men of low origin were is not further specified, but that this was precisely the way the Sogdians behaved is beyond doubt, because it is stated in 29 B.C. that

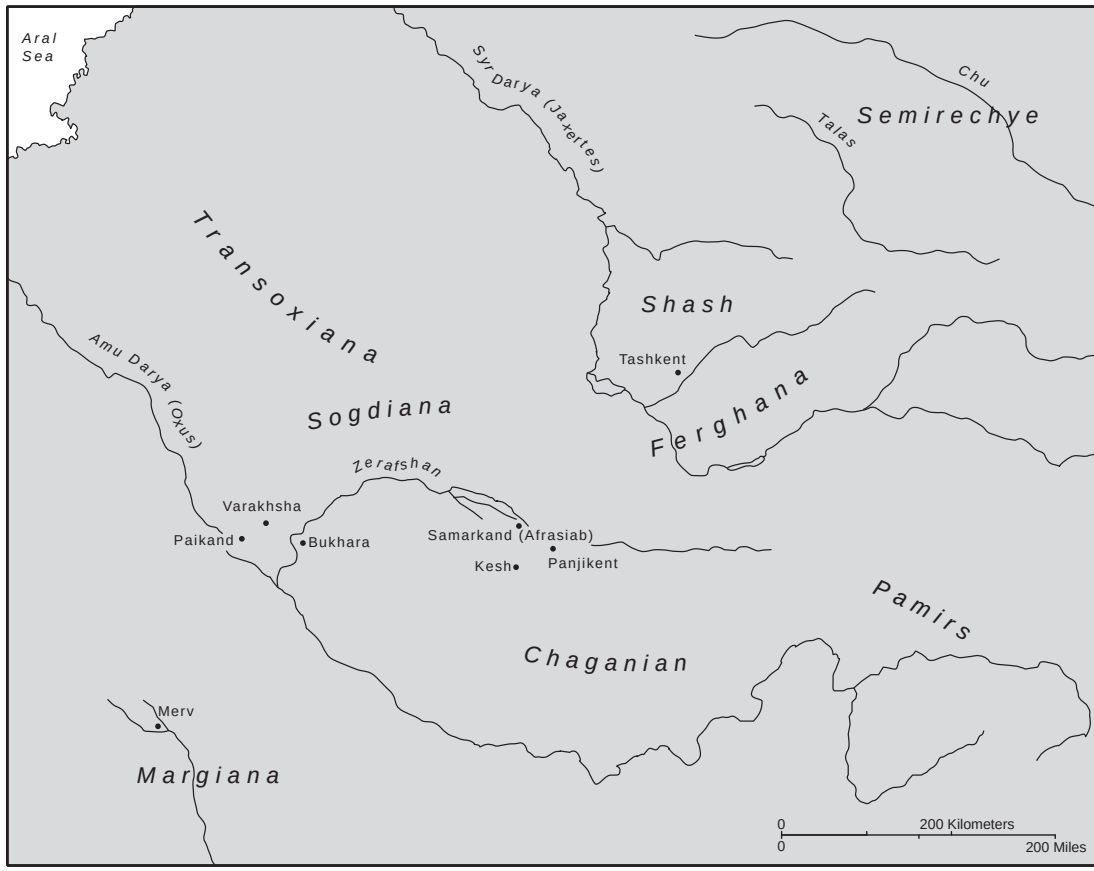
"If in view of these considerations, we ask why (Kangju) sends his sons to attend (at the Han court), (we find) that, desiring to trade, they use a pretence couched in fine verbiage."[74]

Kangju in this text has been identified as a nomadic state, the centre of which is now the southern part of the Tashkent oasis, including Sogdiana during the 1st century B.C. Therefore this record details the behaviour of Sogdian merchants.

Another Chinese record describes what happened about 250 years later, when a conquering army approached the city of Liangzhou in Gansu province:

"The various kings in Liangzhou dispatched twenty men including Zhi Fu and Kang Zhi, the ennobled leaders of the Yuezhi and Kangju Hu, to receive the military commander, and when the large army advanced north they competed to be the first to receive us." [75]

The Hu (barbarians) from Kanju are the Sogdians, while the Yuezhi are the traders from Bactria and Gandhāra.



Map 4.6 Sogdiana and surrounding regions

There are some interesting elements in this record. First, the Sogdians and other merchants seem to be organized in communities which have leaders to represent them. Second, these leaders were respected enough to be on level with the commander of an invading army and to receive him. They even are called "ennobled" and nothing is left of the earlier depreciation of merchants as on the level of men of low origin. Third, the Sogdian traders are considered of equal status and importance as those from Bactria.

This all indicates a strong presence of Sogdian traders in a town like Liangzhou in 227 A.D. and certainly in other big cities too. Although it is not known precisely how early Sogdian merchants in substantial numbers reached China, these records suggest that it would be about the time of the Kushān Empire, which flourished in the first two centuries of our era. This is confirmed by a letter found by Sir Aurel Stein in the ruins of a Chinese watch tower, 90 kilometres west of Dunhuang, at the western edge of the limes built by the Chinese as an extension of the "Great Wall" against nomads. The letter was left there in 313 A.D.[76]. This letter describes the sacking of the main towns in northern China and how the trading networks of the Sogdians were ruined. It also suggests that the Sogdian trading communities in China kept in touch with their "home office" in Samarkand. At least one of the Sogdian networks in Gansu apparently survived, because it was described in a Chinese record of about a century later that

"…merchants of that country (Sogdiana) used to come in great number to the district Liang (present Wuwei in Gansu) to trade. When Guzang (i.e. Wuwei) was conquered (by the Wei in 439) all of them were captured. In the beginning of the reign of Gaozong (452-465) the king (of Sogdiana) sent embassies to ask for their ransom" [77]

The periods of the Northern Wei (386-581 A.D.) and the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.) were the heydays of strong expansion of trade with China, and so of the immigration of Sogdians into China, first in Gansu and gradually in all main Chinese towns. For example, there were said to be 10,000 families of foreigners in Luoyang by the middle of the 6th century and about the richest merchant in that city we are told that

"...he traded wherever boat or cart could go or foot could tread. Thus the goods from the whole area within the seas were assembled in his establishments. His property was comparable to a copper-bearing mountain, his wealth to a cave of gold. The scale on which his house was built exceeded the proper limits, and its pavillions and towers soared up through the clouds. His carriage, horses, clothes and ornaments were those of a prince."[78]

Especially by the middle of the 6th century A.D., Sogdian activities exploded. This was caused by the fact that the Turks, in alliance with the Sasanian Persians, took Samarkand from the Hephthalites, which gave rise to a new Sogdian immigration wave during the period of Abrui, a ruler of Sogdiana, who strongly fostered the expansion of Sogdian trade eastwards. During the subsequent Sui and Tang periods a steady stream of Sogdians pushed eastwards and established in the Chinese capitals Chang'an and Luoyang, as well as in Qocho (Gaochang, the chief town in Turfan), Dunhuang, Suzhou (Jiuquan), Ganzhou (Zhangye), Liangzhou (Wuwei), Jicheng (Lanzhou) and Yuanzhou (Guyuan)[79]. In particular, after the Tang Chinese had conquered the Turks in the 650's and the king of Samarkand was appointed governor of his own kingdom -and therefore had become an official of the Tang Empire-, Sogdian merchants, whose status had been low because they were foreigners, received the desired Chinese citizenship[80].

They often rose from the position of head of the family or commercial community to important positions in the army and became completely integrated in the Chinese society. They sometimes even received a mandarin rank in the Chinese hierarchy, and acted formally as ambassadors of the court or as governors of towns[81].

The Sogdians, in fact, controlled the commerce along the routes between the West and China and within China proper. They seem to have travelled anywhere and everywhere in search of profit. For example, a Chinese document indicates that in Turfan, in the 620's, out of 35 commercial operations mentioned in that text, 29 involved a Sogdian trader[82]. But also a city like Kashgar, where the Silk Road to the East forked into the northern and the southern branch, had been conquered commercially by Sogdian merchants[83]. Traces of them are found in many places: in the documents and murals of Xinjiang and Penjikent, Tajikistan[84], in the petroglyphs at Chilas in northern Pakistan[85] and in the poems and stories from Xian during the Tang dynasty.

The Sogdian language, a variety of Iranian[86], became the Silk Road's *lingua franca*, and many Buddhist texts have been translated by Sogdian translators from Chinese into the Sogdian language[87].

Under these circumstances it may be anticipated how the Sogdians were intermediaries in the diffusion of western culture eastward. It is not -again- primarily the physical transportation of goods along the roads, but rather the dissemination of patterns and motifs. There are many examples available of the role they played in this process. In Turfan, a centre of multinational commerce from the 6th century on, where Sogdians clearly dominated as we have seen, they worked together with Chinese artisans in the weaving industry. The exchange of ideas influenced the different motifs on the Turfan silks. Some of these testify of a classical origin, such as the winged horses[88]. A Sogdian mural from the first half of the 8th century from Penjikent, Tajikistan, depicts feasting merchants[89]. One of the figures has a gold or silver cup in his hand decorated with a cherub, referring to the Bacchanalia in ancient Greece.
The question then rises what in these periods, when China was in turmoil during the Southern Six Dynasty period (265-589 A.D.) and the Northern Dynasties period (316-589 A.D.), and later during the Sui Dynasty (589-618 A.D.) the sources of classical motifs and civilisation were, which the Sogdians carried eastwards. The context in which they operated from their home base in the West was largely determined by the two political superpowers: the Byzantine Empire and Sasanian Iran.

The eastern neighbour of the Byzantine Empire was Sasanian Iran. The Sasanian dynasty had been founded by Ardashir I (208-240 A.D.) when he overthrew the Parthians in 224 A.D. The Sasanians became Rome's and later the Byzantine Empire's fiercest challenger in the East. Their empire stretched from the Indus and Oxus Rivers in the East to the Euphrates and Byzantine-controlled regions of Mesopotamia in the West. Successive generations of Sasanian rulers had sought to expand their empire, and had once even taken Syria and the Nile delta from the Byzantines. Conflict between the superpowers was endemic but never ruinous.

Relations between the Sasanian and Byzantine cultures were complex. The Sasanians were well acquainted with the themes and techniques of Roman and Byzantine architecture and in the course of the many wars they had captured large numbers of Greeks and other Byzantine subjects. Some of their captives seem to have been skilled artisans and they were used as part of the labour force for great building projects. In addition, there are frequent references to Sasanian employment of Byzantine architects.
It is clear that an osmotic cultural process has taken place between the people in the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire and western part of the Sasanian Empire. This explains e.g. the appearance of Dionysian imagery on Sasanian silver plates (**4.15**). The Sasanians also took their characteristic decorative use of the vine scroll from the Romans via Byzantine art, as well as others, like the winged horse Pegasos (**4.16**). They must have been fully familiar with the whole vocabulary of Greek mythology on Byzantine luxury art[90].
Of course this cultural and artistic interaction was easy at times of peace during the 3rd century[91] and the 5th century[92]. But even when there were hostilities, as in between the periods of peace or during the 6th century, the flow of communications with the West continued[93].

There can be little doubt who were the intermediaries in the exchange of goods. Hobson, writing in the 1910's, noted already that Sasanian wares were transported over the

northern Silk Road[94], of which we know now that it was the preferred route of the Sogdian merchants. From the 4th through the 7th century, the way to India in the upper reaches of the Indus River at the edge of the Sasanian Empire was primarily a Sogdian road[95]. Caravans from the Sogdian cities of Samarkand and Penjikent brought, among others, silver and textiles via Dunhuang to China. In return the Sogdians purchased raw silk and resold it wherever there was a market, in particular to India and the Byzantines[96].

In this context it is important to note that some Byzantine silver vessels, which have been found in the Kama River valley, about a thousand kilometres north of the Caspian Sea, were brought there from Central Asia. Two of these, one being a plate decorated with Achilles, bear Central Asian inscriptions (one Sogdian, one Chorasmian), probably added in Central Asia. Another, a plate with a dancing Silenus and maenad (**3.30**), has the name of a Byzantine owner scratched in Greek: "Andrew". This indicates that the plate has been the personal possession of an individual, such as a merchant[97].

This also gives animation to the question on trade relations with the Byzantine Empire. The Sasanian government established a monopoly on those sections of the trade routes that passed through Iran, as their predecessors, the Parthians, had done, and prevented direct contacts between the Sogdians and the trading centres of Byzantium. The Sogdians tried in vain to obtain Sasanian permission to travel through Iran and established a trade agreement with Constantinople that enabled direct trade relations with Byzantium from the mid-6th century on via a Caucasian route. Gradually, Sasanian trade influence extended further and firmer to the East, sharing the market with the Sogdians in China by about 700[98]. However, although until 568 A.D. formal regulations prevented direct trade between the Sogdians and Byzantium, especially with regard to silk, informal contacts and activities of the Sogdians as middlemen certainly existed on a large scale.

The Sasanians were skilful silk weavers themselves. Silk weaving appears to have been developed in Iran as a result of the captives brought back to the country by Shapur I (r. 241-271 A.D.) during his campaigns against the Roman Empire. In 260 Shapur captured the Roman emperor Valerian and more than 70,000 prisoners of war were taken to Iran, thus enlarging and supplementing the labour force of the Sasanian Empire. The experience they brought with them led to the development of silk manufacturing, centred in Shapur's capital at Bishapur. The Sasanians soon achieved renown in both east and west for their polychrome fabrics[99]. Through the centuries, decorated textiles from the West, as easily portable luxury items, have certainly been one of the main sources that influenced the decorative vocabulary of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist arts of China. Hence the purchase of raw silk from China became a very profitable business for the Sogdian traders as middlemen[100].

The trade was either based on barter, silver bullion which was exchanged by weight or payment in currency[101]. Ancient governments often debased their currency, but the Sasanian Empire maintained a high standard of purity in coinage throughout its existence[102]. The main denomination of the Sasanian monetary system was the silver *drachme*, which was based on the Greek Attic weight standard of about 4 grams and was used for all kinds of payments. It was never struck of debased metal and never suffered a weight reduction[103]. The obverse of the Sasanian coins always shows the imperial portrait, with some religious Zoroastrian image on the reverse. This is the reason why Sasanian silver coinage

4.15 Sasanian plate decorated with the Triumph of Dionysos. Example of the survival of pagan classical imagery on the silverware of the Sasanian Persians. 4th century A.D. BML

spread out of the Sasanian territory. Archaeological finds indicate that from the 4th to 7th centuries the distribution of coins extended eastwards more and more and also penetrated into China during the second half of the 5th century[104].

In the early Byzantine Empire the gold *solidus* was introduced by Constantine the Great. Its denomination was fixed at 4.5 grams and remained unchanged in weight and fineness for centuries, just like the Sasanian silver *drachme*[105]. On the *solidi*, like on the Sasanian *drachme*, the obverse always shows the imperial portrait, while on the reverse regularly a Victory appears.

Xuanzang (ca. 596-664), the famous pilgrim, received on his way to India from the king of Turfan one hundred gold coins and thirty thousand silver coins, to be used as travel expenses[106]. The gold coins were Byzantine, the silver ones Sasanian. Sasanian silver coins together with Byzantine gold coins, and their imitations, played literally the role of international currency along the Silk Road[107].

In contrast to the coins of the Byzantine and the Sasanian Empires, the Chinese monetary system was based on cast bronze coins. For larger transactions these could be strung together in strings of a thousand, each string weighing more than three kilograms. Instead of these strings the Chinese also used gold and silver ingots[108].

Hellenistic culture declined to a certain extent in the Byzantine Empire, as we have seen, by the 5th to 6th centuries, but it has become clear during the recent decades that, especially in the domain of the luxury arts, a continuing and persistent appreciation of classi-

4.16 Sasanian silver dish with a scene of the two Dioscouri and their horses conflated with the single group of Bellerophon and Pegasos drinking from a personified spring. 5th century A.D. MMN

cal culture, forms and subjects, particularly from mythology, was part of the daily life of the upper strata of society during the whole of the Byzantine period[109]. It has also been shown that these artefacts travelled far, e.g. to Central Asia, and could be owned by merchants. Therefore, the actual source and thrust from that area for the transfer of classical elements eastward did not disappear at all, apart from the fact that the Hellenistic culture had already been implanted long before in the regions east of the Byzantine Empire.

Certainly the enormous increase of trade with China, which was encouraged by the emperors of the Northern Wei (386-534), contributed substantially in picking up those classical elements which were already there in the Sasanian Empire and Central Asia, and which continued to be on offer from the Byzantine Empire[110]. Also when, after about 560 A.D., Sogdiana was included into the Turkic Kaghanate, commerce developed strongly because the Turks became powerful protectors of the Sogdian caravan trade[111].
In fact the 4th to 6th centuries are the periods where classical culture, already disseminated into the region between the Mediterranean and China, as a continuing source of inspiration from the East Roman Empire, started to become integrated into the Chinese culture due to the enormous intensification of trade and cultural exchange between China and the West. In this process the Sogdian traders played a crucial role. China fully participated in a multicultural world that included Byzantium and Sasanian Iran in the West and Bactrian and Sogdian Central Asia.

However, it should be realized that the trade caravans were certainly not populated with

Buddhist monks and merchants only, but that many other travellers joined in too. They were the missionaries, pilgrims, and ambassadors -both the formal ones as the more incidental on their own initiative-, soldiers, artisans, students, horse trainers, acrobats, musicians and dancers. Although these people must have carried with them their personal belongings, those were not the valuable objects used for exchange. But they all carried with them their culture, the stories and myths of their homeland and many cherished the images of their gods and apotropaic demons, their amulets and figurines. To a certain extent therefore, they contributed as well to the transmission of western and Central Asian culture towards China.

Part II

CULTURAL FLOW FROM GREECE TO JAPAN: IMAGES, DECORATIVE PATTERNS, MOTIFS

5 SOME REMARKS ON CONVERGENCE, TRANSFER AND ACCEPTANCE

If certain phenomena in a certain culture, in a certain area, at a certain time, appear in another culture in a distant area at more or less the same time or with a time delay, either of two different processes have taken place: they were invented independently from one another, or they were conveyed from one culture to the other. The first process is usually called "spontaneous invention" or "convergence", the second process "transfer". Two other terms may be met in the discussion of the displacement of motifs etc. from one culture to another: transmission and diffusion. Transmission implies that some measure of intention and deliberation is involved in the transfer process, while diffusion covers both transfer and intentional transfer (transmission). In this work, for the sake of clarity, the use of the word transfer is preferred if the aspect of intention is not evident.

Although in the context of the present work there seems, at first sight, not much room for the process of convergence -the title of our work seems to exclude such a process *a priori*- attention is paid to it here in general terms for two reasons. First because efforts have been made by some authors to explain similarities of certain Japanese and Mediterranean myths on this basis. Second because by default of proof of transfer, convergence is one of the alternatives.

The process of transfer requires mobility and contact between people. This subject is interwoven with those of Part I of this work, where the distinctive characteristics of cultures, routes, commerce and diplomatic contacts in an historical context are described. A short survey is given in this Chapter in order to facilitate the reader in keeping the overview. Moreover various aspects of the transfer process will be discussed.

Convergence

The concept of convergence in a very general sense entails that, when presented with the same problems, people in different parts of the world solved them in the same way. Hence a good deal of parallel development in isolated cultures has to be expected, especially in the earlier more basic stages[1]. However, it is important to note that, while this may hold for social and agricultural evolutions, for technical development the process may be much more complicated, if not impossible: a society too primitive, e.g. not having knowledge of how to make fire, will never spontaneously invent the way how to work bronze.

Obviously there is something like a universality of mankind's elementary ideas. As Halliday says, "the major problems of human experience pose identical questions everywhere and it need not surprise us in consequence that the replies in different parts of the world are very similar"[2]. Or stated differently, "whatever the distance, time and historic conditions, it seems we all share something in common which makes us scattered members of a great family"[3].

In the present work diffusion is the guiding principle in explaining similarities in motifs and images in different cultures.

"That diffusion is responsible for a large number of apparently disconnected similar traits is probable, but there remains a considerable residuum for which independent origin is the only rational explanation. For common sense

and the laws of probability must be applied to all cases, and when an explanation by diffusion requires us to assume that the extremely improbable or almost impossible has occurred, the *onus probandi* becomes very heavy. Where the physical difficulties are serious we must refuse to be carried away by vague generalities, and demand concrete proof. Until such proof is forthcoming the alternative of independent invention or convergence must be preferred. That diffusion has been responsible for cultural development to a far greater extent than independent invention is certain, but occasional independent invention cannot, in the face of the evidence, be denied."[4]

This statement is correct except for the choice that "until proof [of diffusion] is forthcoming the alternative of independent invention or convergence must be preferred". Even if no immediate reasoning can be found for the existence of a diffusion process, convergence is not the only immediately preferable alternative. Absence of proof is not the same as proof of absence.

Certainly, in some cases, there should be room for the reasoning that the possibility for independent invention cannot be neglected. For example, as discussed in Chapter 11 (The Face of the Monster), some authors had reasons to believe that there may exist some sort of relationship between the *Gorgoneion*, the image of the head of Medusa as chopped off by Perseus, and the *kīrttimukha* of India. They both surely had an apotropaic function. But if, in whatever culture, one has to frighten his opponent, no one needs to give it a long thought: one puts on a vicious face, evil grinning, with bare teeth, perhaps protruding tongue, and one might raise both hands with crooked fingers menacing towards the enemy.

However, a hybrid solution may eventually come out to be reality, i.e. a common nucleus of a motif based on universality of ideas, which after transfer was adapted to the local needs of the recipient culture.

A reasonable way to cope with the problem of diffusion vs. convergence is not to rule out possibilities as long as paucity of material prevents a reliable decision.

Transfer

Let us first summarize briefly the trans-Asian contacts in classical times, which were discussed in the various chapters of Part I, in order to facilitate the reader in assessing for himself the plausibility of travel of ideas and motifs from the Mediterranean to China.

An increasing body of evidence suggests that some trans-Asian travel already existed during the 2nd millennium B.C. Proof of this comes from several tiny figures of west-Asian lions, dating to that period, that were found near Erlitou in Henan province, China[5], and from Caucasian corpses, dating from ca. 1200 B.C., that were discovered in north-west China's Xinjiang province[6].

The Royal Road from Sardis to Susa existed already, at least partly and possibly rudimentary, during the 2nd millennium B.C.[7], but surely by 665 B.C. The Ionians used that road and had direct contact with Assyria[8].

Herodotos (ca. 484-420 B.C.) described a route from the north-east corner of the Sea of Azov, via the south of the Caspian Sea, to the East and mentions six peoples or tribes and a desert positioned between the Scythians and a people he called the Issidones. Beyond the Issidones he relied on the account of a certain Aristeas of Proconnesus, living in the 7th/6th century B.C., who mentioned two more people, the Arimaspi and the Hyperboreans. It has been established from the geographical details mentioned by

Herodotos, that his descriptions contain a good deal of reality and that the Hyperboreans might have been the Chinese, dwelling in the area of Chang'an (present-day Xian)[9].

Alexander the Great, when he crossed Bactria and Sogdiana in 329 B.C., came no further east than the Jaxartes River and his successors held these areas for more than two centuries, until 90 B.C., when Greek rule was overthrown by the Indo-Scythians[10]. Nearly until the end of that period contact with the Chinese who lived east of Bactria was probably nil.

In 140 B.C. the Chinese emperor Wudi sent his ambassador Zhang Qian for help to the West, in particular to the Yuezhi, an ancient people of Indo-European (Tocharian) speech, who were attacked by the Xiongnu (perhaps Huns) and driven west, where they settled by about 130 B.C. in the Bactrian area north of the Oxus River[11]. Wudi hoped to construct an alliance with them against the Xiongnu, who constantly raided the north-west borders of his empire.

Zhang Qian failed but brought back to his emperor detailed information about the lands west of the Chinese border. This was so inspiring to Wudi, that he started a large-scale war against the Huns, and, in fact, opened up the north-west branch of the road, later called the Silk Road. It was the beginning of the silk trade, from 106 B.C. on[12].

A vital section of the Silk Road, i.e. between Merv and Seleucia on the Tigris, was controlled by the Parthians, who levied heavy dues from the caravans traversing their territories. This obstruction led merchants to look for alternative roads, e.g. more North to the Black Sea, or via the Kyber Pass to Taxila and thence down the Indus by boat and further coastwise to the Persian Gulf.

But things changed during the early years of the Roman Empire. Somewhere around the middle of the 1st century B.C., it was discovered that use could be made of the monsoon winds to allow rapid direct passage from the opening of the Red Sea to any point on the west-coast of the Indian subcontinent, including the southern tip. An anonymous book, written about 70 A.D., the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, indicated that trade had developed, using this sailing technique, between Rome and India[13]. By 166 A.D. a so-called Roman envoy came to the Han court by sea[14], by the end of the 2nd century A.D. a Roman subject could sail from Egypt to Tonkin or any intermediate point, and by 300 A.D. international trade from Egypt/India to China was fully developed. However, by the early 4th century Roman sea-trade lost its importance due to the rise of the Abyssinian port of Adulis, while Byzantium organized its own solutions for trade with China via northern overland routes.

Various peoples, sometimes whole populations, sometimes nomads in search for water or grass, tradesmen, often missionaries and pilgrims, and periodically conquering invaders or explorers have been constantly on the march over these roads of the Eurasian continent, or were on their way by boat along the shores of the continents.

Primarily along the land routes, and roughly from the beginning of our era on, two major forces were at work. First, Buddhism, that gradually spread from India to Central Asia and from there diffused to China. Second, Sogdian traders who increasingly controlled commerce along the routes between the West and China and, later, within China proper. This caused the oasis towns to develop into centres of trade, many of them con-

taining large religious establishments. All had sizeable populations, fed by the products of irrigation and agriculture. Orchards and vineyards were maintained, mining activities were carried out in some of them, small industries flourished as did the handicrafts, and many of these towns were famous for their entertainers and musicians.

What all these people along the roads carried with them, what they brought back, were concrete artefacts that tell a story of influence and counter-influence, of cultural borrowing and cross fertilization, of parallels, affinities and contrasts. Thus, portable objects such as combs, boxes, coins, ornamental panels, ivories, textiles, small metal crafts, manuscripts and ceramics, once they arrived at their destination, could be handled, transformed and adapted by local craftsmen. All these objects were the bearers of authentic art motifs from one region to another.

Before entering into the various mechanisms of transfer, some general remarks can be made.

First, the extent to which cultural transfer between two civilizations occurs at a particular time depends on the specific economic and political circumstances of the moment. It may be triggered by the receptiveness of the one culture and subsequently be pushed by the other. A rumor may be enough to spark the urge to know more about it, and ideas of immediate practical use may tend to travel speedily.
Important here is also whether the recipient state is governed on a more or less democratic basis or rather authoritarian-centralistic. In the latter case new motifs and ideas may spread relatively quickly from the top (emperor and elite) all over the country.

Second, time is always a factor. Not only do we have to take into account the time required for an idea to travel from one civilization to another, which may be short, but also the period which may follow before the practical adoption, if any, which may be long. The elapsed time may be short, yet there can be clear evidence that transfer has taken place or a long period may elapse between two events in different cultures, while it may be suspected that there have been many opportunities of transfer. Often the earlier stages of transfer are archaeologically less visible or even invisible: the first archaeological evidence may not be contemporaneous with the adoption.

Third, there is always the assumption that, if transfer is suspected, there would be people capable of transfer and circumstances which allowed them to do so. People move about and may transport objects and ideas across wide spaces. It is always people who are the intermediaries: craftsmen, soldiers, traders, travellers, embassies, pilgrims and missionaries. At the lowest level of practice, however, there isn't often any clue to what happened precisely: was there a drawing or a sketch, made on the spot or in the bag of the traveller, was there an example shown, a coin, a statuette, a medallion?

For the transfer of artistic ideas from one culture to another remote one, the minor arts were the principle vehicle, but not necessarily the only one: the transfer may be accomplished verbally too. Therefore, as far as the mechanisms of transfer are concerned, three different modes may be discriminated

1. Unintentional transfer

Transfer may be accomplished in a great many ways. Diplomatic missions were always accompanied by gift exchange, and therefore the vehicle for transfer of new motifs and ideas. Moreover, they usually preceded regular commercial contacts. Inevitable intercourse with neighbouring societies and intermarriage, even if on occasion hostile to each other, would have developed awareness of art-motifs and style of nearby cultures. Conquest by military force is another obvious source of influence: long term domination of one people by another will inevitably produce some social-cultural change. Commercial intercourse will affect the material culture of individuals, as well as the economy in general, besides creating channels for less tangible influences. Technological superiority of one civilization may lead to another's imitating it, with all its cultural ramifications.

2. Intentional transfer (transmission)

It has been suggested that e.g. textiles were used specifically to serve the role as carriers for motifs and ideas to be transferred from the Near East to Greece during the Orientalizing period[15]. It means that physical examples of the idea, i.e. decoration, ornament or motif, to be transferred to the recipient culture, were purposely made. Transfer then becomes transmission. The existence of something like pattern books in classical antiquity has been regularly debated, and was perhaps more likely in later periods A.D.[16]. Such an intentional transfer process is also met e.g. in Chapter 7 (Airborne deities), where Buddhist monks-painters were mentioned to have used pattern-copy books to transmit to Central Asia and China Buddhist iconography for decoration of cave-temples during the Northern Wei and Tang periods. Indeed, Buddhism as an evangelizing religion has always carried its art with their priests. Rome used imperial cult as a means of establishing or acclimatizing imperial rule in remote areas. The Greeks did not force their Olympian religion on their neighbours and left alone local religious practices. Yet, while a major function of Greek art was the service of religion or the expression of religion (myth) in decoration, the religious images made their way to the east, often re-interpreted locally. At the same time the expression of religion was the expression of "Greekness" and thus a manifestation of the ruling class. Works of art as booty have played their role in establishing one culture within another. The fact that the Romans removed Greek statues from Italian cities and later from Greece itself has been a major factor in the continuing of Roman dependence on Greek art.

3. Stimulus transfer[17]

This mechanism differs from the above-mentioned modes of transfer in that it might be less concrete. Someone might hear of an idea without having a concrete specimen or tangible example: the idea is transferred verbally. Such an idea might stimulate the elaboration of an entirely new version of the idea in a remote culture.

Acceptance

Before discussing various degrees of intensity that may be involved in the process of acceptance of a theme or motif from one culture within another, it is proposed to give closer attention to some factors which may play a role. These factors are termed here for convenience (1) antagonism, (2) response to the exotic and (3) specific interest.

1. Antagonism

Craftsmen of a remote culture, either being captives or in a more friendly way being imported to the own culture, were used to learn technical skills, rather than that their contribution consisted of any artistic influence. In such cases there is usually a denial of any "real" influence.

2. Response to the exotic

A relatively superficial degree of interest, limited primarily to decorations and ornaments, isolated figures and motifs in small-scale work. Artists of the recipient culture selected ornaments, images for no more reason than that they were exotic or readily available for their purposes as visual models in the minor arts. The information could be conveyed casually or at second hand by traders, travellers or others without artistic training.

3. Specific interest

This involves the purposeful, highly specific use of artistic prototypes and sources from a remote culture. It requires an understanding within the recipient culture of the context in which the images and conventions were used in the donor culture. Images were selected from a variety of sources, because they had some meaning in the context in which they were used and because they were artistically appropriate. The sources for selection could be coins, but also reliefs and wall paintings. In this case, well educated and well trained artists of the recipient culture need to have been involved, because they had to understand precisely what the meaning and the background of their models were. It implies that sometimes this could only be done if the artists visited the foreign culture and had ample opportunity to gather the information. Probably it required a high degree of organization because craftsmen were trained and paid for.

After an idea, theme or motif has travelled and has been transferred from one civilization to another, there are, in principle, three degrees of intensity of acceptance, or archetypes of artistic influence. These appear not to be necessarily dependent on the political, military or religious relation between the two civilizations at that very moment, nor on changing circumstances thereafter. Assimilation is the term usually applied to these degrees of acceptance of stories, ideas, motifs, artistic influence and the extent of change due to the osmotic process involved when two cultures meet.

These degrees of acceptance are:

1. Copying

The concept, idea or motif is taken over as it is, without any change, further development or reinterpretation. The original configuration thus remains untouched and the identity is clearly visible. These borrowed elements are not absorbed but consciously superimposed upon an indigenous tradition.

2. Adoption and adaptation

Just as a child may be adopted and brought up in a milieu entirely different from that of its original home, so that his whole personality may thus be modified, though biologically he remains the same human being, so may artistic forms, transferred from one region to another and remodelled according to novel principles, differ so much from their original configuration that their foreign origin becomes obscure[18]. It means that the artist adapts

the foreign image to his own repertoire. It suggests a wish to "acquire" the foreign motif for the indigenous culture, domesticating its strangeness to make it more comprehensible, while retaining some of its novel attraction and exotic power[19]. In this way, for example, the foreign motif could fill, after reworking, an as yet empty slot in the recipient culture for expressing royal or divine power.

3. Integration

Here the artistic form is readily accepted and combined with indigenous elements to the extent that the new form becomes hybrid. The original form can hardly be discerned anymore, because it may be modified to such an extent, that a member of the donor civilization would have difficulty with recognition. Peculiar to this mode of acceptance is that it often occurred in areas where political control or cultural dominance was weaker. Also, the receiving environment could select secondary or unusual features that suddenly took on a new significance[20].

The problems of diffusion, i.e. transfer and transmission, and acceptance/assimilation have been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion and investigation, chiefly considering the "what", "when", "how", "where" and "who". Rarely attention is given to the question "why" and, even more rarely, (to) "why not"[21].

For the recipient culture, for example, detailed insight into particular circumstances like the attitudes and needs is required to give an answer to these questions. What was already in place there that provided a platform for the transfer and acceptance of foreign material? Why certain ideas or motifs were wholeheartedly absorbed, some others partially, and others rejected? What was precisely the previously existing need in the recipient culture that was met by the introduction of the foreign idea or motif, or was such a need unconscious? The functions that the imported motifs had generally to serve concerned status, religion or the exotic tastes of all levels of society.

Gombrich[22] entered this domain of psychological science, when he discussed the attachment to a traditional design within a closed cultural community. Artists tend to modify an existing motif rather than invent one from scratch. There is always a certain degree of inertia in changing to new concepts. Furthermore, before any change will be accepted, there is a need for the new design to be recognized, regardless of whether it has a particular meaning. Thus, a new design, not having a particular meaning, will be accepted more easily by artists who have seen it before, than by those who have not[23].

When a motif from a different culture is introduced it may not be recognized at all, or there may be some far-away element in the design that rings a bell in the mind of the artist of the recipient culture. The acceptance of the new motif will be dependent on whether the motif arrives in the recipient culture in an "acceptable" context. If it is part of the iconography of an alien people that did rule the country for a period of time, the motif will probably not survive. In such a situation the intrinsic strength of the recipient culture and the degree of mixing of the usurpers with the overruled play an important role. If the new motif arrives in a more pleasant or interesting context, it may gradually become part of the recipient artists' imagination, depending on the cultural dominance of the donor and the prestige-potential of foreign objects and motifs.

To gain some understanding about these processes in a general sense, studies into the particular circumstances of well-defined cultures where these processes took place, will be instrumental[24].

6 GODS AND HEROES

The invasions of Alexander the Great into the Achaemenid East brought many elements of the Greek culture to the vast area between the Mediterranean and the Indus Valley. It was the beginning of a period of about one thousand years where Greek culture dominated in Western Asia, Central Asia and India[1].

Among the corpus of Greek culture diffused eastward were the images of the many Greek gods and half-gods[2] that inhabited the Olympus or were part of the Greek mythical world. In the art of Gandhāra, Zeus, Poseidon, Athena, Artemis (Diana), Aphrodite (Venus), Helios, Eros, Atlas and Dionysos are frequently depicted. However, they were also adopted by the local peoples and their images often transformed.

Some members of the Greek pantheon are of particular interest in this work, as they not only reached Gandhāra, but migrated further east with the expansion of Buddhism to China and eventually reached Japan.

During the last decennia material evidence has disclosed that these relationships between some Greek and Japanese gods are based indeed on diffusion[3]. During this process their images were transformed. These gods are Boreas, the windgod, who became the Japanese Fūjin; Herakles, called Hercules by the Romans, who can be recognized in the statues of the guardian deities Niō; Tyche, the goddess of good fortune, who became Kishibojin in Japan; and Hermes, assimilated to Mercury by the Romans, was prototyping for Bishamon and Daikokuten.

In this Chapter reference will be made to these tracking data as appropriate, and the characteristics of these gods, their dependencies and pictorial representations will be discussed in more detail.

Furthermore, attention will be paid to Atlas, not an Olympian god but a Titan, whose image as a supporter diffused to China and can be followed into Japan.

6.1 Boreas and Fūjin

Windgods were worshipped both by the Greeks and the Romans. Their ruler, Aiolos, might shut them up in a sack, as Homer[4] tells us, defining them as impersonal and immaterial beings. On the other hand, some of them were regarded as real personalities and especially so Boreas. Originally the windgods were represented as horses[5], later as anthropomorphic and often as winged creatures. The winds were regarded as fertilizing or impregnating, but also as destructive[6].

The Athenians were especially interested in Boreas, the North Wind, for whom they organized a state-cult because he defeated the Persian fleet of Xerxes at Artemisium (480 B.C.). These feasts in Athens in honour of Boreas were called *Boreusmoi*. Boreas was one of the sons of Astraios, the starry sky, and of Eos, the dawn. Like most of his brothers he was of a noisy, mischievous and turbulent character and peace and quiet were utterly

6.1 One of the earliest representations of the wind god Boreas, the north wind, with a pair of wings, spreading his arms and running in a posture in which his left knee nearly touches the ground (*Knielauf*). Greece, 7th-5th century B.C. After Tanabe 1993, 24, fig. 32

6.2 Silver tetradrachm with winged figure of Boreas in *Knielauf*-pose (obverse) and a bunch of grapes (reverse), an allusion to the wine made on the island where this coin was minted, Peparethos. 500-480 B.C. BML

impossible to him. He caused rain, snow, hail and tempests. His favourite place of abode was in the caves of the mountains of Thrace, from where he frequently started wild raids. During one of these excursions he carried off Oreithyia, an Athenian princess, and made her his wife. It is also said that Boreas changed himself into a horse and united himself to the mares of Dardanus, King of Troy, and became the father of twelve steeds so swift that none could overtake them[7].

One of the earliest representations of Boreas is found on a seal from the 7th-5th century B.C., excavated in Greece, showing the windgod with a pair of wings, spreading his arms and in the typical running position called the *Knielauf*, the left knee almost touching the ground (**6.1**). A snake coils around his leg, referring to the myth that Boreas lived in a cave, the underground, of which the snake was a symbol[8].

On the obverse side of a silver tetradrachm of Peparethos of about 500-480 B.C. the running winged figure, probably Boreas, has been depicted while on the reserve side a bunch of grapes is shown as an illusion to the wine made on the island (**6.2**). Again we see here the winged figure in the *Knielauf* pose.

On an Attic red-figure krater of about 350 B.C., unearthed in South Italy, and presently in the British Museum, we see the rape of Oreithyia (**6.3**).

The theme of Boreas raping Oreithyia, or approaching her, or chasing her, or abducting her, or –in a friendlier atmosphere- reclining beside her, was very popular during the 5th through 3rd centuries B.C. on red-figure ceramics, reliefs and even on metal ware, as testified by the many finds from that period[9]. Characteristic of all these representations of Boreas are his large, spread wings and, often, wind-blown hair (**6.4**).

During Hellenistic times the suggestion of wind was introduced by applying a billowing scarf above the head of the windgod. The best example to show this feature is probably the famous *Tazza Farnese*, a sardonyx cameo bowl probably from Alexandria, and dating ca. 100 B.C. On the inside of this bowl a scene has been carved where, at the top,

6.3 Attic red-figure *krater* displaying the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas. Boreas has large wings and wind-disturbed hair. Greece, Classical period, 360-350 B.C. BML

6.4 Attic red-figure *hydria* decorated with a scene of the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas. Boreas has large wings and wind-blown hair Unearthed in Athens. Greece, Classical period, ca. 470 B.C. NMA

two male figures fly across the sky. One holds a cloak which billows out over his head, while the other blows a horn or a shell (**6.5**). These figures overhead here represent the Etesian winds, which contribute to the two annual seasons of flood and growth along the Nile in Egypt[10].

In 40 B.C. the so-called "Tower of the Winds" was erected in Athens. It had an octagonal shape, each of the faces corresponding exactly to one of the eight wind directions. The winds, winged and in human form, are represented in the frieze just below the cornice. Inscribed above them are their names[11]. Boreas is shown in full detail, equipped with large wings, floating in the air from left to right, with warm clothing and buskins, a fierce expression and preparing a shell-trumpet to blow (**6.6**). What should be noted here is the typical pose, the large straight horizontal wings and the almost fluttering drapery, together characteristic features of the classical windgods in motion. However, the way of representing windgods with the overhead scarf was not unusual in Roman times. An example is seen on a sarcophagus from Ostia, Italy, dating from the 3rd century A.D. (**6.7**).

Apparently the image of Boreas has been adopted by the Kushān-people in Bactria in the early centuries A.D. On a gold coin (**6.8**), issued by Kanishka I of the Kushān dynasty (r. ca. 120-162 A.D.), the image of a man is found with high-up outspread arms supporting a mantle over his head, legs in the running posture resembling the image of Boreas, and equipped with wings as Boreas has. Also, his hair is depicted as upright and disturbed. This coin carries the inscription ANEMOS, a generic term for the Greek wind-demons, and is important because it testifies of the representational transition from the originally winged Boreas to windgods carrying the billowing mantle above their head.

6.5 Sardonyx cameo, shaped like a flat cup, and known as the Tazza Farnese. The decorative scene represents at the left the river god Nile leaning against a tree and holding a *cornucopia*. His wife Euthemia reposes at his feet. Behind her an almost naked youth, and two partially nude females reclining at the far right. In the upper zone two wind gods fly across the sky, the scarf of the first billowing in the breezes. These flying figures represent the Etesian winds, which contribute to the two annual seasons of flood and growth along the Nile. Presumably made in Alexandria. Late 2nd century B.C. MAN

6.6 Detail of the "Tower of the Winds" at Athens, erected about 40 B.C. The full figure shown here is Boreas, the north wind. He is depicted in warm clothing and the shell trumpet he is preparing to blow indicates clearly what the Greek thought about his stormy and noisy nature. Athens, ca. 40 B.C. After Havelock 1971, fig. 57

6.7 Wind gods with overhead scarf on a sarcophagus. From Ostia, Italy, 3rd century A.D.. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek

The further transformation of the image of Boreas took place along the following lines[12]: Kanishka I later abandoned the use of the Greek language and replaced it with the Bactrian language on his coins, although Greek letters were continued to be used. The name Anemos was replaced by the Bactrian Oado, while the image remained untouched (**6.9**). Oado was the equivalent of the Iranian Vata, the name of the Zoroastrian windgod. On these coins the movement of the windgod seems to be slowed down a little, and also his movement is sometimes reversed, i.e. from left to right. Yet, the disturbed upwards flowing hair has been maintained.

Huvishka, the successor of Kanishka I, also used the image of Oado on his coins (**6.10**), but now the mantle in his hands changed into the form of a thicker robe or shawl. This style of representing the inflated mantle spread to Gandhāra, where the image of Oado was found on Gandhāran Buddhist sculptures of ca. the 4th century A.D. (**6.11**). The wild hair is accurately represented. On this relief we see another characteristic of this windgod: the open mouth.

In China a leather bag for wine or bellows became the container of the wind, the attribute of the Chinese windgod Feng Bo or Fei Lian. He was already depicted carrying a bag before his breast in a famous Shandong engraving from the Wu family shrines of about 147 A.D.[13] In anthropomorphic form, Feng Bo is an old man with a white beard, red and blue cap and yellow cloak[14]. Feng Bo was said to operate the winds from the mouth of the sack in whichever direction he wanted. He himself could take the shape of a great sack of yellow and white material, which heaved in and out gustily.

Also, on an engraved stone dated 543 A.D. of a Buddhist temple, the god is shown seated

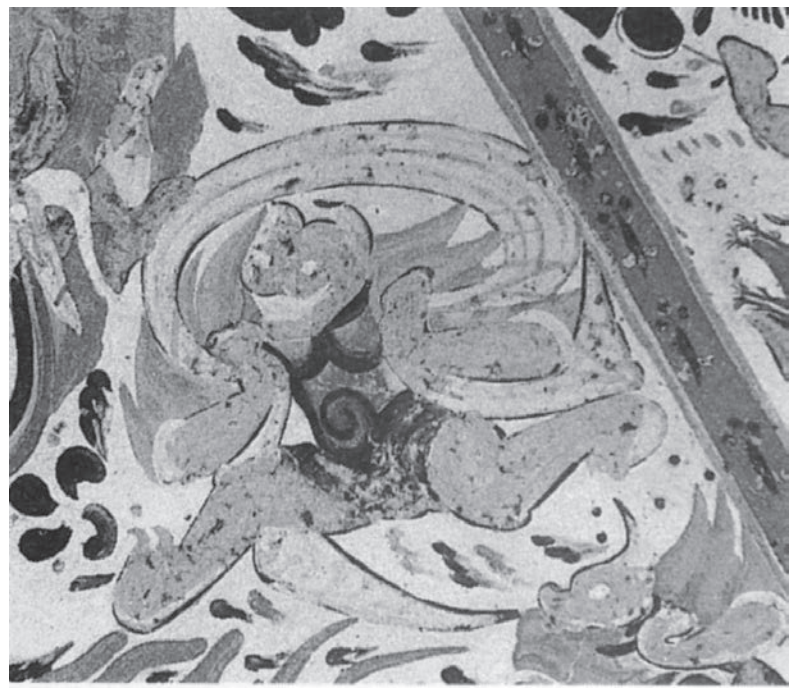
6.8 Gold *stater* issued by Kanishka I of the Kushān Dynasty (r. ca. 120-162 A.D.), with the image of a running man resembling Boreas with outspread arms carrying a wind-blown mantle. The inscription ANEMOS is in Greek letters below. North Afghanistan, mid 2nd century A.D. Hirayama Collection, ISS

6.9 Copper coins issued by Kanishka I (r. ca. 120-162 A.D.), with the figure of Anemos, but with the name Anemos replaced by Oado, the Bactrian wind god. North Afghanistan, mid-2nd century A.D. Hirayama Collection, ISS

6.10 Bronze coin of Huvishka, son of Kanishka I, depicting Oado. Late 2nd century A.D. Hirayama Collection, ISS

6.11 Schist relief sculpture with the image of the wind god Oado, holding the inflated mantle with two hands. His mouth is open and the disturbed hair is flowing upwards. From Gandhāra. Ca. 4th century A.D. MIK

6.12 Engraved stone showing a seated wind god with wind-blown hair holding a sack containing the wind. China, 543 A.D. (by inscription). Isabella Steward Gardner Museum, Boston



6.13 Wind god with inflated mantle/wind sack above his head, depicted on a mural in Dunhuang, cave no. 249. China (Gansu), 6th century A.D. After Tanabe 1993, 27, fig. 49

6.14 Painting on a silk screen of a wind god with the inflated wind sack above the head. Also note the wind-blown hair and the open mouth. Tawaraya Sōtatsu (ca. 1600-1640). Japan, Edo period, 2nd quarter 17th century A.D. Kenninji temple, Kyōto

6.15 Wind god painted by Sakai Hōitsu (1761-1828) on a folding screen, together with a thunder god (not shown here). Japan, Edo period, 19th century A.D. Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tōkyō

with wind-blown hair and holding with both hands a sack containing the wind (**6.12**). However, there is a wall painting from the Dunhuang cave (no. 249), Gansu province, also dating from the 6th century A.D., where the god, in a running pose, holds a mantle billowing above his head. This is typically the influence of the Kushān windgods[15] (**6.13**), and ultimately of the inflated scarf above the head of the windgod in Hellenistic times.

This image of the windgod entered Japan probably by the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1332), because its image appeared, together with the image of a thundergod, for the first time on a wooden board in the Sanjūsangendō temple, which was grounded in 1266[16]. Another one, also in combination with a thunder god and dated early 12th century, is a sūtra painting, now kept in the Kongōbuji temple in Wakayama[17]. In both these pictures the high-up inflated wind bag is held by the windgod with both hands, the image which was preserved in later periods. He is called Fūjin, the "wind *kami*" or Fūten, and sometimes also *kaze no kami*, the *kami* of colds and coughs.
Often he is depicted in the company of the *kami* of the thunder, Raijin. Fūjin has usually two horns on his head, claws on hands and feet, and a scarf-shaped bag wrapped around his shoulders, supposedly filled with wind, which he can release from the mouth-end of the bag[18]. He is a monstrous creature with an extremely bad reputation. As described by Griffith:

"When he loosens his hold on one of the closed ends [of the sack], the breezes blow; when he partly opens it, a gale arises; when he removes his hand, the tornado devastates the earth. At times, this imp, as the fancy seizes him, sallies forth from his lair away in the mountains and chases terrified travelers or grass-cutters, often scratching their

6.16 Drawing of the wind god Fūjin after a print of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Japan, 19th century. After Griffith 1899, 483

6.17 Gilded wooden sculpture of the wind god Fūjin. Japan, Edo period. MGP

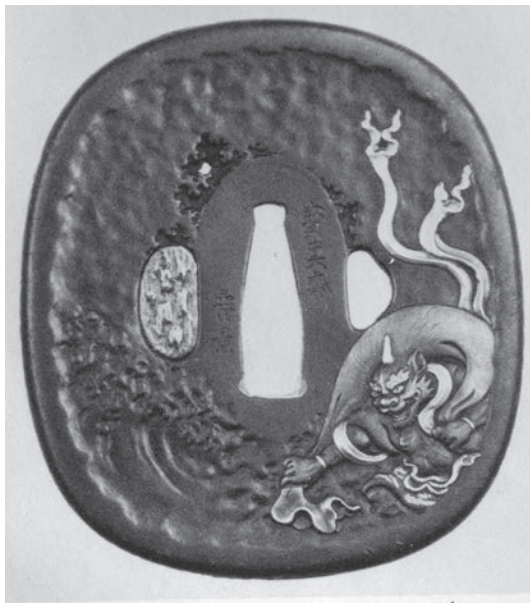
faces dreadfully with his claws. Sometimes, invisibly passing, he bites or tears the countenance of the traveler, who bearing the brunt of the blast, feels the wound, but sees not the asailant. There are not wanting pictures and images representing the deliverance of pious men, who, trusting in the goddess Kuanon, have by dint of nimbleness and prayer, escaped as by a hair-breadth, the steel-like claws of Fūten, the wind-imp"[19]

Remarkable, of course, in this description is the characteristic behaviour of the windgod, living in the mountains, and chasing people when he leaves his abode, just as Boreas used to behave.

In art he is depicted rather frequently: in sculpture, on paintings, woodblock prints, *inrō*, ceramics and metalwork. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Japan, at times, is a windy country. As Huish noted it:

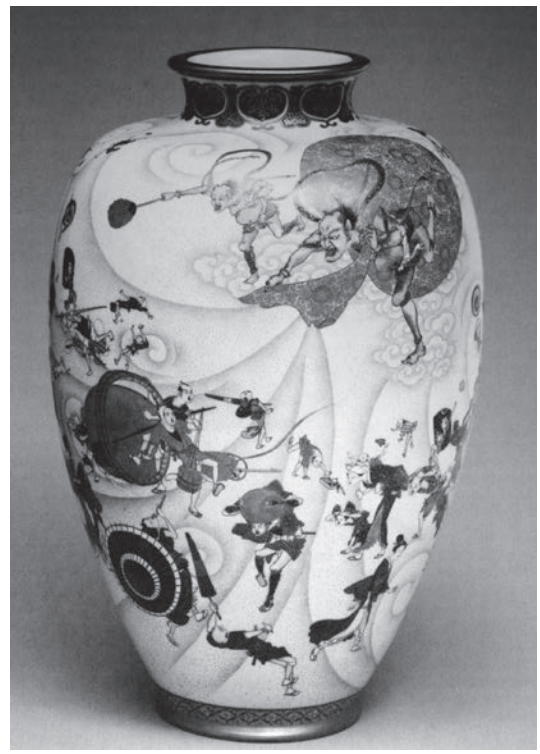
"…the inhabitants of this otherwise favoured country have indeed cause to hold in remembrance this mighty element, for early in the month September the dreaded typhoon sweeps across their country, devastating and carrying destruction as it goes. Is it not wonderful that they ascribe a supernatural origin to it, or that the terrible god of the winds, Kaze-no-kami or Fūten, and his passage in anger over the face of their country, find a frequent place in their art."[20]

On a 17th century folding screen he is painted (together with Raijin) by Tawaraya Sōtatsu (ca. 1600-1640), painter of the early Edo period (**6.14**). An almost identical picture, again on a folding screen, and together with Raijin, was painted later in the Edo period by Sakai Hōitsu (1761-1828) (**6.15**). In fact, the famous Rinpa school of painting, to which this



6.18 Iron *tsuba* decorated in *takazōgan*-technique with a Fūjin. Japan, Edo period, 2nd half of 19th century A.D. After Hartman Collection 1976, 31, no. 70

6.19 Drawing of a *tsuba* decorated with Fūjin. Japan, Edo period, 19th century A.D. After Gonse 1883, vol. 2, 151



6.20 Stone ware vase decorated with enamels showing Fūjin, probably after a sketch of Hokusai. Japan, Meiji period, ca. 1900-1910 A.D. The Bauer Collection, Musée des Arts d´ Extrême-Orient, Geneva

painter belonged, considered the Windgod and the Thundergod as a challenging subject because other representatives of the school too selected this subject[21]. On a drawing after a print of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) Fūjin appears like shown in (**6.16**). Also on a pair of hanging scrolls of the Meiji period (1868-1912) of painter Imamura Shikō (1880-1916) the subjects are the Wind and Thundergods[22].
The Museum Guimet, Paris, keeps a sculpture of gilded wood of Fūjin from the Edo period (**6.17**).
Also on Japanese metalwork the image of Fūjin, sometimes together with Raijin, is not uncommon as a decorative motif. For example, the combination of the gods is depicted on a *fuchigashira* of the 18th century[23]. On a *tsuba* of the 2nd half of the 19th century we see Fūjin on the obverse, on the reverse wind-blown leaves are flying through the air (**6.18**). Gonse[24] shows a design of Fūjin on a *tsuba*, probably of the 19th century (**6.19**).
On either side of an early 19th century *inrō*, too, we meet the gods of wind and thunder[25].
On a stoneware vase of the early 20th century the decorative scene clarifies what people thought of Fūjin when in anger he releases the wind from his bag. Fūjin is blowing around gusts of wind in spiral bands over the people in panic below (**6.20**).

6.2 Herakles and Niō

Herakles is a hero, not a god. The Romans called him Hercules. He was thought of as the personification of physical strength and his chief function was to play the role of a protector. When men were in danger Herakles was their chief resort. He presided over all aspects of Hellenic education, and, more than any other, he was the friend and counsellor of men. Herakles was venerated like other heroes, but his cult was much more general. All Greece honoured him.
He received the hand of Megara, the daughter of the King of Thebes and had three children by her, who he tenderly loved. But in a fit of delirium he threw his offspring into the fire. When he recovered his senses, he suffered agonies of sorrow and remorse for the terrible crimes he had unwittingly committed. In grief he withdrew to the mountains in solitude, where he would have lingered all the remainder of his life, had not Hermes (Mercury) brought to him the decision of the gods that he had to serve Eurystheus, King of Argos. This is what the oracle of Delphi had commanded when Herakles, whishing to remove the stain of his crime, consulted her. Eurystheus imposed on him twelve arduous labours. These were[26] (1) to exterminate the Nemean lion, the skin of which Eurystheus ordered him to bring back. Herakles strangled the monster in his powerful grip, and from the skin he made a garment which rendered him invulnerable. (2) To kill the Hydra of Lerna, an enormous serpent with nine heads. But every time he struck off one of the nine heads two grew in its place. With the help of his friend Iolaus, who had accompanied him, the wounds were immediately seared with a torch. (3) The third task of Herakles was to bring back to Eurystheus the stag of Mount Cernyeia alive. Her hooves were of bronze and her horns of gold. It took Herakles one whole year to catch her. (4) Then he had to capture the wild boar of Mount Erymanthus in Arcadia. Herakles succeeded

in capturing it. (5) The marshes of Stymphalus in Arcadia were inhabited by monstrous birds, whose beaks, wings and claws were of iron. Herakles frightened them with bronze cymbals and slew them with arrows. (6) Herakles was sent to Augeias, King of Elis, who had immense droves of cattle. The stables usually occupied by these animals were in an incredible filthy state, as they were not cleaned for years. Herakles cleaned these in one day by altering the course of the nearby rivers. (7) Crete was terrorized by a bull which was driven mad by Poseidon. Herakles managed to capture the beast and carried it on his back to Argos. (8) Diomedes owned mares which he fed with human flesh. In order to obtain a sufficient supply of fresh meat for his horses, Diomedes had decreed that all strangers who ventured into his kingdom should be seized, executed and served to his horses. Herakles captured Diomedes and fed him to his own horses, which were then led off to Eurystheus as a token that the labour was completed. (9) Hippolyte was the queen of the Amazons and possessed a magnificent girdle as a mark of her sovereignty. The daughter of Eurystheus wanted to possess that girdle, so Herakles was sent to fetch it. He travelled to the dangerous land of the Amazons and boldly explained to Hippolyte the cause of his presence. At first Hippolyte seemed to agree to give him the girdle. But Hera, in the disguise of an Amazon, mingled among the women and spread the report that Herakles had really come to kidnap their queen. The Amazons flew to their arms, and Herakles, believing they had betrayed him, slaughtered them and bore away his prize. (10) Herakles was next told to capture the divine cattle of Geryon, a triple-bodied monster that was said to reign over the West coast of Iberia. Geryon owned a herd of red oxen that were heavily guarded. Herakles took possession of the oxen, and they were delivered to Eurystheus. (11) Next Eurystheus commanded him to bring to him the golden apples, which the Hesperides, daughters of Hesperus, guarded in their garden in the west extremities of the world. After numerous journeys, Herakles discovered that these maidens had carried them off to Africa, hung them on a tree in their garden and placed a dragon at its foot to guard it. Herakles killed the dragon, seized the apples and delivered them to Eurystheus. (12) As a final labour Herakles was asked to fetch Cerberus, guardian of the gates of the underworld. He obtained the permission of Hades to carry off Cerberus, providing that he could conquer the monster with his bare hands. Herakles leapt on Cerberus and strangled him.

Apart from these labours Herakles had a vast number of other adventures and independent exploits.

In Greek art Herakles is depicted as a man of mature strength, endowed with muscular power, generally in a standing pose, and leaning on a heavy club. His heroic deeds were favourite subjects among Archaic artists in Athens and elsewhere and they appear on public monuments as well as in numerous private works like gems, shield bands and vases. All twelve labours are depicted schematically on the mid-5th century B.C. metopes above the inner porches on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but also on metopes and friezes of other temples from the Classical and Hellenistic periods[27].

(**6.21**) through (**6.25**) show Herakles in different actions.

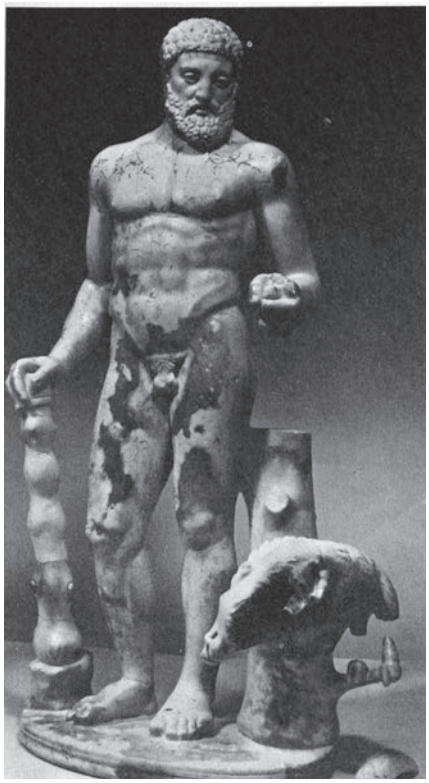
It is especially Lysippos (ca. 360-305 B.C.) who is known for his sculptures of Herakles, which seem to have been a major feature of his school. Many of them have later been copied by the Romans [28](**6.26**).

6.21 Clay tripod showing Herakles fighting the Nemean lion. From Athens, second half of 8th century B.C. After Carpenter 1991, fig. 174

6.22 *Hydria* decorated with Herakles and the Hydra of Lerna. Greece, ca. 530 B.C. PGL

6.23 Marble relief on a *metope* from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi. Herakles, his lion-skin tied at his throat, his quiver and cloak behind him, struggles with the stag of Mount Cernyeia. Greece, ca. 500 B.C. Museum Delphi

6.24 Silver *didrachm*. Herakles fighting the Cretean bull grasps a horn and swings his club. From Silenus, ca. 450 B.C. After Carpenter 1991, fig. 193



6.25 Marble statue of Herakles leaning on his club, together with the captured boar of Mount Erymanthus. Roman copy of a 5th century B.C. Greek original. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

6.26 Bronze statue of Herakles, seated and banqueting, leaning on his club. Roman copy of a late 4th century B.C. Greek original. MAN

The popularity and spread of the image of Herakles in the Greek world can be imagined from the fact that he was a well-liked figure in the Greek cities of the Black Sea coast, and his popularity extended into the Scythian world. According to Herodotus, Herakles was regarded as their legendary ancestor: he impregnated a snake-footed goddess who gave birth to the first Scythian king[29]. Representations of Herakles are not uncommon in Scythian art. His battle with the Nemean lion and the taming of Cerberus are found on gold plaques from the 4th century B.C., found about 200 km north of the Black Sea coast. The hero remained well-known in the region into the 1st century A.D.[30]. In Italy, among the Etruscans, Herakles had acquired cult status[31] and the image of the hero is found on scarabs from the 6th century B.C.[32].

Alexander, fully aware of the important role of coinage as a broadcasting medium of political ideas, introduced upon his accession in 336 B.C. a new type of silver coinage, which in a few years was to become one of the most common and far-flung coins of the ancient world. On the obverse of these coins was the head of Herakles wearing the skin of the Nemean lion. The meaning, of course, was that Herakles was the prototype for Alexander, a conquering hero whose deeds brought glory to Greek culture[33]. In this way Alexander claimed to be a descendant of Herakles. But also on other coins the image of

Herakles was represented, for example on a silver coin struck at Phaestos in Crete around 325 B.C., where we see the hero armed with his club, fighting the Hydra of Lerna[34]

The Romans depicted Hercules on a large scale, active in his labours -either in all twelve of them or in isolated events- on mosaic, sarcophagi and other reliefs, as well as on textiles, clay relief bowls and coins[35] as well as on glass[36]

For example, a large room of the Villa Erculia in Piazza Armerina (Morgantina), dating from the early 3rd century A.D., where important guests were invited to dine, all twelve scenes of the labours are portrayed in mosaic[37].

His image was well-known in the western provinces of the empire too. For example, on a sculptured relief on Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland, England, dating from the 2nd-3-rd centuries A.D., Hercules stands to the front, powerfully built, with in his right hand a mighty club with which to smash the Lernean Hydra (**6.27**). But most important in the context of our subject is of course the appearance of Herakles in full action on Roman coins[38]. Again, there Herakles is portrayed often wearing the lion skin.

In the Roman territories in the east of the Empire, Herakles was very well-known. For example, in Hatra, Mesopotamia, about three dozen Herakles figures were found in shrines dating from the early 3rd century A.D.[39].

It is recalled that there had been diplomatic exchanges between Rome and India from the early years of the Empire on and extensive contacts between the areas existed during the 2nd century A.D. On a stone palette of the early 1st century A.D., found in Taxila, Pakistan, the figure of a drunken Herakles, supported by two women, appears[40].

On a sculpture dating from the 1st century A.D. and excavated in Mathurā, India, the hero fighting the lion is shown in a way which strongly resembles the concept for Herakles of the sculptor Lysippos in Greece in the 4th century B.C. But Herakles is already wearing the lionskin which he was to win from the beast[41].

We know that the Kushān king Kanishka I during the 2nd century A.D., whose domains extended at least from Mathurā through Gandhāra to Bactria, had, among those of other Greek deities and heroes, the image of Herakles printed on his coins[42]. So the direct influence of classical figures and poses became very visible.

In Kanishka's Indian provinces Buddhism too was transforming through contact with, among others, Greek religion and its anthropomorphic gods into a new form, the Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle. Here Buddha, working through his attendants the bodhisattvas, offered salvation to mankind. Also because Kanishka promoted Buddhism and Buddhist art in his territory, artists started to represent the Buddha and bodhisattvas in human form. For Vajrapāni, the guardian and attendant to the Buddha, Herakles was adopted including his lion skin, but exchanging his club for a *vajra*, a thunderbolt[43] (**6.28**).

The thunderbolt was not usually carried by Herakles, but in Archaic and early classical art the most common attribute of Zeus, the highest god in the Greek pantheon. Therefore the suggestion of the similarity of Vajrapāni, Herakles and Zeus is immediately apparent, and this association elevated the status of the Buddha[44].

The bellicose character of Herakles is well preserved in this relief reputedly of the 2nd-3-rd century A.D., unearthed in Gandhāra, Pakistan, showing Vajrapāni in a guise of Herakles. This is the image of an impressive forceful and self-confident protector, well-muscled, with the lion skin over his head and shoulders, the *vajra* in his right hand and a huge sword

6.27 Stone figure of Hercules slaying the Lernean Hydra, his left leg planted on the body of the monster (of which nothing is left now). On the left is the figure of Hercules's patroness Minerva. From Corbridge on the Hadrian Wall, Northumberland, England. 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Corbridge Museum, Northumberland, England

6.28 Gray schist relief panel with Vajrapāni in the guise of Herakles. He stands with his body twisted in *contrapposto*, holding a *vajra*, a sword hanging from the belt at his wrist, and a lion skin over his head and shoulders. From Gandhāra, 2nd to 3rd century A.D.BML

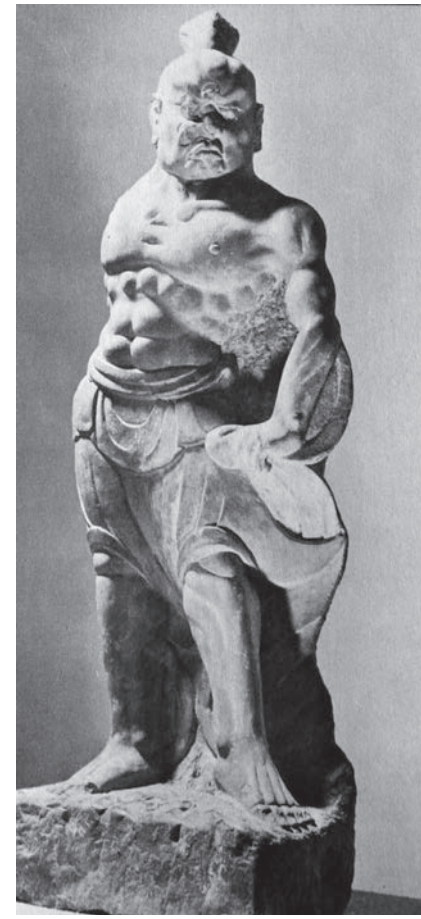
in the left (**6.28**). This panel fragment shows a scene possibly from Buddhist legend. It is thought that on the left side (now missing) a central Buddha sat, facing the human figures. Key is the expression of force, derived from Herakles and emanating from Vajrapāni, the protector of Buddha and Buddhist law.
(**6.29**) shows part of a shrine at Hadda, Afghanistan (destroyed late 1980's), dating from ca. 4th-5th centuries A.D. There a seated Buddha is flanked by Vajrapāni (shown here), a woman holding a *cornucopia*, and multiple secondary Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Vajrapāni as attendant and protector of Buddha is depicted with the physiognomy, classical pose and attributes (lion skin and *vajra*) of Herakles. This is an example of the re-emergence of a highly classical style that occurred in Gandhāra and Afghanistan in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.[45]

The expression of physical strength and force of Vajrapāni as the protector of Buddha exerted strong stylistic influence on the heroic guardians of the Buddhist faith, the *dvārapāla*, as they were sculptured in Buddhist caves of the Tang period, like the one in the Fengxian temple, Longmen, Henan province, in the east of China, dating from ca. 675 A.D., or the ones protecting the entrance of the temple-cave of Bei Xiangtang near the border of Hebei-Henan, dating from the second half of the 6th century A.D. (**6.30**). Especially with this last example we see in the anatomical exaggeration of the vigorous body the distant influence of Greek art (**6.31**). The artists of the Tang period tried to create lifelike qualities in terms of animation and vigour and sought to imbue Buddhist imagery with the appearances of ordinary mortals, thus creating, unaware of it, the link to the proto-typing elements of the Classical world.

Comparable in their general posture, attitude and function are the two powerful guardians on either side of entrances of temples in Korea, like the ones in Sokkuram, North Kyŏngsang province, of the 8th century[46].
Their equivalents in Japan, strongly influenced by the Tang sculptures of China, appear about the same time in painted clay sculptures in the Tōdaiji temple in Nara, erected in 728 A.D. (**6.32**) and the Hōryūji temple, also in Nara, founded in 607 A.D. (**6.33**). Often indicated as Vajrapāni, they are usually called Niō, "Two Kings".
In view of the considerable resemblance between Vajrapāni and the East-Asian images of similar deities, there is little doubt about the influence of these images from Central Asia and other parts of North-West India on the Buddhist art of East Asia. They all signal very effectively their terrible aspects, protecting the blessed and frightening the forces of evil.

In Japan, the Niō as temple guardians, are standing in cages at the sides of the Niō-mon or outer gate of a Buddhist temple to prevent the approach of demons. The one, holding aloft a one-pointed thunderbolt and with open mouth, represents the masculine principle and is called Kongō Rikishi. The other, with closed mouth and holding a club, represents the feminine principle, and is called Missaku Rikishi. Kongō Rikishi is held to be Vajrapāni. In popular usage they are also called *aka-oni*, red devil, and *aoi-oni*, green devil, respectively, according to the colouring applied to them.
The sculptural style of the Nara period (662-781), when Niō were modelled in clay after Tang-period examples in China, became re-interpreted during the Kamakura period (1185-1336) by the wood sculptors of the famous Kei-school, of which Unkei (1151-1223 A.D.) and Kaikei (w. 1185-1223) were the most important representatives[47]. Unkei and

6.29 Detail of a clay and stucco niche, where a seated central Buddha (not shown) is flanked by a woman (not shown) carrying a *cornucopia* and a seated Herakles personating Vajrapāni. Vajrapāni, the protector of Buddha, has a lion skin draped over his shoulder and holds a thunderbolt. Hadda, 4th-5th century A.D. After Boardman 1994, 142, fig. 4.87



6.30 Stone door-guardian, one of a pair, with vigorous anatomical exaggeration. From Bei Xiantang, Hebei-Henan province. China, Northern Qi period, late 6th century A.D. Rietberg Museum, Zurich

Kaikei created chiefly Niō with open mouth (**6.34**), while Unkei's son Tankei (1173-1256) and brother Jōkaku mainly produced Niō with mouth firmly shut[48]. (**6.35**).

In Japanese decorative art, especially from the Edo period, Niō appear rather frequently on *inrō*, *netsuke* and metalwork. An example on a pair of *inrō* from the Edo period is shown in (**6.36**). Sometimes also the two Niō are depicted on a single *inrō* [49], or both sculptured in a single *netsuke*[50].

More frequently we meet a single Niō sculptured as a *netsuke* [51] (**6.37**). Their images appear on metal sword fittings of the Edo period too, like on *kozuka* and *menuki* [52]. An example of both is shown in (**6.38**). They are also found as subject of decoration on *tsuba* (**6.39**). Japanese artists, in depicting the Niō, sometimes played around a little with the design, like on the *tsuba* of (**6.40**), where a Niō is coming to life and pulling a grotesque face and terrifying a traveller.

6.31 A *bodhisattva* (left) and two guardian figures. The middle figure is a *lokapāla*, a heavenly king who protects one of the four corners of a space: in this case Vaiśravana, guardian of the North. The right-hand figure is a *dvārapāla*, heroic guardian of the Buddhist faith. China, Fengxian temple, Longmen, Henan province. Tang period, ca. 672-675 A.D. After Tucker 2003, 72, fig. 86

6.32 Painted clay guardian figure Shūkongōjin (s.v.) in the Sangatsudō of the Tōdaiji temple, Nara. Japan, Nara period, mid 8th century A.D. Tōdaiji temple, Nara

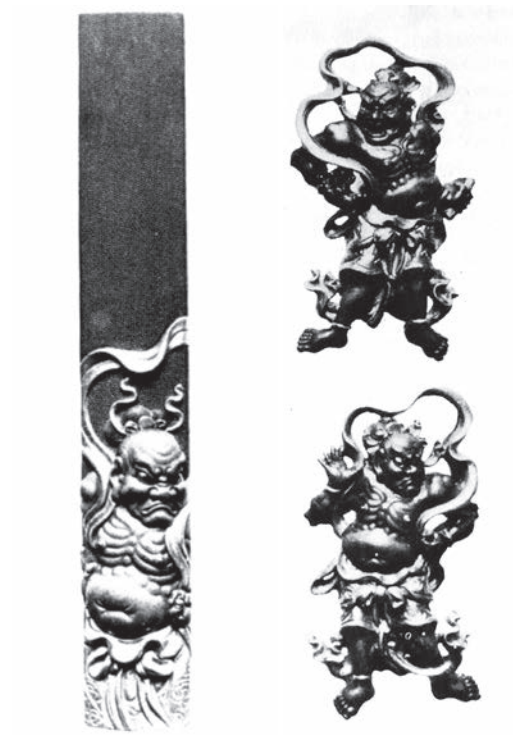
6.33 Clay figure of a Niō in the Hōryūji temple at Nara. Japan, Nara period, ca. 700 A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

6.34 Painted wooden figure with crystal eyes of a Niō with open mouth, by Kaikei (w. 1185-1223). Japan, Kamakura period, 12th-13th century A.D. Kongōin temple, Kyōto

6.35 Painted wooden figure of a Niō with mouth firmly shut, by Unkei (1151-1223). Great South Gate of Tōdaiji temple, Nara. Japan, Kamakura period, dated to 1203 A.D. Tōdaiji temple, Nara

6.37 Dark stained wooden *netsuke*, the eyes inlaid with glass, representing a Niō (with mouth shut). The twist of the body in *contrapposto* stance, the exaggerated musculature of the upper torso and the position of the guardian's hands give a great sense of tension and power to this small (ht. ca. 12 cm) sculpture. Japan, Late Edo period, late 18th century A.D. After Eskenazi 1997, 10, no. 2

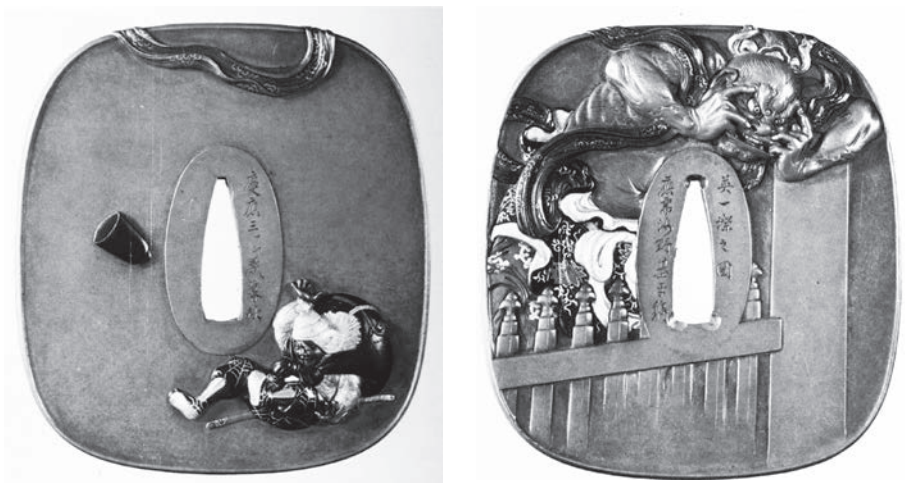
6.36 Lacquered *inrō* decorated with a pair of Niō. Signed by Koma Kyūhaku (d.1715), the name of several artists of the Koma family who worked during the Late Edo period. Japan, 18th century A.D. After Baird 2001, 191



6.38 *Shakudō* set of sword fittings with design of a pair of Niō, signed by Yokaya Sōmin (1670-1733). Left the *kozuka* with a Niō on both sides, right a pair *menuki*. Japan, early 18th century A.D. National Museum, Kyōto

6.3 Iron *tsuba* with brass, silver and copper, decorated with a pair of Niō. Japan, 17th century A.D. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Seldom is their image found on artefacts like paintings, prints and porcelains.



6.40 Copper *tsuba*, showing a temple Niō coming to life and pulling a grotesque face. On the reverse a terrified traveller falling down, his lantern flying through the air. Japan, Late Edo period, dated 1867 by inscription. After Hartman Collection 1976, 40, no. 106

6.3 The Hermes-complex: Daikokuten and Bishamonten

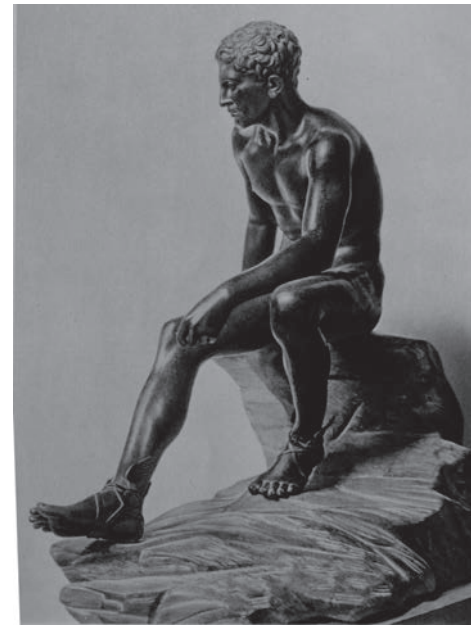
According to myth, Hermes was born in a grotto on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia as the son of Zeus and Maia, goddess of the plains. His birth took place on the fourth day of the month, consecrated to him ever since: in the Roman world he was called Mercury.

As a child he was quite unlike mortal children as may be inferred from the curious actions he undertook shortly after his birth. He sprang from his mother's knee, grasped a tortoise shell, bored holes in its sides, stretched strings across its concavity, and started to play music, thus inventing the first lyre. Being hungry, he slipped out of the cave in search for food and met the cattle of Apollo, his half-brother. He drove them to a secluded spot taking good care to envelop their feet in leafy branches so that they would leave no trace. Then he killed some of them and ate them. Apollo soon missed his cattle and being informed about the recent birth of the god of thieves, he hurried off to Mount Cyllene, where he found Hermes peacefully sleeping in his cradle. Nevertheless he accused Hermes of stealing his cattle, but his mother, of course, protested his innocence. Then Apollo dragged him off to the Olympus, where he was convicted of the theft and condemned to restore the stolen property. Hermes confessed his crime and the whereabouts of the oxen, and, in exchange for the two missing, offered Apollo the lyre he had just made. The gift of the lyre pleased Apollo so well, that in return he gave to Hermes a magic wand, a *caduceus*, which had the power of reconciling all conflicting elements. Anxious to test it, Hermes thrust it between quarrelling snakes, who immediately wound themselves in amity around it. Hermes was appointed messenger of the gods, who presented him with winged sandals and a winged cap, which gave him speed when necessary.

Hermes was not only the messenger of the gods, but also the god of the thieves and shepherds, the special patron of travellers and the god of eloquence, commerce, rain and wind. Moreover, to him was entrusted the task of conducting the souls of the dead to Hades, and when occupied in this way he bore the name Psychopompus[53]. In the Archaic period in Greece (6th century B.C.), herms as they are called appeared all over Attica: square pillars surmounted by a mask-shaped head, with an erect penis and sometimes inscribed with admonishing texts. These pillars probably derived from the so-called Hermes hills. Those who passed by such hills, the landmarks of antiquity, threw a pebble on the heap, in this way maintaining both the god and the landmark.

6.41 Black-figure *olpe*. Perseus, watched by the messenger god Hermes, slays the Gorgon Medusa. From Athens, Greece, ca. 550 B.C. BML

6.42 Golden ring. The narrow leaf-shaped bezel is engraved with the image of the winged Hermes, tying his sandals. In front of him is the *caduceus*. Found near Kerch (Pantikapeion), Crimea 5th century B.C. National Museum of the History of the Ukraine, Kiev



6.43 Bronze statue of Hermes, equipped with winged sandals. Found in Herculaneum in 1758. Roman copy of a mid-3rd century B.C. Greek original. MAN

6.44 Terracotta oil lamp with a bust of Hermes in relief. He has a winged hat on his head. On the left the magic wand, the *kerykeion*, on the right a purse. The purse not only refers to prosperity in commerce, achieved by shrewd transactions, but also to pecuniary gains by theft. From North Africa. Roman Imperial period, 1st-2nd century A.D. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden

Hermes is one of the most common mythological figures on Attic vases, particularly black-figure, and it is difficult to think of many themes from myth in which he does not appear at one time or another, often just watching from the sidelines (**6.41**). Moreover, his images are depicted on numerous pieces of art, like intaglio's, gems, etc., but also on a large scale on coins[54]. In spite of his ubiquity, however, few myths are depicted in ancient art in which he plays a central role.

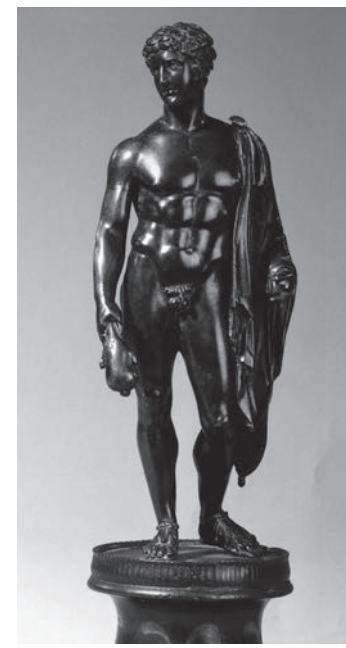
His image was known also in the Greek colonies around the Black Sea, and Scythian iconography from the 5th century B.C. onwards includes depictions of Hermes (**6.42**). Perhaps more importantly again, the head of Hermes with his winged cap was used on coins also in that area, e.g. on coins made in Tyras, the first Greek colony north of the Danube, from the latter part of the 4th century B.C. on[55].

Not until the Hellenistic period, however, were the capacities of Hermes given complete visual expression, for it was not until then that his image, whether in sculpture or in painting became visible everywhere[56]. Temples, altars and shrines were dedicated to his services throughout the ancient world (**6.43**).

By the 2nd century B.C., when a stream of Athenian black-glazed pottery followed Alexander to the East[57], the image of Hermes and other Greek gods became familiar to the people in the area north of the Persian Gulf[58]. A limestone statue of Hermes[59] was found in the remains of a chapel in Nineveh, dating from the Parthian period (250 B.C. - 226 A.D.).

Innumerable statuettes of Hermes were made in the Roman period, above all in the Roman Provinces. Moreover his image appears on various types of artefacts as well as on numerous Roman coins[60]. On a terracotta oil lamp, produced in North Africa during the 1st-2nd centuries A.D., the bust of Hermes has been modelled (**6.44**). He wears a winged hat and his attributes, the magic wand and the purse, are part of the decoration. Even on Roman glass his image is found occasionally[61].

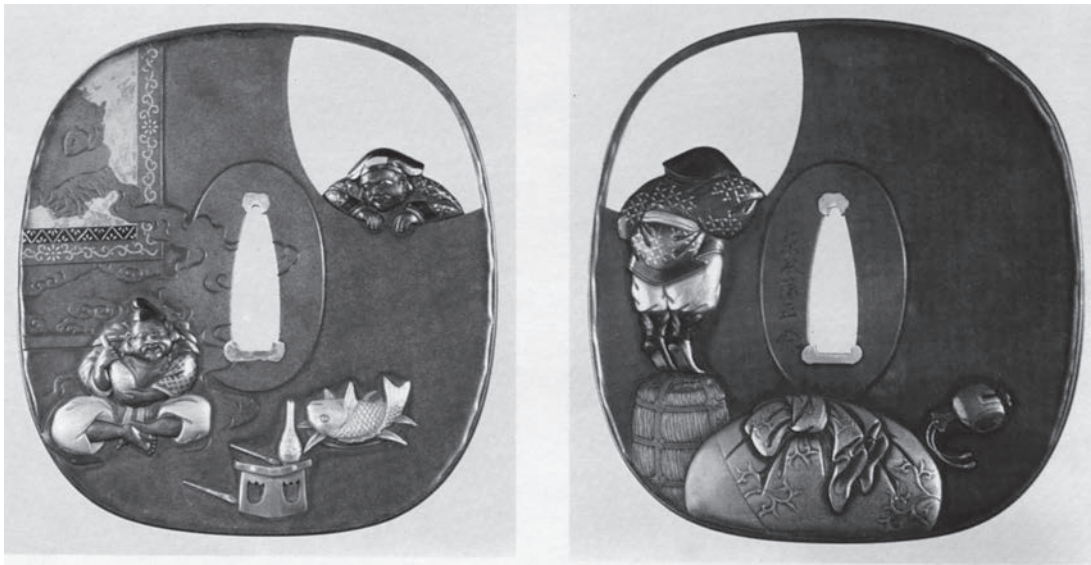
In the most western part of the Roman Empire, his marble statue was used near Huis, France, around the 1st century B.C. to A.D. (**6.45**). As the god of wealth he is sculptured here with a purse in his hand. He owes this aspect of his adoration to the clever way in which he managed to steal the herd of oxen from Apollo. On a silver skillet handle from Northumberland, England, dating from the late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D. (**6.46**), Hermes (Mercury) is figured seated beneath a canopy, with wings in his hair, a purse and *caduceus* in his hands. On the base of the handle are further emblems of prosperity -in the centre Bacchus with his *thyrsos*-staff, bunch of grapes and a wine jar, and a maenad. Further down a reclining water nymph and a bearded river-god, all themes of well-being. Many other images of Hermes have been found in England, like on marble statuettes and reliefs[62].



6.45 Bronze statuette of Hermes. Roman Imperial period, 1st century B.C./A.D. BML

6.46 Silver skillet-handle decorated with Hermes in the centre, seated beneath a canopy, with wings in his hair, purse and *caduceus* in his hands and a coq beside him. From Capheaton, Northumberland, England. Ca. 200 A.D. BML

6.47 Gold coin of Huvishka with the image of Pharro with a purse in his hand and a pair of wings on his head. From Peshāwar, Pakistan. Kushān period, ca. 155-187 A.D. BML



6.48 Copper *tsuba* decorated with Ebisu materializing from a hanging scroll and seated before a table with sake bottles, chopsticks and a carp on a plate. Daikoku is watching through a pierced window, on the reverse standing on a rice-bale besides his sack and mallet. Signed Hagiya Katsuhira (1804-1886). Japan, Late Edo period, second half of 19th century A.D. After Hartman Collection 1976, 150, no. 643

It was precisely in his function as the god of wealth, that he was associated with the god of wealth, Pharro, of the Kushān Empire during the 2nd century A.D., and gradually the image of Pharro was modelled after that of Hermes.
On the reverse side of gold coins, issued by the Kushān king Huvishka near the end of the 2nd century A.D. for example, we find Pharro struck with a purse in his hand and equipped with a pair of wings on his head (**6.47**). This Kushān Pharro was himself assimilated to the Indian god of wealth Kuvera or Kubera, king of the *yakshas*. After being assimilated to Pharro/Hermes, Kubera was called Vaiśravana. Although Kuvera's original function was a god of wealth and the protector of the fertility of the earth and food, he experienced a gradual development towards chief of the Four Guardians of the World and an armed protector of Buddhism.

Apart from Kubera, in India another god of wealth was known, Mahākāla who was seated beside the entrance of a dining hall holding a purse. Like Vaiśravana he originated in Kubera and the Kushān Pharro, and represented the function of Kubera to protect wealth and abundance of food. This original function of Kubera and Pharro (Hermes) was transferred to Mahākāla and not to Vaiśravana.

So, the Kushān Pharro and the Indian Kuvera are equivalent to both the Indian gods Mahākāla and Vaiśravana to whom, however, different functions became assigned[63]. The images of both were diffused to Central Asia, China and Japan, where they became known as Daikokuten or Daikoku and Bishamonten or Bishamon respectively. Hence, these Japanese gods ultimately share the same origin: Hermes, the Greek messenger of the gods, the god of wealth and protector of the travellers.

Daikokuten

The original function of Pharro/Kuvera as god of wealth was assigned to Mahākāla. According to Chinese records[64], in India a seated image of Mahākāla, holding a money-bag, was placed beside the entrance of a dining hall of a Buddhist monastery, in accordance with Kuvera's original function to preside over the fertility of the earth and food. Usually he was imaged as a black figure, smeared with oil. Mahākāla means "Great Black God" in Sanskrit, of which the Japanese name Daikokuten is the synonym. In Japan he is also called Ōkuninushi by the Shintōists, Ōkuni and Daikoku, being written with different characters, but potentially having the same interpretation.

He is usually represented in Japan with a mallet or hammer in his right hand, the emblem of the working miner and the mineral wealth of Japan. This mallet is ornamented with the *tomoe*, two comma-like figures in a circle usually accepted to be symbolic of the male and female principles. Moreover he carries a bag in his left hand, containing jewels delved from the bowels of the earth and he sits on one or two rice-bales, the results of bountiful crops[65]. However, in Japan, six different representations of Daikoku are known[66].
In short they are as follows:
1. Makara Daikoku, the ordinary form with a mallet, purse, and sitting on two rice-bales.
2. Ōjikara Daikoku, with sword and *vajra*.

3. Biku Daikoku, a priest with a mallet in his right hand and *vajra*-hilted sword in the left.
4. Yasha Daikoku, with wheel of the law in his right hand.
5. Shinda Daikoku, a boy seated with a crystal in his left hand.
6. Mahakara Daikoku, seated female with a small bale of rice on her head.

Daikoku is an extremely popular deity in Japan. According to myth, the Buddhist gods grew jealous of Daikoku because he became a little too popular. They consulted together with the result that Enma Ō, the Lord of the Dead, promised to send his most clever *oni*, Shiro, to get rid of Daikoku. Shiro went to Daikoku's castle, but could not find Daikoku, until finally he discovered him in a large storehouse. Daikoku called his rat to find out who dared to disturb him. When the rat saw Shiro, he ran into the garden and brought back a branch of holly, with which he drove the *oni* away. This incident is said to be the origin of the New Year's Eve charm in Japan, consisting of a sprig of holly fixed in the lintel of the door of a house to prevent the return of the *oni*.

The rat, as a companion to Daikoku, is frequently portrayed either in the bale of rice with his head peeping out, or playing with the mallet. The symbolism of the rat is twofold. On the one hand it is explained that accumulated riches have to be guarded and demand strong protection lest they vanish and the rich bags would soon be emptied by rats. So Daikoku has always to stand guard, even stronger, he excels in guardianship of his wealth to the extent that he can even prevent rats to nibble the rice, which is superfluously present around them. On the other hand the rat is the symbol of rapid multiplication.

According to his popularity, images of Daikoku are ubiquitous in Japanese art. This is very understandable as the artists of the fine arts in the Edo period had a large and exacting clientele among the merchants class and Daikoku is the god of wealth, of material gain. He is sculptured in *netsuke*[67]; imaged on metalwork, like on Edo-period *kozuka*[68]and on *tsuba*[69], sometimes in a more complicated design together with his son Ebisu (**6.48**); in painting[70]; in earthenware sculpture[71]; in woodblock prints of Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849)[72] and of Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806)[73].

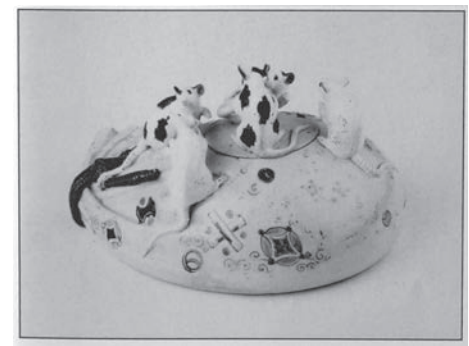
His image is frequently found on ceramics like on a porcelain tray from Kyōto around 1850[74], on Satsuma ware[75] and sculptured in Imari ware (**6.49**) and (**6.50**).

Often also Daikoku is symbolized by the presentation of his attributes only, the mallet with rats, as on *netsuke*[76], on woodblock prints like the one of Shima Itchō (1652-1724)[77] or on paintings, like the one by Shibata Zeshin (1807-1891) (**6.51**) and others[78]. The suggestion of the presence of Daikoku was sometimes even more veiled, like on a woodblock print by Hokusai[79], where we see the "white mice" only nibbling at a cake, which has been prepared as a New Year's offering at the household shrine.

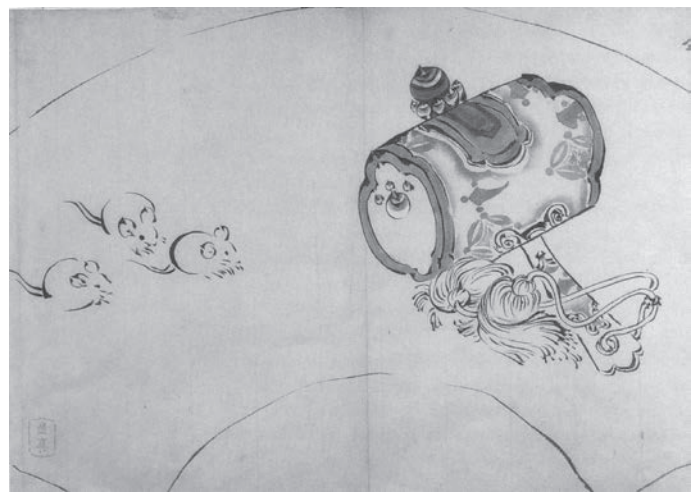
Bishamonten

As indicated above in this Chapter, the Kushān god Pharro became assimilated to the Indian god of wealth, Kuvera, in Gandhāra. In ancient India, Kuvera was the king of *yakshas* and the guardian of the North. According to some accounts, in reward of his practice of austerity for a thousand years, Brahmā bestowed upon him immortality and made him the god of wealth, with the special guardianship of all the endless treasures of the world. In Gandhāra, he was at first represented as a king or prince, just as the other three guard-

6.49 Imari porcelain figure of "Makara" Daikoku seated on two bales, with a bag over his shoulder and a hammer in his hand. Japan, 19th century A.D. After Schiffer 2002, 20



6.50 Satsuma-ware box in the shape of the tied bag with lid with five rats on top. An allusion to Daikoku's bag. Japan, 19th century A.D. After Schiffer 2002, 21



6.51 Watercolour painting by Shibata Zeshin (1807-1891), showing the elaborate mallet and rats which symbolize Daikoku. Japan, 19th century A.D. After Baird 2001, 262

6.52 Detail of a schist relief depicting an episode of the life of Buddha, where Vaiśravana is seen with a pair of wings on his head, indicating his lineal from Hermes. From Nimogram, Pakistan. Kushān period, 3rd-4th century A.D. ISS

6.53 Ritual banner with Vaiśravana. From Dunhuang. China, Tang period, 8th century A.D. MGP

ians, but in the North of India he gradually became more venerated by the Buddhists than the other three, until eventually he became the chief of the Four Guardians of the World. After his assimilation to Pharro, Kuvera was called Vaiśravana[80]. He figures frequently in sceneries of the Great Departure of Buddha, where he may be easily discriminated from others by the fact that he is armoured and has a pair of wings on his head, indicative for his descent from Hermes (**6.52**). It is only after the 5th century A.D. that a cult of the armoured Vaiśravana was created in Gandhāra and adjacent regions, where he was venerated as the protector of travellers and the guardian of the Buddhist law.

This image was diffused to Central Asia and China, where he became especially popular in Khotan. On its way, the iconography was gradually transformed and no signs remained of its Hermenic lineage. It is known that, in order to obtain the iconographic stereotype, a man was dispatched to Khotan by the Tang monarch Xuanzong, who wanted the proper form of Vaiśravana, the Heavenly King of the North, and favourite of the Turkish overlords of the city-states of Central Asia[81].

On the wall of a Buddhist temple-cave in Longmen, Henan province, dating from about 675 A.D., the image of Vaiśravana was carved as the protector of the North as already shown in (**6.31**). In his right hand he holds a model-*stūpa* (a Buddhist reliquary) and his foot is on the head of a dwarf, representing the powers of evil. Also from the Tang period

6.54 Painted wooden statue of Bishamonten (Vaiśravana) wearing a four-sided jewelled crown and entirely covered with armour. The front of the crown is decorated with the image of a bird, indicative of his Hermes-descent. He holds a spear in the right hand, a model pagoda in the left hand, and tramples an earth deity half submerged from the ground. Japan, Heian period, 11th century A.D. Seiryōji temple, Kyōto

6.55 Polychromed wooden statue of Bishamonten (Vaiśravana) by Unkei (1151-1223). Japan, Kamakura period, 1186 A.D. by inscription. Ganjōjuin temple, Shizuoka

is a ritual banner found in Dunhuang (**6.53**), where we see the same elements but now including the armour. In legend, this type of Vaiśravana is said to have appeared at the gates of Anxi city in western China and driven back by a surrounding enemy army[82].

A similar statue was brought from Tang China to Japan, where Vaiśravana was called Bishamonten or Bishamon, and placed at the Rashōmon gate of the Heian capital (modern Kyōto). Thereafter it was brought to the Tōji temple where it is still now.

After the arrival of this statue in Japan, the popularity of Bishamon grew, leading to the production of numerous copies of the design that was used to symbolically protect the capital[83]. Examples of them may still be found in the Buddhist temples, like the Bujōji temple and the Jōruriji temple in Kyōto[84]. The copy of (**6.54**), dating from the late

6.56 Sketch of Bishamonten by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Japan, Late Edo period. After Michener 1979, 166, plt. 101

6.57 Satsuma-ware statuettes of the seated figure of Bishamonten holding a pagoda lantern. Note the stylized wings on either side of his helmet. Japan, Late Edo period, late 19th century A.D. After Schiffer 2002, 36

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Heian-period (794-1185), is now in Seiryōji temple in Kyōto and is very similar to the original model. Characteristic are the four-sided jewelled crown, the spear in his right hand, the model-pagoda in his left, the overall armour and the dwarf half-emerged from the ground. But most important perhaps in the context of our discussion is the fact that on the front side of the jewelled crown the image of a bird has been sculptured. Other Japanese Vaiśravana, instead, have a pair of wings modelled on their crown[85], a signal of the Hermetic origin.

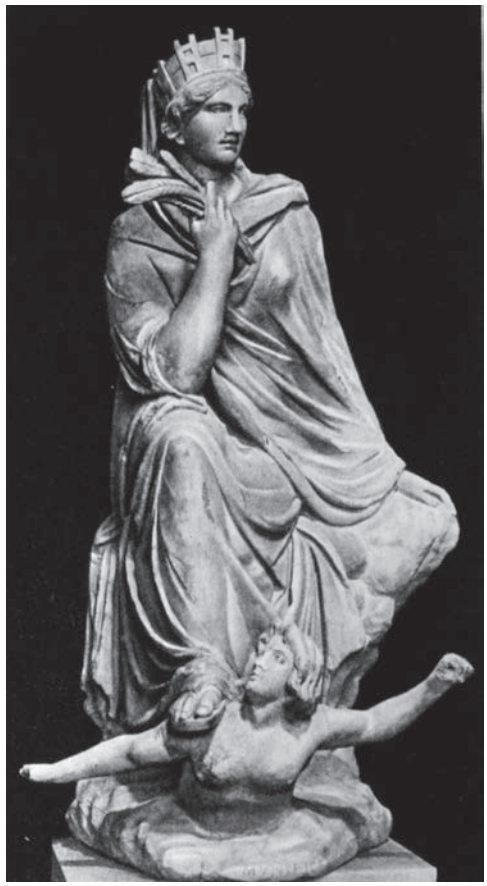
The power of Vaiśravana as protector during combat, as he had, according to the myth, shown in China, perhaps gave the Japanese prince Shōtoku Taishi (572-622 A.D.) reason to sacrifice to him, when he was in war with an opponent of the introduction of Buddhism in Japan. Bishamon then appeared to him as an old man and promised him victory. Shōtoku placed figures of the Four Heavenly Kings on his helmet and attacked his sleeping foes. The battle was won and Shōtoku vowed to build a temple for Bishamon[86].
The models of the standing Bishamon of the Heian period were copied in the Kamakura period (1185-1333), in particular by the school of Unkei, already mentioned in this Chapter, who laid the foundation of Kamakura-style sculpture (**6.55**).

In Japan Bishamon appears in several forms[87]. He may e.g. be represented as one of the *Shi Tennō* or Four Celestial Guardians, where he holds a pagoda in his left hand and in his right hand a lance, halberd, sword or sceptre.
Another form is the *Tōhachi Bishamon* or "Eight swords Bishamon", with eleven heads, two rows of five surmounted by one, the face of the god being that of a lion, his hands holding a bowl of gems and a purse. The figure is seated on a roaring lion, from the side of which project three animal heads, and before the lion three flaming jewels on a tripod.
Later he became one of the *Shichi Fukujin* or Seven Gods of Good Luck, where he does not appear as the god of wealth, but with such a martial expression that he has often been taken for the god of war. In this group he is often the subject of humorous presentation as he makes love to Benten, the goddess of Eloquence, Learning and Music.

The image of Bishamon can be met on artefacts of the Edo period, but less frequently than e.g. the one of Daikoku, because his war-like appearance simply makes him less popular. On metalwork, like *menuki*[88] and on *tsuba*[89], he appears from time to time, as well as on woodblock prints, like the one of Hokusai (**6.56**). Occasionally he is found on ceramics too, like painted on an Imari tray[90], and modelled as a seating figure in Satsuma ware (**6.57**).

6.4 Tyche and Kishimojin

In early Greek literature the word *tyche* is used frequently, often in the sense of "good fortune", while there are comparatively few cases in which *tyche* is clearly personified[91]. For Thucydides (ca. 460-402 B.C.), for example, *tyche* was no divine power, but merely a term denoting those situations which men are powerless to anticipate or control. Therefore he seems to position tyche as chance, the unforeseen element in human affairs.
As a goddess, Tyche came to prominence in Hellenistic and Roman times, being identified with the Latin Fortuna[92]. The cult spread to such an extent that to each individual a Tyche



6.58 Marble statue of Tyche of Antioch. The city is represented as the goddess, here a sort of mother-figure presiding over the affairs of her people and bringing them good fortune. The belief in a guardian deity was very old among Greek city-states. Tyche is seated here on a rock that symbolizes Mount Silpius, prominent in the topography of Antioch. The swimming youth beneath her right foot personifies the River Orontes on which Antioch was situated. Roman copy of a Greek original of 300-290 B.C. MPV

6.59 Marble statuette of Tyche holding a *cornucopia* that ensured material welfare, which the goddess might grant or deny. From the north slope of the Areopagus, Athens. Roman Imperial period, 2nd-3rd century A.D. Ancient Agora Museum, Athens

was ascribed. Yet she found no place in myth and had relatively little importance in daily life, although she was the patroness of various cities, among which Antioch, the capital of the Seleucid Empire, and Constantinople.

A famous and much copied statue was the Tyche of Antioch[93], which was sculptured soon after the foundation of the city in 300 B.C. A faithful marble replica of this work, now in the Vatican Museum, is shown in (**6.58**). Tyche, representing the city, is seated on a rock that symbolizes Mount Silpius, prominent in the topography of Antioch. She rests one foot on the shoulder of a swimming youth who personifies the River Orontes on which Antioch is situated. Her turreted crown represents the city walls. In her right hand she holds a bunch of wheat, implying fertility and prosperity. This last feature of Tyche

6.60 *Tetradrachm* issued by the Parthian king Phraates IV (38-2 B.C.), showing the king seated on a throne and facing the standing Tyche. She wears a mural crown, symbol of the city and carries a *cornucopia* and a palm branch, symbol of victory. Hirayama Collection, ISS

6.61 Stone statuette of Tyche with headdress and plain *cornucopia*. From Taxila, perhaps 3rd century A.D. NMP

is represented on a marble statuette unearthed in Athens, Greece, dating from the 2nd to 3rd century A.D., where she holds in her left hand a *cornucopia*, the magical horn of abundance (**6.59**). This attribute was given to her from the 4th century B.C. on[94] and appears on the many representations of Tyche on marble reliefs, statues and statuettes, faience amphora's and drinking vessels, gems and various coins of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods[95].

As with the Greeks, she personified the concept of chance or destiny with the Romans too, and because good fortune and misfortune are unequally and arbitrarily divided in human life, she had the reputation of being very capricious. Consequently, the Romans knew many Fortunae. Separately adored were masculine fortune (Fortuna Virilis), feminine fortune (Fortuna Muliebris), the welfare of the Roman state (Fortuna Publica Populi Romani), benevolent fortune (Fortuna Obsequens), good fortune (Fortuna Bona) and many others. Votive inscriptions, found in great numbers at Fortuna sanctuaries, show that the majority of the adherents of the goddess of fortune belonged to the lower classes of the population: slaves and small craftsmen, who felt greatly dependent on the vicissitudes of fortune.

As one of her attributes, apart from the horn of plenty, a ship's rudder is found in Roman sculptures, just as it was part of her early iconography in Greece already[96]. The rudder symbolized life's swerving from its course, entailing prosperity and adversity.

Hundreds of sculptures, reliefs, metal plaques, faience medallions, gems, paintings, glass objects, mosaics and coins survive from the Roman period depicting the image of For-

6.62 Image of Tyche, executed in unfired clay. She holds a *cornucopia*. Hadda, 3rd century A.D. After Boardman 1994, 142, fig. 4.88

6.63 Gold coin of Kanishka I, showing Ardoxho (inscription), holding a *cornucopia* on the reverse. Provenance unknown. Kushān period, ca. 127-155 A.D. BML

tuna, indicating her great popularity[97].

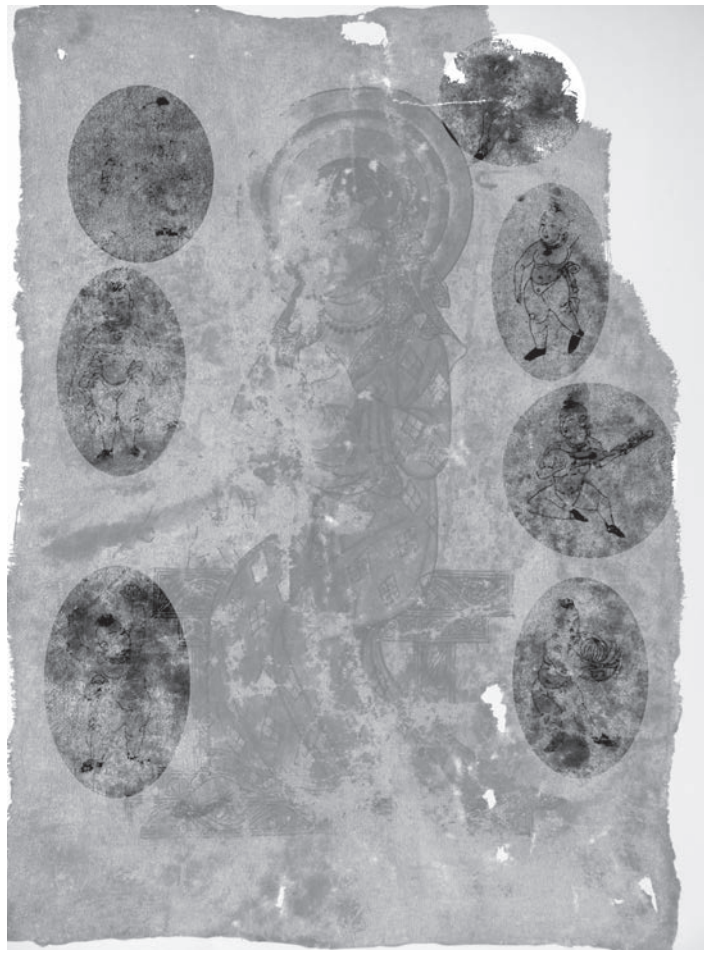
The Tyche-image spread further east. Various Seleucid kings used her image on their coins during the last three centuries B.C.[98] On the reverse of a Parthian tetradrachm, popularized around 50 B.C., a Tyche figure became predominant[99]. On a coin issued by the Parthian king Phraates IV (38-2 B.C.), the king is seated on a throne and looks towards the right, and facing him stands Tyche. She wears a mural crown, and carries a *cornucopia*, symbol of fertility, and a palm branch, symbol of victory (**6.60**). Sculptured heads of Tyche were found in Nemrud Dagh and Susa, dating from around 50 B.C. and 100 B.C.-100 A.D. periods[100], and a stone statuette of Tyche, carrying the *cornucopia*, was found in Taxila (**6.61**). From Hadda is a probably 3rd century figure in unfired clay of Tyche holding a *cornucopia*, which is re-modelled as a stalk bearing fruits (**6.62**).

In the Kushān empire, Tyche was assimilated to the Near Eastern goddess of fertility, Ardoxsho, as shown on the reverse of a Kushān coin dating from 127-155 A.D. (**6.63**). Ardoxsho was assimilated to the Indian goddess of children, Hāritī, in Gandhāran Buddhist art[101], where she is usually depicted together with her companion Pāñcika, general of *yakshas*, as shown in the sculpture unearthed from the monastery complex at Takht-i Bahi, Pakistan, dating from the 2nd century A.D. (**6.64**).

This goddess, in a former state of existence on earth, had performed many meritorious acts, yet, for the things she had left undone, she was reborn as a demon and sent to hell. There she married a demon king to whom she bore five hundred children. For the nourishment of them, she ate daily a child from the city of Rājagriha, where the Buddha was at the time studying the Brahmān philosophy, so that the people of the city appealed to him for protection. Buddha then carried off her youngest child and hid him. He told her not to lament over the loss of one child, while she had five hundred of them, being untouched by the sorrow of a mother of one or two lamenting over her loss[102]. After

6.64 Schist relief sculpture of Pāñcika and Hāritī. Unearthed at Takht-i-Bahi, Pakistan. Kushān period, 2nd century AD.. BML

6.65 Drawings of images of Hāritī found on murals in Cave no. 15 in Kumtura, Central Asia. The original *cornucopia* is redesigned to a flower on a stalk. 8th century A.D. After Le Coq 1977, 77, figs. 137-139

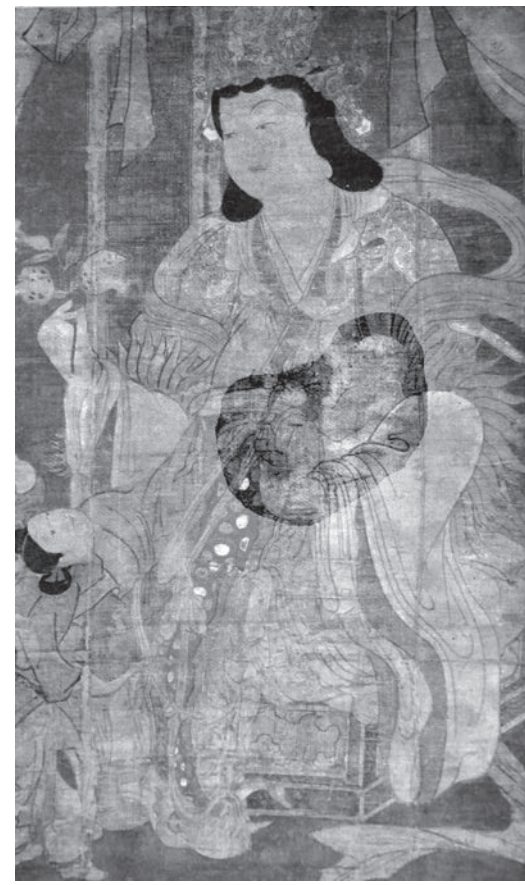


6.66 Temple banner as found by Le Coq, with Hāritī suckling a baby and eight children playing around her. From Turfan, 9th century A.D. SMB

Buddha had given her pomegranates to eat, their flavour being reputedly similar to that of young human flesh, and after she had promised to abjure human flesh, she got her child back. Buddha also promised her daily a portion of the food of his principles, and accordingly all Buddhist monks daily set aside a small portion for Hāritī. She is the guardian deity of children. Worship of Hāritī was thus incorporated into Buddhism, and as late as the mid-7th century, the Tang pilgrim Xuanzang reported that childless Gandhāran women offered sacrifices to Hāritī at the stūpa built on the supposed site where Śākyamuni converted her[103].

The Gandhāran Hāritī image was transmitted to Central Asia as findings along the silk road sites testify, for example as found in caves in Kumtura, west of Kucha, along the route north of the Tarim Basin, dating from the 8th century A.D. (**6.65 a, b** and **c**). In these depictions we see the alternative interpretation of the *cornucopia*, which is reduced to a flower on a long stalk. Le Coq found a 9th century temple banner in Turfan (**6.66**). This Central Asian painting is a schematic portrait of Hāritī, nursing a baby at her bosom and eight frisky infants arranged around her.

6.67 Pomegranate-crest on temple dedicated to Kishimojin. Japan. After Sakai 1949, vol. 1, 33



6.68 Colour painting on silk of Kishimojin suckling a baby, and another child looking up to her from the ground. Several pomegranates are depicted around her. Japan, Late Heian period, second half of 12th century A.D. Daigoji temple, Kyōto

In China Tang and Song references to statues and paintings of Hāritī in monasteries attest to her popularity in the heartland of China[104]. Also, a pomegranate was added to her iconography. The pomegranate is a Buddhist symbol. It is, as in ancient Greece, an emblem of posterity[105], owing to its numerous seeds.

The image of Hāritī holding the pomegranate was transmitted to Japan, where she is called Kishimojin or Kishibojin. The Shingon sect of Buddhism, that brought her to Japan, has kept her original name, Kariteimo. She is prayed to for offspring by women and is usually represented as holding, apart from the pomegranate, an infant. She may also be represented standing with a baby to her breast and holding a flower of happiness, or sitting down surrounded by children. The primary variation concerns the number of children portrayed around her. Many shrines were consecrated to her by the Nichiren sect. These shrines usually have a pomegranate crest (**6.67**).

A painting, dating from the second half of the 12th century in the Daigoji temple, Kyōto, shows her in full glory (**6.68**). A sculpture in wood in the Tōdaiji temple in Nara, also from

6.69 Wooden statuette with polychrome colours of seated Kishimojin holding a baby to her breast. Japan, Heian period, 12th century A.D. Tōdaiji temple, Nara

6.70 Marble relief, *metope* from the temple of Zeus in Olympia. Atlas brings Herakles the apples from the Hesperides, while Athena effortlessly helps Herakles supporting the heavens. Ca. 460 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Olympia

the Heian period, shows her seated, with a child in her left arm (the pomegranate in her right arm is missing) (**6.69**).
Her image did not change much during the centuries in Japan but her attributes do: the pomegranate may be replaced by the peach or by a lotus bud. Painted wooden statues of Kishimojin (ht. ca. 50 cm) were made during the Edo period[106], sometimes with five to ten of her thousand children around her[107]. On other Japanese artefacts like metalwork, *netsuke*, *inrō*, woodblock prints and ceramics, the image of Kishimojin seldom appears.

6.5 Atlas

According to Greek mythology, Atlas held up the sky to prevent it from falling on the earth. This was the punishment inflicted on him after he, as a Titan (s.v.), had rebelled against Zeus, the leader of the Olympian gods.

During his trip to the Garden of the Hesperides[108], Herakles avails himself to Atlas to obtain the apples of immortality that he must bring to Eurystheus. Herakles offers to hold up the skies while Atlas would fetch the apples. When he eventually returned he was in no hurry to take back the heavens, and it was only through trickery that Herakles managed to unburden himself. This episode is depicted in (**6.70**) and (**6.71**), both reliefs dating from the Archaic period (ca. 600-480 B.C.). However, during the Archaic period, Atlas as a giant is not used as a supporting architectural figure, an "atlant", e.g. in the columns of temples, where female figures were preferred[109]. This application of the male

6.71 Bronze relief. Herakles (with the apples) has returned the heavens to Atlas and moves off to the right toward Athena. Ca. 550 B.C. Antikenmuseum, Basel

6.72 An atlant supporting an acanthus-leaf *cornice* of a stone altar. Late 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D. Musée d'Aquitaine-Espérandieu, Bordeaux

Atlas, the supporter of the architrave, the atlant, was a later development, which spread during late Hellenistic and Roman times. Then he was represented as a standing or kneeling figure shown frontally, with a symmetry of the raised arms for architectonic reasons, and sometimes not completely nude[110]. There are some derivatives related mostly to the iconography of satyrs, sileni, maenads, giants, barbarians, etc., who perform the same architectural supporting function. An atlant supporting an acanthus-leaf cornice from the Hellenistic period is shown in (**6.72**). But the basic inspiration, the figure of Atlas supporting the globe, was widespread too. Examples are shown in (**6.73**) of about 50 A.D.; (**6.74**) of about 150 A.D. and (**6.75**) from about 200 A.D.

In India, the evolution of the atlantes can be traced back to the 2nd century B.C.[111]. A western Asiatic origin has been assumed, because they are frequently found in the art of Assyria and Persia in the Achaemenid period (s.v.). There they are mostly in the standing position and show both hands raised upwards in the attitude of bearing a burden. They were soon integrated into Indian art, where they are presented as *yakshas* (s.v.) or their female counterpart *yakshīs*, who in mythology are described as supernatural beings under the command of Kuvera.

As ornaments on the Buddhist stūpa at Bhārhut, dating from ca. 150 B.C., they are bearing the burden either on both shoulders or on both hands. The former did not continue long, the latter continued to evolve gradually on the later Buddhist monuments at Bodhgayā, Sāñcī, Mathurā and Amarāvati[112].
From the Western Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī are the dwarf capitals of (**6.76**), dating from ca. 50 B.C.

6.73 White marble sculpture of Atlas supporting the globe. From Cabezas de San Juan. Ca. 49 A.D. (on the base a dedication to Claudius). Archaeological Museum, Seville

6.74 Marble sculpture known as the "Atlas Farnese". From Rome (?). Ca. 150 A.D. MAN

On a railing pillar at Bodhgayā (ca. 75 B.C.) a row of winged atlantes are sitting at ease with one leg reposing on the ground and the knee of the other lifted, and with both hands elevated (**6.77**). The wings are said to display an Achaemenid influence[113], in line with the assumption that the origin of these atlantes could be Persian.

Such a Persian connection may derive from the fact that long-distance trade between Central Asia and other centres of civilization certainly existed in the pre-Alexander period. For example the heavy traffic of lapis lazuli, mined in the Badakshan Mountains of eastern Bactria can be followed outward to Mesopotamia as well as to India[114]. Also the circulation of Greek coins in Bactria before Alexander suggests that long-distance commercial contacts were fostered throughout the Persian period. This does not mean *direct* exchange, but rather Achaemenid support of an imperial economy (based largely on Greek coinage), which provided for "middle-men" all across the Iranian plateau between Greece and Bactria[115]. Moreover, as discussed in par. 2.4, Greek artistic traditions penetrated into Bactria, as excavations of a temple site dating from Achaemenid times at Takht-i-Sangin prove.

Foucher observed about the ornament of (**6.77**) that the winged atlantes were adopted by the earlier school of Bodhgayā *before* the Gandhāran school was born, i.e. by the

6.75 Small bronze sculpture. Atlas, kneeling, lifts his arms to support the globe, now lost. From Romania (Dacia). Ca. 200 A.D. Transylvanian Historical Museum, Cluj-Napoca

6.76 Dwarf atlants on the Western Gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī. Ca. 50 B.C. After Marshall 2000, fig. 12

end of the 1st century B.C., and that this influence from the West was Iranian "or even Greek"[116]. Foucher was writing in the early decades of the 20th century and by then there was a lack of evidence for any continuing Hellenizing arts in Bactria and Gandhāra after the 4th century B.C. But this changed after excavations during the last decades of the 20th century, especially at Ai Khanum in Afghanistan on the Oxus River. There a French academic mission unearthed a complete Hellenistic city in 1965-1968, indicating that by 140 B.C., when the city was destroyed, classical forms were assimilated to local styles and customs[117].

We know also that, from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. on, northern India felt Greek cultural influence. By ca. 150 B.C. Greco-Bactrian rule had reached at least into the Upper Indus Valley up to Taxila and a little later further south towards the River Ganges[118].

Moreover, the presumed Achaemenid influence in India was already questioned by the middle of the 20th century. Bussagli noted that "…archaeological evidence of Achaemenid rule in India is very scanty … We cannot therefore advance any definite theories about the influence Achaemenid art may have exercised in India"[119]

It has been suggested that the distinguishing feature between the Asiatic atlantes of Assyria and Achaemenid Persia, of which the Indian ones were presumed to derive, and

6.77 Relief on the railing of the stūpa at Bodhgayā, with a representation of the sun in a chariot drawn by four horses. Above, winged *yakshas* supporting the structure. Ca. 100 B.C. After Coomaraswamy 1965, fig. 61

6.78 Decoration on the so-called "Archemoros Vase", found at Ruvo, Italy. Atlas holds the heavens with both hands. Mid 4th century B.C. MAN

the classical ones is that the former bear the burden on both hands and the latter on the shoulders or back[120]. However, this observation may very well be based on misinterpretation. In Greece during the 6th to 4th centuries B.C., as well as in the Roman Empire, Atlas is seen to support the globe with both arms lifted up, and -inevitably because of the curved shape of the globe between his arms- his burden also touches his shoulders[121]. There is a Greek example dating from the 4th century B.C. with Atlas supporting with both hands the celestial dome, which is completely flat at the bottom, suggesting its infinite dimensions (**6.78**). Here the similarity of the pose with the Indian *yaksha*-examples supporting the flat bottom of a lintel of a stūpa is striking.
Thus, the difference is that in Indian art the globe has been replaced by the lintel, while the formula is exactly the same.
Therefore, from the above, it may be conjectured with some confidence that the Indian *yaksha*-atlant with both arms held up was inspired by Greek examples, not Achaemenid-Persian ones.

In Gandhāra, the statuary of Atlas frequently supports the architectural structure, crouching at the ends of stūpas or relief panels. One of the earliest examples, dating from the

6.79 Crouching atlant, one of the earliest examples from Gandhāra. 1st century A.D. Museum Lahore, India

6.80 A *yaksha*-atlant of the Herakles-type. From Jamālgarhi. Early 2nd century A.D. IMC

1st century A.D., is now in the Lahore Museum (**6.79**). It has crudely modelled wings and the leafy wreath twined in the hair could point to influence of the Dionysos cult[122]. Dating from the first decades of the 2nd century A.D. is the atlant from Jamālgarhi of the Herakles type (**6.80**). A somewhat later example, dated to about 200 A.D., is shown in (**6.81**). This muscular, winged statue of Atlas wears a pair of boots and bears a heavy beard, reflecting the strong influence of Greco-Roman culture. On the other hand, the potbelly reveals the influence of the Indian *yaksha*.

Atlantes are familiar at all periods of Gandhāran art, where the characteristics of the Hellenistic Atlas and the Indian *yaksha* coexist and blend to become a Hellenized *yaksha*. Various examples of the Kurita inventory are shown in (**6.82**). One of the typical features is that in Gandhāra the atlantes are in a sitting or kneeling pose, not standing, often with one of the knees bended and turned upward. This attitude of arms and legs closely resembles that of the crouching Atlas of a Silenus-type of Hellenistic-Roman origin in the Dionysos theatre at Athens[123] (**6.83**).

Alternately, they are seated with crossed legs. They bear their burden either directly on the head or in one or both hands (**6.84**).

At Begram Indian ivory statuettes and boxes have been found, which carry evident traces of western influence, as discussed in Chapter 3, par. 3.6. They are dated to the 1st century A.D. Among them is a statuette of a seated *yaksha*-atlant lifting a lotus vase *pūrnaghata* (s.v.) with both hands (**6.85**).

The combination of an atlant with a vase of lotus is said to be an innovation of the Mathurā School of sculpture[124]. Obviously the concept of the lotus vase supported

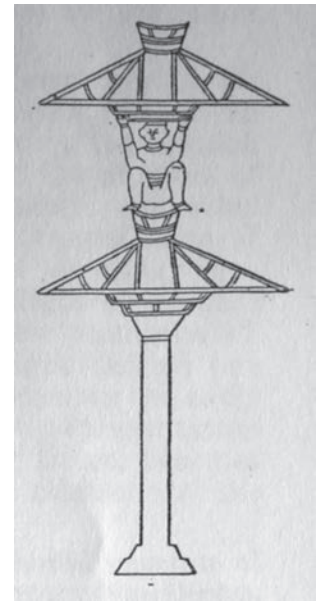
6.81 Schist sculpture of Atlas, reflecting strong Greco-Roman influence. Gandhāra. Ca. 200 A.D. BML

6.82 Gandhāran atlantes in various postures. 3rd-5th century A.D. After Kurita 2003, vol. II, 158 and 159

6.83 Crouching Silenian Atlas in the Dionysos theatre at Athens. 1st century B.C. After Ecke 1930, 67, fig. 6

6.84 *Yakshī* (s.v.) figure supporting the throne of Buddha. Gandhāra, n.d. Museum für Volkenkunde, Berlin

6.85 Lotus vase supported by a *yaksha*-atlant. Drawing of an ivory statuette found at Begram. 1st century A.D. After Gairola 1956, 141, fig. 7



6.86 Drawing of an atlant-figure occurring in a bas-relief in Jiaxiang county. China, Eastern Han period (25-220 A.D.). After Ecke 1930, 68, fig. 8a

6.87 Back of a stele decorated with squatting atlant. China, Northern Wei period (386-535 A.D.). Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome

6.88 Relief with an atlant-figure supporting a lotus vase. China, Northern Wei period (386-535 A.D.), 6th century. Municipal Museum of Art, Ōsaka

6.89 Figures on the pedestal of the Yakushiji temple. The central figure is of the atlant-type. Japan, 8th century A.D. Yakushiji temple, Nara

6.90 Large (ca. 1.80 m) bronze incense burner reportedly from "one of the temples in Kyōto". It is said to be modelled by Tauchi and founded by Yaki Yatsushiro in 1824. After Gonse 1883, vol. 1, 77 and vol. 2, 72.

6.91 Standing bodhisattva, supported by squatting Atlas-figure. Gandhāra, ca. 3rd century AD. After Kurita 2003, vol. II, 29, no. 62.

6.92 "Athena slab" from the Pergamon Altar, showing Athena fighting the Giants. Gaia, the Earth-goddess, is rising from the ground to the height of half her body. SMB

by the *yaksha*-atlant, of which a classical origin may at least be suspected, migrated to Gandhāra.

The image of the atlant as an architectural supporter diffused to China[125]. We meet the type in the bas-reliefs of a two-storied gateway in Jiaxiang county, dating from the Eastern Han period (25-220 A.D.), as illustrated in (**6.86**). The squatting figure rests on the lower roof with his legs apart, the outstretched arms and the head serving to support the roof. "Kindred" to this Atlas, as Ecke[126] calls it, is the Atlas figure on a stele, now in the Museo di Palazzo Venezia at Rome, dating from the Northern Wei period (386-535 A.D.) (**6.87**). Bussagli refers to this latter figure as of Gandhāran inspiration[127], understandably in the light of the Begram ivory as mentioned above. The example given by Bussagli is not an exception: the lotus-vase supported on the relief in Ōsaka Museum as shown in (**6.88**), also dating from the Northern Wei period, is of similar design. Thus, according to this line of thinking, the image of the Hellenized *yaksha* of Gandhāra travelled east to China.

Subsequently Bussagli linked the Chinese Atlant-figure of (**6.87**) directly to the supporting figure on the pedestal of the Yakushi statue in the Yakushiji temple at Nara, Japan, dating from the 8th century A.D.[128] (**6.89**).

The process as suggested above gives weight to the statement of Boardman, when he noted about the atlantes-figures in Gandhāra: "The motif of kneeling males, sometimes winged, supporting an entablature, can only derive from classical atlantes similarly occupied"[129], and "the atlantes can be followed into China and Japan"[130]. Surely the motif has inspired Japanese artists (**6.90**).

The appearance of the artistic formula of the Atlas in Japan has –as far as known to the present author- never been further explored before in detail. A connection between the classical Atlas and e.g. the image in the Yakushiji temple in Nara may therefore be not incidental, and the full implication is yet to be considered.
Moreover, it is a challenging question whether the figure, half submerged in the ground, which regularly supports Vaiśravana[131] with both hands in Chinese (**6.53**) and Japanese (**6.54**) art, is to be related, *qua* artistic formula, to the classical Atlas as well. This is the more so in view of the image of the standing bodhisattva from Gandhāra of (**6.91**), supported by the winged Atlas-figure, showing strong Greco-Roman influence.

To prevent misunderstanding about the issue here, the different types of figures supporting the bodhisattva and Vaiśravana respectively are to be noted.
The former is a squatting Atlas-type of *yaksha*, as discussed above in this paragraph, inspired by Atlas of classical antiquity. Atlas was an offspring of Gaia, the Earth, and one of the old chthonic deities who were overcome by the Olympians.
The latter is related to Gaia. In Greek mythology Gaia (s.v.) is the ancestress of minor chthonic deities, just as in Indian mythology the *yakshas*, chthonic demons, became the subordinates of Kuvera (Vaiśravana)[132]. Gaia is represented e.g. on the Pergamon Altar, erected in 180 B.C., depicting the fight of Zeus and Athena against the Giants (s.v.) (**6.92**). She is shown as a large figure rising from the ground to the height of half her body. At the left is the Giant Alkyoneos who stretches towards his mother Gaia, for he cannot be killed if he maintains contact with her. From the right the winged Nike moves in with a wreath of victory for Athena.

The motif of the rising Gaia has been adopted by the Gandhāra School. On a Gandhāran relief the earth-goddess, as Foucher has it, "…lève les deux bras comme pour supporter le siège [de Buddha] à la manière d'un Atlante"[133].
Obviously in Gandhāra, the atlant-*yaksha* as well as a Gaia-derived figure served in a supporting function, with both hands above the head.
In the present context the point is that in either case the classical model of Atlas was probably the inspiration.

7 AIRBORNE DEITIES

In Archaic Greece, primitive popular belief was familiar with winged wind deities, like Harpies (s.v.) and Boreas, the wind god himself. However, it is presumed that it was from the Near East that the Greeks received the stimulus to represent in art their winged deities.

In the Neo-Assyrian empire (ca. 911-612 B.C.), for example, the practical affairs of daily life were thought to be controlled by all sorts of minor deities of two kinds: benevolent guardian spirits and evil demons. Many of them were given wings, like the benevolent one of (**7.1**) and the evil Pazuzu (**7.2**). These wings are typically curved and were disseminated to Greece, where we find them e.g. on early depictions of the Gorgon Medusa in exactly the same form, signalling the Near Eastern elements in its origin[1] (**7.3**).
The same type of wing was probably[2] attached to Nike in her supposed first winged representation in an early 6th century B.C. sculpture by Archermos on Delos[3], and on an archaic torso of the goddess on the Athenian Acropolis[4].
During the 6th century this form of wing seems to have been maintained for the standing figure of Nike, as the terracotta statuette from South Italy, dating from around 500 B.C. suggests (**7.4**).

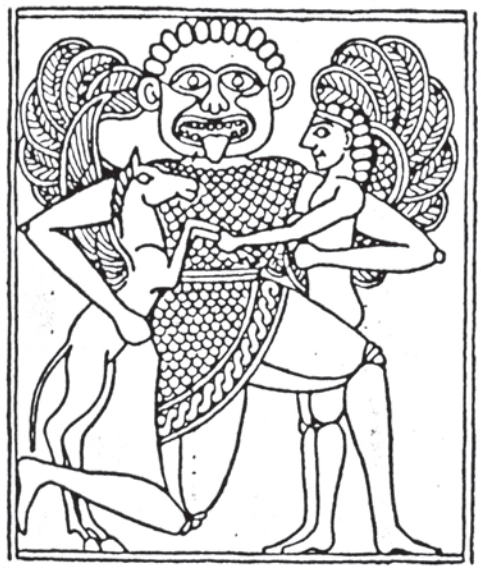
The iconography of Nike in this early period is not always easy to distinguish from the one of Iris. Nike is sometimes represented with the *kerykeion*, Iris' most characteristic attribute[5]. By that time, also Boreas was regularly -in standing posture- equipped with these curved wings, which leave no doubt about their Persian origin (**6.2**) and (**6.3**). In motion, however, the wings attain already a more naturalistic shape, as shown on a *lekythos*, dating from ca. 500 B.C., where Erotes pursue Atalanta (**7.5**). Soon after, in Greece, the wings generally loose their archaic stylisation. Our interest is particularly directed towards depictions of the flying Nike and Eros in Greek art.

Nike is the goddess of victory in Greek religion, especially in contests, be it athletic or military. The Athenians dedicated her statue in Delphi after the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C.
She is seen on vases, either standing or flying, crowning women of victorious beauty or craftsmen of extraordinary skill. She is depicted in preparing the fight, athletic or musical contest. She stands or flies over the chariot of the victorious mortal charioteer. This invention of the winged Nike is used on a large scale by the Greek artists as a decorative attribute.

Various examples of the flying Nike have been found, dating from the Archaic and Classical periods, apart from the many more, where she is, winged, standing or walking[6].
On an amphora, now in the Louvre museum, Paris, dating from ca. 500 B.C., the flying Nike is depicted with in her left hand a *phiale* and in her right hand a spouted jug[7]. On a *lekythos* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, dating from 470 B.C. she flies with in each hand a lotus-branch[8], while on a red-figure vessel of about the same date she carries a ribbon in both hands[9]. Other attributes she may carry in her hands are a harp, a helmet, a shield, a small writing table and a branch.

7.1 Winged human-headed benevolent demon. Probably one of a pair guarding a gateway or a king. Assyrian bas-relief. Ca. 8th century B.C. After Larousse 1969, 69

7.2 The demon Pazuzu, «king of evil spirits of the air». 800-700 B.C. MLP



7.3 Sketch of bronze relief, shield and band from Olympia. Winged Medusa with Pegasos and Chrysaor. Ca. 620 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Olympia

7.4 Statuette of Nike, from South Italy, 500-480 B.C. PGL

Two examples of the flying Nike from the late Archaic-early Classical period are shown on red-figure vases in (**7.6**), dating from ca. 500 B.C., where she is presenting a wreath to a youth, and (**7.7**), dating from ca. 450, where she is playing the harp. But, again, generally speaking, the number of representations of Nike in flight is small with respect to the instances where she is seen in a different posture.

Her image is seen on a coin from Classical period Sicily, minted in Syracuse around 400 B.C. (**7.8**), where she is hovering above the victorious charioteer, ready to crown him with a wreath[10]. In a 4th century B.C. tomb near Panticapeum on the Crimea golden earrings were found in the form of flying Nikes[11].

During the Hellenistic period the flying Nike continued to appear on coins and works of art. The image spread all over the Mediterranean regions as the finds on mainland Greece, Peloponnesus, islands as Rhodes and Kos, Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor testify[12]. The popularity of the image was certainly related to the mental atmosphere of the Hellenistic period, where the idea of swiftness, success and victory, especially of Alexander on the battle-field, matched very well with the winged Nike in straight flight, the crown of victory in her hand. The Diadochus Demetrios, after his great naval victory over Ptolemy off Cyprus in 306 B.C., issued a series of tetradrachms with the figure of the flying Nike, blowing the trumpet of victory[13].

On a frieze on the altar of Zeus at Pergamon, Zeus and his daughter Athena are fighting the giants. The sculpture dates from about 180 B.C. (**7.9**). We see the winged Nike hovering towards Athena with a crown. In the same capacity she is seen on the east pediment of the Parthenon (**7.10**).

Many examples exist of the free flying Nike, modelled in jewellery, like the earrings from the Peloponnesus, now in the National Museum Copenhagen, or the golden Nike figure holding a wreath in the Bibliothèque National, Paris, dating from the late 4th century B.C.[14].

Victoria is the Roman equivalent of Nike. Already in the early 3rd century B.C. temples were dedicated to the goddess in commemoration of military victories[15] and her image maintained to be connected with military success. Therefore, she was frequently related to the god of war, Mars. The image of the Greek Nike was adopted by the Romans under Etruscan and Hellenistic influence.

Victoria was represented in all sorts of postures, like standing, walking, kneeling and flying, holding a large variety of attributes in her hand, like a *cornucopeia*, palmbranch, *patera*, sword, shield, garland or wreath, all very similar to the Greek examples.

A small selection of the surviving images of Victory indicates the ubiquity of the motif in the Roman Republic and Empire[16]. The flying Victory, our primary interest, however, seems to have been much less frequent than the image of Victory in different postures. However, examples are the two on a relief-carved arche of a portal in Rome, dating from ca. 75 A.D. (**7.11**); a terracotta lamp, now in the Royal Museum in Brussels, dating from the 1st century A.D. (**7.12**), where two Victories hold a shield; a marble sarcophagus from Ravenna, Italy, dated about 130 A.D., where two Victories hold a tablet (**7.13**), and a marble relief above a portal in Rome, now in the National Museum in Rome, dating from about 300 A.D., where two Victories are shown holding a heraldic trophy (**7.14**).

7.5 Attic white-ground *lekythos*. Atalanta pursued by Eros, holding a wreath. Ca. 500 B.C. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland

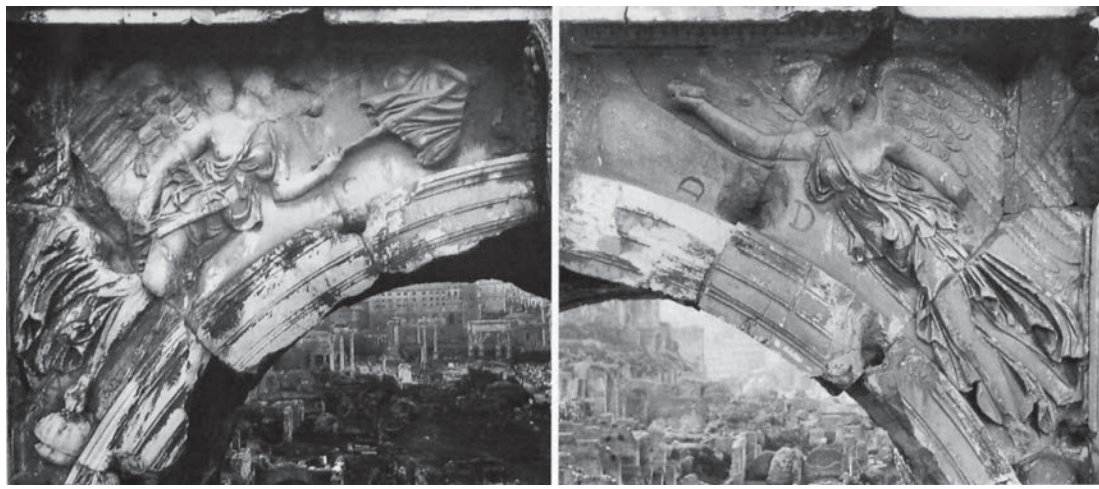
7.6 Red figure *oinochoe*. Youth with Nike holding a wreath. Ca. 500 B.C. SMB

7.7 Red figure *lekythos* with Nike. Ca. 500 B.C. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

7.8 Silver decadrachm from Syracuse, with Nike holding a wreath above a charioteer. After Carradice and Price 1988, plt. 6, fig. 82

7.9 Large frieze of the altar of Zeus at Pergamon: Athena fighting giants, with Nike flying towards her with a crown. 182-165 B.C. SMB (see **6.92**)

7.10 Part of a marble cylindrical altar. Roman copy of a 4th century B.C. original. Museo Arqeologico, Madrid



7.11 Relief-carved arche of Titus, Rome. ca. 75 A.D. After Lexicon 1997, VIII, 2, fig. 248

7.12 Terracotta lamp. 1st century A.D. Musées Royaux, Brussels

7.13 Marble sarcophagus, Ravenna. Ca. 130 A.D. After Lexicon 1997, VIII, 2, fig. 252

7.14 Marble relief, arch of Constantine. Ca. 300 A.D. MNR

The image of the flying Victory continued to be used in the Late Roman Empire. On the so-called cameo of Constantine, dated around 320 A.D., she is presenting a wreath to the emperor and his wife, possibly to be interpreted here as Dionysos and Ariadne (**7.15**). Also on a column from Ahnas, just south of Kayum, Egypt, dating from about 400 A.D., the two flying Victories are in the typical posture, holding the image of a head (**7.16**). Then, gradually, Christian influence increased, turning them into angels, which served, therefore, as a continuation of the classical motif[17], such as on an intaglio from Rome (or Ravenna?), now in the Hermitage, dating from ca. 423 A.D. (**7.17**).

7.15 Cameo of Constantine. Victory is presenting a wreath to the Emperor and his wife, possibly to be interpreted here as Dionysos and Ariadne. Ca. 320 A.D. Geldmuseum, Utrecht.

7.16 From a column at Ahnas, south of Kayum, Egypt. Ca. 400 A.D. After Le Coq 1977, 86, fig. 170

Eros is the god of love in Greek mythology, not the mature love between "married" people, but the violent physical desire that comes suddenly and unbalances its victims. He is young and beautiful, he walks over flowers, and roses are his favourite plant of which he makes his crown. But he is dangerous because his power brings peril.

In art he seems to grow gradually younger: he is seen as a fairly grown-up boy in the Archaic period, then as a young boy in classical art, and becomes finally a playful *putto* in the Hellenistic age.

In Archaic times, the identification of the winged Eros between the many other winged characters is not always easy, also because the figures are often depicted without a pictorial context. From the 5th century B.C. on, the presentation of Eros becomes very clear and numerous examples survive showing the god in action[18].

7.17 Intaglio from Italy, probably Rome. Ca. 423 A.D. HMP

7.18 Eros on a red figure Attic cup. Ca. 500 B.C. Museo Archeologico, Florence

7.19 Two Eros-images on a red figure vase around a large palmette. Ca. 500 B.C. Schloss Fasanerie, Adolphseck, Germany

Some aspects of the flying Eros images, on which we focus in this work, are interesting to note. In the majority of the cases, but there are exceptions, Eros is represented alone and not in the dual confronting form. Very often the legs are seen in a kick-back pose. The images of the flying Eros are relatively few in number with respect to the representations in other poses, but in absolute numbers their appearance must have been considerable.

A typical example is the flying Eros on a Attic cup, now in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, of ca. 510 B.C., where he holds a rose-branch (**7.18**). Of the same date, on a *lekythos*, there are two Eros-images around a large palmette (**7.19**). A figurine representing Aphrodite attended by Erotes was already shown in (**1.26**). From the Hellenistic period is a metal cup, now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, dating from ca. 200 B.C., decorated with eight flying Eros-images, each holding a crown (**7.20**). Their posture is very much like that of Victories, but the indication of the male genitals discloses that Eros-images were intended here.

Eros was introduced in Italy by the 5th century B.C. The Romans called him Amor or Cupid. Examples from the Roman world are Amor on a mosaic from North-Africa, dating from the 2nd century A.D. (**7.21**); on a marble sarcophagus from Rome, dating from about 275 A.D., two flying Victories holding a shield were carved in the centre, while two standing Cupids, one in each corner, hold a garland (**7.22**). Also standing, and becoming part of an increasingly complicated design, are the examples of (**7.23**) on a Roman sarcophagus, dating from about 375 A.D. in the Vatican Museum, decorated with *putti* harvesting grapes, and (**7.24**), also on a sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum, of about 300 A.D., where we see the Christian motif of the "good shepherd", three times depicted and surrounded by *putti* harvesting grapes, but also some of them in the flying posture. (**7.25**) shows the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome, dating from the 4th century A.D., where, again, we meet the *putti* harvesting fruit.

The ubiquity of the Eros and Amor image, in all its different postures, in the Greek and Roman world must have been impressing, and so it was in the Orient, where in all regions and in all periods Eros/Amor is not differently represented since the Hellenistic period. He is figured there in the same sceneries, the same types, the same schemes in many different contexts. But, again, the appearance of the flying Eros seems to have been much less frequent than the presentations where he is up-right, or seated or sleeping[19].

In Indian Vedic literature the *gandharvas* and the *kinnaras* form the orchestra at the banquets of the gods and belong, together with the *apsarasas*, to Indra's heaven[20]. Of these, the *kinnaras*, with their man-bird appearance, do not particularly concern us here.
The wingless *gandharvas*, originally, are characterized by their erect position, their singing in a dancing pose holding a lute or a charming stick or other musical instruments[21]. The *apsarasas*, their concubines and also wingless, were primarily engaged in dancing[22]. The Sanskrit term *apsaras* is composed of two words, *apah*, meaning water, and *sarasah*, signifying a reservoir of water[23], and hence the nomenclature *apsaras* is attached to clouds and the creature seems to have been a personification of vapour.

In early Indian art, winged flying deities are found in a pose which strongly recalls the

7.20 Metal cup with Erotes holding a crown. Ca. 200 B.C. MAN

7.21 Mosaic depicting a construction place with cupids holding a wreath. 2nd century A.D. Bardo Museum, Tunis

7.22 Relief on a marble sarcophagus. Rome, ca. 275 A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

7.23 *Putti* harvesting grapes. Ca. 375 A.D. MPV

7.24 Christian motifs of the Good Shepherd, with *putti*. Ca. 300 A.D. MPV

7.25 Lid of a Roman sarcophagus. 4th century A.D. Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome

7.26 A relief-scene from the railing of a stūpa at Bhārhut. India, 1st century B.C. IMC

7.27 Relief from the railing of a stūpa at Bhārhut. India, 1st century B.C. IMC

classical Nike/Eros figures, on a stūpa in Bhārhut, dating from the 1st century B.C. (**7.26**). Another example from Bhārhut is shown in (**7.27**). This image obviously persisted for at least a century in this middle-Indian area, because it is found -winged again- at Sāñcī too, datable to the 1st century A.D. (**7.28**). It is curious that Tanaka calls these deities "angels"[24]. These images and their classical pedigree will be further discussed later in this Chapter.

Floating[25] *gandharvas* are represented in Indian art, during the early Kushān period (late 1st century A.D.-3rd century A.D.) on a relatively small scale. A fragmentary sculpture in the Mathurā Museum is reported, where "some divine or semi-divine beings in a worshipping attitude flying as indicated by the position of their legs and carrying cabbage-like bouquets from which they are showering flowers. They are muscular and robust figures wearing garments below the navel up to the anklet, the plait of the *dhotī* flying in folds and the upper garment flying in the air over the shoulders with the swift movement of their body through the sky"[26]. Note that the suggestion of flight is established here in particular from the attitude of the legs, but also from the modelling of the garment, a Hellenistic feature.

Ghose[27] shows one of the few early-Kushān Buddhist examples, a sandstone stele from Mathurā, dated ca. 100 A.D., carved with the image of the seated Buddha Śākyamuni with two floating *gandharvas* hovering above (**7.29**). Also from the 1st century A.D. are some Jain votive tablets, presumably found at Mathurā[28], an important center of Jainism (s.v.)

7.28 Panel on the Eastern Gateway of a stūpa at Sāñcī. India, ca. 100 A.D. After Tanaka 1998, ill. 8c

7.29 Sandstone stele from Mathurā. India, ca. 100 A.D. NMD

at the time. Part of the decoration consists of floating celestials[29]. An example is shown in (**7.30**) where, enclosed within a square, is a large circle that represents the heavens. The innermost circle closest to the axis is decorated with a Jina image, while the outer circle is decorated with floating celestial beings.

Importantly, in these last two examples, the billowing scarves have been modelled emphatically behind and above the floating celestials to support the suggestion of movement. It has been indicated that these buoyant scarves first appeared on Hellenistic sky deities, such as the wind gods[30], and then were borrowed by the Indian Buddhist artists at Mathurā to be used on *apsarasas*[31].

Further examples of floating *gandharvas* during the Kushān period are only occasionally found, as on a Buddhist *tympanum* from Mathurā, dated 2nd century A.D.[32] and on the *stūpa* at Amarāvati[33] (**7.31**) and at Nāgārjunakonda (**7.32**), both dating from the 2nd to 3rd centuries A.D. Again here, the act of flying is suggested by the kick-back pose of the legs, while the body itself is almost vertical.

During the Gupta period (320-647 A.D.), however, examples of floating *gandharvas* become less occasional, so it seems. Although Panchamukhi only mentions one example on a Śiva temple in Bhumara, dating from the 5th century A.D.[34], Khandalavala (1991) and Randhawa (1985) show several above a Jina figure. In a Jainistic-context the motif started to become in vogue during the 5th century A.D.[35], but that does not mean that the Buddhist artists did not use the floating image at all. Harle[36] shows an example from Mathurā in connection with a seated Jina figure, and another, from Sāñcī [37] with a seated Buddha, both from the 5th century.

It is during the early years of the subsequent Cālukyan period (western peninsular

7.30 Jain votive tablet of red sandstone from Mathurā. India, Early Kushān Period. 1st century A.D. State Museum, Lucknow, India

7.31 Slab of the stūpa from Amarāvati. India, ca. 200 A.D. NMD

India, conquering eastward, 550-end 12th century A.D.) and the Pallava period (eastern peninsular India, conquering southward, 500-800 A.D.) that, much more generally, their presence becomes rather frequent. An example from a temple at Aihole, Bījāpur district (about 300 km south-east of Bombay), and dating from the 7th century A.D., is shown in (**7.33**). Here, as seems the tendency of the period, the *gandharva*-image is combined with the *apsaras*-image, both in floating posture. The bodies are almost vertical or slightly bending forward, while the impression of flight is, again, mainly established by the kick-back of one leg. Note also that the billowing scarf, borrowed from Hellenistic Greece, has been accurately maintained and obviously persisted into this period. Nowhere, as far as we know, is a single sign of the *gandharva* or *apsaras* in flight with the body depicted horizontally.

Characteristic features of these *gandharva*-sculptures of the early Cālukyan period (7th century) are: (1) their erect floating pose, (2) *gandharvas* being flanked or accompanied by *apsarasas*, (3) holding in their hands either flowers/fruits in trays ready to offer or a sword and shield in a fighting attitude, (4) they are profusely decorated with a crown set with pearls or precious stones and other ornaments, (5) dressed in long, seemingly flowing garments, (6) sometimes they are in the act of playing upon musical instruments, or worshipping gods in shrines.

Most distinctively, however, is their floating pose in the act of offering flowers or fruits[38], but, again, it is emphasized that the increasingly frequent presence of this iconography pertains to the 7th century and later[39].

The central question of this Chapter is: where do the flying and floating beings, often seen in Central Asian and Chinese Buddhist cave-art and generally called *apsarasas* come from.

Often the answer will be simple and direct: they derive from Indian religious tradition.

7.32 Slab of stūpa from Nāgārjunakonda. India, ca. 200 A.D. NMD

7.33 Sculptured slabs from a temple at Aihole. India, 7th century A.D. After Panchamukhi 1951, plt. 6

Implicitly this means that the supposed underlying process of migration is that they were carried by Buddhism from India, via Gandhāra and Central Asia to China. However, there are some problems attached to such a presumed process.

Roman elements, together with Parthian and Iranian, in Gandhāran art have been established at many instances by many scholars[40], as well as the fact that artistic influences from the Kushān Empire, i.e. from Gandhāra and from the northern Indian city of Mathurā, with its traditional Indian aesthetic, migrated throughout Central Asia to China.

During the 3rd to 5th centuries A.D., the oasis kingdoms along the Silk Road, such as Kucha and Khotan, flourished as commercial centres[41], and when, during the 5th century, the Buddhist cave complexes were constructed, often the multicultural character of the art-style became manifest in the amalgam of Gandhāran, Gupta Indian, and Sasanian Persian elements in the sculpture and paintings of the cave temples.
This style strongly influenced the art-style of the Buddhist caves in the Gansu-area in north-west China, such as at Dunhuang, Binglingsi and at Maijishan[42]. Thus, Gandhāran elements, among others, are found throughout Gansu[43]. In almost all of these caves flying (and floating) *apsarasas* are part of the design of the wall paintings[44], and therefore one would expect at least to some, if not a considerable, extent the presence of the flying-deity-posture in the art of Gandhāra.

However, flying deities in the posture familiar to us from the classical Nike and Eros, are almost absent in Gandhāran art. A particular caveat has to be entered here about this

7.34 Relief carving from Gandhāra, showing Buddha and Vajrapāni (at the right) and two monks (at the left) adoring a pillar (middle). Above, winged *putti* scatter flowers and praise the Buddha. 2nd century A.D. ISS

7.35 The visit of Indra to Buddha. From Giri. First half of 2nd century A.D. Taxila Museum, Taxila

statement: in discussing sculptures from Gandhāra it is to be realized that securely dating is problematic. Taking this into account, inevitably, the next lines are to be interpreted with due caution.

During the period of Greco-Roman influence in Gandhāra, i.e. until the Kushāns were overthrown by the Sasanians in the 3rd century A.D., a substantial number of Erotes on architectural reliefs in schist may be encountered, but these are all of the upright winged-*putto* type[45].

Roman-style exceptions are the two flying winged Erotes, one behind the other, on a cornice from Swāt Valley, presumably dating from the 1st century A.D.[46] and the winged *putti* from Gandhāra, presumably dating from the 2nd century A.D., and now in the Institute of Silk Road Studies in Kanagawa, Japan[47] (**7.34**).

A peculiar decoration is found on a relief, presumably dating from the first half of the 2nd century A.D., but possibly somewhat later, from the monastery of Giri at Taxila, where two wingless figures are in a rather steep diving posture, together with two others in an upright position, emptying flower baskets above the head of Buddha (**7.35**). The scenery represents the Visit of Indra to Buddha. Marshall [48] says about these *devas* as he calls them, "note, in passing, how skilfully the flying ends of the scarves are used to enhance the sense of rapid movement as well as to indicate ... that the figures are of celestial birth. ...the rhythmic grouping of the celestials and the happy conception of their flowers tribute to the Buddha are unique in Gandhāran art."

Czuma gives an example of the Visit of Indra to Buddha on a grey schist relief from

Gandhāra, possibly from the 2nd century A.D., where three figures in the floating pose are depicted[49], and in the busy scenery of the death of Buddha from Swāt Valley, now in the Calcutta Museum and possibly from ca. 200 A.D., some floating figures can be detected[50]. However, apart from some exceptions as indicated above, generally the paucity of this image in Gandhāra during the Kushān period is conspicuous[51].
Remarkable also is the fact that Coomaraswamy, discussing the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra in the period from 50-320 A.D.[52] does not mention *gandharvas*, *apsarasas*, *vidyadharas* or *devas* at all, not where he specifies motifs current in pre-Gandhāran Indian art, nor where he mentions the leading Gandhāran forms which do not occur in India.

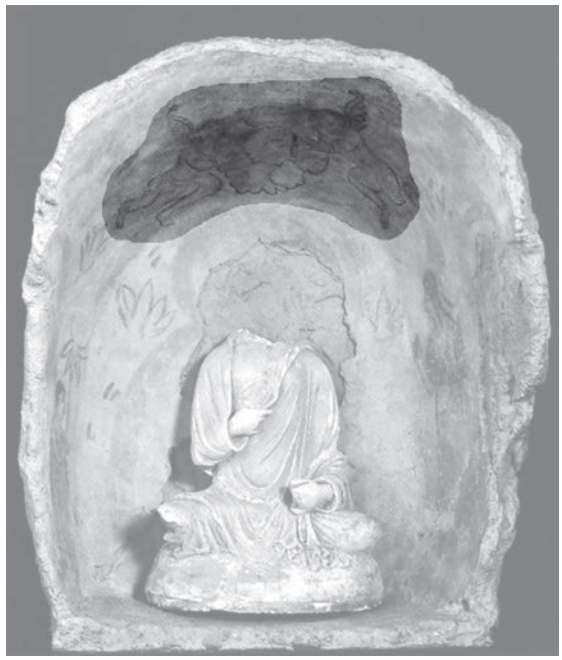
Of course there is a danger to be misled: what is known is only a part of what was produced in stone, and what was executed in stone was only a part of the total production[53].
Therefore, it is only safe to conclude that, in the Gandhāran art of the Kushān period and as far as the flying posture as well as the floating pose is concerned, neither a Greco-Roman heritage nor an Indian heritage is clearly visible. Possibly this may be explained by the fact that, first, as we have seen, the flying posture of the Nike and Eros images in the Roman world only comprise a small percentage of the total iconography of these deities, and, second, the presence of a floating-deity image in Mathurān art of this period is meagre too, and then in the Jainistic context rather than in the Buddhist one.

Additional circumstantial support of this may perhaps be found in the absence of the flying or floating deity image in the caves of Miran[54]. It is recalled that the influence of Gandhāran art in the paintings of the Miran caves is very strong, to an extent that Miran has sometimes been called an "outpost of Gandhāran art", and that artisans from Gandhāra, who fled from the invasion of the Sasanians of the Kushān Empire during the mid-3rd century may have populated Miran[55]. The paintings in the earliest Miran caves presumably date from the second half of the 3rd century[56]. The most famous of these are the images of the very Roman winged "angels" as shown in (**3.2**), but these are not in the flying or floating pose we are investigating here.

During the later phases of Gandhāran art, i.e. during Sasanian rule, more Indian elements, mainly those derived from Mathurā, were absorbed and Gandhāran art started to reflect a more Indianized style[57]. But this style-element, obviously, was not strong enough to cause the image of the flying or floating deity to appear in Gandhāran art during the first centuries of Sasanian rule either[58].
Noteworthy, however, are the two winged, typically Roman flying cupids painted on a small stucco niche from Hadda, now in the Musée Guimet, Paris, and dated ca. 500 A.D.[59] (**7.36**). They are holding a wreath over the central figure of the niche, now lost, but probably a seated Buddha.

This all means that -with due caution with respect to dating- in all likelihood, up to 400 A.D. and as far as the flying and floating posture of deities is concerned, Gandhāra cannot have been an important source of inspiration.

It is known that for the later murals in e.g. the Dunhuang caves, the artists used Tang copybooks, containing Buddhist iconographic patterns, and it is thought that there must have been pre-Tang examples as well. These pattern-copybooks were carried by mer-



7.36 Flying cupids painted on a small (ht. 6,6 cm) stucco niche, holding a wreath above a (probably) seated Buddha, now lost. From Hadda. 5th century A.D. MGP

chants, monks, pilgrims or other travellers, and were a medium of transmitting some artistic tradition, *directly* from India[60]. Li[61] refers to a Chinese painting manual that mentions three monk-painters, one of whom, named Śakyabodhi, arrived in China from India during the Northern Wei period (386-534). These three monks are credited with introducing Indian art styles to China and almost certainly used pattern-copy books for instruction.

As the image of the flying deity does not appear in the Buddhist art of Central Asia or China before the late 4th century,[62] a dominant presence of that image in the Buddhist art of Mathurā during the 3rd and 4th centuries would be key to argue that the image could have been part of such a transmission process directly from India.

But, as pointed out already, the image does not seem to have much inspired Indian Buddhist artists of those periods, because examples of floating celestials from Mathurā dating from the Kushān period are only occasionally found[63]. In Jaina art of the Gupta period, however, the image of the floating deity is said to have been in vogue and, as we have seen, several examples from Mathurā are known, dating from the 5th century and later. These are all floating, i.e. in the vertical-body pose, with the kick-back attitude of the leg to suggest flight. The Gupta rulers followed the principle of religious tolerance and thus Jainism thrived during the Gupta period. In terms of influence toward Central Asia and China, however, these examples, apart from the fact that they were popular mainly in the 5th century and later, and thus too late in the light of our present discussion, are insignificant as they certainly will not have been part of Buddhist copybooks of the 3rd and 4th centuries, if any. But we will come back to these pattern-copy books later in this Chapter.

Yet, in the past, the relationship between the flying deity of the classical world and those appearing in the murals of the Buddhist caves of Central Asia and China has been stipulated by various scholars. It all started with the excavations of the caves at Kizil by von Le Coq during the third and fourth expeditions in 1906 and 1913 respectively. These caves were constructed in three layers, one layer dating from ca. 500 A.D., a second built ca. 600 and a third ca. 650 A.D. These datings were attached to them by Grünwedel[64]. Recent research, however, based on radiocarbon dating, has thrown these datings into question and it seems that a number of the caves were much earlier than anticipated, i.e. dating from the middle of the 3rd century A.D.[65].

7.37 Roman-type flying Victories/Erotes painted above a niche in the Preta Cave at Kizil. After Boardman 1994, 152, fig. 4.100

7.38 Floating winged Erotes with wreath. Above a niche at Taq-e Bostan, Kermanshah Province, Iran. Sasanian, ca. 600 A.D. After Tucker 2003, 311, fig. 398

Above the niche in the back wall of the so-called Preta Cave in Kizil, there is a pair of flying deities in the posture of corona-carriers, very similar to the Nikes/Victories from the Greek and Roman world (**7.37**). In appearance they are cherubic. The entire body is naked but there are wings at the shoulders and their scarves hang over their arms. Grünwedel calls these figures "fliegende Amorette", i.e. "little playing cupids"[66]. The German archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld believed them to be figures descended from the classical winged Nike, and compares them to the Nikes above the relief carving in a large cave

7.39 Barberini Diptich, made during the reign of Emperor Justinian I (527-565). The ivory shows the triumph of the Emperor, with two flying deities (angels) above, in a crowning attitude. First half of 6th century A.D. MLP

at Taq-e-Bostan, Kermanshah province, Iran, depicting the Sasanian king Khusrau II (r. 591-628), surnamed Parviz (the Victorious) (**7.38**). This Nike is, according to Herzfeld, without doubt analogous to the ivory figure, called the Barberini-Diptych, made during the reign of Emperor Justinian I (527-565), and now in the Louvre Museum (**7.39**), but these probably represent rather Christian angels than Nikes. Thus Herzfeld discussed the relation between the Nike of the Greeks and the angels of the Christians, and concludes that they spread through Iran and Chinese Turkestan[67].

Von le Coq accepts the view of Herzfeld, and goes a step further. He presents the celestials in the so-called "Sword-holder cave" in Kizil, built during the beginning of the 7th century (the dating may be subject to change based on recent research as already indicated) (**7.40**), and concludes that these are derived directly from the corona-carrier type of classical flying Nikes. He says: "...ich hege keine Zweifel, dass die oft schönen Kompositionen dieser Art, die sich auf ostasiatischen Bildern and Skulpturen finden, zu solchen Vorlagen in einem direkten Deszendenz-Verhältnis stehen"[68].

Boardman leaves no doubt about the parentage of the flying deities when he compares the corona-carriers of Kizil (**7.37**) with the *apsarasas* of a painting in Dunhuang (**7.41**), and says: "The flying Victories/apsaras have abandoned their wreaths, however, and fly free in the field over the Buddhas, wingless now and Chinese dressed, but still with the flying arc of dress above them"[69]. Important to note here is the fact that the buoyant scarves, which were borrowed from Hellenistic deities and then entered the Indian Buddhist vocabulary at Mathurā on *apsarasas*, were used in the early caves at Kizil and diffused further east to China where they tend to turn into ribbons.

Now let us give closer attention to the process of migration eastwards of the floating and flying-deity images to Central Asia and China, which appears not to have taken place via Gandhāra, nor directly from India before the late 4th century A.D.

Ecke, writing in 1930, who discussed the *feitian* which decorated several Buddhist monuments in the Chinese port of Zayton from the Song period on, reached the conclusion that

"With the sway of Hellenism and later under Roman and Byzantine influences the winged genius, under a new form, gained a home once more in western Asia, where it had been first represented in pre-Persian times [i.e. pre-Parthian times]... No doubt that the Zoroastrian belief in winged spiritual beings, the Fravashis, also favoured the frequent use of Victories for ceremonial purposes, on monuments etc. And so the motive gained a home only to be

7.40 Painting on the wall of a niche of the Sword Carriers cave, Kizil. Ca. 600 A.D. After Le Coq 1977, 86, fig. 172

transmitted again to the countries in contact with the peculiar mediating atmosphere of Persia - Magi, Manichaeans and Syrian or Armenian Christians being the agents of diffusion"[70].

He also draws attention to the question whether the image originated from Nike (female) or from Eros (male), which is understandable if we look at (**7.37**).

"... the sex of such spirits seems not to have been of special importance for Persian mythological conceptions. Neither did the Far-eastern Mahāyāna doctrine, when it borrowed the Hellenistic form of a soaring Genius, strictly follow the Indian conception which makes a distinction between the male Gandharvas, the musicians of Indra, and their wives, the Apsaras, ..."[71].

In the light of the paucity of the flying and floating deity in Gandhāran art, as well as in the Buddhist art of Mathurā during the 3rd-4th centuries, an inspiration for the image, as it appears in the cave-temples of Central Asia and China, may have come indeed from the West according to the process as roughly indicated by Ecke in the above phrase as cited. The more so because probably various factors played an important role, either as direct driving forces or merely as catalysts.

Before surveying these factors, we draw attention briefly to the so-called floating attitude as adopted by some of the *gandharvas* depicted in Indian sculpture, where the suggestion of flight is derived from the kick-back pose of the leg(s) while sometimes the body itself is even in the upright position. The flying and floating of these figures is to be appreciated from the fact that they are depicted away from the ground and above the Buddha with a billowing scarf or seemingly floating garments, as often seen on 6th century sculptures and later. The kick-back attitude of the legs only stipulates the fact of not being on firm ground or of being weightless, not motion.

Most important, however, is the attitude of the two celestials, hovering and approaching towards the Buddha from above and from either side with the gesture of offering some-

7.41 Painting in cave at Dunhuang. Ca. 600 A.D. (?). After Boardman 1994, 153, fig. 4.102

thing or crowning him. This is not an Indian invention, but a distant descendant of Greek Hellenistic decoration of Victories or cupids.

The posture of the winged images from Bhārhut, dating from 100 B.C., in (**7.27**) and from Sāñcī of 100 A.D. (**7.28**), both already mentioned earlier in this Chapter, is an example of this classical heritage[72]. Foreign influences on the early Indian art of the Maurya period (322-185 B.C.) are indisputable, and decorative patterns like e.g. the palmette and honeysuckle motifs, clearly visible in Mauryan art, derive ultimately from Greece. Nor must it be forgotten that the entirely Greek city of Ai Khanum in Bactria was exactly contemporary[73].

Let us now return to the factors which supported the spread of the classical flying deity to the East.

When Buddhism spread along the trade routes in Central Asia, the need to visualize the principles of the creed became increasingly important. Preponderant were the illustrations of Buddhist paradise. The Pure Land school of Mahāyāna Buddhism[74] was in vogue already in Central Asia during the first centuries of our era. It had been introduced in China by a Parthian monk, An Shigao, who arrived in Luoyang around 150 A.D.[75], but it had taken at least a century to mature in Central Asia. Especially along the trade routes, with all its dangers and hardships, the outlook of ending the cycle of human suffering by exercising faith in Amitābha, who would arrange for a rebirth in his Pure Land, needed concrete and inspiring visualization. From that realm of beauty and peace *nirvāna* could more easily be obtained. Hence, elaborate portrayal of this heaven was essentially important in Buddhist temples and, in principle, heavenly musicians and dancers perfectly matched with this atmosphere.

It is known that the Pure Land idea in Buddhism developed not in India proper, but in those areas in north-west India and beyond, where the Kushān Dynasty was dominant

and where Iranian influences were strong. It is not a coincidence that An Shigao was a Parthian, not an Indian, and he was followed by another monk, Kang Shenghui, a Sogdian[76]. There are reasons to believe that Mahāyāna Buddhism, and in particular the Pure Land idea, was influenced by the sun-worship of the Zoroastrians. The word Amitābha means "infinite light", and Amitābha reigns over a paradise of light. In Zoroastrianism there is the heaven of boundless light, presided over by Ahura Mazda[77].

In this context we recall the dominant role played by the Sogdians in the trade along the Silk Road[78]. Sogdians had already trading networks in northern China by 313 A.D., but the periods of the Northern Wei (386-581) and the Sui (581-618) were the heydays of strong expansion of trade with China. Especially by 550 A.D., Sogdian activities exploded not only eastward, but by that date they had also established direct trade relations with the Byzantine Empire -the continuing source of classical inspiration- via a Caucasian route evading Sasanian interference[79]. Moreover, from the 4th through 7th centuries the way to India was mainly a Sogdian road[80].

However, the Sogdians were not the only merchants along the Silk Road, despite their apparent control over it. Traders from other areas -Iran, Choresmia, Syria and India- attached themselves to the Sogdian caravans, but of these nationalities the Sasanians were probably the most dominant[81].

Sasanian Iran, established in 224 A.D., was a centralized state and Zoroastrianism was the organized state religion. Like the Sasanians, the Sogdians were generally Zoroastrians, but the latter ones did not practice their religion according to the state-described rules. They worshipped their patron-deities in individual family or community connections[82]. Hence Zoroastrianism and its principles were exceedingly present in the caravans and the colonies along the Silk Road.

Zoroastrianism identified six main Archangels, the "Amesha Spentas", each with their own area of attention, namely Vohu Mana (Good Mind), Asha (Truth), Armaita (Right Mindedness), Khshathra (Desirable Kingdom), Haurvatat (Wholeness) and Ameretat (Immortality). On a lower level there were the guardian angels, the "fravashis", which could be assigned as guide, conscience, protector and helpmate throughout the life of a single human being. Originally they patrolled the boundaries of heaven, but volunteered to descend to earth to stand by individuals to the end of their days.

Zoroastrian peoples could ask for assistance from them and call directly upon them. They just picked a patron angel for their protection, and throughout their lives were careful to observe prayers dedicated to that angel. They were said to fly like winged birds and were represented by a disk with wings and tail-feathers, often with a person superimposed.

So, along the Silk Road the principle of the guardian angel was well present and well understood, and probably a recurrent subject of conversation.

Contemporary with the early Sasanian rule and its state-organized religion of Zoroastrianism, was the gradually developing Christianity in the Roman empire, where the images of the winged deities Victory and Eros were, as we have seen, ubiquitously visible, but with the flying pose exposed relatively less frequently than the standing or kneeling postures. When Christianity was declared a full religious freedom by Constantine the Great in 313 A.D. in the "Edict of Milan", the religion started to prosper. With the foundation of Constantinople -the Secunda Roma or Nova Roma as it was called- in 325

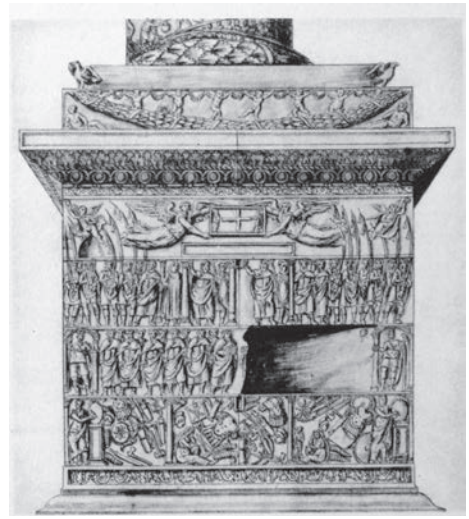
7.42 Marble sarcophagus from Constantinople. Ca. 500 A.D. Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

7.43 Detail from a drawing by an unknown artist, ca. 1574, of the column of Arcadius erected at Constantinople about 400 A.D. (now destroyed). Upper portion of south-west side. Trinity College, Cambridge

7.44 Detail from a drawing by an unknown artist, ca. 1574, of the column of Arcadius erected at Constantinople about 400 A.D. (now destroyed). Upper portion of south side of base. Trinity College, Cambridge

A.D., the Empire was united and the whole atmosphere of the time was one of victory, with the absolute power in the hands of the emperor, the *semper triumphator*[83], very much like the way Alexander the Great had always been remembered. Constantine issued a silver medallion, on the obverse of which his own image is depicted, crowned by a Victory[84].
This is about the same time that one of the earliest specimens of a winged Christian angel in the style of a Roman Victory had been modelled on a bas-relief at Carthage[85].

In the early stages of the Byzantine Empire, there was still a strong tradition of Hellenistic culture living and fostered in the large cities, such as Alexandria, Antioch and Ephesus[86], and there is little doubt that the images of Eros/Victory have been clearly presented in the sculptures of these towns, just as they were in Constantinople. The Vic-



7.45 Detail from a drawing by an unknown artist, ca. 1574, of the column of Arcadius erected at Constantinople about 400 A.D. (now destroyed). Upper portion of east side of base. Trinity College, Cambridge

tories/angels on a marble sarcophagus, dating from ca. 400 A.D., discovered in Constantinople in 1933 and now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, where two angels are supporting a wreath enclosing the monogram of Christ (**7.42**) are a good example. Very similar are sculptures of Victories/angels on the two Arcadian columns in Constantinople. These columns were erected about 400 A.D. by Arcadius to the glory of his father, Theodosius I, and to his own honour, but are now destroyed and known chiefly through drawings of the Renaissance period or later (**7.43**, **7.44** and **7.45**). In fact they were very much a copy of the 2nd century columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome, and their reproduction three centuries later made an enormous impression in Constantinople and the whole empire[87].

Some 150 years later, ca. 550 A.D., the image was current, as seen on the Barberini ivory, now in the Louvre, as already discussed (**7.39** and **7.46**). Apart from the angels supporting the portrait of Christ, note on the left an officer presenting a figure of Victory, and the angel at the right of the emperor, advancing with a palm twig.

As we saw in par. 3.7, the continuity of the Greek Classicism in the luxury arts of Byzantium was a core element in the identity of the Empire. It certainly influenced the diffusion of Greek mythological themes eastwards, because these luxury media travelled far as gifts or in the hands of merchants. In fact it provided a continuing source of inspiration of Greek classical culture from the East Roman Empire. And this is what happened with the classical image of the flying Victory/Eros too.

A further corroborative factor was the extraordinary expansion of Buddhism in China from the middle of the 4th century onward during the Northern Wei, when at the topmost level of society the rulers and their families became lavish patrons of the Buddhist church, making munificent gifts of treasure and land to clergy, and building sumptuous temples and monasteries[88]. The favoured object of faith and devotion was more and more the Buddha Amitābha, who presided over the Western Paradise[89].

These inviting circumstances probably caused the introduction of Indian sculptural and

7.46 Barberini ivory; 1st half of 6th century A.D. See (**7.39**). MLP

7.47 The Buddha in meditation on inverted lotus-throne, with two flying deities with stylized wings and kick-back attitude of the legs. From Karachi. Ca. 400 A.D. NMP

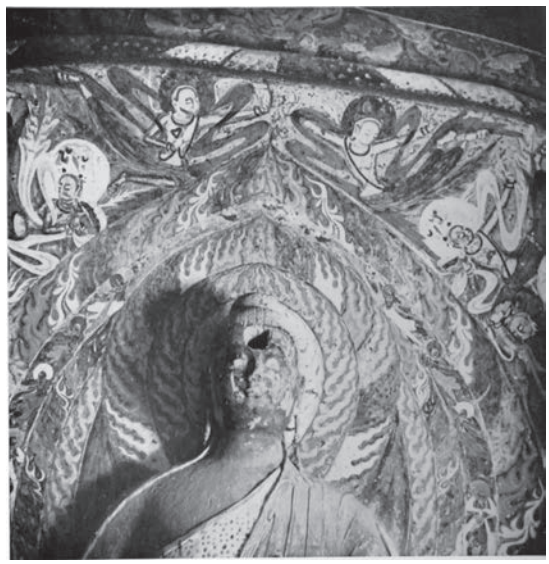
painting techniques into China, as already mentioned. Not only the three monk-painters travelled from India to China during the Northern Wei, but a certain Zang Sengyou, a renowned painter of the Liang period (314-439), who claimed that he had inherited "modes from India" and who excelled in painting temple and monastic murals, became influential in China[90]. It is not difficult to imagine how these monk-painters extensively used pattern-copy books, as already discussed, to convey their ideas.
Around 550 A.D., another painter, Cao Zhonga, claimed to have created his "own style", which is thought to have been adopted from the Mathurā Buddhist iconography[91].

Thus, Mathurān Buddhist images of the second half of the Gupta period started to exercise a major influence on Chinese Buddhist icons. It is even thought that the Buddhist caves at Yungang near Datong, Shanxi province, made between 453 and 465 A.D., experienced "no direct influence from Gandhāra, but tremendous influence from Mathurā and Central Asia"[92]. It is recalled from the analysis of Mathurān art in this Chapter, that, during the 5th and 6th centuries, the floating deities were in vogue there.
Moreover, the Buddhist artists of Mathurā must have been very familiar with the image of the classical flying deities performing the crowning-ceremony, very much like the one of (**7.37**). This is testified by two reliefs found in the Karachi area. One, dated ca. 400 A.D. (**7.47**), shows the seated Buddha in meditation with two deities flying above, both

7.48 The teaching Buddha on a lotus-throne, with two Roman-style winged *putti* flying above in crowning attitude. From Karachi. 400-460 A.D. NMP

7.49 Bronze Buddha image from Vākātaka, India. Ca. 500 A.D. NMD

with stylized wings, bodies horizontal and both legs in the kick-back attitude, very much like the classical Victory/Eros examples in the crowning procedure. The other, probably dating from the 4th to early 5th centuries A.D. (**7.48**), shows the teaching Buddha on a lotus throne, with two very Roman-type *putti*, with fully developed wings, in a crowning posture holding a wreath above the Buddha's head[93]. Also the spectacular bronze Buddha-image from Vākātaka, mid-south India, now in the New Delhi Museum, and dating from around 500 A.D. (**7.49**) is an impressive testimony. One should not be surprised to find them here, in view of the all-dominant role of the Sogdians along the road to India as well as to the East Roman Empire, and the enormous intensification of the trade relations in those days. Obviously the classical image of the corona-carriers was not only well-known in Mathurā, but also accepted and integrated in the Buddhist iconography.



7.50 Wall painting at Dunhuang, cave 254. Late 5th century A.D. After Gray 1959, fig. 15

7.51 Plaque with seated Buddha and two celestial beings above. Late 6th century A.D. Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum, Kōbe

The floating deity in early Indian art, influenced itself already by Hellenistic traditions, such as the crowning-ceremony-posture of the Victories or Erotes and the billowing scarves, was revived to popularity in the Mathurān art of the 5th/6th centuries A.D.. The design was part of the decorative palette of the Buddhist artists who came to China during the Northern Wei and who decorated the cave complexes of Central Asia and China along the Silk Road. The image, then, was re-shaped and adapted to the available classical model of corona-carrying Victories/Erotes from the late Roman Empire. It fitted well in the notion of the guardian angel of the Zoroastrians, the main merchants and donors along the Silk Road and was, with its overtones of victory in the broadest sense or, at will, love, perfectly in keeping with the new demands of Buddhism, in particular with those of the Pure Land school, that wanted to visualize the heaven of Amitābha, with its musicians and dancers and ambiance of happiness, as concrete as possible.

Earlier in this Chapter the question was posed: where do the flying and floating beings, often seen in Central Asian and Buddhist Chinese cave-art and generally called *apsarasas*, come from.

From the above survey and within the acknowledged perimeters, together with the fact that the traces of Greco-Roman influence are so plainly discernible, there are firm grounds to believe that the image of the flying and floating *gandharvas* and *apsarasas*, as they appear in many Buddhist caves in Central Asia and China, is basically a motif of classical inheritance, which was transmitted from India to China from the early 5th century A.D. on. By the 5th/6th centuries it became influenced by and adapted to the Greco-Roman model of the flying and winged Victories/Erotes. This process of adaptation, supported by some specifically favourable conditions, found its way, not so much via Gandhāra, as straight eastwards from the Byzantine Empire, which continued to be a source of classical inspiration.

7.52 Wall painting from Ming-oi (Xinjiang). Ca. 800 A.D. BML

7.53 *Apsarasas* on a tomb-tile from Dengxian (Henan). Early 6th century A.D. After Juliano and Lerner 2001, 178

7.54 A tile from the ceiling of cave 133 at Maijishan (Gansu). Early 6th century A.D. Maijishan Art Institute, Tianshui, Gansu

7.55 Carving on the wall of a cave-temple at Gongxian (Henan). Early 6th century A.D. After Watson 1974, no. 65

7.56 Bronze statue of Maitreya with *apsarasas* attached to the nimbus. From Pinting (Shanxi). Early 6th century A.D. After Kümmel 1930, plt. 72

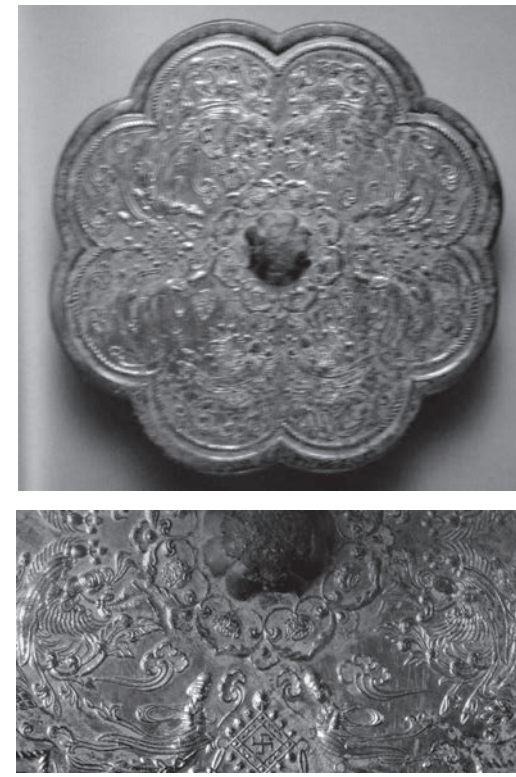
During the preceding discussion in this Chapter, several examples have been shown of flying deities in Central Asia and China, in particular from Kizil and Dunhuang, which are, in pairs, depicted in crowning-ceremony attitude above the Buddha.

Another one from Dunhuang, cave 254, dating from the late 5th century, is shown in (**7.50**). What is interesting about this example is that the beginning of a different style seems to appear, with some more emphasis on elegance as they hover above the Buddha. This effect is also seen in (**7.59**). In both cases, however, elements of the old style are still visible for example in the wide-spread arms.

This new style appeared in the late 5th century also in caves at Yungang (near modern Datong) and differs from earlier examples of flying celestials in their tendency to elongation with emphasis on highly mannered, elegantly conceived abstract patterns, and often with the legs scissored and body in a C-shaped posture. This new style was introduced after the Northern Wei court had been moved from Datong to Luoyang in 494 A.D. and more Chinese influence was felt[94]. It was maintained for centuries thereafter. This does not mean that always and everywhere the new style was the only one. For example, on a plaque, dated to about 600 A.D., presumably from China, the *apsarasas* are depicted in a posture very much like the ones we know from Dunhuang and Kizil (**7.51**), just as is the case on the wall-painting, now in the British Museum, from Ming-oi in Xinjiang province and dated to ca. 800 A.D. (**7.52**).

Well developed examples of the new style are shown on a tomb-tile from Dengxian (Henan) (**7.53**); another one from cave 133 at Maijishan (Tianshui, Gansu) (**7.54**) and on the wall of the Gongxian cave in Henan province (**7.55**). The same characteristics are apparent on a bronze Maitreya statue where, on the outward edge of the nimbus, ten *apsarasas* are attached each playing a different musical instrument (**7.56**).

7.57 White marble sculpture of Maitreya in pensive pose, with *apsarasas* above. Ca. 560 A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



7.58 Eight-petalled bronze mirror with flying *apsarasas*. 8th century A.D. The Goto Museum, Tōkyō

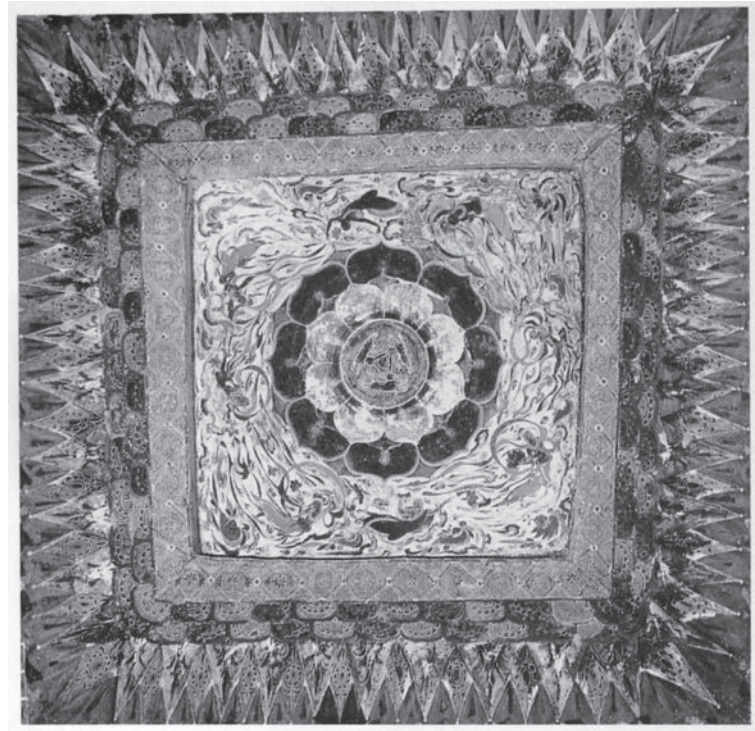
The white marble sculpture of (**7.57**) is from about 560 A.D. An example on a Tang mirror is shown in (**7.58**).

General characteristics of these sinicized *apsarasas* are:

- they are females; that is, of course, what the *apsarasas* originally were, what the classical Victories were, and what most of the depicted Byzantine angels were, but we have seen the Erotes (male) in crowning-ceremony attitude on the 6th century Mathurān sculptures, and in the examples of Kizil;
- fully dressed, contrary to Indian and Central Asian prototypes;
- a C-shaped posture, where the upper part of the body is (almost) vertical and the legs are scissored more or less horizontally backwards, often with one knee slightly put forward;
- the drapery is flying freely behind, streaked with plies to suggest the wind impact of the flight and speed;
- the billowing round ribbon, emanating from the shoulder up behind the head
- a relatively small head and slender neck, often with a tied loop of hair.

A tendency which is worth noting is that the flying celestials appear in the immediate neighbourhood of Buddha, hovering directly at either side of Buddha's head, often presenting offerings, but that regularly the deities seem to become more dissociated from this scenery and are flying around more loosely somewhere in the Buddha-ambiance. That

7.59 Mural painting depicting seated Buddhas with *apsarasas* in cave 263 at Dunhuang. China, Northern Wei (386-534). After Tucker 2003, 127, fig. 154



7.60 Mural painting in cave 407 at Dunhuang. China, Sui Dynasty (581-618). After Tucker 2003, 127, fig. 155

effect can be seen in (**7.59**), in (**7.60**), and (**7.61**), where the *apsaras* seems to be turning away from the Buddha. These examples are all from Dunhuang, but it occurs also elsewhere in China and probably is the case with the *apsaras* of (**7.54**), and of (**7.62**) from Maijishan (near the eastern border of Gansu province). We see that phenomenon very clearly on a celadon-dish of the Northern Song period (960-1279 A.D.) (**7.63**).

Another phenomenon in the presentation of the *apsarasas* in China is the distinct cloud pattern usually drifting horizontally beneath them. By the late 7th century new cloud forms were derived probably from flowers that were detached from the stems, leaving the separate heads available as a model[95]. Several lobed heads could be joined together to make a large cloud. This effect is clearly visible in (**7.61**) and in (**7.52**). Because these lobed heads resemble the way a fungus is represented in Chinese and Japanese art, the Japanese call this cloud *reishi un* (fungus-cloud), as we shall see later.

In the above survey of the *apsarasas* in China, attention has not been paid in much detail to the different characteristics of the images in the various caves of North China[96]. This exercise is considered far beyond the scope of this work, where the focus lays on identifying the appearance of airborne deities only, after their parentage from classical prototypes has been established.

7.61 Painting of the preaching Buddha on the wall of cave 17 at Dunhuang. China, Tang Dynasty. Early 8th century A.D. After Whitfield and Farrer 1990, 24

7.62 Fragment of a wall painting with *apsarasas* from cave 78 at Maijishan (Tianshui, Gansu). Ca. 580 A.D. Maijishan Art Research Institute, Tianshui

7.63 Celadon dish with design of *apsarasas*. China, Northern Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.). After Wirgin 1979, fig. 41:6

The *apsaras* image was carried with Buddhism to Korea, without much change. It may be said generally that prototypes for every element in Korean Buddhist art may be found somewhere in Central Asia or China[97], and *apsarasas* are not an exception to that rule. For comparison (**7.64**) is shown, a painting from a wall of a tomb at Sammyo-ri (Kangsŏ-kun, south P'yŏngan Province), dating from about 600 A.D., where the style of the Chinese

7.64 Painting of *apsaras* on a wall of a cave-temple at Sammyo-ri (Kangsŏ-kun, P'yŏngan Province). Korea, ca. 600 A.D. After Arts of Korea 1979, II, fig. 29

7.65 Stele from a temple at Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. Korea, dated 673 A.D. Ch'ŏngju National Museum, Korea

murals of Maijishan of the 6th century can be recognized.

For examples from South Korea we must confine ourselves to the Unified Silla period (668-936), because there are no longer extant examples of art either imported from South China during the period of the Six Dynasties (265-589), or produced locally under its influence. Art in Korea, under the unified regime of the Silla Dynasty, accepted every phase of the Tang culture, but today all the temples and other Buddhist monuments have been destroyed, except some smaller artefacts, among which bronze bells on which flying celestials appear[98]. On a stele from south Ch'ungch'ŏng province, dated by inscription to 673 A.D., the whole glory of Amitābha's Western Paradise, or Pure Land, is intended to be depicted, where the *apsarasas* take their place (**7.65**). An example from a Korean-style bell of the Sangwŏn-sa temple, P'yŏngch'ang, Kangwŏn province in South Korea, dating from the early 8th century, is shown in (**7.66**), where the *apsarasas* are in the C-posture, but with the dress floating upwards as if they are descending.

An interesting and well-known decoration is the figure, often called *apsaras*, in a seated posture, cast in relief on the bronze bell from the Pongdŏk-sa temple in Kyŏngju (South Korea), dating from 771 A.D., now in the Kyŏngju National Museum. It is called the "emille" bell[99]. The C-posture seems to be replaced by the kneeling attitude and behind the figure fine and delicate scarves seem to rise upward, suggesting a vertical descent. This posture is found also in the Longmen caves of the Northern Wei. It probably means that for those who desire to express their adoration and reverence for the Buddha, a kneeling position was accepted as the most fitting. The figure is rather a seated worshipper than a flying *apsaras*, as discussed in this Chapter, and the uprising "scarves" and air may be meant to signify the smoke of burning incense, rather than cloths. This example is mentioned here to draw attention to the fact that this image is to be considered outside the scope of this Chapter because it has no classical prototype. However, on these examples from Korea, including the figures on the bell, the billowing ribbon behind the head, has been accurately depicted.

In Japan the earliest examples of *apsarasas*, or *hiten* as they are called there, are found in the Hōryūji temple in Nara.

The so-called Tamamushi shrine in this temple, which is a miniature, is made of cypress wood covered with black lacquer. Over it, Buddhist figures are painted in litharge, among which *hiten* (**7.67**). They are typically in the crowning-ceremony action. Their hair is done in a tall knot and the round faces are turned forward. The upper half of the body is nude, while the lower half is clothed in a garment. In both figures one leg is stretched backward and raised obliquely, while the other is bent forward. Another one, also decorating the Tamamushi shrine, is shown in (**7.68**).

There is a gilt-bronze banner preserved in the Hōryūji. These banners were hung from the eaves or the tops of shrines, and were used as decorative pennants. This one is decorated with open-work and is made up of two parts: a canopy and a number of belt-like hangings. The canopy is square, and on its four sides are two rows of open-work carvings, representing four celestial musicians and four *hiten* offering incense (**7.69**).
Some almost similar ones are now in the Tōkyō National Museum (**7.70**) and (**7.71**)[100]. All these objects date to the Asuka period (552-645 A.D.).

7.66 *Apsarasas*-decoration on temple-bell from the Sangwŏn-sa temple, P'yŏngch'ang (Kangwŏn Province). Korea, early 8th century A.D. After Nagahiro 1949, fig. 2

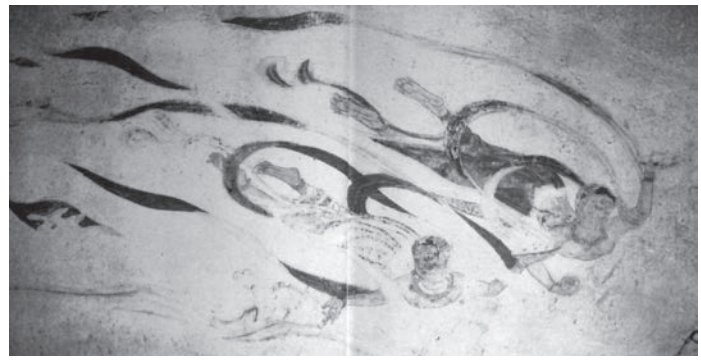
7.67 *Apsarasas* painted on the Tamamushi Shrine in the Hōryūji temple, Nara. Japan, Ca. 600 A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

7.68 Painting of *apsaras* on the Tamamushi Shrine, Nara, Japan. Ca. 600 A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

7.69 Gilt-bronze banner with *hiten* offering incense. Japan, ca. 600 A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

7.70 Section of gilt-bronze ritual canopy, with angels, lions and honeysuckle *karakusa*. Japan, Asuka period (552-645 A.D.). NMT

7.71 Gilt-bronze banner with *hiten*. Japan, ca. 600 A.D. NMT



7.72 Fresco-painting on the wall of the inner space of the Kondō (Golden Hall) of the Hōryūji temple, Nara. Japan, ca. 700 A.D. After Nagahiro 1949, plt. 1

7.73 and 7.74 Fresco-paintings on the wall of the outer space of the Kondō (Golden Hall) of the Hōryūji temple, Nara. Japan, ca. 700 A.D. After Nagahiro 1949, plts. 4 and 5

7.75 Painting on a paper scroll, with two *hiten*, amidst clouds, approaching the preaching Buddha. Japan, 8th century A.D. Jōbon Rendaiji temple, Kyōto

7.76 Painting on the wall of the Amida-hall of the Hōkaji temple, Kyōto. Japan, ca. 1100 A.D. After Noma 1957, fig. 141

The Hōryūji temple, at least the original buildings, was completed in 607 A.D., although much debate exists whether, after a fire in 670 A.D., the present buildings are those of a later restoration. This reconstruction would have been completed in 708-714. The fresco paintings on the walls of the Kondō, or Golden Hall, of the Hōryūji would then be datable to this period. Otherwise, when they escaped fire as is sometimes believed[101], they date about one hundred years earlier.

On twenty small wall sections of the inner space of the Hall, there are depicted in total forty *hiten*. Two of them flying side-by-side to the right are shown in (**7.72**). Their arms are more or less stretched out, while they carry in one hand a sacred box and a tray respectively. Their faces, turned away from each other, look rather round and young. Rudimentary, we see the typical stylized clouds (*reishi un*) represented, copied as they are from Chinese

7.77 Wooden statue of Amida looking over his shoulder, with four *hiten* carved in the halo. Zenrinji temple, Kyōto. Japan, Kamakura Period (1185-1333 A.D.). Zenrinji temple, Kyōto

7.78 Bronze statue of a *hiten*. Japan, 16th century A.D. After Collection S. Bing 1906, no. 505

examples. As the composition of all *hiten*, appearing in the fresco paintings on these walls of the Kondō, is largely identical, it can be safely assumed that there has been one original sketch from which these paintings were copied.

Also on the walls of the outer section of the Hall some *hiten* do appear, two of them are shown in (**7.73**) and (**7.74**). The postures of these are generally similar to those already described.

In the various areas of Japanese applied art, the *hiten* is not an uncommon decorative motif.

It appears on a 8th century painting on a paper scroll in the Jōbon Rendaiji temple in Kyōto, where we see two *hiten* approaching side by side toward the preaching Buddha (**7.75**). Note the stylized clouds (*reishi un*).

High on the interior wall of the Amida-hall of the Hōkaji temple, Kyōto, which was completed by the end of the 11th century, *hiten* are painted (**7.76**).

In the halo of a wooden statue of Buddha of the 13th century four *hiten* were carved in the C-posture, which is peculiar in the sense that, in Japan, *hiten* in the halo of a Buddha are very often in the upright position (**7.77**).

7.79 Bronze statue of Buddha, with *hiten* modelled in a cavity to suggest the Pure Land. Japan, ca. 1750 A.D. Private collection

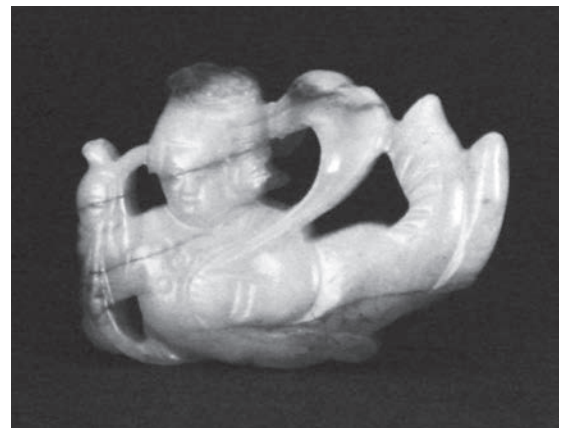
In metalwork they were visualized e.g. in a bronze statue of the 16th century (**7.78**). (**7.79**) is a bronze typically Japanese statue of Buddha, datable to ca. 1750 A.D. The Buddha is seated on a double-lotus throne. At the constriction of the throne a cavity has been moulded, in which a *hiten* was modelled as a suggestion of the Pure Land. A copper figure of a *hiten*, mounted on a wooden panel, dating from the 19th century is shown in (**7.80**). Also on sword guards they have been depicted, as on a *kozuka* of the 19th century, where two *hiten* are carrying a *jui*-sceptre and lotus bud[102].

They were shaped in ivory *netsuke* as shown in (**7.81**), and (**7.82**), both holding a lotus bud. Maybe the *netsuke* artists were inspired by much earlier Chinese examples in white jade, as they appeared from about 800 A.D. on (**7.83**).

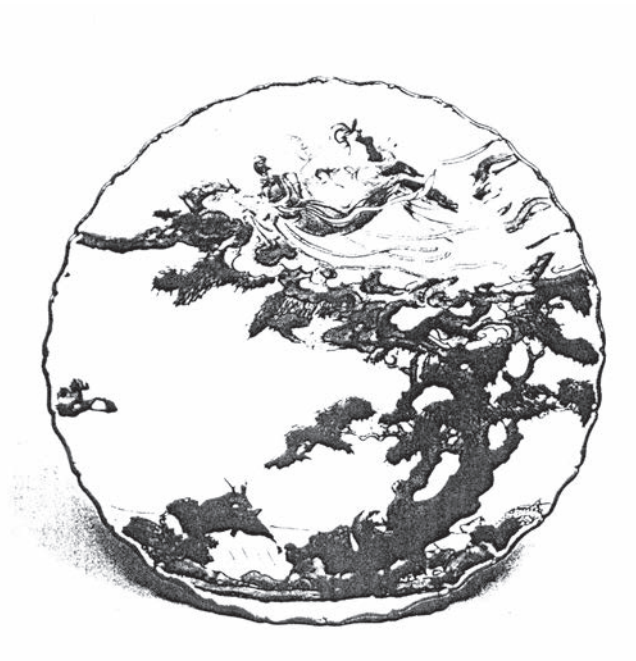
7.80 Copper figure of *hiten* mounted on a wooden panel. Japan, 19th century. After Hartman collection 1976, 153, no. 655

7.81 Ivory *netsuke* in shape of *hiten* holding a lotus bud. Japan, 19th century. After Weber 1975, vol. II, plt. 61, no. 1

7.82 Ivory and boxwood *netsuke* of *hiten* holding a lotus bud, with inlays of precious metals. Japan, 19th century. Orientations Gallery, New York



7.83 White jade figure of *apsaras*. China, ca. 800 A.D. BML



7.84 *Ko Kutani* porcelain dish with *hiten*. Japan, late 17th century A.D. After Shimazaki 1977, no. 106

On a *ko Kutani* porcelain dish, dated to the late 17th century, we see two *hiten* hovering above a tree (**7.84**).

In a 17th century Japanese book two *hiten*, playing musical instruments, appear approaching amidst clouds to a veranda (**7.85**). The late Edo period print artist Kitao Masayoshi (1764-1824) made a drawing of a *hiten* (**7.86**).

On all the examples shown above, the ribbon emanating from the shoulders up behind the head –almost like a halo- has been accurately maintained: a heritage from Hellenistic Greece.

These are random examples only of *hiten* found in Japanese applied art, and it would not be difficult to find many more.

7.85 Drawing of *hiten* amidst clouds in a 17th century Japanese book. After Yoshida 1984, 151

7.86 Drawing of a *hiten* by Kitao Masayoshi (= Keisai Kitao). 1764-1824. Japan, Late Edo period. After Gonse 1883, vol. 1, 4

As mentioned already in this Chapter, it has been chosen not to enter into the details of different styles of *hiten* and their development in Japan, nor has it been endeavoured to point out the extent to which influences from Central Asia and China have played a role in this[103]. Again, this would be beyond the scope of this work, where we trace vestiges of classical culture in the arts of Japan.

8 HUMAN FIGURES

8.1 Features of the human body

Realism

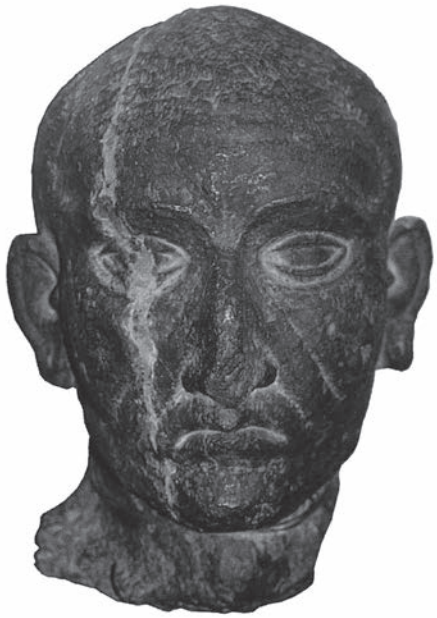
In the Archaic period of Greek culture (7th and 6th centuries B.C.) sculptured figures are shown in a rigid frontal view, with clearly articulated details, and flat drapery falling in straight systematic folds (**1.12**)[1].
In the Classical period, 5th century B.C., forms become more naturalistic, less rigid and more relaxed. The frontality and the vertical axis are replaced by the three-quarter view and a broken axis. Emotions are shown (**1.19**) and it was the sculptor Polykleitos (ca. 480-405 B.C.) in particular who specified how to represent the human body in three-dimensional space[2].
The principal elements of design of the Archaic and Classical periods were continued during the Hellenistic age, yet the difference is remarkable. Self-awareness, admiration for the human personality and the appearance of portraiture as a new art form, were the result of the successes of Alexander the Great[3], and diversity in form and presentation of emotion, executed in a very realistic manner, are the hallmarks of Hellenistic sculpture[4].

This was the Hellenistic background of Gandhāra when, by about 64 A.D., the Kushāns established there[5]. The Greek style in art was the ideal. Coins of Alexander (**8.1**), (**2.8**), the Seleucid kings (**8.2**) and their successors (**2.55**) must have made them familiar with what we today call the Apollo-type: wavy locks bound with a fillet, a smooth-shaven face with soft rounded chin, cupid's bow mouth, the straight well-shaped nose and rather heavy brow.
These features will be addressed again in the next paragraph when the Buddha image is discussed. However, the realism in the features of human figures was remarkably persistent in the Gandhāra area. It is found on a satyr head, reputedly of the 1st century A.D. but probably later, with its broad flat nose, moustache, beard and free-flowing locks and its almost portrait-like individuality (**3.12**). It is seen in the dark grey schist head of the 2nd to 3rd century A.D., depicting the face of a man one could almost start talking to (**8.3**), while (**8.4**), probably from the 5th century A.D. and from the Swāt Valley, reflects a native art attempting to represent types with the realism of late Roman sculpture: the hollow-eyed bearded old man with moustache, and the beardless good-natured man with moustache who is smiling a toothy grin. (**8.5**) shows a head from Hadda, ca. 500 A.D., with wavy hair, a beard and a moustache, considered to have derived from Greco-Roman sculptures of Silenus, or perhaps belonging to the image of Atlas[6].

The Greco-Roman influence of realistically observed detail travelled farther East. (**8.6**) shows the stucco figure of a woman, found in the ruins of Tashkurgan within the borders of Chinese Turkestan, where Roman influence has given this lady her robe and hair-dress. This movement of realism reached China in the period of the Six Dynasties (265-589), and gained momentum until its climax in the Tang period (618-906).

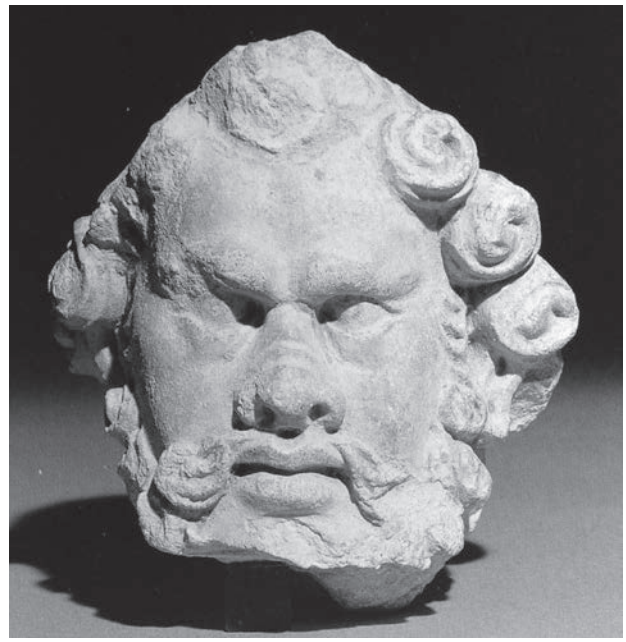
8.1 Tetradrachm of Alexander (336-323 B.C.), BML

8.2 Tetradrachm of Antiochus III (222-187 B.C.). BML



8.3 Dark grey schist head of a layman. From Gandhāra. Kushān period, 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Peshāwar Museum

8.4 Stucco heads of an old and a young man, both realistically executed. From Swāt Valley. 5th century A.D. ROT



8.5 Stucco head of bearded man, with wavy hair and moustache. From Hadda, Afghanistan. Ca. 500 A.D. BML

8.6 Stucco figure of a young woman, found at Tashkurgan near Yarkant, Chinese Turkestan. Ca. 6th century A.D. ROT

8.7 Chinese guardian figure, with Persian features in the helmet and armour. China, ca. 600 A.D. ROT

8.8 Sandstone figure of standing *bodhisattva* in high relief. From Tianlongshan, Shanxi province, China. 8th century A.D. ROT

8.9 Grey schist relief of Pāñcika, husband of Hāritī, and *yaksha* general. His upper body is naked, displaying a potbelly. Gandhāra, ca. 200 A.D. BML

(**8.7**) shows a guardian, with Persian elements in his armour, whose softly modelled chin, rose-bud mouth and slight frown are characteristic of classical elements. So too is an example of the Chinese Buddhist sculpture from the 8th century cave temples of Tianlongshan, near Taiyuan in Shanxi Province (**8.8**), which reveals the Chinese capacity for assimilating foreign influences. For here, sorted out from all other entangling alliances, we meet the Greek again with its soft, melting treatment of the nude, its simplicity in drapery, its innate grace of movement.

Before turning to the next paragraph where focus is directed to the Buddha image, this last mentioned aspect of the nude and the movement will be briefly discussed here, together with other typical elements of classical origin in the representation of the human body.

Nudity

Nudity in Greek art was mainly employed for depicting the very young, the impoverished or ascetic, the enslaved or defeated. Higher on the scale it served certain deities, expressing fertility for female and strength for male[7].

For the Romans both the classical dressed figures and the naked Greek heroes, gods and children were available and readily copied by the artists. But for the statues of public figures, consuls, magistrates and generals they, like the Greeks, preferred the statues draped[8]. For them nudity was functional as an expression of the super-human status of gods and heroes like Herakles, of youth and the associated courage and spirit, and of childhood. Otherwise, they depicted people clothed.

In that capacity nudity arrived in Gandhāra, not only because Kushāns probably brought Roman sculptors of ability to that area to practice their art in the illustration of Buddhist subjects, but also because by then the increased trade by sea sparked new contacts with Roman art eminently visible on the friezes of buildings and sarcophagi of Rome and the western Mediterranean. Many subjects where nudity was elementary have been lifted bodily out of Roman art, such as Atlas figures, Hercules, Eros and the "cupid with garland" motif.

In their presentation their nakedness is quite different from that of the *yaksha* of India, the male divinities of wealth and fertility. (**8.9**) shows Pāñcika, the *yaksha*-general, guardian deity and also deity of wealth. He has a naked upper body, displaying a pot-belly as do all *yaksha* statues in India. While corpulence is traditionally associated with rank and authority in India, the pot-bellied aspect of this minor god is due rather to yogic insufflation or *prāna*, which fills the body[9]. (**8.10**) shows a carving in a façade at Kārle, India, and dated ca. 200 A.D., of a couple where this quality of *prāna* or breath, is obviously present as well. The masculinity of the man, with broad shoulders and chest, narrow hips and virile stance, is impressive and equally so the femininity of the woman with her large breasts and hips and small waist. Yet it seems as if they are standing there with indrawn breath increasing their chest size, contributing to the psychological creation of what is sometimes called an "expansive form"[10]. A sense of material and spiritual well-being is conveyed in this manner together with a certain heaviness of flesh.

8.10 Stone carving of a couple, in the façade of a hall at Kārle, India. Ca. 200 A.D. After Lee 1997, 96, fig. 124

8.11 Grey schist statue of a *bodhisattva*. Gandhāra, 2nd century A.D. After Yoshikawa 1976, foldout 3

This in contrast to the Greco-Roman torso, where the polished marble is clearly intended to simulate the smoothness of flesh and the recreation of the body is strongly anatomical. Unlike in Indian sculpture, the classical representation of the body is in no way symbolic.
Something of the forceful classical torso can be seen in the semi-nude bodies of some Gandhāran *bodhisattvas* as shown in (**8.11**) and (**8.12**), but for these figures the strongly anatomical element gradually disappeared to tend more towards the Indian representation of nudity.

The classical nudity persisted in the depiction of the very muscular torso, which became the prototype for Chinese and Japanese guardian deities, of the playful *putti* which became the prototype for the playing children, and the semi-nude bodies of the Erotes and Victories from which the *apsarasas* derive.
The *apsarasas* have been discussed in Chapter 7, while in the next lines more attention will be paid to muscular presentation of the male body, and later (par. 8.3) to children.

Musculature

The very well developed male body, with close-knit musculature and the major divisions of the body clearly marked, was a frequent subject in the Mediterranean world during the Classical period[11].

8.12 Grey schist *bodhisattva* figure. Gandhāra, 2nd century A.D. Spink and Son Ltd., London

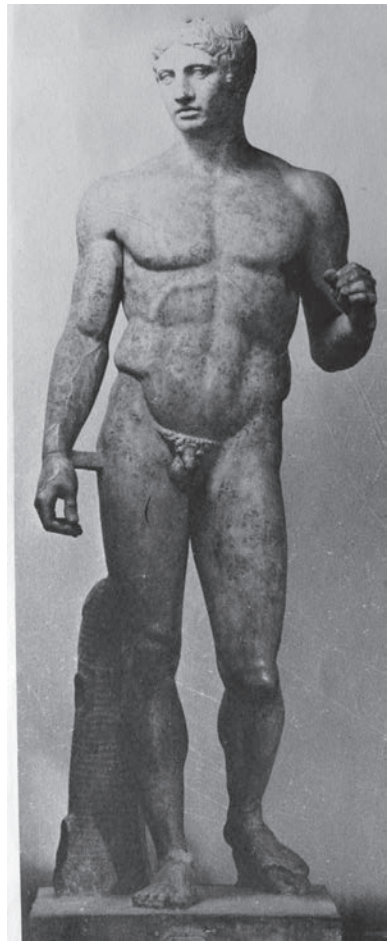
8.13 Colossal statue of Herakles, known as Herakles Farnese. 2nd century A.D. Roman copy of the 4th century BC original by Lysippos.MAN

The bronze statuette of Zeus from Etruria, for example (**1.29**) well illustrates the point. It displayed and emphasized the natural force of the young, the athletes, the heroes and the gods. The style disseminated to the East in Hellenistic times, where it appears in the Parthian world[12], and in the mass-produced statuettes in Bactria[13]. The Romans copied it in their statues of Zeus and Herakles (**8.13**).

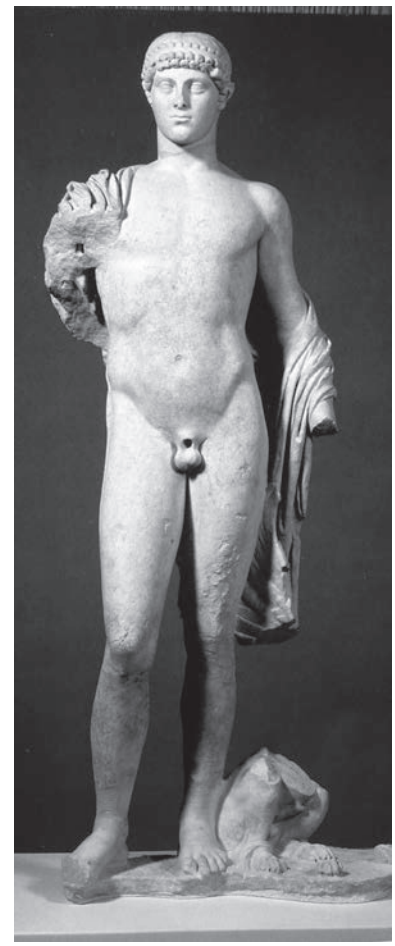
A possible factor, which is yet to be investigated further, in the diffusion of the musculature of the male body, is the use of the anatomical *cuirass*. The Greek anatomical *cuirass*, adopted in the Near East in Hellenistic times as the state costume of the gods and rulers, was simply one of the standard features employed by Greek art to represent oriental gods[14]. In Rome, therefore, soldiers never wore the anatomical parade *cuirass*, which was reserved for officers, emperors and gods.

Two well-known half-reliefs from Gandhāra have each three pairs of mariners. Five of them have heavy torsos that look rather hyper-muscular (**8.14**). All six of these splendidly athletic looking figures have a moustache and a beard, their hair is pulled back and has a characteristic V-shaped arrangement in front that is frequently seen on marine deities[15].

8.14 Sea or river deities. Gandhāra, 1st century A.D. BML



8.15 The Doryphoros (or Spear bearer) of Polykleitos, the spear now missing, in *contrapposto* attitude. 450-400 B.C. MAN



8.16 Marble statue of Apollo, in *contrapposto* stance. Rome, 2nd century A.D. Roman copy of a Greek original.PGL

Marshall[16] identifies the heavy rounding in two rows above the navel not as musculature but as a depiction of female breasts, and consequently thinks these figures to be a Scythian version of the Greek god of the sea, Poseidon. However, is seems more probable that this is no more than a highly successful convention in displaying the masculine strength and youthful vigour of the images. In detail, the powerful representation of Herakles, as seen in (**8.13**) comes very close to the images of these mariners[17].

This anatomical exaggeration, attached to representations of Herakles, is well-known from sculptures of Gandhāra and was carried to Central Asia, as e.g. the finds of Aurel Stein have disclosed[18]. Ultimately it was visible in the powerful bodies of the half-naked guardians of China and Japan, as further illustrated in Chapter 6[19], where attention is paid to the ancestry of the Japanese Niō-figures.

Contrapposto-attitude

Contrapposto is the Italian word for the body-attitude that is characterized by the suggestion that the body weight rests on one supporting leg, while the other is free with bended knee and without tension. The foot of the bending leg is positioned either slightly forward or slightly backward. This position naturally causes a slight S-curve in the body as shown in the bronze sculpture from the Classical period in Greece (**8.15**) and dated 450-400 B.C. The pose is said to be a Greek invention and is ascribed to the Peloponnesian sculptor Polykleitos (w. 452-405 B.C.). From this time on it was a constantly recurring pose in art[20]. It was meant to suggest motion in stationary form.

However, much earlier the Greek artist had already used a stance which placed the body-weight on one leg, with the other slightly bent forward, but the body-line remained perfectly vertical, without any curve, as seen e.g. in Chapter 1, (**1.11**) of the *kouros*, dated 575 B.C. This pose is anatomically somewhat contradictory and will be called quasi-*contrapposto* in this work. Nevertheless, this pose too was meant to suggest motion and is not a Greek invention: it was borrowed from the Near East as it occurs in the bronze statue of the demon Pazuzu, datable to the Late Assyrian period (ca. 800-700 B.C.) [21].

The *contrapposto* stance was commonplace in Hellenistic art[22] and the Romans copied it for male (**8.16**) as well as female statues (**8.17**). Therefore, it can be no surprise that the pose diffused to the East, where it is very frequently met in the art of Parthia[23], of Bactria[24] and of Gandhāra[25]. The Kushān kings of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. used it on their coins[26]

In Indian art the quasi-*contrapposto* stance, with one knee slightly flexed forward but with both feet flat on the ground next to one another and the body axis straight-up, was applied already by the Maurya period (322-185 B.C.) and is believed to be "purely indigenous"[27]. But by the mid-2nd century B.C. Indian artists configured *yakshīs* on stūpas in Batanmārā (**8.18**), Bhārhut and Bodhgayā in the fully elaborated *contrapposto*-pose called *tribhanga* in India.

This was the time of the Greco-Bactrian influence in north India. It will be recalled that Greco-Bactrian culture was essentially Hellenistic and the finds at Ai Khanum have removed all doubt about the presence of Greek culture there by 150 B.C.[28]. Bactrian ter-

8.17 Roman copy of Artemis (?), in *contrapposto* attitude. Original, late 2nd century B.C. Museo Civico Archeologico, Milan

8.18 Figure of a *yakshī* on a stūpa in Batanmārā, India. Sunga period (185-72 B.C.). Ca. 150 B.C. After Coomaraswamy 1965, fig. 37

8.19 Silver coin of the Greco-Bactrian king Demetrius (ca. 180-165 B.C.), with the image of Herakles in *contrapposto* stance on the reverse. ISS

8.20 Silver coin of the Greco-Bactrian king Antimachus Theos with Poseidon in *contrapposto*. 2nd century B.C. ISS

ritory was extended towards the south-east and reached up to Taxila before the mid-2nd century B.C.[29]. Therefore there can be little doubt that by that time the *contrapposto* of the Greek classical world was ubiquitously visible in the sculptures of Ai Khanum (**Fig. 2.52**) and Taxila, the metropolis on the main road from the north to the south. Moreover, the mass-produced figurines of nude goddesses, as found in Ai Khanum[30], were an excellent medium to visualize the pose on a large scale.

Thus, when the Indian artists shaped the *yakshīs* in *tribhanga* pose, they were, in all likelihood, familiar with the Greek standard of representing the standing human body in

8.21 Guardian king in niche of the Qixia temple near Nanjing, in *contrapposto* stance. China, ca. 1100 A.D. Qixia temple, near Nanjing

8.22 Statue in painted clay of one of the four celestial guardians in the Kaidan'in temple, Tōdaiji temple, Nara. Japan, ca. 745 A.D. Tōdaiji temple, Nara

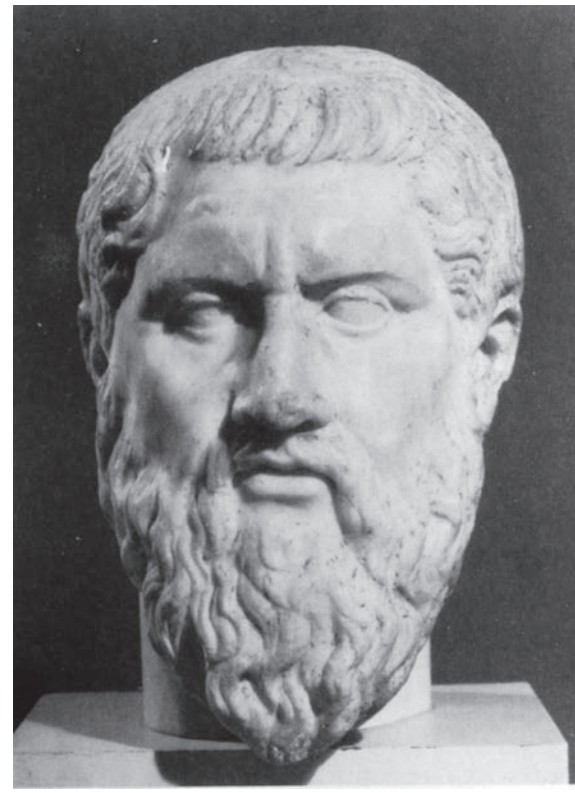
contrapposto. This is also supported by the fact that the stance was used on coins of the Greco-Bactrian kings. Silver coins of Demetrius I (ca. 180-165 B.C.) (**8.19**) have the image of Herakles in *contrapposto* stance[31]. A silver coin of Antimachus Theos shows the image of Poseidon in *contrapposto* (**8.20**). The Indo-Greek kings continued to use the image. For example, Heliocles (r. 155-140 B.C.) issued a coin with Zeus standing in *contrapposto* on the reverse[32]. See Chapter 2, (**2.55**). They were descendants of the Greco-Bactrians and ruled eastern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan south of the Hindu Kush including Gandhāra and the Punjab[33]. They issued silver and bronze coins, which were similar to those of the Greco-Bactrians in fabric and design[34].

In short then, it appears plausible that, during the 2nd century B.C., the early school of Indian art, though essentially Indian, borrowed the classical *contrapposto* from the Hellenistic north-west to shape the *tribhanga* of the *yakshīs*.

Inevitably the *contrapposto* became part of the Buddha and *bodhisattva* iconography, which will be discussed in the next paragraph, where we will see that the stance was carried with Buddhism to China, Korea and Japan.

In fact the pose never left art in Buddhist context of the Far East, not only for the images of the standing Buddha's and *bodhisattvas* (**11.72**), but also not for those of guardians. (**8.21**) shows a heavenly king in a niche of the Qixia-temple near modern Nanjing, dating

8.23 Wooden statue of a guardian. Japan, 13th century. FGW

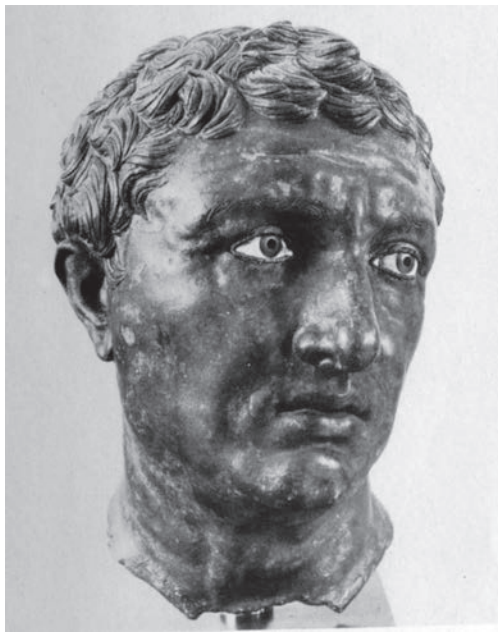


8.24 Portrait of Plato. Marble. Roman copy of an original of the 4th century B.C. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England

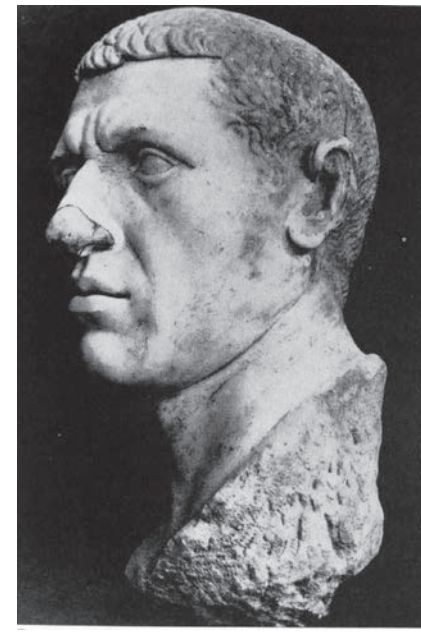
from ca. 1100 A.D. As with the Greeks, the stance contributes to give an air of vitality and expression.
The celestial guardians of Japan, too, were usually given the *contrapposto* attitude as illustrated in (**8.22**) from the Tōdaiji temple in Nara and dated to ca. 745 A.D., and in (**8.23**), dated to the Kamakura period, 13th century A.D.

Frown

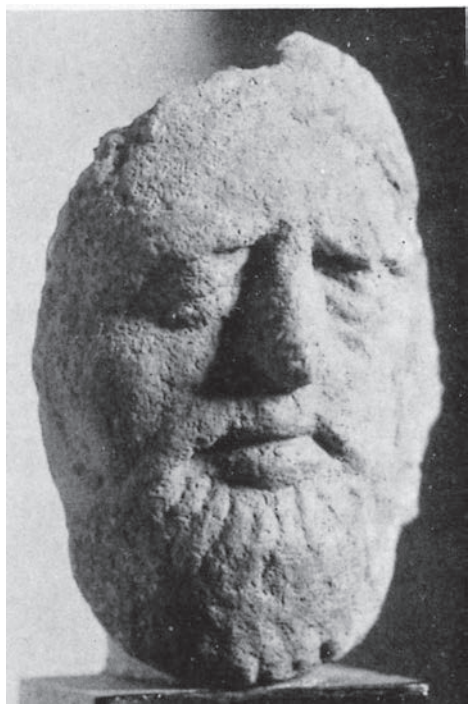
Realism in Hellenistic sculpture[35] was remarkably represented by the so-called "personality portraits" of the middle of the 4th century B.C., which imaged the inner nature of its subjects rather than the public façade. An example is the marble portrait of Plato, a Roman copy of a 4th century B.C. original (**8.24**). The philosopher is depicted with a distinctive broad forehead, close-set eyes and a serious thoughtful expression, with an accentuated scowl. This "thinker format" of the head became part of a standard representation of philosophers of the 3rd century B.C. and continued to be used throughout the Hellenistic period[36].
The heroic type of portraits representing Alexander the Great and the "thinker format"



8.25 Bronze portrait of a merchant. From Delos. Ca. 100 B.C. NMA



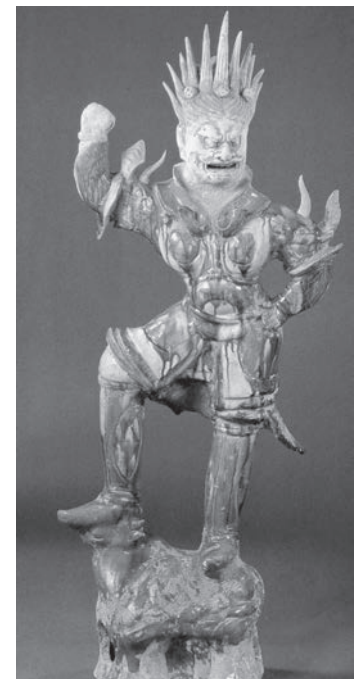
8.26 Marble portrait of a man. From Delos. Late 2nd to early 1st century B.C. Delos Museum



8.27 Stucco head of bearded frowning man from Apsidal temple in Sirkap. 1st century A.D. Taxila Museum

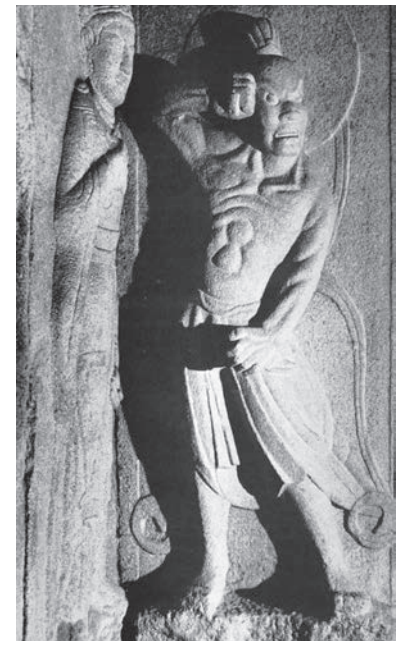
8.28 Frowning tomb figurine: western Asian warrior. Grey earthenware with polychrome pigment. China, Northern Wei dynasty. First quarter of 6th century A.D. NAK

8.29 Civil official, Khotanese type. Glazed earthenware. China, early Tang period, ca. 650 A.D. MMN



8.30 Three-colour glazed tomb figure of a guardian with angry face and deep frown. China, Tang dynasty (618-906 A.D.). Yūrinkan Museum, Tōkyō

8.31 Wooden guardian figure. China, Song dynasty (960-1279 A.D.). After Orientations, November 2006, 32



8.32 One of the guardians carved on either side of the entrance of the antechamber to the main chamber of the Sokkuram cave-temple at Wŏlsŏng, North Kyŏngsang province. Korea, 8th century A.D. After Arts of Korea 1979, vol. III, 86

8.33 Painted clay figure of *Shūkongōjin* as guardian of the temple. Sangatsu-hall of Tōdaiji temple at Nara. Japan, ca. 735 A.D. Tōdaiji temple, Nara

type seem to have been fused in the early 3rd century B.C. to create a type representing the heads of people like business men or magistrates. (**8.25**) and (**8.26**) show examples of about ca. 100 B.C., faces of merchants from various areas of the Hellenistic world, but made by Greek sculptors[37]. The accentuated frown of these images is a characteristic element. This characteristic has been copied on sculptured stone heads found at Hadda[38] and Taxila[39]. (**3.12**) and (**8.27**) show examples from Taxila of the 1st century A.D.

On the face of a Chinese tomb figurine of a Western Asian warrior, made of grey earthenware and dated to the first quarter of the 6th century A.D., the frown, derived from the Gandhāran and Central Asian tradition[40], is applied to express a ferocious quality of these guardian figures (**8.28**).

Similar to the Hellenistic modelling on the heads from Taxila is the deep crease of the frown of the dignitary from Khotan, dating from the early Tang dynasty (**8.29**). Tang guardian figures, too, significant as grave ornaments to protect the grave and ward off evil, show a rather exaggerated frown (**8.30**)[41]. An example from the Song period (960-1279 A.D.) is shown in (**8.31**).

These Buddhist guardian images found their way to Korea, as the one in the Sŏkkuram cave-temple at Wŏlsŏng, North Kyŏngsang province and dating from the 8th century (**8.32**). Also note the exaggerated musculature of this figure.

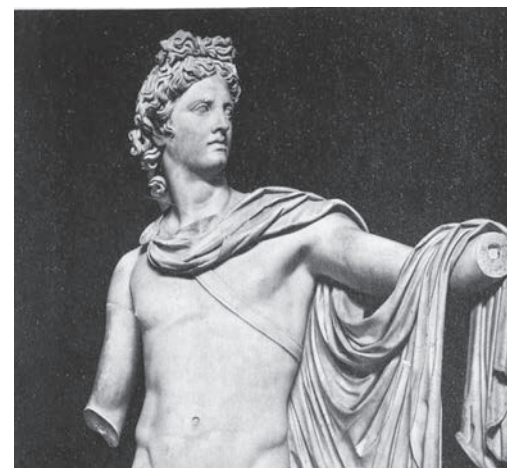
They appear in Japan in the same quality, as guardians of the faith, and at the same time, such as the one executed in painted clay, dated ca. 735 A.D., in the Sangatsu Hall of the Tōdaiji temple in Nara (**8.33**).

Further examples of the frown in Japanese art are shown in Chapter 6, where the image of the Niō as the temple guardian is dealt with[42].

The exaggerated frown, derived from Hellenistic art, became a linear motif and the fierce expression, part of "psychological warfare" became as popular in Japan as in China.

8.34 Early depiction of Buddha on the right of a central pillar. At his right stands *Vajrapāni* (q.v.) and to the left two praying monks. Gandhāra, ca. 100 A.D. ISS

8.35 Gold *stater* of the Kushān king Kanishka I (r. ca. 100-ca. 150 A.D.). It is inscribed *Boddo* (Buddha) in Bactrian using Greek letters. Ca. 150 A.D. BML



8.36 Bust of Apollo Belvedere, a Roman marble statue after a Greek bronze original of the late 4th century B.C. MPV

8.2 The Buddha image

In Chapter 2, par. 2.4 it has been discussed how, after the collapse of the Achaemenid Empire in 328 B.C., the area called Gandhāra remained under the rule of the Indian Mauryans until about 190 B.C., when displaced Hellenized Bactrians from the North established control in the region. Greco-Bactrian rule lasted approximately a hundred years until ca. 90 B.C. when control passed to the Śakas. The end of the Śaka rule came by about 25 A.D. with the arrival of the Parthians, who were subdued by the Kushāns

around 64 A.D., who ruled until about 460 A.D.

Buddhism was introduced into the Gandhāra area by about 250 B.C., when the Mauryan emperor Aśoka sent missions in every direction of his empire to spread the new belief, while the Greco-Bactrians during about hundred years, from 190 B.C. to 90 B.C., introduced Hellenistic influences. However, it was during the subsequent reign of the Kushāns, great supporters of Buddhism as well as of the Roman empire, that the Hellenistic style achieved its maturity[43].

Gandhāran art, with its overtone of Greco-Roman culture, was drawn into the service of Buddhism, and it was possibly there that, towards the beginning of the 1st century A.D., the Buddha was portrayed in human form for the first time. The earlier depictions of Buddha (1st century A.D.) in Gandhāra displayed wide open eyes and often a moustache as in (**8.34**).

Another early portrayal is on a gold coin of the Kushān emperor Kanishka, inscribed in provincial Greek letters, BODDO (Buddha) (**8.35**). A special feature is that there is a double circular nimbus behind the head and an oval-shaped aureole behind the body. The figure has wide open eyes and a large moustache, as well as an *ushnīsha* on his head and an *ūrnā* between the eyebrows. The anthropomorphic representation of Buddha almost certainly went hand in hand with a change in the religion from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna doctrine[44]. Buddha statues were made as an aid to meditation, and so to satisfy the personal adoration of the common people. The sculptor's quest was to express silence in accordance with and in support of the solitary hours of meditation.

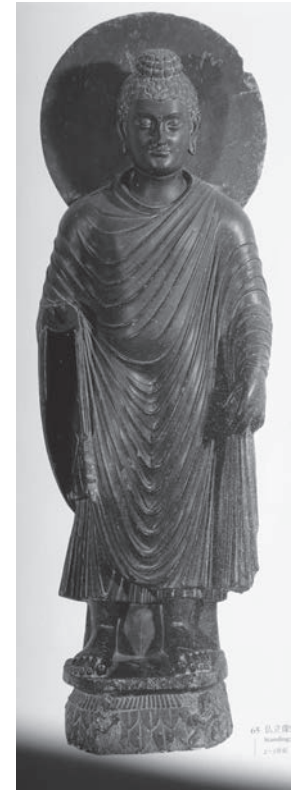
The early Gandhāran Buddhas were a combination of various elements from the artistic repertory of itinerant craftsmen, who were called upon to produce an icon of the Buddha. But soon they made the head an adaptation of the youthful face of the classical Apollo Belvedere (**8.36**). This Buddha icon (2nd century A.D.) (**8.37**) had horizontal eyes with sharp edges of the lids under a distinct and curved eyebrow. The eyes were half-closed, not wide open as with the early model, to express an inward-oriented dreamy attitude. Between the eyebrows the *ūrnā* is visible as a small circle. The upper lip is curved and has drooping ends. The chin is full. The profile of the face is definitely Greek by inspiration. The head is covered with wavy hair, done in a Hellenistic coiffure to integrate with the *ushnīsha*, the topknot, which is characteristic of Buddha.

The mantle became the Roman toga or *pallium* with its voluminous and realistic folds, purely classical or Hellenistic Greek[45]. One leg is slightly flexed at the knee, the so-called *contrapposto* attitude, which was adopted from the images of Greco-Roman gods. The earlier Gandhāran images show a remarkable iconography, which is implicit in most Greek divine images created since the 5th century B.C.

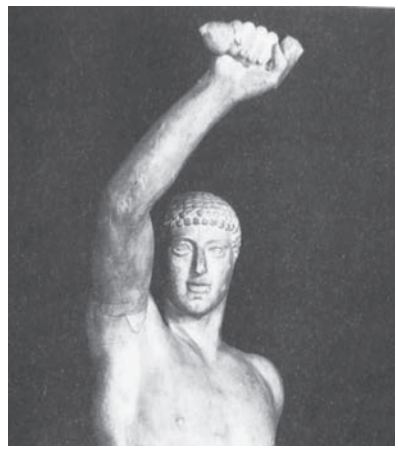
Many of these characteristics have been accurately maintained in the image of (**8.38**), datable to the 2nd-3rd century A.D. The head is slightly less Apollo-like, but still all the elements are there.

Probably at the same time that the icon of Buddha was created in Gandhāra, the workshop of Mathurā, the southern capital of the Kushāns, produced an Indian Buddha image. These images differ entirely from their Gandhāran counterparts. The breasts are disproportionately large. They have a spiral protuberance on their head, which is a lock of hair and not an *ushnīsha*. They seem to have been modelled after the statues of *yaksha*,

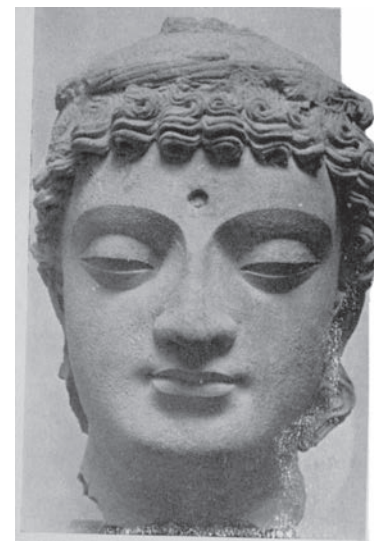
8.37 Statue of Buddha. Note the round youthful head and the horizontal eyes. Gandhāra, 2nd century A.D. Peshāwar Museum



8.38 Schist carving of a standing Buddha. Gandhāra, 2nd to 3rd century A.D. NMD



8.39 Bust of a Roman marble statue of Harmodius, with typical Archaic hairstyle (closely packed and patterned curls) and an Apollo-style face. Roman copy of Greek bronze original. Ca. 475 B.C. MAN



8.40 Stucco head of Buddha with Apollo-type characteristics. Reportedly from Swāt Valley. 5th century A.D. ROT

that were popular in the Sāñcī-area in India, rather than that a new image for the Buddha was invented. Their facial expression is relatively crude, but soon, due to the influence of the Gandhāra images, it becomes more serene and the gradual refinement of the Buddha images in Mathurā is definitely due to the influence of the Gandhāra images. By about 150 A.D., on the heads of the Mathurā images the hair is represented in the form of snail-shell curls covering the head like a cap[46]. This convention follows the description of the appearance of the Buddha hair after he had cut off his princely locks at the time of the Great Renunciation. His hair was reduced to two inches in length and curling from the right lay close to his head and so remained as long as he lived. These snail-shell curls are sometimes referred to as being an imitation of the typical archaic hairstyle of Harmodios (**8.39**)[47]. However, it is generally believed to be of Indian descent, an Indian Buddhist formula, although it is not in keeping with the biography of Buddha, where he is said to have cut off his princely locks to become a shaven monk. Also, by that time (150 A.D.), the Buddha in Mathurā is dressed in a monastic robe covering both shoulders and looping symmetrically over his chest. During the 3rd century the cloak became looped asymmetrically.

In Gandhāra, by about 200 A.D., the Buddha has undulating locks, a large halo and a robe of which the asymmetric draping over the chest is widely impregnated with Greco-Roman influences. From the 3rd century on the Buddha is frequently represented in the teaching attitude, with his robe covering one shoulder only. This version represents what is normally considered to be the fully developed Gandhāran style[48].

In Gandhāra, as the process of Indianization of the Buddha proceeds, the flowing locks are restricted and by gradual transition came to conform to the Indian curly formula. Yet, something of the classical hair dress was maintained in Gandhāran Buddhist art as shown in (**8.40**). This stucco head of Buddha or bodhisattva, datable to the 5th century A.D., and reportedly from the Swāt Valley, prominently shows some Greek qualities in the Apollo-type face, especially with the "cap of locks" and soft-rounded chin and cupid's bow lips.

The extension of Buddhism and its art to Central Asia certainly began as early as the Kushān period, when the western parts of the region were under Kushān suzerainty. Therefore, fragments of Buddha images from such monastic centres along the Silk Road as Khotan, Miran and Tumschuq are highly inspired by the originally Greco-Roman types of Buddha statues of Hadda and Taxila[49], and as such they appear in Dunhuang in cave III. From there the sculptors of the Wei dynasty carried it to Yungang, near the capital of Datong, about 460 A.D., where even the colossal Buddha carved in the cliff shows its characteristics.

It would be beyond the scope of this work to describe in detail how the Buddha image developed and changed in style on its way to China and within China under various influences[50]. Also the subsequent transmission of the Buddha image to Korea and its style consequences has been a vast area of research during the last decennia[51].

Of crucial importance in the context of this Chapter, however, is the idea of retaining the human figure, together with a number of specific characteristics of classical descent as the basis of expression through the development of Buddhist art from Gandhāra to Central Asia[52]. This art was then elaborated in China, whence it was introduced to Korea

and Japan. The elements of classical descent, characteristic for the Buddha image, may be summarized as follows.

- Youthfulness. The youthful appearance of the Buddha was wholly appropriate to him at the time when the episode of the Enlightenment took place and it is quite possible that the artists who shaped the early Buddha image had this fact in mind. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the Buddha is just as youthful when depicted on his death-bed[53]. In archaic and classical Greek art, youthfulness is the characteristic of deities, both male and female, of heroes and victorious men;
- A relaxed attitude, a characteristic of many Greek statues, expressing controlled energy;
- General realism in the depiction of the human body, prominent in classical Greece, and further elaborated to some extent in the Buddha image;
- Folding dress; the style of the early Gandhāra Buddhas approximates late Hellenistic or Roman Imperial art of the early centuries of our era. As Indian carvers took over the work of the first generation of Roman sculptors, the Gandhāran Buddhas gradually underwent a process of Indianization. One consequence of this was that the drapery was reduced to a schematic pattern of stringlike ridges, falling in repeated loops down the body, so that the form appears nude as seen through a network of cords. The ancestor of the scheme, however, is the Roman toga;
- *Contrapposto* attitude, as a classical Greek attitude;
- The halo, already part of the image of Buddha from the beginning in Gandhāra and an inevitable attribute for all later Buddhist divinities, probably derives from the ancient Iranian convention of symbolizing light by a disk or sun[54], but was re-invented by the Greeks[55]. Coomaraswamy[56] calls the halo "one of the leading Buddhist forms which do not occur in India". The emphasis upon the use of the halo for representations of the Roman emperors was probably one of the reasons for its ready application in Buddhist art[57], where it signifies the light of hope brought into the world by Buddhism;
- The idealization shown by the dreamy expression instead of the Indian air of profound meditation;
- Horizontal eyes often seen in the face of the Buddha, even in China and Japan;
- Sharp edges of the eyelids;
- Distinct and curved eyebrows and full chin.

The adherence to these elements in the Buddha image at varying frequency and intensity can be easily followed in Chinese, Korean and Japanese art.

Some examples may illustrate this point. A gilt-bronze votive statue in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, of around 500 A.D. from Hebei province, shows the full chin and edges of eyelids on the youthful face, folding dress and *contrapposto* attitude of the legs suggested by the slightly forward position of the right foot (**8.41**).

Of about the same time is the gilt-bronze statue of Maitreya, also in the Metropolitan Museum, with more pronounced horizontal eyes, edges of the eyelids, sharp nose, full chin, symmetrically falling folds of the thin dress, and the *contrapposto* suggested by the unequal level of the knees (**8.42**). The body underneath the dress shows an accurate grasp

8.41 Votive bronze Buddha statuette. China, early 6th century A.D. MMN

8.42 Votive bronze statuette of Maitreya. China, 5th century A.D. MMN

8.43 White marble statue, with a gold-plated lacquer finish, of the seated Buddha. China, ca. 700 A.D. Eisei-Bunko Museum, Tōkyō

8.44 Gilt-bronze image of standing Buddha. From Suksusa, Yŏngju, North Kyŏngsang province, Korea. First half of 7th century A.D. Kyŏngbuk National Museum, Taegu, Korea

8.45 Gilt-bronze statuette of standing Buddha. Korea, first half of 7th century A.D. National Museum of Korea, Seoul

8.46 Gilt-bronze statuette of Buddha. Korea, Unified Silla dynasty (668-935). Cleveland Museum of Art

of skeletal structure and tightened treatment of the flesh.
The same qualities are seen in (**8.43**) of the statue of the seated Buddha, dating from about 700 A.D. The eyelid folds and roundness of the eyes are carved with meticulous care. The treatment of the folds of the clothes is wholly natural as it drapes over the legs. The body is portrayed lifelike with a suggestion of a delicate smooth skin.

Typical examples from Korea illustrate the continuity of the principles although the *contrapposto* attitude of the standing Buddha image seems to appear less frequently. In (**8.44**) the legs are both erect. The garments are arranged in thick pronounced folds. However, (**8.45**) shows the *contrapposto* position of the legs. The disproportionately large head is youthful, almost childlike, as is the modelling of the body. The drapery folds are light and appear to be clinging to reveal the contours of Buddha's lower body. This is also the case with the Buddha statue of (**8.46**), where the more thickly applied drapery folds still indicate a bodily shape and contours. The legs are in a slight *contrapposto* attitude, as indicated by the forward position of the left foot.

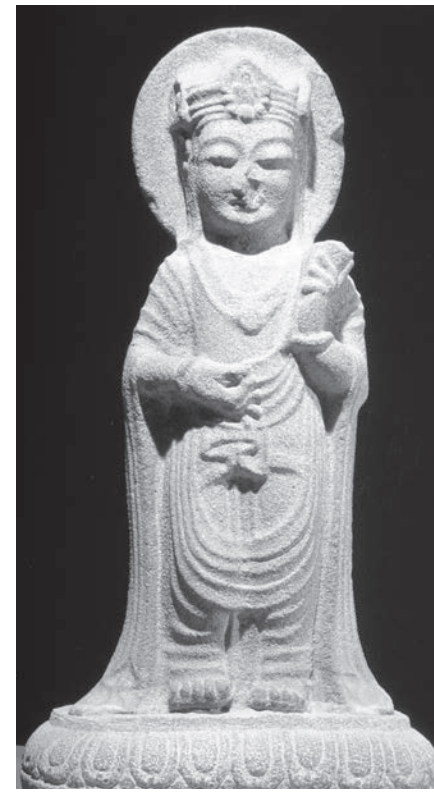
8.47 Wall-painting of the Kondō (Golden Hall) of the Hōryūji temple in Nara, depicting Buddha Amida (Amitābha) revealing the Law of the Western Paradise. On either side of his throne are small souls, reborn there to receive his instruction. Exuberant treatment of the dress. Japan, late 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Golden Hall, Nara

8.48 Statue of standing *bodhisattva*; circular nimbus, Apollo-type face. Gandhāra, ca. 200 A.D. ROT

It is believed that Shiba Tatto, a Chinese immigrant artisan in Japan, prayed to a Buddhist statue at his home in the year 522, which suggests that Buddha statues were at first objects of veneration by naturalized aliens. It is also said that in 538 or 522 king Sŏngmyŏng of the Korean kingdom of Paekche sent a gilt-bronze image of Śākyamuni Buddha to the emperor Kinmei of Japan, together with Buddhist *sūtra's* and other ritual objects. Shiba Tatto's grandson, Tori Kuratsukuri, completed a gilt-bronze statue of Śākyamuni in 609 A.D.[58]. This must have been a tremendous undertaking for the Japanese society at the time since sculptures of gods in human form had probably never been undertaken before in Japan. Tori's greatest masterpiece is the Shaka Triad (Śākyamuni with two *bodhisattva* attendants), which was completed in 623 A.D.[59]. It is now in the Golden Hall (*Kondō*) of the Hōryūji temple in Nara. We recognize some of the general features, discussed so far, in the drapery folds of the seated Buddha, the facial elements and the halo, which signals classical inspiration in its open metalwork[60]. Exuberant treatment of the folds in the dress of the Buddha is seen in the wall painting in the Golden Hall of the Hōryūji temple (**8.47**), horizontal eyes, and sharp lines contouring eyebrows and nose.

8.49 Statue of Avalokiteśvara. From Chang'an, Shaanxi province, China. Chen dynasty (557-589 A.D.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

8.50 Headless marble statue of *bodhisattva*. China, Longyanshan, Hebei province. Ca. 670 A.D. After Willets 1965, fig. 139



8.51 Stone statue of standing *bodhisattva*. Round face with childlike features. "Quasi-*contrapposto*" attitude of the legs. From Changch'ang-gol, Namsan, Kyŏngju, Korea. First half of 7th century A.D. Gyeongju National Museum, Korea

Strictly speaking a *bodhisattva* is not a Buddha, but anyone who has renounced Buddhahood in order to work for the salvation of all beings. Although they are depicted in various sitting or standing attitudes, in China they are never found in the meditation-pose (*dhyāna mudrā*). They have the elongated ear-lobe, seldom an *ūrnā* and never an *ushnīsha*. Usually they are naked to the middle and their torso is often loaded with jewellery. The headgear is always an elaborate coiffure with a diadem, in which often a Buddha statuette or Buddha attributes are integrated. Moreover, they often hold objects in their hands which help to identify them. Otherwise their appearance is much like that of the Buddha image, as the following examples may illustrate.

From Gandhāra is the statue of a standing *bodhisattva*, dated to the 2nd-3rd century A.D., with a circular nimbus, Apollo-type face, right shoulder bare and the *contrapposto* position of the legs (**8.48**).

(**8.49**) shows the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara, found in Chang'an, and dating from the Northern Chen dynasty (557-589). He has a small seated Amitābha in his hair dress. The face has the characteristic elements similar to the Buddhas as discussed before. The dress below the waist is arranged in hanging folds we recognize from the Buddha images.

8.52 Standing *bodhisattva*, in "quasi-*contrapposto*" attitude. Korea or Japan, 7th century A.D. Sekiyama Jinja, Myōkō Village, Niigata Prefecture, Japan

8.53 Amida trinity. The two attendants are in the "quasi-*contrapposto*" attitude. Japan. Late 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

8.54 Standing Avalokiteśvara Kanon. S-shaped curve in the body and "quasi-*contrapposto*" attitude. Japan, Hakuhō period (645-710). Ca. 700 A.D. Kongōji temple, Ōsaka Prefecture

8.55 Panel of octagonal lantern, in gilt-bronze with *bodhisattva*-image in *contrapposto* attitude. Japan, Nara period (710-794). Tōdaiji temple, Nara

8.56 Statuette of standing *bosatsu*, polychrome Japanese cypress with cut gold leaf, inlaid with crystal. *Contrapposto*-attitude. Japan, Kamakura period (1185-1333). 13th century. NMT

(**8.50**) shows a headless statue of a *bodhisattva* from the Tang period, ca. 670 A.D., from Longyanshan, Hebei province, with the dress in thin folds clinging to the body, which is well represented in a naturalistic way. The *contrapposto* attitude is very pronounced.
The standing *bodhisattva* from Korea, second half of the 6th century A.D., is in style much like the Chinese Buddha of (**8.41**), including the slight *contrapposto* position of the legs.

A not uncommon *contrapposto* attitude for Korean *bodhisattva's* is shown in (**8.51**), where the subtle hip-shot posture, giving the body a slight S-curve, causes the left knee to bend, although the feet are represented in parallel and in the same plane, an anatomical contradiction[61]. We call it quasi-*contrapposto*. This attitude is also seen in the statue of the standing *bodhisattva* of (**8.52**). Interesting in this figure, apart from the rich folds in the garment, the delicate physique and the sharply incised characteristic elements of the face, is the half-palmette arabesque on the hem of the inner garment, which is of classical Greece descent as discussed in Chapter 13. The origin of this *bodhisattva* is not clear, and may be either from Korea or from Japan[62].
The quasi-*contrapposto* position of the legs was obviously copied in the attitude of the *bodhisattva's* in Japan as seen in the Amida Triad in the Hōryūji temple in Nara of the 7th century, as shown in (**8.53**) and in the statue of the standing *bodhisattva* of Kanon, dating from ca. 700 A.D., as shown in (**8.54**). But simultaneously the normal *contrapposto* was applied as seen in (**8.55**), depicting the image of a *bodhisattva* in a gilt-bronze panel.

Typical elements of classical origin as discussed above have been maintained in Buddhist sculpture of the later periods, as e.g. seen in (**8.56**) of a *bodhisattva* of the 13th century.

8.3 The boy motif

Eros, the god of love in Greek mythology, is represented in Greek art in a peculiar way: he gradually seems to grow younger. He is seen as a fairly grown-up boy in the Archaic period, then as a young boy in the Classical period, and becomes a playful *putto* in the Hellenistic age[63]. He is frequently presented in different postures in the art of the Greek and Roman world, including the Orient, but mostly in the more or less upright position, i.e. less in the flying pose[64].

On a marble relief on the Parthenon in Athens, dated about 440 B.C., Eros is seen as a growing-up youngster (**8.57**).
The terracotta figurine of the standing Eros of (**8.58**) was unearthed at Pella, Greece, and dates from about 100 B.C., as is the one of (**8.59**).
Examples of *putti* in the Roman world have been shown in Chapter 7, (**7.23**) through (**7.25**)[65].

They appear through the ages in Gandhāra. On a toilet tray from the 2nd-1st century B.C. we see Aphrodite punishing Eros (**8.60**). (**8.61**) shows the decoration on a silver cup from Gandhāra, dating from the 1st century B.C., where winged Erotes are depicted with bunches of grapes, a Bacchic theme, as also the mask of a *satyr* or *silenus* suggests. On another silver cup from Gandhāra of the 1st century B.C. a more complex Dionysiac scene has been depicted (**8.62**). On the left-hand side, in front of the tree, a winged Eros

8.57 Marble relief, east frieze of Parthenon in Athens (reconstructed). Artemis, Aphrodite and Eros. Ca. 440 B.C. Acropolis Museum, Athens

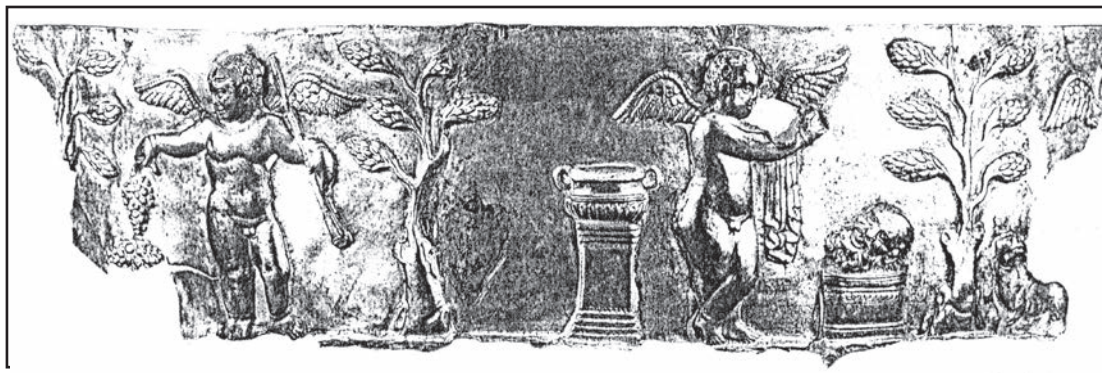
8.58 Terracotta figurine of Eros, unearthed in the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite at Pella. Ca. 100 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Pella, Greece

8.59 Terracotta figurine of Eros and Psyche, unearthed in the agora at Pella. Greece, ca. 100 B.C. Archaeological Museum, Pella, Greece

8.60 Steatite toilet-tray, with Aphrodite beating Eros. Gandhāra, ca. 100 B.C. BML

holding a large mask before his face approaches a standing male figure (possibly Dionysos), while at the right-hand side of the column a child, wearing a short shirt and skirt, is lifting a large bunch of grapes. These cups are not uncommon in the late Hellenistic and early Roman world, and were probably made in Asia Minor or Egypt[66].

Also the *putti* amidst long serpentine garlands is a recurring Hellenistic motif in Gandhāra which, initially appearing in Anatolia (Asia Minor) about 150 A.D., spread south and into



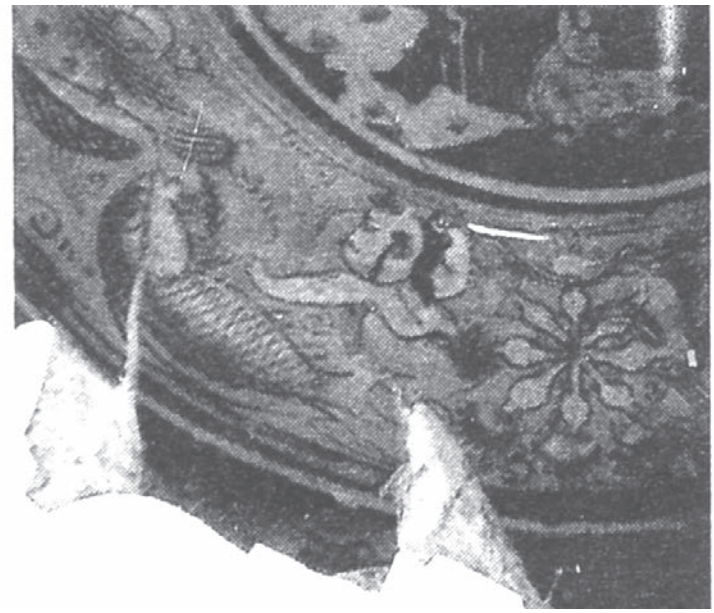
8.61 Decoration on a silver cup with Erotes. Gandhāra, 1st century B.C. The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, England

8.62 Sketch of a decoration on a silver cup with Dionysian scenes and Eros. From Gandhāra. 1st century B.C. The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, England

8.63 Frieze of vine scroll and Erotes. From Gandhāra, ca. 200 A.D. BML

8.64 Frieze of Erotes bearing a garland. From Swāt. Pakistan, ca. 200 A.D. BML

8.65 Marble pilaster at Leptis Magna, North Africa, with Eros amidst grape-vine. Ca. 200 A.D. After Boardman 1994, 133, fig. 4.72b



8.66 Detail of the decoration of a lacquer box from a tomb at Ma'anshan, showing *putti* (or young men) fishing. Early 3rd century A.D. Municipal Museum, Ma'anshan, Anhui province, China

Egypt to be copied in Gandhāra[67]. Here, too, the grapes are a component of the decoration (**8.63**), but other fruits are no exception (**8.64**). Probably made by craftsmen from Asia Minor, they are found on pillars of buildings at Leptis Magna in North Africa, dating from about 200 A.D. (**8.65**).

The *putto*-image apparently travelled east and reached China during the early 3rd century A.D. The inner register of a lacquer plate from a tomb in Ma'anshan, Anhui Province, dating from the late Eastern Han period, depicts *putti* (or young men) hunting or fishing among running acanthus scrolls (**8.66**). However, the traits of the *putti* are not purely classical anymore, but have been adapted to more eastern physiognomy. It is not likely that the artist who painted this plate had travelled to Rome or had seen Roman frescoes or Gandhāran reliefs. His model was probably something more portable like the silver platters, cups and vases which have been unearthed in China[68]. Silver plate was ubiquitous in the Roman world. It was traded far into barbarian areas and often became a means by which Roman motifs were transmitted[69].
Later examples have been reported to appear in China, e.g. on a textile from Xinjiang, dated 5th century A.D. (**8.67**), where a winged boy chasing a butterfly is depicted between flowers and vines, and on a lacquered wooden strip from a tomb near Datong, Shanxi province, dated ca. 480 A.D.[70], where boys are enclosed between undulating vines with half-palmettes, just as the *putti*- and grape-vines of Gandhāra. Clearly defined grape clusters and *putti* between a decorative vine have been carved in the halo of a *bodhisattva* outside of cave 16 at Longmen, Henan Province[71], while an inhabited grape-vine, with half-palmette leaves, grape bunches and birds appear in the window frames of cave 12 in Yungang near Datong, Shanxi province, both dated near the end of the 5th century A.D.[72].
So, by the beginning of the 6th century *putto*-type boys with vines and grape-bunches were already a known motif in China.

The *putto*-image was used to define the depiction of the auspicious child in Buddhist Paradise[73]. The Pure Land Buddhism was introduced to China in 252. To end the cycle of human suffering, the faithful were admonished to exercise faith in Amitābha, who would arrange for a final birth in his Pure Land[74]. The descriptions of the Pure Land in the scriptures fostered elaborate portrayals of heaven, modelled on the brilliance of the earthly imperial courts, which were essentially important in Buddhist temples[75]. It is within the context of the Pure Land that the young boy became to be depicted frequently.
An early example is the marble *stele* from the Northern Qi period (550-577) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (**8.68**). At the top of the *stele*, just above the circular halo, there are two winged infants. (**8.68a**) Eight *apsarasas* (**8.68b**) decorate the top-part of the outer edge of the *stele*[76]. The two infants are the *putti* of classical origin. Here they represent the soul of the newly born into Buddhist Paradise.

The concept to depict the recently arrived soul as an infant is a purely Chinese invention. The Chinese monk Zhi Dun (314-366) was the first to describe the reborn soul's entry into the Pure Land as occurring through the calyx of a lotus flower, a method of rebirth whereby the impurities of the womb would be avoided. An infant seated on a lotus pedestal thus became the standard way to depict the newborn soul. That is the idea

8.67 Image of Eros chasing a butterfly on a woollen textile from Xinjiang. 430-630 A.D. Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg

a.

b.

8.68 Stele with Śākyamuni and Maitreya, with two winged infants just above the circular halo. China, Northern Qi (550-577 A.D.). Cleveland Museum of Art

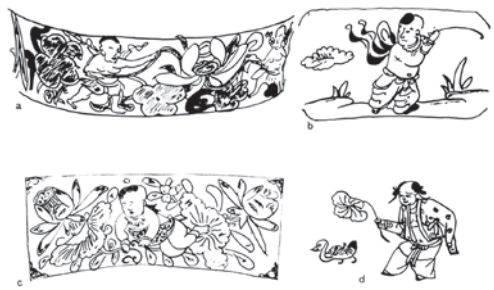
behind the boys on the *stele*, where they are combined with the lotus flowers intertwined with scrolling vines in the halo[77].

In order to populate the Pure Land adequately, prototypes for all the major figures were available. But there was no model in either Buddhist art or previous Chinese art for the depiction of children. This model came from the Roman *putti* as it spread eastwards via Central Asia[78].

By the early 8th century, the cherubic image of boys began to appear outside the religious context, in decorative arts made for elite consumption[79]. At court and among the wealthy, the boy became an auspicious motif related to wishes for the birth of sons. By that time the grapes, as symbols of abundance, had already special significance to the Chinese court, especially after the introduction in 640 A.D. of the technique of ferment-

8.69 Silk and paper greeting card, with a boy as a good wish for male progeny, i.e. long life. China, 8th century A.D. Shōsōin, Nara

8.70 Playing Chinese children on various Chinese ceramics from the Song period. After Wirgin 1979, fig. 18



8.71 Playing Chinese children on various Chinese ceramics from the Song period (960-1279). After Wirgin 1979, fig. 19

8.72 Ceramic jar, so-called Cizhou ware, decorated with children at play. Found near a sunken ship of the Yuan dynasty period in the Sandaogang Sea in Suizong, Liaoning province. China, Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing

ing grapes[80]. The grape decoration on many mirrors of the Tang period clearly indicate the association with abundance, as these mirrors would after a wedding be hung over the new couple's marriage bed to ensure happiness and an abundance of children[81].
The Shōsōin in Nara has a Chinese greeting-card that shows that pictures of young boys symbolize good wishes (**8.69**). The verse reads: "On this auspicious occasion, may happiness be renewed. May you find the peace of ten thousand years and may life last a thousand springs". The boy represents male progeny, in Confucian view the only certain way to prolong life, that is, in the sense of patrilineal continuation[82].

Decorations of playing boys are well known through the ages in Chinese art. In this

8.73 Blue-and-white porcelain bowl, with children at play. China, Ming period, ca. 1430. After Mayer Collection 1974, 180, fig. 95

8.74 Blue-and-white porcelain vase with decor of boys at play. China, Ming period, Zhengde mark (1506-1521). After Garner 1954, fig. 48C

8.75 Blue-and-white porcelain bowl, with design of playing boys. China, Jiajing mark (1522-1566). After Garner 1954, fig. 50B

chapter some examples are shown.

On Song ceramics they appear frequently in different assemblages at play as shown in (**8.70**) and (**8.71**). Of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) is the ceramic jar of (**8.72**). On a blue and white Ming bowl, dated ca. 1430, two boys play on a terrace below a willow (**8.73**). (**8.74**), (**8.75**) and (**8.76**) may further illustrate the popularity of the motif during Ming times. The dish from the Transitional period between the Ming and the Qing dynasty, dating from the Tianqi era (1621-1627) shows two boys playing on a river bank while a third boy is fishing from a boat (**8.77**). The enamel blue-and-white decorated porcelain box, dating from the 2nd half of the 17th century, and made in the Jingdezhen kilns, depicts playing children (**8.78**). A famille-rose vase of the Jiaqing period (1796-1820) is decorated with a group of eight boys, one blindfolded, engaged in a game of "blindman's buff"[83] (**8.79**).

A 19th century embroidered textile, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (**8.80**) may have been used as a valance above a bed, the theme of boys at play stressing the idea

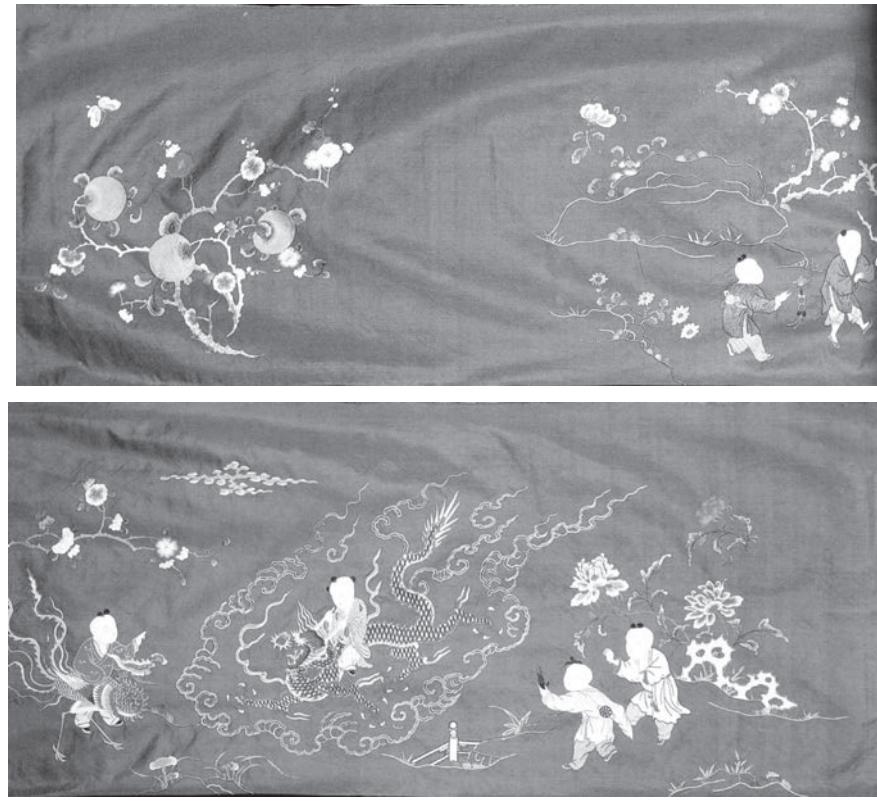
8.76 Blue-and-white porcelain dish, with design of boys at play. China, Ming period, Wanli mark (1573-1620. After Garner 1954, fig. 53B

8.77 Blue-and-white porcelain dish, with boys at a river bank. China, Tianqi period (1621-1627). After Transitional Wares 1981, 168, no. 133

8.78 Porcelain box decorated in underglaze blue and enamels. China, Jingdezhen, 2nd half of17th century A.D . Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

8.79 A famille rose porcelain vase, decorated with boys playing a game of "blindman's buff". China, Jiaqing period (1796-1820). After TEFAF 2006, 263

of continuation of the male line. One boy rides down from the clouds mounted on a dragon. To one side of him, another boy is in charge of a phoenix bird while four children look on. The musical instrument held by one of the boys is a *sheng*, a mouth organ and its name has the same sound as the word meaning "to be born". Another boy holds out a sceptre with silk tassels dangling from it. Also based on a word-play this means "may



8.80 Part of an embroidered wedding hanging with boys at play, stressing the idea of marriage as a vehicle for ensuring the continuation of the male line. China, Qing dynasty. 19th century A.D. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

8.81 Front flap of a purse, with the "may you achieve the three successive firsts" motif. China, Qing period, ca. 1850-1900. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco

8.82 Detail of a hanging tapestry embroidered with the "hundred boys" motif. China, Qing dynasty, ca. 19th century. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco

8.83 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with design of landscape and playing Chinese boys. Japan, ca. 1700. Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa, Japan

8.84 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with Chinese boys playing with birds. Japan, ca. 1700. After Shimazaki 1977, fig. 75

8.85 Enamelled Imari porcelain bowl, with design of Chinese boys playing. The design is called *hyaku karako* (hundreds of Chinese boys). Japan, Genroku period (1688-1703). Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan

everything go as you wish"[84].

The Chinese language lends itself to these wordplays as many words share the same sounds as well as tones, and these are then adopted visually as rebuses. Citrons feature frequently in rebuses, and three of them together symbolize "achieving the three successive firsts", which refers to taking first place in the three top levels of the civil service examinations (provincial, metropolitan and imperial). Passing these exams was of the utmost importance in ancient China[85]. (**8.81**) shows the front flap of a purse of the Qing period,

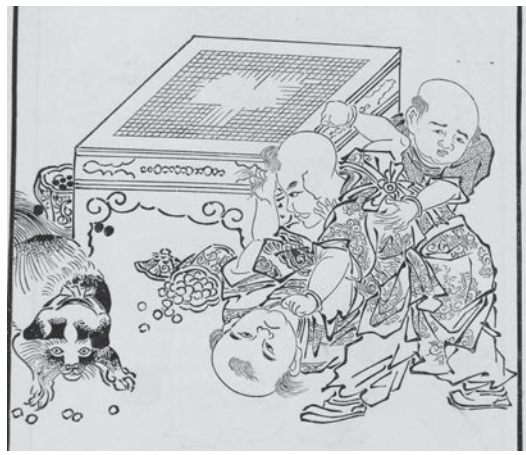
8.86 Enamelled Imari porcelain ware. A pair of sake pitchers decorated with Chinese boys at play. Japan, Kyōhō period (1716-1735). Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan

8.87 Enamelled Imari porcelain ewer, decorated with Chinese-boy design. Japan, ca. 1730. Prefectural Museum, Saga, Japan

8.88 Enamelled Imari porcelain bottle, with *karako* design. Japan, ca. 1730. After Nagatake 1978, 61

8.89 Porcelain bottle with design of Chinese boys at play under a pine tree. Hirado ware. Japan, second half of 18th century A.D. After Jenyns 1965, fig. 110B

8.90 Tea caddy with playing-boy design, in over glaze red and gold. Koto ware, Japan, Edo period (1615-1868). 19th century. After Ceramics and *sencha* 2000, 49, no. 105



8.91 From a painting by Kanō Naonobu (1607-1650). Japan. After Anderson 1886, 55

8.92 Chinese boys at play. Japan, n.d. After Gonse 1883, vol. 1, 185

where three boys are at play, the one on the left having just pinned the three citrons on the ground with his arrows, signifying the achievement of the "three successive firsts". (**8.82**) depicts a similar scene on a hanging tapestry, also from the 19th century.

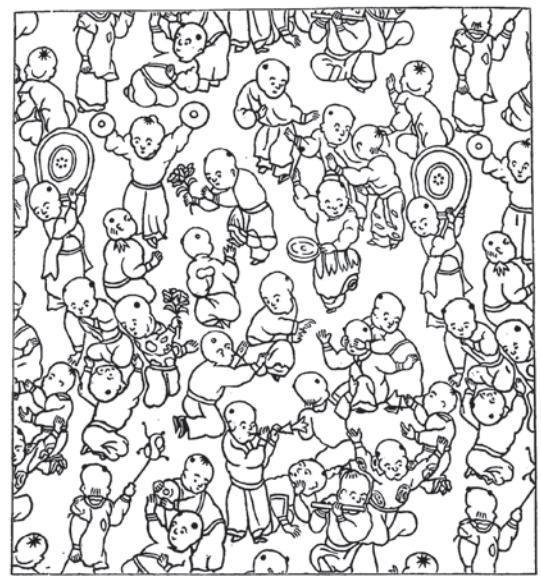
In Japanese art, Chinese boys at play are a recurrent motif. They can be recognized by their dress or their shoes but in particular by a small tuft of hair at either side of the head, which is often but not always shaven.

On early Japanese porcelains of the first quarter of the 17th century, the motif has

8.93 *Netsuke* depicting Chinese boys playing *kotori* (catch-child). Japan, 19th century. After Joly and Tomita 1976, plt. 53, fig. 157

8.94 Chinese boys playing a board game. Sculptured as a *netsuke*. Japan, 19th century. After Joly and Tomita 1976, plt. 54, fig. 147

been copied from the decoration on Chinese porcelains from the late Ming periods[86], and we meet them from then on as a motif. In Japan they are called *karako* (lit. Chinese children) or *karako asobe* (lit. Chinese children at play)[87]. On two ko Kutani dishes, dating from the late 17th century, we see the design of a landscape with playing Chinese boys of which one is carrying a bow (**8.83**) and of Chinese boys playing with birds (**8.84**).
(**8.85**) shows an enamelled Imari bowl, dating from about 1700, with in the centre the character *kotobuki*, meaning "congratulations" and a design of Chinese boys at play. The design is called "*hyaku karako*" (a hundred Chinese boys) or *karako zukushi* (covered with Chinese boys). From a little later date is the pair of Imari pitchers, dating from the Kyōhō period (1716-1735). One is painted with Chinese boys who are watching a cockfight, the other is decorated with Chinese boys who are holding war-fans and are boxing in the Chinese style (**8.86**). Of about the same time is the enamelled Imari ewer of (**8.87**) and the bottle of (**8.88**).



8.95 Design of many boys in various attitudes on a Japanese "printed fabric". n.d. After Dresser 1882, 272, fig. 112

On an exceptionally fine type of Japanese porcelain, made at Mikawachi from 1750 until the Tenpō era (1830-1843), called Hirado-ware, the most favoured and typical motif was that of the *karako asobe*. Usually they were depicted –three, four or seven in number- at play under a pine tree. Pieces decorated with the seven boys are said to be the finest of all[88] (**8.89**).

A tea-caddy for the *sencha*-ceremony of tea-drinking[89] from the late Edo period (1615-1868) is decorated with a boy design (**8.90**).

Also on other Japanese artefacts the motif is rather frequently met, e.g. on a 17th century print of the painter Kanō Naonobu (1607-1650), where Chinese boys are in a quarrel (**8.91**). Gonse shows a drawing from a not further specified Japanese painting of a group of thirteen Chinese boys in a playful row (**8.92**).

The motif has been sculptured in ivory too. In (**8.93**) a group of five boys are playing the game *kotori* (catch-child), and in (**8.94**) two boys are playing a game of *sugoroku*[90], while a third is watching them. Both these objects are *netsuke* from the 19th century.

Dresser produces a drawing from a Japanese "printed fabric", not further specified, decorated with a design of many boys in all sorts of playful attitudes (**8.95**).

9 PEGASOS

In the 2nd millennium B.C. the image of a winged horse was already known in the Middle East. It appears sometimes on Assyrian works of art[1] (**9.1**), but there it cannot be identified with a specific mythological being[2]. The name Pegasos possibly has a Late Bronze Age (s.v.) Anatolian ancestry[3], but in Greek sources it is for the first time mentioned by Hesiod (ca. 700 B.C.)[4]. There it is the offspring of the union of Poseidon with Medusa. After Perseus had cut off Medusa's head with a stroke of his sickle, Pegasos sprang forth from her bleeding neck together with Chrysaor, who was later the father of the infamous Geryon.

The Pegasos-image appears about the same time in Greek art. An example is shown in (**9.2**), where the birth of Pegasos and Chrysaor is carved on a Cypriot *sarcophagus* from Golgoi, dating from the early 5th century B.C. Perseus is leaving the scene with the sickle in his right hand. Over his shoulder he is carrying a staff from which the sack (*kibisis*) containing Medusa's head is suspended. Such representations of the Pegasos story are, however, only scarcely available in Archaic and Classical art.

The image of Pegasos alone, by contrast (without Chrysaor), appeared on a large scale on the Aegean islands and Greece in the 6th century B.C. and probably all over the Mediterranean area. An Etruscan gilt clasp in the National Etruscan Museum, Rome, decorated with Pegasos dates from around 530 B.C.[5]. The first coins of the Corinthians, dating from ca. 550-525 B.C., carry the picture of Pegasos as a standard[6] (**9.3**). They were called "*Pegasi*" and continued to appear in western Greece in the later 5th century B.C. when those of Corinth ceased[7]. The Sicilian Greeks copied the design from Corinth during the first half of the 3rd century B.C.[8], while Carthage in North Africa copied it from Syracuse (**9.4**), after which it seems to have been used only rarely on Greek coinage.

Closely associated with the winged horse Pegasos are the myths of Bellerophon, the grandson of Sisyphos, king of Corinth. Stheneboia, the wife of Proetus, the king of Argos, fell in love with Bellerophon but he rejected her advances whereupon she told her husband that he had tried to rape her. Proetus did not dare to kill a man who was his guest and sent him to his father-in-law Iobates, the king of Lycia, with a secret message to have him killed. Iobates imposed various dangerous tasks on Bellerophon, trusting that in the attempt to accomplish these, he would be killed. He ordered him to fight the *chimaera*, a fire-breathing creature that consumed everything on Lycian soil. It had the head and body of a lion, with a goat's head growing from his back and a snake's head emerging at its tail.

Bellerophon left Iobates's palace very worried, for he had fallen deeply in love with the king's daughter, and was afraid he would never see her again. He sought the advice of a seer of Corinth, who instructed him to sleep on the altar of Athena. The goddess manifested herself in Bellerophon's dream and gave him a golden bridle, which turned out to be a real one, because on awakening the bridle lay near to him. With this bridle Bellerophon waited at Peirene, the fountain in Corinth, and when Pegasos came to drink from it, he managed to tame him by putting the golden bridle in the horse's mouth[9]. Mounted on Pegasos, Bellerophon flew over the *chimaera* and killed the monster by shooting darts at

9.1 Surface of a cylinder-seal engraved with a winged horse and a lion. Neo-Assyrian (ca. 911-612 B.C.). Ca. 700 B.C. BML

9.2 One of the sides of a *sarcophagus*, displaying in low relief the birth of Pegasos and Chrysaor from the neck of the decapitated Gorgon Medusa. Perseus leaves the scene, accompanied by his dog, with the sickle in his right hand and carrying a staff over his shoulder on which the *kibisis* containing the Gorgon's head is suspending. From Cyprus, early 5th century B.C. MMN

9.3 Silver *stater* with Pegasos. The archaic letter *koppa* (for Corinth) appears below the horse. From Corinth, ca. 550 B.C. After Carpenter 1991, fig. 165

9.4 Pegasos on a silver coin of Carthage, North Africa, where it had been copied from Greek coins of Syracuse in Italy. Ca. 265 B.C. BML

him. Bellerophon, always riding his winged steed, next triumphed over the savage tribes of the Solymia and the Amazons. On his return he successfully overcame an ambush which Iobates had laid for him. Iobates became so filled with admiration that he gave the hero his daughter in marriage. Later on Bellerophon, drunk with success, attempted to reach the Olympus, the home of the gods, on his flying steed, but was flung to earth by Zeus and lamed by his fall.

Bellerophon's fight with the *chimaera* first appears on two proto-Corinthian vases from the middle of the 7th century B.C.[10] (**9.5**).

The image spread over the area in a short time and travelled to neighbouring lands like Etruria, the lands of the Orient and the Greek colonies in Sicily and southern Italy (**9.6**

9.5 Proto-Corinthian aryballos, displaying Bellerophon riding Pegasos and attacking the chimaera with a spear. The Chimaera has the body of a lion, a snake-tail and a goat's head growing from its back. From Thebes, ca. 650 B.C. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

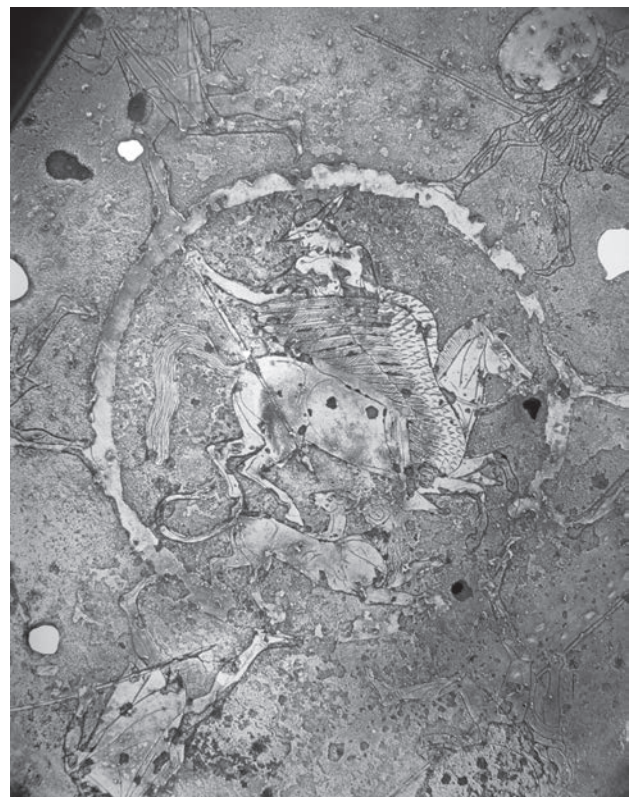
9.6 Relief representation of Bellerophon astride Pegasos on a clay antefix. From the temple of Herakles, Thasos. Ca. 550 B.C. NMA

and **9.7**). In several of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. tombs of the Greek colonies around the Black Sea images of Pegasos alone, as well as of Bellerophon and Pegasos together, fighting the *chimaera* have been found as a decoration on objects like golden earrings, medallions and silver cups, and on the frieze of a coffin[11].

Further east, on a *kylix* dating from ca. 470 B.C. and found in the Kuban area near the southern coast of the Sea of Azov, we see Bellerophon flying on Pegasos, his head facing backwards, striking the *chimaera* with a spear (**9.8**). In the same area, in the burial site Kul Oba, a 4th century B.C. golden clothing plaque was found, decorated with a winged horse within a squared frame[12].

Apart from the numerous works of art of the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C., which show

9.7 Earthenware plate with Bellerophon riding Pegasos and attacking the Chimaera. South Italy. Second half of 4th century B.C. Museo Archeologico, Taranto, Italy



9.8 *Kylix* from Attica with decoration of Bellerophon astride Pegasos, striking the Chimaera with a spear. Excavated in the Kuban area, south-east coast of the Sea of Azov. 470-460 B.C. HMP

9.9 Bronze casket engraved with a scene of Bellerophon, holding Pegasos. From Praeneste, Palestina. Ca. 300 B.C. BML

9.10 Restored mural depicting Bellerophon holding Pegasos, Athena watching. From Pompeii, Triklinium 1st century A.D. Antiquarium depositi della soprintendenza, Pompei

the Pegasos and Bellerophon myth, Greek tragedies and other literary works allude to the heroic deeds of Bellerophon and other elements of the story[13].

During the Hellenistic period the myth continued to be an important subject of decoration on all sorts of works of art. An example is the so-called "Praenestine cista" dating from around 300 B.C., a large cylindrical lidded casket made in Praeneste (Palestrina) in Latium, Italy. It shows the scene of Pegasos held by Bellerophon (**9.9**).

The myth occurs on Roman coins of the Republic and Imperial times[14], a factor which is important in relation to the dissemination eastwards of the image of the winged horse motif as will be discussed further on in this Chapter. Cities under Roman rule in Africa, Asia Minor and Spain also adopted the emblem for their coinage. Even Roman legions borrowed the symbol of Pegasos as their emblem[15].

Gradually, under the influence of literature and poetry, more and more other elements of the mythological world, like gods and the Muses, became incorporated in the representation of the Pegasos/Bellerophon story. On a wall decoration in Pompeii, Pegasos and Bellerophon appear together with Athena, who can be recognized by the Medusa-head on her shield (**9.10**).

On the floor of the 4th century A.D. Lullington Villa in Kent, a mosaic shows Bellerophon riding Pegasos above the *chimaera* (**9.11**). To the left and right of Bellerophon and Pegasos are two dumbbell-shaped, striped objects, which represent mussel-shells. According to Toynbee this association of Bellerophon with water may be explained in two alternative ways: either it may hint at Bellerophon crossing the sea from Greece to Lycia on his way to slay the *chimaera*, or it could allude to Bellerophon as a maritime hero[16]. Anyway, it is the connection between Pegasos and the sea which is important here: Pegasos as we

9.11 Mosaic on the floor of the Lullingstone Villa in Kent. Pegasos with Bellerophon on his back is rushing to the right. The hero is thrusting with his spear to the Chimaera. The four corners of the mosaic are filled with the busts of the personified seasons of the year. According to an ancient Greek allegory, well-known in the Roman age, the Chimaera symbolizes Winter, which is attacked by Bellerophon, the active power of Pegasos, the Sun. Thus the sequence of the four seasons is arranged whose personifications surround him in this mosaic. Kent, England, ca. 350 A.D. After Toynbee 1962, 11, no. 228

9.12 Drawing of the exterior of a shallow glass bowl with wheel-cut decoration of Bellerophon and Pegasos and two nymphs. Pegasos is drinking from a bowl on the ground which is filled by one of the nymphs. An allusion to the story that Pegasos was caught by Bellerophon when the horse was drinking from the spring of Peirene. Unknown provenance. 4th century A.D. BML

9.13 Bronze *contorniate* which belonged to a group of coin-shaped medals, circulated in the late Roman period with the sole purpose of promoting the revival of paganism. One side represented the ancient cultural heritage, the other bore the figures of the "good Caesars", whose virtues were extolled. This one has on the obverse the image of Alexander the Great. On the reverse the Caesar is identified as Bellerophon triumphing over the Chimaera, which personifies evil. After the prevalence of Christianity, the first Byzantine emperors continued to strike *contorniates* in order to immortalize their achievements, which inspired the Christian hagiographers to depict saints on horseback subduing the dragon. First half of 4th century A.D. BML

9.14 Partially gilt silver plate called the "Plate of the Heavenly Twins", displaying a doubling of the design of Pegasos drinking from the spring at Peirene. Sasanian Iran. Late 4th to early 5th century A.D. MMN

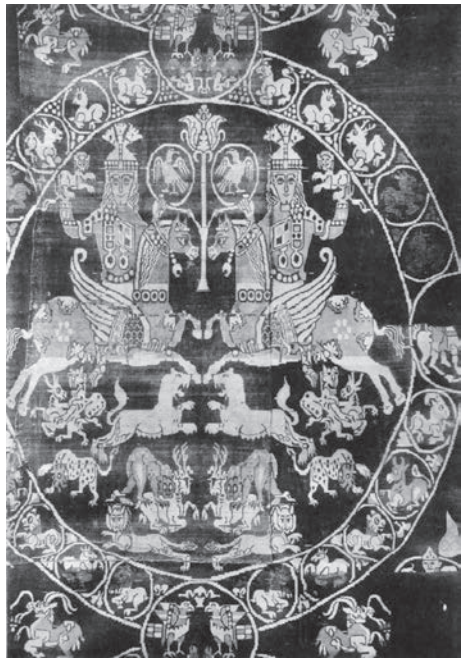
have seen was begotten by Poseidon and the relationship with horses and water-gods in Greek and Roman mythology has everything to do with Poseidon. He is the "tamer of horses" and the "succour of ships"[17].
On a 4th century Roman glass dish we see Pegasos and Bellerophon and two nymphs, one reclining on rocks above them and one seated on the rocks in front of them. Pegasos is drinking from a fluted bowl on the ground, an allusion to Pegasos drinking from the spring at Peirene (**9.12**)[18].

Pegasos became also a symbol of particular qualities like wisdom and speed, while Bellerophon became the hero who provoked the gods when he attempted to act beyond human measure[19]. This led certain Roman emperors to use the image of Bellerophon riding Pegasos as a means to propagate their heroic and even next to immortal qualities. On early 4th century A.D. medals called *contorniates*, the hero who fights the *chimaera* riding Pegasos personifies the emperor himself (**9.13**).

The above short survey sufficiently indicates that the representations of Pegasos/ Bellerophon in the classical world were a commonplace throughout a vast area for many centuries. Together with many other themes of Greek classicism, the Pegasos theme continued in the luxury arts of the East Roman Empire[20]. This is testified by a Byzantine ivory casket, probably made in Constantinople, dating from the mid-10th century A.D. and decorated with numerous scenes from classical mythology, among which Pegasos and Bellerophon[21]. On a Byzantine silver dish, 12th century A.D. and found in Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region in the very north of the Russian Federation, the decoration includes Bellerophon and Pegasos[22].

The Hellenistic Greek tradition spread eastwards via the Greek settlements from Babylon across Iran to Gandhāra and Taxila and classical motifs were copied by Greek artists in those areas and/or by local craftsmen. It is highly likely that these people were familiar with the coins from Greece carrying the image of Pegasos which, as we have seen, were minted during centuries before as well as after Alexander the Great. A Parthian bronze plaque with an engraved Pegasos, presumably dating from the 1st to 2nd centuries A.D. was found in Masjid-i Solaiman about 200 km north of the Persian Gulf[23]. On a so-called "Bactrian" silver vessel, originally dated to the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. but more recently re-dated to the 4th to 6th centuries A.D., the figure of Bellerophon riding on Pegasos is depicted[24].

Art in the Sasanian Empire (226-651 A.D.) adopted classical motifs. It has already been discussed[25] that Iran received influences from Hellenistic and Roman art during the Seleucid and Parthian eras. However, Sasanian and Byzantine art almost coexisted for a relatively short period, from the founding of Constantinople in 323 A.D. until the collapse of the Sasanian kingdom in 651 A.D.[26]. It is primarily from this period of actual political and artistic confrontation between Sasanian Iran and Byzantium that classical motifs appear in Sasanian art[27]. The image of the winged horse was not uncommon on Sasanian seals from the 4th to 6th centuries A.D.[28].
It must be remembered, too, that it was in the luxury arts of the Byzantine Empire that classical forms and subjects persisted[29]. Silver vessels, for example, were lavishly decorated with classical mythological themes, which gave the owner the air of a well educated (s.v.



9.15 Probably Byzantine silk with transformed Pegasos/Bellerophon design. Made after a Sasanian prototype. 7th-8th century A.D. After Falke 1913, plt. 107

9.16 Bronze decorative element in the shape of the winged horse Pegasos. From Iran or Iraq. 6th to 7th century A.D. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin

paideia) person. This continuity of Greek classicism in the Byzantine world was a core element in the identity of the empire and an important source of inspiration in the dissemination of Greek mythological themes. It is also in the context of this inspiration that the introduction of the Pegasos must be thought of[30].

However, the image of Pegasos was not only introduced in Iran, it was also transformed into a specifically Iranian motif. This becomes clear from a famous partially-gilt Sasanian silver-plate, which was made in Iran in the 4th or early 5th century A.D. The piece has become known as "The plate of the heavenly twins"[31] (**9.14**), and shows a sort of doubling of the purely classical motif of Bellerophon with Pegasos drinking from the spring at Peirene as also seen on the Roman glass dish of (**9.12**). Even such a detail as Bellerophon holding the rein of Pegasos has been accurately copied. Such a transformation of the Pegasos/Bellerophon motif can also be seen on a (probably) Byzantine silk, made after a Sasanian prototype in the 7th-8th century A.D.[32] (**9.15**). This transformation of the classical image of Pegasos to a specific Iranian motif is especially remarkable, because the theme of the winged horse was apparently very little known in early, i.e. pre-Hellenistic Iranian art, where winged lions, bulls, sphinxes, griffins and other winged animals frequently appeared, but not the winged steed[33].

The classical image of Pegasos was applied thereafter for depictions of Sasanian royal mounts and finally, for mere decorative emblems, probably of an auspicious character[34] (**9.16**). There can be no doubt that the classical Pegasos is the ancestor of the winged horse in Sasanian art.

9.17 Gilded silver jug of Sasanian shape, engraved around the body with four winged horses. Iranian, 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

9.18 Glass bowl with medallions melted on the body and stamped with a Pegasos design. From Syria. Ca. 700 A.D. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin

9.19 Glass application with mould-pressed decoration of Pegasos. From the Near East. 8th century A.D. Corning Museum of Glass, Corning N.Y.

A rather spectacular example in Iranian art is shown in (**9.17**), a water jug of typical Sasanian shape. It was made of gilded silver and around the body winged horses have been engraved. It found its way to China and Japan, as we will see further on in this paragraph.

A glass bowl of reputedly Syrian workmanship of around 700 A.D. shows several winged horses as a round-the-body decoration (**9.18**), and glass medallion attachments in a pronounced Sasanian style of about the same date carry the image (**9.19**).

To the impact of this development in Sasanian art more attention will be paid later in this Chapter. For now, however, it should be realised that the appearance of the Pegasos

image in Sasanian art was not necessarily the only basis for its migration to the East. For example, in Niya along the southern branch of the Silk Road, Aurel Stein found documents dating from the first half of the 4th century A.D., which carried clay seals decorated with classical motifs among which winged horses[35].

In China the appearance of the winged horse was connected to, we believe, three co-occurring circumstances during the Han period: (1) the complex of *xiangrui*, (2) the association of the horse with the winged dragon and (3) the political situation which urged to bring in legendary powerful horses from the West. In the following lines these circumstances will be discussed in some detail before the possible mechanisms of introduction and acceptance of the image of a winged horse will be explored.

(1) The complex of *xiangrui* comprised various phenomena through which, especially during the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), Heaven was believed to communicate with people on earth[36]. The belief in *xiangrui* was wide-spread and it comprised the appearance of e.g. red wild geese, rainbows, falling stars, phoenixes, white storks, a white tiger, and a yellow dragon, all of which were recorded as good omens and important positive signals from Heaven. Colourful stories were invented about their origin[37].
The emperor Wudi (r. 140-87 B.C.) is said to have seen a *winged* horse twice and he wrote poems about both these incidents. In the first, after the heaven-sent horse was found in 120 B.C., rising from the waters of the River Wowa in the western district of Dunhuang, he wrote[38]:

"Tai-yi has given the horse of Heaven-
Moist with crimson sweat, foaming russet spittle
A will and spirit wondrous and strange-
Trampling the floating clouds, darkened it races aloft.
And oh this horse has leapt ten thousand *li*,
And with what can it be paired?
The dragon its companion."

The second poem, comprising six stanzas, was composed after the introduction of the Heavenly Horses from the West (Ferghana), which event will be discussed soon.
The emperor wrote:

"The horse of Heaven has come
From the regions of the West
Trampling shifting sands
And Barbarians of the nine directions have submitted"

"The horse of Heaven has come
Out of the waters of the springs
Like a tiger's spine, double
Like a spirit, transforming itself"

"The horse of Heaven has come
Crossing grassless tracts
He has traversed a thousand *li*
To follow the way of the East"

"The horse of Heaven has come
As he must in the time *chih-hsu*
He will shake himself and rear
Who knows when"

"The horse of Heaven has come
Open the far gates
Raise up my body
I go to K'un-lun"

"The horse of Heaven has come
Mediator for the dragon
He travels to the gates of Heaven
And looks on the Terrace of Jade"[39]

Although from the translation of the texts of the two poems of emperor Wudi about the Heavenly Horses it may not be derived incontestably that this 'Horse of Heaven' actually had wings, it is believed that they did because it is specified that "the winged horses were discovered in the third year of the Yanshou era (120 B.C.) and in the fourth year of the Taichu era (101 B.C.)"[40]. We will soon come back to this point in this Chapter.

One should not get the impression that all phenomena of *xiangrui* were necessarily already existing Chinese concepts: many have been created by the Han emperors, in particular emperor Wudi, when he had an immediate cause. For example, it is recorded that once when Wudi was making sacrifices to Heaven he saw a flock of white crane. He issued a special edict recognizing white cranes as sacred beings sent down by Heaven[41]. On another occasion, during emperor Wudi's time, in 121 B.C., a small country to the south-west paid tribute to the Han emperor by sending a tame elephant. When the elephant arrived it was considered to be an important *xiangrui*. The emperor himself made the following poem:

"The elephant, white like jade,
Came here from the West
It eats the morning dew
From Heaven…
And drinks luminescent spring water.
This elephant reveals Heaven's will,
Bringing happiness to human beings[42]

It is obvious that this poem is similar in idea and structure to the poems about the heavenly horse. The winged horse of emperor Wudi was not an already existing Chinese mythical concept: he created it, possibly in a dream, after he had heard rumours about powerful horses in the West as will be discussed below.

9.20 Drawing of the decoration on a chariot ornament with gold and silver inlay. It shows various *xiangrui* motifs, among which a winged horse. Excavated from a tomb in Dingxian, Hebei province, in 1965. China, Former Han period (206 B.C.-24 A.D.). Dated between 110 and 90 B.C. After Wu 1984, fig. 1 (g) (top right)

The first depiction, to the knowledge of the present author, of a winged horse in Chinese art is found on a chariot ornament excavated from a tomb at Sanpan Shan, Dingxian county, Hebei province[43] (**9.20**). The tomb has been dated between 110 and 90 B.C. The chariot ornament was decorated with various good-omen *xiangrui* motifs.

(2) Long before Han times the dragon was known as a mythical creature. Its element was water due to the belief that water gods and water spirits appear in the form of dragons[44]. Also from legendary prehistory is the association of dragons with horses, because during the reign of the legendary ruler Fuxi (ca. 2900 B.C.) a so-called "dragon-horse" appeared out of the Yellow River. It was said to have "the body of a horse and the head of a dragon"[45], but no wings are specified. In fact, Chinese pre-Han texts do not seem to indicate the presence of wings on the back of the dragon-horse[46].

When, however, emperor Wudi dubbed the winged horse as a good omen from the West, he must have been familiar with the image of the Chinese winged dragon, which appears often in pre-Han art.

Various records of the Han period specify the close association of horses with dragons. Examples of such statements are "The coming of the celestial horse is brought about by dragons" and "celestial horses are kin to the divine dragons, so that the coming of the celestial horse foretells the advent of the dragon"[47]. Even the horse of the Eastern Han period of (**4.7**) explicitly echoes the association of the horse with the dragon because with its right hind leg it holds a swallow. It is a common opinion in China that the dragon eats swallow's flesh, for which reason, when people pray to the dragon for rain, they throw swallows into the water[48].

The superstition existed that dragon-horses were the product of dragons copulating with mares. As we have seen, these dragon-horses initially, i.e. pre-Han, were not known to have wings. It is only in a Han-record of 97 B.C. that "a true dragon-horse has wings at its sides and walks upon water without sinking[49]. A record of the Later Han period tells us that "In the country of Xiumi were found many divine horses. Mules and asses are 100 *chi* high, pure white in colour, able to go about on the water, and having wings, often fly over the sea. Whenever they cover the mares of the inhabitants, the mares bear divine asses"[50].

What a dragon-horse looked like is also specified in a record of the Liang dynasty (502-557 A.D.), which says that "the dragon-horse loves the virtuous government and is a spirit of the rivers. It is 8 *chi* and 5 *cun* high and has a long neck, the whole body being covered with scales. It has wings above the bones, with hair that hangs down growing by the side of the wings. It has nine kinds of cries, and it steps out on the water without sinking. It appears when a good king reigns over the country"[51].

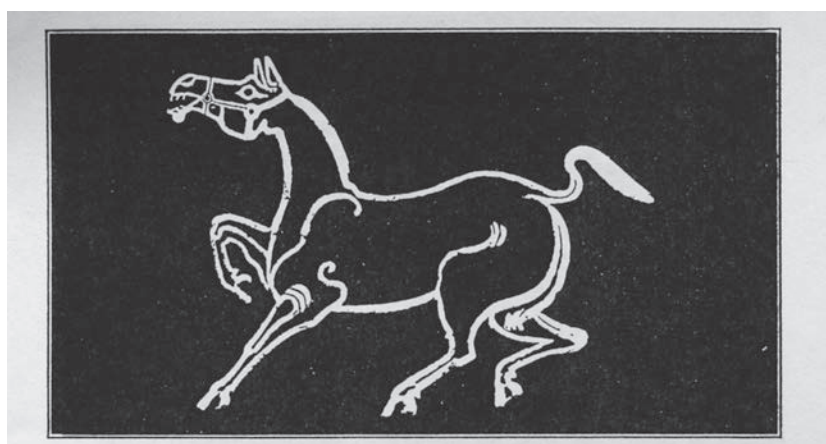
Other records, however, often do not specify the wings of the dragon-horse. For example, a record of the Tang period, says that a dragon-horse appeared in the River Xishui in Sichuan province, and that it "was 8 to 9 *chi* high, and had the form of a dragon, the body being covered with scales as though sheathed with armour. Moreover, it was striped in five colours, and while it had the body of a dragon, its head was that of a horse, white, with two horns. It held something in its mouth, 3 or 4 *chi* long, and it rose above the water, walked about, and after taking over a hundred strides, disappeared into the water"[52]. A record of the Ming period tells us that "once an inhabitant named Zheng pastured his horses near the river, and one of his mares bore a dragon-horse which had hoofs that were as sharp as claws, red manes and red hair. The beast stood 7 *chi*, and shaking its manes, would give long cries, leaping about on the water"[53].

(3) Apart from the mindset of *xiangrui* and the supposed affinity between winged dragons and horses, urgent political reasons fostered the interest in legendary horses from the West. As indicated in par. 3.2 the Xiongnu became a great danger to the Chinese in the 2nd century B.C. Moreover they blocked the way to the West, because they controlled the territory between China and Ferghana. Emperor Wudi therefore thought it best to try to win the Yuezhi for his cause to form a coalition with them and attack the Xiongnu from two sides. If he could get the superior Heavenly Horses in sufficient numbers, it might enable him to subjugate the Xiongnu. It was Zhang Qian, an extremely talented and courageous man, who volunteered to deliver the request of the emperor to the Yuezhi and he started his journey in 138 B.C. His mission failed completely, but when he came back in China in 126 B.C. he was loaded with information about the countries he had visited and other from hearsay.

In his report to the emperor Wudi he stated: "Da-yuan (Ferghana) is to the south-west of the Xiongnu and due west of China .... it is distant about 10.000 *li*. They have .... many good horses. These are blood-sweating steeds whose stock is the offspring of the Heavenly horse"[54].

In 115 B.C., after the Chinese had succeeded in clearing the area west of their territories up to about Lop Nor, Zhang Qian was sent on a second mission, this time to make an alliance with the Wusun, a tribe living in the valley of the River Ili, south of Lake Balkash. This mission, like the first one, was not successful either. But he brought back a number of Wusun horses, which were identified as "the divine horses that will come from the north-west" by an oracle that the emperor consulted. Accordingly, the Wusun horses were termed "Heavenly horses". In the meantime envoys did succeed to bring back a few of the "blood-sweating"[55] horses of Ferghana, but the rulers of Ferghana refused to send more of them to China. Several forceful military expeditions against Ferghana were needed before in 101 B.C. about fifty of the famous "blood-sweating" horses could be obtained, enough to establish a stud which supplied China with the finest steeds in the Far East for centuries. Shortly thereafter, a Chinese record stated that "the horses received from the Wusun were termed "heavenly horses",

9.21 Rubbing from a tomb tile showing the steppe horse. China, Former Han period. Ca. 100 B.C. ROT



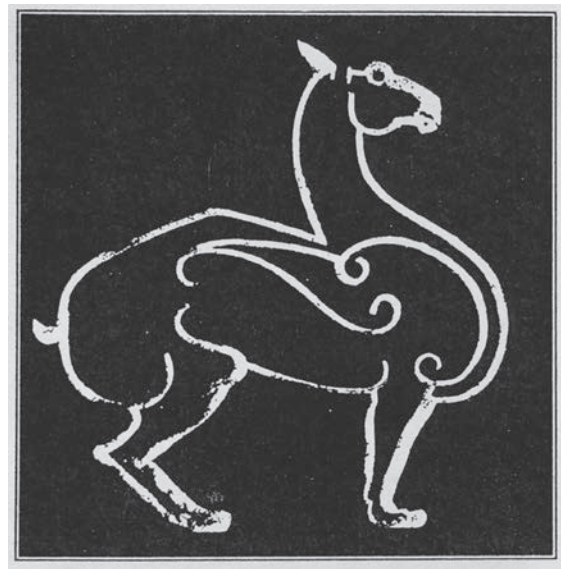
9.22 Rubbing from a tomb tile, showing the Ferghana or Bactrian horse. China, Former Han period. Ca. 100 B.C. ROT

but, when the "blood-sweating" horses from Ferghana were found to be much stronger, the name seems to have changed to "horses from the extreme West" and the Ferghana horses were called "heavenly horses"[56].

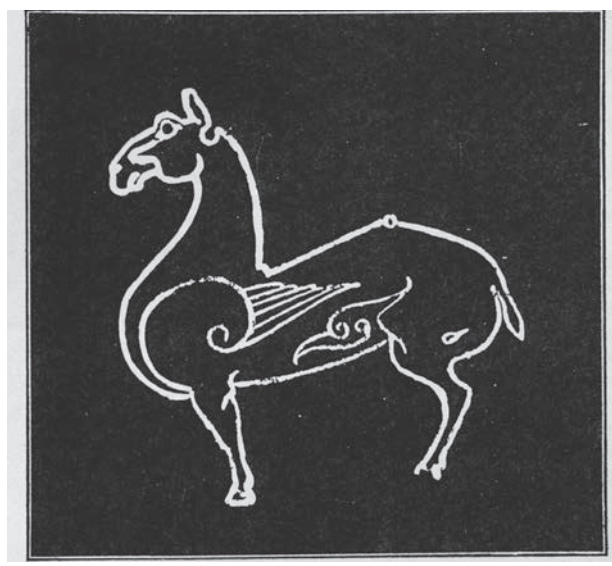
In the preceding lines three circumstances were proposed to be connected to and catalysts for the appearance of the winged horse in China. Now a possible mechanism of introduction and acceptance will be explored.

In the Royal Ontario Museum, Chinese tomb tiles from about 100 B.C. show pictorial incisions of three different types of horses: (1) the Mongolian steppe horse, a sort of Asiatic pony (**9.21**); (2) the Ferghana or Bactrian horse, with its slender powerful body comparable with the Greek horses of classical times (**9.22**); and (3) two others with wings, probably the Wusun horses, but clearly also a product of the artist's imagination (**9.23**) and (**9.24**). These last two deserve special attention.

Obviously the artists' fancy has been triggered to add wings to horses. Characteristic about



9.23 Rubbing from a tomb tile, showing the winged Wusun horse. China, Former Han period. Ca. 100 B.C. ROT



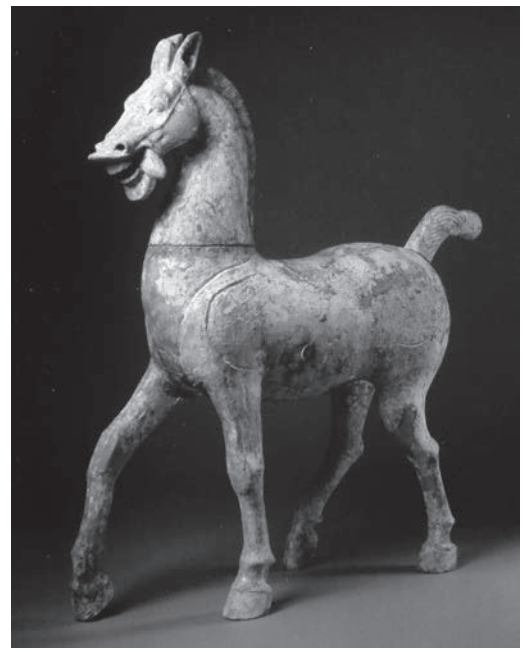
9.24 Rubbing from a tomb tile, showing the winged Wusun horse. China, Former Han period. Ca. 100 B.C. ROT

these wings is that they are flat and almost horizontal at the upper side. This is the way the Chinese of the pre-Han period depicted wings of real birds (**9.25**). If these wings are compared with those of (**9.23**) even the comma-like details have been represented. The wings given to the horses by this Chinese artist (**9.23**) and (**9.24**) seem not to be directly modelled after the wings of Pegasos because these are generally depicted rather natural and straight-up, often with the wing-tips pointing forward. Such western-type of wings, however, does appear on later images of winged horses during the Han period (206-220 A.D.), like the one shown in (**9.26**).

Also from the Han period and dated to the 2nd century A.D., is the horse modelled in

9.25 Lacquered wood. Drum standard in the shape of two birds standing on tigers. Reproduction of an original, unearthed in 1980 at Jiuli, Linlixian. China, 4th century B.C. Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha

9.26 Silver plaque decorated in repoussé with a winged horse. Possibly from the Republic of Mongolia, but examples have also been found south of the Great Wall (Jenkins and Quivey 2005, 31). Later Han period (206-220 A.D.). Portland Art Museum



9.27 Painted red earthenware figure of a "heavenly horse". The incised wings were intended to suggest that this horse was one of the supernatural breed. China. From Chengdu Tianhuishan cliff tomb no. 1. Later Han period. 2nd century A.D. Portland Art Museum

painted red earthenware of (**9.27**). Here the incised "wings" undoubtedly were intended to suggest that it was one of the supernatural "heavenly horses". And we have seen already the image of the Heavenly horse without any wings from the Eastern Han period (**4.7**).
So it seems as if initially, during the Former Han period, Chinese artists could attach wings of real birds to the mythical horses from the West, while only later they became inspired by available models and found other ways of expressing the "heavenly" character of the steed. That such a process may have taken place is in line with the historical events as recapitulated below.

As indicated in par. 3.2, Zhang Qian in 126 B.C. did not bring any horses with him from his mission to the West. But it is to be realized that during his travels and stay in the western countries as far as about 2000 miles away from home, all the time he must have been fully aware of the interests and fantasies of the emperor about the Heavenly horse. And it is certainly not impossible that he had seen the image of that supernatural creature, Pegasos. Therefore, the possibility that Zhang Qian after his return in 126 B.C. has offered a description of the winged horse of the West to his emperor cannot be ruled out.
By the late 2nd century B.C., Chinese armies had penetrated west of the Pamir area and regular intercourse with western Asia had been established. From then on, along the Silk Roads through Western Asia, an indirect trade gradually developed linking China to the Mediterranean, coming to a climax after the Roman unification of the whole Mediterranean world[57]. Roman coins from Republic times regularly carried the image of Pegasos[58]. Coins could have served as a ready means of transmission of the image of the winged steed because, as Yetts argued, there is every likelihood that they were carried back to China by the numerous military, commercial and diplomatic expeditions that came into contact with Hellenized people in the 2nd century B.C. and thereafter[59].

From the above considerations it may be conjectured with some confidence that the Heavenly winged horse of the Han period was derived from the image of western examples inspired by Pegasos as follows:
In the first instance, the Han Emperor Wudi saw winged horses in his dreams after the Chinese had *heard* of winged "mythical" superhorses from the West. He interpreted them as a new manifestation of the dragon-horse of ancient Chinese legend and called them "heavenly". These dragon-horses were, according to tradition, the offspring of a winged dragon and a horse. They had the head of a dragon and the body of a horse, but initially no wings. They obtained their wings for the first time during the reign of Emperor Wudi. From then on, regularly but not always, the dragon-horse is described in Chinese texts as having wings.
The winged horse, -i.e. with the head of a horse, the body of a horse and with wings- was first depicted during the reign of Emperor Wudi and became a popular motif in Han and post-Han art. The image reminded the Chinese of the dragon-horses of their legends. That in the eyes of the Han Chinese these wings had a western connotation is supported by the fact that in the post-Han period they were replaced –as we shall see- by the more popular flame-like attachments[60].

It has been explained already[61] how the Sogdians as merchants along the Silk Roads came to dominance and caused a strong expansion of trade with China during the periods of the Northern Wei (386-535 A.D.) and the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.). Especially by the middle of the 6th century A.D. the Sogdian activity exploded.

Also, it will be remembered from the present Chapter that these were the centuries where in the West the Sasanian and Byzantine cultures almost coexisted, causing the introduction, adoption and adaptation of the classical Pegasos image in Sasanian art. It was mainly the Sogdians who carried the image of the western winged horse, amongst others, to China, and initiated a revival of the interest for the motif there.

That the winged horse was a very well-known motif in Tang China (618-906 A.D.) is beyond any doubt, because it appears very often on the mirrors of those days, where it was intended to represent the "Heavenly horse"[62]. An example dated to ca. 750 A.D. is shown in (**9.28**). But as Tang tomb statuary, too, they are very common and visible for a large public throughout the period. (**9.29**) shows an example from the tomb of emperor Xuanzong (r. 846-859) at Zhenling, Jingyang County, Shaanxi. Apart from the pronounced wings, the area beneath the belly accentuates the fabulous nature of the beast: it has been left solid and carved with clouds to indicate the sky[63]. It is interesting to note that on the mirror (**9.28**) as well as on the tomb statue the shape of the wing is clearly derived from Sasanian examples. Comparison with (**9.16**) illustrates the case[64].
(**9.30**) shows a Tang mirror dated to the 7th century A.D. with winged horses and grapes, another western motif[65] where the wings are more stylized and point obliquely backwards.
Later examples of the steed with well developed wings are not very often found in Chinese art, but from time to time they appear on ceramics, as on a snuff bottle of the Yongzheng period (1723-1735) shown in (**9.31**). A blue and white decorated vase of the Wanli period (1573-1620) (**9.32**) and a blue-and-white porcelain bowl with the mark of the Shunzhi reign (1644-1661)[66] show galloping horses, but with highly stylized wings, similar to those found on late Ming and early Qing cloisonné ware (**9.33**) and (**9.34**).

Let us turn our attention now to (**9.31**), which shows the motif of the horse with fully developed wings, flying over water. It is often called "sea-horse" or *haima*. Water is represented schematically in Chinese art often as in (**9.35**). The association of winged horses with waters is not surprising at all because, as we have discussed, emperor Wudi had seen them "come out of the waters of springs". But the more remarkable aspect of this sea-horse is the fact that the wings are fully developed, while usually they are represented in a simplified way as flame-like extensions attached to the breast or the back of the stallion as in (**9.33**) and (**9.36**).
This sea-horse with highly stylized wings is known to have appeared also on the so-called Mandarin squares, the woven or embroidered plaques which served as badges of rank on the robes of Chinese officials from the early Ming to the end of the Qing Dynasty[67]. In particular, during the Ming period, military officers of the eighth and ninth rank were to wear an animal much like a Chinese unicorn or a sea-horse. During the subsequent Qing period the sea-horse became less popular on these badges, but an example is found in a Kangxi-period (1662-1722 A.D.) encyclopaedia (**9.37**).

On an ink-slab dating from the late Ming period we see the image of the sea-horse over the stylized waves with a load of secret texts. The Chinese text refers to *longma*, dragon-horse, instead of sea-horse (**9.38**) and says:

"For the genesis, the creation and the assembly of Heaven and Earth, there is a Plan, but before the wise men from times immemorial gave their judgement, it was dark and misty.

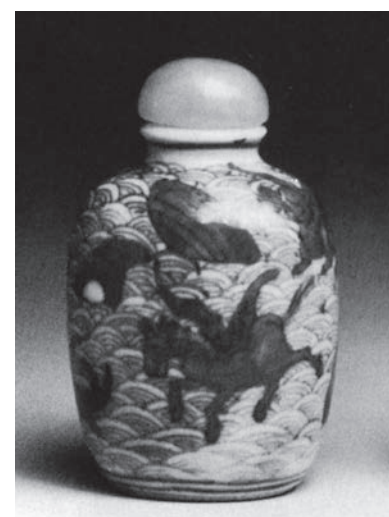
The way to the Highest Point (*Taiji*) goes via the Celestial Bodies.

Therefore, the dragon-horse had to come out of the river." [68]

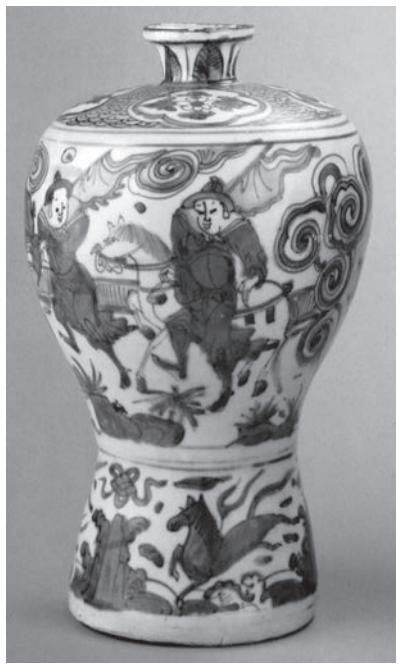
9.28 Back of a "good luck" wedding mirror. Bronze covered with silver and inlaid with gold. The decoration comprises two phoenixes, a lion and a winged horse. China, Tang period. Ca. 750 A.D. FGW

9.29 Winged horse on the tomb of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 846-859). The clouds beneath the belly have been carved to accentuate the celestial character. China, Shaanxi province, Jingyang county. Tang period. Ca. 859 A.D. After Paludan 1991, 108, fig. 135

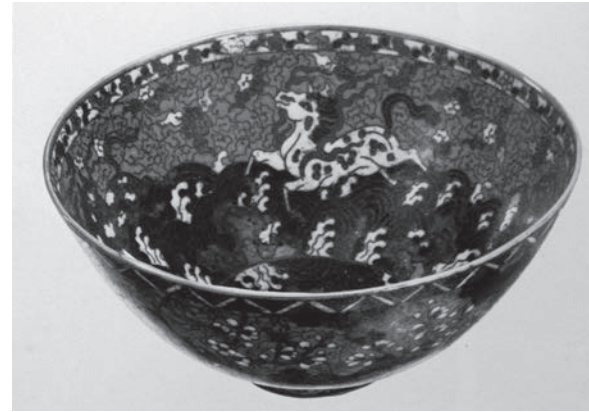
9.30 Mirror with design of grapes and various fabulous animals, among which a galloping horse with short uprising wings. China, Tang period, 7th century A.D. Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum, Kōbe



9.31 Porcelain snuff bottle, in underglaze-blue and copper-red decorated with the winged horse. China, Yongzheng period-mark (1723-1735 A.D.). After Klefish 1991, 9, no. 727



9.32 Porcelain vase decorated in under-glaze-blue. The horses at the foot have highly stylized wings. China, Wanli period (1573-1620 A.D.). After PAN 2002, 170



9.33 Cloisonné-covered bowl decorated with fish and flying horses above water. The horses have stylized wings. China, Ming period. Second half of 16th century A.D. After Brinker and Lutz 1989, no. 90

9.34 Cloisonné covered box decorated with flying horses with stylized wings amidst clouds. China, Qing period. Second half of 17th century A.D. After Clague Collection 1980, no. 28

a *b* *c*

9.35 Stylized water, waves and clouds as found regularly in the decorative arts of China. After Brinker and Lutz 1989, fig. 84
a.Water. First of the five elements. Symbolizes the soft, flowing cosmic primal force of yin, as opposed to the masculine principle yang, symbolized by fire. Often represented in the decorative arts by rhythmically arranged rows of parallel segments of circles.
b. Waves of the sea. Originate when the dragons, living in the depths of the oceans, move or the sea-horses (*haima*) speed across the waters. In spring the dragons rise from the waves to ascend to the clouds in the sky; in autumn they retire to the seabed.
c. Clouds. Originate from the union between the two cosmic creative forces yin and yang, the feminine and masculine principles, darkness and light, shaded and sunlit, soft and hard. The dragons live among the clouds and produce rain. Multicoloured clouds, particularly the five-coloured ones, symbolize peace and happiness, and rain down rich blessings.

9.36 Porcelain bowl decorated with flying horse with stylized wings above waves. China, Ming period. First half of 17th century A.D. After Kleykamp 1928, 172

9.37 Embroidered plaque (Mandarin square), a badge of rank as found on the robes of Chinese officials from the early Ming to the Qing dynasties. From an encyclopaedia of the Kangxi period (1662-1722). After Camman 1944, fig. 11b

9.38 Ink-slab decorated with a "dragon-horse" according to the inscribed text. The animal, emerging from the water, carries a load of secret texts. China, Ming period. Made by Cheng Dayue, 1620 A.D. (by inscription). BML

9.39 Porcelain vase decorated in underglaze-blue with flying horses over stylized water. The stylized flames are detached from the animals' bodies. China, Ming period. First half of 17th century A.D. After Lempertz 1986, 174, no. 1169

This is a reference to the legend of the Plan or Diagram from the River, that was carried by a dragon-horse that emerged from the Yellow River. The *Taiji* is the Tai-yi in the first poem of Wudi.

The horse of the ink-slab is loaded with sacred texts, an allusion to the Diagram. Although the horse is indicated as a dragon-horse, it does not have a dragon's head but the head of a horse. The wings have been replaced by flame-like attachments.

Also, the picture of the flame-decked steed "trampling the floating clouds" as emperor Wudi wrote in his poem without any indication of waters below, is not entirely uncommon in Chinese arts either (**9.34**).

The next step of simplification, of course, is to have the flames detached from the back of the horse (**9.39**) or to leave them away, picturing the horse galloping over water or freely through the clouds. (**9.40**) shows the motif of galloping natural horses on a wave background. That we have to do here with a derivation of the heavenly horse as it is interpreted in China, is suggested e.g. by a caption of a cloisonné brush washer, dated Xuande (1426-1435) in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, decorated with such a galloping horse over waters without wings. It is called "celestial horse design"[69]. The pattern is frequently found on 17th century blue and white ceramics[70].

Apparently the winged horse over water, the "sea-horse" or *haima*, derives directly from the *tianma* or "Heavenly horse", which is so frequently seen on Tang mirrors as in (**9.28**) and (**9.30**). On these mirrors the winged horse is not over water. Camman suggests that by

9.40 Porcelain plate decorated in underglaze-blue with horses on a wave background. The horses have no wings. China, Kangxi period, ca. 1675. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

9.41 Birch-bark saddle flap, painted with the image of a "heavenly horse" with stylized wings on the chest. From the Ch'ŏnma-ch'ong tomb, Kyŏngju, Korea. Korea, Silla period. Ca. 6th century A.D. Gyeongju National Museum, Korea

Song times these winged horses as on Tang mirrors, which were intended to represent the "Heavenly horse", had passed out of the Chinese tradition and were replaced by the "Sea horse"[71]. These were pictured as flame-decked steeds, a representation which derives directly from the steeds with highly stylized wings, which are found on later Tang mirrors. In fact this was nothing new, because –as discussed above- fringes of flames that lie along the limbs of all sorts of mythical creatures and of dragons in particular, had already been in use from the post-Han period to replace the less popular wings with their Western connection[72]. One has to realize that in China fire is emblematic of danger, anger, ferocity and lust, but also, important here, of speed[73].

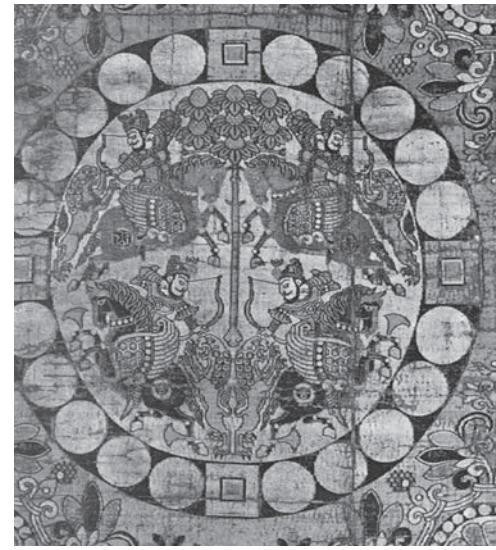
It may be imagined, then, how the extreme popularity of Western motifs during the Tang period, including the winged horses on the mirrors and other artefacts, ceased under the influence of the Song rulers, who in reaction to the predominant western influences during the Tang period wanted to preserve the Chinese cultural tradition[74]. They interpreted and experienced the horse with fully developed wings as of Western origin, and started to adapt the images of these "Heavenly horses" with some typical characteristics of those they knew from their own Chinese legends: "the dragon-horse, able to go around on the water, and, having wings, often flies over the sea"[75], the sea-horse. It even seems that the word *haima* did not appear until Song times[76].
Sea-horses were pictured with flame-like appendages, emanating from the shoulders and limbs, or with these flames detached from their body as if in a flamy environment, or -even more stylized- without any such a fiery atmosphere, but above waters or as if "trampling the clouds". Here we are back on familiar ground, the leaping horse of the Han period already shown in (**4.7**).
In other words, the picture of a horse in Chinese art, in galloping pose above waters or freely through the clouds, is probably to be seen as deriving ultimately from the image of the winged horse Pegasos.

The image of the flying-horse motif spread to Korea. In 1973 a painting on a birch-bark saddle-flap was found in the Chonma-chong tomb (Heavenly Horse Tomb) at Kyŏngju (**9.41**). It is datable roughly to the 6th century A.D. and shows a white "winged" horse surrounded with flames. The wings are rendered stylized on its chest, according to Chinese tradition, as on the late Han example of (**9.27**). It is one of Korea's earliest paintings and shows the importance of the motif in Silla. It can be compared with an early 7th century winged-horse painting from Koguryŏ, in the Kangsŏ Taemyo tomb near P'yŏngyang[77]. On the back of a Korean mirror (**9.42**) the winged horse has been sculptured, much like the examples of the Chinese Tang period, e.g. (**9.30**).

In Japan, as in China, the dragon-horse belongs to the good omens. In the *Nihongi*, compiled in the early decades of the 8th century A.D., we read that "… in the time of the Emperor Ōsazagi [Nintoku Tennō, 311-399 A.D.] a dragon-horse appeared in the West. Thus from old times down till the present day there are many instances of the appearance of lucky omens in correspondence with the presence of virtuous men"[78]. Also the *Engishiki*, written in 927 A.D., mentions a dragon-horse as a good omen. It is called there a "divine horse" and is described as follows: "It has a long neck and wings at its sides, when it treads upon water it does not sink"[79]. Several other Japanese records mention the appearance of a dragon-horse, the one in the *Taiheiki*, written about 1382 A.D., being of particular interest because there it was described as a "Heavenly horse" (*tenba*)[80]. The Japanese certainly did not hesitate to adopt the Tang Chinese ideas about the winged horse.

As already mentioned, a rather spectacular example of Pegasos in Iranian art (**9.17**), a water jug of typical Sasanian shape, apparently found its way to China. It was brought from China to Japan in the Tang period, when Chinese culture was introduced in Japan and rapidly spread there. Especially Buddhist institutions were channels for an outpouring of Chinese cultural influence and artefacts in Japan[81]. The jug was made of gilded silver, and around the

9.42 Bronze mirror decorated with floral designs and fabulous beasts, among which the winged flying horse. Korea, Silla period. After Ball 1969, 102-103



9.43 Silk brocade with lion-hunting motif known as "The Celestial Guardians Brocade". The design shows winged horses and mounted archers with reversed torsos shooting arrows at attacking lions. The design is not uncommon on Sasanian silver plates. Here the horses have embroidered on their flanks the Chinese characters for "good fortune" and "mountain", echoing the suggestion that the horses were auspicious motifs. China, Tang period. Late 7th century A.D. NMT

body four winged horses have been engraved, which are indicated as *tenba* (heavenly horse)[82]. It has been one of the most appreciated treasures of the Hōryūji temple at Nara. Currently it is in the National Museum in Tōkyō.

According to an inscription, the jug was once offered to the Buddha in the Hisōji temple in Yoshino County in the former Nara prefecture[83]. The Sasanian jug in the Hōryūji proves that the single winged horse in all its glory was not only known as a decorative motif in Tang China but in Japan of those days as well. This jug was described by Fenollosa, writing in 1912, as follows:

"… the winged horse so beautifully engraved on its side is an exquisite specimen of Greco-Buddhist art. This horse I have myself traced from an early Japanese drawing. We have already seen winged horses in the Han reliefs, but these were strenuous and massive in their lines. Here the wings are as European as those of the painted cherub baldachin at Yakushiji. If not Greco-Buddhist, it must be Greek art coming at this day by sea through Persian sources" [84]

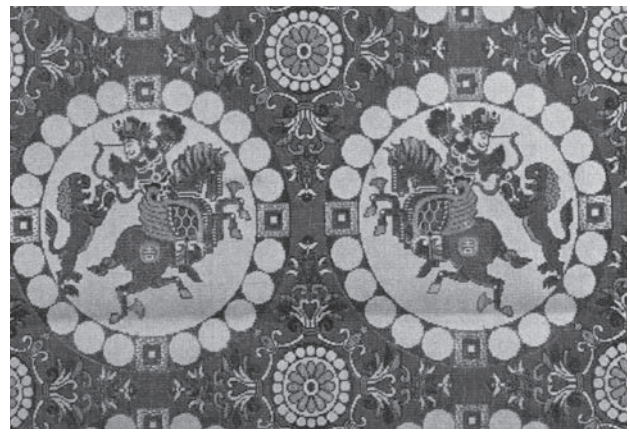
Modern scholarship may not agree with some details in this statement, but Fenollosa was right about the origin of this winged horse.

The image of the winged horse was brought to Japan woven in silk too. In more complex scenery, it had been a subject of decoration for the Chinese silk weavers of the Tang period. It is recalled that in Turfan, by the 7th century, a large community of Sogdian silk weavers worked together with Chinese artists of the same profession, and that they exchanged ideas intensively. Among the many motifs found on silk textiles excavated at Turfan sites are the

winged horses[85]. It were probably these craftsmen who, following a Sasanian prototype, produced a large temple banner which has been brought to Japan and became part of the collection of the Hōryūji temple and currently is part of the collection of the National Museum in Tōkyō (**9.43**).
It is known as 'The Celestial Guardians Brocade' (*Shi Tennō mon nishiki*). The winged horses on the brocade have embroidered on their flanks the Chinese characters for 'good fortune' and 'mountain', suggesting that the design may have been considered auspicious motifs in China[86]. The design has been copied by the Japanese as is apparent from a Japanese silk, kept in the Shōsōin at Nara (**9.44**)[87]. Whether this design was further copied in Japan on other silks we do not know.

Although the image of the winged steed, introduced from the West via China, was known in Japan and used as a decorative motif in the 8th century, it seems to have appeared rarely on later works of art. However, Japanese mirrors, cast during the Fujiwara period (897-1185), employ some Tang mirror-back motifs borrowed directly, among which winged horses[88]. An example dated 12th century is shown in (**9.45**).
Another example of the winged horse in Japanese art is also seen on a flag carried by Saijinki Kakusei (Chinese name: Guo Sheng), one of the heroes of the *Suikoden*, an originally Chinese semi-historical story called *Shui Hu Zhuan*, published around 1368, about a band of robbers. It has been translated and adapted in Japanese by Kyokutai Bakin[89] (**9.46**).
In the *Suikoden* this Saijinki Kakusei, a merchant who had lost his money when his boat capsized, meets a certain Shō Onkō Ryohō, a robber who had established a territory on the Mountain Taiheisan. They fight several days for the ownership of that territory until another hero of the *Suikoden* urges them to lay down their weapons[90]. Ryohō and Kakusei, as depicted in a diptych by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861), during that fight both carry a flag that of Kakusei ornamented with a winged horse, while Ryohō's has the image of a newt. As far as we know there is no specific clue about the presence of a winged horse on the banner of Kakusei. In the Chinese original *Shui Hu Zhuan* reference is made at various places to banners with designs of "strange flying beasts" and, more precisely, banners with designs of "winged dragons, winged tigers, winged bears, and winged leopards[91].

In Japan, the literati of the 17th and 18th century, who were occupied with the *sencha* way of tea-drinking, used Chinese ceramic tea utensils, among which those ornamented in underglaze blue with horses with stylized wings (**9.47**). They were copied by Japanese artists for the same purpose, the *sencha*-ceremony (**9.48**). In the same environment a cloisonné bowl, decorated with the flying horse, was used (**9.49**).
The image of the "sea horse" is regularly found on Japanese woodblock prints, too. One of the most interesting examples, perhaps, is a woodcut of Morikuni (1679-1748) (**9.50**), where the waves are partly naturally depicted, partly come close to the Chinese model (**9.35b**). The horse at the left-hand side of the picture is quite natural at first sight, seemingly having no wings or remainders of them. But closer inspection reveals the remainder of a flame-like extension, beginning at the left-side breast, and further covered by the turned head of the animal. The right-hand wing, stylized, is clearly visible above the head. The right-hand side of the picture shows the second sea horse with a clear flame-like representation of the wing. That the artist intended to picture a "sea horse" here is above any doubt, because the word *kaiba* is shown in the top-right corner of the picture with



9.44 Silk brocade with the lion-hunting motif. Archers mounted on winged horses attack a lion. On the flank of each horse the Chinese character for "good fortune". Japan, Nara period, 8th century A.D. Shōsōin, Nara

9.45 Bronze mirror with birds and flying horses. Note the image of the winged horse, very similar to the Tang example of (**9.30**). Japan, 12th century A.D. After Japanese Metalwork 1983, 112, no 183.

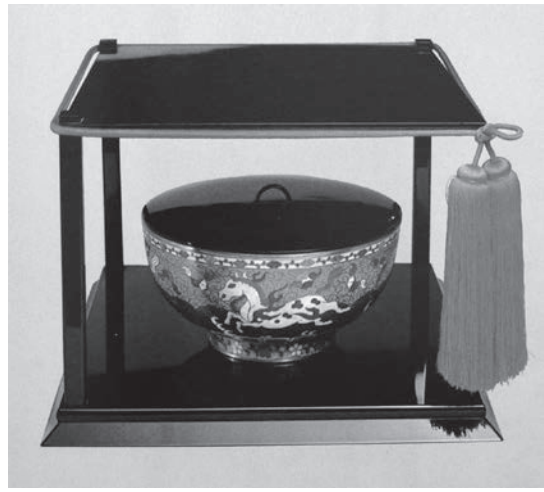
9.46 Woodblock print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861), depicting Saijinki Kakusei, one of the heroes of the *Suikoden*. His flag is ornamented with a winged horse. Japan. 19th century A.D. BML

Chinese characters and *hiragana*.

Another example is a woodcut of Hokusai (1760-1849), where the background-water is quite natural and unlike the typical Chinese pattern (**9.51**). The horse itself is rather natural, having no wings. But that we have to do here with a sea horse is, again, indicated with Chinese characters and *hiragana*.

9.47 Porcelain teacups with underglaze-blue decoration of "heavenly horses". China, Jingdezhen, early Qing period. Second half of 17th century A.D. After Ceramics and sencha 2000, no. 50

9.48 Porcelain teacups with underglaze-blue design of flying horses over water. Japan, Edo period. 19th century A.D. After Ceramics and sencha 2000, no. 127



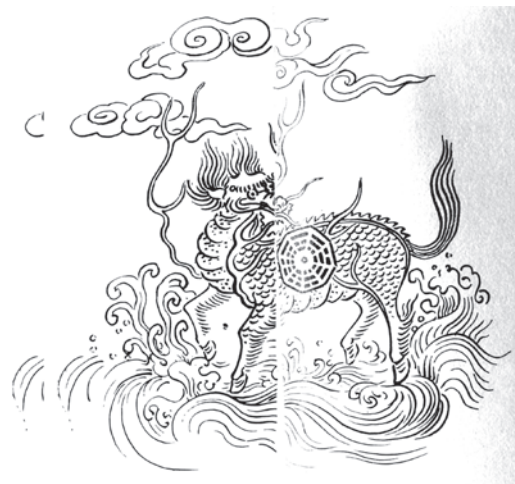
9.49 Cloisonné-covered bowl with flying horse-decoration as used in a Japanese *sencha*-environment. Probably from China. 19th century A.D. After Mitsuoka 1978, 258

Chiura (*sic*) painted a sea-horse going about on the water, carrying the Eight Trigrams (**9.52**). Ball correctly indicates this sea-horse as a "dragon-horse"[92]. It clearly has the head of a dragon and the body of a horse, and in fact represents the dragon-horse as on the Chinese ink-slab of (**9.38**).

In Japan the whole complex of legends about the dragon-horse is fully extent, including the popular belief that fine horses are the off-spring of dragons. For example, it is said that once in a village in the Okazaki district, Ugo (sic) province, a dragon-horse appeared out of an old pond and neighed, and a mare belonging to a farmer called Yokei heard it,

9.50 Woodblock print by Morikuni (1679-1748) with flying horses over waves. Japan. First half of 18th century A.D. After Ball 1969, 106-107

9.51 A "sea-horse" (*kaiba)* from Hokusai's sketchbook. Japan. 19th century A.D. After Michener 1979, pl. 227



9.52 The "dragon-horse from the River Lo" emerging from the waves carrying the Eight Trigrams. Reputedly drawn by Chiura *(si*). Possibly Chiura Obata (1885-1975). Japan. 20th century? After Ball 1969, 2

and conceived and bore an extremely fine horse named Ikezuki ("Moon of the pond")[93]. Many pastures throughout Japan are being found near the sea, based on the idea that mares might conceive from dragons and divine horses that appear out of the water[94].

In this paragraph the image of the Greek winged horse Pegasos has been traced on its way through time from the classical world via the Near East and Iran to China and Japan. We saw that the Heavenly winged horse of Han-period China, probably derives ultimately from the image of Pegasos, that the western-type of wings on these horses lost its popularity in post-Han times, but re-emerged in Tang times, under influence of Sasanian examples and booming trade with the West. It was brought to Korea and Japan, where the image was copied. In Japan, as in China after the Tang period, the flying horse lost its wings, sometimes replaced by flames, but it maintained its flying pose through the centuries.

10 THE FISH-TAILED DRAGON

During the early Archaic Period there existed a story in Greece roughly running as follows:

Perseus, after having decapitated Medusa and carrying the Gorgon's head in his *kibisis*, came upon the beautiful Andromeda chained to a rock. She was the daughter of king Kepheus of Ethiopia and his queen Kassiopeia. The queen had boasted of her own beauty, comparing herself with the Nereids, the nymphs of the sea. At their request and in response to this outrage, Poseidon sent an enormous and voracious sea-monster to ravage the coast of Ethiopia. Kepheus was instructed by an oracle to sacrifice Andromeda to the monster and thus he had bound her to the rock. It was while she awaited her cruel fate that Perseus saw her and instantly fell in love with her. Perseus made an agreement with Kepheus that he could have Andromeda as his wife if he killed the monster.

One of the earliest representations of this story appears on a Corinthian amphora from the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., where we see Perseus ready to throw a stone to the monster, with a pile of ammunition on the ground, while Andromeda stands behind him (**10.1**). This sea-monster is known in Greek as a *ketos*, a word applied to whales, dolphins, tuna and various defined and undefined monsters. But in this work only one particular version of it is considered: a composite creature with the head of a dragon and the body and tail of a fish.

Only two classical literary sources seem to be available which describe the *ketos* in detail, as follows:

"The shadow of its back, the swelling scales, curve of the neck, spiny crest and curls of tail were visible underwater; its long jaw seemed to open as far as the junction of its shoulders, and its belly began immediately thereafter."[1]

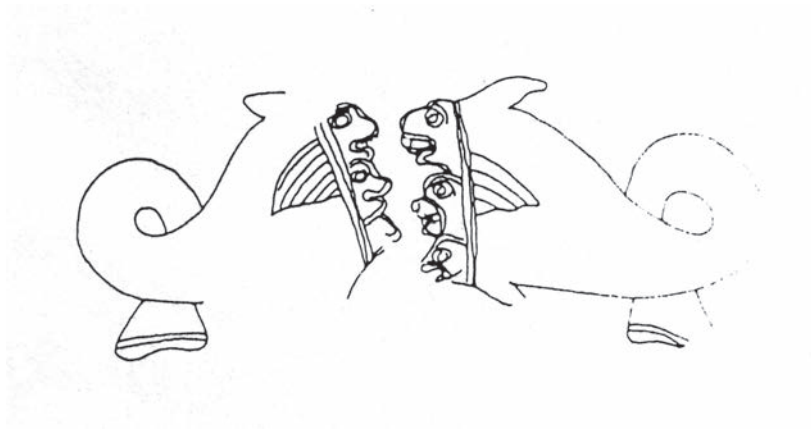
and:

"Large eyes under overhanging brow covered with spines, projecting snout and triple rows of teeth, some barbed, others long and sharp, huge head on a crooked neck, multiple bends in the body, tail like the sails of a ship, shining and colourful"[2].

Boardman surveying their appearance in Greek and Roman art describes the creature and its iconographical variations as follows:

"Its tail is fishy, either a dolphin-like crescent, or fuller and fish-like. Its body is serpentine and often scaly with a cushioned underside, but it may sometimes be given a deeper chest and belly before its long writhing tail. It sometimes has two forelegs like a lion, but these may also take the form of flippers, or it may borrow horse-legs from its cousin the hippocampus. It may have small fins along its body, and often has a spiny back crest. The neck may carry a ruff of spines or angular plates like gills. The ears are usually long and pointed, the forehead lours. The muzzle takes different forms in different periods - like a lion, a dog, a fish, a pig, but a common feature is the furrowed snout, often upturned nose and wicked teeth. A little goatee beard is sometimes worn, or finny gills beneath the lower jaw. It must be distinguished from anything with four legs, or a variety of land-based serpents without fishy tails but sometimes with roughly similar heads. These are, moreover, often winged, while wings, for a ketos, are exceptional, and are probably inspired by fins rather than the result of sober reflection on the part of the artist about the nature of the beast"[3].

10.1 Perseus saves Andromeda from the jaws of the ferocious sea-monster *ketos*. Drawing after a black-figure Corinthian *amphora*. Ca. 560 B.C. SMB



10.2 Early Greek sea monster, probably prototype of the classical *ketos*. On a proto-Attic vase fragment. Ca. 650 B.C. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. After Boardman 1987b, plt. 23, no.8

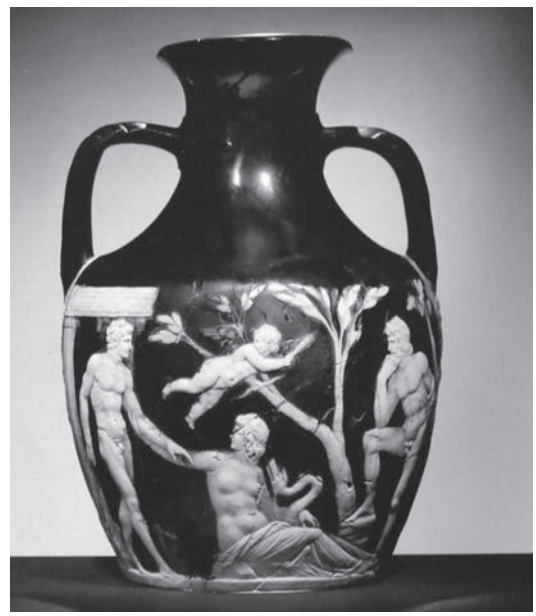
As to the origin of the *ketos*, it is believed that in their iconography they derive from early Greek sea-monsters, which appear shortly before the middle of the 7th century B.C., like the one in (**10.2**) on a Proto-Attic vase fragment. Then, during the 6th and 5th centuries, it developed while it was adopted on a very large scale throughout the Mediterranean world. Of particular interest is the suggestion that the long, thin muzzle, with the upturning snout might be based on knowledge the Greek artist almost certainly had from the 7th century B.C. on, about the Egyptian monster of the Nile, the crocodile[4]. All the variations as indicated above are signals of such a development, but also of how little the basic iconography changed. It is highly likely therefore that the *ketos* is a native Greek invention.

10.3 *Hydria* with Perseus, a rock in one hand and a harp in the other, attacking a *ketos*, around which a dolphin and an octopus swim. Ca. 530 B.C. After Carpenter 1991, fig. 159

10.4 Campanian red-figure *hydria*. Andromeda stands chained to a rock while Perseus, wearing a winged helmet, attacks a *ketos*. Ca. 350 B.C. SMB

The subject has been popular for centuries during the Archaic Period on vases, as for example on a *hydria* dated around 530 B.C. (**10.3**), on an Attic red-figure vase from the middle of the 5th century B.C., but also on other ceramics and jewellery all over the Mediterranean, as apparent from finds from Mylai (Sicily), Sardis (Lydia), Laconia (South-East Peloponnesus), and Corinth. On these artefacts the *ketos* is shown either isolated, or ridden by youths, or combined with various mythical personages. In many of these cases the *ketos* has forelegs and claws[5].

10.5 Scene, rendered in repoussé relief, on the silver lid of a round *pyxis*, found at Canosa near Tarentum in South Italy. Late 2nd century B.C. Museo Archeologico, Taranto



10.6 Scene depicted on the famous Portland Vase, with a woman sitting on a low rock, with in her left hand a *ketos* rising to her face. Perhaps from Rome. Late 1st century B.C. BML

10.7 Sea monster with cupids and fauna on a mosaic in a villa in Morgantina, Italy. Ca, 300 A.D. After Villa Erculia, n.d., 84

10.8 Gold band gem of ovoid form, made of blue glass with applied figures stamped from gold foil; representation of swimming *ketos* surrounded by dolphins and fish. From Pantikapaion necropolis. Ca. 350 B.C. HMP

10.9 Gilt silver plaque from Letnitsa (Thrace), showing goddess riding a *ketos*. Second half of 4th century B.C. Art Museum, Lovech, Bulgaria

From the later Archaic period on, the *ketos* even appears on ships. The constellation *cetus* was also known as *pristis*, which means sawfish, but also a light oared vessel such as a ship of war. Hence, a *ketos*-head became to be used as a ship's ram. Later, a whole small boat could have a *ketos*-head prow and a *ketos*-tail stern[6].
From the Classical Period on, the *ketos* changed only a little in appearance even through Roman art. It appears as a motif on a large scale on all sorts of objects like mosaics, sarcophagi, jewellery and coins[7]. Typical features then become short fishy excrescences, a bristly upper lip, sometimes curling up, sometimes horns appear but ears can easily be mistaken, flippers, and a bi-partite tail[8].

The subject became popular in Italy too. On a Campanian *hydria* from about 350 B.C. (**10.4**) the forceful, tempestuous appearance is projected by the wide open mouth with sharp teeth, the circular bulging eyes, the sharp crest on the spinal ridge, and the suggested motion in full attack. On a silver lid of a round *pyxis* or jewellery box, a scene is rendered in repoussé relief, showing a Nereid riding on the back of a *ketos*. It was found at Canosa near Tarentum in South Italy in a tomb dating from the late 2nd century B.C. (**10.5**). On the famous Portland Vase, a cameo-glass vessel from the late 1st century B.C., perhaps from Rome, a woman sitting on a low rock, her left hand supporting a small *ketos*, without legs or flippers but with characteristic head (**10.6**). On a marble relief from Ostria, 2nd century A.D., a goddess reclines besides a *ketos*[9]. And again on a mosaic from a villa in Morgantina of about 300 A.D. (**10.7**).

The image of the *ketos* also spread east, as suggested by the finds in a necropolis in Pantikapaion in the north-coast area of the Black Sea. There a gold band gem was found, dating from the 4th century B.C. On the blue glass an applied figure from gold foil was

10.10 Drawing of a stone relief from a gate, showing a *makara*. Ca. 100 B.C. After Boardman 1994, fig 4.80

stamped, representing the swimming dragon (*ketos*) (**10.8**). Also from the 4th century B.C. is a gilt silver plaque from Letnitsa in Thrace, west of the Black Sea (**10.9**). It again shows a goddess riding a *ketos*, but a rather roughly executed version of the theme. And a *ketos* attacks a lion on a gold plaque from Bliznitsa in the Kuban area, on the north-east coast of the Black Sea[10].

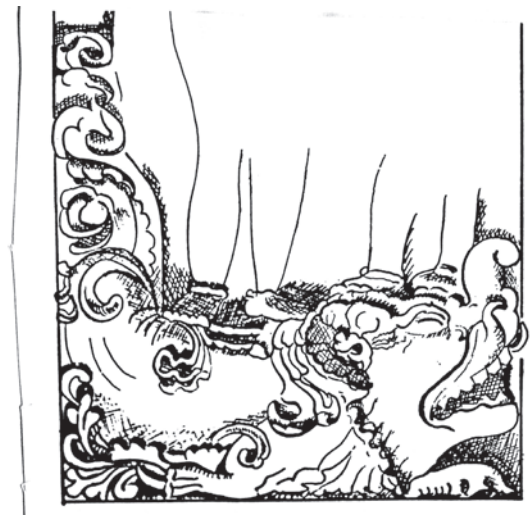
In the land of the Scythians *ketos*-head plaques were found that closely resemble the *ketos*-heads observed as shield devices on Athenian 6th century B.C. vases[11]. Alexander the Great and his successors carried the Hellenistic-Roman arts via Bactria to the east and into the Indian sub-continent. The *ketos,* found on a Greco-Bactrian silver disc, testifies of the eastward movement of the motif[12].

The *ketos* almost certainly heavily affected the appearance of the Indian sea-monster *makara*, which was widely revered in India and recurs often on stone reliefs in Bhārhut and Sāñcī, India[13]. The *makara* has two clearly developed forelegs with claws and it sometimes seems to have the elongated muzzle of a crocodile or even an elephant's trunk. Also, occasionally wings were attached to the body. An example from a stone relief of a gate, now in the Delhi Museum, dating from around 100 B.C., is shown in (**10.10**). It has an up-turning snout, front legs, a scaly body and a simple fishy tail ending in a singular tip. Czuma[14] shows an example from Mathurā, dating from the late 1st century A.D.
The creature with the body of a fish was carved in Buddhist caves at Ajantā, of the Gupta period (320-647 A.D.)[15] (**10.11**) and (**10.12**). Apart from the upturning snout in both these figures, it takes a characteristic pose, which reminds of a fish jumping out of the water. The body does not end in a fish tail, but in "a sort of foliage, thrown in the air and falling back in contra rotating spirals"[16].

That the image of the *makara* would be an indigenous Indian creation seems not very likely, although the statement that in literature it appears before any interference with Greece is to be taken as realistic[17]. If it fits somehow in a literary tradition, an alien image is often taken over without its native significance and may be applied readily to a different subject which had no image before whatsoever. In both the art of Gandhāra and Mathurā the classical *ketos* is regularly present, often ridden by a Nereid. Therefore it is believed that at least the development of the *makara*-image in Indian art owed much to the *ketos*[18].

In Gandhāran art the image of the *makara* ridden by a human figure is met on toilet trays in particular. These riders commonly hold drinking cups and it is thought that this is possibly to be associated with Dionysian traditions in Gandhāra. They would suggest the

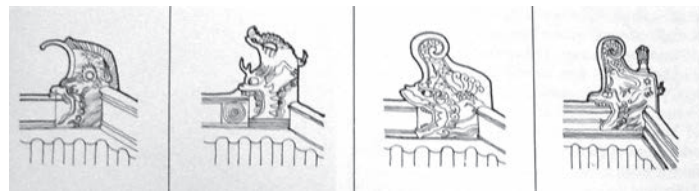
10.11 Drawing of a *makara* from cave XVI, Ajantā. India, 6th century A.D. MGP



10.12 Drawing of a *makara* from cave V, Ajantā. India, 6th century A.D. MGP

travel of the human being to a heavenly abode, facilitated by Dionysian intoxicating practices[19]. For the Greeks, Elysium or the Isles of the Blest, situated at the ends of the earth, was the place to which certain favoured heroes, exempted from death, were transferred by the gods. Sea creatures, especially sirens with bodies terminating in fish tails, were invoked at the moment of death to escort the deceased to the next world. On Roman imperial tombs they appear frequently to symbolize the safe journey of the dead[20]. The appearance of the *makara* on Gandhāran Buddhist reliefs is believed to serve the same function, symbolizing the attainment of perfection and, later, of the Sukhāvatī paradise[21]. A renowned example is the relief from Gandhāra, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which dates from the 3rd century A.D., where the Buddha is depicted immediately before attaining final *nirvāna*. In the top of the relief the ridden *makara* is part of the design (**10.13**).

10.13 Relief with the scene of Buddha immediately before attaining final nirvāna (10.13a). In the top the ridden *ketos* is part of the design (10.13b). From Gandhāra, probably 3rd century A.D. IMC



10.14 Drawings of ornaments shaped as a *makara* on roof-ridges of Chinese buildings. China, Northern Wei dynasty (386-535 A.D.). After Chinese Architecture 1986, 193, fig. 6-5-12

In China, early examples of *makara*-like fish appear on tomb bricks found in Minhou county in Fujian province and on a 5th century A.D. dish found in Datong, presumably made in northern India or Central Asia[22]. By about the same time, during the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535 A.D.), they were applied as architectural ornaments on roofs. The ridge of the main roof was modelled at either side as a *makara* with its typical upturned snout and with its upward-bended tail pointing to the centre of the ridge. This application gradually developed in China only after the Han period and was a borrowing from India[23]. (**10.14**). The ornament was believed to have the magic power to prevent fire. This phenomenon will be discussed later in this Chapter.

It is likely that the *makara*-like fish soon became well-known in China, because it appears regularly on Tang silver artefacts. An example, dated around 780 A.D., is shown in (**10.15**), from a silver dish with gilded decoration, excavated in the Karachin, Liaoning province. From the early Five Dynasties period, 10th century, comes the decoration of a *makara* on a sherd of green-glazed stoneware of the type known generally as Yue ware, said to have come from Jiuyan, Zhejiang province (**10.16**). From the same period are two earrings in the shape of a *makara*, from Yelu Yuzhi, Ar Horqin, Inner Mongolia[24].

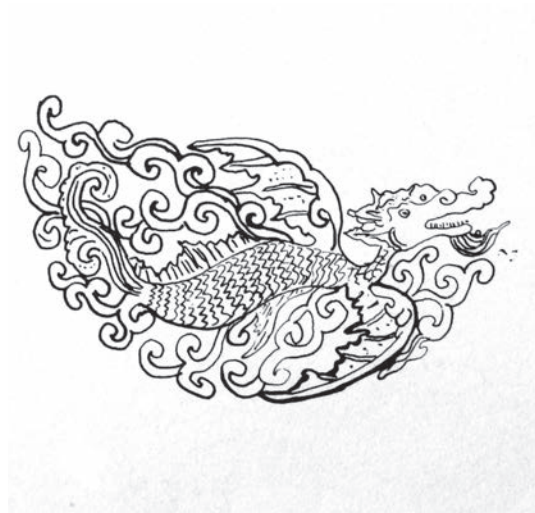
10.15 Drawing of the decoration on a silver dish, excavated in Karachin, Liaoning province. Two dragon-fishes with a jewel. China, Tang dynasty. Ca. 780 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 99

10.16 Drawing of the decoration of a *makara* on a sherd of ceramic ware, said to have been found in Jiuyan, Zhejiang province. China, Five Dynasties period. 10th century A.D. BML. After Rawson 1984, fig. 100

10.17 Gilt silver bowl with mandarin ducks, fish and a dragon's head in the centre. China, Tang dynasty, 7th century A.D. Hakutsuru Fine Arts Museum, Kōbe

Returning to (**10.15**) there are a couple of interesting features in this picture. First the upturning snout of the creatures, which is similar to the one of the *makara* depicted e.g. on the early stone relief in Delhi in (**10.10**) but which was already present as the characteristic of the *ketos* of the Classical period, as indicated earlier in this Chapter. Secondly, the creatures hold a flaming jewel between their noses. The jewel in Chinese art is an

10.18 Drawing of the *makara*-decoration on a Song ceramic bowl, ca. 1100 A.D. After Wirgin 1979, fig. 11:a



10.19 Drawing of the *makara*-decoration on a ceramic bowl. 12th century A.D. After Wirgin 1979, fig. 12:c

object known to be pursued by dragons. Originally Daoist, the jewel was adopted by the Buddhists, becoming the most exalted of their symbols.
By the end of the Tang period dragons and whales -both great sea spirits- became intimately associated with the *makara*, which had a jewel in its head[25].

The fish-dragon (*yulong*) was used rather frequently as a decorative motif on art from the end of the Tang to the beginning of the Song period. After that it only occurs occasionally until it again becomes popular during the Ming period[26]. A silver bowl dating from the Tang period is decorated at the bottom with the head of a fish-dragon coming out of the water, where fishes and ducks are swimming around. (**10.17**). A bowl with similar decoration was exhibited in Stockholm in 1932[27]. On both these bowls only the heads of the dragons are visible. Another bowl shows also the body of the dragon in the way it is found on Yue ceramics of the late Tang and the 10th century A.D.[28]. A bowl from that period, decorated with a pair of such fish-dragons is shown in (**10.18**).
On Song ceramics the appearance of the fish-dragon is rare. An exception has been found by Wirgin[29], but large wings have been added to the design (**10.19**). For the purpose of the discussion later on in this Chapter, this Song-period example is of importance. The body of the creature is clearly that of a fish, but the tail is shaped into an ornamental curl which integrates with the ornamental scrolls of the background.

In the meantime a myth became attached to the fish-dragon: a legend tells us that when the salmon come up the river every year to the famous falls of Longmen (the Dragon Gate), those who succeed in leaping up the falls are transformed into a fish-dragon[30]. This story is intimately associated with a Chinese divinity called Kui Xing, who was canonised in the 14th century. Originally Kui Xing was a scholar, who, though successful in the examinations, was refused office on the ground of his ugliness. In despair he threw himself into the Yangzi River and was carried up to heaven on a fish-dragon. Therefore, the fish-dragon became a symbol of literary inspiration. Kui Xing is easily recognized as

10.20 Flying "fish-dragon" on a Ming porcelain censer. China, 15th century A.D. Museum of Natural History, Chicago

10.21 Porcelain dish with design of fish-dragon. China, Jingdezhen ware. Dated 1541. Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tōkyō

a demon-like person, sitting on the back of a fish-dragon, which is emerging from waves, and brandishing in his hand a pencil brush and a cake of ink[31].

During the Ming Dynasty the fish-dragon was frequently used as a motif, in many variations, a fact which is worthwhile to pay some further attention to. In itself this is not too surprising since, during the beginning of the Ming Period, when the Yuan Mongols had just been driven out of China, a nationalistic return to the customs and traditions of the "golden age" of Tang was initiated[32].

Early Ming texts specify that "flying fish" (*feiyu*), which were explicitly classified as a type of dragon in the rules for costume designs and practices, were worn by palace attendants beginning in the Yongle period (1403-1424), and later references assert that they were also bestowed on Ministers of State and courtiers[33]. In 1459 robes with a pattern showing the "flying fish"-dragon were expressly forbidden to officials unless they were especially conferred on them by the Emperor himself. Typical characteristics of this Ming fish-dragon are the all-over fish scaling, fins instead of legs, sometimes a true fishtail, rather prominent wings recalling a bat's, and an upturned projecting nose like an elephant's trunk.

An example on a porcelain censer is shown in (**10.20**), which, however, has a conventional dragon's tail. An almost similar one is found on a Ming porcelain plate, dated 1541, now in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tōkyō (**10.21**). Other variations are fish's pectoral fins and regular dragon's hind legs and a dragon's tail, the forelegs of a dragon and ventral fins instead of back legs and a dragon's tail. These early 16th century examples usually have one horn. The two-horn variant probably became an accepted convention before the end of the Jiajing period (1522-1566)[34].

A rather curious variant of the fish-dragon on a late 16th century piece of lacquer ware shows the tail area of the body dissolving into feather-like wisps, giving the monster the appearance of a bird-dragon, rather than a fish-dragon. However, there can be no doubt that this creature is a variant of the fish-dragon and related to the *makara* alike[35]. These

10.22 The goddess Gangā, standing on a socle in the shape of a makara with foliated tail. Also called "foliated dragon". Stone relief in Grotto 21 of the cave temple of Ellorā. India, 6th century A.D. After Brinker and Lutz 1989, fig. 39

10.23 *Makara* on the springer of an arch of a niche in the Lianhua Grotto of the cave-temples at Longmen, near Luoyang, Henan Province. Stone relief. China, 6th century A.D. After Brinker and Lutz 1989, fig. 41

are often called "foliated dragons"[36]. This creature and its relationship to the *makara* will be considered in some detail here.

In a grotto of the cave temple of Ellorā, India, a *makara* has been carved in a stone relief dating from the 6th century A.D. In this relief the river goddess Gangā is shown standing on a socle in the shape of a *makara* (**10.22**). It has powerful forelegs, a long trunk, and a tail which seems to be shaped like ornamental feathers, but could as well suggest a wild water environment. It is very similar to the *makara* of the Gupta period as already discussed and shown in (**10.11**) and (**10.12**), where the up-swinging tails, very fish-like, are covered with spirals and end in a cloud of curls.

Almost simultaneously (6th century), a creature strongly resembling this *makara* was carved in a niche in the Lianhua grotto of the cave temples at Longmen, near Luoyang, Henan province (**10.23**). It also shows the strong forelegs and the upturned nose lengthened into a trunk. The tail seems to point upright, but again a curly environment, probably suggesting waves, is visible below the creature's body.

Garner pointed out the relationship between this creature and the dragons carved in the entrance gate to Ming tombs northwest of Beijing, which were erected in 1540 (**10.24**).

10.24 Dragon with foliated tail and two front claws. Carving at the entrance-gate of the valley to the tombs north of Beijing. China, Ming period. Ca. 1540 A.D. After Garner 1962, fig. 32B

10.25 *Makara* on cloisonné vase. China, Ming period, ca. 1575. After Brinker and Lutz 1989, fig. 108

These dragons have elephant snouts, two front legs, a flowering lotus stem emerging from the mouth, and foliated tails[37]. Indeed, the resemblance between this dragon and the one of (**10.22**), (**10.11**) and (**10.12**) is that close that a prototypal function of the 6th century *makara* from India to the one of (**10.24**) can hardly be doubted. Moreover, the step between this *makara* and the fish-dragon of (**10.19**) as a probably co-existent variant, is very small.

During the 16th century this type of *makara,* the "foliated-dragon", was also popular on cloisonné wares. The Pierre Uldry collection[38] comprised no less that 6 pieces of that period with this decoration[39]. (**10.25**) shows a vase of the late 16th century. Remarkable is the elaborate design of the creature with its upward-turned elephant-trunk like snout, two forelegs armed with claws, a plumed tail spreading out into an ornamental scroll and two horns. A string of pearls spouts from the mouth. Likewise elaborate is the design on an early 16th century vase as shown by Garner (**10.26**), where a rather elongated extension represents the tail amidst an ornamental scroll environment. Also interesting is a bowl dating from the second half of the 16th century in the Pierre Uldry collection, decorated with a pair of fish-dragons above the waves, surrounding a double *vajra* indicating the Buddhist context. (**10.27**). The dragon's head has a trunk-like upturning snout; the body is highly stylized, having two wings in the front, hind legs, a split-curly tail with a sort of central extension.

On a cloisonné incense burner from the early 18th century, the handles have been sculptured as fish-dragons rendered with horns and fins in the front of the body just behind the head (**10.28**).

Some remarks can be made about the creatures termed *makara*, foliated dragon and fish-dragon in the above discussion, as follows:

First, the objects discussed so far may demonstrate how it is possible to trace the proto-

10.26 Cloisonné ewer with *makara* decoration. China, Ming period, early 16th century. After Garner 1962, fig. 33

10.27 Cloisonné bowl decorated with pair of *makara*. China, Ming period, second half of 16th century. After Brinker and Lutz 1989, fig. 88

typing relationship between the *makara* on the one hand and the fish-dragon and foliated dragon on the other.

Secondly, the term "foliated dragon" has been introduced in 1956 by Pope[40], who studied the creature depicted on Chinese blue-and-white porcelain of the second half of the 15th century. Afterwards it was adopted by other scholars. But, as already suggested above, the tail of both the Indian prototype and the 13th century Chinese representation on Song ceramics is rendered in an environment which may be typified equally well as ornamental "boisterous water" or as ornamental "feathers". This the more so, because it is to be realized that the *makara* in the caves of India, are always depicted beneath a river-goddess. In fact the *makara* in Indian art are "the only vehicle of the goddesses of the rivers"[41]

Third, we have to do here with a mythical monster which is ambiguous in nature by definition: fish and dragon. Hence its iconography was based on oral and pictorial tradition, rather than natural models. So from that position it is not surprising that different variants co-existed also in the representation of the tail of the monster.

Fourth, in Ming times people were well aware of the legend of the fish changing into a dragon, as mentioned already. This change of the creature's body may well have caused dualism, not only in depicting a dragon's head and the scale body of a fish, but also in the way of rendering the tail.

In order to give some weight to this last consideration, let us examine (**10.29**), a brass mirror dating from the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It shows the ambivalence of the creature from top to end: a dragon's head with large horns, the body of a fish with fins, and a tail composed of both a fish-tail and a dragon's tail. Clearly the monster is dragon enough to pursue a jewel. Kerr argues this creature to be a "fish-transforming-into-a-dragon", a lucky motif which encourages the overcoming of difficulties to achieve success[42].

10.28 Incense burner, cloisonné, with sculptural handles in the shape of a fish-dragon. China, Qing dynasty, early 18th century. Art Museum, Phoenix

10.29 Brass mirror decorated with fish-dragon. China, Qing dynasty. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

10.30 Seascape with waves and the head of a seamonster. Inlaid lacquer chest. Heian period. Ca 1000 A.D. After Mizoguchi 1973, 41, fig. 36

An early example in Japanese art of a creature with dragon-like head and upturning snout is seen in the seascape on a lacquer garment box in the Tōji temple in Kyōto (**10.30**). It is dated to the mid-Heian period, i.e. about 1000 A.D.

Whether this was the first introduction of the image into Japan is hard to say, but as far as we have been able to examine, no predecessors are known. In 1510 a costume with the image of the "flying-fish"-dragon (*sic*) was given to a Japanese envoy who had come to the Ming court with a tribute present from Ashikaga *shōgun* Yoshizumi (1478-1511)[43]. Also a helmet, reportedly of the 15th century, is modelled in the shape of a fish with fierce expression (**10.31**).

10.31 Cast-iron *shachihoko*, with gilt-copper teeth, fangs and eyes. Japan, 15th century. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg

10.32 Two ridge-end ornaments reputedly from the roof of the Edo castle. Japan, Edo period, dated by inscription 1659. NMT

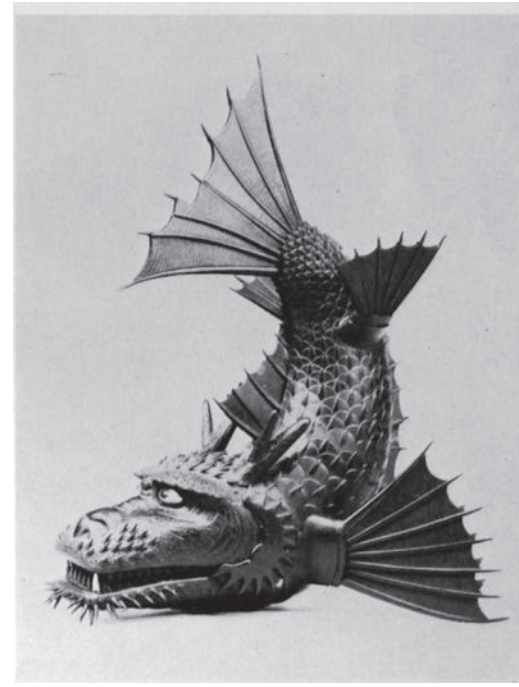
At first sight the image may be interpreted as a fish-dragon, but in Japan it is taken as a grampus, a *shachihoko*. This fish resembles the dolphin and symbolizes a warrior, not only on account of its ability to jump out of the water to great heights, but also for its fighting capacities, for it is known to attack sharks with courageous ferocity[44]. For this reason it was placed on the roofs of palaces of the *shōgun*. In 1610 two such grampuses, made of solid gold with eyes of silver, *kin no shachihoko*, were a present of *daimyō* Katō Kiyomasa (1562-1611) as his contribution to the construction of a castle in Nagoya[45]. They are also said to have been used on the roof of the castle at Edo. These are dated 1659 and are now kept in the Tōkyō National Museum (**10.32**). The image of these creatures can hardly be believed to represent a fish. The head is dragon-like with upturning nose, it has a spiky crest on the spinal ridge, and although the tail is split in two parts, it may easily recall a feathered tail of a bird.

The grampus or *shachihoko*, however, is sometimes said not to be precisely the same as the fish-dragon. A fish-dragon is called *gyoryū* in Japan and is occasionally distinguished from the grampus by the presence of front-legs and horns[46], as seen on a porcelain sculpture dating from the Edo period (**10.33**). But this is not totally satisfactory a distinguishing element, because four horns are applied to the head of the creature shown in (**10.34**), which dates from the later Edo period, and nevertheless is described as a *shachi*, a killer whale[47], and as a fish-dragon[48]

The *shachihoko* is frequently met in Japanese art and is associated often with Bunshōsei, the divinity of China we met already as Kui Xing. (**10.35**) shows a ceramic sculpture of Bunshōsei riding a *shachihoko*. The same theme is rendered on the Japanese painting shown in (**10.36**).

Let us consider now in some more detail the peculiar fact that in Japan a distinction between the grampus, *shachihoko*, and the fish-dragon, *gyoryū*, exists and put the question

10.33 Porcelain image of the fish-dragon, *gyoryū*. Japan, Edo period, 18th century. Musée d'Ennery, Paris



10.34 Cast-iron *shachihoko*. Japan, Edo period, 19th century. After Japanese Metalwork 1983, 152, fig. 301

10.35 The demon Bunshōsei riding a *shachihoko*. Japanese ceramic image. Japan, Late Edo period. Musée d'Ennery, Paris

10.36 The demon Bunshōsei riding a *shachihoko*. After a Japanese painting. Japan, Late Edo period. After Weber 1975, vol. I, 75, fig. 84

forward if this distinction might be an artificial one.
As mentioned already, a robe with the image of a "flying-fish"-dragon was presented to the *shōgun* in 1510, and a typical characteristic of this "flying-fish"-dragon was that it had fins instead of legs. And the Chinese called it a "flying-fish", rather than a dragon, although it was formally classified to be a dragon. So, it can be imagined that, when the robe was presented to the *shōgun*, the term "flying-fish" was used.
Apart from the fact that in Japan too, like in China, the close association between whales, dolphins, etc. and dragons was almost certainly well-known in those days, the word "flying fish" must have triggered that association anyway. Also, well before 1500, the Japanese used the *shachihoko* in its aggressive attitude as an apotropaic design, like on the helmet of the 15th century as mentioned.
The God of Literature, Kui Xing, canonized in the 14th century, was riding a fish-dragon, while in Japan he is always displayed to sit on a *shachihoko*. Very few details have changed when we compare the Chinese picture and the Japanese one: Bunshōsei takes the identical characteristic attitude as Kui Xing, i.e. with one foot on the head of the creature, the other uplifted behind, holding in his outstretched right hand the brush and in the left the square cake of ink.
When in the first half of the 17th century *shachihoko* were placed on the roofs of the castles in Nagoya and Edo, this was not a new phenomenon. In China such a fish-tailed dragon, heavily inspired by the Indian *makara*, was frequently met on roofs from the 5th century A.D. on, as already mentioned in this Chapter. It served the purpose of warding off the danger of fire. Exactly the same function in Japan is ascribed to the *shachihoko* on the roofs of buildings[49]. Attaching different names to the creature, as met in Japan, seems artificial rather than realistic.

If we compare the Chinese fish-dragon of (**10.16**) and (**10.18**) with the Japanese *shachihoko* of (**10.31**) and (**10.33**), the similarity is striking. The fish-dragon in China and the *shachihoko* in Japan descend in all likelihood, from the same mythological creature, the *makara* of India, and ultimately from the *ketos* of the Classical World.

11 THE FACE OF THE MONSTER

This Chapter focuses on the monsterfaces as they appear in different and remote cultures in different times, particularly in the classical world, in India, China and Japan. It seeks an answer to the question to what extent, if any, these faces might be related, and if some of them have their origin in the West.

A certain functional relationship is very clear, because in their facial expressions they all share certain characteristics, like bulging eyes, bare teeth, fangs, an evil grin, etc.[1], i.e. the means of scaring away evil or the enemy. This apotropaic function is not only in some cases clear from literary evidence, but may mostly be derived from the use of these monsterfaces on buildings, war shields, dress and utensils.

As discussed in Chapter 5, it is not difficult to identify some primordial and archetypal elements of apotropaic faces appearing in different and remote cultures. These could then be parallel and spontaneous re-inventions of a common and universal idea adapted to local circumstances and needs.

However, the question which primarily concerns us in this chapter is rather whether influence from any monsterface of the classical world on one or more appearing in India, China and Japan, can be demonstrated. Here we are in the realm of the processes together called diffusion. The term diffusion signifies only that migration of cultural products from one civilization to another has taken place.

During the 20th century a considerable number of scholars advanced the opinion that the gorgoneion of Greece and the monsterfaces of India and China must have had some connection. Unfortunately, in many cases, they expressed their thoughts about the presumed influence without factual support. Certainly these statements cannot replace a coherent history of transmission.

The following approach has been chosen:

- A survey will be given of the monsterfaces of the ancient Greek world, India and China.
- Interlaced with this survey, an attempt has been made to review suggestions, arguments and theories that have been launched in the past (20th century) by various scholars about a presumed relationship between the monsterfaces of the ancient Near East, Greece, India and China and the tenability of the theories will be discussed.
- On the way attention will be paid to the influence of Buddhism on the monsterfaces in China, and a new monsterface appearing in China during the Han period will be interpreted.
- Some monsterfaces of Japan will be discussed that were evidently copied from Chinese and/or Korean prototypes. It will be shown that gorgoneion-related characteristics are visible in some monsterfaces of Japan, in such detail that one could be tempted indeed to presume a relationship.

11.1 The gorgoneion and its ancestors

Humbaba was a demon in the Mesopotamian epic of Gilgamesh. From this poem we learn that Gilgamesh was a renowned and powerful king (ca. 2700 BC) who had built the great walls of Uruk, one of the largest cities of ancient Mesopotamia. He was an arrogant and oppressive ruler who vexed his subjects with his demands. In consequence an appeal was made to the gods for a champion who would contend for their rights against this oppressor. The champion created to liberate Uruk was Enkidu, a wild man who lived with the animals and protected them. On entering Uruk he engaged in a wrestling match with Gilgamesh, but after honour was satisfied on both sides, the two heroes became friends and decided to embark on an adventurous journey together. On a mountain mantled with a forest of cedar - the Amanus in the Lebanon- they sought out the demon Humbaba. Although Humbaba unleashed his "fears" at Gilgamesh, causing him to fall in a dead-deep sleep, they eventually decapitated him[2].

The epic was known widely in antiquity in cities throughout Mesopotamia and in Anatolia and Syro-Palestine at least during the mid-second millennium B.C.[3] Nonetheless, its fame was probably limited to the ranks of those literate in cuneiform texts, and its by-products in the general culture of Mesopotamia are scarce. Remarkably few echoes of the epic are found in art. From the early second millennium to the end of the Bronze Age (ca. 1000 B.C.) faces of Humbaba are fairly frequent, but most are probably related to his function as a protective "demon", rather than to his role in the epic[4]. He appears with a fearsome face, the teeth bared in a wide, gnashing grimace[5] (**11.1**).

The Gorgons, named Sthenno, Euryale and Medusa, were daughters of Phorkys and lived in the extreme West beyond the Ocean (*Okeanos*) in a land toward Night. Of the three sisters only Medusa was mortal, and according to Hesiod, the earliest surviving source for the story, she had slept with Poseidon and was pregnant by him. Medusa was so frightening with her dark bunch of curly snakes like hair, that anyone who approached her could not stand the sight and petrified on the spot.

Perseus came upon the Gorgons while they were sleeping. Should Medusa awake as he approached, he had, by way of precaution, made himself invisible with his magic helmet. Avoiding her gaze by looking away, he cut off Medusa's head and put it in his sack (*kibisis*). From her severed neck Chrysaor and the winged horse Pegasos sprang out, and the awakened sisters pursued Perseus through the air as he fled away[6]. Though separated from Medusa's body, the head retained the power to petrify and this is the reason that the head of Medusa, usually called gorgoneion, evolved into a power to ward off evil that was shared by all gorgoneia, whether worn by Athena on her *aegis* or painted on a drinking cup to ward off the evils of over-consumption. It was used by warriors as a shield device, often and at least as early as the *Iliad*, where on Agamemnon's shield it appears with a "terrifying gaze and stare of horror embedded in Fear and Flight"[7].

The possibility that the Gorgon derived from Humbaba has not been excluded for some time. The structural similarities of the legends are close enough to suggest that they may belong to a class of stories[8]. Both monsters could eliminate their enemies with their gaze, Humbaba by putting them asleep, Medusa by petrifying them. Both were decapitated by a hero-ruler assisted by a sort of supernatural force - in the case of Perseus the

11.1 Clay mask of Humbaba. The head of Humbaba appears often in Mesopotamian art as a fearsome protective demon, as here, with teeth bared in a wide gnashing grimace. From Ur, 2000-1500 B.C. University of Pennsylvania Museum

goddess Athena, in the case of Gilgamesh the tamed wild man Enkidu. In both cases the decapitated head was carried away in a bag. And both monsters were commonly known by the heads alone in which their apotropaic powers resided, as for Humbaba on a temple door in Nippur and for Medusa on shields and temple faces. However, the legends are not precisely the same: Humbaba is a forest creature while the Gorgon Medusa inhabits the shores of the Ocean and is one of three sisters.

On amulets against Lamastu, a child snatching demoness, another figure is frequently met, Pazuzu, the king of the evil wind spirits[9] (**11.2**). In form, Pazuzu has a leonine or doglike head, with prominent crest, a scaly humanoid body, human arms with leonine paws, four wings and talons for feet. The details vary from figure to figure, but the above description covers the most frequent traits of the demon. Pazuzu, as king of the demons, could be called upon for help against other demons, i.e. to keep his subjects under control, and acted as a guardian against the goddess Lamastu[10]. This is the reason why Pazuzu has apotropaic qualities, hence his representation on amulets, where he is seen in action against Lamastu to chase her out and accompany her back to the netherworld[11].
From the evidence of excavated examples of Pazuzu amulets and figurines, the demon first appeared in the 2nd half of the 8th century B.C. The majority of the datable examples fall between then and the 1st half of the 6th century B.C.[12] and are mostly separate heads, rarely full figures. The figure of Pazuzu took over the apotropaic function of Humbaba, whose image does not survive the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1000 B.C.)

11.2 Head of Pazuzu, a malignant demon of disease. His image served to ward off the very ills he could bring. Neo-Assyrian, reign of Assurbanipal (668-631 B.C.). After Padgett 2003, 121, fig. 7

11.3 The Egyptian household god Bes portrayed as a hideous bearded dwarf with a large head, broad nose, furrowed brow and panting tongue. The fearsome aspects of his depiction served in his role as protector of the home and of women (especially in childbirth). Egyptian, ca. 664-525 B.C. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond

We now turn our attention to Bes, one of the gods of Egypt[13]. He was a popular god that appears in the form of a robust dwarf of bestial appearance. His head is big, his eyes huge, his cheeks prominent. His chin is hairy and an enormous tongue hangs from his wide-open mouth (**11.3**).

In bas-relief and paintings he is frequently represented full-face. At first Bes was relegated to the lowest ranks among the Egyptian genii venerated by the common people, but his popularity grew. Under the New Kingdom (ca. 1550-1100 B.C.) the middle classes liked to place his statue in their houses and to name their children after him. He presided over child-bearing and protected expectant mothers. He also presided over the toilet and adornment of women, who were fond of having his image carved on the handles of their mirrors and scent boxes. He was in general the protector not only against evil spirits, but also against dangerous beasts like lions, snakes and crocodiles. Against their bite the whole family would be protected by placing in the house a little stela or pillar, covered with magic formulas, on which Bes's menacing mask was sculptured.

A dwarfish figure very similar to Bes is found widely in Syria, Palestine, Assyria and Babylonia in the first millennium B.C.[14], as well as in the Greco-Roman world[15].

In discussing the position of Humbaba, Pazuzu and Bes in their respective environ-

11.4 Proto-attic *amphora* showing Medusa, beheaded, while her sisters pursue Perseus who is protected by Athena. From Eleusis, ca. 670 B.C. Eleusis Museum

ments, it is of importance to realize that in the Mediterranean world, at a certain time, the images of at least these creatures were almost certainly well-known, because, increasingly from ca. 800 B.C. on, elements of the cultures around the Mediterranean were exchanged due to newly established trade-relationships.

It has been noted that the early examples of Gorgons were found in major trade centres and cities along the trade routes of the Levant, like Corfu, Rhodes, Syracuse and Tarentum. By the 10th century B.C. the predecessors of the Phoenicians had expanded their commercial influence in the western Mediterranean, by the end of the 9th century they were well established in Carthage. Hence contacts between Babylonia and the Mediterranean world in Mycenaean times were almost certainly established by the ambitious traders, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that Greeks were exposed to themes from farther eastern areas at this early date[16].

There is significant evidence that the Gorgon has been modelled, at least in part, by superimposing Near Eastern ideas on a Perseus legend already known to the Greeks[17]. Modern insight accepts that the Gorgon appears to be a purely Greek invention, composed, however, from features borrowed from or inspired by Near Eastern and Egyptian prototypes of apotropaic figures like Humbaba, Bes and Pazuzu[18].

One of the earliest depictions of the Perseus myth is on a Proto-Attic amphora of about 670 B.C., found at Eleusis (**11.4**). Medusa, beheaded, lies amid flowers while her sisters start to pursue Perseus who rushes off to the right. The heads of the Gorgons are the most remarkable things about the theme; there is almost nothing human about them. Specifically characteristic are the bulgy heads. A connection to the lion's head may be suspected: on the shoulder of the amphora a lion is depicted in profile showing an elongated eye, an even row of serrated teeth, and a muzzle portrayed with hatched triangles fitted together along the edge of the jaw[19]. The full front face of the Gorgon on the amphora shows the elongated eyes on the extreme edges of the face and the teeth in rows running completely across the face and the chin with the hatched triangles of the lion's muzzle (**11.5**).

Of about the same time (ca. 660 B.C.) a Gorgon's head was found in Boeotia on a relief *pithos* that was probably Cycladic in origin. There she is a frontal faced woman with the body of a horse (**11.6**). She bares her teeth as Perseus, who has the *kibisis* over his shoulder, raises his sword, about to behead her[20].

The craftsmen who painted the Proto-Attic amphora and made the relief *pithos* clearly knew the story of Perseus and the Gorgons. They knew that the Gorgon was a monster

11.5 Gorgon from a Proto-attic *amphora,* displaying all of her salient features. Note especially the curious treatment of the forehead. From Eleusis, ca. 665 B.C. Eleusis Museum

11.6 Relief decoration on an *amphora* showing Perseus wearing boots and hat and with the *kibisis* over his shoulder. He looks away as he beheads Medusa who has the form of a female centaur. From Boeotia, ca. 660 B.C. MLP

11.7 Gorgoneion on an Attic black-figure plate. Ca. 550 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

11.8 Limestone "Lion of Menecrates". The lion's superciliary tufts of hair are depicted here as two round globes. From Corfu, ca. 600 B.C. Corfu Museum

and, with no specific model to turn to at this early stage in Greek narrative art, they each created their own version of the monster.

By the end of the 7th century B.C. conventions had evolved on mainland Greece for depicting the Gorgon and it is likely that this process took place with painters in Corinth where apotropaic lion masks may have served as the model. Her round face has large bulging eyes, the huge mouth grins with baring teeth and sometimes tusk-like fangs. The hair around her forehead is usually depicted as scrolls and frequently she has a beard. The tongue sticks out, the large nose flattened against her face (**11.7**). There has been much discussion as to the meaning of the protruding tongue of the Gorgon[21], one assumption being that the pictorial origin of the Gorgon tongue lies in the protruding tongue of the Asiatic lion[22].

Another argument that has been put forward to relate the Greek Gorgon's head to the lion's iconography is the presence of the two marks on the Gorgon's forehead, which appear often on attic black figure ceramics of the middle of the 6th century B.C.[23] These suggest a connection with the superciliary tufts of hair on the lion's forehead, which are usually represented as two round lumps (**11.8**).

The gorgoneion was a popular decorative device throughout the Archaic period and could appear on bronze *kraters* and painted vases, but also on architectural terracotta's and even in sculptured pediments (**11.9**), (**11.10**), and (**7.3**).

Gorgon heads were also depicted on the earliest Greek coins (**11.11**). On the Greek mainland Athens was one of the first city-states to strike silver coins in the period 550-525 B.C. These coins are known by the German term '*Wappenmünzen*' meaning "heraldic coins" because the wide variety of obverse designs is possibly explained by the theory that they

11.9 Limestone pediment group from the temple of Artemis on Corfu. Medusa, wearing a belt of snakes and running to the right, is flanked by Pegasos (most of whom is missing) and Chrysaor. Ca. 580 B.C. Corfu Museum

11.10 Limestone *metope* depicting Perseus in the presence of his protectress Athena, decapitating the Gorgon, who already holds the winged horse Pegasos. Perseus turns his head away to avoid being turned into stone. From Silenus, Sicily, ca. 530 B.C. National Archaeological Museum, Palermo

11.11 Silver *decadrachm* with Gorgoneion. From Athens, 545-515 B.C. BML

11.12 Bronze coin with Gorgoneion. From Himera, Sicily, ca. 420 B.C. BML

11.13 Electrum *stater* with Gorgoneion. From Cyzicus, Asia Minor, ca. 425 B.C. BML

11.14 Red-figure *amphora* with the image of the Gorgon. From Vulci, Italy, 500-480 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

11.15 Perseus with the Gorgoneion on a red-figure *pelike*. Ca. 480 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

11.16 Marble mask "Medusa Rondanini". Roman copy of a 5th century B.C. work in which the Gorgon had the sad face of a beautiful woman. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

represent the heraldic emblems of the individuals responsible for the production of each issue[24]. Also on bronze coins, first made in the 5th century B.C. on Sicily, the gorgoneion appears, as on the one from Himera dated ca. 420 B.C. (**11.12**). Of special interest for our considerations are the electrum coins issued in Asia Minor at the beginning of the 5th century. These were not meant to have the same function as the usual city issues. The evidence of finds suggests that this coinage had a major role in international trade

between Greece and the Black Sea[25]. One of the motifs on the obverse of these coins is the Gorgon-head (**11.13**).
Perseus killing Medusa or being pursued by her Gorgon sisters was very popular in black figure vase painting. In Archaic red figure there are only very few of these scenes to be found (**11.14**) and (**11.15**).
As a rule, the early gorgoneia are more convincing in their apotropaic function than the later ones; by the end of the 6th century B.C. some are almost clown-like[26].
Then, a new Gorgon type appears, probably created in the second half of the 5th century B.C., where the face is that of a beautiful woman with a sad face (**11.16**), the so-called "Medusa Rondanini"[27].

There can be no doubt about the diffusion of the gorgoneion as a motif throughout the classical world[28].
The jewellery traditions of the eastern countries had nothing to learn from Greece - indeed the Greeks had learned almost all of their techniques from the east - but a Phoenician necklace from a 5th century B.C. grave near Sidon (**11.17**) supports a superb Late Archaic Greek gorgoneion pendant, which suggests considerable awareness and acceptance of Greek decoration in that area[29].
A scaraboid with a running Medusa, dating from the 5th century B.C., was excavated in Pantikapaion[30], and in Hetepka in Thrace, west/south-west of the Black Sea and modern Bulgaria, Gorgon heads were found in a 4th century B.C. grave[31]. Representations of Gorgon-masks were introduced in the Pontic region during the Archaic period by Greek colonists and would become especially familiar to the Scythians through coins, by which the image on a golden plaque of the 4th-3rd century B.C., found in Theodosia on the Crimea, is likely to be inspired (**11.18**). Gorgoneia decorated Scythian military equipment, clothing and other items, like rein, but their most common use was on plaques attached to clothing. Examples from the 4th-3rd century B.C. have been found in Tovsta Mohyla, Melitopol's' Kyi Kurhan and Kurhan Ohuz. Like the Greeks, the Scythian people probably believed the Gorgon's image to be effective in warding off enemies[32].
Other examples, probably from South Russia near the Black Sea and dating from the 3rd century B.C., are shown in (**11.19**). The gorgoneion has retained little of his frightening appearance; the mouth even seems to be faintly smiling. This feature has been maintained for centuries thereafter, as shown on the Medusa-masks which decorate a silver pyxis from the 3rd century A.D., excavated in Kerch[33].
The vast dispersion of the gorgoneion as an especially powerful *apotropaion* is to be understood in the context of the popularity of these ornaments as amulets worn by people travelling or living far away from their home-country. The myth told them that the sight of Medusa turned the observer to stone.
In the Hellenistic period, in Bactria and India, Demetrius (d. 167 B.C.) and his successor Menander (d. 150-145 B.C.) and Antimachus II, sub-king of Menander, all used the Gorgon head on their coins[34].

In the Roman Empire the Medusa head remained ubiquitous, although its appearance differs from place to place. Generally now, the put out tongue is omitted. In Pompeii a bronze stove was found decorated with a very human male Medusa-head with well-adjusted curly hair around the face, wide-opened eyes (inlaid with silver), a rounding nose

11.17 Gold Phoenician necklace with gorgoneion pendant. From Sidon, 5th century B.C. Beirut Museum

11.18 Golden plaque with Gorgon mask. From Theodosia, Crimea, 4th-3rd century B.C. National Museum of the History of the Ukraine, Kiev

and a well-formed mouth (**11.20**).
Spherical mosaic glass beads with the head of Medusa dating from the 1st century A.D. have been found in Augst (Switzerland), on the north coast of the Black Sea and in Alexandria. They were possibly made in Egypt (**11.21**).
A very unusual glass plaque with a Medusa-head was found in Rome, dating from the 1st to 2nd century A.D. (**11.22**). It is a roughly circular disk of 15 cm diameter, the head of Medusa in bold relief with snaky hair around the face, deep-set bulging eyes, narrow

11.19 Gold Gorgon heads. The Gorgoneion has retained little of its frightening appearance; the mouth even seems to be faintly smiling. Probably from the area near the Black Sea. 3rd century B.C. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden

11.20 Medusa head on a bronze stove found in the House of the Four Styles at Pompeii. First half of 1st century A.D. Antiquarium depositi della soprintendenza, Pompeii

11.21 Medusa-head on an opaque white glass bead. The small squares encircling the upper part of the face are the stylized heads of the snakes growing in her hair. Perhaps from Egypt, 1st century A.D. Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart

nose, lips parted. Its precise function is not known and no clue survives about how it was attached. Three possibilities are suggested: that it adorned a large piece of furniture; that it formed part of the *opus sectile* decoration of a wall; or that it comes from a cuirass of a life-size statue.

Also *phalerae* of glass have been found, decorated with gorgoneia. Some of them retain the bronze frames to which they were attached (**11.23**).

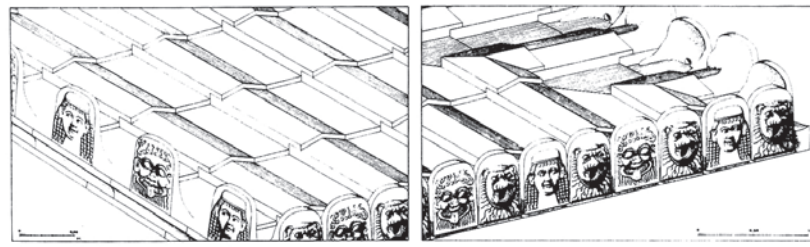
Gorgoneia were finely carved in limestone as the greater part of the medallions in arches of the arcades of the imperial forums and temples at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania

11.22 Mould-pressed, roughly circular glass disk with Medusa-head, surrounded by snakes. Its precise function is not known. Found in Rome. 1st-2nd century A.D. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning N.Y.

11.23 Medusa-head on a cast translucent glass plaque, surrounded by gold-edged brown paper glued to the glass. Wings are springing from the top of the head and many snaky locks. Snakes are knotted below the chin. 1st-2nd century A.D. The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning N.Y.

11.24 Male variation of the Medusa-mask on the central shield of the pediment of the temple of Sulis-Minerva at Bath. 2nd-3rd century A.D. Roman Baths Museum, Bath, Somerset, England

11.25 Bronze *phalera* with Medusa-mask, as a medallion worn on leather or metal corselets. From Sandy, Bedfordshire, 2nd century A.D. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, England



11.26 Figure of reconstructed antefixes on the early temple of Hera, Corfu. Greek, 6th century B.C. After Padgett 2003, 65, fig. 17

11.27 Fragment of a red-figure *krater*, depicting a building of which the *akroterium* is crowned with Bellerophon astride Pegasos (see Chapter 9), and the antefixes on the roof show gorgoneia. From Tarentum, Italy. Ca. 350 B.C. University Museum, Würzburg

(Libya), one of the cities along the north coast of Africa that strongly developed from about 100 B.C. on as a trade centre of the Mediterranean world[35]. They predominantly have the appearance of a friendly-looking female with curly hair around the face. But also a male variation with a trap-like mouth, lined, scowling brows and huge, deeply drilled and penetrating eyes does appear there. In fact they are not unknown in Roman art in the Mediterranean countries, e.g. on the Hadrianic Baths in Aphrodisias in Caria. Also it is present on a central shield from Bath (Aquae Sulis), Somerset, dating from the 2nd to 3rd century A.D. (**11.24**).

Quite different are three small metal *phalerae*, circular in shape and each bearing a Medusa mask in relief, from Sandy, Bedfordshire and dated 2nd century A.D. (**11.25**). These objects were probably worn as military decorations on leather or metal corselets[36]. Others were found at Lauersfort, Germany.

For reasons which will become clear further on in this Chapter, attention is now drawn

to the relief decorations on roof tiles in the classical world. These tiles were very common. Terracotta tiles with moulded heads, that lined the building's gutter, were already in use in Greece by the end of the 7th century B.C. The archaic roof tiles of the 7th century B.C. temple of Poseidon at Isthmia and a similarly early temple at Corinth are the earliest known Greek structures to employ the tiled roof[37]. In particular they were used as antefixes for the eaves, ridge and hips of the roof[38]. (**11.26**). Many of these tiles from the 6th century B.C. which decorated the roofs of numerous small temples and thesauri were found in the remains at Paestum (south sanctuary). In fact they were part of the buildings all over Greece and Etruria in the 6th to 4th century B.C.[39]. Hoards of antefixes relief-decorated with a gorgoneion were found in Capua, in the necropolis area, in different layers dating from Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and much later periods[40]. An impression of what they looked like is provided by a fragment of a red-figure *krater* from Tarentum of ca. 350 B.C., which is in the collection of the University Museum at Würzburg, Germany (**11.27**).

Hence it becomes quite clear that Medusa masks were ubiquitous in every direction within the Roman Empire[41].

Close to the eastern border of the Roman Empire, the township Hatra (Mesopotamia) witnessed an astonishing flowering from ca. 100 to 240 A.D. when it was destroyed by the Sasanians. A greenish marble statue of a god, possibly Apollo, was found there with a cuirass decorated with the head of Medusa on the back[42]. Also Medusa masks were modelled on the interior and exterior of the walls of shrines[43].

11.2 The *kīrttimukha* of India

Attention is now devoted to the *kīrttimukha*, the "Glorious Face" of India. The origin of *kīrttimukha* is narrated in a legend found in a 7th century A.D. Gupta document. The legend itself is supposed to be earlier than the 4th century A.D.[44].

The legend is as follows:

Jalandara, the king of the demons, sent a messenger to the great Lord Śiva who was about to wed Parvati, the daughter of Himalaya, to tell the great Lord that "the beggar Śiva" was not a worthy spouse for the beautiful princess, who was only destined to be the queen of Jalandara. As soon as this impertinent message was delivered, there shot forth from between the eyebrows of Lord Śiva a terrible being roaring like thunder, with a face like that of a lion, a protruding tongue, eyes burning with fire and its hairs flying upwards. It had a thin emaciated body but in its strength seemed to be a second Narasimha, the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu. As this terrible being ran to eat him up, the messenger fled in horror and began to pray to Śiva for protection. Śiva dissuaded the terrible being from eating the messenger. Upon that the former complained to Śiva of a very painful hunger and asked Śiva for a means of appeasing it. Śiva ordered him to eat up the flesh of his own hands and feet, which the being immediately did, leaving only its face intact as the only remnant of its body. Śiva was greatly pleased at this and thus addressed the terrible face: "You will be known henceforth as *kīrttimukha*, and I ordain you shall always be at my doorway. He who fails to worship you shall never be able to acquire my grace".[45]

Since then *kīrttimukha* has had a permanent place on the doorway of Śiva's temple[46].

The reputedly earliest example, shown in (**11.28**), is from a Gupta temple at Sārnāth, India,

ascribed to the 3rd century A.D.[47]. *Kīrttimukha* is depicted here between two geese and has no arms[48]. Others have stated that "… the *kīrttimukha* is one of the most common motifs in temples throughout India, appearing in North Indian architecture from at least the early six century and much earlier as a jewelry motif"[49]

In the legend of *kīrttimukha* as cited above, the name of Narasimha, the fourth incarnation of Vishnu appears, who is half-man and half-lion: *nara* (man) and *simha* (lion). In fact, only the face is that of the animal, all other parts of the body being human.

The story of Narasimha is told in ancient Hindu literature, the Purāna's (s.v.), and goes briefly as follows:

'Hiranyakapiśu was a very powerful demon-king, who had managed to be granted invulnerability by Brahmā himself. He proclaimed himself king of the universe and forbade worship of anyone but himself. However, his son Prahlada consecrated himself to Vishnu. Hiranyakapiśu, irritated by the sight of his son devoting himself to the cult of Vishnu, inflicted on the young man a series of cruel tortures in order to turn him from his vocation. But his fervour simply increased, and he began to preach the religion of Vishnu to men and demons. Hiranyakapiśu once more called his son to him and Prahlada once more tried to convince his father of Vishnu's greatness and omnipotence, but Hiranyakapiśu exclaimed: "If Vishnu is everywhere, why is it that my eyes don't see him?". And he kicked the pillars of his audience chamber, saying: "Is he here, for instance?". "Even when invisible he is present in all things" said Prahlada. Whereupon Hiranyakapiśu uttered a blasphemy and kicked the pillar, which fell on the floor. Immediately Vishnu emerged from the pillar in the shape of a lion-headed man, in his incarnation as Narasimha, seized on Hiranyakapiśu and tore him to pieces'[50]

Just as Narasimha bursts from a column in order to protect true believers, the *kīrttimukha* emerges from temple gates.

However, from the legend more can be derived about the relationship between Narasimha and *kīrttimukha*. Śiva produces (in his anger) a monster "with the face like that of a lion", i.e. a Narasimha-like monster, which becomes -after he has devoured his own body- by definition the *kīrttimukha*. Therefore, *kīrttimukha* looks the same as Narasimha without his body: the head of Narasimha is identical to the *kīrttimukha* (**11.29**). Thus the image of Śiva, *kīrttimukha*, becomes the direct analogue of Narasimha[51], and is called "a second Narasimha"[52].

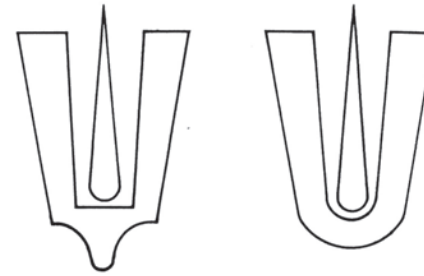
Zimmer related the Gorgon-head with the *kīrttimukha*[53], while an authority as Coomaraswamy[54] had already asserted that "the kīrttimukha as the terrible Face of God (*sic*), who as the Sun and Death both generates and devours his children, is analogous to the Greek gorgoneion"[55].

Napier entered further into the relation of Narasimha and of Śiva's most powerful image, the *kīrttimukha* on the one hand, and the Greek gorgoneion on the other. In order to point out their relationship, he examines, among other aspects, the history of the forehead mark, called the *nāman*, which is the most common attribute of Vishnu and Śiva and their consorts[56] (**11.30**).

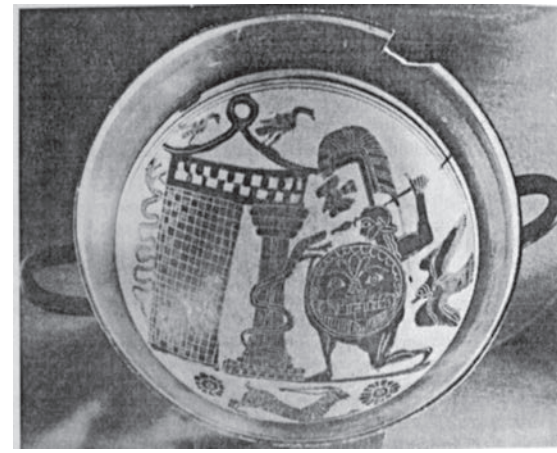
In many ancient Greek representations of the gorgoneion, the forehead is marked with the two-point mark which is thought to suggest the superciliary tufts of hair on the lion's forehead as already discussed. But on many other representations of the Gorgon's head a three-point mark is visible, which, according to Napier, is a variant of the *nāman*, as seen e.g. in (**11.31**). This is also met on the stylized faces on Greek so-called eye-cups, representing the Gorgon's face, which are often distinguished by special three-point mark-

11.28 Fragment of a Gupta temple at Sārnāth with the image of *kīrttimukha*. 3rd century A.D. After Le Coq 1977, 95, no. 218

11.29 Ivory panel carved in relief exhibiting a four-tiered temple and three images of the lion-headed Narasimha, tearing Hiranyakapiśu to pieces, down the left side increasing in size from the lowest to the highest image. Also the details of the temple are intricately carved. At the top on the right the *kīrttimukha*, basically Narasimha's head, is seen. 16th to 17th century A.D. After Topsfield 2004, 113, no. 41



11.30 This mark, called *nāman*, commonly made on the forehead, is frequently associated with the third eye. After Napier 1986, 150, plt. 69



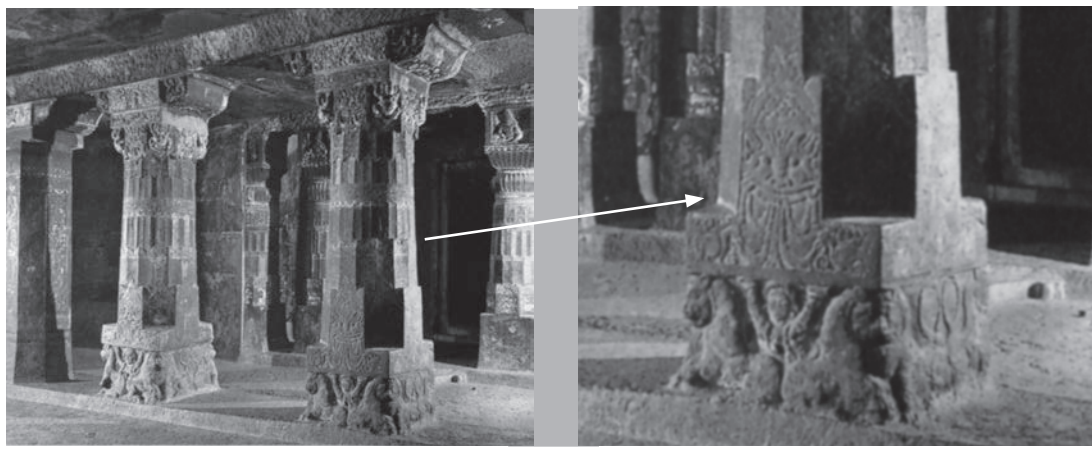
11.31 Gorgoneion with tridental forehead mark on the shield of Achilles. Black-figure cup from Etruria. Ca. 560-550 B.C. MLP

11.32 Attic black-figure *kylix*, with the tridental mark shown as dots to either side of a central line. Ca. 540-535 B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

11.33 The "terrible face" depicted within a small circle on the wall between the doors to the cell in Cave 1 at Ajantā. Ca. 500 A.D. After Le Coq 1977, 94, fig. 210

ings on the forehead (**11.32**). On the other hand, totally different explanations have been proposed on the decorations of the foreheads of the gorgoneia. In particular they have been identified as the tattoos, known from art and literary sources, which decorated the face and body of barbarians[57].

What Napier tried to demonstrate in a lengthy, detailed and complex argument, is that there have been iconographical and ideological influences of Indian art on the West during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., which shaped the Greek Gorgon[58]. However, because during the early days of the Gorgon there was no prototype of this creature in India[59] and a channel of transmission from India to Greece is not evident, we tend to feel



11.34 Columns before the central shrine of Cave 17, Ajantā, decorated with the image of *kīrttimukha*. India. Gupta period, late 5th century A.D. After Lee 1997, 214, fig. 153

that the probability of Greek masks being influenced from India is remote.

It has been remarked[60] that the resemblance between the gorgoneion and the *kīrttimukha* must be accidental because the gorgoneion lost its animal traits and fearsome character in the 5th century B.C. Thus any attempt to establish an influence of the early gorgoneion on the iconography of the *kīrttimukha* suffers from anachronism. The argument is useful too as a reminder of how easy it is to create frightening faces using the same non-human elements.

The early illustrations of the *kīrttimukha*, like the one in (**11.28**) were at first a special emblem of Śiva himself and a characteristic element on the lintels of Śiva-temples. The image became gradually used indiscriminately on various parts of Hindu and Buddhist shrines as an auspicious device to ward off evil. An example, from cave no. 1 at Ajantā, India, dated about 500 A.D. is shown in (**11.33**). On the lower part of the columns before the central shrine of cave 17 at Ajantā, dating from the same time, the *kīrttimukha*-image has been carved with great vigour (**11.34**).

The *kīrttimukha* represented with hands has hardly ever been found in India. This aspect of the image appears in a later phase when the image starts to travel eastward. For example, on a doorway of a temple in Cambodia a *kīrttimukha* is found with two hands before the breast, as if eating up its own anatomy at the dictate of Śiva, thus being the graphic illustration of the original legend[61]. (**11.35**).

How precisely the image first came to the South-East Asia archipelago is not known, but most likely is contact by sea, because already towards the end of the 1st century A.D., an all-sea route was pioneered between India and China via the straits of Malacca, and from 350 A.D. this route was regularly used[62]. By the 6th century this was the preferred route and the old coastal one was neglected[63]. The earliest evidence of contact are inscriptions found in West Java and Kalimantan (East Borneo), dating from the early fifth century A.D. However, using the fifth century as a contact date is generally thought to be too conservative, because Chinese travellers indicated that Brahmānism already prevailed on Java during this period[64]. But, while the reasons for the abundance of monstrous leonine icons in South-East Asia are not clear, it is evident that they greatly depend upon their Indian relatives.

11.35 Drawing from a decoration on a doorway of a ruined temple at Preah-ko in Cambodia, depicting the *kīrttimukha*. It represents the original legend of *kīrttimukha* devouring his hands. Late 9th century A.D. After Gangoly 1920, 19, fig. 19

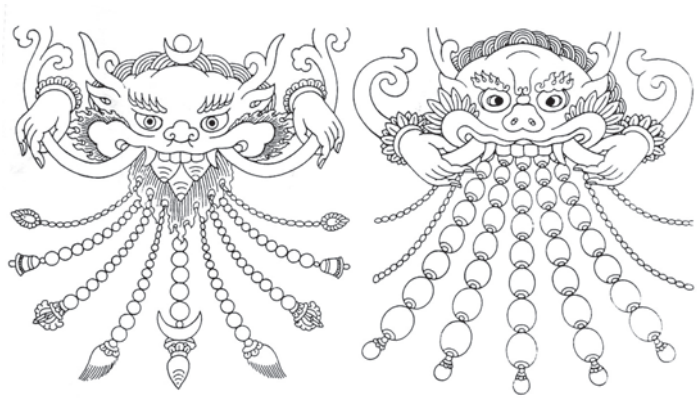
11.36 Lintel displaying a *kāla* head, and two *makaras* on either side of a door frame. From Candi Sewu, Central Java, Indonesia. 9th century A.D. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

In East Java the *kīrttimukha*, or Face of Glory, that hovers protectively above temple gates, is, according to popular Javanese lore, called Banaspati, "Lord of the Woods, Patron of the Wilderness, King of Vegetation". It is also called *kāla* (s.v.) in Javanese[65]. The forest holds all kinds of dangers and demons, enemies and diseases, in contrast to the safety of the village and home, which are under the protection of the house-gods and the village-gods. On Javanese temples *kīrttimukha* is a popular ornament, where it serves as a deterrent and protective symbol[66]. An example of the *kāla*-head on a lintel from one of the Buddhist temples of Candi Sewu, Central Java, Indonesia, dating from the 9th century A.D. is shown in (**11.36**). Although the *kāla* or *kīrttimukha* is meant as a terrifying monster, it is presented here as a more friendly type of creature, in accordance with the Buddhist way of approaching visitors, believers, who should not be disturbed in their good intentions, fierceness being reserved for evil spirits, who threaten the Buddha and the faith and for whom the self-evident strength of the *kāla*-head should suffice[67]. On either side the *makara*[68] ornament is displayed, a practice very common on doorframes of the Central Javanese period. It is called the *kāla-makara* ornament[69].

One of the features of some East Asian apotropaic demon masks is that - apart from the bulging eyes, the large canines and often the long tongue - its claws are shown as we

11.37 *Kāla* head, with hands raised before the breast. Candi Djago, Java, Indonesia. 1268 A.D. After Lee 1997, 282, fig. 361

11.38 Drawing of a *kāla* face with hands menacingly spread aside. Bali, Indonesia. After Napier 1986, 203, fig. 95b



11.39 Drawing of a Tibetan *kīrttimukha* with both hands swallowing bars. After Beer 1999, 69, plt. 46

have mentioned already. On Java, the claws are often visible in the position before the breast (**11.37**). On Bali, however, this feature may become more dominant when the claws are menacingly raised and spread aside (**11.38**). Obviously there is an explicit iconographical association between the hands (claws) and the horrific face.
Research, during the seventies of the last century, on the somatic sensory cortex for the right hemisphere of the human brain uncovered the relative sensibility for the different parts of the human body in that part of the brain. It was found that the relative sensitivity in the brain for a huge face, tongue and hands is high while that for the body itself is low. This is evidence that the apotropaic function of the monsterface, the tongue and the hands, is founded in the senses[70].

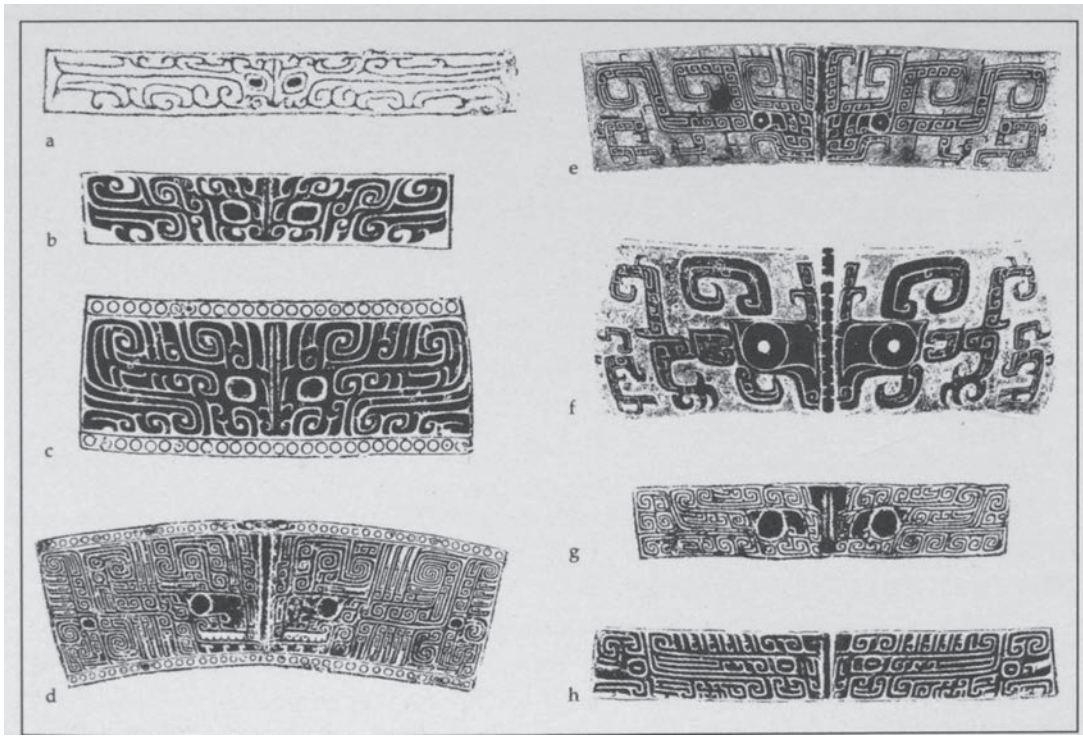
In Tibetan art the *kīrttimukha* is found as an heraldic device on armour, helmets and weapons of war[71]. A connected frieze of *kīrttimukha*-masks, forming a continuous net of jewels, is often painted across the upper beams of temple walls. Tasselled hanging banners, which decorated temple pillars, may be crowned with an image of *kīrttimukha*. Architecturally they form familiar motifs on lintels, archways and pillar cornices. As door handles or knockers they commonly occur on temple doors. A frieze of six or eight *kīrttimukha*-faces, bearing nets of jewels in their mouths, may circulate around the upper section of the ritual hand bell. Camman[72] shows an example from Burma. This early variety of the *kīrttimukha* is showing the face only: hands or claws are not part of the ornament. Camman[73] drew attention to the fact that in Tibet two varieties exist: the *kīrttimukha* without hands and a second type where he is swallowing two bars, which he holds to his mouth with two *akimbo* grasping arms and braceleted human hands, and a net of jewels (**11.39**). In both these representations the *kīrttimukha* is usually shown without a lower jaw.

11.3 The monsterfaces of China

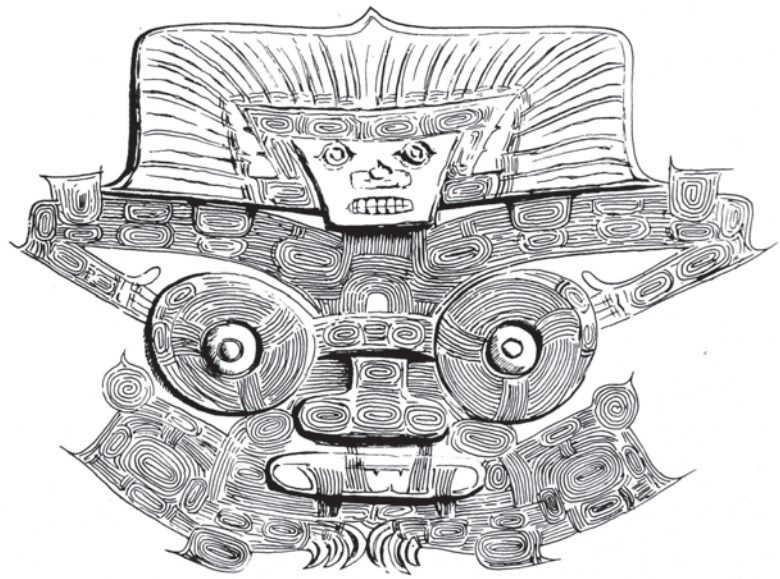
In China, in tombs dated from the late Shang period (1300-1100 B.C.), executioner's axes have been found decorated with a fearsome human-like face, with bulging eyes, a flat nose and bare teeth (**11.40**). It may be tempting, of course, to associate the severing of heads in ritual sacrifices with the chopping off of Medusa's head by Perseus, and the Gorgon's mask of Archaic Greece with the ones on these axes, also because they don't look very dissimilar. But such a connection is much too far fetched and has never been considered. One of the hypotheses is that the Chinese word for king, *wang*, the supreme head (leader) of all lineages derives from the word for the pictograph on these axes. These lineages were the most important framework of the ancient Chinese society and defiance of the head of such a lineage could be punished severely by mutilation or by death[74].

The mask called *taotie* is a frequently recurring symbol on ancient Chinese bronzes of the Shang dynasty and early Western Zhou period (**11.41**). The image alludes to a monsterface, always lacking the lower jaw, seen in front, with huge eyes. In most treatments the *taotie* is divisible into two halves, symmetrical with respect to a vertical line running over the nose. Horns, crests, fangs and taloned paws are composed into a geometrical decorative pattern, which becomes nearly abstract. It appears in an almost endless number of variations.

11.40 Bronze axe with monsterface. China, Late Shang period. Ca. 1200 B.C. Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin



11.41 Rubbings of *taotie* designs of the Shang and Western Zhou periods. China, ca. 1500-900 B.C. After Juliano and Lerner 2002, 23, fig. 1



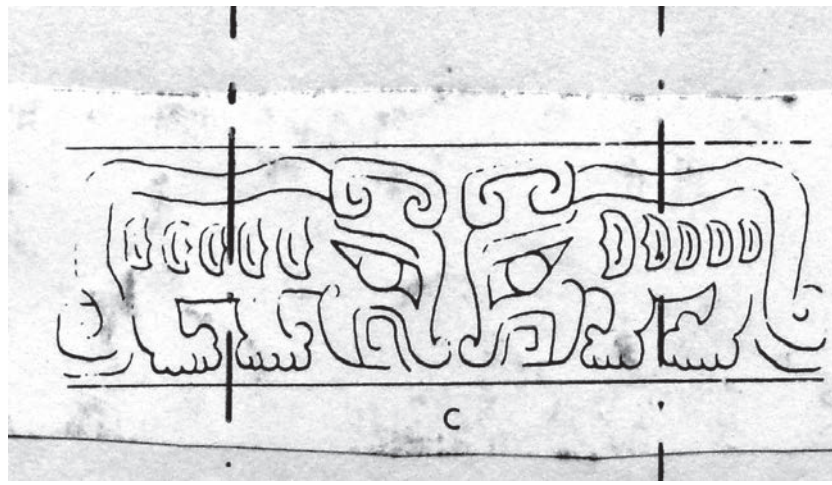
11.42 Drawing of a design of a man-like figure on a jade of the Liangzu Neolithic culture. China, ca. 2500 B.C. After Rawson 1995, 123

The impression given is quite clear: a vaguely malevolent presence. The mask is shown front-face thus establishing an immediate relationship with the person looking at it. This frontality indicates magic powers and malevolent intentions against the forces of evil, a quality it shares with other frontal images in ancient art like the gorgoneion and the *kirttimukha*.

It has been suggested that the *taotie* was inspired by a mask found on jade-carvings of the Liangzhu-culture on the mainland of China between 3000 and 2000 B.C.[75] (**11.42**). The figure is a combination of a man-like creature and a mysterious beast[76]. The man stands behind and above the monster, appearing to ride on it or to grasp it by its large oval eyes. The man wears a plumed headdress and the monster has a fanged upper and lower jaw.

The presence of the lower jaw on this presumed *taotie*-model is noteworthy, because all later representations of the *taotie* show that the lower jaw is missing. This makes an ancestral role of this mask for the *taotie* not very likely.

The symmetry of the *taotie* has been subject of much scholarly discussion. It has been noted that in its earliest manifestation the motif comprises two profiles of an animal placed face-to-face with the result that a third entity can be envisaged. It has also been noted that this motif extends far back into antiquity in China but *not* -and this observation is a key-point in the discussion- prior to the emergence of metallurgy in China, i.e. just before 2000 B.C.[77]. Chinese bronze-casting was a sectional-mould method and it became customary to place the rather stylized representations of birds and animals face-to-face at either side of a mould joint. Because of the technical need to incorporate a flange along the true joint, the two head-to-head animals then appeared to form simultaneously the third entity, the *taotie*, with the flange functioning more or less as a nose. Each of the antithetically placed animals lent thus a horn, an ear, a trunk-like nose and an eye to the



11.43 Drawing of a design of two facing animals as appearing on bronzes of the Shang period (ca. 1600-1100 B.C.). The part within the dotted lines may be interpreted as a taotie with two paws. After Barnard 1972, vol. 2, 417, fig. 102

11.44 and 11.45 Ceremonial vessel called "bottle-horn" with taotie designs. China, Late Shang period. Ca. 1200 B.C. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington

taotie face. These contributing elements were insufficient, however, to provide a lower jaw to this third entity, and consequently the *taotie* was always missing it[78]. However, it certainly gave reason for the presence of stylized paws at each side of the *taotie* as may be derived from the facing-animal motif from the Shang period, shown in (**11.43**), where we have added two symmetrical dotted lines to mark the point.

A 3rd century B.C. Chinese text[79] refers to the *taotie* as follows:

"…the *taotie*, which is conspicuous on Zhou dynasty *ding*-tripods, has a head but is bodiless. It tries to devour a man but before it can swallow him his own body is destroyed."

On the basis of this description traditional Chinese antiquarians since the 12th century A.D. have identified the imagery commonly encountered on Shang and Zhou bronzes as the *taotie*[80]. The text reflects an ancient association between the motif and eating, and this is significant since the motif was used to decorate vessels used for offering food sacrifices to the spirits of the dead, whose appetite was believed to be insatiable[81].

Another early Chinese text, compiled during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.) states that *ding*-tripods were cast to bear images and that the purpose of these images was to enable people to distinguish divine from demonic. The motif referred to is most probably the *taotie*, since this was the most prominent image on these early bronze vessels. The author explains that the main benefit of these images on the tripods was to ward off evil spirits should they appear. Thus we meet here again the belief that the confrontation of a danger with a frontal face gave protection against it[82]. This idea behind the *taotie* relates to a kind of mask ceremony called *nuo*, which is primarily concerned with exorcism[83], where grotesque masks were used to drive away pestilences and harmful spirits. A small bronze human head under a *taotie*-like mask, formerly in the Avery Brundage collection, provides evidence for such a ceremony[84].

Curious as an example of *taotie* decoration is a ceremonial vessel of the *guang* type in the Freer Gallery of Art, and dating from the late Shang period (**11.44**) and (**11.45**). It is called "bottle-horn" and stimulated various speculations on its form and symbolism[85]. From the side-view (**11.44**) we see, apart from the delicate *taotie* designs, the lid in the shape of an animal with two horns and the tail in the shape of a short protuberance. From the top-view (**11.45**) however, it becomes clear that the back of the animal has been designed as a more or less human face with the tongue sticking out.

Much debate and many different opinions exist about the origin of the *taotie*. For example it is suggested that it is derived from the ferocious mastiff of Tibet by reason of that animal's local connection with certain barbarian tribes credited with unpleasant qualities[86]. Pope-Hennessy favours the idea that it is derived from the tiger[87], but a link to the Medusa-mask has been considered as well. Boroffka and Alföldi tried to show that the origin of the *taotie* lies in the West and that it reached China by the intermediary of the nomads living on her northern and north-western boundaries[88]. Rostovtzeff maintained that the *taotie* design originated either in the Near East or some other cultural transit centre between Mesopotamia and China[89].

Marchal is in favour of a close connection between the *taotie* and the *kīrttimukha*[90]. He focuses attention on the particular feature these motifs have in common: the absence of the lower jaw. He hypothetically explains this anomaly with the argument that the origin of the head may be seen in the human skulls fixed as a kind of trophy with a clearly prophylactic purpose by certain Polynesian tribes above the entrances of their dwellings. These skulls had lost their lower jaws on account of the putrefaction of the flesh. The custom of killing men in order to get into possession of their heads, supposed to be the seat of the soul, prevails in the whole domain of the Pacific Ocean.

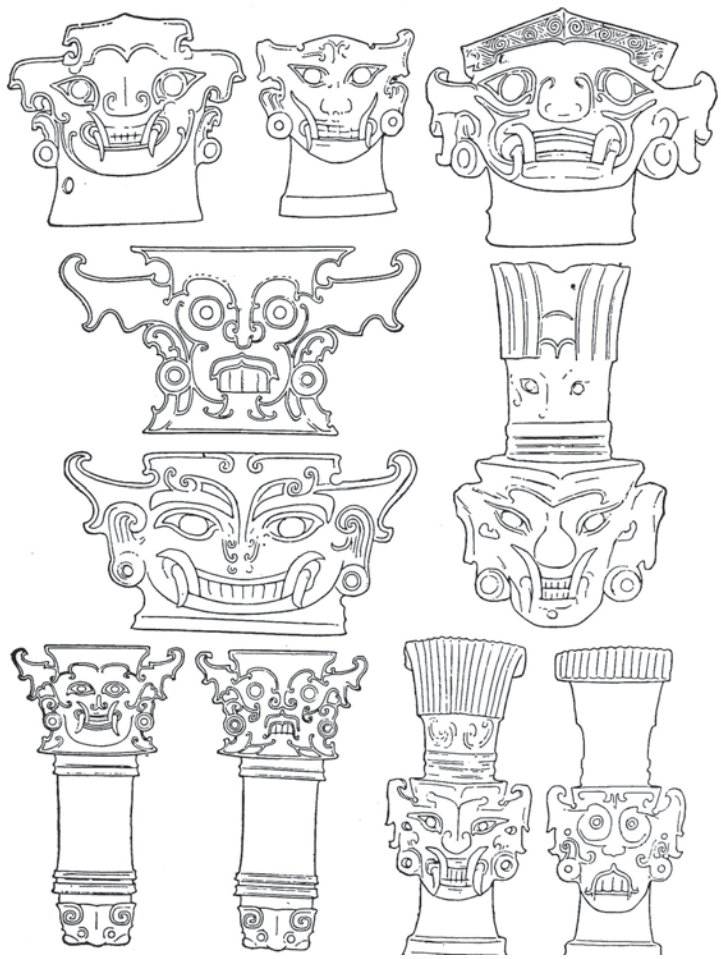
Another reason, according to Marchal, for supposing the human skull to be the origin of the motif is the general appearance of the monster's head with the following two features: a mandible garnished with teeth and with a very pronounced grin, and two enormous eyes.

Stressing the point that "the head of the monster is infinitely diversified and takes the most unexpected shapes in the art of the Far East", he suggests that "the *taotie* motif, possibly of foreign origin, having become fundamentally Chinese, would have spread into South Asia and Java. Subsequently it was interpreted under Hindu influence as a terrible emanation of Śiva and *kīrttimukha*". In this way Marchal does not throw a useful light on

11.46 Monsterface on a jade from the Late Neolithic period. China, ca. 2000 B.C. BML

the missing lower jaw of the *taotie* supposed to be originating in the custom of people in South-East Asia to preserve human skulls.
Coomaraswamy, too, has explicitly connected the *taotie* with the gorgoneion as well as with the *kīrttimukha* but without giving further details[91].
An obvious element in the reasoning why the *taotie* and the *kīrttimukha* are thought to be related is the legend as cited above, which narrates the origin of the *kīrttimukha*. The similarity is striking with the 3rd century B.C. Chinese text about the *taotie* that lost its body before he could eat a man, thus having a head without a body. However, the argument is not particularly convincing, since all monsterfaces have lost their body.
Others, more neutrally, take the position that, if the *taotie* did not spring from Chinese soil, it must be assumed that it was formed previously in perishable media and lost to us in its elementary expression[92].
In view of all these varying opinions and hypotheses and of the fact that the *taotie* is an ongoing subject to debate[93], no more can be said right now than that the origin of the *taotie* and its significance is not known. The *taotie* –the most common motif on Chinese ritual vessels of the Shang and early Western Zhou periods- ultimately disappeared during the late Western Zhou. However, as a decorative design it reappeared in China on numerous bronzes during many centuries through the Ming Dynasty and well into the Qing period, imitating their ancient ancestors[94].

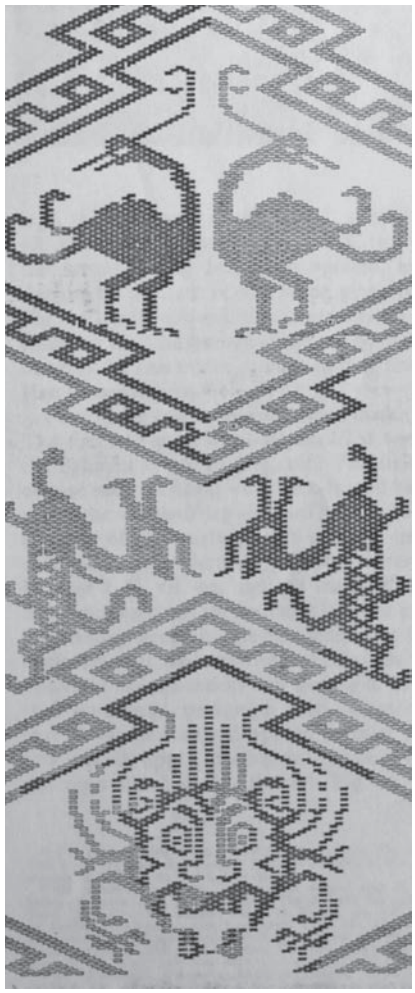
In China demonic images have been the subject of intricate jade carving. Neolithic (8000-1700 B.C.) monsterfaces in jade have been found in southern China, e.g. the one shown in (**11.46**), but excavated evidence is sparse. Drawings of some jade-carved monsterfaces from the Neolithic or Shang period (ca. 2500-1500 B.C.) are shown in (**11.47**).



11.47 Drawings of monsterfaces in jade. China, Neolithic or Shang period. Ca. 2500-1500 B.C. After Rawson 1995, 200, fig. 1

The characteristics of all these images are the inner tusks, which point upwards from below, and outer ones, which point downwards from above. Moreover all have a lower jaw. The origin of this type of mask is not known, nor its meaning and significance for the people who owned them.

There is yet another mask of a monster in China that deserves attention. It seems to have appeared for the first time in the Han period. On a Chinese silk damask, found in Loulan in Chinese Turkestan, and dated to the Later Han period (25-220 A.D.), a frontal mask of a monster with peculiar features has been woven (**11.48**). Growing from the centre of its cranium it has a crest of five hairs or feathers of varying length, flanked at the outside by a pair of what might be regarded as horns. The large staring eyes, with the pupils marked, are set on either side of a broad flat nose, which is topped by a pair of heavy eyebrows. The cheeks appear to be pinched in, and the gaping more or less rectangular mouth is drawn into a snarl at the corners. From the upper jaw, arms jut out *akimbo* and terminate



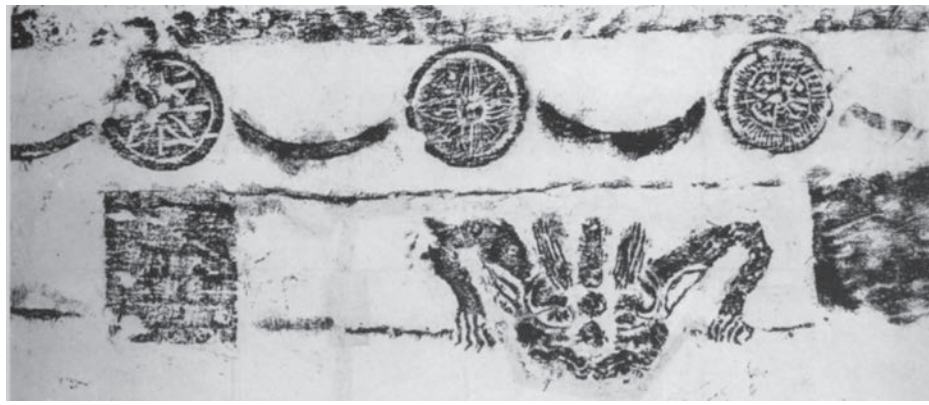
11.48 Design with a monsterface on a damask. From Loulan, Chinese Turkestan. (Eastern?) Han period (25-220 A.D.). NMD

11.49 Monsterface design on a blue-and-yellow silk from Loulan, Chinese Turkestan. (Eastern?) Han period (25-220 A.D.). NMD

in paws, which are turned inward and have three (?) claws each. Another example of this mask, woven on a blue-and-yellow silk, is also from Loulan (**11.49**).

On a wall in a cave at Mahao (s.v.) in the vicinity of Jiading (Leshan), a town in West China, Sichuan province, a similar monster has been carved (**11.50**). The cave dates from the last half of the second century A.D. or early in the third. The apotropaic function of this monsterface has been suggested by Abe[95], based on the fact that it is positioned parallel to a Buddha-like figure above the adjacent shaft, thus both possibly positioned as protectors of the tomb and its occupants. This monsterface is rare in Han-dynasty tombs in Sichuan, although it appears twice above shaft entrances in that province[96].

A curious image of this monster face is represented by a rubbing of a provincial relief purported to have come from a sandstone box of the same period discovered in the vicinity of the modern town Luxian, south of Jiading (**11.51**). Here the monster appears to be



11.50 Rubbing of a monsterface on the rear wall of tomb no. 1 at Mahao, Sichuan province, China. Last half of 2nd century A.D. After Abe 2002, 29, fig. 2.18

11.51 Rubbing of a monsterface with akimbo arms on a sandstone box found at Luxian, near Jiading. China, Eastern Han period, last half of 2nd century A.D. After Edwards 1954, 127, fig. 23

receiving a vessel, which is being hoisted to him by an ingenious pulley device. It looks as if the creature should receive a tangible sign of the worship of mankind, offered from below to him who dwelt in the sky[97]. This would be consistent with the suggestion that it would be a god of the sky dwelling in the upper regions[98]. Or, more simply, could it be the frontal representation of a dragon, China's auspicious creature that controlled the heavens as well as the waters[99]? If so, the arms jutting out *akimbo* are a peculiar feature, which will be left for further consideration in par. 11.6.

This mask, and in particular its specific features, has been subject to extensive research. It is known as *pushou* in China[100]. Charleston[101] concludes that every detail of these figures

11.52 Bronze belt-hook supposedly representing the Chinese war god Chiyou. China, Eastern Han period (25-220 A.D.). Freer Gallery of Art, Washington

is basically related to the *taotie* -despite the presence of the lower jaw-, while Boroffka[102] selected precisely the same details to demonstrate that it is basically an archaic Greek motive: the gorgoneion. Edwards proposes that "However much it is a Chinese motif, it is particularly interesting that it is possible at this period to suggest relations with Asia to the West and perhaps even with the Gorgon mask of the Greek world. ... perhaps the mask represents a warrior and a protector of gates and doorways. It may well have been a god of the sky"[103]. Whatever is the truth, authors agreed that, in the presentation of the mask, there is one particular element which suggests a Greek influence: the attitude of both arms *akimbo*[104].

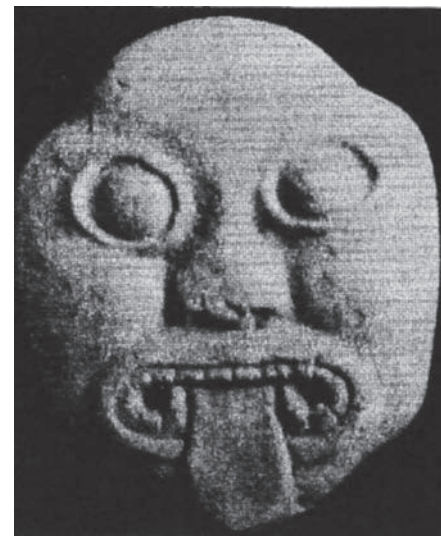
An interesting object in the discussion on presumed classical influence is a small bronze belt-hook dated to the Later Han period (25-220 AD.), and shown in (**11.52**). It was suggested to represent the Chinese war-god Chi You[105]. This Chiyou, who appeared in Chinese texts already before the Han period as a rebel who destroyed the peace and innocence of primitive society, was transformed in Han-lore into a monster[106]. The object itself does not particularly make a very Greek impression, yet it has been stated that the right arm of the monster -winged, armed and with modelled muscles – would be the right arm of a "Greek gorgon"[107], i.e. Medusa.

None of these authors, however, give any further explanation for this remarkable idea, but the following observations are relevant.

First, it is useful to note that the sword in the right hand of the creature is the attribute of a warrior like Chiyou, not of Medusa. It is the winged *akimbo* arms that are supposed to suggest the classical influence. Medusa with winged *akimbo* arms is very common in the Greek world[108]. In (**11.53**) Medusa is shown with *akimbo* arms in the typical *Knielauf*-posture.

Second, the suggestion of classical influence here has, as far as we know, never been explicitly rejected by other scholars. This has to do with the question whether it was reasonable to suppose that, during the Han period, the Gorgon-iconography had reached China in a way convincing enough for the Chinese artist to produce an image of the

11.53 Attachment for a large bronze vessel (not preserved), in the shape of the Gorgon Medusa in so-called "Knielauf" posture, with wings and akimbo arms. Greek, ca. 540 B.C. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven



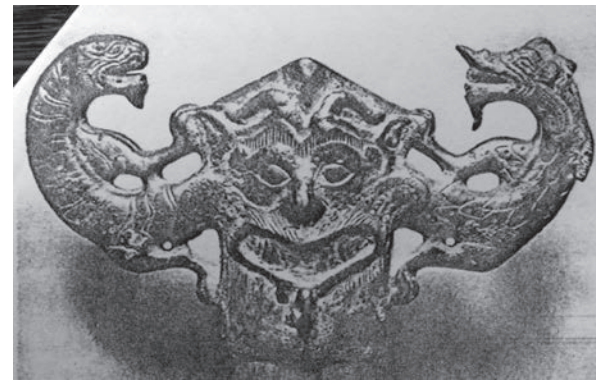
11.54 White stone monsterface with bulging eyes and the tongue sticking out. Found at Changsha, Hunan province. China, Han period. After Dohrenwend 1975, plt. 13, fig. 45

pushou in this way. It is known that silver bowls and dishes, ornamented with medallions, were very popular in the early Hellenistic period. These *emblemata* were generally made separately and soldered on to the vessel. Detached *emblemata* were found all over the Hellenistic world and the gorgoneion with rather friendly traits, not Medusa, was part of the palette[109]. Also later, during the 1st century A.D., the gorgoneion, not Medusa, was a well-known image on silverwork[110]. Silverwork of the early Roman period was produced in large quantities, was traded far into "barbarian areas", and became a means by which classical motifs and ideology were transmitted[111]. But it was certainly not the archaic Medusa with *akimbo* arms that could have been part of the design, because this would be an anachronism.

In this context attention must also be drawn to the white stone "Gorgon", dating from the Han period and found in Changsha, Hunan province, about 600 km south of Luoyang (**11.54**). Dohrenwend[112] comments that "this Gorgon is surely related to the Greek type, directly or indirectly" and then shows for comparison a gorgoneion on the mantle of Athena on a 6th century B.C. amphora which is some four centuries older (**11.55**). Remarkable indeed is the tongue of the Chinese example, which is also part of the gorgoneion iconography.

We propose to look for a moment with the same classical-oriented eye to a bronze weapon-mount, dating from the Han period, now in the Musée Guimet (**11.56**). Charleston relates this face directly to the *pushou* on the Han damasks[113], but there could be reason as well to suspect that in this image classical influence might be present, if we compare it with the gorgoneion with symmetrically extending snakes of (**11.57**). However, again, the anachronism involved sets the argument aside.

11.55 Gorgoneion on mantle of Athena, painted on a red-figure amphora. Greek, last quarter of 6th century B.C. SMB



11.56 Bronze weapon-mount. China, Han period. MGP

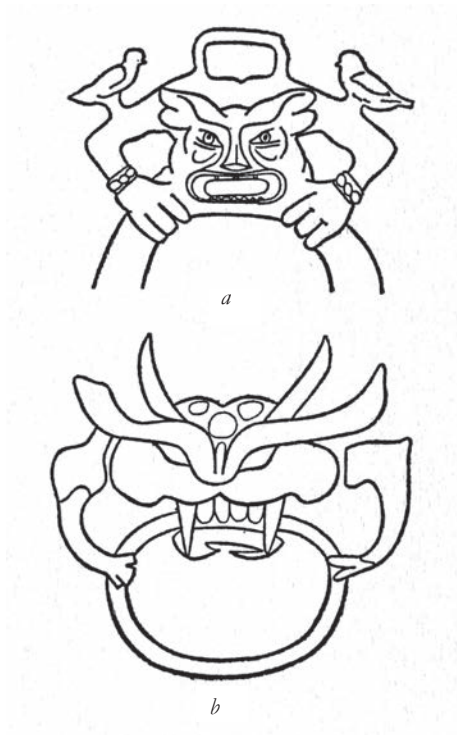
11.57 Detail of a *gorgoneion* at the base of a handle of a black-figure amphora. Greek, Attic, ca. 540-530 B.C. MLP

Returning now to the appearance of the *pushou* as a new monsterface, other examples were found on bas-reliefs from western China and dated to the Han period. There the *akimbo* arms hold a ring which is integrated with the jaw (**11.58a**) and (**11.58b**). The birds on the *akimbo* arms of the *pushou* of (**11.58a**) may be an allusion to wings. Note the resemblance of the creature of (**11.58b**) with the one on the wall of the Mahao cave (**11.50**). A later example is the bronze belt hook from the Six Dynasties period (265-589 A.D.) (**11.59**). Interestingly, this *pushou*-image is described as "…an elaborate horned dragon's mask", an aspect which will be discussed again below.

It is relevant to note here that during the periods of the Warring States, Qin and Han, together covering the era between 475 B.C. and 220 A.D., a profound change of the role of bronze took place. Not only new types of vessels and a range of new techniques were introduced, including ornamentation in gold, silver and semi-precious stones, but also a new range of bronze articles[114].

The *pushou* motive certainly had an apotropaic function, not only when used as a door-knocker or on gates and doorways[115], but apparently also as an adornment on brooches (**11.60**). Here, the framing of the motif within a limited space obviously reduced the *akimbo* character of the arms.

The motive persisted in China many centuries after the Han period, but especially during the Tang Dynasty the mask seems to have gained in popularity. It is important to note here that during the Tang period increasingly symbolic qualities accrued to the dragon[116],



11.58 Drawings of *pushou* on bas-reliefs of Western China. Han period. After Willets 1965, 157, fig. 35a and b

11.59 Bronze belt-hook in the shape of the *pushou*. China, Six Dynasties period (265-589 A.D.). After Mayer Collection 1974, 340, no. 210

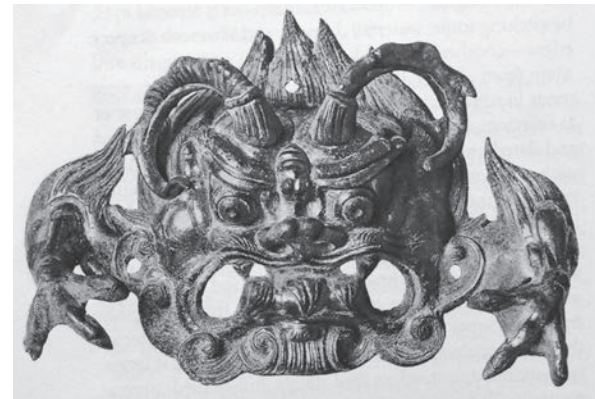
which could underpin a dragon-relationship of the *pushou*. A rather spectacular example is the holder for a door ring of gilt bronze in the Cleveland Museum of Art, and dating from the Northern Qi period (550-577 A.D.), where the *akimbo* arms have been accurately equipped with wings (**11.61**).

From the 7th century A.D. is the mask with rudimentary *akimbo* arms adorning the Tang-period balustrade panels of Anji-bridge at Zhao County, Hebei (**11.62**). It closely resembles the one on the Han brooch of (**11.60**).

Its application on bridges strongly suggests a dragon relationship, as, according to Chinese tradition, the dragon's element is water. The dragon could summon rain and, more generally, controlled water. As an apotropaic image to ward off evil it is applied here to control the forces of water in the narrow of the river, where a bridge is built for people to cross. In itself the bridge is, in a way, an instrument to control water.

The dragon-relationship is also stressed in the case of ceramic tiles where the typical feature of the gaping mouth is consistently seen, like on the one shown in (**11.63**) found in Xiudingsi, near Qingliang, Henan province and dating from the 7th century. These tiles were used to protect from harm, a typical quality of the dragon[117]. If a house faced the ridge of another house or a wall nearby, then such a tablet with the head of the monster was nailed over the window. It should not be nailed right under the eaves because then it was limited in its ability to ward off evil[118].

11.60 Dress ornament in the shape of the *pushou*. Gilt bronze with gold filigree inlaid with turquoise. China, late Eastern Han period, early 3rd century A.D. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



11.61 Gilt bronze holder for door ring in the shape of the *pushou*. China, Northern Qi period (550-577 A.D.). Cleveland Museum of Art

11.62 *Pushou* image on a balustrade panel of Anji Bridge in Zhao County, Hebei province. China, Tang period, 7th century A.D. After Zhong and Chen 1986, 289, fig. 8.5.5

In (**11.63**) the *akimbo* arms were suppressed possibly because of lack of space within the frame, or the notion that they were not necessarily to be (made) visible in order to keep the image apotropaically effective.

The appearance of the *akimbo* arms in the *pushou* iconography during the Han period and its popularity in the centuries thereafter, especially during the Tang period, with its intensive exchange practices with adjacent countries, has prompted Camman to suggest that it was the *pushou* ornament that caused arms and hands or claws to become part of the *kīrttimukha*-mask in e.g. Tibet[119]. We will come back to this observation later on in par. 11.6 of this Chapter.

Animal mask-handles may have been applied to the doors of palaces since the Shang period (1600-1100 B.C.) when they co-existed along with the *taotie*.[120]. When the *taotie* disappeared as the main decorative motif by the late Western Zhou period, animal masks continued to be used on the crests of handles from which free-hanging rings would be suspended[121].

11.63 Ceramic tile with the *pushou* image. From Xiudingsi, Henan province, China. Tang period, 7th century A.D. BML

11.64 Animal mask handle with ring. Discovered in 1966 at Yixian, Hebei province, China. Warring States period (475-221 B.C.). Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang, Hebei

11.65 Bronze wine vessel with animal-ring escutcheon. China, 4th-3rd century B.C. After MacKenzie 1995, 184, plt. 22

11.66 Lacquered wine vessel with gilt bronze mount in the shape of a monsterface (animal-ring escutcheon). China, 2nd-1st century B.C. After MacKenzie 1995, 172, fig. 3

11.67 Bronze animal-ring escutcheon with pronounced leonine traits. China, Six Dynasties period (265-589 A.D.). After Mayer Collection 1974, 313, no. 189

It is from the early Warring States period (475-221 B.C.) that they begin to survive in quantity, probably because they began to be adapted for wooden articles which followed their owners to the grave[122] (**11.64**). They appear on bronze and other vessels of the Warring States and Han periods, which are then sometimes called "vases with animal rings"[123]. Sometimes the mask is labelled "*pushou*"[124], but it is obvious on stylistic grounds that these masks have to be dissociated from the *pushou*, which suddenly appears in the Han period, as we have discussed[125]. More often, in the literature they are simply referred to as *taotie,* but the term animal-mask is to be preferred[126]. Two examples are shown in (**11.65**) and (**11.66**). These objects carry the animal's head on opposite sides of the vessel. Through the nose of the animal is a removable ring by which to handle the vessel. The upper and lower jaws are always missing. On vases of pottery of the Han period exactly the same design is often met with the difference that the real loose ring of the bronzes has changed on the pottery into a dead-ring brought out in low relief. This type of ornament on the sides of vessels was perpetuated on porcelain and on snuff bottles up to the end of the 19th century. For discriminating this ornament from the *pushou*, it is called "nose-ring escutcheon" in this work. Their origin is not known.

More pronounced leonine monstrous masks with bulging eyes, nose and fangs appear after the Han period, as the bronze escutcheons shown in (**11.67**) and (**11.68**) dated to the Six Dynasties (265-589 A.D.). The boldly defined scrolls at either side of the mask accentuate the leonine character of the monster, as they are a schematic representation of the manes (**11.69**). As these escutcheons were designed to hold a ring through the nose they, too, are called nose-ring escutcheons in this work. They were cast in bronze and show a

11.68 Gilt bronze leonine animal-ring escutcheon. China, Six Dynasties period (265-589 A.D.).After Mayer Collection 1974, 314, no. 190

11.69 Drawing of an early Tang-period statue of a lion. After Hallade 1956, plt. 50, fig. 502

demon and birds respectively, crouching between the ribbed horns of the monster[127]. Two extraordinary examples of this leonine nose-ring escutcheon have been found in a tomb near Guyuan in Ningxia province, dating from the late 5th century A.D. One of them is shown in (**11.70**). Between the horns of the creature and in the centre of the ring stands a figure between two dragons. This demon is strikingly similar to the ones of (**11.67**) and (**11.68**), which have a creature and birds between the horns respectively. In the

11.70 Bronze leonine animal-ring escutcheon, with ring. From Leizumiao Village, near Guyuan. China, Northern Wei Dynasty (386-535 A.D.). Late 5th century A.D. Guyuan Municipal Museum, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region

former case, however, the figure is identified as the Infant Buddha from its high topknot (*ushnīsha*) and the short loin coat (*dhoti*)[128]. It is thought that here the Infant Buddha assumes the auspicious role of the dragon-tamer because he seems to grab the dragons by the snout. The design is related to the concept of *xianrui*, of which the people of the late Han period became almost obsessed, and which suggests that certain strange phenomena, such as the appearance of dragons, reveal heavenly approval[129]. Since the Buddha and other Buddhist symbols were exotic images, they were readily accepted as *xianrui*[130]. That this ensemble should be a development of the early nose-ring escutcheon of (**11.64**), under Buddhist influence (par. 11.4) or others, can only be surmised, but seems plausible also in view of the presence of the creature, human or animal, between the horns of the latter.

11.4 The changing face of the monster in China

An important development should be noted, which changed the appearance of the monster masks on Chinese artefacts after the Later Han period (25-220 A.D.).
The process may perhaps most easily be followed in the art of the so-called "spirit road", the above-ground avenue of stone figures and monuments lining the approach to an important tomb.

11.71 Gray earthenware tomb figurine of a western Asian warrior, with the image of the lion sculptured on his shield. China, Northern Wei Dynasty, first quarter of 6th century A.D. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City

11.72 Limestone figure of Avalokiteśvara with a pendant leonine monster mask as part of the necklace. Also notice the *contrapposto* attitude. China, Northern Zhou dynasty (557-581 A.D.) to Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.). After Ghose 1998, fig. 104

The majority of the beasts that are found on the Later Han tombs is based on the tiger[131]. The tiger was well-known to the Han; it was the king of the wild, symbolizing courage, dignity and military prowess, and its power was limitless. Massively sculptured in the round on tombs, it was above all a guardian against evil spirits.

Then the Buddhist guardian lion appeared. The lion had no history in Chinese art and literature. It was not native to China and general knowledge of the lion was limited to drawings or hearsay[132]. It was known to come from the West (the white tiger traditionally symbolized the West) and, like the tiger, to be a king among beasts. The tiger and the lion were recognized as beings of the same ilk, the only distinction between them being that the lions were shown with larger manes.

Thus the Han prowling feline was ousted by a Buddhist-inspired guardian. By the Tang period, after its three centuries or more of domicile in China, the Buddhist lion had become assimilated into traditional Chinese thought and this substitution was total and permanent[133].

Therefore it is not surprising that for the apotropaic frontal faces a process of integration with leonine elements took place in varying degrees.

After the Tang period, the "leonization" developed to such an extent that it is not always

11.73 Gilt bronze statuette of a guardian warrior, with fierce monsterface on his garment. China, Tang period (618-906 A.D.), 8th century A.D. National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing

11.74 Three-colour glazed earthenware tomb statuette of a Heavenly King, his cuirass decorated with two crests of a leonine monsterface. From Guanlin, Luoyang, Henan province. China, Tang period (618-906 A.D.). Municipal Museum, Luoyang

easy to determine what the original motif was, e.g. whether the mask derived from a lion or a dragon.

The following examples of artefacts throughout the centuries may illustrate the point.

A tomb figurine, a western Asian warrior, of the first quarter of the 6th century A.D., has the image of the lion sculptured in his shield[134] (**11.71**).

The figure representing Avalokiteśvara from China, dated ca. 600 A.D., has a necklace with a pendant leonine monstermask (**11.72**).

On the garment of a guardian warrior, commonly referred to as *lokapāla* or Heavenly King, found at Baoji, Shaanxi province, and dated to the 8th century, we see the apotropaic frontal face with rather fierce expression (**11.73**). On the cuirass of a statuette of a Heavenly King of the Tang period, unearthed at Guanlin, Luoyang, Henan province, now in the Luoyang Municipal Museum, two crests with leonine monster-masks have been applied (**11.74**). Similarly, on the cuirass of the "Heavenly Guard" on the tomb (south of Gongxian city) of emperor Renzong (r. 1023-1063) of the Northern Song dynasty, two frontal leonine monster-mask crests have been made part of the ornamentation (**11.75**). More dominantly it decorates the dress of a *lokapāla*-sculpture, dating from ca. 1100 A.D., in the Buddhist temple of Qixia, not far from Nanjing (**11.76**). On the cuirass of a warrior

11.75 Heavenly guard near the tomb of Emperor Yong Zhaoling (r. 1023-1063). Near Gongxian city. China, Northern Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.). After Paludan 1991, 146, fig. 188

11.76 Leonine monsterface on the dress of a *lokapāla*. (See also **(8.21))** China, ca. 1100 A.D. Buddhist Temple of Qixia, near Nanjing See also **(8.21)**

of a stone statuette from the Ming period (**11.77**) the design is met, and it is applied all over the costume of a gilded wooden figure of the same period, who probably represents one of the Buddhist Four Heavenly Kings (**11.78**). In all these cases, by nature, the apotropaic Buddhist lion is to be thought of as the model for these masks.

More secularly, i.e. dissociated from the Buddhist context, it can be seen on Chinese earthenware from the Tang period. (**11.79**) shows a candlestick with the leonine monster mask adorning the foot of the object. Here the mask has the apotropaic function of warding off the danger of fire. Similar masks were not uncommon on Tang earthenware vessels either[135]. It is seen on a bronze vase, dated by inscription in 1173 A.D. (**11.80**), and it is identified as "probably a stylized monster-mask (*taotie*)"[136]. On a gilt bronze vessel, lavishly inlaid with gold and silver and dated 1583, the design is referred to as a "degenerated *taotie*"[137].

Other examples are met on a Chinese cloisonné vessel of the 15th century, where the motif is described again as a "*taotie*" (**11.81**), although almost nothing can be recognized of the archaic *taotie* features and the mask is definitely lion-like. Also on the lid and bot-

11.77 Statue of a warrior on the "spirit road" to the tomb of Emperor Yongle (r. 1403-1424). A leonine monsterface ornaments the cuirass. From Nankou, north of Beijing. China, Ming period (1368-1644 A.D.). After Auboyer and Goepper 1967, 121, fig. 79

11.78 Carved wooden temple figure, possibly representing Guandi, with head and dress decorated with leonine monsterfaces. China, Ming-Qing Dynasties, 1600-1700 A.D. The T.T. Tsui Gallery of Chinese Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

tom of an 18th century cloisonné vase (**11.82**) we see the slanting leonine eyes. Other typical examples on Qing-period cloisonné are found in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, where the décor is indicated as either "taotie" or equally as "transformed beast" decor[138].

Brinker and Lutz, in their comment on these masks in the Pierre Uldry Collection, suggest that the "taotie masks … are so much stylized and formalized that they can justifiably be considered original creations"[139].

All these authors notice the fundamental change in the mask -which they still call *taotie*- to such an extent that they begin to doubt if they have to do with a *taotie* anyway or with a new decorative ornament.

As argued above, the latter option is realistic in the sense of the integration of new western leonine elements into a traditional apotropaic Chinese symbol, the *taotie*, frequently recurring on ancient bronze vessels for containing food or beverages. This integration is to be understood then as one of the degrees of acceptance of an alien motif within a different culture, as discussed in Chapter 5. Integration modifies the recipient form to such an extent that the new form becomes hybrid and the original components can hardly be discriminated.

11.79 Earthenware lamp with three-colour glaze (*sancai*) and applied ornaments. On the foot the leonine mask. Unearthed in Jili ward, Luoyang city, Henan province. China, Tang dynasty, 7th-8th century A.D. Municipal Museum, Luoyang

11.80 Detail of the decoration on a bronze vase with leonine monsterfaces. China, Song period, 1173 A.D. (by inscription). Victoria and Albert Museum, London

11.81 Cloisonné vessel with design of leonine monsterface. China, 15th century A.D. After Garner 1962, fig. 21B

11.82 Small cloisonné vase, with leonine monsterfaces on lid and base. China, Qianlong period (1736-1795 A.D.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London

11.83 Blue-and-white porcelain so-called "klapmuts" bowl with two leonine monsterface designs on the inner side of the rim. China, Wanli period (1573-1620 A.D.). After Lempertz 1979, no. 1100

11.84 Glazed earthenware model of a camel, laden with a pair of saddlebags modelled as monster masks. China, Tang period (618-906 A.D.). After Tucker 2003, 111, fig. 130

11.85 *Famille verte* porcelain fountain with leonine monsterface decoration around the insert of the spout. China, Qing Dynasty, Kangxi period (1662-1722 A.D.). After TEFAF 1999, 228

On porcelain of the Wanli period (1573-1620) a similar hybrid motif is often found in the panel-design of bowls of the type "klapmuts" (**11.83**)[140]. Here the allusion is particularly curious, i.e. of water or other beverage flowing along the rim for the well-being of the user. Or is there an element of water-control involved and therefore a direct association with the dragon?

This may perhaps seem to be far-fetched, but it should be realized that water-control and the related dragon-symbolism was applied in China at unexpected instances. For example, it is known that fierce masks on the saddle bags of the two-humped Bactrian camel –the essential means of transport across the Tarim and Gobi deserts on the Silk Roads, and the water-management machine *par excellence*– were supposed to repel evil spirits[141] (**11.84**).

The implicit reference to the dragon is certain in the case of the *famille verte* porcelain fountain of the Kangxi period shown in (**11.85**), where the fierce but leonine mask is part of the spout: for the Chinese the water-spout was thought to be a living dragon[142].

The Tang-period *pushou*-image on the Anji bridge (**11.62**), of which –as we have seen- a dragon relationship may be suspected, did not escape the leonization effect either in the elaborate presentation of the curly manes of a lion at each side of the face.

However, one gets the impression that, in the presentation of these dragon-lion faces, the fierce elements tend to dominate in cases where water-control to avert evil is a really serious aspect as on bridges, roof tiles and camel saddle-bags, while they are more playfully applied where dangers are less eminent as on utensils for beverages.

Thus, the apotropaic frontal faces of China became characterized by leonine traits, whether it were, by nature, the Buddhist lion crests on the garments of the *lokapālas*, or the redesigned images of the archaic *taotie* on later bronzes and cloisonné vessels, or *pushou*/dragon related apotropaic faces in more general applications. The latter ones are

termed "dragon-lion" faces in this work, because, according to our speculation as will be discussed in par. 11.6, there are reasons to believe that the *pushou* is essentially a dragon's face.

11.5 The *kwi-wa* of Korea

A particular monster mask was apparently carried over from China to Korea. Already in the Three Kingdoms period, i.e. before the 7th century A.D., the Koreans began to construct full-scale wooden buildings roofed with tiles[143]. Tiles were also placed at the end of rafters and at both ends of the main ridge[144]. They have holes for nails to fix them to the rafter or ridge, and have relief ornaments surrounding the holes. Some of them are decorated with monster-masks, with relief faces having large eyes, sometimes horns and exposed large fangs. In Korea these are called *kwi-wa*. They are sometimes said to "… recall the *taotie* motif recurrent on ancient Chinese ritual bronzes"[145], but that statement is too suggestive and too easily made. They are diverse in form but they are generally trapezoidal with a semi-circular indentation at the bottom to fix over a semi-circular tile. They are normally framed with a serial dot pattern or flower pattern and decorated also on the sides. Two examples are shown, in (**11.86**) and (**11.87**)[146]. They are essentially the same as the Chinese *pushou* that decorated tiles (**11.63**). It is conceived that they served to prevent the evil spirits, living high-up on the top of mountains, to descend from above into the temple or house[147]. More specifically, however, the ferocious features were intended to represent a dragon, whose element is water, so that such a tile would guard the premises against fire[148].

11.6 Intermediate summary and considerations

Before turning our attention to Japan, it is worthwhile to summarize the main points of the face of the monster as discussed so far.

Although the gorgoneion has an Asiatic (Mesopotamian) foundation, it became interwoven with the Perseus myth and developed a widespread legendary character in the archaic and classical worlds. The earliest examples of the gorgoneion, dating from the first half of the 7th century B.C., have been found along the trade routes of the Levant, which existed already before the 10th century B.C. These gorgoneia had an apotropaic function, -just as their Mesopotamian ancestors had-, which was maintained throughout the centuries including the Roman period. In fact the gorgoneion is by far the most often represented demon-image in classical antiquity[149].

More to the south-east, on the Indian sub-continent, an auspicious device to ward off evil developed: the *kīrttimukha*. Its reputedly earliest example is ascribed to the 3rd century A.D. It spread widely from India over the East-Asian archipelago. Here, apart from the apotropaic demon-mask features like bulging eyes, large canines and the long put-out tongue, the claws became dominant, menacingly raised and spread aside. It spread further into Tibet, where *akimbo* arms were added to the image.

11.86 Tile with monster mask in relief. The nail hole is usually between the eyebrows for attachment to a surface. The lower part is in a semi-circle to fit over a convex roof tile. Korea, Unified Silla Dynasty (668-935 A.D.). Kyŏngbuk National Museum, Taegu, Korea

11.87 Horizontal oblong variant of a tile as often attached to buildings. Korea, Unified Silla Dynasty (668-935 A.D.). Gyeongju National Museum, Korea

The *taotie* of China first appeared almost simultaneously with the emergence of bronze-casting, i.e. just before 2000 B.C. It has been the subject of much discussion from the beginning of the first half of the 20th century on. Leading scholars have posited that the *taotie* finds its origin in the archaic Gorgon of the classical world, or at least is strongly related to it. Other contemporary scholars have denied a western connection, stating that the *taotie* is based in China. Others, more neutrally, take the position that, if it did not

spring from Chinese soil, it must be assumed that it was formed previously in perishable media and lost to us in its original expression. It is, therefore, sensible to keep in mind that, according to the present status of knowledge, the origin of the *taotie* as well as its purposes and significance are not known.

During the Han period a new mask appeared in China, the *pushou*, for which some scholars agreed that there might be a relationship with the Gorgon/Medusa: bulging eyes, leonine nose, arms jutting out *akimbo*, sometimes even with wings on the arms. Also, it has been suggested that it were the *akimbo* arms of the *pushou* that introduced this aspect to the iconography of the *kīrttimukha* in Tibet. If this is true, such a process may have taken place in other areas, too, which were under the cultural influence of China in that period as well.

Apart from its appearance on textiles and wall-engravings of the Later Han Dynasty, the *pushou* image was modelled as bronze utensils such as belt-hooks and escutcheons, but also applied in jewellery. Often *akimbo* arms were present. The *pushou*-image was doubtlessly apotropaic. The image gained popularity after the Han period and became particularly en vogue during the Tang. It has apparently been carried over to Korea.

The relatively sudden appearance of the *pushou*, equipped with dominantly exposed *akimbo* arms, is certainly a remarkable phenomenon. As far as we know, up to now, the suggestion from a number of scholars, writing around the third quart of the 20th century, of a classical influence with respect to the *akimbo* arms and, more particularly, a relationship with the Medusa iconography has never been properly discussed nor explicitly dismissed as fancy or fiction.

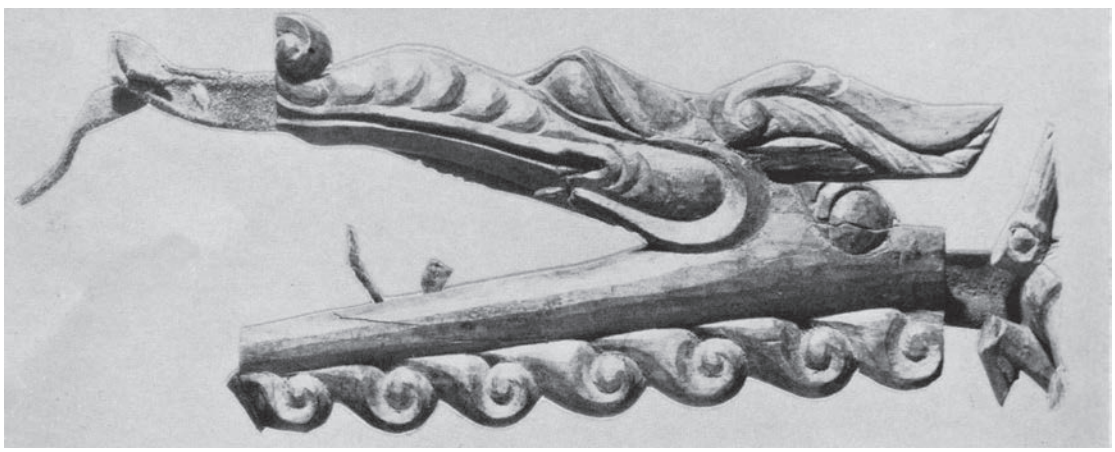
However, evaluating briefly, as we have done in this Chapter, the possibility of relationships between various monsterfaces, it seems difficult to evade a synthesis other than the following.

1. The supposed relationship between the gorgoneion and the *kīrttimukha* in the sense that the former influenced the iconography of the latter, as authors have suggested in the past, cannot be taken as realistic for a number of reasons, but mainly because the gorgoneion already had lost its fierce traits at the time the *kīrttimukha* first appeared. Consequently, for the *kīrttimukha,* the gorgoneion cannot be the source.
2. A supposed relationship between the gorgoneion and the dragon-like *pushou*, the new monsterface of the Han period, cannot be taken as realistic either, and a facial similarity, if any, must be accidental for the same reasons of anachronism as with the *kīrttimukha*.

Therefore it must be concluded that, in all likelihood, the gorgoneion did not play a role as an iconographic model for the *kīrttimukha* or for the *pushou*.

The shaping of a new form of the Chinese dragon during the Former Han period (**11.88**) has been related to influences of the western regions, notably Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains and the Mongolian steppes[150]. An example from Pazyryk (**11.89**) shows the head of a monster with strongly elongated jaws and an upturned muzzle. According to Boardman this head is "close to the ones the Greeks had devised for their *ketos*"[151]. It will be remembered that the image of the *ketos* is known to have travelled eastwards and adorned Greco-Bactrian silver[152], and also that in the tombs of Pazyryk dating from the 5th to the 3rd centuries B.C. Greek as well as Chinese influences have been identified[153]. In fact, by the 5th century B.C., a common sphere of influence existed in the vast area

11.88 Rubbing of a dragon on a brick found at Maoling in the tomb of Emperor Wudi. China, Han period, 1st century B.C. BML

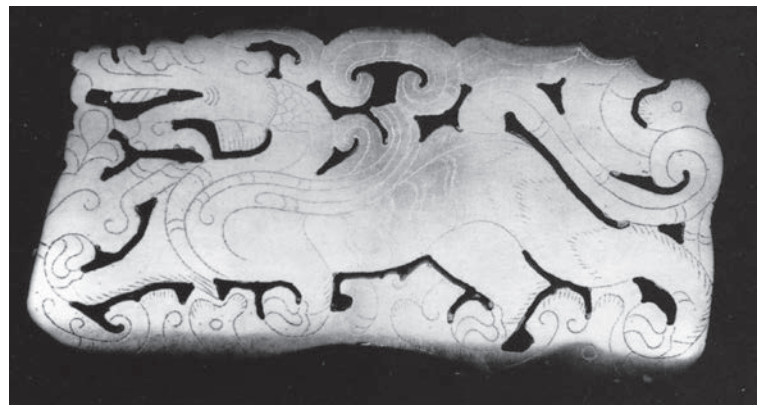


11.89 Wooden monster-head from Pazyryk (barrow 5). 4th century B.C. After Rudenko 1970, plt. 117c

between the Carpathians and the border of China enabling easy and rapid intercourse of artefacts, trade objects and motifs[154]. Moreover, increasingly from already the 7th century B.C. on, contacts between the capitals of China and the peoples on the western and north-western borders encouraged trade and exchange. All crafts of China became affected by these exchanges, which introduced exotic designs[155]. Thus, the common sphere of influence *de facto* extended from the Carpathians well into China.

How could the Pazyryk monster-head (**11.89**) fit in this continuum? A couple of remarks can be made.

1. In theory a western influence, particularly from the Greek *ketos*, on the Pazyryk monster-head may be not totally inconceivable, but is at present no basis for further consideration. Although in some aspects of the head the creatures may be compared, this seems insufficient as conclusive evidence of such a heritage.
2. The elongated jaws of the monster are not part of the traditional iconography of the Chinese dragon[156], but rather belong to a creature of steppes, notably the wolf as Rudenko suggests[157].



11.90 Jade plaque in the form of an imaginary animal. China, Han period, 2nd-1st century B.C. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

11.91 Drawing of a creature on an openwork nephrite plaque from Noin-Ula in northern Mongolia. China, Western Han period, 2nd century B.C. After Boardman 2003a, 139, fig. 7

3. The Pazyryk monster-head must have been a well-known model, which was retained into the Han period. (**11.90**) shows a jade plaque dating from the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. in the form of a feline creature with a similar head as the Pazyryk example. The same formula for the head was used for the creature from Noin-Ula in northern Mongolia (**11.91**)[158].

The type of plaque of (**11.90**) has been found in the steppes of the Ordos Region within the loop of the Yellow River, but north of the Great Wall. Exactly the same head is also seen on a jade disc, dated 122 B.C., from a Han tomb at Canton (**11.92**). This testifies that Chinese borrowing of steppe animal motifs was widespread[159]. Thus, the Pazyryk monster-head and the creature of (**11.90**) may have been the prototypes for the Chinese dragon, which developed during the Former Han period (**11.88**)[160] and probably even slightly earlier.

Presently it is impossible to be conclusive about the specific cultural influences which engendered the new Chinese dragonhead of the Han period, apart from the fact that it

11.92 Jade disc decorated with a feline dragon and bird. From the tomb of Nanyue in Canton. China, Han period, ca. 120 B.C. After Rawson 1995, 69, fig. 58

must have come from the steppes. The long sinuous reptilian body, low to the ground with twisted hindquarters and splayed out legs on either side, appears to be a Chinese development, but was also based on borrowings from the steppes.

Let us now have a different look at the dragon of the Han tomb (**11.88**). It represents the dragon, looking backwards, in side view. But what happens if an artist were asked to represent this creature, looking straight ahead, in front view? Almost certainly there would appear a monsterface with a well-marked nose, bulging eyes, pointed ears, horn(s), a wide open more or less rectangular gaping mouth with teeth, and *akimbo* arms splayed out to either side, possibly with wings attached. In other words -although perhaps not exactly similar in all details-, there would appear an image sharing stylistic and iconographic features with the *pushou*, the new monsterface that was found on various artefacts of the Han period and later. But two questions rise immediately: (1) Why was there in the early Han period a sudden need to create a new frontal apotropaic face, and (2) why was the dragon chosen as a suitable model for this.

Part of the answer to both questions may be found in the concept of *xiangrui*, already mentioned, which suggested that all natural and unnatural phenomena express the will of heaven and that certain strange phenomena reveal heavenly approval or disapproval. *Xiangrui* is connected to foreignness and the absorption and sinicization of motifs usually not part of the Chinese repertoire[161]. This kind of thinking was already at work during the Western Han period (206 B.C.-24 A.D.)[162]. By the Eastern Han period (25-220 A.D.)

people became almost obsessed with this concept of good omens. Any appearance of dragons was always considered an extraordinarily good omen[163]. Thus, the new dragon, with its characteristics borrowed from China's western neighbours, representing a good omen in the sense that no evil will happen, provided an apotropaic motif, which, when applied to houses or ornaments, is by nature depicted frontally (i.e. confronts evil).

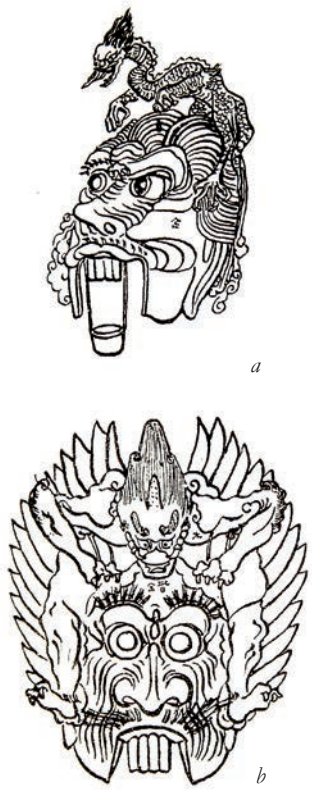
Interestingly, during the Western Han period the depiction of confrontational antagonism between two creatures, portrayed in silhouette such as the dragon and the bird of (**11.92**) already mentioned, was not uncommon. This is believed to be a Chinese version of a Western Asian motif of animals in combat, and from there was borrowed by the nomadic peoples of Mongolia[164]. Also from this perspective, the concept of a fierce dragon in front view may have been the next step in the development. Finally, frontal depictions of monster faces, feline or other, were certainly not uncommon among the steppe peoples, e.g. as bridle and saddle decoration[165].

The dragon-ancestry of the *pushou* as proposed above would also explain the application of the face in situations where control of water –the dragon's element- is essential, as we have seen on the balustrades of bridges in China (par. 11.3) and on the roof tiles in Korea (par. 11.5), but on utensils for beverages as well. It would, too, identify the image on the sandstone box of the Han period, found near Luxian, of (**11.51**) as a dragon-face rather than the representation of some mysterious god of the sky.

Now, almost as a matter of course, the next step directs our attention once more to the *kīrttimukha*. It will be remembered that this creature appeared for the first time presumably around the 3rd century A.D. in Sārnāth, India. By the first centuries of our era, in China, the image of the *pushou* with its *akimbo* arms became well established. At that time contacts between China and India were certainly regular. It is not stretching credibility, we think, to believe that the *pushou* has inspired the image of the *kīrttimukha*, with its dominant *akimbo* arms. It would mean that Camman was right when he intuitively suggested such a relationship in the late 1930's[166].
It would also mean that the *akimbo* arms of the *kīrttimukha* conveniently expressed the act of having devoured its own body, while the model for these *akimbo* arms, the *pushou*, had nothing to do with such an idea. The story of the *kīrttimukha*, which is supposed to have been created before the 4th century A.D.[167], may even have been invented to give a domestic interpretation to the alien model.

11.7 Monsterfaces of Japan

In Chapter 3 and 4, the history of the trade relations between the western world, India, China, Korea and Japan has been summarized. Here, therefore, it is briefly recalled that, at least from the 4th century A.D. on, there was a constant intercourse between India and China via the sea route[168]. During the Tang period there was an enormous development of the trade route across Central Asia. I Ching, the Chinese pilgrim who travelled to India and returned to China *via* Indonesia in 671-695, left a testimony that reveals the existence of a prosperous entrepot at Palembang, on the Musri River of south-eastern Sumatra, where ships travelling between China and India gathered while waiting for the



11.93 Drawings of Gigaku masks representing Ran Ryō-Ō also called Ranryū, Ryūjin or Ryū-Ō. Japan. After Joly 1967, 325, figs. a and b

11.94 Gigaku mask of Ranryū. Japan. After Joly 1967, 332

winds to change[169]. From the middle of the 7th century on, the Japanese state was definitely committed to a policy of trying to create in Japan a small replica of Tang China. Hence Japanese embassy ships returning from the Tang court must have been laden with exotic Chinese goods.

And whether Japan had official diplomatic relations with China and Korea or not during the 10th to 14th century A.D., it enjoyed close cultural and economic ties with these countries through its commercial maritime activities along the China Sea coast, which formed a link in the East-Asian trading sphere[170]. This means that, during the centuries from the 7th century A.D. on, cultural influence from the West and South-East, that had reached or reached China, were penetrating into Japan as well.

Before entering into a discussion on the monsterfaces of Japan, some remarks have to be made about the Gigaku dance (s.v.).

There are masks called Ran Ryō Ō of the Gigaku dance, which represent the Sea King Ryūjin, also called Ryū Ō as shown in (**11.93**). The mask in (**11.93a**) recalls some characteristics of the *kīrttimukha* in the marked long tongue hanging out and the missing lower jaw. A variant of this mask as shown in (**11.94**) shows Ryūjin with *akimbo* arms equipped with accurately designed wings. Another example of this mask is shown in (**11.93b**),

where we see the missing lower jaw, while above the forehead a remarkable monster is superimposed with one horn, a trident shaped "hair"-setting and manifest *akimbo* arms. This Ryūjin is an offensive character and boisterous seas are said to be due to his anger. His origin is said to be Chinese[171].

The Gigaku dance, on the one hand, is said to have originated in ancient China in the provinces south of the Yangzi River and to have been introduced via Korea to Japan in 612 during the Asuka period (552-646)[172]. On the other hand, there is reference to more western regions, as the Tang poet Bai Juyi (772-846) mentioned in a verse about a Gigaku troupe from the city of Liangzhou (modern Wuwei) on the ancient western frontier of China:

'Skilled dancers from Hsi-liang,
Persian masks and lion masks.
The heads are carved of wood,
The tails are woven with thread,
Pupils are flecked with gold
and teeth capped with silver.
They wave fur costumes
and flap their ears,
As if from across the drifting sands,
Ten thousand miles away'[173].

Further there is a suggestive remark about the Gigaku dance by Hayashi: "It is not known whether the masked Gigaku dances are in anyway related to the Greek dramas dedicated to the deity Dionysus, but they were immensely popular in the Central Asian city of Kucha"[174].

In the scope of this work the origin of the Gigaku has not been investigated, nor the possibility of a relationship with the West. However, Joly anticipated a relationship with the *kīrttimukha* when he said: "…It is inconceivable that the southern part of Japan should have had no extensive relations with the Malay Islands before the Asuka period. At any rate some of the Java masks are very akin to those used in Bugaku and Gigaku"[175]. Here Joly refers of course to the early contacts between India and China via the sea-route[176].

Let us now turn our attention to other monsterfaces in Japan.

There had been a hiatus in the relation between China and Japan following the Mongol invasions of Japan in the late 13th century. But the first Ashikaga Shōgun Takauji (1305-1358) started to renew the trade with China, which was made official from the time of the 3rd Shōgun Yoshimitsu (1358-1408). The most important aspect of this trade was the so-called *karamono* (lit. "Chinese things"), including paintings, calligraphic scrolls, ceramic wares, fine porcelain and lacquer ware, brought to Japan in ever greater quantities beginning in the middle of the 14th century. It was part of the craze of the new leaders in Kyōto for extravagance and ostentation called *basara*, of which exoticism was another expression, manifested especially by the desire to acquire works of art and craft from China[177].

This movement also carried Chinese bronzes to Japan, where they were preserved for centuries thereafter just like other precious artifacts for the tea-ceremony and flower arrangements. Some of these bronzes were decorated with the archaic *taotie* mask which is called *tōtatsu* in Japan[178].

11.95 Bronze flower vase shaped after Chinese examples and decorated with *taotie* designs. Made by Hata Zōroku (1823-1890). Japan, Meiji period, 19th century. Imperial House Agency, Tōkyō

11.96 Fragment of a brocade decorated with *pushou*-images. Japan, 8th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

When, by the end of the 19th century, after the opening of Japan, works of art were bought in Japan by European museums and collectors, all of these goods were believed to be Japanese. In some cases however -as for some bronzes in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum- careful research revealed that in fact they were Chinese[179]. The Chinese bronzes brought to Japan were later on copied by the Japanese, e.g. by the Kyōto bronze caster Hata Zōroku (1823-1890), who became particularly interested in old Chinese bronze castings from the Zhou period (1100-256 B.C.) which he imitated using the lost-wax technique[180]. An example of his work decorated with a *taotie* design is shown in (**11.95**).

Apart from the *taotie*-image, apparently also the *pushou*-image, which appeared –as we have seen- in China on Han textiles (par. 11.3), served as a model for decoration on Japanese artifacts. It adorns a fragment of Japanese brocade belonging to the treasures kept in the Hōryūji temple at Nara, where many objects from the 8th century are preserved (**11.96**). The description of this silk, on behalf of the Japanese Imperial Commission that guided the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900, runs as follows:

'... le tissu, à la mode japonaise, est épais et souple. La fabrication est évidemment japonaise, mais les élephants et les masques de démons ont été empruntés à des compositions du Si Yu'[181].

The direct reference by the Japanese museum authorities to the Chinese war-god of the Han, Chiyou, already mentioned in par. 11.3, is probably the reason why about fifty years later European writers presumed a link between Chiyou and the *pushou*.

It is noted that the *akimbo* arms, which are characteristic of the early Chinese representations of the *pushou*, have not been copied, at least not dominantly, by the Japanese in this example.

11.97 Arita porcelain bowl, the inner rim decorated with the dragon-lion motif. Compare the Chinese original of (**11.83**) Japan, third quarter of 17th century A.D. Groninger Museum, The Netherlands

There can be little doubt that the Chinese monsterfaces with leonine traits in varying degrees (par. 11.4) have been copied by the Japanese.
It is found as a decorative motif on Japanese porcelain. When the civil wars in China by the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) caused the supply of porcelain to the Dutch East-India Company there to stagnate, Japanese porcelain was sent to Holland instead. The first Japanese porcelain reached Holland in 1653 and the trade expanded rapidly until 1683, when the porcelain factories in Jingdezhen were re-established. In this period Japanese porcelain with Chinese decorative motives executed in blue and white were popular on the Dutch market. On Japanese plates and bowls, which belong to the third quarter of the 17th century, borders of panels enclosing flowers and symbols are used which were taken from the Chinese porcelain of the Wanli period (1573-1620 A.D.). Japanese bowls with a Wanli style panel design, where the leonine monsterface is contained within some (often two diametrically opposed) panels are not uncommon (**11.97**). These are direct copies from Chinese Wanli examples as mentioned already in par. 11.4.

Very similar to these designs on porcelain is the "dragon-lion" ornament as pictured by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861) in one of his wood-block prints from the Suikoden-series (s.v.) as shown in (**11.98**). The hero Rōrihakuchō Chōjun is forcing his way through the bars of a water gate, while his enemies are awaiting him with a shower of arrows. Above the watergate, the "dragon-lion" motif decorates the stone wall. It is thought that this particular portrait of Chōjun was very popular during Kuniyoshi's lifetime, because obviously the publisher pulled sheets until the wood-blocks were totally worn[182]. This implies that the Japanese of those days were very familiar with the "dragon-lion" image.
As already noticed in par. 11.4, in China the "dragon-lion" motif was associated with control of water, the dragon's element. The application of the "dragon-lion"-head above

11.98 Woodblock print of the series Suikoden of Utagawa Kuniyoshi, showing the hero Rōrihakuchō Chōjun breaking through a watergate. Above the gate the dragon-lion motif decorates the wall. Japan, 19th century. After Klompmaker 1998, 173, no. 56

11.99 Imari porcelain figurine of a Dutchman sitting astride a wine barrel. On the base the dragon-lion motif. Japan, Kanbun period (1661-1672 A.D.). Kurita Museum, Ashikaga

the water gate of (**11.98**) is therefore in complete accordance with this association. Also, the dragon-lion design below the spout of an Imari wine-barrel, including the forehead mark, reflects the same idea (**11.99**).

The "monster-mask" leg, as used for some Chinese vessels to support it, has also been taken by the Japanese artists as a model. It is then sometimes called a "lion mask" as in the example of an early Edo-period (1602-1868) candlestick of Kakiemon porcelain (**11.100**). But more often it is referred to as *kimen ashi* (lit. devil-mask feet), as with the candlestick from the Kanbun-period (1661-1672) in the Kurita Museum in Ashikaga (**11.101**). The lower jaw has been explicitly maintained by the Japanese artist as part of these masks. According to the museum a number of similar products have been found among *sancai* (three-colour) stoneware in the Ming and Qing Dynasties[183]. The Philadelphia Museum of Art preserves an incense-burner (*kōro*) resting on three "monster-mask" legs, made by the potter Taizan in Awata around 1850[184].

Obviously, in these cases, the "dragon-lion" mask has the apotropaic function of warding

11.100 Imari porcelain with Kakiemon enamels. Candle-stick with the dragon-lion motif on the legs. Japan, Edo period, ca. 1750. Tanaka Marui Collection Gallery, Tōkyō

11.101 Imari porcelain candle-stick with dragon-lion feet. Japan, Kanbun period (1661-1672). Kurita Museum, Ashikaga

off the danger of fire, as it has on the Chinese candlestick of (**11.79**). For the Japanese examples as shown here, the distinct forehead markings, obviously applied with care, stress the leonine character.

In copying Chinese "dragon-lion" images, the Japanese have drawn one of them into the world of the *oni*.

Oni is the generic name for all the devils and demons in Japan as imagined by popular belief. They usually have a large more or less square head with one or two horns, a large mouth with large canines, malignant eyes surmounted by big eyebrows. Their feet are equipped with two claws while their hands have three, but this aspect is not strictly executed by the Japanese artists who depict the *oni* often with human hands and feet. The *oni,* when on earth, loiter about in the depths of forests and the caverns of remote mountains. They live there on human flesh and carry off beautiful women to share in their orgies. They make different disguises, varying from a court lady to a begging monk, or a huge spider. In those cases, then, they have a more or less complete human or animal body with an *oni*-head. Popular superstition attributes to them all evil that can occur to a Japanese family

11.102 Sketch from the Manga, the sketchbook of the Japanese woodblock artist Hokusai (1760-1849), showing a religious ceremony practiced at *Setsubun*, Spring Equinox, at wich time dried beans are cast toward the four corners of the room accompanied by some such incantations as "Let good in, cast evil out". Here the Evil is represented as an *oni*. Japan, first half of 19th century A.D. After Mitchener 1958, 163, plt. 98

and their houses. Therefore, on the first of January they are expelled from houses with the invocation "*oni wa soto, fuku wa uchi*" (lit. "devils out, luck in"). This ceremony is called *oni yarai* and is executed by a general demon-queller called Shōki. However, *oni* are not to be associated with the Christian Satan because they don't originally have any relation to a basic principle of evil in that sense and they can be kept under control of human beings. Therefore *oni*, if judged from Japanese art, are more of an amusement than a nuisance to those they hover around. They are merely mischievous imps which haunt the precincts of houses and should on certain festivals be warded off or exorcised. In (**11.102**) the *oni yarai* is e.g. shown in a print of Hokusai.

Oni are not indigenous to Japan. Buddhism, with its world of hungry devils and of infernal beings, and its realistic pictures of the torments suffered by the souls of men in the kingdom of hell, is responsible for carrying the concept of the *oni* from China to Japan. And Shōki has been handed on to the Japanese by the Chinese who call him Zhong Gui. He was engaged by an emperor of the Tang Dynasty in the 8th century, to quell the demons which infested the imperial palace[185]. In the 9th century A.D. the *oni* began to be a prominent figure in Japanese imagination[186].

In the world of Japanese *oni*, one of them is raising our particular interest. He is called *oni kawara*, *kawara* meaning "tile". The *oni kawara* is met in Japan on the roofs of houses,

11.103 Japanese *oni kawara* from various sites:

(a) Daianji temple, Nara; Late Nara period, 710-794 A.D.

(b) Tōdaiji temple, Nara, early Kamakura period (1185-1333 A.D.)

(c) Hōryūji temple, Nara, 1230 A.D.

(d) Tōshōdaiji temple, Nara, 1240 A.D.

(e) Hōryūji temple, Nara, 1443 A.D.

(f) Kōfukuji temple, Nara, 1909 A.D.

After Kobayashi and Nakamura 1982, six figs. selected from pages 9-23

castles and temples, on ridge poles or on ridge tiles. He is almost always shown by his head only[187].

According to a Japanese source "the first *oni kawara* in Japan was made in 588 A.D. by an artist from Paekche, Korea, to decorate the roof of the Hōryūji temple in Nara"[188]. This date seems a little early in view of the prevailing theory about its earliest construction being started by Prince Shōtoku during the reign of the Empress Suiko (592-628)[189]. However, we know that shortly after the introduction of Buddhism from Paekche in the mid-sixth century A.D., a temple master-carpenter, a tile maker and an image maker, among others, sent by the Paekche king, arrived in the Nara-area, the political centre of Japan in those days[190]. For about a decennium Buddhism was formally resisted, but in 588 the court official Soga no Umako succeeded to gain power and commenced the construc-

tion of the first Buddhist temple in Japan, the now called Asukadera temple[191]. For this task he invited a group of artisans from Paekche comprising two temple builders, four tile makers, a man to cast the bronze pagoda finial and a painter[192]. This was the time, therefore, that tile roofing first entered Japan and possibly also the time of the manufacture of the first *oni kawara*. In the following lines the general history of the *oni kawara* in Japan has been followed according to the work of Kobayashi and Nakamura as cited.
For about 700 years until the middle of the Kamakura period (about 1230 A.D.), these tiles were produced in Japan by hand-modelling initially and by mould-pressing technique later on. Examples from the Daianji temple (Nara) and dating from the late Nara period (710-794 A.D.) and from the Tōdaiji temple (Nara), dating from the early Kamakura period (1185-1333 A.D.) are shown in (**11.103a**) and (**11.103b**). The striking similarity with the *pushou* on the Korean tile of (**11.86**), and on the Chinese tile of (**11.63**) is obvious.
The supposedly last *oni kawara* made by mould pressing and dated 1230 A.D. was part of the Hōryūji temple, Nara, (**11.103c**). During the subsequent Nanbokuchō period (1333-1392), when the whole country was in turmoil by struggles between feudal barons of all degrees, people felt uneasy and tended to compensate their negative feelings by using the force of *oni*. This caused a demand for more variety in the facial expressions of the *oni kawara*, and in particular a stronger countenance. Hence, from then on *oni kawara* were made by order to match individual requirements. The first *oni kawara* made in this way is said to have been produced in 1240 A.D. for the Tōshōdaiji temple in Nara (**11.103d**).

Closer attention to these figures reveals that three characteristics are dominant:
(1) the rectangular shape of the gaping mouth, (2) there are four teeth in the upper jaw, (3) the lower jaw seems to be absent. The first two characteristics are identical to those of the monsterface of the Korean tiles as discussed in par. 11.5 (**11.86**), while the absence of the lower jar is just appearance because the space left-out for the ridge on which the *oni kawara* was fixed, did not allow for the presence of the lower jaw. However, that the lower jaw should be supposed to be essentially present, can be derived from the fact that after the early stages of manufacture, when the *oni kawara* became more developed, it is nearly almost there. The *oni kawara* developed further during the Muromachi period (1392-1573), where we see not only the lower jaw being preserved, but also an emphatical presence of the canine teeth and horns (**11.103e**)[193]. During this period, but also thereafter during the Edo period (1615-1868), this feature is nearly always maintained, together with the rectangular shape of the mouth and -in almost all cases- the four teeth in the upper jaw. An interesting example of the tension in the choice between the lower jaw and the space to be made available for the ridge is shown in (**11.103f**). Here the lower jaw is left away but the canine teeth of that jaw have been preserved.
From the above survey and from the comparison of the features of the Korean tile mask, it may be concluded that the mask of the Korean tile, itself essentially being a copy of the Chinese *pushou*, served as the prototype of the Japanese *oni kawara*. Similarly, the *oni kawara* was believed to act just the same as its Korean prototype did, i.e. it protected the temple or house against evil.
The apotropaic function is particularly evident in the case of the impressive metal *oni kawara* on the roof of the great Buddhist temple Zōjōji in Tōkyō, where it functions as a lightning conductor (**11.104**).

11.104 Metal *oni kawara* on the roof of the Zōjōji temple, Tōkyō

11.105 see text.

Finally, (**11.105**) is shown, of which deliberately the caption has been omitted, and we ask our reader to compare this image with the *oni kawara* of (**11.104**). Apart from the protruding tongue we seem to be looking at another *oni kawara* on a temple-building in Tōkyō, but it is a gorgoneion-tile, now in the Museum of Syracuse, Sicily. It comes from the Athena temple at Gena, Sicily, and dates from the early 6th century B.C.
One cannot help but be amazed that a creature so identically depicted could exist in such entirely different historical contexts separated by thousands of years. However, as we have seen, it is inconceivable that the *oni kawara* owed anything to the classical gorgoneion. It is to be remembered that the development of the *oni kawara* in Japan started with the introduction from Tang China via Korea of the *pushou*/dragon whose main features were already devised during the Former Han period. The *pushou* was shaped as a frontal apotropaic motif, a good omen in the sense that no evil will happen. Initially, as on the Han textiles, there was very little resemblance with the gorgoneion. Then, Buddhism introduced leonization of the apotropaic faces of China and it is there that, totally unintentionally, the element of resemblance creeps in: the gorgoneion of the archaic Greeks, too, has leonine characteristics[194]. Accidental resemblance is also in the curly elements around both the heads of the *oni kawara* and of the Gorgon, and their meaning differs completely: around the gorgoneion they schematically represent the hair and beard or perhaps snakes[195], around the *oni kawara* they represent the lion's manes[196].
The astonishing similarity, therefore, which is accidental, only means that the features of the gorgoneion were and are optically fully present, while a totally different creature is represented. However, this optical relationship with the gorgoneion will generally not be realized.

11.8 Conclusions

In this Chapter it has been endeavoured to explore the possibility of an influence of Greek culture on monsterfaces in Japanese art.
Presumptions, conjectures and caveats were made on the way. Taking these restrictions into account, we may summarize as follows.

First, during the Former Han period in China, a new type of dragon was devised, of which the head was influenced by models from Siberia and the Mongolian steppes, which were part of a large sphere of influence stretching from the Carpathians well into the territory of China, enabling intercourse of trade objects and motifs. Notably, in the royal tombs of Pazyryk in Siberia, some 960 km to the north of Turfan, a monster head dated to the 4th century B.C. has been found which appears to have been influential –if not a model- for the shaping of the head of the Han dragon. The suggestion, however vague, that this Pazyryk monster head owed anything to the Greek *ketos*, may perhaps theoretically be not totally beyond the bounds of possibility. However -although the heads of the creatures have some characteristics in common-, there is at present no conclusive evidence of such a relationship.
Initially, the new dragon-head was applied in China to the image of dragons with sinuous lizard-like bodies in side-view only, but –according to our speculation- during the

second half of the Han period it was transformed to a new dragon-face in front-view, the *pushou*. The lizard-like features of this new Chinese dragon, with its body low to the ground, caused a pair of *akimbo* arms to become part of this frontal image. From then on, the *pushou*-image, essentially an apotropaic dragon face, was the basis for a number of apotropaic faces in China, which ornamented a wide range of utensils and other objects, bridges and buildings.

With the advent and spread of Buddhism, the traits of the lion became mingled with the *pushou*-image, in varying degrees depending on the application. With good reason this face may be termed the "dragon-lion" face of China.

This "dragon-lion" face was carried via Korea to Japan, where it is found on many objects and buildings. In the latter case, as the *oni kawara*, it appears mainly –as in China- on apotropaic roof tiles, installed to avert the danger of fire.

In some cases the *oni kawara* has a striking similarity with the Greek gorgoneion, but this is accidental and inferable from the respective development of these images.

Second, the *kīrttimukha* of India, which did not appear there before the 3rd century A.D., may have been inspired by the *pushou* during these times when intensive contacts between China and India were maintained and growing. Especially the *akimbo* arms, which became characteristic for some *kīrttimukha* images, may have been added under influence of the *pushou*.

Third, there is no certain or not even partially satisfactory evidence that the Greek gorgoneion served as a model for the image of the *taotie*, *pushou* or *kīrttimukha*, as suggested by various scholars writing in the 20th century.

12 DIONYSIAN MOTIFS

12.1 Grapes

In Greek mythology Semele is usually considered to be the mother of Dionysos[1]. She was the daughter of Cadmus, King of Thebes, and her beauty attracted the attention of Zeus, the leader of the Greek pantheon.

One day, at the suggestion of the treacherous Hera, who had assumed the guise of her nurse, Semele begged Zeus to show himself to her in his Olympian majesty. She was unable to endure the brilliance of her divine lover and was consumed by the flames which emanated from Zeus' person. The child she carried in her womb would also have perished if not a thick shoot of ivy had wound itself around the columns of the palace and made a green screen between the unborn baby and the celestial fire. Zeus gathered the infant and, as it was not yet ready to be born, shut it away in his own thigh, whence in due time Dionysos was born. But Hera kept chasing and threatening the life of Dionysos, and Zeus managed to bring him safely under the patronage of the nymphs of a mountain called Nysa.

He grew to manhood on this fable mountain and discovered there the fruit of the vine and the art of making wine from it. Inevitably he drank it for the first time without moderation, because people said that he was struck by madness temporarily. He went wandering about the world in his chariot, drawn by panthers, accompanied by Silenus, his tutor, and a train of *satyrs* and wild women - the *maenads* or *bacchantes* -, his former nymph nurses and others.

Strange tales were told of these followers and their extraordinary powers. They caused fountains of milk and wine to spring from the ground; fire could do them no harm; weapons left them unscathed; they had the strength to tear apart live bulls and other fierce animals, yet the women showed great tenderness to young animals and suckled them at their breasts. Armed with the *thyrsos*, an ivy-twined staff tipped with a pine cone, they followed the god as far as India and then eventually came back to Greece everywhere spreading the gift of wine among mortals. He brought, according to Homer, χαρμα βροτοισιν, "delight for the mortals"[2], that is to say he makes them enjoy their life by taking away their sufferings and sorrows by his gift, the wine.

In origin, Dionysos is no Greek. He is rarely mentioned in Homer and figures there only in passing. The general opinion, shared both by ancient and modern authors, that he hails from Phrygia and later moved to Thrace is well founded. His cult was widespread there and the Thracian and Macedonian women were especially devoted in his *orgia*. The cult may have been brought to Greece in the beginning of the last millennium B.C.[3]

In this early stage the worship of Dionysos in Greece seems to have played no role of great consequence. As time went on, however, he was more and more thought of as the god of wine and he was honoured throughout Greece through formally structured organisations with rituals and festivals which were dedicated to him[4]. The most brilliant

12.1 Design of Dionysos, bound on a ship, with bunches of grapes and vines, painted on the inner side of a black-figure *kylix*. 6th century B.C. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

festivals were the so-called "Greater Dionysia" at the beginning of March. It was during these festivals that dramatic presentations were given. In addition to those dignified ceremonies all Greece celebrated festivals of an orgiastic character as well.

During those festivals the natural borderlines of ordinary life vanished: the usual separations between rational and irrational, real and fictional, divine and human, human and animal, Greek and barbarian, male and female, old and young, rich and poor, high and low status, were not valid anymore[5].

We may grasp an idea about the scale of these Dionysos festivals in ancient Greece from the fact that they could be very expensive and e.g. the people of Antissa in Lesbos are reported to have had problems meeting the costs[6].

An early Dionysos decoration with clusters of grapes in a vine is on a six century B.C. black-figure *kylix* (**12.1**). The design is based on the legend that the god was once at sea when pirates attacked him, intending to sell him as a slave. Fragrant wine started to flow through the ship and a vine sprouted and twined round the mast, while the god changed into a wild beast. In panic the pirates jumped overboard into the sea, where they were changed into dolphins.

Dionysos is one of the most frequent subjects on Attic red-figure vases from the middle of the 6th century B.C. on through the 4th. His attributes are a drinking-horn or a *kantharos* and an ivy-wreath. *Satyrs* and nymphs, or *maenads*, are his regular companions and snakes and panthers sometimes accompany him. In Attic vase painting from the 6th and

12.2 Attic red-figure *amphora* depicting Dionysos with an ivy wreath, holding a *kantharos*, staff and grapevine. Ca. 480 B.C. BML

12.3 Silver *drachme* from Naxos, Sicily, with bearded Dionysos (obverse) and grape cluster (reverse). Ca. 450 B.C. BML

most of the 5th centuries, Dionysos is bearded and is almost always clothed in a *chiton* and *himation*. He often holds the *thyrsos* and grapevines, sometimes with clusters of grapes (**12.2**).

Around 530 B.C. a coinage was minted at Naxos on Sicily with the bearded, ivy-wreathed head of Dionysos on the obverse and a grape cluster on the reverse (**12.3**). The bunch of grapes on a coin of ca. 500 B.C. from Peparethos (**1.17**) alludes to the wine trade on the island. A silver tetradrachme of Mende (an important wine-exporting city), issued about 450 B.C., shows Dionysos riding on a mule (obverse) and on the reverse a fruiting grapevine inside a square framed by the city's name (**12.4**). In fact many famous wine-growing regions existed in the Mediterranean area between the 6th and 2nd centuries B.C., which bore on their coins symbols of the export trade, which was of obvious importance to their economic stability and which advertised their produce[7].

It is not difficult to trace Dionysian motifs on all sorts of art objects in time from the Classical Period through the Hellenistic Age and the Roman period. Many examples are available of which we mention some, e.g. on jewellery[8], silverware[9], sculpture[10], glass[11] and Roman mirrors[12].

The above-mentioned examples show Dionysos in person in varying environments. But this was certainly not always the case as more subtle hints to the Dionysian cult were ubiquitously seen in the Greek and Roman world. In fact the grapevine itself, fruiting or not, depicted as part of an otherwise generic scenery, was considered a clear hint to a Dionysian atmosphere. An early example of this is the clay cup from Olbia, Black Sea area, dating from the 6th century B.C., decorated in red with a band of grapevine and leafs below large eyes (**12.5**). Its rise to favour, however, as an isolated motif in Greco-

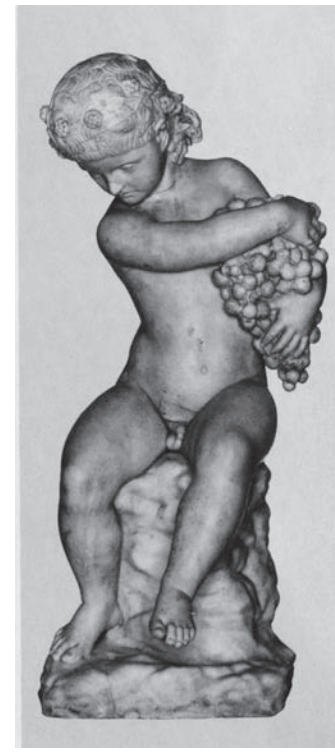
12.4 Silver *tetra drachme* of Mende, with Dionysos on a mule (obverse) and a vine with bunches of grapes in a square, the city's name circumscribed. Ca. 450 B.C. BML

12.5 Clay two-handled vase from Olbia, Black Sea area, decorated with grape leaves below large eyes. Greek, 6th century B.C. National Museum of the History of the Ukraine, Kiev

Roman art seems to have taken place somewhere around 50 B.C. Then, gradually rising in popularity, the vogue of the motif seems to have reached its climax by the end of the 3rd century A.D. Hereafter it is omnipresent throughout the Roman Empire[13].

For reasons which will become clear later-on in this Chapter, attention is drawn here in particular to some cases where young children amidst grapes and grapevines are the main theme. The background of the presence of children is probably no more than the sentimental love of children, which begins in the Hellenistic age and persists in the following centuries. It appears markedly in the many *putti*, swarming on the Bacchic *sarcophagi* and in the winged boys and small girls with butterfly wings, called Erotes and Psychae[14]. The

12.6 Detail of a dark blue glass vessel with opaque white overlays, showing putti harvesting grapes. Found at Pompeii, Italy. Second quarter of 1st century A.D. MAN



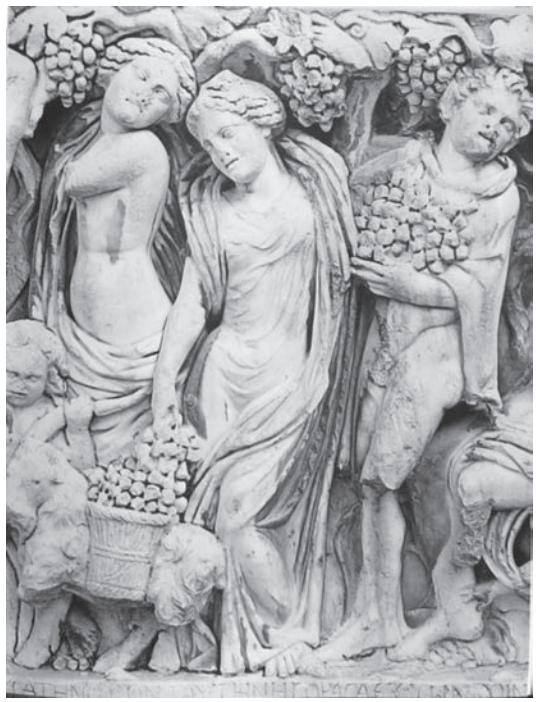
12.7 Marble figurine of Dionysos holding a bunch of grapes. Found on the Palatine-hill in Rome, 2nd century A.D. Kestner Museum, Hannover

full cultivation and flowering of the motif were achieved in the Roman age, but its roots are in the late classical Greek and Hellenistic worlds of the eastern Mediterranean[15].
On a glass *amphora* found at Pompeii and dated around 75 A.D. (**12.6**), we see a cupid with his arms extended to the left, picking grapes from a vine, a second cupid playing a lyre, a third cupid lying, in his left hand a drinking cup and his right arm raised to take a grape from a bunch held by a fourth cupid, who has a shallow bucket of grapes on his head. The subject matter of this decoration clearly shows a Bacchic festival with a drinking scene and a vintage scene[16]. On a silver beaker from Hermopolis, assigned to about the same period, the ornament shows *putti* vintaging amid an overall design of vine branches[17]. From a site on the Palatine hill in Rome a figurine of Dionysos holding a bunch of grapes, dating from the 2nd century A.D., was recovered (**12.7**). Another example is found on a vertical pilaster on a Severan building at Leptis Magna in North Africa (about 200 A.D.) made by craftsmen from Asia Minor (**12.8**). And on the west façade of the Temple of Bel, built during the 1st century A.D. at Palmyra, a trading city in the Syrian desert, bunches of grapes and vine leaves occupy the spaces between floral scrolls (**12.9**).
Near Thessaloniki, Greece, a *sarcophagus* was found in a necropolis from the second half of the 3rd century A.D., depicting a Dionysian scenery. It shows on three of its sides carved *satyrs* and *maenads*, cupids and small children amidst panthers and a goat (**12.10**). They gather grapes with graceful gestures and play music[18].

12.8 Marble pilaster at Lepnis Magna, North Africa, carved with putti amidst vine scroll and bunches of grapes. Ca. 200 A.D. After Boardman 1994, 133, fig. 4.72b

12.9 Grape bunches and vine on the west side of the temple of Bel at Palmyra. 1st century A.D. Palmyra Museum

In the villa "Erculia" in Piazza Armerina, Morgantina, constructed in the early 4th century A.D., we find mosaic floors with scenes of cupids engaged in the cultivation of vines, the harvesting of grapes and grape-pressing. In the room with the grape harvest, there is a mosaiced bust of a crowned figure representing Dionysos (**12.11**). The scenes of the grape harvest and grape pressing, ostentatively associated with the Dionysiac world, recall the ceremonies that took place in autumn and in spring to celebrate the time when the



12.10 Attic *sarcophagi* decorated with *putti* harvesting grapes. Greek, second half of 3rd century A.D. Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki, Greece

12.11 Cupids harvesting grapes, on a mosaic in the Villa Erculia, Piazza Armerina, Morgantina, Italy. Early 4th century A.D. After Villa Erculia, 80, n.d.

god fell asleep (autumn) and when he awakened (spring)[19]. The theme of children harvesting grapes was very common in the Roman world[20].

When and how precisely Dionysian motifs have been introduced into Iran is a matter of speculation. The Iranians of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. became certainly familiar with many, if not all, aspects of Greek life of that period, among which those with a Dionysian character[21]. The Hellenistic culture thereafter must have been rather influential if we realize that King Shapur I (242-272 A.D.), who had seen Dionysian motifs in the palaces of Antioch, which he conquered in the mid 3rd century, had them copied. In the remains of his palace in Bishapur floor mosaics have been found with Dionysian motifs[22]. Anyway, there is an abundance of Dionysian scenes in the art of Iran in the Sasanian period (226-651 A.D.)[23]. Many silver bottles and plates found in Iran of this period are decorated with subjects whose Dionysian origins and meanings are clear. In addition there are silver plates and vessels that are partly decorated with figures such as dancers, musicians or drinkers. In both types the grapevine often plays an essential part (**12.12**). In fact the motif occurs endlessly in Sasanian art, particularly on silver vessels probably used for wine drinking.

Although the Iranians were known to have a definite predilection for wine, the underlying concepts were probably too complex and alien to be adopted: the basic images of the god himself, with *thyrsos* and panther or in triumphal procession are few. Only the secondary more universally understandable themes of female musicians and dancers, *putti* and grapevines lent themselves for adoption and various degrees of variation.

12.12 Silver vase decorated with boys harvesting grapes. Unearthed in Afghanistan or Pakistan. Sasanian Period, ca. 600 A.D. BML

12.13 Schist stair riser with Dionysian scene of musicians and dancers. Gandhāra, ca. 1st century A.D. MMN

Doubtlessly Sasanian Iran adopted the motif of the grapevine from Greece and the Near East, where it served as a symbol of the cult of Dionysos and was used almost fanatically on everything, from wine cups to architectural decoration and sarcophagi. Evidently however, through a synthesis of the Hellenistic cult of Dionysos and the Iranian cult of Anahita, the vine became the symbol of that goddess of fertility[24].

More to the east Dionysian motifs on silverwork have been found in tombs at Tillya-Tepe (about 100 km west of Balkh/Bactra), dating from the Roman period[25], and in Badakshan, Afghanistan, dating from before the 2nd century A.D.[26].
These examples show, however, a shift away from the pure Greek Dionysos iconography in these more remote areas during the first centuries of our era and suggest that, although Dionysos-related images travelled east, there was no explicit assimilation to the god.
The same can be said about many themes in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra of that period. One of the earliest examples, perhaps, is the stair riser with a Dionysian scene of musicians and dancers of about the 1st century A.D. (**12.13**). Drinking wine, dancing and music making were apparently popular subjects for the embellishment of early Buddhist religious centres[27]. There seems to be a correlation between altered states of consciousness associated with the loss of control brought on by wine and dance and the concept of heaven in which one could be reborn[28]. It is therefore not impossible that the later Buddhist concept of rebirth in a paradise or in a heaven has its roots in pre-Buddhist Dionysian traditions[29].
A stone relief showing a figure amid a vine-scroll, carrying a bunch of grapes testifies of Dionysian influence (**12.14**). Another example probably from Gandhāra, dating from the 2nd century is a carving in a block of grey schist of a local hero with grapevine scrolls that are purely Greek in their appearance (**12.15**).
Clearly these decorations were dependent on Hellenistic design for their inspiration.

In this context it is important to note that during Alexander's campaign across the Hindu Kush through Swāt, the Macedonians found there what they immediately considered to be evidence of the Indian conquest of their own Dionysos in earlier times. They discovered a city called Nysa, supposedly founded by the god himself and a sacred mountain which they called Meros after Dionysos' thigh birth[30]. On its slopes grew ivy and the grapevine, which Alexander's troops had not seen elsewhere on their eastern campaigns, and they lingered there with the natives to attend bacchanalian celebrations[31].
Were these Dionysos-type of celebrations completely new to these natives or were they already known to them? Apollonius of Tyrana, an itinerant philosopher who lived in the mid-first century A.D., is said to have found the worship of Dionysos in the Indian highlands:

> 'On climbing [the mountain] they found an area consecrated to Bacchus, which the god himself had planted round with laurels, encircling enough ground for a small temple, and had married ivy and grapevine to the laurels and set up his own image in the centre, knowing that in time the trees would meet to form a roof, which has now become so closely woven that it lets in neither wind nor rain upon the shrine. Inside it are sickles and baskets and wine vats, with all their belonging, made of gold and silver and sacred to Bacchus as god of the vintage. The statue of Bacchus shows him as an Indian lad, carved in white stone, and when he begins his orgies he shakes the mountain and the towns set about its foot join in revelry'[32].

Again, the question is relevant if a temple of a Dionysos-type of local wine-god, in the beginning of our era in a remote area in the Indian highland points to the Greek concept, or rather to more indigenous practices.
It should be remembered here that Asia Minor, often referred to as Anatolia, which is contiguous with the southern Caucasus, is the region where the wild grape probably originated at least as far back as 1500 B.C.[33]. Once this plant began to be cultivated, it spread

12.14 Frieze of vine scroll and *putti*. From Gandhāra, Kushān period, ca. 200 A.D. BML

12.15 *yaksha* with grapevine scroll and bunches of grapes. Probably from Gandhāra, 2nd century A.D. Peshāwar Museum, Pakistan

at some very early date within Asia Minor, becoming domesticated, and gradually came to Armenia and Turkestan[34]. Probably also in these early stages, wine became associated with an appropriate god[35]. We also know that in these early times various tribes, having knowledge of viticulture, migrated from central Asia and from Afghanistan and Pakistan, to India[36].
From the above, therefore, we have to bear in mind, while studying the diffusion of Dionysiac motifs, into more eastern regions, that these motifs were possible not Greek in origin. But these areas were certainly heavily influenced by a Hellenistic and Greco-Roman world, where the motif was exceptionally dominant in its appearance on works of art and played a central role in daily life in all layers of society.

How precisely Dionysian motifs travelled into China is not known. Zhang Qian, the heroic traveller of the early Han times (about 115 B.C.), had introduced grape seeds from Ferghana to China, where they were planted in the palace-gardens in the capital and the fruit was grown on a small scale for eating purposes[37].
And raisins and grape wines were important imports to China as delicacies and luxury by the end of the Han period[38], but as part of a decorative design they had no relation to Chinese tradition or culture.
However, we know that viticulture was one of the important economic activities of the northern Tarim oases during the Han period and, after seedless Thompson grapes were introduced to Turfan, they became the celebrated fruit of Xinjiang. It is even suggested by Turcologists that the Taklamakan, the name of the vast desert of Xinjiang, is composed of täkli (grape) and makan (place), i.e. "grape place"[39]. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this area economic reality and the decorative motif of the grapevine from the West actually merged.

It is recalled that in 67 A.D. the relations between India and China were established, when the envoys from the Emperor returned to China from India with paintings, books, etc. But it took centuries before Buddhism spread under the people. Buddhism, therefore, has most probably been a carrier of these Dionysian motifs to China in this period[40].
A large silver plate has been found in the Gansu province, China that shows Dionysos in a central medallion surrounded by a grapevine pattern. It is ascribed to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. and was probably made in the Eastern Mediterranean and exported to China via Bactria[41].
It is known that a Wei ambassador was sent to the "Western Kingdoms" to re-establish relations in 437 A.D. and merchants from the Great Yuezhi country (Afghanistan or North-West Pakistan) began to come to the Northern Wei (386-534 A.D.) court during the second quarter of the 5th century. Also from Bactria (Tokharistan) embassies of the Hephthalites to the Northern Wei continued from about 450 A.D. on to the mid-6th century[42].
Silver vessels would have been appropriate gifts to the Wei court, because -as exotic rarities- they were known to come from the Western countries. But also regular trade played an important role in the northern periphery of China in those days, as the Chinese acquired horses, glass and metalwork in exchange for silk[43].
A gilt-bronze stem-cup was found in Northern Wei foundations at Datong, in the northern part of Shanxi province, decorated with a figure (*putti*) amidst vine-scrolls and

bunches of grapes (**12.16**). Whether it was imported from the West or the work of resident foreigners is not known. The concave profile of the goblet's sides prefigures later cups of a Sasanian type and the encircling grapevine and the *putti* are reminiscent of the decoration on a Byzantine gilt-silver piece of around 400 A.D.[44]. But in fact the shape is that of a *carchesium* which was popular during the Roman period[45].

The Chinese of the 5th century A.D. were therefore familiar with clusters of grapes as an exotic decorative motif but did not have any understanding of the Dionysian associations to it in the West[46].

By Sui times (581-618 A.D.), however, the Chinese received a new impulse to use the grapevine motif which appeared as decoration on imported Sasanian silver vessels and textiles[47]. Bronze mirrors from the Sui period exclusively decorated with the grapevine pattern are not uncommon[48]. Moreover, by the mid 7th century, interest in the grape and grapevine was raised in a new context as tribute gifts of grapes and cuttings were sent to the capital, and wine was made not only from imported grapes, but also from local varieties of small wild grapes[49].

In the early Tang period, the reign of Xuanzong (713-756 A.D.) was characterized by a high level of prosperity. Demand for luxury goods stimulated trade as well as the production of expensive and beautiful objects. Yangzhou, at the junction of the Yangzi River and the Grand Canal, was an important commercial centre and famous for metal work. Especially the bronze mirrors cast there were in high esteem and decreed by the court to be used as tribute to the emperor[50].

For the present study in particular the so-called "Lion and Grape" mirror is of interest (**12.17**). This type of mirror has been reason for much confusion and discussion for decades since Friedrich Hirth, in 1896, adopted the description "sea-horse and grape" for them from ancient Chinese sources of 1125 A.D., which placed this class of mirrors (erroneously) in the Han period.

The Chinese connoisseurs failed to recognize these mirrors as products of the Tang, for they focussed attention on the grapevine, a dominant feature of the design, assuming that introduction of the grape into China with the return of Zhang Qian from Bactria in 126 B.C. would have had a great impact on the culture and art of the period. Hirth also stated that the Chinese term for grape, *putao*, could be related to the Greek word of somewhat similar pronunciation βοτρύς for "bunch of grapes"[51]. Meanwhile other etymological relationships have been suggested to words from Ferghana, Khotan, but also to Greece[52]. The misconception was cleared up in the early 1950's by Camman, who showed that these grape-decorated mirrors were to be placed in the Tang period[53].

During the Tang period an enormous presence of foreigners -merchants, mercenary soldiers and religious missionaries- in the capital Chang'an, Yangzhou and in the chief ports of the South-East coast boosted also the western influence on the arts of that period.

This, however, is not felt to be the dominant reason why the Western motif of bunches of grapes, fully appreciated as such, became so popular during the Tang period.

The grapes, as symbols of abundance, would have especial significance to the Chinese court at that time, because in the year 640, the art of fermenting grapes to make wine was introduced in Tang China from Eastern Turkestan[54]. In the mid seventh century trib-

12.16 Gilt-bronze stem cup, decorated with *putti* and vine scroll/grapes. Found at Datong, Shanxi Province, possibly imported from Central Asia. 5th century A.D. After Rawson 1984, 40, fig. 15

12.17 Tang "lion and grape" mirror. Ca. 730 A.D. Minneapolis Institute of Arts

ute gifts of grapes and cuttings of the vine were sent to the capital, and wine was made not only from the imported variety, but also from the small wild Chinese grape. By this time the grape was popular for medicinal cases and was the subject of various poems[55]. The grape decoration on many mirrors of the Tang period indicates the association with abundance and it had become a custom for a bride to carry in her lap a bronze mirror for averting evil influences as she rode in a sedan chair to the ceremony. After the wedding this mirror would be hung over the new couple's marriage bed to ward off evil spirits and to ensure happiness, which included an abundance of children[56].

The same reasoning holds for the motif of the so-called "inhabited vine scroll" with bunches of grapes and populated with *putti*-like figures. The pattern is frequently found on the so-called pilgrim-bottles, an early shape found all over the Near East in ancient times, especially where there were deserts to cross. They began to appear in China by the 7th century A.D. (**12.18**).

The "inhabited vine" is regularly found in Gandhāran decorative art as we have seen (**12.14**). It was a Buddhist design when first adopted by the Chinese, but it is surely ultimately derived from its Greco-Roman origin[57]. The Chinese became attracted to this particular foreign motif because themes of good fortune and fertility had their interest and the new exotic motif perfectly fitted into that scheme. Pictures of small children as well as seeded melons and pomegranates and fish almost always refer to hopes for numerous progeny[58].

The grape motif appeared frequently to decorate other artefacts too, like on the *rhyton*[59]. It is an earthenware cup in the form of a *rhyton*, ending with a bird's head of Near Eastern

12.18 Pilgrim flask with design of children (?) harvesting grapes. Tang period. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

12.19 Marble bowl decorated with *putti* and grape design. Found at Kaifeng, Henan province. Attributed to the Tang period. After Fitzgerald 1961, plt. 10

12.20 Porcelain dish, decorated with bunches of grapes. Ming period, early 15th century. Cleveland Museum of Art

inspiration. A grapevine design is applied in low relief.
The marble bowl illustrated in (**12.19**), which is attributed to the Tang period[60], is a striking testimony of the force of the foreign influence and the adoption of the motif by the Chinese artist. The bowl was made in China as the Mongolian features of the children indicate.

After the fall of the Tang dynasty in 906 the Song dynastic founder Zhao Kuangyin (r. 960-976) strongly propagated the principle of "this culture of ours" being part of a larger project of preserving the Chinese cultural tradition from decline[61]. This re-orientation on intrinsic values caused motifs of Western origin, like the grape arabesque so fashionable during the Tang period, to be used scarcely if not to be abandoned by the Song (960-1279 A.D.). Moreover, grapes (amongst others) were appropriate symbols to illustrate some of the principle beliefs of the Manichaean religion[62], - i.e. to avoid meat, wine and all pleasures of the flesh- which was introduced into China around 650 A.D., but became drastically persecuted by 850 A.D.[63].
Anyway, the pattern seems to have disappeared completely and is totally absent as a decorative design on e.g. ceramics of the Song period[64].

By the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) the grape design must have recovered from a long absence and ignorance, because by the very early 15th century porcelain plates with grapevines seem to have been very popular again[65] (**12.20**). The motif is also frequently found on cloisonné objects like brush-holders, vases, seal caskets and archaistic ceremonial vessels dating from the second half of the 15th century (**12.21**)[66]. These were

12.21 Cloisonné casket for keeping seals, decorated with flowers and grapevine. China, second half of 15th century A.D. After Brinker and Lutz 1989, fig. 34

12.22 Cloisonné dish with design of grapes. China, first half of 16th century A.D. Gemeente Museum, The Hague, The Netherlands

secular objects for household use, as utensils for the writing table. In those days the true scholars probably continued to prefer for the writing table (an old remnant of Chinese culture) simple ceramic, stone or wooden objects as brush holders, water vessels, brushes and armrests. Prestigious writing utensils in cloisonné, however, have appeared already in the 15th century on the writing tables of ladies and officials[67]. Obviously the grapevine decor became appreciated to such an extent that it was selected as an ornament on exquisite objects. Chinese writers of the Chenghua period (1465-1487) laid stress on the excellence of the designs which were supplied by artists in the palace. Stem cups, with high foot, flattened bowl and spreading mouth and decorated with a grapevine pattern rank the highest as specified by a Chinese text of the period, stating that "among the highest class of the Chenghua porcelain these are unsurpassed and in workmanship they far excel the Xuande cups"[68].

Apparently the grapevine maintained its popularity during the next century as it appears on e.g. cloisonné dishes of the first half of the 16th century (**12.22**).

After the Ming period, during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1908), where we find especially in the earlier stages an interest in copying motifs of the archaic periods -like *taotie*-masks on bronzes and cloisonné- the grape decor was still used and applied, even intermingled with them[69].

Shortly after the collapse of the Tang Dynasty (906 A.D.), the warrior-chief Wang Kŏn (877-943 A.D.) established in 918 in Korea a new kingdom Koryo with the capital at Songak (present Kaesŏng). It lasted for about 500 years until 1391. As far as artistic influences are concerned, the first two centuries of the Koryo Dynasty (936-1392) are best characterized as a period of imitation of Chinese artists, especially so for ceramics.

12.23 Celadon porcelain decorated with *putti* and grape vines. Koryu period. Ca. 1300 A.D. After Honey 1947, plt. 57

12.24 Vertical scroll with grape design, painted by Lady Saimdang (Madame Sin), Korea, ca. 1530 A.D. After McCune 1962, 303, fig. 183

It seems that the principal shapes of Korean pottery closely resemble those of the Tang period[70] and we meet frequently peonies and other flowers and leaves as the chief motif of decoration. Particularly noteworthy then is the design of *putti* among vine foliage and grapes, recalling the Tang examples, which, as we have seen, have been inspired by Hellenistic influences[71]. It is found on inlaid ware dating from ca. 1300 A.D.[72] (**12.23**) as well as on some rare specimen with painting in slip.

During the subsequent Yi Dynasty (1392-1910 A.D.) the grapevine decor is also found on distinguished pieces of art. Lady Sin Saimdang (1504-1551), probably the most renown woman of the Yi Dynasty, was -among others- a famous artist. She is considered the embodiment of the virtuous woman, mother, scholar and talented artist. Embroidered screens and ink paintings of birds, and flowers, vegetables and animals attributed to her still survive. Also she painted in ink a magnificent scenery of the grape on a vertical scroll (**12.24**). That the grape was a popular motif on distinguished paintings is also apparent from an eight-fold screen (ink on paper) by the Yi Dynasty artist Rokoku[73].

Prior to the Tang period, Chinese cultural influences reached Japan, mainly -if not exclusively- via the Korean peninsula. However, from the beginning of the Tang rule in China, diplomatic envoys and trade were established between China and Japan. Direct commu-

12.25 Detail of a bronze mirror with bird, animal and grape designs. China, 8th century A.D. Shōsōin, Nara

12.26 Square bronze mirror with grapevine, bird and animal motifs. China, 8th century A.D. Shōsōin, Nara

nication and cultural transmission became a much more immediate process in which the newly built Japanese capital established in Nara in 710 played a crucial central role. Design motifs of the Nara period (645-794) therefore reflect much of the inspiration of the arts of Tang China and can be observed among the paintings, sculpture and decorative arts kept in the Hōryūji, the Shōsōin, Tōdaiji, Tōshōdaiji, Yakushiji[74] and other great Nara temples and monasteries.

A special position is held by the Hōryūji and Shōsōin, because many objects kept there were actually imported from the continent. Among them we find in the Shōsōin

12.27 Section of a pedestal of the Yakushiji image, showing grapes and vine. Japan, ca. 700 A.D. Yakushiji temple, Nara

a round bronze mirror, whose back-design portrays bird-and-animal motifs interspersed with grapevine (**12.25**).

Another Tang mirror in the Shōsōin, truly exceptional in its form, is a square mirror, cast in white bronze with bird, animal and grapevine motifs (**12.26**). Among the imports from the continent, kept in the Shōsōin there are also twill silk and brocades, interwoven with raised arabesques of grapevines[75].

We have mentioned already in this Chapter that grape arabesques were in wide use in China from the Sui period (581-618) on. In Japan, artisans of the Nara period, taking foreign-made mirrors such as those of (**12.26**) and grape-patterned foreign brocades as their models, added decorative grape arabesques to the pedestal of the Yakushi statue at the Yakushiji temple in Nara (**12.27**).

The Tōkyō National Museum keeps a shard of a roof tile, reputedly from a 7th century temple in Nara, decorated with a vine scroll and grapes (**12.28**) and a Japanese wine-coloured *nishiki* brocade with phoenix design covering an imperial armrest in the Shōsōin also displays grape arabesques[76].

So, for the grapevine as a decorative motif in Japan, we can track from the above the legacy of classical art via Sasanian silverwork, Central Asian brocades and Chinese bronze mirrors.

Japanese craftsmen did cast mirrors taking the Chinese mirrors as a model.

The Shōsōin *Monjo* (Shōsōin Archives) records a production estimate for the manufacture of bronze mirrors, entitled *Tōdaiji chūkyō yōdo chūmon an* (Expenses and requisitions for mirrors to be cast at the Tōdaiji temple)[77]. It may be conjectured with some confidence that the Japanese mirror of (**12.29**) with a design of lions and grapes is related to this class.

It is worthwhile to note here that mirrors have always been esteemed objects in Japan. Ancient bronze mirrors dating back to the Han period have come to light in the Japanese archipelago since the Meiji restoration. They were imported for the large part from the

12.28 Vine and grape scroll on a roof tile, reputedly from a temple at Nara. 7th century. NMT

12.29 Bronze mirror with design of lions and grapes. Japan, Nara period, 8th century A.D. After Kokubo and Kanno 1987, fig. 73

Chinese mainland, and have been found in burial sites. Often placed inside the burial containers next to the corpse, they were obviously objects which were highly prized or venerated. This indicates that mirrors had great value to the nobility of ancient Japan, probably as symbols of prestige or power. Mirrors, in imitation of Chinese prototypes, were cast in Japan alreay as early as the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.[78].

That the Japanese in nobility circles during the Nara period wanted Japanese copies of Chinese mirrors including the grapevine motif indicates that this decorative design appealed to them in some way. It had no symbolic significance whatsoever and the use of the grape as a decorative motif reflects the appreciation of an artistic tradition inherited from China, as well as a liking of the visual grace of the plant's fruit, vines and leaves.

The capital was transferred in 794 from Nara to Heiankyō (modern Kyōto), specifically for the purpose of renewing the vitality of the country. As a consequence, during the Heian Period (794-1185), a more native Japanese style developed. The practice of sending official envoys to the Tang court was discontinued in 894 causing the intensity of Japanese cultural borrowing from Tang China to diminish[79]. In this atmosphere there was no room for anything foreign, and the grapevine motif seems to have completely disappeared.
By the end of the 12th century political power shifted from the aristocracy to the military men, and the centre of government was moved to Kamakura. This was the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1333), where the cultural centre of the country remained in Kyōto and cultural life continued on the same basis as before. Native artists did not have much opportunity to see foreign motifs and even if they would have, grapevines would certainly not have been part of the decorative Chinese palette because, in China, the grapevine disappeared as a decorative design during the Song period, as we have seen, and only recovered from its absence as a motif by the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

During the Muromachi period (1392-1573) in Japan, the Ashikaga shōgun Yoshimasa (1435-1490) fostered the imitation of Chinese styles by Japanese craftsmen, and the tendency to welcome foreign motifs and apply them to decorative patterns increased.
In those days it was possible for Japanese travellers to proceed directly and freely to China and to buy works of art on the spot, selecting whatever appealed to their taste. Consequently, in the records of the Ashikaga shōgunal family a number of Yuan paintings are listed, among which one of Wen Riguan showing grapevines[80] (**12.30**).
And indeed, as in China the grapevine motif in those days regained popularity, the grape motif was again used by craftsmen in Japan, albeit in a particular pattern: flowers were added to the grape *karakusa* popular on Yuan and Ming under glaze blue porcelain[81].

During the subsequent Momoyama period (1573-1615) trade with Spanish and Portuguese merchants flourished. Elements of European culture were highly valued and the so-called *nanban* themes as decorative motifs became popular, comprising odd-looking foreigners, Christian motifs and also the *nanban karakusa*. The familiar Chinese winding-vine motif was combined with grapes or other Western fruit to give it an exotic touch[82].
On a vertical section of a lacquer folding chair, preserved in the Zuikōji temple in Kyōto, we see a grape-*karakusa*, *nanban* figures and an elephant (**12.31**).
In the Tōkeiji temple in Kanagawa there is a lacquer box with grapevine design and on its lid a cross and the IHS emblem of the Jesuit order (**12.32**).
In 1592 the Buddhist temple Nishi Honganji was built in Kyōto, whose panels show magnificent pieces of carving, the subjects being peonies, wild geese, phoenixes, cranes, squirrels and grapes[83]. Another notable example of a carving of the pattern of squirrel and grapes appears at the temple of Zuganji at Matsushima[84], that was built between 1604 and 1609, a motif to which we will pay more attention shortly.

12.30 Painting of Wen Riguan with grapes and vines. Hanging scroll. China, Yuan period (1279-1368), second half of 13th century. After Yonezawa and Yoshizawa 1974, 145, fig. 135

12.31 Vines and grapes on the vertical section of a lacquer folding chair. Japan, Momoyama period (1573-1615 A.D.). Zuikōji temple, Kyōto

The first Tokugawa shōgun Ieyasu, who inherited the power of Hideyoshi, founded a system of feudalism and secluded Japan completely from the outside world. Ieyasu received the title of shōgun in 1603 and succeeded in establishing an unchallenged authority within a period of approximately ten years, although he wisely permitted the Emperor to retain his titular headship. He chose as his capital Edo, present-day Tōkyō. During this period, the Edo period (1615-1868), 'barbarians' were prevented from entering Japan, the building of sea-going ships was forbidden and the death-penalty was imposed for travelling abroad, studying a foreign language or introducing foreign customs. Moreover the Shōgunate launched a heavy attack on Roman Catholicism, which had been introduced by Jesuit missionaries in the 16th century, culminating in the expulsion of the Spanish and the Portuguese in 1639. The only foreigners permitted to trade with Japan were the Dutch and the Chinese, using the harbour of Nagasaki, the narrow window looking on to the outer world. These feudal conditions which shielded Japan from all foreign influence and prevented political and economic progress, had a stimulating influence on the arts, as the Japanese craftsmen were fed, clothed, housed and paid by their overlords, while they

12.32 Lacquer box decorated with grape vines. Japan. Momoyama period (1573-1615). Tōkeiji temple, Kanagawa

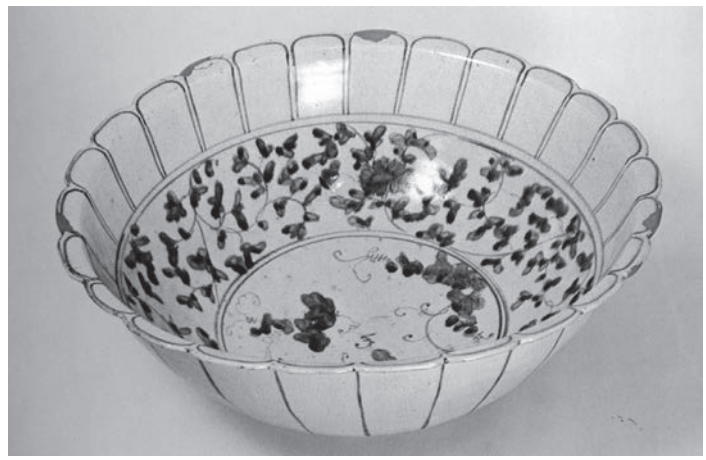
12.33 Porcelain water jar with cover (*mizusashi*) decorated with grape design, made in Jingdezhen kilns. China, Ming dynasty, ca. 1625. After Hayashiya and Trubner, 1977, fig. 6

were not pushed into any production process whatsoever. The isolation contributed to the decline of foreign influences and, as the century approached its midpoint, more designs in the native Japanese manner began to appear.

However, this does certainly not mean that foreign influences -and especially Chinese- were totally absent. It is known that during the first half of the 17th century Chinese porcelains were imported into Japan from the mainland by a Chinese trading community. Among the cargo of the Chinese ships was Chinese porcelain, especially made for the Japanese market at the request of the Japanese tea masters[85]. It was chiefly blue and white ware which the Japanese called *sometsuke*. One particular group of utensils for the tea ceremony was the water jar with cover, *mizusashi*, which draws our attention here, because among the *ko sometsuke mizusashi* is a type called *katamono mizusashi*, or "water jars which conform to a standard model". These were decorated with particularly preferred patterns, among which a design of fruit bearing vines[86] (**12.33**). The custom of requesting Chinese porcelain made to certain specifications reflects a direct Japanese influence over the shapes and pictorial designs. Apparently the grapevine motif was favoured by the Japanese tea masters of those days. It is not surprising therefore, that the Japanese, when their own porcelain manufacturing industry was built up during the first half of the 17th century, copied this motif and the shape of the utensils exactly, as on the Japanese *mizusashi* of (**12.34**).

The grape and grapevine appear to have maintained their attraction as a decorative motif throughout the Edo period. It was applied abundantly to decorate ceramics (**12.35**) through (**12.39**)[87]; lacquer ware (**12.40**) and (**12.41**), metal ware (**12.42**) through (**12.50**) and painting (**12.51**) and (**12.52**).

12.34 Porcelain water jar with cover decorated with blue underglaze grape design. Japan, Edo period, ca. 1650. After Mitsuoka 1978, 209

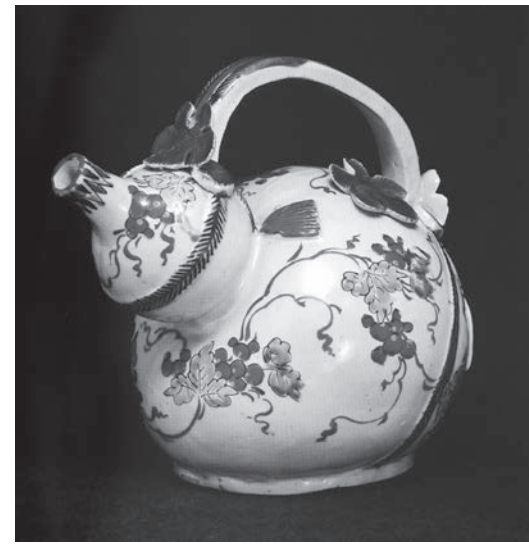


12.35 Chrysanthemum-shaped porcelain bowl with blue-and-white grape design. Japan, ca. 1650. Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tōkyō

It is noted that among examples of grape-decoration in Japan, the motif of squirrel and grape appear rather frequently. It seems to have been used in China for the first time shortly before the Ming period[88]. The Chinese say that the reason for combining the squirrel and grapevine is that the vine is able to creep all over and cover everything in its course, and so the squirrel in its perpetual scampering about, can with equal facility cover every available surface within its range of activities[89].

During the second half of the Edo period new schools of painting came up -among which the famous Nanga school- that were heavily inspired by the paintings of the Chi-

12.36 Underglaze-blue decorated dish with grape and butterfly design. Japan, ca. 1650. Saga Prefectural Museum



12.37 Enamelled Imari wine gourd with a pattern of grapes. Japan, Kanbun period (1661-1672). Kurita Museum, Ashikaga

12.38 Large bowl decorated in underglaze-blue with grape and squirrel design. Kakiemon-style. Japan, ca. 1675. After Imaizumi 1974, plt. 32

12.39 Ko Kutani enamelled dish, decorated with grape and bird design. Japan, ca. 1730. After Nagai 1979, 78

nese Ming Dynasty. One of those Nanga painters was Tenryū Dōjin (1718-1810), also a priest and poet, who became famous as a specialist in paintings of grapes and grapevines[90] (**12.53**). A source of inspiration for these painters was the 'Mustard-seed Garden Manual of Painting', a late 17th century Chinese instruction album for painting. It was

12.40 Two-tiered octagonal lacquer food box and cover with squirrel and grapes. Japan, ca. 1615. NMT

12.41 Box in the form of the emblematic "cock on drum", decorated with vine scroll and grapes, executed in fine gold and coloured lacquer. Japan, 18th century. After Audsley 1913, serie IV, plt. 7

12.42 Iron helmet, decorated with grapes and squirrels in gold and silver overlays. Japan, ca. 1700 A.D. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

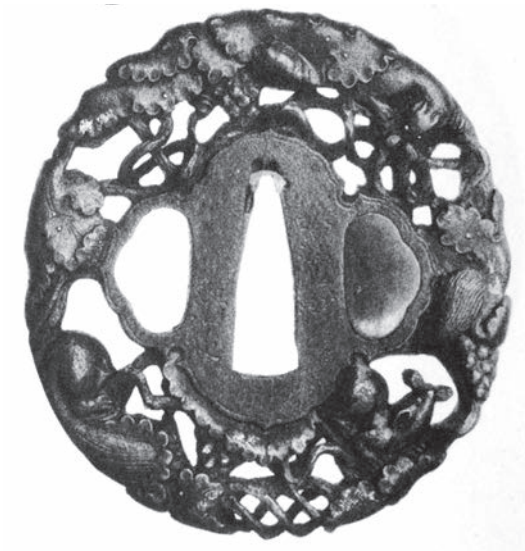
12.43 Iron *tsuba*, the shape decorated as a fruiting grapevine with a squirrel. Japan, ca. 1625. After Hartman 1976, no. 246

12.44 Iron *tsuba* decorated with fruiting grapevines in *shakudō* and gold *takazōgan*. Japan, 18th century. After Hartman 1976, no. 247

12.45 Copper *tsuba* with inlays of silver and *shakudō*, decorated with grapevine design. Japan, ca. 1600 A.D. After Watson 1981, 217, no. 262

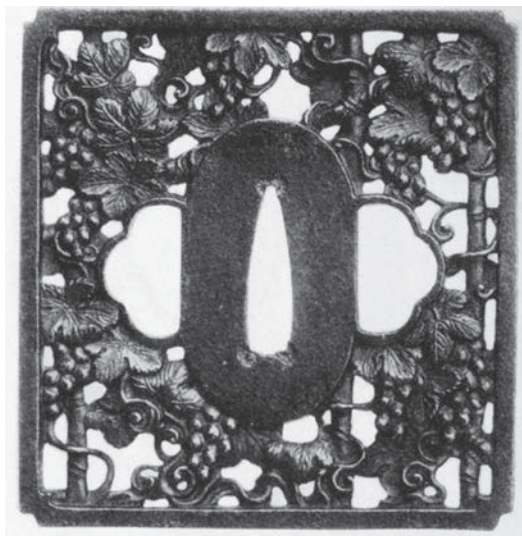
12.46 Brass *tsuba* chased in relief with squirrel and grapevine design, filled with *champlevé* enamel. Japan, ca. 1700 A.D. After Joly and Tomita 1976, plt. 156, no. 1160

12.47 Iron *tsuba* with design shaped as a fruiting grapevine. Japan, 18th century. After Hartman 1976, 98, no. 361

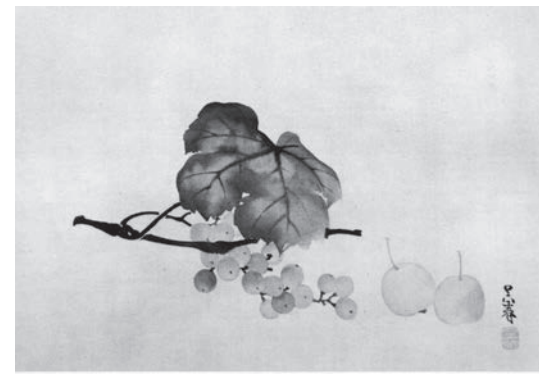


12.48 Iron *tsuba* with design shaped as squirrels in a vine covered with grapes. Japan, 18th century A.D. After Joly and Tomita 1976, plt. 138, no. 768

12.49 Iron *tsuba* with design of squirrel and grapes. Japan, dated by inscription 1813. After Joly and Tomita 1976, plt. 127, no. 506



12.50 Square shaped iron *tsuba* with a fruiting grapevine twisting around a bamboo trellis. Japan, 19th century. After Joly and Tomita 1976, plt. 128, no. 542



12.51 One of a pair of silk hanging scrolls, decorated in ink and colour with grapes and apples. Painted by Matsumura Goshun (1752-1811). Japan. Kurokawa Institute of Ancient Cultures. Kurakuen, Hyōgo Prefecture

12.52 Woodblock print by Shima Itchō (1652-1724) with squirrels and grapes. Japan. After Bing 1889, vol. 3, no. 17, plt. A8H

12.53 Hanging scroll, ink-decorated with fruiting grapevine. By Tenryū Dōjin (1718-1810). Japan. After Fahr-Becker 1998, vol. 2, 225

12.54 Design of squirrel and grapes from the Chinese "Mustard-seed Garden Manual of Painting". Republished in Japan in 1748. After Yonezawa and Yoshizawa 1974, 176 foldout, no. 12

12.55 Design of fruiting grapevine and squirrel, promoted by the *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha*. Japan, late 19th century. After Hida 1987, 62, no. 50

12.56 Design of casket with fruiting grapevine, promoted by the *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha*. Japan, late 19th century. After Hida 1987, 236, no. 347

12.57 Porcelain pitcher with ladies in a garden and fruiting grapevines. Japan, late Meiji period (1868-1912). After Stitt 1974, 139, fig. 165

re-published in Japan in 1748 and, as a guidebook of Nanga painting, it was widely disseminated and exerted a great influence on painting[91] (**12.54**).

During the Meiji period (1868-1912), Emperor Meiji launched an era of "Western Cultural Enlightenment". During that period Japan ended its isolation and embarked on absorbing the influences of the modern cultures of the western world. Although this involved enormous cultural, social, economical and political changes during the 19th and

12.58 A cup and a dish of Arita porcelain, probably Kakiemon kiln, decorated with grape designs. Japan, early 20th century. Musée des Arts d'Extrême-Orient, Geneva

12.59 Bronze vase, decorated with boy amidst fruiting grapevines. Japan, dated 1933. After Takamura 1980, 26, fig. 2

early 20th centuries, traditional design motifs were, generally speaking, kept alive.
The grapevine does not seem to have been a very favourite motif[92]. Yet the motif, although scarcely applied, can not have been totally neglected. The *Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha*, a company established during the International Exposition in Vienna in 1873, which fostered the promotion and export of Japanese traditional handicrafts in the field of cast metal, ceramics, lacquer ware, tortoise shell work, leatherwork, folding fans etc., used the motif (**12.55**) and (**12.56**).
Another example is a small porcelain pitcher, decorated in a way that we seem to be standing in a grape arbour and looking through the vines at a scene of Japanese ladies in the distance (**12.57**).
During the subsequent Taishō period (1912-1926) the grapevine is met regularly as a decorative motif on porcelain as in (**12.58**).
On a bronze flower vase we even meet an old friend in the boy amidst bunches of grapes (**12.59**).

12.2 The drinking panther

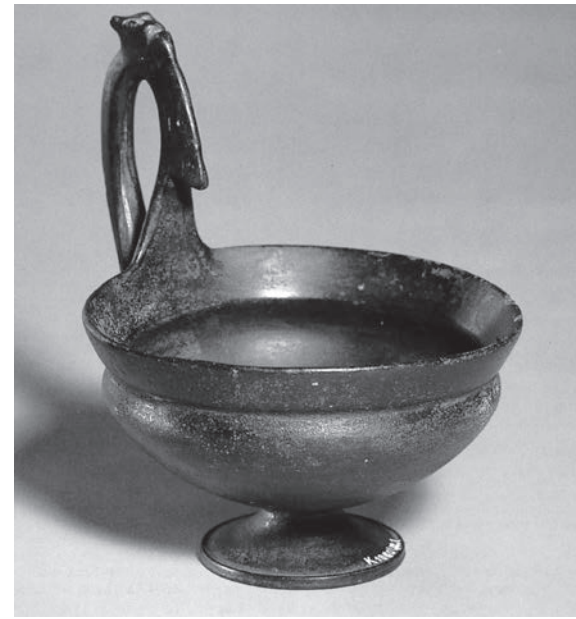
In the traditional Dionysos iconography two minor aspects occur, which later combined and developed into a curious decorative motif that travelled far to the East.
First, regularly, on coins, ceramic vases and elsewhere, Dionysos is depicted together with a panther. On an Attic red-figure stamnos of about 480 B.C. we see Dionysos, wearing a panther-skin and boots and holding a *kantharos* and ivy sprig in one hand, a spear in the other, fighting two giants with the assistance of a panther. (**12.60**). Another example is the mosaic from a house in Delos of ca. 100 B.C., where we see Dionysos riding a panther (**12.61**). Throughout the Roman period a combination of Dionysos together with a panther is found.
Second, Dionysos is often shown with a *kantharos* in his hand as in (**12.60**). One of the characteristics of the *kantharos* consists of two symmetrically applied high-loop-handles (**12.62**). This loop-handle is not exclusively applied to *kantharoi*, but is found on other vessels in classical antiquity too. An example of interest here is the loop-handle on the Etruscan *kyathos* of the 6th century B.C. shown in (**12.63**). Here we see a feline mask as part of the design of the loop-handle. The loop-handle of an *oinochoe* of the 1st century BC./A.D., ends in a fully sculptured horse (Pegasos?) *protome* as if the animal is apt to start drinking (**12.64**).
This is also the suggestion with a silver *kantharos* of the 5th century B.C., where a feline is at the rim of the vessel (**12.65**), and can even be alluded to with the feline head at the end of a ladle of the 1st century B.C., if the ladle is hanging on the rim of a large vessel (**12.66**).
The silver handle of a Roman vessel of the 1st-2nd century A.D. is shaped as a panther (or other feline), hanging over the rim as if eager to reach its liquid (**12.67**). The image of the panther drinking from a jar in Dionysian context was certainly fully alive in the Roman world around 200 A.D., as indicated by the mosaic from Sousse, Tunesia (**12.68**).

As already indicated in par. 12.1, the Parthians easily accepted western concepts connected with Dionysos, but it were the Sasanians who fully incorporated the motif of a panther drinking from a jar in their decorative schemes as Ettinghausen has demonstrated[93].
The image is seen as a motif on a Sasanian silver dish, probably from the 3rd century A.D. (**12.69**). On this dish with a scene derived from the triumph of Dionysos, the panther drinking from a large jar is seen in the lower register. In the Dionysiac context it is certain that the jar is supposed to contain wine, not water. On a silver bottle of the 4th century a Dionysos is seen with a panther (**12.70**). A 5th century Sasanian silver dish, again, shows the panther with jar in the lower register (**12.71**).
Continuing in Sasanian times, the arrangement became more stylized as seen on the silver jug from Syria, dating from ca. 500 A.D., now in the Staatlichen Museen Berlin (**12.72**) and on the late 6th century silver ewer from Constantinople (**12.73**). A modification of the arrangement is met on the Sasanian ewer of the 6th century (**12.74**), where the feline head has been preserved, but the loop-handle has been attached slightly below the rim of the mouth[94].
In Islamic art the panther continued to appear on vessels probably used as containers for

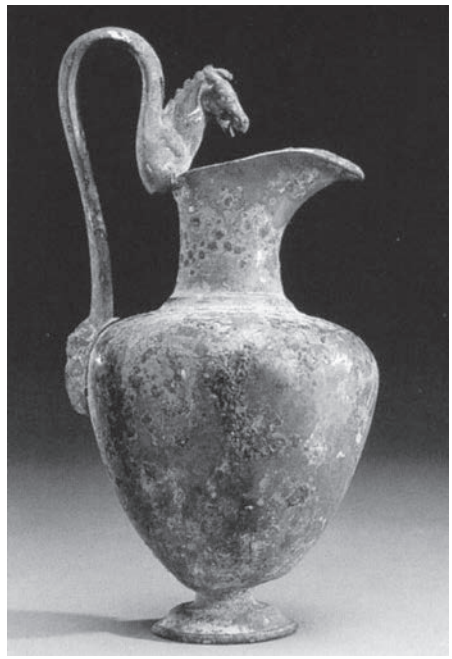
12.60 Attic red-figure *stamnos*. Dionysos wearing a panther skin and boots, holding a *kantharos* and ivy sprigs in one hand and a spear in the other, is aided by a panther in his fight against two giants. From Vulci, Italy. Ca. 480 B.C. BML

12.61 Mosaic of Dionysos riding a panther. From the House of Masks at Delos. Greece, ca. 100 B.C. After Havelock 1971, plt. 18

12.62 *Kantharos*. Probably from Boeotia. Greece, second half of 5th century B.C. After Catalogue Jean-David Cahn A.G., June 2000, fig. 55

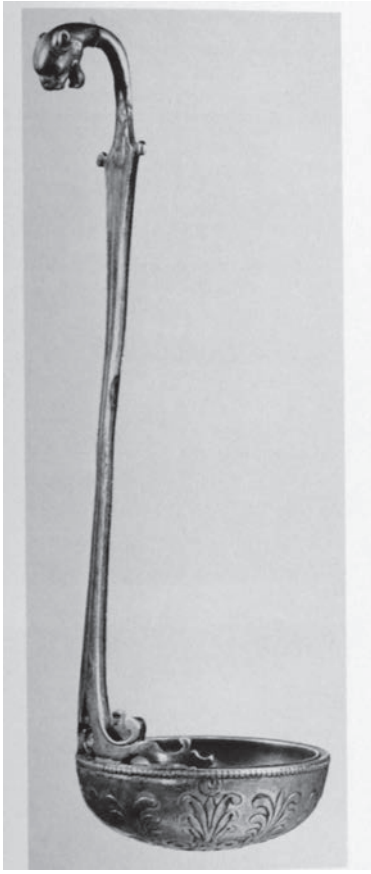


12.63 Earthenware *kyathos*. Feline head moulded on the loop-handle. Etruria, Italy. 6th century B.C. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, the Netherlands



12.64 Bronze *oinochoe* with sculptured horse *protome* at the upper end of the handle. Roman, 1st century B.C./A.D. After Art of the Ancient World: Royal-Athena Galleries, vol. 13, January 2002, no. 39

12.65 Silver *kantharos* with image of panther at the junction of loop-handle and rim. Reportedly from Greece. 5th century B.C. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore



12.66 Silver ladle with feline (panther) *protome* modelled in detail, even to the teeth. Reportedly from Asia Minor. Late 1st century B.C. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

12.67 Silver handle for a vessel in the shape of a panther. Roman, ca. 100 A.D. MMN

wine, but there are also metal or pottery jugs on which the felines were reduced to small figures on the tops of the handles as thumb rests (**12.75**) through (**12.79**).

So, after its original meaning had been long forgotten, the pose of the Dionysian feline drinking from a vessel continued to be part of the handles of vessels well into the late Sasanian period, although it might have been reduced to a thumbrest.

It is also important to note that, although the elaborate early Sasanian silverplates were undoubtedly made for the higher classes of society, the Islamic vessels of the 12th and 13th centuries with the motif of the panther at the wine-jar had a more middle-class function, without pretensions to a noble Sasanian pedigree.

Further it is noteworthy that the loop-handle and the feline head are interdependent: for the image of the feline drinking from the jar, the loop-shape of the handle was almost a pre-requisite. In other words, with the popularity of the classical motif in the Sasanian and Islamic world, the loop-handle was transmitted to the East too. And when the feline head slowly disappeared, it were the loop-handles -especially those touching the vase at the rim of the mouth- that survived. This is not to say that e.g. in the Islamic world the

12.68 Mosaic with the Triumph of Dionysos, with a panther drinking from a large bowl. From Sousse, Tunesia. Ca. 200 A.D. Sousse Museum, Sousse, Tunesia

12.69 Sasanian partially gilded silver dish with a scene derived from the Triumph of Dionysos. In the exergue a panther drinks form a vase. Iran, 3rd century A.D. BML

12.70 Partially gilded Sasanian silver bottle. Dionysos with *thyrsos* and panther. Iran, 4th century A.D. FGW

12.71 Sasanian silver dish with decoration inspired by the Triumph of Dionysos, but with much adapted scenery. Iran, 5th century A.D. FGW

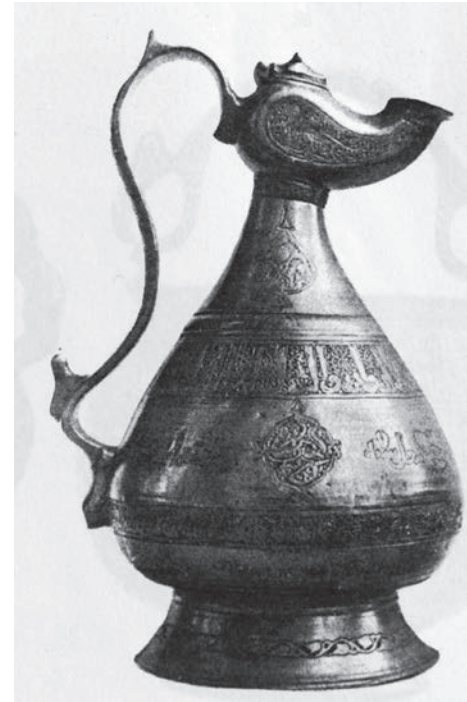
12.72 Silver jug with small feline head at the upper end of the loop handle. Syria, 5th century A.D. SMB

12.73 Silver ewer, the end of the loop handle decorated with stylized image of the panther's head. Constantinople. From the Ukraine, 582-602 A.D. HMP

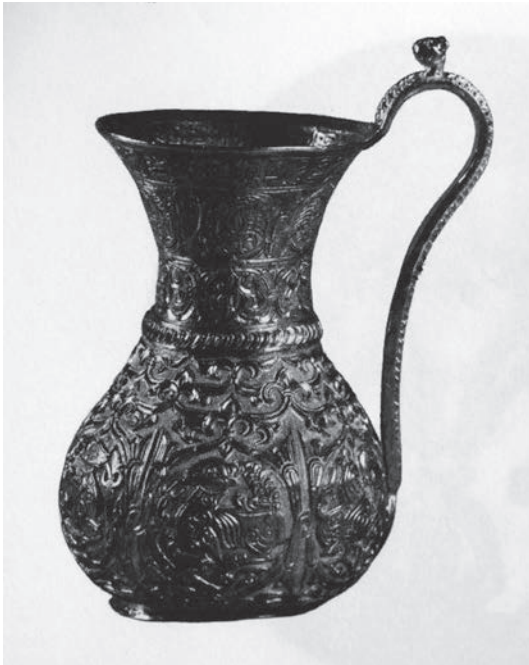
12.74 Sasanian gilded silver ewer with loop handle and panther head. 6th century A.D. Shōsōin, Nara

12.75 Bronze ewer with feline handle. Iran, 8th century A.D. MMN

12.76 Silver jug, partially gilded with niello inlay. Panther on top of the handle. Iran, late 12th century A.D. MMN



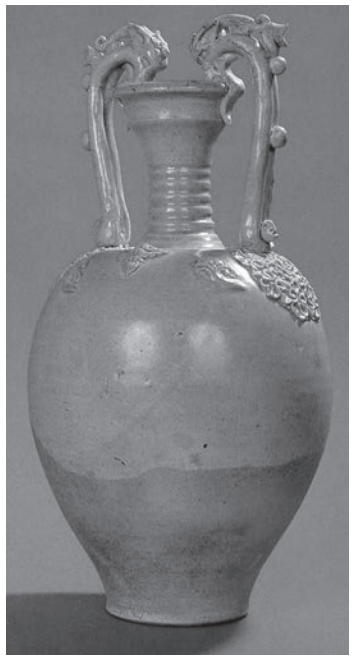
12.77 Bronze jug with feline head reduced to thumb rest. Iran, late 12th century A.D. MLP



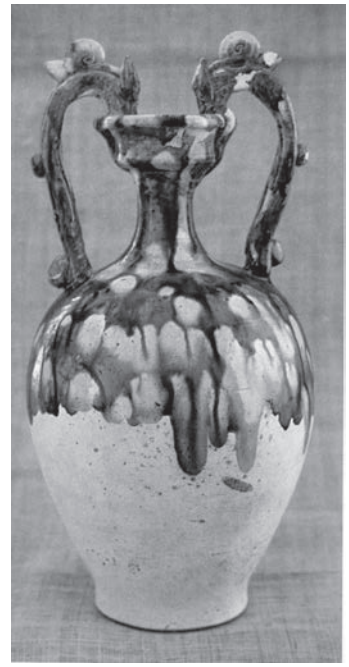
12.78 Gold jug with stylized feline head as thumb rest. Iran, second half of 10th century A.D. FGW

12.79 Bronze ewer inlaid with silver and gold, with feline head reduced to small globular thumb rest. Iran, ca. 1200 A.D. MMN

12.80 Cup-shaped basin with dragon handles. China. Middle Zhou period (1100-256 B.C.). MGP

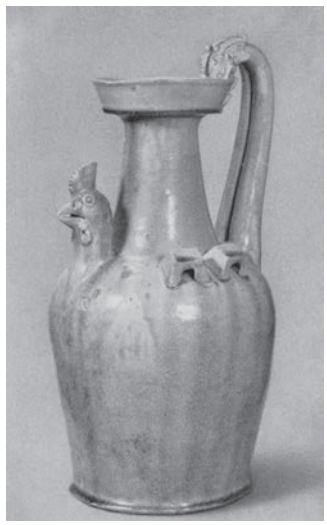


12.81 Pottery *amphora* with two feline heads at the rim. China. Sui period (581-618 A.D.). After TEFAF 1994, 261

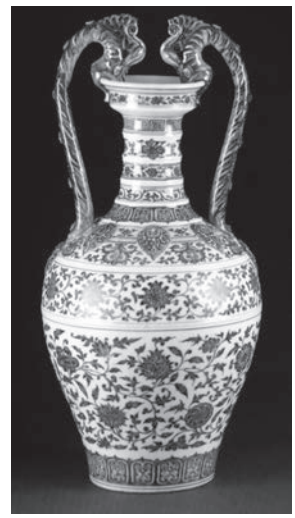


12.82 Earthenware *amphora* with two feline handles. China, Tang dynasty. Art Museum, University of Singapore

12.83 Earthenware ewer with one feline handle. China, Tang dynasty. Tenri Museum, Nara

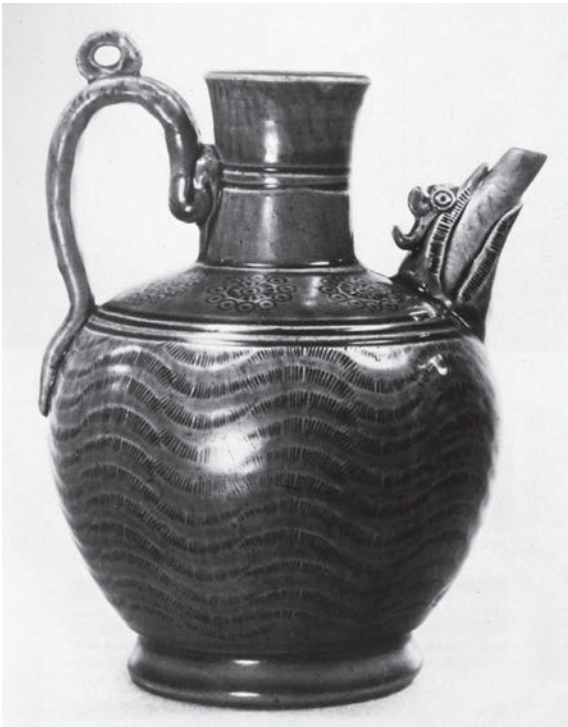


12.84 Pottery ewer with one feline handle. Sui period, ca. 600 A.D. Hakone Art Museum, Gora, Kanagawa Prefecture



12.85 Porcelain *amphora* with two feline handles decorated in under-glaze blue. China, Qing dynasty, Yongzheng reign period mark (1723-1735). Victoria and Albert Museum, London

12.86 Small globular pottery ewer with one feline handle. China, Tang dynasty. After Mayer Collection 1974, 47, no. 23

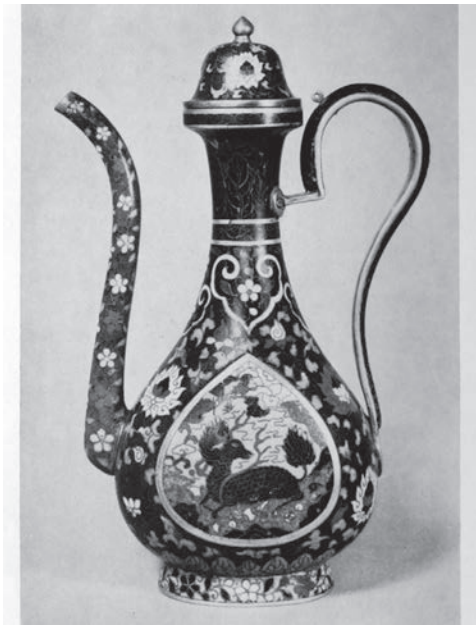


12.87 Amber glazed pottery globular ewer with feline handle with thumb rest. China, Tang period. After Mayer Collection 1974, 51, no. 25

12.88 Porcelain jug with loop handle. China, Chongzhen period mark (1635-1644). After Transitional Wares 1981, 103, no. 47

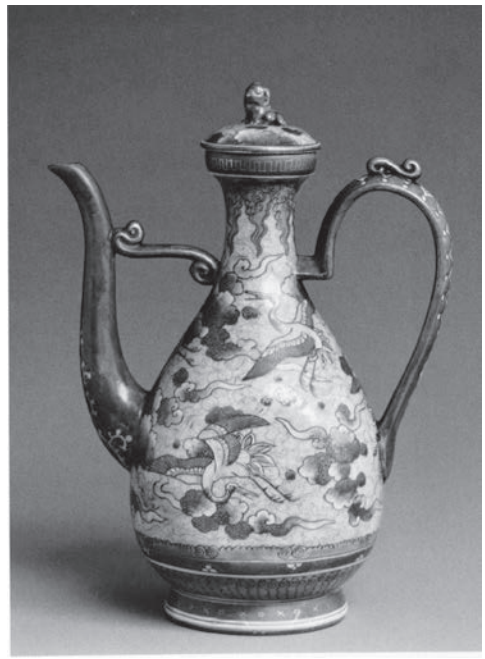
12.89 Porcelain ewer with over-glaze enamels and loop handle with thumbrest. China, Jindezhen kilns, 1522-1566. Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tōkyō

12.90 Silver ewer with loop handle. China, ca. 1300 A.D. After Watson 1974, fig. 117

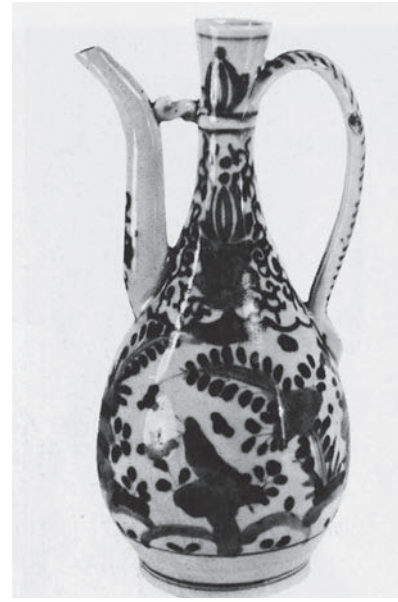


12.91 Cloisonné ewer with loop handle. China, ca. 1550 A.D. After Garner 1962, no. 42

12.92 Under-glaze blue porcelain ewer decorated with playing children. Loop handle. China, Ming dynasty, Jiajing period mark (1522-1566). Percival-David Foundation, London



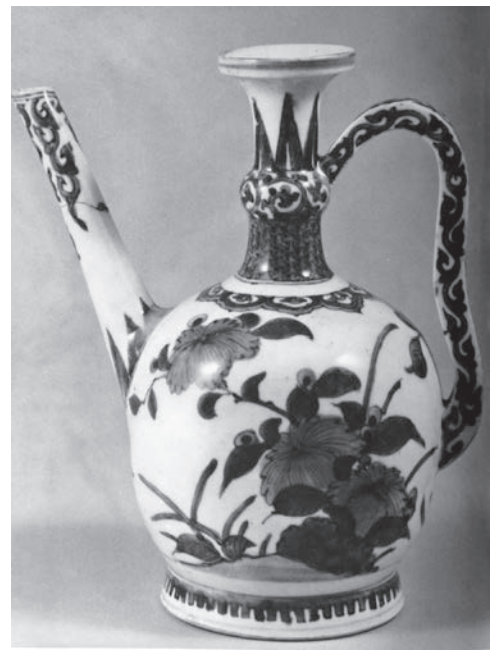
12.93 Kutani porcelain ewer with loop handle. Japan, ca. 1870. Musée des Arts d'Extrême-Orient, Geneva



12.94 Under-glaze blue decorated ewer with loop handle. Japan, last quarter of 17th century. Bredius Museum, The Hague

12.95 Spouted ewer, decorated with over-glaze enamels, with loop handle. Japan, ca. 1800 A.D. After Nagai 1979, 110

12.96 Four-sided ewer, ko Imari style with loop handle. Japan, ca. 1700. Dresden Museum, Germany



12.97 Spouted Imari ewer, with loop handle. Japan, ca. 1700 A.D. Saga Prefectural Museum, Japan

feline-motif was applied exclusively in combination with the loop-handle. The feline, with the head touching the rim was also used as a handle, for example for cups[95]. But here we have to be careful, because, much earlier, during the Zhou period (1100-256 B.C.), bronze vessels were made with so-called dragon-handles (**12.80**). These, however, have nothing to do with the subject of feline handles in this paragraph: the diffusion of a purely Dionysian motif from Greece, via Byzantium, into Sasanian and Chinese art.

Apparently the feline handle was transmitted to China. Many examples are available from the Sui/Tang periods, often on *amphora*-types of jars, with the typical iconography of the feline combined with the loop-handle. Illustrative are a pottery vessel, presumably from the Sui period (581-618 A.D.) (**12.81**) and a similar type from the Tang period (**12.82**). Of the same periods, (**12.83**) and (**12.84**) show an *oinochoe*-type ewer with the feline and loop-handle. These may represent the oldest examples of the feline loop-handle in China as they seem to be non-existent before the Sui period. However, the shape was preserved long afterwards, almost unchanged, as shown on a porcelain jar from the Qing period (1644-1912), with the Yongzheng mark (1723-1735) (**12.85**).
(**12.86**) points to the development in the Tang period of the loop-handle becoming lower, but in the upper attachment still touching the rim of the mouth, while (**12.87**) shows the loop-handle attached slightly beneath the rim. Whether the small perforated circular thumb rest on top of the handle of this ewer, apart from being designed for a string to connect the lid, is reminiscent of the feline head, as Ettinghausen has suggested for almost contemporary ewers of the Islamic period of e.g. (**12.78**), is hard to say.
The same holds for the small protuberance on the lower part of the loop-handle of (**12.88**). Interesting in this respect is the ewer of the Ming period of (**12.89**), which has a thumb rest with feline traits on the top of the loop-handle. The typical shape of the loop-handle of these ewers is prefigured by the Sasanian silver ewer of (**12.74**) and is found already on the Chinese silver ewer of the 13th century shown in (**12.90**).
This typical shape is found on cloisonné pieces too, e.g. of (**12.91**), but became very popular on porcelains in the middle of the Zhengde period (1505-1521 A.D.), to be followed by many examples in the Jiajing period (1522-1566)[96]. However, it is clear that the ewer of (**12.92**), which is also from the Jiajing period, may be considered to belong to the same category.

The Japanese copied the models of the Chinese porcelain industry[97], but the feline head/loop-handle combination is not, as far as known to the present author, found on Japanese ceramics. However, the loop-handle itself, as a residue of the original design, was applied to a large extent. We limit ourselves here to the ewer with the shape of the Chinese silver one of (**12.90**) as discussed already.
Japanese examples are shown in (**12.93**) through (**12.96**) but also on (**12.97**).
In fact, the loop-handles of these ewers ultimately derive from the long forgotten classical motif of the panther drinking from a jar.

13 FOLIAGE AND FLORAL MOTIFS

Important advances have been made in understanding the origins of flower designs, as they appear in Chinese art, by the work of Rawson during the eighties of the last century[1]. It was shown that the source of Chinese flower patterns lies in the Mediterranean world, more particularly in the Greek acanthus, which was further developed by Hellenistic architects to decorate buildings in the Near East. The acanthus was then reinterpreted in Buddhist temples of Central Asia and taken to China with the spread of Buddhism. In Chinese art leaf scrolls were elaborated with lotus and peony heads to build more complicated designs.

In this Chapter, prior to discussing the flower designs in Japanese art, the results of the research of Rawson will be used and summarized in two ways. First the development of Chinese foliage from the western acanthus will be illustrated. Second, the further composition of more complicated lotus and peony borders in China from that basis will be shown.

The details of the history of decorating Hellenistic buildings with the original western floral designs and their spread via the Near East and Central Asia towards China are left to the reader to be verified in Rawson's work.

From the situation in China then, as a basis, the application of floral designs in Japan will be taken up in this Chapter.

The basic sequence from the very beginning is:

(1) The development of the earliest flower ornaments around the Mediterranean,

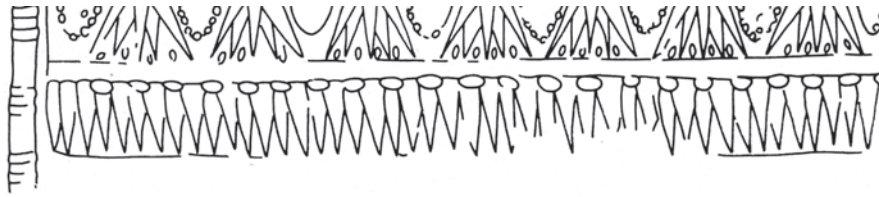
(2) The invention of acanthus patterns,

(3) Chinese flower designs.

In the countries around the Mediterranean three motifs provided the source of the earliest flower ornaments: the lotus flower, the pseudo flower called palmette, and stems in the shape of spirals.

The lotus as ornament is based in Egypt, where it was considered the symbol of the sun and the resurgence of life, because the petals closed at night and reopened in the morning. It was represented in Egyptian art from the 3rd millennium B.C. on. The example (**13.1**) from an Egyptian tomb around 1400 B.C. shows a row of lotus heads and buds hanging down on short linked stalks.

In this pattern, lotus buds became to be replaced by stylized flowers: palmettes. These were supported on long spiralling stems (**13.2**). Spirals were already part of Egyptian decorations around 2100 B.C., and were imitated in Cretan palaces of around 1500 B.C. Mesopotamian kingdoms adopted the palmette-design from Egypt, and these Mesopotamian patterns were taken over on the Aegean Islands and on the mainland of Greece. This process was favoured by intensive trade and exchange between Egypt and the Near East in those days. Such an interchange between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean took also place from the middle of the 8th century B.C. on, during the Orientalizing Period[2].



13.1 From a Theban tomb. Ornament of lotus flowers and buds. Egypt, ca. 1400 B.C. After Rawson 1984, fig. 179b

13.2 From a Theban tomb. Ornament of spirals and palmettes. Egypt, New Kingdom period, ca. 1567-1320 B.C. After Rawson 1984, fig. 180

13.3 Lotus and palmette border on spiral stem. Etruria, 6th century B.C. BML

13.4 Palmettes contained in looped stems on the border of a red figure *hydria*. Athens, ca. 475 B.C. After Rawson 1984, fig. 192g

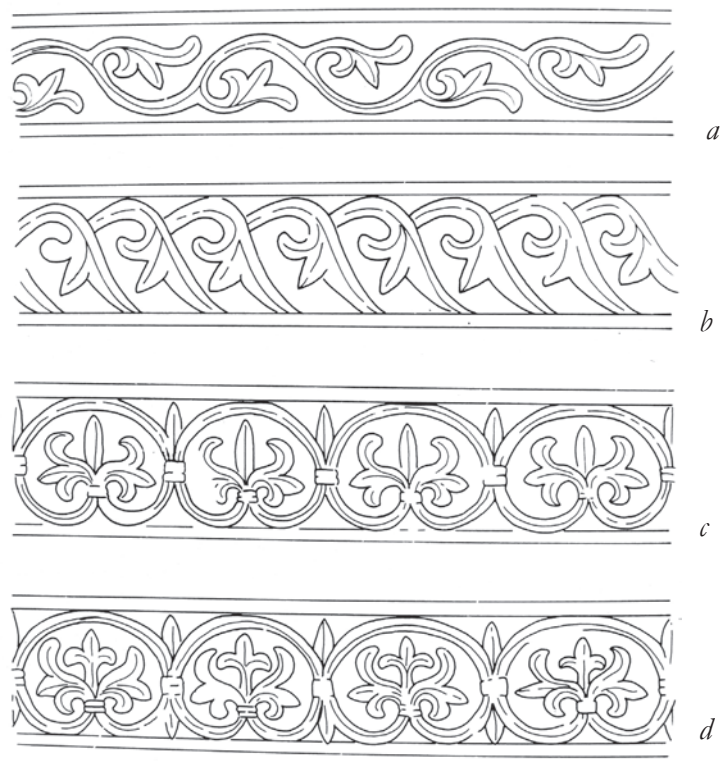
13.5 From the Erechtheion. Palmettes and lotuses supported by spirals. Acanthus leaves added to the base of the lotuses. Athens, 5th century B.C. After Rawson 1984, fig. 197b

13.6 Acanthus scrolls on a capital from the Temple of Apollo, Didyma, Turkey. Ca. 200 B.C. After Rawson 1984, fig. 12

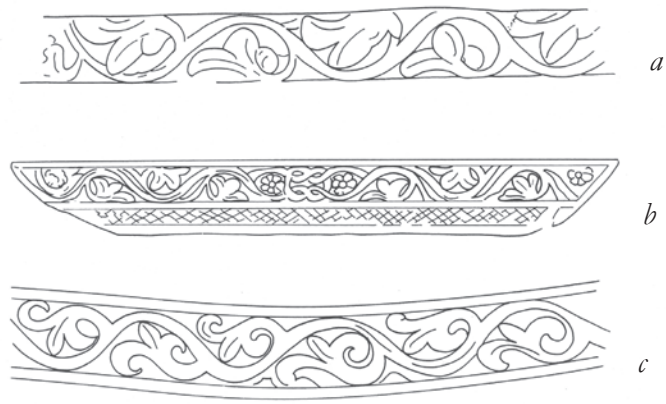
13.7 Undulating stem from which acanthus leaves branche off. From the Temple of Bel, Palmyra, Syria. 1st century A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 13a

13.8 Acanthus scrolls on a frieze from Aphrodisias, Turkey. Ca. 200 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 13b

13.9 Simplified acanthus scroll on a frieze from Kanawat, Syria. 2nd century A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 13c



13.10 Simplified palmette scrolls from cave 9 at Yungang, Datong, China. Ca. 500 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 11



13.11 A sequence that establishes a Gandhāran or Central Asian source for the half-palmette scrolls in China.

a from a Buddhist stūpa or monastery in Gandhāra. ca. 200 A.D.

b from a wooden fragment found at Loulan, Tarim Basin. ca. 400 A.D.

c from cave 8 at Yungang, Datong, China. ca. 500 A.D.

After Rawson 1984, fig. 41 a, b and c

So, the combination of lotus and palmette, supported by a spiral, became popular in Greece (**13.3**) as well as e.g. designs where palmettes were contained in stems in the shape of oval enclosures while the lotus could be reduced to a dash (**13.4**).

The next step was the addition of acanthus leaves, in order to contribute to the illusion of a real plant. (**13.5**) shows a design on the Erechtheion, a temple constructed on the Athenian Acropolis around 400 B.C., where the palmettes are supported by spirals, and alternate with lotuses to which on the base acanthus leaves are added. This design is sometimes erroneously called a honeysuckle, and we will return to this later in this Chapter. The border of alternating lotuses and palmettes is also frequently called *anthemion*.

The next phase in the development can be observed in (**13.6**), an acanthus design on the temple of Apollo in Didyma, Turkey, dating from ca. 200 B.C. A palmette rises up in the centre from a calyx of acanthus leaves from which also, symmetrically, two S-shaped stems emerge to either side. Further stems branch off the main stems and in these positions small acanthus leaves are added.

From this model evolved the patterns of (**13.7**), (**13.8**) and (**13.9**), which are characterized by undulating stems, from which branch off rounded acanthus leaves with one flat edge and one spiky outline. This pattern which is called the half-palmette -although it derives from acanthus leaves- was introduced to China in the 5th century A.D. as part of the decoration of Buddhist architecture (**13.10**). It travelled all the way to China via Gandhāra and the Tarim Basin (**13.11**)[3]. These early simple lobed leaf foliage scrolls, therefore, descended from classical acanthus and palmette ornament.

The appearance of these elementary undulating scrolls as decorative motif was rather new in China, because before the Han period (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) almost no plant ornaments were used. Now suddenly, with the advance of Buddhism and the construction of a considerable number of Buddhist cave-temples, where the elementary flower decorations were used, they became very visible.

This process continued and intensified during the Sui (581-618) and the Tang (618-906) periods, when floral designs were a consistent and rather dominant part of the decor in the Buddhist temples, but not yet generally employed on secular utensils. But during the Tang period simple foliate scrolls appeared on silverware and from the subsequent Song Dynasty (960-1279) on, flower designs were gradually exploited on porcelains.

Returning to the elementary undulating scrolls as introduced in China by the 5th century, they soon found a wider application in the Buddhist context than to decorate caves only. They were used to enliven the haloes of Buddhist deities. The halo from a *bodhisattva* in a cave in Yungang (s.v.) is a straightforward example (**13.12**). The aureole (the combined head halo and body nimbus) of the 6th century gilt-bronze figure is more complicated because the half-palmette outlines of the leaves provide the boundary for flames (**13.13**).

The half-palmette design was also used on funerary architecture, as on the tomb from Datong, Shanxi Province, dating from the Northern Wei dynasty (**13.14**). Here, at the centre of each pair of leaves, either a small figure or a symmetrical lobed head has been placed. This structure, a pair of leaves arranged around a central spine, became the basis for other floral decorations as shown in (**13.15**). Again, the pattern of (**13.15d**) is sometimes designated as a honeysuckle, although it no more resembles a honeysuckle than the border of lotus and palmettes of the 5th century B.C. Erechtheion already mentioned. Later, by around 700 A.D., the patterns of invented flowers shown in (**13.16**) were based on the same model, essentially consisting of a lobed head on two commas.

Then, during the first half of the 8th century, these basic outlines were improved to convey more accurately the sense of real flowers, as shown in (**13.17**), where the peony has been employed to such an end. The sudden popularity of the peony is said to have been triggered by the enthusiasm for the plant of the consort of the Emperor Gaozong (650-684) and the subsequent craze for cultivating peonies among the various ranks of officials. It therefore became to symbolize wealth.

By ca. 700 the Tang government fostered the import of western luxuries and the adoption of western fashions. Silver utensils, which had always been highly regarded in the Mediterranean area, were imported into China and were highly in demand. This imported silver does not seem to have satisfied the demand and the Chinese started to make silver cups, bowls and platters themselves. For decoration the lobed heads, as discussed above, were borrowed from designs carved in stone. Thus the link between ornament of buildings and of the decorative arts is provided by silver.

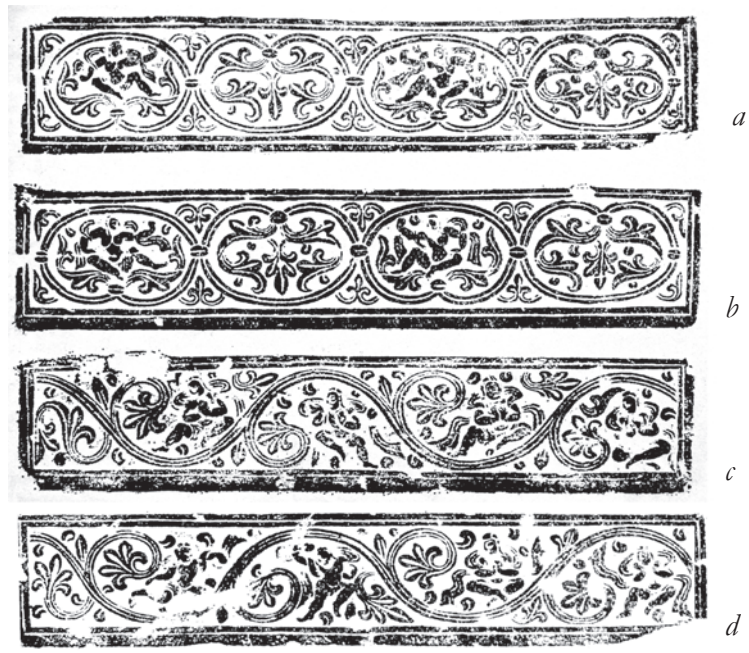
This development is more a matter of course than as it looks at first sight, because metalworkers were already using the flower scrolls carved in stone. Precious Buddhist relics were frequently contained in glass bottles held within metal boxes, which were often preserved in stone caskets. In this way ornament of stonework was transferred to metal and gradually from metal to the less expensive materials like ceramics.

An example of this process is provided by the ceramic pillow, datable to ca. 800, decorated with the well-known half-palmette scroll (**13.18**). The fine dotting in between the floral ornament is a translation of ring-punching, used on silver pieces to distinguish the flower scrolls from their backgrounds.

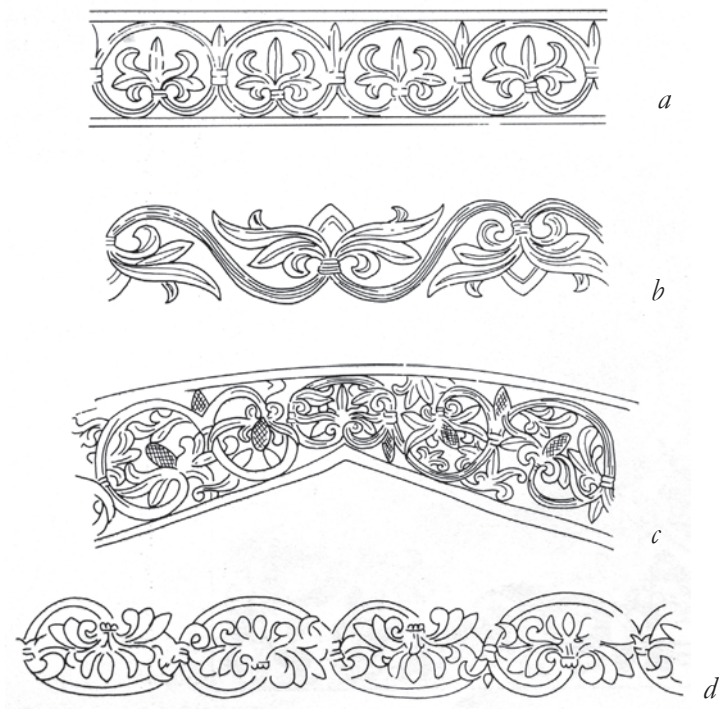
Important too is the flower scroll on a stoneware vase of the Northern Song period

13.12 Half-palmette ornament on halo in cave 5 at Yungang, Datong, China. 5th century A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 43a

13.13 Halo with ornament of half-palmette and flames. China, 6th century A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 43b



13.14 Half-palmette design on funerary tomb near Datong, China. Ca. 500 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 42



13.15 Borders of pairs of half-palmette leaves enclosed within stems.

a. from cave 9 at Yungang. ca. 500 A.D.

b. from a gilt-bronze figure. China, ca. 500 A.D.

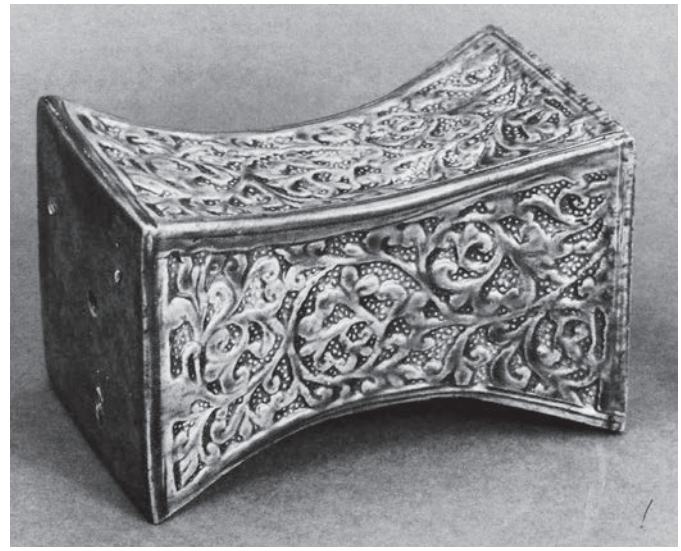
c. from cave 13 at Yungang. ca. 500 A.D.

d. from the cover of an epitaph tablet, Hou Gang, China. 526 A.D.

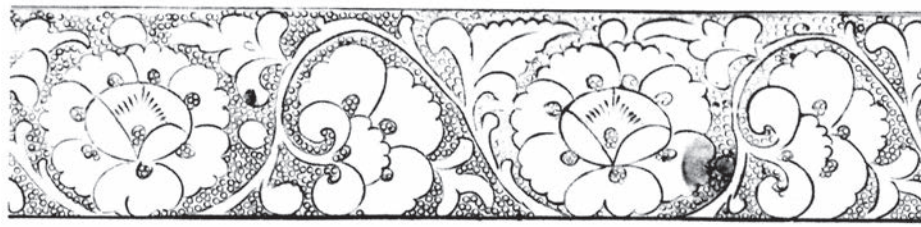
After Rawson 1984, fig. 47

13.16 Invented flowers based on sections of half-palmettes and palmettes. After Rawson 1984, fig. 50

13.17 Peony flowers from a tomb. China, Tang Dynasty. 736 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 52b

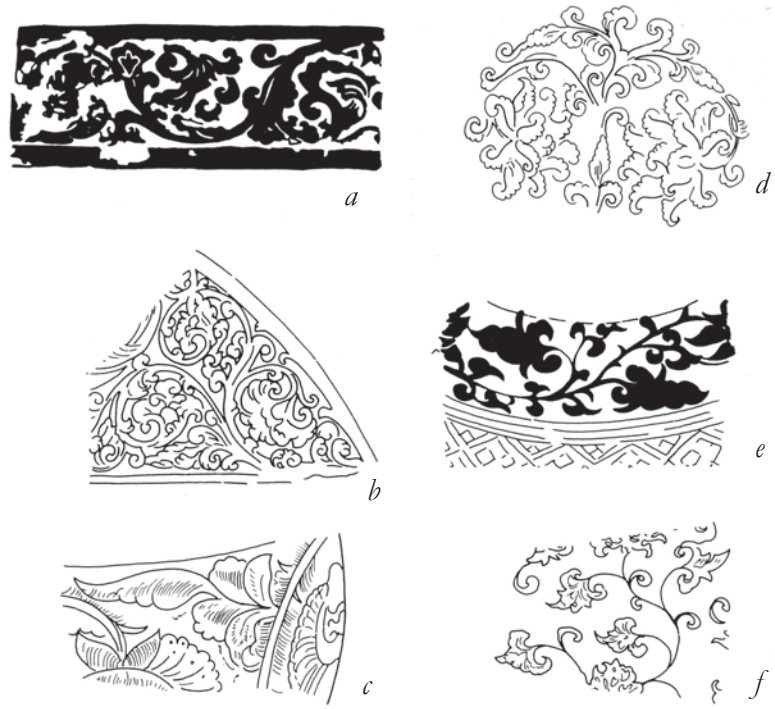


13.18 Ceramic pillow decorated with a half-palmette scroll against a stippled ground imitating silver. China, Tang Dynasty. Ca. 800 A.D. BML



13.19 Flower scroll on stone-ware vase, with lobed flower heads against a stippled ground imitating silver. China. Ca. 1100 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 61

13.20 Scroll with invented flower on a stone-ware vase. China. Ca. 1100 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 62a



13.21 Drawings illustrating the development of pointed leaves on flower scrolls. From ca. 700 to ca. 1400 A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 65 b through g

a. on a reliquary from Jinchuan. Tang dynastie, 7th-8th centuries

b. on a lunette from a tomb, Tang dynastie

c. on an ewer from south China, Song dynastie, 11th-12th centuries

d. on a Ting ware dish, 12th century

e. on a porcelain dish, Yuan dynastie, 14th century

f. on a porcelain flask, Ming dynastie, early 15th century

(960-1127), showing lobed flower heads against a ring-punched ground (**13.19**). Foliage-patterns, typically of the form of the two commas supporting a central lobed head are branching off the scroll at various places. This is especially the case with the large flowers in side-view, where the commas not only support a lobed head but three large petals, similar to the central lobed head, have been super-imposed on this foundation. The other flowers in the scheme are seen from the front and are freely positioned within the scroll. They have peony-like associations. Another example of this stoneware (**13.20**) is decorated with the same sort of flower, while the long tendrils branch off leaf patterns constructed from double commas supporting a central pointed leaf. The development from the leaf pattern attached to the scrolls, where the double-comma basis supports a central head or leaf, toward the pointed leaves on 14th and 15th century porcelains is shown in (**13.21**). (**13.21a**) shows the leaves rising out of a pair of commas and either form a lobed head or are bent backward on themselves. The design is mingled with a peony flower in (**13.21b**), but the double-comma emitting the central leaf is visible along the bottom.
(**13.21c**) and (**13.21d**) illustrate the persistence of the principle during the 11th and 12th

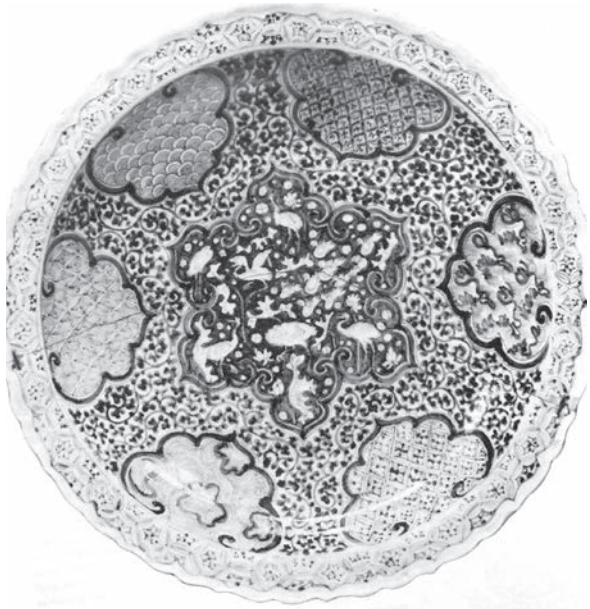
13.22 Lotus scrolls on the inside of a large bowl. China. Ca. 1400 A.D. BML

13.23 Porcelain jar with classical scroll as background decoration. China. Yuan Dynasty. 14th century A.D. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England

centuries, and applied to peonies. Thereafter, the pointed leaf, sprouting from two commas, continued to be employed in lotus scrolls but no longer for peonies (**13.21e**) and (**13.21f**) and (**13.22**).

A frequently used variant of the simple half-palmette scroll is the so-called "classical scroll". Instead of leaves contained within the half-palmette scroll, the undulating wave of the scroll is filled with tendrils, providing an even more abstracted version. This "classical scroll" was often used as background decorum on porcelains of the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), as on the vase of (**13.23**) and the dish of (**13.24**), or as a border design, e.g. on the rim of the porcelain dish of the same period in (**13.25**). The simplification process can be easily followed by comparing the border of this dish with the border of (**13.26**) and of (**13.11c**).

The above summary of the work of Rawson[4] demonstrates the development of the earliest flower ornaments in the Mediterranean world, composed of the lotus, the imaginary palmette and the stems in the shape of spirals. To this model the Greek added the acanthus leaves. The design was borrowed and adapted by the Hellenistic architects to decorate buildings in the Near East and carried to Central Asia and China with the spread of Buddhism. The early undulating foliage-scrolls, introduced into China by the 5th century to decorate Buddhist architecture, descended, therefore, from the classical acanthus and palmette ornament. By ca. 700 A.D. a specific pattern emerged from this model, consisting of two commas supporting a central head which was elaborated with peony and lotus designs. The Tang period witnessed the transfer of these patterns from buildings to



13.24 Porcelain dish with classical scroll as background decoration. China, Yuan Dynasty. 14th century A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 123

13.25 Porcelain dish with classical scroll as border decoration along the rim. China, Yuan Dynasty. 14th century A.D. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

13.26 Half-palmette scroll along the rim of an earthenware dish. China, Song or Jin Dynasties. 12th century A.D. After Rawson 1984, fig. 64a

silverwork and, gradually, later to stoneware and porcelains, where they persisted in the famous Jingdezhen porcelains of the Ming period.

The appearance of decorative foliage and floral motifs in Japan, as they have been borrowed from China, can be observed, broadly speaking, mainly in two areas: the Buddhist environment and the ceramic art.

That the Buddhist iconography was copied in Japan from the 7th century on, when it

was introduced from China, is not surprising and does not ask for further comment here. However, the fact that Japanese ceramic art felt a strong influence from China is a different matter, which needs a brief explanation.
Three great waves of foreign influence can be discriminated.
First, from Korea in the 16th century came a crude form of porcelain, white wares and under-glaze blue wares. Koreans, who had learnt the technique of porcelain making from the Chinese, built kilns in northern Kyūshū at Karatsu and in southern Kyūshū at Satsuma and elsewhere.
Second, about the middle of the 17th century, the Chinese art of over-glaze decoration came to Japan and, on the foundation laid by the Korean and Japanese potters, that art was developed in Japan. This was the art of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643) and the early part of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), which from small beginnings on the island of Kyūshū spread all over Japan by the 18th century.
Third, when the Chinese porcelain industry at Jingdezhen was destroyed during the civil wars which led to the overthrow of the Ming Dynasty by the Qing, the Dutch V.O.C. was forced to find other sources of supply for her European market. The V.O.C. turned to the Japanese as a substitute and fostered the Japanese to copy the models of the Chinese porcelain industry.

So, both Buddhist and ceramic arts in Japan strongly bespeak Chinese influence, and this could have been the guiding principle in this Chapter for surveying the appearance of foliage and floral motifs in Japan. However, here it is preferred not to discuss the motifs consecutively as they appear in these two areas, but rather to focus on the motifs themselves, wherever they appear in Japan, and to group them into a number of main iconographical patterns. This also in order to keep focus on the fact that all these motifs have ultimately been inherited from the classical world.
Thus, for ease of recognition in Japanese art, the following six main iconographical patterns have been defined, derived from the Chinese (and Korean) examples as discussed in this Chapter so far:

A. Closed-loop scrolls (**13.27**) (Group A).

Patterns derived from closed loops containing palmette-designs such as in (**13.10c**) and (**13.10d**) and (**13.14a**) and (**13.14b**).

B. Contra-turning scrolls (**13.28**) (Group B).

Patterns consisting of a main undulating scroll from which secondary scrolls branch off that turn back from the direction of the main scroll (that direction being measured from left to right), such as in (**13.11**), (**13.14c**) and (**13.14d**) and (**13.15c**) and (**13.15d**); but also as in (**13.22**).

C. Classical scroll (**13.29**) (Group C).

Pattern of small scrolls, in principle turning back from the main stem as in Group B, but of constant thickness, such as in (**13.23**), (**13.25**).

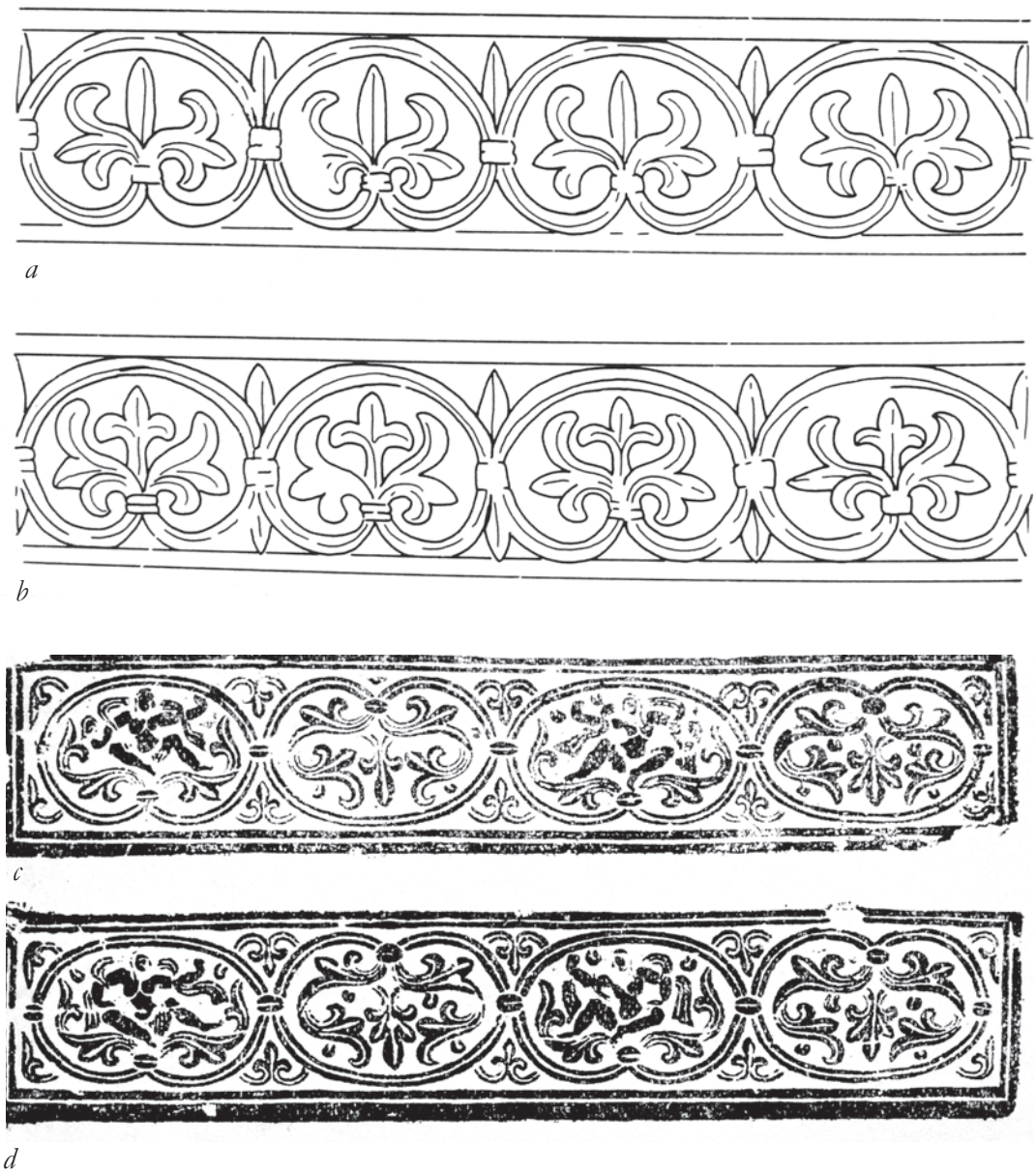
D. Flower-head pattern (**13.30**) (Group D).

Flower-heads supported by two commas as in (**13.16d**), (**13.17** left and right) and (**13.19**).

E. Supported flower-heads (**13.31**) (Group E).

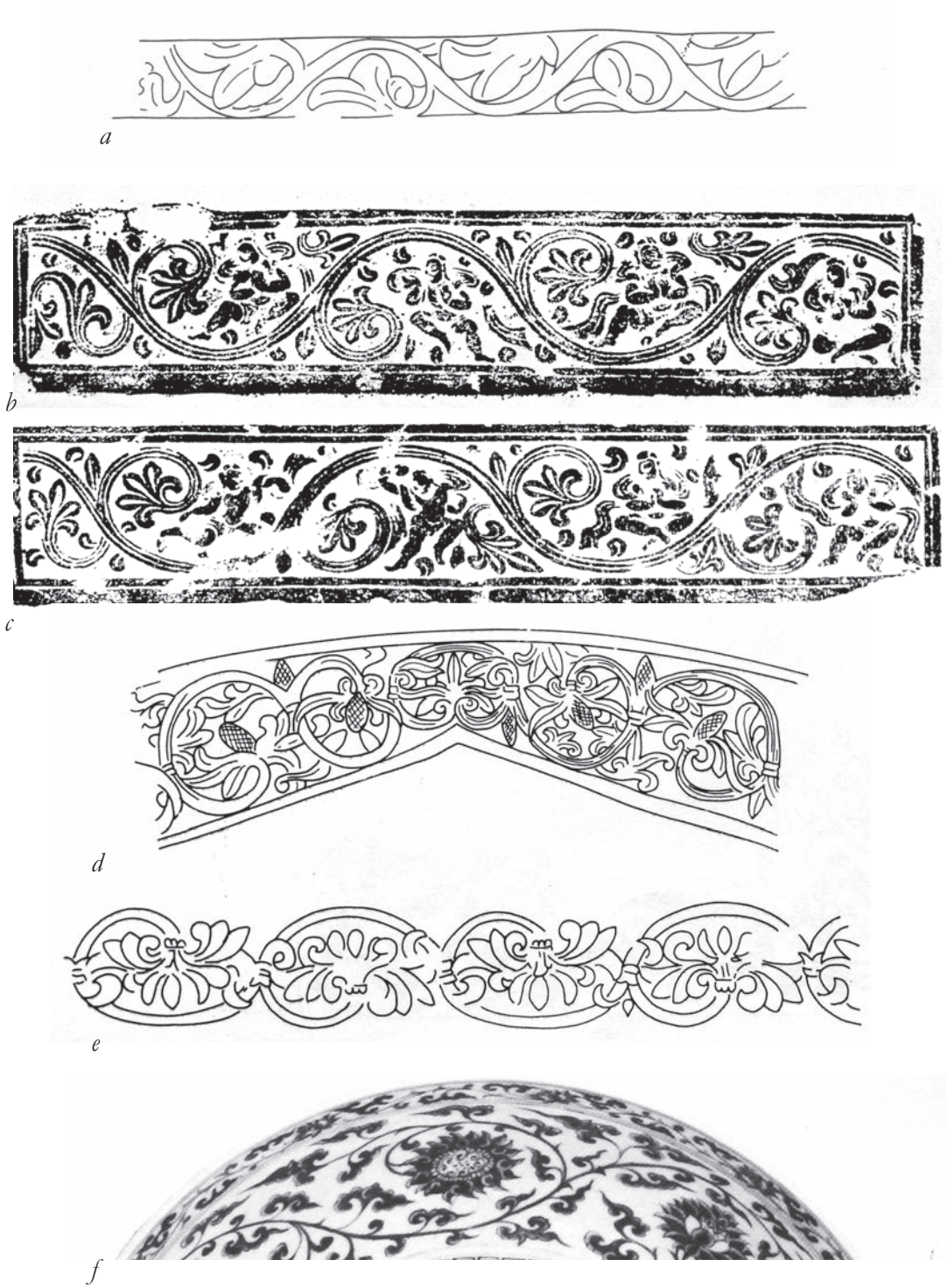
Patterns as sub D, but as a whole supported by two inverted commas as in (**13.16c**) and

Group A: Closed-loop scroll



13.27 Rearrangement of some preceding figures to group A.

Group B: Contra-turning scroll



13.28 Rearrangement of some preceding figures to group B.

Group C: Classical scrol

a

b

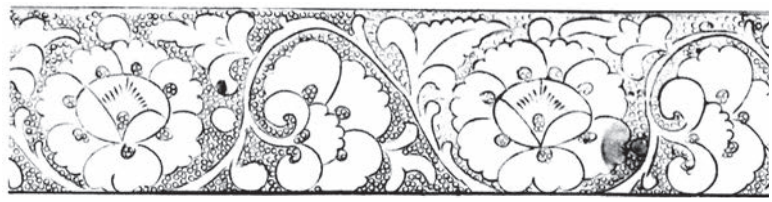
13.29 Rearrangement of some preceding figures to group C.

Group D: Flower-head patterns

a

b

c



13.30 Rearrangement of some preceding figures to group D.

Group E: Supported flower-head patterns

a

b

13.31 Rearrangement of some preceding figures to group E.

Group F: Pointed-leaf patterns

a

c

b

d

13.32 Rearrangement of some preceding figures to group F.

(**13.17** middle one).

F. Pointed-leaf pattern (**13.32**) (Group F).

Pattern derived from E, consisting of scrolls ending in leaves, shaped as sub E, such as (**13.21c, d, f** and **g**).

In Japan flowers seem to be often positioned in a background of a standard scroll as in (**13.28h**), not as end of the back-turning secondary scroll (as in the Chinese examples), but covering the points where the secondary scrolls branch off. Many examples of this will be seen in the illustrations on the next pages.

These flowers, then, can be lotuses (**13.33**), peonies (**13.34**), chrysanthemums (**13.35**), poppies (**13.36**) or the imaginary flower called *hōsōge* (s.v.). The scheme of the flower, at the position where a secondary stem branches off from the main stem, is not a Japanese invention, but derives from that used by the Chinese in the early Ming period (**13.37**).

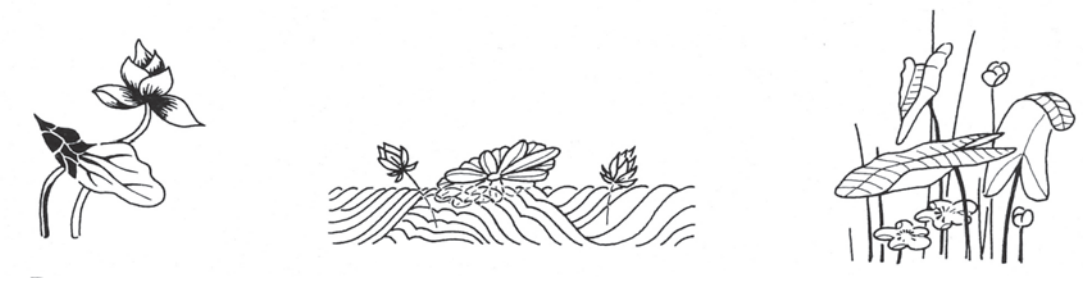
As in China, the peony flower became popular in Japan. According to tradition the first peony plant was brought to Japan during the reign of Emperor Shōmu (724-749) and was planted in Nara, but the name of the plant does not appear in written records until the Heian period and the actual extent of cultivation of peonies in the Nara period cannot be ascertained[5]. As a motif on artefacts of the Nara period it has been copied from Chinese examples.

Often, stylized versions of these flowers are applied, e.g. of the lotus, chrysanthemum, the *hōsōge* and the honeysuckle. The imaginary *hōsōge* variously resembles the peony, the pomegranate and lotus, but often the peony seems to be more close (**13.38**) and (**13.39**). As an early flower motif imported from China, it appears on many items in the Shōsōin treasure house in Nara, and was employed by early Japanese artisans on textiles, lacquer ware and Buddhist and ritual objects, but also on ceramics. The *hōsōge* motif reached the height of its popularity during the Heian period (794-1185 A.D.). During the succeeding Kamakura period (1185-1333 A.D.) it took an increasing similarity to the peony.

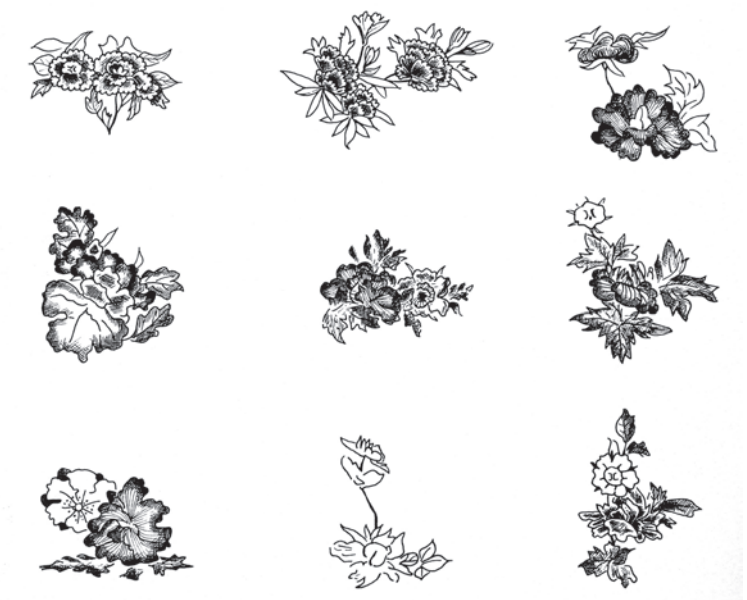
The honeysuckle motif, the key-pattern of the Asuka period (552-645 A.D.), has been mentioned already earlier in this Chapter. The name was attached to the motif of (**13.15**), which not only became popular in the Classical period in Greece, but which persisted for many centuries almost untouched in the Hellenistic and Roman world (**13.40**) and (**13.41**). It migrated slowly across Central Asia to China and, on its way, took the shape of (**13.15a** and **d**). As such it was introduced in Japan, where it is called *nindō*, probably because of its resemblance with the *tsukinuki nindō* (Lonicera sempervirence), whose heart-shaped leaves and funnel-shaped flowers are arranged like spokes around the stem (**13.42**).

Another imaginary flower, imported from China, was the *karahana* (s.v.), a generic floral design that in its simplest form has four or five petals. More often than not it is enclosed in background designs of diamonds, tortoise shell hexagons or vertical seething. In more complex forms the petals may be layered, but the motif is immediately recognizable because of its highly stylized and symmetrical presentation (**13.43**).

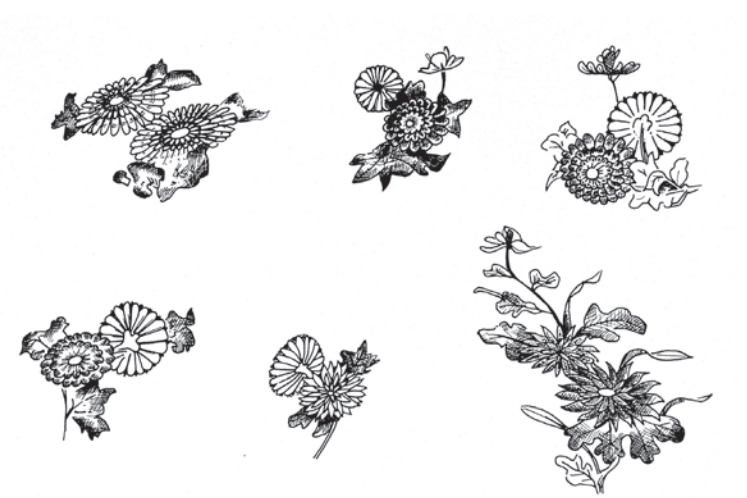
Apart from being embedded in foliage scrolls as background, flowers were also positioned over the simple scroll known as the Classical scroll, which is often called the *karakusa* (s.v.)



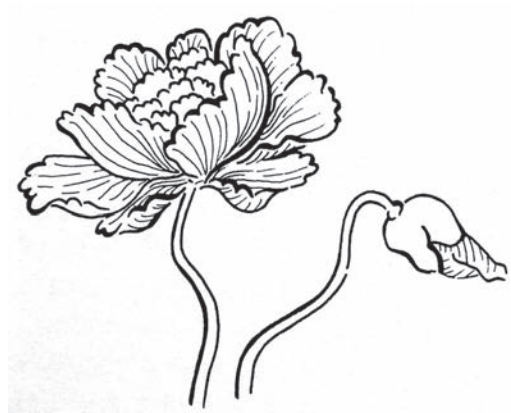
13.33 The lotus flower in various appearances as found on Japanese porcelain. After Arts 1983, fig. 82



13.34 Various peony decorations on Kakiemon and Imari porcelain. After Arts 1983, fig. 88

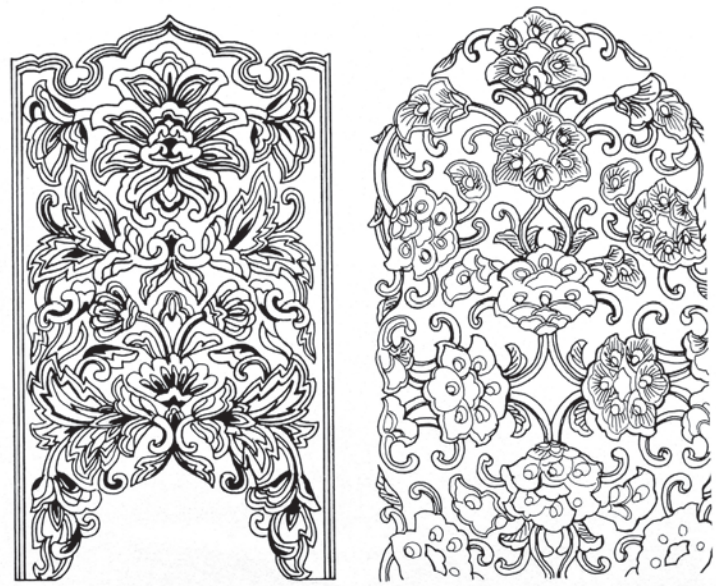


13.35 Various chrysanthemum decorations found on Kakiemon and Imari porcelain. After Arts 1983, fig. 78

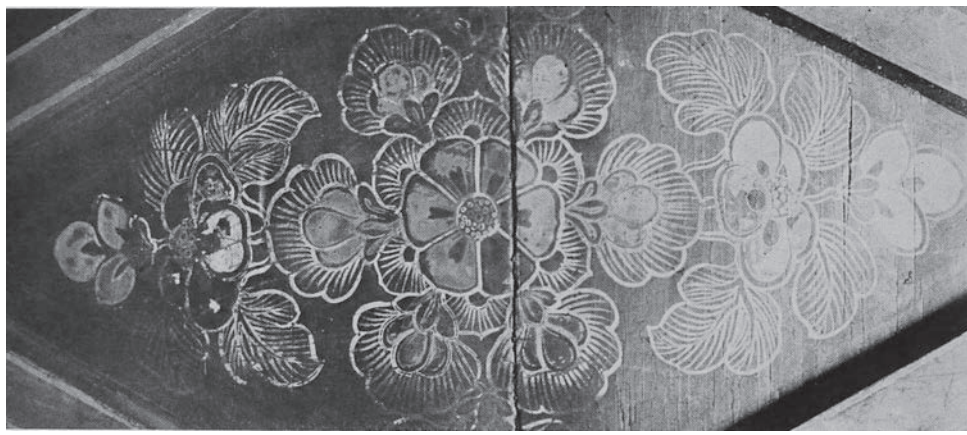


13.36 The poppy. After Arts 1983, fig. 92

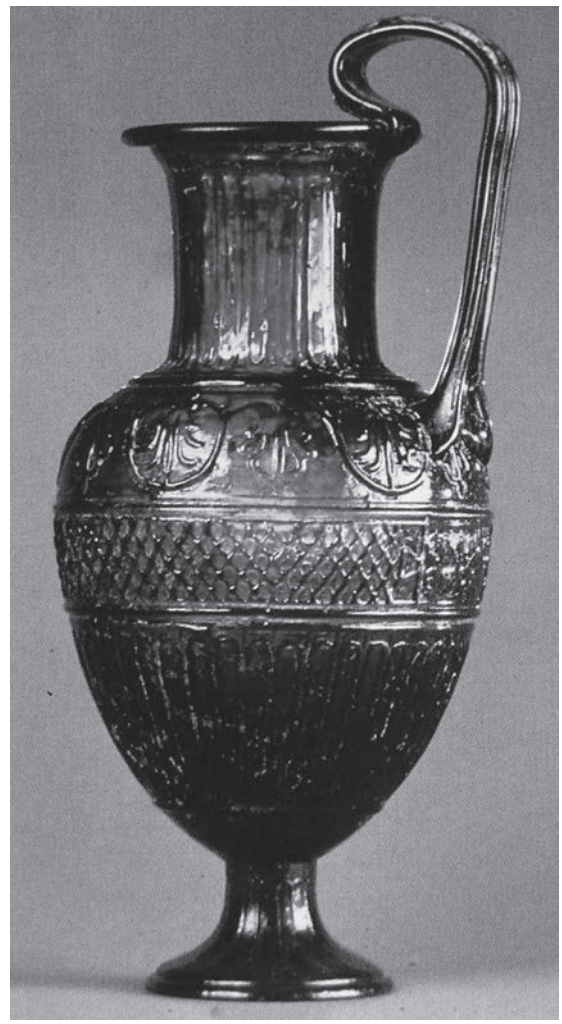
13.37 Blue-and-white porcelain circular bowl decorated with flowers covering points on the stem where the secondary scroll branches off from the main scroll. China, ca. 1430. After Mayer Collection 1974, 174, no. 93



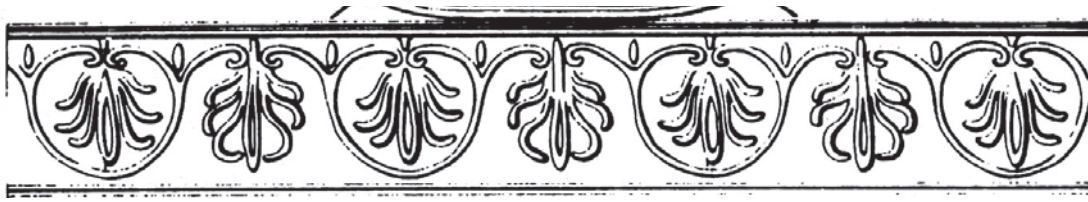
13.38 The imaginary *hōsōge*-flower as it appears in Japanese art. After Baird 2001, 86



13.39 *Hōsōge*-motif in gold and silver that adorns a miniature shrine in the Mandala Hall of the Taimadera temple in Nara. Japan, Heian period (794-1185). Ca. 8th century A.D. Taimadera temple, Nara Prefecture



13.40 Ovoid mould-blown glass jug, with so-called honeysuckle decoration as used in the Roman world. 1st century A.D. Corning Museum of Glass, New York



13.41 Drawing of a honeysuckle-design on a glass jug in the Eretz Israel Museum, Ramat Aviv. 1st century A.D. After Newby and Painter 1991, fig. 11

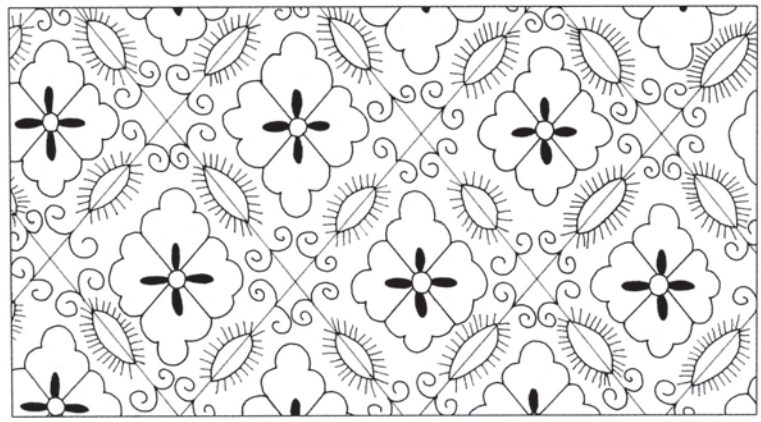
13.42 The honeysuckle plant *(Lonicera sempervirens*), which may have served as a model for naming the decorative design of the Classical Period that migrated eastward via Central Asia and China to Japan. After Mizoguchi 1973, 23, fig. 13

in Japan (**13.44**).

In the next pages the appearance of classical floral designs that reached Japan via Central Asia and China, will be illustrated by fitting them into the six main patterns A through F as mentioned.

Closed-loop scrolls (Group A)

Closed-loop scrolls appear on a famous miniature shrine, built in the form of a palace building. The shrine is known as the Tamamushi Shrine (s.v.). The closed-loop pattern is applied in coloured lacquer to an altar-panel within the shrine (**13.45**). On the upper edge the closed-loop decoration has been painted in pure form, while on the lower edge elements of the design have been incorporated.



13.43 *Karahana,* stylized flower of Chinese inspiration, here placed within a background design of diamonds. After Baird 2001, 86

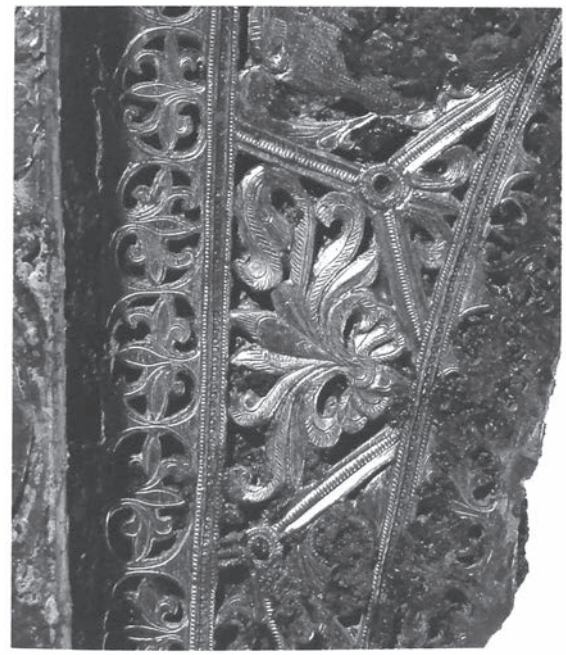
13.44 Paulownia roundels combined with the classical scroll. After Baird 2001, 87

Also on the Tamamushi Shrine, on a pedestal, a variant of the pure form has been depicted (**13.46**), which has some resemblance to the natural plant (**13.42**).
It is seen as decoration of a gilt-bronze saddle fitting, found in a tumulus in Nara, dating from the 6th century A.D. (**13.47**), where the roundels alternate up and down as in (**13.27c** and **d**).
It regularly appears in the halos for Buddhist statues, like in an example, now in the Tōkyō National Museum, from the Hōryūji temple and dating from the 7th century A.D. (**13.48**).
A variant of the closed-loop design is seen on both the foot and neck of an octagonal Imari porcelain jar of ca. 1700 (**13.49**).

Contra-turning scrolls (Group B)
This basic pattern was used to decorate the walls of tombs in Korea from the 4th to 6th centuries. (**13.50**) shows the design almost similar to the Chinese example in (**13.28d** and

13.45 Honeysuckle motif on a panel of the Tamamushi Shrine, Hōryūji temple, Nara. 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

13.46 Honeysuckle motif on the pedestal of the Tamamushi Shrine, Hōryūji temple, Nara. 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara



13.47 Gilt-bronze saddle fittings from the Fujinoki Tumulus, Ikarugamachi, Nara. 6th century A.D. Agency for Cultural Affairs, Nara

13.48 Gilt-bronze halo from Buddhist statue with closed-loop design. Japan, 7th century A.D. NMT

13.49 Covered octagonal jar with closed-loop designs on foot and neck. Ko Imari porcelain. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Suntori Museum of Art, Tōkyō

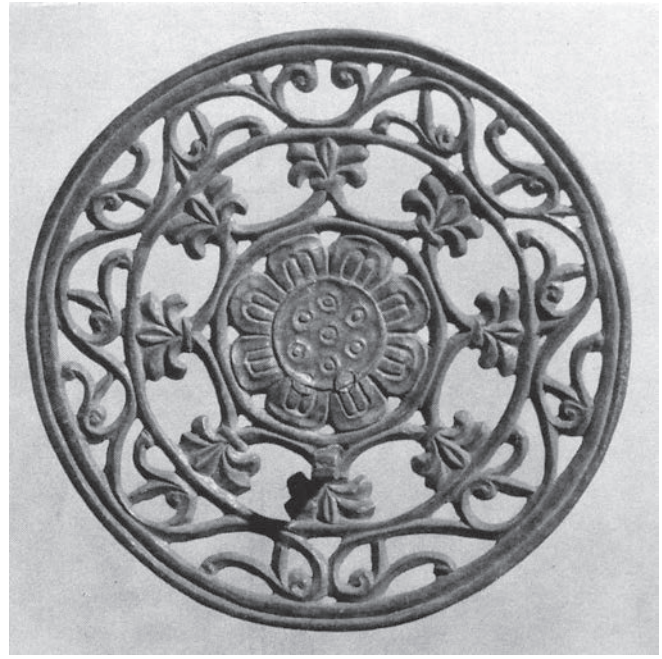
13.50 Mural painting on the wall of a Korean tomb at Tung-Kou, Manchuria. Korea. Koguryŏ period, 4th-6th century A.D. After McCune 1962, 113, fig. 42

13.51 Mural painting on the wall of a Korean tomb near P'yŏngyang. Korea. Koguryŏ period, 4th-6th century A.D. After McCune 1962, 109, fig. 36

13.52 Ceiling decoration, painting on white stucco, of a tomb near P'yŏngyang. Korea. Koguryŏ period, 4th-6th century A.D. After McCune 1962, 110, fig. 37

13.53 Wall painting from a Korean tomb at Kangsŏ. Korea, Koguryŏ period. Ca. 600 A.D. After Mizoguchi 1973, 24, fig. 14

13.54 Bronze statue of Yakushi Nyorai in the *Kondō* (Golden Hall) of the Hōryūji temple, Nara. Japan, 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara



13.55 Halo for Buddhist statue, gilt bronze. Japan. 7th century A.D. NMT

13.56 Mandorla of an attendant of the Shaka Triad, in the *Kondō* (Golden Hall) of the Hōryūji temple, Nara. 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

13.57 Mandorla of Guze Kanon. Wood and lacquer. Yumedono, Hōryūji temple, Nara. First half of 7th century A.D. Hōryūji temple, Nara

13.58 Roof tile excavated from the West precinct of the Hōryūji temple, Nara. Japan, 7th century A.D. NMT

13.59 Roof tile from the Daikanji temple, Nara. 7th century A.D. National Research Institute, Nara

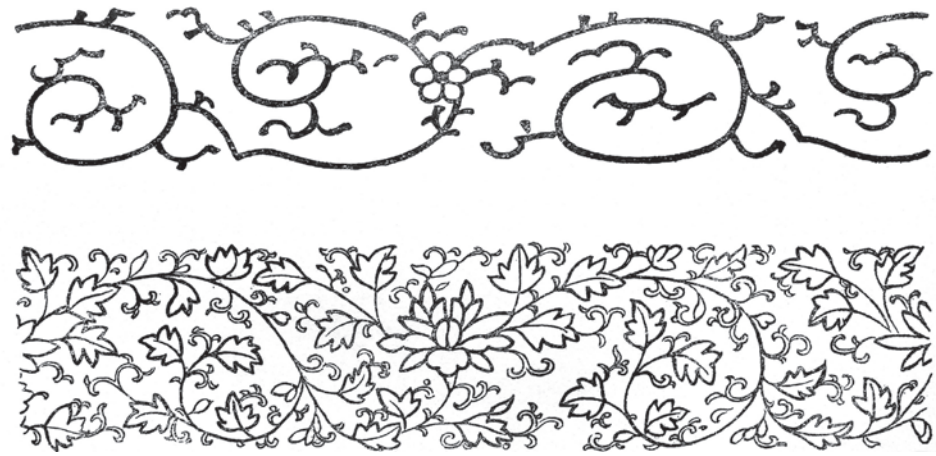
13.60 Panel on an altar for Buddhist relics in the Konjiki-hall of the Chūsonji temple at Hiraizumi. Japan, Heian period. Chūsonji temple, Hiraizumi, Japan

e), as well as (**13.51**).
On a tomb which is dated a little later, the ceiling was decorated with a more simplified example of the contra-turning scroll (**13.52**), which comes more close to the pattern of (**13.28a**).
A wall painting (**13.53**), dating from ca. 600 A.D., shows a clear and straightforward, yet somewhat simplified, copy of the Chinese example of (**13.28e**).
In Japanese Buddhist art, the contra-turning scroll was a favourite motif. The halo of (**13.54**), dating from the 7th century, consists of a simple open-work metal decoration, where the scroll is filled with various flowers at the end of the contra-turning scroll. The

13.61 Back-panel of the statue of a seated Yakushi Nyorai. Japan. Dated 1103 A.D. Ninnaji temple, Kyōto

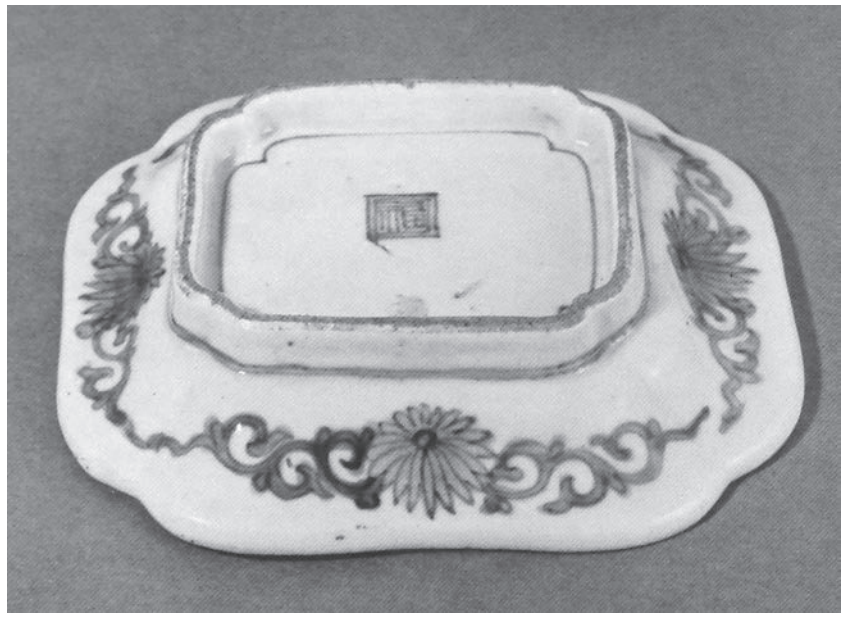
13.62 Contra-turning scrolls, embedded with designs of stylized lotuses on ko Imari porcelains. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Gorham 1971, plts. 2, 4 and 21

13.63 Contra-turning scrolls, embedded with designs of stylized chrysanthemums (top) and *hōsōge* (bottom). Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Gorham 1971, plt. 2



13.64 Two related contra-turning scrolls, one simple (top), the other more complex (bottom), which are very common on ko Imari blue-and-white porcelain. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Gorham 1971, plt. 5

13.65 Ko Imari porcelain bowl with overglaze enamels showing the stylized lotus embedded in the contra-turning scroll. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tōkyō



13.66 Early Arita porcelain dish with contra-turning scroll combined with chrysanthemums. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 28

13.67 Early Arita porcelain dish with contra-turning scroll combined with chrysanthemums. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 59

13.68 Early Arita porcelain dish with contra-turning scroll combined with chrysanthemums. Japan. Last quart of 17th century A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, cplt. 4

13.69 Early Arita porcelain bowl with under-glaze blue decoration of contra-turning scroll and chrysanthemums. Japan, ca. 1700 A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, 378, no. 36

13.70 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with contra-turning scroll combined with *hōsōge* flower. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 100

13.71 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with contra-turning scroll design along the rim. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa, Japan

13.72 Small rectangular ko Kutani porcelain dish with contra-turning scroll pattern along the rim. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Shimazaki 1977, no. 109

13.73 Small lobed ko Kutani porcelain dish with decorative pattern along the rim based on contra-turning scroll. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Shimazaki 1977, no. 111

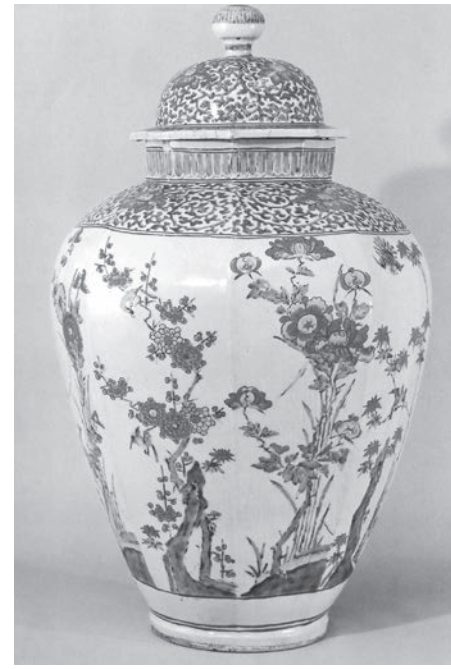
13.74 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with decorative pattern along the rim based on contra-turning scroll. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Shimazaki 1977, no. 10

13.75 Foliated Ko Kutani porcelain dish with classical scroll. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Shimazaki 1977, no. 104

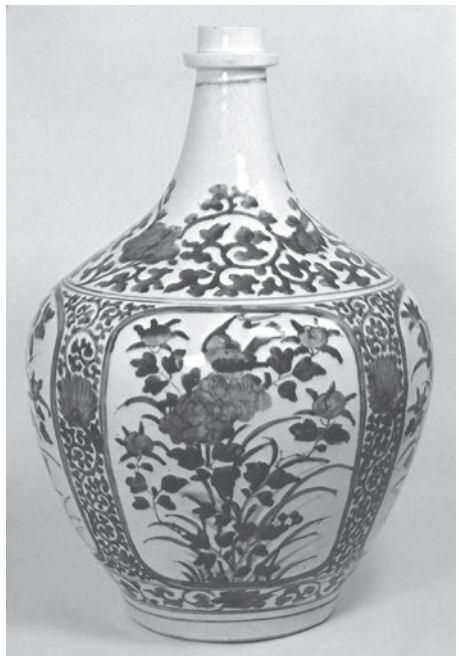
13.76 Porcelain ewer decorated with Kakiemon enamels with classical scroll on the neck. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Nishida 1979, no. 68

13.77 Classical scroll pattern. After Gorham 1971, plt. 1

13.78 Early Imari porcelain with Kakiemon enamels decorated with classical scroll. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 63

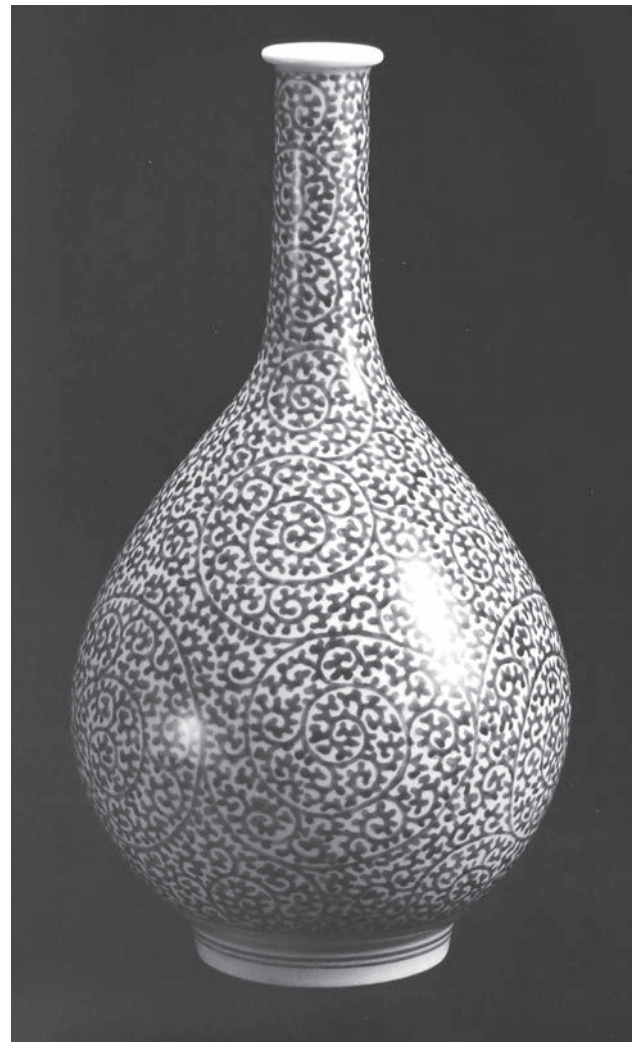


13.79 Octagonal jar, Imari porcelain with Kakiemon enamels, with classical scroll decoration on the neck. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Idemitsu Art Gallery, Tōkyō



13.80 Imari blue-and-white porcelain vase with classical scroll decoration. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Nishida 1978, no. 41

13.81 Figure of a boy holding a catfish with a bottle gourd, decorated with classical scroll. Imari porcelain with Kakiemon enamels. Japan. Ca. 1675 A.D. Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan



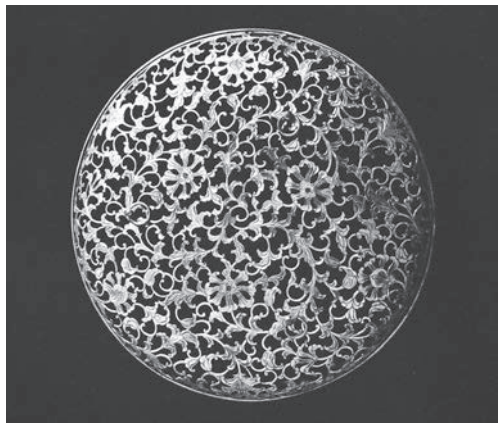
13.82 Blue-and-white Imari porcelain bottle, decorated all over with a classical scroll. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan

13.83 Floral-head decoration of a wall painting in the Great Tomb near P'yŏngyang. Koguryu period, Korea. 4th-6th century A.D. After McCune 1962, 109, no. 34

13.84 Floral-head decoration on a lacquer incense box. Japan. Nara period (645-794 A.D.). Shōsōin, Nara

13.85 Floral-head decoration on a lacquer box. Japan. Nara period (645-794 A.D.). Shōsōin, Nara

13. 86 Wooden statue of Kanon *bosatsu,* the crown around the halo contains as decorative element the floral-head pattern. Japan. Dated 1154 A.D. by inscription. Bujōji temple, Kyōto



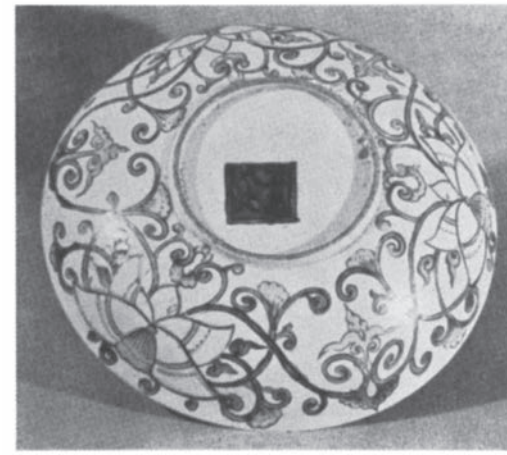
13.87 Openwork gilt-bronze basket for use in Buddhist rituals. The decorative scrolls contain the floral-head motif. Japan. Kamakura period (1185-1333 A.D.). Shinshōji temple, Narita. See also (**13.106**)

13.88 Silver incense burner. The pierced silver design contains the floral-head motif. Japan. 8th century A.D. Shōsōin, Nara

13.89 Two medallions on a lacquer box, inlaid with silver and gold, comprising the floral-head design as part of the scroll pattern. Japan. Early Heian period (794-897 A.D.). Enryakuji temple, Shiga Prefecture, Japan

13.90 Lacquer box inlaid with gold and silver and mother-of-pearl ornamentation. The composition shows examples of the floral-head design. Japan. Kamakura period (1185-1333). Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Arts, Tōkyō

13.91 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with floral-head decoration on the outer rim. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 96



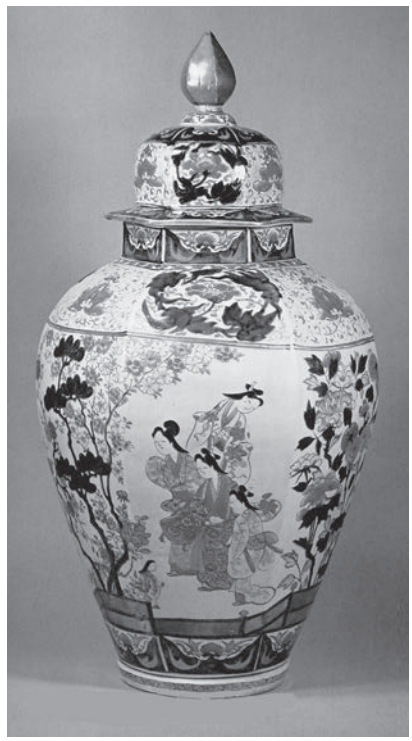
13.92 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with floral-head decoration on the outer rim. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, 455, no. 85

13.93 Ko Imari porcelain bowl with floral-head designs around the inner side. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Nishida 1979, no. 84

13.94 Ko Imari porcelain bowl with floral-head designs around the outer side. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Nishida 1979, no. 81

13.95 Nabeshima porcelain cup with floral-head design. Japan. Ca. 1750 A.D. After Yabe 1977, no. 74

13.96 Nabeshima porcelain dish with complex design of floral-head. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Imaimon Old Ceramics Preservation Institute, Arita, Saga Prefecture, Japan

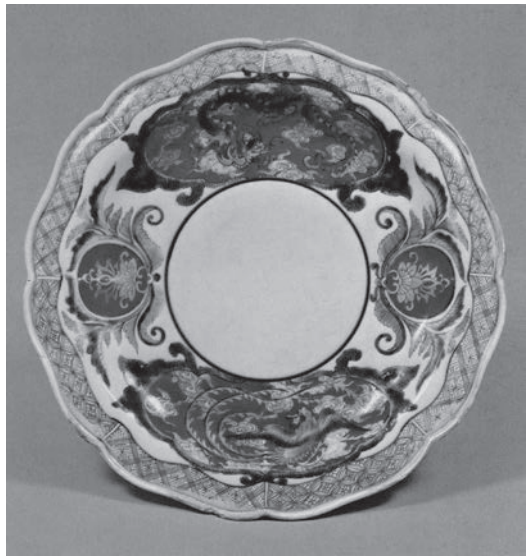


13.97 Ko Imari porcelain covered jar with supported floral-head design around the foot and neck. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Nagai 1979, 38

13.98 Ko Kutani porcelain dish, decorated on the back with supported floral-head design. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa, Japan

13.99 Enamelled Imari ware tile, painted with the supported floral-head design in the corners of the square. Japan. Last quart of 17 century A.D. Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan

13.100 Nabeshima porcelain sake cups decorated with the so-called *yōraku*-pattern alternated with supported floral-head designs. The *yōraku*-pattern resembles jewellery and was used as a decorative element to Buddhist statues. Japan. Late 17th century A.D. Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan



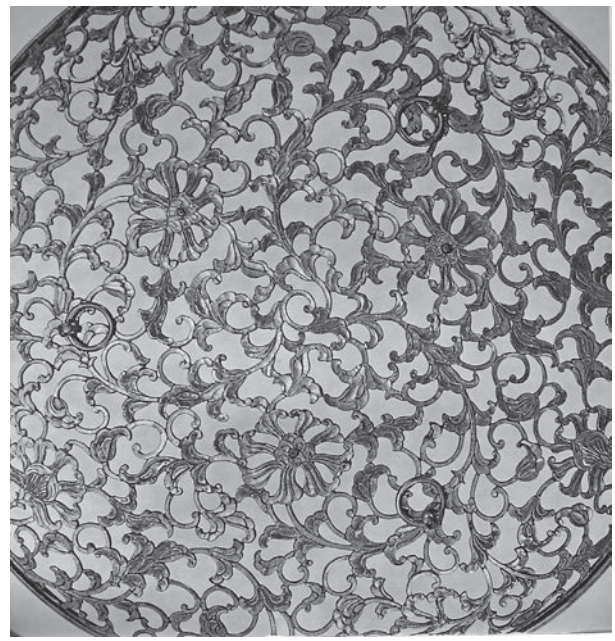
13.101 Foliated dish, Imari porcelain with Kakiemon enamels, decorated with pattern of supported floral-head. Japan. Dated by inscription 1699 A.D. NMT

13.102 Nabeshima porcelain dish with complex design of supported floral-head. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Prefectural Museum of Art, Okayama, Japan

13.103 Nabeshima porcelain dish with complex supported floral-head design. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. After Yabe 1977, no. 37

13.104 Large porcelain bowl, decorated in underglaze blue in the early Kakiemon style. Pointed leaves populate the scrolls. Japan. Last quart of 17th century A.D. After Imaizumi 1974, cplt. 30

13.105 Ko Kutani porcelain dish with pointed-leaf decoration in the scrolls. Japan. Ca. 1700 A.D. Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa, Japan



13.106 Detail of (**13.87**). Shinshōji temple, Narita, Japan

outer ring of a halo of the same date of (**13.55**) shows the scroll with half-palmette leaves on the tip of the secondary scroll, very much like (**13.28a**). A variant is seen in the halo of (**13.56**).
The design in the halo of (**13.57**) comes very close to the motif of the wall painting of the Korean tomb of (**13.53**).
The fragment of a roof tile, excavated from the Hōryūji temple (**13.58**), is decorated with a variant of (**13.28a**), while a fragment of a roof tile of the Daikandaiji temple (s.v.) in Nara, also dating from the 7th century, shows a simplification (**13.59**). These scrolls continue to appear in Buddhist environments of the later centuries, such as on the panel of an altar of the Heian period (782-1184) (**13.60**), and on the back-plate of a statue dated 1103 A.D. (**13.61**).

Early Japanese porcelains provide an almost inexhaustible source for decorations based on the contra-turning scroll design. (**13.62**) show the contra-turning scroll embedded with designs of stylized lotuses, as they appear on ko Imari porcelains of the first quarter of the 18th century. (**13.63**) show these scrolls with stylized chrysanthemums and the imaginary *hōsōge* flower, while (**13.64**) shows two related designs, usually in blue and white, of different complexity.
The bowl of (**13.65**) gives an impression of the stylized-lotus variant and demonstrates the connection with a Chinese prototype, as in (**13.28b**).
(**13.66**) through (**13.69**) illustrate early Arita dishes, where the scroll is combined with stylized chrysanthemums, while on the back of a ko Kutani dish the scroll and the *hōsōge* are painted (**13.70**).
Border designs with the scroll varying from simple to more complex are shown in (**13.71**) through (**13.74**).
For (**13.68**) note that the border design comes close to the Chinese example shown in (**13.28f**), except for the position of the flower as discussed before in this Chapter: in the Chinese example it is at the tip of the secondary stem, while in the Japanese example it covers the point where the secondary stem branches off.

Classical scroll (Group C)
It is clear that the simplest form of the pattern of Group B comes close to the design which is called the Classical scroll. The further simplification is seen on the rim of the dish of (**13.75**), while the simplest possible variant appears often on Kakiemon porcelains, as shown around the neck of the bottle of (**13.76**).
However, usually on larger vessels, the simple form may be found to develop in a rather monotone pattern of curves of constant thickness (**13.77**), which is applied not only to the neck of the vessel (**13.78**) and (**13.79**), but sometimes tends to cover an increasingly larger surface (**13.80**) through (**13.82**). In Japan the Classical scroll is usually named *karakusa* (s.v.) as already mentioned.

Floral-head pattern (Group D)
The floral-head pattern migrated from China to Korea. It was applied as a decoration on the wall of the Great Tomb near P'yŏngyang, dating from the 4th-6th century A.D. (**13.83**). The design shows a remarkable resemblance to its Chinese model (**13.30c**). On

a lacquer box in the Shōsōin (s.v.) the floral-head pattern was painted (**13.84**), as also on another one in the Shōsōin, where the design is set between various flowers, among which the *hōsōge* (**13.85**). The pattern is frequently met on artefacts from the Buddhist environment, albeit that there it is often hidden in a larger area of rich ornamentation of scrolls and flowers.
An example of this is the wooden statue of the seated Kanon *bosatsu* (**13.86**), dated 1154 A.D., where the crown around the circular halo contains the floral-head design at several instances. That is also the case with the open work gilt bronze basket for use in Buddhist rituals (**13.87**) where we see, basically, the floral-head variant of an on-going stem from which a two-comma design breaks off, supporting a symmetrical pair of leaves, the stem continuing.
Such a pattern is also recurrent on the silver incense burner in the Shōsōin, dating from the 8th century (**13.88**).
Of the early Heian period (794-897) is the lacquer box in the Enryaku-ji (temple), which is decorated with two symmetrical medallions containing scrolls around *karahana* flowers. Within the scroll the floral-head design is applied (**13.89**).
From the Kamakura period (1185-1333) is the silver and mother-of-pearl inlaid ornamentation of a lacquer box. Here the two-comma basis is seen, either stylized or in the form of two leaves, topped with a single leaf or a complete flower (peony and *hōsōge* (**13.90**).
On Japanese porcelains the floral-head design is very frequent and easy to detect. It is seen as a decoration on the back of the rim of the ko Kutani dishes of (**13.91**) and (**13.92**), both of around 1700 A.D.
On the rim of the ko Kutani dish of (**8.83**) the design is contained within a medallion.
Two ko Imari bowls, one on the inside (**13.93**) and one on the outside (**13.94**), display the design in all its glory.
On Nabeshima porcelain it can be found too, now often as part of a more complicated set-up, where the commas may be turned outward and extended upward to form a confined area for the whole decoration (**13.95**). The design on an Imari dish with Kakiemon enamels of (**13.96**) shows this complexity as well, where, although the flower-head design is clearly visible, the structure below it may be interpreted as supporting.

Supported flower-head patterns (Group E)
The decorative scheme around the foot and the neck of the ko Imari covered jar of (**13.97**) clearly echoes the basic structure of the design as shown in (**13.31a**), as does the scheme on the back of the ko Kutani dish of (**13.98**).
On the enamelled Imari tile of (**13.99**) there is a splendid example of the design in each corner of the square.
Increasing complexity of the pattern is seen on the Nabeshima cups of (**13.100**), the Imari dish with Kakiemon enamels of (**13.101**), the Nabeshima dish of (**13.102**), where the primary comma's have been executed as leaves, and the Nabeshima dish of (**13.103**).

Pointed leaf-pattern (Group F)
The pointed-leaf pattern, as executed frequently in decorating Chinese blue and white porcelains of the Ming period, has been copied by the Japanese craftsmen in the 17th cen-

tury. This becomes clear from comparison of the Chinese examples of (**13.28f**); (**13.29a**); (**13.32c**) and (**13.37**), with the Japanese examples of (**13.104**) and (**13.105**).
But the pointed leaves are also incorporated in some examples of Japanese artefacts already discussed in this Chapter, without being mentioned as such, because then the focus was on a different decorative pattern. For example, in (**13.87**) of which the details are shown again for convenience in (**13.106**), many leaves are shaped according to this principle. The shape, although somewhat distorted, is seen also on the dishes of (**13.91**) and (**8.83**), on the tile of (**13.99**) and on the dish of (**13.102**).

14 CONCLUSIONS

The area of this study covers roughly the whole of Eurasia between Rome and Tōkyō. Our span of time, which ends in the present, begins about the 5th century B.C. when a well-established Greek influence existed in the Scythian Black Sea area which was connected with roads to the East. By then, in all likelihood, some indirect cultural exchange between the Scythians and China has taken place.

In this huge environment of time and distance people like craftsmen, soldiers, traders, travellers, embassies, pilgrims and missionaries moved about and transferred objects, images and ideas.

Inevitably there was artistic influence when different cultures met, and an osmotic process could follow, where an idea, theme or motif of one culture was accepted by the other.

These two principles, transfer and acceptance, are the necessary prerequisites for the process of diffusion. This is the reason why in Chapter 5, just in between Part I and Part II of the book, these concepts have been discussed in general terms. In Part I and II proper, however, the instances where transfer and acceptance play their role have been fully exposed.

Now, first, by way of conclusion, it is useful to explicate what phenomena recurrently *triggered* transfer and acceptance, aggravated to the subjects that have been explored.

Transfer

The main impulses for transfer, as we have seen them, may be summarized as follows:

1. Migration

• By the 8th century B.C. the Greeks in Anatolia (Asia Minor) were forced by overpopulation to expand, and colonization took place in almost every direction: to the Black Sea coast, to North Africa, Sicily and Italy[1].

• Ionian Greeks, not only exiles but of various kinds, sometimes whole towns, were involuntarily sent to Bactria by Xerxes (485-465 B.C.)[2].

• One of the Yuezi tribes originally occupied an area in China's Gansu province. They were attacked by the Xiongnu around 170 B.C. and were forced to migrate westwards. They reached Bactrian territory around 140 B.C. and displaced there the Greek dynasties who resettled in the Indus basin. Shortly after the beginning of our era, these Yuezi established the Kushān Empire[3] that would not only come to play such a crucial role in the expansion of Buddhism, but also directly in the dissemination of Classical and Hellenistic culture, because they were great supporters of the Roman Empire.

• From about 100 B.C. through the entire Eastern Han (25-220 A.D.) there was regular contact between China, Central Asia and the West. By the middle of the 2nd century A.D. there was an enormous increase of foreign populations from these areas in China. These people brought their culture and exotics to the capital, where the "foreign" fashion was widespread under the nobility. This was the time when, for example, fragile Roman free-blown glass -extremely difficult to transport over long distances- was brought to Luoyang,

Henan province.
However, a very significant influence, too, on the material culture of China during the Han period came from the massive migration of nomadic people into China.

• The Northern Wei (386-581 A.D.) and the Sui periods (581-618 A.D.) were the heydays of strong expansion of trade in China. It is said that about 10,000 families of foreigners lived in Luoyang by the middle of the 6th century[4]. The Northern Wei was also the period in which entire populations of the areas, conquered in the north by nomadic people, were moved to serve their new masters at their home base[5].

• During the Tang period (618-906 A.D.) the Chinese Empire extended from the Caspian Sea to the Pacific Ocean, from Manchuria and Korea to Vietnam. The capital Chang'an was one of the largest cities in the world. There was an enormous travel-and-trade intensity between East and West. Many traders, not only Sogdians, settled permanently in the city and formed commercial communities[6].

2. Gifts for good will
Exchange of gifts in diplomatic context, intended to establish, affirm or renew a relationship, often (but not always) served commercial goals. And this not only in the sense of friendly relationships triggering and supporting the exchange of goods, but also to create an interest in specific exotics.

• Significant are the advances to the West up to Lop Nor in 121 B.C. of the armies of the Chinese emperor Wudi in order to defeat the Xiongnu and to clear-up the way for contact with countries like Ferghana, Bactria and Parthia. It was already known to the Chinese that these countries had no sericulture, so silk formed a large part of the ambassadorial gifts[7]. It was the beginning of the development of the silk trade.
Some fifteen years later Wudi sent presents to the king of Ferghana and wanted in return -as a gift- some of the famous horses (Horses of Heaven) of that country[8].

• In quite a different context gifts were presented by well-to-do people to Buddhist temples as an act of merit, which might enable the donor to escape rebirth into this world[9].

• The Shōsōin in Nara, the repository of the Taidōji temple, keeps a large number of articles that were presented as gifts to the Japanese embassies dispatched to the Tang court between the 7th and late 9th centuries. Also, the favourite personal and household belongings of the emperor Shōmu were dedicated by his widow to the Buddha enshrined at the Tōdaiji. Among these treasures is a jug with the engraving of a winged horse with clearly classical characteristics, which according to the inscription was a gift to Buddha[10]. Many other artefacts in the Shōsōin are decorated with classical motifs.

3. Trade

• Early in the 1st century B.C., after the Chinese had opened the East-West road by force, trade -albeit indirect- developed gradually between China and Europe via Western Asia. The hoards in the archaeological sites at Begram, for example, dating from the 1st century A.D., were filled with products from the Greco-Roman world, China and India, and so bear testimony to this commerce[11].

Initially, the main traders seem to have been Indians and Bactrians, but steadily the presence of Sogdians increased, especially along the northern trajectories of the Silk Roads. By the 4th century A.D. the Sogdian caravans from Samarkand and Penjikent brought gemstones, perfumes, silver, wool and cotton textiles via Dunhuang to China.
It is clear that their contacts with the Byzantine Empire had made them fully familiar with the vocabulary of Greek mythology and Byzantine luxury art. Classical motifs they carried east were e.g. vine scrolls and the winged horse Pegasos[12], while there are firm grounds to believe that they played their role in the diffusion of the image of the flying Victories/Erotes to Central Asia and China[13]. From the middle of the 6th century they in fact controlled the routes between the West and China: they were anywhere and everywhere in search of profit.

• The Pax Romana of 31 B.C., established by Augustus, unified the Mediterranean world and fostered trade within the empire. The Roman ruling class was wealthy and hungry for exotic objects and luxury. Trade with India which existed already for centuries was booming, especially when by about 50 A.D. the discovery of the use of the monsoons enabled a short all-sea way between Roman Egypt and Indian ports. It was an effective shortcut of the Parthian intervention of silk trade along the land route.
In the 2nd century Roman commerce with China, either by land, costal voyage or deep-sea navigation was not hindered anywhere by hostile monopolies who could corner the traffic. In 166 A.D. Roman merchants who visited the Han court had come by sea and the Indo-Chinese port on Tonkin.

• It is beyond doubt that the demand of the Roman upper class for oriental luxuries was far greater than the demand for Roman products in Asia. There they wanted gold and silver. Great hoards of Roman coins found in India testify to the eastward flux of specie, in fact an effective way of the transfer of images and motifs.

• Caravans and ships were populated not only by monks and merchants, but also with pilgrims, ambassadors, soldiers, artisans, students, acrobats, musicians and dancers. They all carried with them their culture, images of their gods and apotropaic demons, amulets and figurines. They all have contributed to the transmission of western and other culture towards China.

• During the Tang period, the capital of Chang'an was a multicultural trade centre. An endless stream of visitors, created by arriving and departing emissaries, pilgrims, merchants, travellers, artists and performers from everywhere, gave the city a truly cosmopolitan air.
Although classical influence in Chang'an is not clearly visible, except for a small number of finds, there can be no doubt that it must have been there in view of the large amount of classical motifs found in the Shōsōin inventory at Nara.

4. Warfare

Warfare, as a direct or indirect factor in the transmission of forms, motifs, images and decorative patterns, has been effective either before, during or after the true acts of war. Before, when it triggered migration; during, because one culture invaded another; and after, because of the importation of alien goods into the conquered area or because it created new conditions favourable for transmission processes in the conqueror's area.

• The military campaign of Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) to the East was the basis for the transmission of Greek art to the Middle East, Central Asia and the Indian border. It was then inherited in Western Asia by the Seleucids (301-83 B.C.), and in Central Asia and India by the Greco-Bactrians (3rd-2nd century B.C.), the Indo-Greeks (2nd century B.C. - 1st century A.D.), and the Kushāns (1st.-3rd century A.D.).
All these parties acquired and lost their geographic positions as a result of warfare, and it is truly remarkable that nevertheless Hellenistic culture survived in a vast area between the Mediterranean and the Indus Valley from the late 4th century B.C. till the 3rd century A.D. In particular the Kushāns contributed to that fact when they fostered cross-cultural contact between the Greco-Bactrians, Iranian and North-Indian areas, but especially also with Rome, a centre of Hellenism.
This created the Gandhāran Romano-Buddhist art, in which classical motifs were incorporated to a large extent. For a vast amount of decorative elements and iconography of Far Eastern art, a Gandhāran tradition can be derived.

• The early expansion of Rome itself was aggressive and bellicose. An important aspect of its development as a Hellenistic centre was the unprecedented scale of plunder of the cities it had sacked, first on Sicily (Syracuse in 211 and Tarentum in 209 B.C.) then in Greece itself (Corinth in 146 B.C.). Enormous amounts of Greek art were carried to Rome, a major factor in the continuing focus of Rome on classical art.
It was only some 25 years later that armed forces of the Chinese opened up the road to the West, which enabled the development of the silk trade in the years thereafter.
It took about a century before the armies of Augustus seized Adulis (24 B.C.), the port essential for the overseas trade from Alexandria in Egypt to Barygaza in north-east India.

• China, between the fall of the Han dynasty (206 A.D.) and the re-unification of the country under the Sui (581-618), experienced devastation from war and social upheaval.
In 318 A.D., the Xiongnu, the northern people who had defeated the Han dynasty, conquered and sacked the former capital Luoyang. Their leaders quickly understood that their own tribal way would not sustain them in control of North China, and that Buddhism was an effective instrument to support their power as an alternative to Confucianism which empowered literate Chinese officials. In fact, they were drawn to Buddhism and became devote supporters because the religion did not originate in China.

5. Religion

• The material transmission of Buddhism, in itself already a carrier of western influence, was to a considerable extent realised by the many thousands of Buddhist monks and Chinese pilgrims. They travelled in the course of centuries over land and sea to India and many Asian countries, and carried with them not only Buddhist paraphernalia, but also other artefacts as gifts or otherwise. These monks played a crucial role in the transfer of foreign designs, objects, customs and ideas.

• Another important channel of carrying western designs from the Mediterranean to the East was Buddhist architecture and its accompanying ornament in the facades and interiors of the cave temples along the Silk Roads. In particular, floral designs were transmitted in this way to China and Japan[14], and it is believed that "copy books" were used

for the representation of common themes.

• The Buddhist doctrine of self-reliance and non-violence appealed to the merchant class in India and elsewhere, because it contributed to the evasion of conflicts. And perhaps even more important was the definite interaction between Buddhism and traders in the oases, where travellers and local people were supported by education, instruction and accommodation. On the other hand, merchant caravans, often guided by armed members of nomad tribes, provided protection for monks and pilgrims.

• From the 3rd century A.D. on, the Sogdians became increasingly active as traders along the Silk Roads and Zoroastrianism was their religion. By the 6th century Zoroastrianism and its principles were very present in the caravans and colonies along the roads to India and China. Hence one of its principles, the winged guardian angel, must have been a recurrent subject of conversation. This may have played a catalytic role in the transmission to the East of the image of the apsaras, itself a motif of classical inheritance.

Acceptance

1. Recognition

Recognition[15] means that somehow the recipient is able to link the object or image of the donor culture to his own past experience. This may happen not only when the alien object or image can be compared as such with an object or image in the recipient culture, but also, more subtly, even when the recipient only vaguely associates the alien object or image, or details of it, with e.g. a cult in his own culture.

Many examples of this phenomenon may be observed throughout the book, e.g. in discussing the diffusion to the East of Dionysos and Dionysian motifs, of gods like Tyche and Mercury, of Pegasos, flying deities and putti, and of floral designs.

2. Buddhism.

During its expansion from India to Central Asia, China, Japan, etc., Buddhism not only acted as a carrier of foreign culture, motifs and images, but also as a mechanism for acceptance.

• The Kushāns, great supporters of the Roman Empire as well as of Mahāyāna Buddhism, were responsible for the fact that the whole complex of Greco-Roman culture was drawn into the service of Buddhism[16].

• Buddhism came to China around the middle of the 1st century A.D.[17], and its arrival is closely related to the existence of trade routes to the East, both over land and sea.

The expansion of Buddhism was to a large extent accomplished by the principle to have the top of the social structure to adopt the religion first in order to facilitate the penetration into the lower levels thereafter. This goes for the various kingdoms along the Silk Roads[18], China, whether over-land routes or over sea-routes[19], Korea and Japan[20].

The connection between these facts is clear when we realize that the trade between China and the West was from the beginning essentially one of luxuries flowing into China.

It may therefore be appreciated that it is only as a matter of course that the Buddhist conquest of China began with the upper classes, *because* they were far more in contact with foreign merchants and thus exposed to foreign influence than the commoners.

The suggestion that -at least in the beginning- the majority of the Buddhist monks were probably also merchants[21] is consistent with this observation.

• The introduction of Buddhism in Japan is characterized by one particular detail of paramount importance. When in 552 A.D. the new religion was first presented by an envoy of the Korean king of Paekche to the Emperor (Kinmei), the argument most potent in winning his support was the assurance that Buddhism had become the faith of civilized Asia. This touched upon a very tender string. Japan in those days was in a comparatively primitive state, so accepting and introducing the new religion was seen as an opportunity to come at level with the rest of the world and with China in particular.

3. The concept of *xiangrui*

In China, during the Han period, there existed the concept of *xiangrui*, which comprised all sorts of phenomena that were considered as good omens and positive signals from Heaven. The introduction of images from the West, like the winged horse and a new apotropaic monsterface (*pushou*) represented a good omen.

4. Prestige.

• To Japan, in the wake of the introduction of Buddhism, came the continental culture of the Sui and Tang. It was eagerly accepted to the extent that, in a short period of time, the art, thinking and social structure of the Yamato area was totally remodelled along Chinese lines. "It was a period of intense enthusiasm for Chinese forms, in which all the amazing skill and energy of the people seem absorbed in a passionate effort of assimilation"[22].

A significant reason for this behaviour is to be found in the fact that Japan had always felt impressed by the might and superior culture of China. However, the religious position of the Japanese emperor, with his special ties to the Shintō deities, prevented Japan from subordination to any earthly ruler. As a signal of resistance against potential submission, it had already several times in the past addressed Chinese emperors with pretensions to equality and had even hinted at superiority by saying "The Son of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses a letter to the Son of Heaven in the land where the sun sets."[23]

Now, together with introducing Buddhism, the religion of the civilized countries of Asia, a complete transformation to a "second China", including a centralized imperial authority, would solve the problem once and for all.

This mental and practical disposition was one of the main driving forces for the integral acceptance of Chinese culture, loaded with all its western -including Mediterranean- elements.

Before I bring this study to an end, I realize that some aspects of the book call for further remarks.

First, one single author cannot possibly be an expert in all areas where the subjects covered in the book might be related to. Criticism is then inevitable, but I wholeheartedly accept critical comment, hoping that this will take the subject somehow further.

Second, it has not been the aim of this work to draw attention to resembling appear-

ances in classical and Japanese art. Rather, it has been attempted to demonstrate by means of concrete material evidence how -step by step- elements of Greek culture diffused to Japan. This means that, when a motif ultimately arrives in e.g. China as a result of this diffusion process, it is not particularly relevant if then it has characteristics which resemble those of a motif which is indigenous in Chinese culture, except perhaps for its recognition and acceptance there.

Thus, the so-called dragon-handles on Chinese bronze vessels of the Zhou period (1100-256 B.C.) have nothing to do with the feline handle, a purely Dionysian motif that travelled from Greece, via Byzantium, into Sasanian and Chinese art, although there is resemblance[24].

Similarly, as argued in Chapter 7, there are sound reasons to believe that the image of the flying *apsaras*, as it appears in many Buddhist caves in Central Asia and China and on which the traces of Graeco-Roman influence are plainly discernable, is basically a motif of classical inheritance , rather than an image derived from e.g. the winged creature painted on the lacquer coffins unearthed at Mawangdui, Hunan province, dating from the early 2nd century B.C.

This argument, however, becomes more intricate when it comes e.g. to the subject of realism[25]. Realism, one of the characteristics of Hellenistic representation[26], has not been treated in this book as a subject as such, migrating from West to East. Instead, certain aspects of realism have been addressed as appropriate, when they appeared in the context of migrating objects and images.

For example, it has been discussed how Greco-Roman influence of realistically observed detail reached China by the Six Dynasties period (265-589 A.D.)[27]. This certainly does not imply a denial or neglect of the long and indigenous Chinese tradition of realism in art, as e.g. seen in the lifelike features of the terracotta warriors from the tomb complex of Emperor Qia Shi Huangdi (259-210 B.C.). It rather refers to a new artistic language, which is seen for example in the art of Luoyang in the early 6th century A.D., and which resulted from the influence of the Hellenistic tradition[28].

The statement "it was already there" may sometimes be a plausible inference, but may also require prudence or second thought.

Third, occasionally I have endeavoured to suggest a new approach, not in order to state the truth, but to explore possibilities and unbeaten tracks, and to trigger future efforts into areas seemingly already sufficiently covered. This was the case in dealing with monsterfaces[29]. The subject was treated by taking into account the many theories, which have been launched in the past, about their relationships in different cultures. It was shown that the suggestion, as advanced in the past, of a cultural relationship between a particular Greek monsterface and a Japanese one, is perhaps not too surprising in view of their extraordinary similarity. However, this similarity may be explained on a totally different basis.

Fourth, to bring a subject further requires the posing of pertinent questions, also in cases where all answers already seem to be there. In an effort to follow up those questions, there is always the risk of not being thoroughly informed, especially when the sources are not accessible because of the language. In particular for multi-cultural subjects like the ones addressed in this work, Chinese and Japanese sources should -from this perspective- be translated into English, and vice-versa, in order to enable research on a much wider scale.

Finally, the survey in this book is far from complete. Not only in the subjects, which have been addressed, is there room for more detailed evaluation, but other subjects deserve to be (further) explored. For example, in the area of decorative patterns, elements like the interlacing circle, hexagon, meander and swastika were widely available on Eastern Mediterranean art and found their way to China and Japan, but they need systematic investigation. Likewise, the (portrait) medallion, ubiquitously present as a decorative element on Hellenistic and Roman silver, found its way to Chinese and Japanese art, and is a highly interesting theme for methodical research. Further, some aspects of early Buddhist architecture and sculpture in Japan are possibly related to principles in ancient Greece.

If successful, this work should raise more questions than it answers. Moreover, new sources of information or a new site excavated by archaeologists may profoundly change the ideas on one or more topics. This may then prove to be frustrating, but it is also exhilarating to know that the past, like the natural sciences now and in the future, has no frontiers.

I hope to have contributed in demonstrating that an investigation into the diffusion of motifs and images from the classical world to Japan, though certainly not so easy to carry out, is a rewarding one.

NOTES

PAGE V

1 Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, II, 34-46
2 Aristophanes, *Equites*, 1323 and 1329
3 Baumann 1993, 10
4 Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801); cf. Biographical Dictionary 1982, 215

INTRODUCTION

1 Bowie 1966, 13
2 See also Glossary, s.v. "classical"
3 Pottler 1890, 105-133
4 Pottler 1890, 124
5 Pottler 1890, 128
6 Trans. & Proc. of the Jap. Soc., London, vol. II 1895, 96
7 Weston 1929, 295

CHAPTER 1

1 The following works have been used for the preparation of the generic paragraphs in this Chapter on history and art: Biers 1987; Burn 1991; Boardman 1974; Boardman 1975; Boardman 1980; Boardman 1994; Cook 1976; Hall 2007; Osborne 1996; Oxford Dictionary 1957; Pedley 1998; Pollitt 1986; Pollitt 1994; Towne-Markus 1997; reference to these sources is not made every time they have been cited, unless specific information has been borrowed or a specific perspective has been presented
2 E.g. in Iran in the 8th century B.C.; cf. Osborne 2003, 171, fig. 42
3 See Chapter 11
4 Osborne 1996, 125
5 For details see Boardman 1994, 28 ff.
6 Cf. par. 1.1
7 But dates for this event vary: 814, 753, 751, 748 and 729 B.C.
8 According to Pliny, *National History*, Book 34
9 Osborne 1996, 199
10 Osborne 1996, 200
11 Osborne 1996, 260
12 Osborne 1996, 260
13 Minns 1971, 437
14 Homer, *Iliad*, XIII.5.7
15 Minns 1971, 437
16 Strong 1966, 79
17 Strong 1966, 102
18 Minns 1971, 451, 458
19 Herodotus, *Histories*, IV.16
20 *ibid.,* IV.81

21 Reeder 1999, 24
22 Minns 1971, 338 ff.
23 Minns 1971, 364 ff.
24 Minns 1971, 367 ff.
25 Minns 1971, 374
26 Minns 1971, 383; see also Strong 1966, 86
27 Reeder 1999, fig. 74
28 Reeder 1999, 240
29 Reeder 1999, 241
30 Reeder 1999, 237
31 Minns 1971, 397
32 Minns 1971, 547
33 Minns 1971, 629
34 Lordkipanidze 1991, 157
35 Lordkipanidze 1991, 164
36 Minns 1971, 232
37 Lordkipanidze 1991, 155
38 Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 13, citing Aristeas
39 Mallory and Mair 2000, 40
40 Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 24-27 and 32
41 This analysis is presented by Hudson, writing in the late 1920's; cf. Hudson 1961,36 (which is a reprint of 1931); In details, however, more recent studies reflect different opinions on the precise location of the people mentioned by Herodotus, e.g. cf. Bolton 1962
42 Hudson 1961, 39; Bolton stated that he was "inclined strongly to the opinion of those who hold that Aristeas heard from the Issedones something of the civilization of China" (Bolton 1962, 100)
43 Hudson 1961, 45; Bolton confirms that the Hyperboreans of whom Aristeas heard from the Issedones were the Chinese (Bolton 1962, 101)
44 Hansen 2000, 173, mentions the discovery of Caucasian corpses, dating from 1200 B.C., in the Taklamakan Desert of north-west China's Xinjiang province; see also Tucker 2003, 93;
45 Mallory and Mair 2000,45
46 Reeder 1999, 33; 63; see also Polle 1980, 53
47 Haskins 1988, 1
48 Phillips 1965, 78
49 Azarpay 1959, 339
50 Reeder 1999, 63
51 Haskins 1988, 5
52 Haskins 1988, 6
53 Azarpay 1959, 339
54 Kerr 1978, 77
55 Kerr 1978, 78
56 Burkert 1992, 14
57 Herodotus, *Histories*, V, 52-53
58 Kuhrt 1995, vol. 1, 90 ff.
59 About 25 km west of modern Bagdad, 33.48N and 44.16E

60 Strabo, *Geog.* xi., 7.3 and ii, 1.15
61 Tarn 1951, Appendices 14 and 15

CHAPTER 2

1 The best known biography of Alexander is Bosworth 1988; Also recommended is Green 1991
2 This is not strictly true as there are 5th century portraits of Athenians like Perikles and Themistokles. But these are believed to have been idealized representations of their subjects as models of the statesman, rather than the correct image of individuals
3 For the review of the preoccupation with fortune in the next pages, the work of Pollitt, has been used (Pollitt 1986, 19-46)
4 Pollitt 1986, 2; citing Polybios 29.2I.3-6
5 Pollitt 1986, 2; citing Menander, fragment 355K
6 For a full treatment of the Tyche of Antioch, see Dohrn 1960
7 For a detailed study of Kairos, see Stewart 1978
8 For the privilege of Lysippos and his portraiture of Alexander, see Schwarzenberg 1967
9 See Hölscher, 1971 and Schwarzenberg, 1975
10 For coinage of Alexander, see Bauslaugh 1984
11 For detailed treatment of the image of Mithradates VI on coins, see Kleiner 1953
12 See also Wreszinsky 1932
13 For details of the Alexander Sarcophagus, see Graeve 1970
14 Petsas 1965, 50
15 See Wanning 1978 for a useful treatment of this subject
16 For an in depth treatment of the Alexander mosaic, see Andreae 1977
17 See par. 6.4 for a detailed discussion of Tyche in a different context
18 See Künzl 1968, 118-127
19 Lehmann 1973, 181-199
20 In his *Hecuba* of about 425 B.C., Euripides (ca. 485-ca. 406 B.C.) tells of Polyxena, daughter of the Trojan king, who made this gesture trying "to hide what had to be hidden for the eyes of man" (lines 568-570). And later, Ovid (43 B.C.-c. 17 A.D.) in his *Metamorphoses*, let Polyxena make the same gesture when she was sacrificed by the Greek (13.479-80), just as he did with Lucretia in his *Fasti* (2.833-4)
21 See Fuchs 1963, 16-18
22 See e.g. Laubscher 1982, and Richardson 1936
23 For general discussions of Hellenistic mosaics, see e.g. Salzmann 1982, and Robertson 1965
24 White 1956, chapter II
25 Colledge 1977, 6; see also Frye 1996, 114-116; There is considerable debate on the precise course of events. For example, Andragoras may have been the Seleucid satrap defeated by Arsaces in the mid-3rd century B.C., but there are anomalies related to his coins. See e.g. Holt 1988, 98
26 There is uncertainty about the name of the satrap in Parthia, and apart from Andragoras names like Pherekles and Agathokles appear. However, some coins bear the name "Andragoras"(Holt 1999, 61)
27 See par. 2.4
28 See par. 2.1
29 Colledge 1977, 81-82

30 Colledge 1977, 83-89; with references
31 See Colledge 1977, 85-87; with references
32 Colledge 1977, 87-88
33 For architectural reliefs, see Colledge 1977, 93-103
34 See also par. 6.2
35 Boardman 1994, 87
36 Boardman 1994, fig. 4.21a
37 Weitzmann 1943; see also Chapter 9
38 Tarn 1951, 302
39 These dishes are fully discussed in Boardman 1993
40 The extent to which Bactria became separated from the Seleucids and the West after the political breakaway under Diodotus has been debated. Cf. Shipley 2005, 283
41 Euthydemus I probably also ruled the widest district ever possessed by the Greeks to the north. Even into China the influence and trade of the Greeks seems at this time to have penetrated. Proof of this is a coin from Kashgar, bearing a Chinese legend and inscribed with the name and titles of a Greek king (Gardner 1966, xxiii)
42 Boardman 1994, 99
43 Frye 1996, 90; see also Holt 1988, 43
44 Boardman 1994, 99
45 Holt 1988, 42
46 Holt 1988, 43
47 Shipley 2000, 325
48 Holt 1999, 39
49 Holt 1988, 44
50 Mallory and Mair 2000, 95; For the extent to which Ai Khanum was a Greek city, see Holt 1999, 43-47
51 Hudson 1961, 57
52 Colledge 1977, 82
53 Tucker 2003, 42
54 Rowland 1955, 171-179
55 Colledge 1977, 88
56 Colledge 1977, 96
57 Colledge 1977, 112
58 Tarn 1951, 277
59 When the Yuezhi entered the Ili River basin, the Śakas, fleeing south and west, had passed through Greek Sogdiana and Bactria to Iran (where they gave their name to Sakastan, modern Seistan) on the one side, and to Afghanistan and north-west India (Gandhāra and the Indus valley) on the other, where they founded the Ji-Bin state. Cf. Needham 1954, 194
60 Marshall 2000, 3
61 Behrendt 2007, 21
62 Marshall 2000, 4
63 Tarn 1951, xx-xxi
64 Especially by A.K. Narain, who maintained that the history of the Indo-Greeks is part of the history of India rather than of the Hellenistic states (Narain 1957, 11); cf. Holt 1988, 3-7;
65 Marshall 2000, 5

66 Colledge 1977, 114

CHAPTER 3

1 Pollitt 1986, 159, citing Plutarch
2 Pollitt 1986, 154
3 Pollitt 1986, 155, citing Plutarch
4 Pollitt 1986, 158
5 Pollitt 1986, 158, citing Strabo
6 For a discussion on the extent to which Roman copies were produced and applied as decoration of buildings in Rome, see Vermeule 1977, 6 ff.
7 Chapter 1, par. 1.2
8 Roberts and Barmé 2006, 42 and 52; see also China's technology 1983, 436-444;
9 Hirth 1917, 91 ff.; For the attempts of the Chinese towards the west, we have partly borrowed from Liebermann 1953, 307-311;
10 Needham 1954, 175
11 Hirth 1917, 107
12 Cf. Chapter 9
13 Hudson 1961, 66
14 Silk culture existed in China well before the 20th century B.C., and by the 11th century B.C. the cultivation of mulberry trees and the rearing of silkworms flourished widely in both north and south China (China's Technology 1983, 305-306); The earliest export of Chinese silk dates to ca. 1200 B.C. (Hansen 2000, 173)
15 Hudson 1961, 79
16 Hirth 1885, 166, citing the Hou-han-shu, the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty
17 Hudson 1961, 84
18 Charlesworth 1924, 58; Teggart 1969, 240-241;
19 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 6.24; For the attempts of the Romans to reach China, we have partly borrowed from Liebermann 1953, 190, 196, 199, 200;
20 Kortenbeutel 1931, 68
21 Pauly Wissowa 1951, sup. 6 (1935), 235
22 Ptolemy, *Geography*, Book 1, 11, 6-7
23 Ptolemy, *Geography*, Book 7, 3, 3
24 Hirth 1885, 178
25 For studies on the use of the camel and dromedary, see Schafer 1950 and Wapnish 1984
26 Tucker 2003, 140
27 Tucker 2003, 140
28 Tucker 2003, 169; with reference to a description of Marco Polo
29 Tucker 2003, 179; with reference to a description of Faxian
30 Schoff 1912, 48; see also Casson 1989 or Young 2001
31 Ptolemy, *Geography* , Book 1.17
32 E-mail communication by Dr Kurt Behrendt
33 Hudson 1960, 88
34 Probably Cranganore, near Cochin on the Malabar Coast
35 Wheeler 1954, 126

36 Boardman 1994, 122, citing Dio Cocceiamus, later called Dio Chrysosthomus (ca. 40-112 A.D.), a Greek philosopher
37 Behrendt 2007, 7
38 Wheeler 1954, 144-145
39 Tucker 2003, 329
40 Boardman 1994, 122
41 Tonkin, which was the Chinese territory
42 Cambridge-Southeast Asia, 1992, vol. 1, 192
43 Wheatley 1961, 55
44 Hudson 1961, 76
45 Cambridge-Southeast Asia 1992, vol. 1, 192
46 Wang 1958, 16
47 Shen 1996, 44
48 Hirth 1885, 46
49 Cambridge-Southeast Asia, vol. 1, 193
50 Cf. par. 3.2
51 Shen 1996, 44
52 Hudson 1961, 150
53 Cf. par. 3.7; and par. 4.4
54 Stein 1903, 404
55 Stein 1903, title page; For this survey, and in particular for objects found before 1950 we have used Lieberman 1953, 203-218, including the references to the original sources.
56 Stein 1903, 384, 396
57 Stein 1903, 396
58 Stein 1903, 396
59 Stein 1903, 394c, 396
60 Stein 1921, vol. 1, 216
61 Stein 1912, vol. 1, 480 and fig. 146
62 Stein 1912, vol.1, 483-484
63 Lee 1997, 152
64 See also par. 4.3.1
65 Behrendt 2007, 14
66 Yetts 1926, 168-185
67 Yetts 1926, 168-173
68 Yetts 1926, 175 and plate III, E, F, G and figs. 1 and 2
69 See par. 4.4, sub Merchants
70 Grousset 1942, 73, 82-83
71 Hirth 1885, 42 and 47; see also par. 3.2
72 Cambridge-Southeast Asia 1992, vol. 1, 158
73 It is sometimes thought that Oceo may have been the capital of Funan (Tucker 2003, 329), but the precise relation between Funan and Oceo is unclear
74 Malleret 1951b, 88
75 Hirth 1885, 47
76 Malleret 1951a, 197

77 Coedès 1947, 199 and 198, Plate E2
78 Coedès 1928, 195 ff.
79 Coedès 1928, 207
80 Coedès 1928, 205-207
81 Seligman 1937, 16 and fig. 8
82 Kisa 1908, vol. 2, 390-392; vol. 3, plate F 369
83 Kisa 1908, vol. 2, 346 and 380
84 Seligman 1937, 16
85 Seligman and Beck 1938, 1-64
86 Chinese beads can be distinguished from their western prototypes by the presence of a considerable amount of barium lead, which is present only occasionally as a trace or not at all in the western beads. Seligman and Beck 1938, 49
87 Seligman and Beck 1938, 14; for recent research on the influence of the Silk Roads on ancient glass, see Gan and Brill, 2008
88 Seligman and Beck 1938, 9
89 Seligman and Beck 1938, 10
90 Seligman and Beck 1938, 10 and 11 and plate IV, no. 6
91 Seligman and Beck 1938, 12 and notes 14, 15, 16 and 20
92 Bushell 1886, 17 ff.
93 Hudson 1961, 100
94 Johnston Laing 1995, 1
95 Other possible identifications are Demeter, the Greek goddess of the harvest, Anahita, the Persian goddess of waters and fertility, and Ardoxsho, the Kushān goddess of wealth. (Watt 2004, 197). See Chapter Gods and Heroes
96 Johnston Laing 1995, 4
97 Johnston Laing 1995, 4
98 Wu 1989, 50
99 Wu 1989, 50; Also found in Central Asia, the image of the centaur was probably brought east by the military conquests of Alexander the Great. (Watt, 2004, 194)
100 Tucker 2003, 172. Others think that the decoration on this textile might be Parthian. See Bunker 2001, 36, and Tucker 2003, 184, fig. 233
101 Bunker 2001, 36
102 Johnston Laing 1995, 10
103 Tucker 2003, 85; Barbieri-Low 2001, 52-56
104 Barbieri-Low 2001, 58
105 Sterne and Nolte 1994, 290 and 284
106 An 2002, 83
107 An 1987
108 Johnston Laing 1991, 109
109 Johnston Laing 1991, 5 and 6
110 As discussed in par. 2.4
111 The embassy of Phraates IV (ca. 38-2 B.C.) to Augustus led to good relations between Parthia and Rome. Augustus sent him a female slave, Musa, who gave birth to a son. In 20 B.C. Augustus convinced Phraates to restore to Rome the standards captured from Crassus and Anthony as well as the captives

112 Cf. par. 2.4; see also Edwards 1954, 106; and particularly Rowland 1949;
113 Possibly from Alexandria where the cult of Harpocrates (s.v.) was centred. Egypt and Alexandria were important trade partners
114 Boardman 1994, 118; Colledge 1977, 130
115 Marshall 2000, fig. 33
116 Marshall 2000, 29
117 Cf. par. 3.4
118 Strabo 15.1.73
119 Strabo 15.1.4
120 Pliny, *Natural History* VI, 84
121 According to Dio Chrysostomus, the Greek orator, who lived from 40-112 A.D.
122 Hadrian, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* 21.14
123 Book XV.4, sometimes ascribed to Theodosius I, A.D. 395
124 Sarianidi 1985, 219, plt. 1604 and Sarianidi 1985, 159, fig. 98
125 Marshall 2000, 41
126 Boardman 1994, 128; see also par. 8.8 on musculature
127 Boardman 1994, 135, fig. 4.76
128 Boardman 1994, 121, fig. 4.58
129 Boardman 1994, 121
130 Whitehouse 1997, 118; 221; 233; 236
131 The present whereabouts of these objects are unknown; They were housed in the Kābul Museum, which was looted in the early 1990's
132 Rawson 1984, 55
133 Tucker 2003, 46
134 However, the borders of the empire enclosed many other Christian sects and communities as well as a substantial Jewish population
135 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006
136 Cormack 2006, 14
137 Cormack 2006, 17
138 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 151
139 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 151
140 John 15:1; Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 153
141 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 154
142 Leader-Newby 2006, 70
143 Leader-Newby 2006, 70
144 Althaus 2006, fig. 82
145 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 159
146 Mundell Mango 2006, 60
147 Eastmond and Stewart 2006, 80
148 See also par. 4.4

CHAPTER 4

1 For generic informataion on Buddhism we have borrowed from Ch'en 1972
2 Ghose 1998, 12

3 Ch'en 1972, 338 ff.
4 See also par. 8.2
5 Wheeler 1954, 166
6 Behrendt 2007, 14
7 See Glossary
8 Tucker 2003, 63
9 Legends about the founding of Khotan relate that the city was founded by a group of Indian nobles from Taxila – banished from the court of Aśoka during the 3rd century B.C. for blinding Kunala, Aśoka's son (Tucker 2003, 180)
10 Banerjee 1992, xi; citing Andrews 1935, 3
11 Tucker 2003, 177
12 Tucker 2003, 179
13 Especially the floral decorations. "The most familiar elements are the acanthus leaf and the rosette. The former is always rather of Greek or Byzantine type (acanthus spinosa) than of the Roman type (acanthus mollis) and the design of the acanthus ornament often follows Byzantine principles, rather than those of the true Greek. The rosettes are of the Roman type or, more generally, of a type which seems to have developed in Gandhāra and North West Frontier when Buddhism was flourishing in these districts" (Banerjee 1992, xi; citing Andrews 1935, 3); see also Chapter 13 (Foliage and Floral motifs)
14 Banerjee 1992, xii
15 Bussagli 1978, 21
16 Banerjee 1992, xix
17 Hansen 2000, 163
18 Tucker 2003, 141
19 Banerjee 1992, xxii, with reference to Stein 1933, 227
20 See also paragraph 4.4 for joint efforts of Sogdians and Chinese in the weaving industry in Turfan
21 Frye 2002, 73
22 This dating is from Le Coq, but is possibly too early. Radiocarbon dating is reported to indicate a 12th century date (Berichte und Abhandlungen der Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 8 (2000), 337-368
23 Banerjee 1992, xxvi
24 Bunker 2004, 34
25 Tucker 2003, 170
26 A good survey of the spread of Buddhism in China is in Wright 1959. Also in Zürcher 1962 and 1972; we have borrowed from Ch'en 1972 in the present work
27 See par. 3.2
28 In Zürcher 1990 it is proposed that the spread of Buddhism into Han China was not a gradual process of diffusion, but rather a transmission as part of a Buddhist expansion of the ideology, leaping across an underdeveloped Central Asia to the wealthy cities of China, only filtering back to Central Asia when economic conditions allowed it
29 Maspero 1910
30 The journey to India was so arduous and dangerous that it is estimated that only two percent of the Chinese pilgrims in India ever returned. A better alternative was the worship before sculptured scenes on pagodas or wall paintings in Buddhist caves. These sites could serve as a surrogate for

the whole trip. cf. Juliano 2001, 142, note 26

31 It is recalled that the north was ruled by successive and contemporaneous nomadic dynasties, while the south was under the control of a series of Chinese dynasties that saw themselves as inheritors and preservers of the Han imperial traditions. The southern dynasties ruled from the same capital, Qiankang, present-day Nanjing

32 Reischauer 1955, 225-227

33 For a detailed study of the life of Xuanzang, see Wriggings 1996

34 See par. 4.3.1

35 Banerjee 1992, xxvii

36 For detailed descriptions, see Witfield and Farrer 1990

37 Tucker 2003, 126

38 Hansen 2000, 245

39 For this the work of Tucker, already cited, gives a good and compact survey. For a more detailed discussion see e.g. Baker 1991

40 Chen 2001, 212

41 Chen 2001, 217, note 6; The coinage of the Śaka people (pre-Kushān) who controlled north-western India during the Parthian period, also depicts personages seated in the cross-ankled position (*ibid*). This could support the suggestion that the cross-ankled position was introduced into Indian art by the Iranians (Ghose 1998, 24)

42 For example see Marshall 2000, fig. 54

43 See Chapter 9

44 Chen 2001, 215

45 For detailed descriptions, see Sullivan 1969

46 Tucker 2003, 112

47 For a brief summary of the sculptures, stone steles and painting fragments in the Maijishan caves, see Juliano 2001, 136-138; and Wong 2002, 46-59

48 Wright 1959, 21

49 Wright 1959, 21

50 See also par. 4.4 about this Sogdian letter. For the fall of Luoyang, see Waley 1954

51 Barnes 1999, 206

52 Hansen 2000, 206; see also par. 4.4 for the fields of merit, cultivated by Buddhist monks

53 Lee 1997, 307

54 Fernald 1953, no.119

55 Maspero 1934

56 Tucker 2003, 71; see also Mc Nair 2007

57 Fernald 1953, no.78

58 Juliano 2001, 130

59 Marshak 2001, 235

60 Lee 1997, 164

61 Cambridge-Japan 1989, vol. 1, 371-372

62 Cambridge-Japan 1989, vol. 1, 177, 182

63 Cambridge-Japan 1989, vol. 1, 191-192

64 Cf. Kieschnick 2003, 285

65 Juliano 2001, 126

66 Kieschnick 2003, 290
67 Kieschnick 2003, 290
68 Ho 1998, 29
69 Juliano 2001, 125
70 Frye 1996, 162
71 Frye 1996, 156
72 In the present work a great deal of the information about the development of the relations between the Sogdians and China is owed to the work of Etienne de la Vaissière (Vaissière 2002 and (Vaissière 2003)
73 Vaissière 2003, citing Hulsewé 1979, 109
74 Vaissière 2003, citing Hulsewé 1979, 128, citing *Han shu*/The History of the Han dynasty
75 Vaissière 2003, citing Sanguo Zhi, 4, 895
76 For the Sogdian so-called "Ancient Letters", see Grenet and Sims-Williams 1987
77 Vaissière 2003, citing Enoki 1955, 44, citing Wei Shu, the Chronicles of the Wei
78 Tucker 2003, 75, citing a Chinese record written in ca. 550 A.D.
79 Zhang 2002, 75
80 Marshak 2001, 234
81 For more details on the expansion of Sogdian influence in China, see the work of de la Vaissière as cited
82 Vaissière 2003; see also Skaff 1998, 67-115
83 Frye 1996, 165
84 Tucker 2003, 267
85 Tucker 2003, 197
86 Mallory and Mair 2000, 100
87 Zhang 2002, 76
88 Tucker 2003, 145
89 Tucker 2003, 268, fig. 344
90 Cf. par. 3.7; see also Chapters 9 and 12;
91 E.g. gifts of silverplate were sent from the Sasanian court to the Emperor Aurelian, cf. Harper 1981, 20
92 This mainly because the Byzantine rulers were then concerned with invasions of Visigoths from western Europe
93 Cf. Harper 1981, 21; see also Fukai 1977, 23
94 Hobson 1976, vol.1, 34
95 Marshak 2002, 13
96 Tucker 2003, 92
97 Mundell Mango 2006, 64
98 Lerner 2001, 223-224, and 228 note 8
99 Tucker 2003, 286
100 Frye 2002, 73
101 Alram 2001, 272
102 Frye 1993, 73
103 Alram 2001, 273
104 Takashi 1971, 52

105 Alram 2001, 273
106 Xuanzang 1999, 13
107 For a survey of the Silk Road coins, see Tanabe 1993; for an introduction to the late Roman-Byzantine monetary system, see Hendy 1985
108 Alram 2001, 273; for the history of Chinese coinage, see Thierry 1998
109 Cf. par. 3.7
110 During the second half of the 5th century the Northern Wei and the Sasanian court tried to establish frequent relations. The first known Sasanian mission to the Northern Wei capital took place in 455, followed by nine successive ones between 461 and 522. The Northern Wei sent an envoy to Persia around 470. See Takashi 1971, 52; Lerner 2001, 228 note 11; Ecsedy 1977
111 Marshak 2002, 18

CHAPTER 5

1 Needham 1954, 227
2 Halliday 1933, 6
3 Letsa 1952, 140-147
4 Needham 1954, 226, citing Dixon 1928, 223
5 So and Bunker 1995, 70, citing China Reconstructs 1991.8, 36
6 Hansen 2000, 173
7 Cf. par. 1.3.3
8 Burkert 1992, 14
9 Cf. par. 1.3.3
10 Cf. par. 2.4
11 Cf. par. 2.4 and 3.2
12 Cf. par. 3.2
13 Cf. par. 3.4
14 Cf. also par. 3.2
15 Gunter 1990, 134
16 Boardman 1994, 314
17 Cf. Needham 1954, 244
18 Citing Ettinghausen 1972, 2
19 Barbieri-Low 2001, 58
20 Cf. Ettinghausen 1972, 2
21 Cf. Philips 2005, 39
22 Gombrich 1979, 210
23 Rawson 1984, 28; citing Gombrich 1960, 53
24 For example the studies referred to in Clarke 2005

CHAPTER 6

1 See Chapter 2
2 In the Classical world also mortals were worshipped, who by their heroic deeds had won the admiration and respect. They are generally designated by the title of half-gods
3 Alexander the Great, 2003; Tanabe 1993
4 Homer, Odyssey 10, 20-22

5 The swift-footed horses of Achilles are the offspring of Zephyrus, the god of the West wind and one of the Harpies (s.v.) (Oxford Dictionary 1957, 959, 965)
6 Oxford Dictionary 1957, 959
7 Guerber 1993, 187
8 Tanabe 1993, 72
9 Lexicon 1986, vol. III, part 1, 135-139
10 The message of the Tazza Farnese was that the prosperity of Ptolemaic Egypt derived from these winds that brought floods to the Nile and a season of fertility (Pollitt 1986, 259)
11 Havelock 1971, 79
12 Tanabe 1993, 73
13 Bush 1974, 44
14 Christie 1968, 66
15 Tanabe 1993, 75; see also Bush 1974, 36
16 Tanabe 1993, 75
17 Alexander the Great 2003, 21
18 Edmunds 1974, 352
19 Griffith 1899, 484
20 Huish 1892, 15
21 Murase and Smith 2000, figs. 1,2,3; For a catalogue of an exhibition on this subject in the Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tōkyō, cf. Idemitsu Museum of Art, The National Treasure: Screens of wind and thunder gods. Tōkyō, 2006
22 Murase and Smith 2000, 157, fig. 20
23 Hartman collection 1976, 116, no.445
24 Gonse 1883, vol. 2, 151, plate xvii, no. 11
25 Earle 1986, 103, fig. 70
26 The order of these labours is not always the same in literature, nor in ancient monuments
27 Lexicon 1990, V.1, 7
28 Pollitt 1986, 50
29 Reeder 1999, 24
30 Reeder 1999, 240
31 Boardman 1994, 253
32 Boardman 1994, 251
33 Pollitt 1986, 25
34 TEFAF 2005, 361
35 Lexicon 1990, V.1, 6-262
36 Harden 1987, 163/164, 249, 262, 277, 280; figs. 85 and 155
37 Villa Erculia, n.d., 66 ff.
38 Lexicon 1990, V.2, 33, figs. 1760 and 1761, show four of them; for a complete survey of portrayal of Herakles on Roman coins, see Voegtli 1977
39 Colledge 1977, 84
40 Boardman 1994, 118
41 Boardman 1994, 137
42 Colledge 1977, 18
43 Boardman 1994, 130

44 Tanabe 1993, 78; a good study of the function of Vajrapāni in connection with Herakles was published by Arcangela Santoro (1991)
45 See par. 4.2, and Behrendt 2007, 89
46 McCune 1992, 139, fig. 83
47 Lee 1997, 400
48 Lee 1997, 401
49 Weber 1975, vol.II, plate XLI, no. 2
50 Joly and Tomita 1976, 40, no.16
51 Watson 1981, p.311, fig. 314; 313, fig. 320; Joly and Tomita 1976, 41, no.42; Moss 1993, no. 99;
52 Hartman Collection 1976, 86, no.314; Joly and Tomita 1976, 149, no. 618; 153, no.678; 161, no. 793; 170, no. 927
53 Grueber 1993, 109 ff.
54 Lexicon 1990, V, part 1, 285-387
55 Minns 1971, 448
56 Havelock 1971, 121
57 Colledge 1977, 81
58 Colledge 1977, 82
59 Colledge 1977, fig. 5
60 Lexicon 1990, V, part 1, 285-387
61 Harden 1987, 62, 67, 163-164, 171; figs. 85, 149
62 Toynbee 1962, 212
63 Alexander the Great 2003, 22
64 Alexander the Great 2003, 22
65 Edmunds 1974, 321
66 See e.g. Weber 1975, vol. 1,131 ff.
67 Joly 1967, 115; Weber 1975, vol. I, pl. XI, nos 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 (all of the Edo period); Joly and Tomita 1976, 41, no. 52 (19th century)
68 Hartman 1976, 83, nos. 291, 295
69 Huish 1892, 52, 53;
70 Weber 1975, vol. I, 132 and 133, fig. 142
71 Weber 1975, vol. I, 133, fig. 143
72 Ball 1969,162
73 Ball 1969, 163
74 Audsley and Bowes 1881,90
75 Schiffer 2002, 14, 17
76 Weber 1975, vol. I, pl. XI, no.2; Moss 1993, no. 96
77 Ball 1969, 160
78 Ball 1969, 162
79 Michener 1979, 103, fig.54
80 For a detailed description of this assimilation process, see Grenet 1995, 277-281
81 Schafer 1985, 268
82 Xuanzang 1999, 64
83 Xuanzang 1999, 64
84 Kyōto National Museum 1966, nos. 160 and 162

85 Alexander the Great 2003, 22
86 Edmunds 1974, 264
87 Edmunds 1974, 264
88 Hartman Collection 1976, 121, no. 485; 122, no. 490, 494;
89 Hartman Collection 1976, 25, no. 37; Joly and Tomita 1976, 175, no. 999; Weber 1975, vol. I, plate IV, no. 9, no. 11
90 Audsley and Bowes 1881, 90;
91 Oxford Classical Dictionary 1957, 930
92 For the preoccupation with fortune in Hellenistic times, cf. par. 2.2.2
93 Burn 1991, 136
94 Lexicon 1997, vol. VIII, part 1, 115
95 Lexicon 1997, vol. VIII, part 1, 118 ff.
96 Lexicon 1997, vol. VIII, part 1, 124
97 Lexicon 1997, vol. VIII, part 1, 125-138
98 Lexicon 1997, vol. VIII, part 1, 121 ff.
99 Colledge 1977, 105
100 Colledge 1977, figs. 9c and d
101 Boardman 1994, 135
102 Sakai 1949, vol. I, 34
103 Murray 1982, 254; for details see also Haesner 1997, 729;
104 Murray 1982, 255
105 Williams 1974, 333
106 Weber 1975, vol.1, fig. 461
107 Weber 1975, vol.1, fig. 462. In Japan the number of children is said to be thousand or even more, while in China the number is limited to five hundred
108 Cf. par. 6.2
109 Lexicon 1986, III, part 1, 16
110 Lexicon 1986, III, part 1, 16
111 Gairola 1956, 138
112 Gairola 1956, 139; referring to Marshall and Foucher 1940; for an example from Bhārhut, see Coomaraswamy 1965, fig. 37
113 Gairola 1956, 139
114 Holt 1988, 28
115 Holt 1988, 28, and note 66
116 Foucher 1918, vol. 1, 206
117 Note that Gairola, in 1956, was also not aware of these developments
118 See par. 2.4
119 Bussagli 1955, 15
120 Gairola 1956, 138, note 2
121 Examples of this are shown in Lexicon 1986, III, part 2, fig. 3 (Greece, 6th century B.C.); fig. 9 (Greece, 5th century B.C.; fig. 13 (Greece, 5th century B.C.; figs. 34 and 35 (Rome, n.d.); fig. 38 (Rome, ca. 200 A.D.)
122 Marshall 2000, 39
123 Ecke 1930, 67, fig. 6

124 Gairola 1956, 142

125 It is to be noted that a caryatid-like figure, with both hands raised above his head as if to support something, was already known in China much earlier. A bronze figurine with that pose, now in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, was found in a late 5th century B.C. tomb in Hubei province (Lawton 1982, 20). A pair of bronze table legs (13 cm high) in animal form (possibly representing a bear) and in this supporting attitude are from the 5th to 4th century B.C. (Nelson 1973, vol .2, 17) ,while on a funerary banner from the early 2nd century B.C. unearthed at Mawangdui, Hunan province, a creature in this posture has been depicted (Hansen 2000 ,122). However, these examples have nothing to do with the introduction of the image of the classical atlant from Gandhāra, some five hundred or more years later.

126 Ecke 1930, 68

127 Bussagli 1953, 192, fig. 12

128 Bussagli 1953, 193

129 Boardman 1994, 137

130 Boardman 1984, 150; referring to Bussagli 1953, 192

131 See par. 6.3, sub Bishamonten

132 See par. 6.3

133 Foucher 1918, vol. 1, 358 f., 398 f., figs. 187, 200; see also Marshall 2000, 45, and fig. 59

CHAPTER 7

1 See Chapter 11, The Face of the Monster

2 The wings are now lost, cf. Pedley 1998, 180

3 Oxford Classical Dictionary 1957, 608

4 Ecke 1930, 90

5 Padgett 2003, 281

6 Cf. Lexicon 1992, VI, 2, 558-588, nos. 1 through 379

7 Lexicon 1992, VI, 2, 559, no.14

8 Lexicon 1992, VI, 2, 568, no.98

9 Lexicon 1992, VI, 2, 568, no.99

10 For other coins from Syracuse, with the same type of decoration and from the same period, cf. Carradice and Price 1988, plate 7, nos. 85 and 88; plate 6, no. 81

11 Artamonov 1970, 152

12 Lexicon 1992, VI, 1, 883-889

13 Pollitt 1986, 31

14 Lexicon 1992, VI, 2, 591, no.421

15 Lexicon 1997, VIII, 1, 237

16 Lexicon 1997, VIII, 1, presents a representative selection of some 375 examples from all over the territory and the period

17 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 149

18 Lexicon 1986, III, part 1 and 2 show, as a representative selection, more than a thousand examples from all over the Greek world; s.v. Eros

19 For example, the representative selection in Lexicon 1986, III, 1, 942-952, mentions about one hundred examples of Eros in these areas, where only four pertain to the flying image

20 Panchamukhi 1951, 6

21 Panchamukhi 1951, 22
22 Banerjee 1982
23 Banerjee 1982, 9
24 Tanaka 1998, 28
25 In this Chapter we use from now on the term floating, i.e. moving or drifting about vaguely, when the body, without wings, is in the up-right position and, often, the kick-back attitude of one leg and the forward lifted attitude of the other suggest some sort of flight. We use the term flying, for the posture as familiar to us from the Classical Nike and Eros, with the body (almost) horizontal
26 Panchamukhi 1951, 31-32, referring to plate 56 on p. 159 of the Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1906-07
27 Ghose 1998, 171, fig. 21; also shown in Xuanzang 1999, 128, no. 82, and by Coomaraswamy 1985, plate XXIII, fig. 84; Krishan shows a relief from Kārle, at the north-west coast of India, from the 1st centuy AD, where a seated Buddha is crowned by two floating *gandharvas* (Krishan 1996, fig. 50a)
28 Mathurā, about two hundred kilometres south of Delhi, was an important centre of art, especially during the Kushān period. Its art is a rich combination of native elements. Mathurā's geographic situation was most favourable for several influences. Situated on the main artery of the Ganges, it became a trade route as well as the southern capital of the Kushāns
29 Czuma 1985, 29, fig. 4; 52, colour plt.; The ancient art of Jainism did not differ materially very much from that of Buddhism: both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic motifs and the same sacred symbols. Both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. But every religion had definite subjects that were preferably represented or purposely not represented (Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949, 152). See also Ghose 1998, 20
30 See Chapter 6
31 Soper 1958, 144-5; Boardman 1994, 151
32 Xuanzang 1999, 130, no. 81
33 At Amarāvati, a site in Āndra Pradesh, in the south-east, a great *stūpa* was the centre of worship for several centuries. There were several periods of construction, ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. The bas-reliefs of Amarāvati are important for what they reveal about the religious practices of the day. Nearby Nāgārjunakonda is the most important contemporary site. Much of the art of Nāgārjunakonda parallels that of Amarāvati
34 Panchamukhi 1951, 34
35 Khandalavala 1991, 30; see also Tiwari 1991, 27-29
36 Harle 1996, pl.46
37 Harle 1996, pl.38
38 Panchamukhi 1951, 35
39 Cf. also Randhawa and Randhawa 1985
40 See also par. 4.2
41 Cf. par. 4.3.1
42 Cf. par. 4.3.2; see also, for example, Juliano and Lerner 2001, 215;
43 Chen 2001
44 Cf. par. 4.3.1 and 4.3.2
45 Cf. Marshall 2000, 19; 71-72; 79; 83; 97; also cf. Ackermann 1975; Errington and Crib 1992; Czuma 1985; Ingholt 1957;
46 Ackermann 1975, plate 83c

47 Both of these exceptions have no provenance. In proving exceptions it is the convention to adhere to provenanced pieces, because many forgeries exist. Other exceptions, however, are not known to the author

48 Marshall 2000, 82

49 Czuma 1985, 193, fig. 105

50 Marshall 2000, plt. 92, fig. 128

51 Apart from the authors already cited in support of this statement, the following works contribute to complete the picture. Foucher investigated the Gandhāra sculpture thoroughly, both in his thesis (Foucher 1905), as in his later work (Foucher 1918). Both works are exuberantly illustrated, but examples of flying or floating deities are absent. Buchthal (Buchthal 1945), investigating western aspects of Gandhāra sculptures, does not mention any example of the flying or floating deity-image. Nehru, composing a more recent and complete survey of Gandhāran art and contributory influences during the Kushān period (Nehru 1989), does not mention any examples either

52 Coomaraswamy 1985, 50

53 It could be argued, for example, that flying or floating figures could have been present in Gandhāran painting and were then lost. But it would be really remarkable that a motif in paintings would be totally ignored by architectural decorators

54 Stein 1921, describing and illustrating sculptures and paintings from the Buddhist shrines at Miran, does not produce or refer to any image of a flying or floating deity. Winged figures, however, appear on the walls, exactly as they are ubiquitously present on the Gandhāra reliefs as the up-right *putti* (Stein 1921, 510)

55 Cf. par. 4.3.1

56 Bussagli 1978, 27; This dating is based on supposed affinities to Gandhāran art, which itself is problematic

57 Chen 2001, 211

58 Cf. Czuma 1985; Ackermann 1975; Ingholt 1957;: The remarks concerning the absence of the image during the Kushān period hold also for the early Sasanian period. Zalf (1996) inventorises and details the collection of Gandhāran sculptures in the British Museum, illustrating 680 objects. In Vol. II, 266, fig. 482, two wingless flying "worshippers" on a fragment of a relief from Swāt are depicted. For this fragment no dating is given, nor is any bibliographical reference specified, suggesting that this piece may be unique. Apart from this example in the catalogue of the British Museum, nothing flies or floats

59 Banerjee 1992, 31

60 Juliano 2001, 127, and 142 note 33

61 Li 1998, 62

62 Apsarasas in various caves of Kizil, all dated to the latter part of the 4th century AD, are summarized in Rhie 2002, Vol. II, 692, 671, 669 and 668. For apsarasas appearing in Buddhist context in China during the late 4th century AD and later, see Rhie 2002, vol. II, 347, 348, 350, 416, 430, 466.

63 Cf. for example Randhawa and Randhawa 1985; also Khandalavala 1991 provides a useful survey, from which the paucity of the floating celestials in Mathurān art in this period may be derived

64 Grünwedel 1912

65 Juliano 2001, 129; Tucker 2003, 155; The margin for error with carbon dating leaves a 4th century dating viable. This seems more in accord with other evidence (oral information by Dr. Kurt Behrendt)

66 Grünwedel 1912, fig. 391
67 Herzfeld 1920, 72-73
68 Le Coq 1977, 26
69 Boardman 1994, 152
70 Ecke 1930, 90; Ecke may have been inspired by the remarks of Aurel Stein about the "angels" of Miran. Stein says about them: "The winged figures of the Miran dado must be traced back to the classical god of love and their original iconographic prototype. But there are indications ... that they have been affected by Oriental conceptions. ... there is something vaguely suggestive of representations of angels, rather of the Early Christian church of the East than of a Buddhist shrine. ...it is to be remembered that the Zoroastrian doctrine of Fravashis has specially prepared the ground for it ..." (Stein 1921, Vol. I, 511)
71 Ecke 1930, 91
72 Boardman 1994, 136. On page 114 it is said that "the pairs of hovering winged humanoid demons ... will later find a classical counterpart which is enthusiastically adopted, but it would be difficult to hold that their forms at Bhārhut necessarily owe anything to the West." This, however, is a misprint and does not express his view as Prof. Boardman told me during a discussion in October 2006. It should read: "the pairs of hovering winged demons ... will later find a classical counterpart, which is enthusiastically adopted, and it would be difficult to hold that their forms at Bhārhut owe nothing to the West". In his contribution in Errington and Cribb (1992, 37) he specified already that "the flying Erotes or Victories were translated into apsaras".
73 Cf. J.C. Harle in Errington and Cribb 1992, 38; also cf. par. 2.4
74 Cf. par. 4.1
75 Ch'en 1972, 43
76 Ch'en 1972, 16
77 Cf. Ch'en 1972, 15; for further details and connections between the Pure Land idea and some Iranian religious principles, see Ch'en 1972, 16
78 Cf. par. 4.4
79 Cf. par. 4.4
80 Cf. par. 4.4
81 Juliano and Lerner 2001, 223
82 Juliano and Lerner 2001, 226
83 Hannestad 1988, 322
84 Hannestad 1988, 329
85 Ecke 1930, 88; citing Marucchi 1911, 90
86 Diehl 1948, 170
87 Grabar 1968, 46
88 Par. 4.3.2.; cf. also Wright 1959, 57
89 Wright 1959, 59
90 Li 1998, 62
91 Li 1998, 62
92 Li 1998, 62; Whether this is true in such a full measure may be subject to debate. Perhaps room should be left for the possibility of simultaneous transfer of style and motifs through Gandhāran and Central Asian intermediaries
93 For further descriptions see Ingholt 1957, 128, no. 262 (2); and Ingholt 1957, 123-124, no. 256 (1)

respectively

94 Juliano 2001, 178

95 Rawson 1984, 139

96 On this subject of different styles and influences in cave-temples in Gansu, a number of references in Chinese exist. For some information in English, see Soper 1958, 1960 and 1966

97 McCune 1962, 89

98 Nagahiro 1949, 17

99 This is according to a document called "The rubbing papers of apsaras of the Emille bell", published by the Kyŏngju National Museum. This document tells the story about the difficulties of the master bell caster, who spent years in repeated failure and finally succeeded only after throwing his little daughter into the already molten bronze as a human sacrifice. The lingering tone of the bell is thought to suggest the cry of "emille" ("mother") of the little girl thrown into the molten bronze. Such a grim story is often not understood, but there is a good reason for such a behaviour. If the bronze, which had to fill up all tiny cavities of the mould of such a bell, which was cast with the lost-wax casting process, was not fluid enough -because there were difficulties in reaching a high enough temperature- in old Chinese tradition a human being, usually a woman, was thrown into the already melting bronze. The liquid then became much more fluid because the phosphor in human bones decreases the melting point of the bronze. This of course was not understood by the casters, who thought of a human sacrifice to the god of the casters, in order to be granted with his help. Cf. Arts 1987, 212

100 Also the Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum, Hyogo Prefecture, holds an almost similar example of such a gilt-bronze temple banner. It was formerly kept in the Hōryūji temple. Cf. Kazari in gold, 2003, 55, no.20

101 Smith 1964, 43

102 Joly and Tomita 1976, 156, no. 729

103 This subject is treated to some extent in Japanese works like *Horyuji Okagami* (mirrors of Horyuji) Supplementary volume 4 (wall-paintings of the Golden Hall), Tōkyō, 1918; *Horyuji hekiga no kenkyū* (study of Horyuji fresco paintings), by Naito Toichiro, Ōsaka 1932; A study of hiten or flying angels, by Nagahiro Toshio, Tōkyō 1949;

CHAPTER 8

1 Cf. par. 1.2, sub Archaic Period

2 Cf. par. 1.2, sub Classical Period

3 Cf. par. 2.2.1

4 Cf. par. 2.2.2. Skopas of Paros was a contemporary of Praxiteles (see par 1.2, sub Classical period), who worked ca. 350-330 B.C. He is particularly known for the deep-set eyes of his sculptures and the emotional expression

5 See par. 2.4

6 Xuanzang 1999, 47, no. 73

7 Boardman 1994, 317

8 See par. 1.3.1

9 Lee 1997. 94

10 Lee 1997, 198

11 Cf. Chapter 1

12 As discussed in par. 2.3
13 Par. 2.4
14 Will 1955, 255-271
15 Marshall 2000, 36
16 Marshall 2000, 37
17 Another example of such a colossal statue of Hercules, from 75-100 A.D., is in the Museo Nazionale, Parma
18 Cf. par. 3.5
19 Cf. par. 6.2
20 Biers 1987, 216-217
21 See Chapter 1, Orientalizing period; This statuette of Pazuzu is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (MNB 467); cf. Padgett 2003, 56, fig. 9;
22 Cf. Havelock 1971, figs. 18; 19; 25; 80; 86; 96; 99
23 Boardman 1994, 82, fig. 4.10; 83, fig. 4.11; 85, fig. 4.14;
24 Boardman 1994, 102, fig. 4.33
25 Boardman 1994, 135, figs. 4.75 and 4.76; 138, fig. 4.81; 140, fig. 4.84;
26 Tanabe 1993, 104-106
27 Coomaraswamy 1965, 16, and fig. 9); See also, for example, Allchin 1995, 259, fig. 11.27
28 Cf. par. 2.4
29 Cf. par. 2.4
30 Cf. par. 2.4
31 Gardner 1966, plt. III, nos. 3 and 4; plt. II, no. 9)
32 Head 1932, 73, no. 33; plt. 41, no. 33. Menander (155-130 B.C.) used Athena, seen from the back, on the reverse of his coins not displaying the *contrapposto*-stance very clearly. But on other coins, where she is depicted more in side-view, her *contrapposto* is eminent (Gardner 1966, 47, nos. 39 and 46; Plt. XI, figs. 11 and 12).
33 Cf. par. 2.4
34 Tanabe 1993, 56
35 Cf. par. 2.2.3
36 Pollitt 1986, 69
37 Pollitt 1986, 73
38 Barthoux 1930, plts. 42; 63b and c; 87c
39 Rowland 1949, figs. 1 and 5
40 Lee 1997, 294
41 See also par. 6.2 (**6.30**)
42 Cf. (**6.33**) ff.
43 Cf. par. 3.6
44 Cf. par. 4.1
45 Boardman 1994, 126
46 Errington and Cribb 1992, 48
47 Harmodios had planned with a companion to kill the tyrant Hyppias (514 B.C.) in consequence of a private quarrel. He did not survive the plot, but when the tyranny was overthrown three years later, Harmodios and his companion were popularly supposed to have made this possible (Oxford Classical Dictionary 1957, s.v. Aristogiton)

48 Errington and Cribb 1992, 48
49 Rowland 1963, 20
50 A useful survey, but still much too detailed in our context, is provided in Rowland 1963
51 A summary may be found in Richard 2003, 18-46; and 69-83
52 This was a consequence of the fact that the rules regarding the making of Buddhist images became fairly standardized (J. Huntington in Narain 1985, 29). Thus copies of sacred images were repeatedly made by different schools of art all over the Buddhist world with a view to imbuing the image with the magical qualities of the original. This all was probably achieved by using copy books, as also mentioned in Chapter 7
53 Marshall 2000, 53
54 Rowland 1963, 9
55 Marshall 2000, 42
56 Coomaraswamy 1985, 51
57 Fernald 1953, 25
58 Biographical Dictionary 1981, 458
59 Noma 1993, 42, fig. 25
60 Cf. Chapter 13
61 Richard 2003, 206
62 Richard 2003, 228
63 See Chapter 7, Airborne Deities
64 See Chapter 7, Airborne Deities
65 See for other examples Chapter 12, Dionysiac motifs, par. 12.1 where grapes are discussed
66 Errington and Cribb 1992, 92
67 Boardman 1984, 130
68 Barbieri-Low 2001, 56
69 Strong 1961
70 Bush 1976, 77 and fig. 26c
71 Bush 1976, 78
72 Bush 1976, 79
73 Wicks 2002, 6 ff.; details in the next lines have been borrowed from the work of Wicks, who has investigated thoroughly the development of the image of children in Chinese art
74 See also par. 4.1
75 See also Chapter 7, Airborne deities
76 See Chapter 7, Airborne deities
77 Wicks 2002, 8
78 Wicks 2002, 10
79 Wicks 2002, 10
80 Laufer 1919, 232; Schafer 1985a, 141-144
81 Camman 1955, 51; see also par. 12.1 on grapes
82 Wicks 2002, 10
83 The other side is painted with eight boys playing musical instruments
84 Kerr 1991, 148
85 Tse 2006, 88
86 Jenyns 1965, 94

87 In Japanese *ko* means child, in particular a male child, a boy
88 Jenyns 1965, 254
89 See Glossary
90 *Sugoroku* is a Japanese variety of parchisi, a game for four players in which the moves of the pieces around a board are determined by the throwing of a dice

CHAPTER 9

1 Yalouris 1977, 15
2 Matthews 1992, 191-210; Verbal communication on the early winged horse in the Middle East by Dr. Frans Wiggermann
3 Hutter 2003, 269f.
4 *Theogony* lines 278-286; Hutter 2003, 269
5 Christou and Papastamatis 1999, 81
6 Carradice and Price 1988, 38
7 Carradice and Price 1988, 77; plt. 10, nos. 134, 135, 136;
8 Carradice and Price 1988, 114; plt. 15, no. 212;
9 Yalouris 1977, 12; This mythical event is accurately described by Strabo (ca. 64 B.C.-21 A.D.) (Horace L. Jones, *Geography of Strabo*, London 1927, 192-195, and by Pindar (428-347 B.C.), XIII *Olympian Odes*, 64-67 (John Sandys, *The odes of Pindar*, London 1915, 138-139)
10 Carpenter 1991,108
11 Minns 1971, 206, 332, 382, 393, 397
12 Jacobson 1995, fig. 53
13 Yalouris 1977, 18-20
14 Yalouris 1977, figs. 62-67 show six Roman coins, covering the periods from 200 B.C. – 200 A.D., all carrying the image of Pegasos; see also Harden 1987, 219, who mentions coins issued at Corinth around A.D. 200
15 Yalouris 1977, 18
16 Toynbee 1962, 201
17 Ishida 1950, 40, citing the Homeric Hymns
18 Pegasos was said to have stamped many famous springs out of the earth with his hoofs, such as Hippocrene on Mount Helicon -with its sanctuary of the Muses- and at Peirene at Corinth. There are however two springs at Corinth known as Peirene, one in the city and one in Acrocorinth, the citadel above the city, on the summit of which is the temple of Aphrodite. In Roman times, through the influence of Latin poets, the Pegasos myth, which formerly had been connected with the spring in the lower city, was transferred to the spring in Acrocorinth. The scene on this glass shows the upper female representing Upper Peirene, and the seated female representing Peirene in the city (see Harden 1987, 219)
19 Yalouris 1977, 22
20 Cf. par. 3.7
21 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 165
22 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 169, no. 133
23 Colledge 1977, 112
24 Weitzmann 1943, fig. 20; Weitzmann suggested that the scene represented the flight to heaven and was derived from the drama *Bellerophon* by Euripides; the bowl has more recently been re-dated to the

4th to 6th centuries A.D. See Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 64, note 13; see also par. 2.3;

25 Cf. par. 2.3

26 Cf. par. 4.4

27 Ettinghausen 1972, 1

28 Bivar 1969, 77-79, nos. ED1 through EF3; In total representing 25 Sasanian seals with the image of Pegasos in the British Museum Collection

29 Cf. par. 3.7

30 Ettinghausen 1972, 11-16

31 Ettinghausen 1972, 11

32 Ettinghausen 1972, 14

33 Ettinghausen 1972, 15

34 Ettinghausen 1972, 15

35 Tucker 2003, 177; see also par. 3.5

36 For a discussion of *xiangrui*, see Wu 1984, 39-46

37 Wu 1984, 47

38 Wu 1984, 43

39 For detailed explanations of this poem, see Edwards 1954, 17 ff.

40 Wu 1984, 58, note 34, referring to a Chinese text of the Han scholar Ban Gu (32-92 A.D.) about the two incidents when emperor Wudi saw the horses

41 Wu 1984, 44

42 Wu 1984, 43, again referring to Ban Gu

43 Wu 1984, 38-39

44 Ishida 1950, 3

45 *ibid.,* 3

46 de Visser 1913, 57

47 Ishida 1950, 7

48 Williams 1974, 136

49 de Visser 1913, 58

50 *ibid*., 7

51 *ibid*., 4

52 *ibid*., 4

53 *ibid*., 8

54 Fernald 1959, 24; It is to be noted that usually the Chinese received their horses from the Mongolian steppes, but this Mongolian horse was in reality a pony. See Teggart, 1969, 215

55 The "blood-sweating" was probably due to a parasite, still common in Central Asia that attacks the small capillaries just under the skin. When the horse is active and perspires it causes minute bleeding and the perspiration looks pink and foamy from the tiny amounts of blood oozing through the skin (Fernald 1959, 31, note 2)

56 Fernald 1959, 31

57 Hudson 1961, 66; See also par. 3.2

58 Yalouris 1975, figs. 62-67

59 Yetts 1934, 246; Fernald (1959, 30), too, suggests that, in China, the idea of wings on a horse might be so derived

60 Rawson 1984, 96

61 Par. 4.4 sub Merchants
62 Camman 1953, 268
63 Paludan 1991, 99
64 Also the wings of the horses on Sasanian seals, as mentioned, all have this shape. See note 28
65 Cf. par. 2.1.1
66 Jenyns 1955, fig. 7c
67 Camman 1944, 71
68 Translation by Mr. Koos Kuiper
69 Palace Museum 1971, no. 1
70 Garner 1954,45
71 Camman 1953, 268
72 Rawson 1984, 96
73 Williams 1974, 179
74 Clunas 1997, 51
75 Ishida 1950, 7
76 Camman 1953, 268, note 8
77 Portal 2000, 60
78 de Visser 1913, 147; referring to *Nihongi* Chapter 25, p. 451
79 de Visser 1913, 147; referring to the "Ceremonies of the Engi era (901-922), Chapter 21
80 de Visser 1913, 148
81 See par. 4.3.1.
82 Japanese Metalwork 1983, 178, no. 93; see also Glossary
83 Japanese Metalwork 1983, 178, no. 93
84 Fenollosa 1963, vol. 1, 113
85 Cf. par. 4.4
86 Hayashi 1975, 126, 128
87 See also Ettinghausen 1972, 14 and fig. 48; and Feddersen 1983, 219
88 Hayashi 1975, 152
89 See Glossary sub *Suikoden*; also Edmunds 1974, 590, 592
90 Klompmakers 1998, 82
91 Buck 1937, 1207 and 1274. Pearl S. Buck translated the novel *Shui Hu Zhuan* and gave it the title "All men are brothers"
92 Ball 1969, 2
93 Ishida 1950, 2; Okazaki is in the Mikawa province
94 Ishida 1950, 2

CHAPTER 10

1 Achillus Tatius, 3rd century A.D., according to Lexicon 1992, 731
2 Philostratus Iunior, 2nd century A.D., according to Lexicon 1992, 731
3 Boardman 1987b, 74
4 Boardman 1987b, 81
5 Lexicon 1997, part 2, 732
6 Lexicon 1997, part 2, 734
7 Boardman 1987b, 75

8 Lexicon 1997, part 2, 733
9 Lexicon 1997, part 2, 734, no.43
10 Minns 1971, 427, fig. 318
11 Talbot-Rice 1957, 175, fig. 64; see also Minns 1971, 155, fig. 42 and 211, fig. 111
12 Boardman 1987b, 82
13 Boardman 1994,137; see also Tanaka 1965, 49,note 82
14 Czuma 1985, 62, no. 10
15 Viennot 1964, pls. 1-9
16 Viennot 1964, 16
17 The word *makara* appears in Vedic literature (Coomaraswamy 1928, vol. I, 52
18 Boardman 1987b, 83
19 Behrendt 2007, 8
20 Alexander the Great 2003, 20
21 Alexander the Great 2003, 20; Behrendt 2007, 19, note 10
22 Rawson 1984, 116
23 Chinese Architecture 1986, 192
24 Louis 1999, p.320, fig. 68
25 Schafer 1985a, 174-5
26 Wirgin 1979, 187
27 Yamanaka and Co. Ltd. Exhibition in the Museum for Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1932, no.32)
28 Wirgin 1979, 187
29 Wirgin 1979, pl. 87a
30 Edmunds 1974, p.329; Hobson 1976, II, p.284
31 Hobson 1976, II, p. 284
32 See e.g. Hansen 2000, 372
33 Camman 1956b, p.5
34 Other examples of the fish-dragon on Ming porcelain are found, e.g. in Hobson 1976, plate 65, Fig. 1; and plate 75, Fig. 4; also in Garner 1954, plate 59a;
35 Low-Beer 1952, pl. 44, Fig. 115; according to Camman 1956, p.7, note 39
36 See also McElney 1975, 45
37 Garner 1962, p.71
38 Brinker and Lutz 1989
39 Brinker and Lutz 989, nos. 55, 64, 88, 95, 100, 108
40 Pope 1956, p.110, plate 62
41 Viennot 1964, 14
42 Kerr 1990, 103
43 Camman 1956b, 5
44 Ball 1969,202
45 Ball 1969,202
46 Ball 1969,202
47 Japanese metalwork 1983, no.301
48 Joly 1967, 125
49 Sakai 1949, vol. I, 53

CHAPTER 11

1 See Chapter 5
2 Warner 1975, 121; for further details see e.g. Foster 2001 and George 2003
3 Kovacs 1985, xxix
4 Kovacs 1985, xxxi
5 See also Smith 1926
6 Carpenter 1991, 104-5
7 Homer, *Iliad*, 11.36-37
8 Gulfer 2002, 67
9 Wiggermann 2000, 244
10 Childs 2003, 56
11 Wiggermann 2000, 243
12 Padgett 2003, 122; see also Wiggermann 1994
13 The details of the subsequent short description of Bes have been taken from Lexicon s.v. Bes unless otherwise stated.
14 Wilson 1975
15 Lexicon 1986, part 1, 98-112
16 Dunbabin 1957, 35 ff.
17 Napier 1986, 131; see also Lexicon 1988, 317. For a further discussion on the Asiatic ancestry of the Greek Gorgon, see Goldman 1961. See also Hopkins 1961 and Howe 1954
18 Tsiafakis 2003, 85; Childs 2003, 65
19 Hopkins 1934, pl. xiv, 2
20 Many examples of the 7th century B.C. Gorgon heads are mentioned in Besig 1937, 75 ff; see also Lexicon 1988, 317 ff.
21 E.g. in Hopkins 1934, 358, where the protruding tongue is thought to be a Greek invention
22 Goldman 1961, 16
23 Napier 1986, 115
24 Carradice and Price 1988, 37
25 Carradice and Price 1988, 75
26 One of them might have been the gold Gorgon which at that time was presented in Samos to the temple of Hera as a gift by two citizens of distant Perinthos (Lewis 1985, 71)
27 See for an in-depth treatment of the Medusa Rondanini: Buschor 1958
28 See e.g. Besig 1937; see also hundreds of examples as specified in Lexicon 1988, 288
29 Boardman 1994, 53
30 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, no.12
31 Boardman 1994, 187
32 Reeder 1999, 186 and 298
33 Althaus and Sutcliffe 2006, 141, no. 40
34 Tarn 1951, 230; see for an example of such a coin of Demetrius, Gardner 1966, 7, no. 14 (obverse)
35 Libya 1999, 137 ff.
36 Toynbee 1962, 177
37 Hemans 1989,
38 Coulton 1977, 35

39 Lexicon 1988, IV, part 1, 291-294; 295; 331-332
40 Koch 1912, 1; 19; Tafel xxxiii, no. 2
41 For hundreds of more examples see Lexicon 1988, 345-346
42 Colledge 1977, 84
43 Colledge 1977, 93
44 Gangoly 1920, 13
45 Gangoly 1920, 12
46 Gangoly 1920, 12
47 According to Saletore 1982, vol. 2, 753 citing Coomaraswamy 1985, plt. 39, this is the earliest presentation of *kīrttimukha*
48 The *kīrttimukha* without arms is said to have been found on a stūpa in Ceylon of the 1st century B.C. too, but probably this is the image of a local contemporary creature (Camman 1940, 10)
49 Meister and Dhaki 1991, 232
50 Larousse 1969, 337; see also Dowson 2000, 37;
51 Napier 1986, 144
52 Gangoly 1920, 13
53 Zimmer 1972, 182
54 Former keeper of Indian and Mohammedan art in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
55 A.K. Coomaraswamy, supplementary note in Zimmer 1972, 175
56 Napier 1986, 149
57 Jordan 1988, 68-69
58 Napier 1986, 135-187
59 Napier 1986, 154
60 Boardman 1994, 330, note 48
61 Gangoly 1920, 16
62 See par. 3.4
63 Cambridge-Southeast Asia 1992, vol.1, 158
64 Napier 1986, 196
65 The names *kāla* or *kāla-makara* and Banaspati are said to be an invention of Dutch writers on Java, who confounded the *kīrttimukha*/*kāla* with the *makara* (Saletore 1982, vol. 2, 753)
66 Zimmer 1972, 184
67 Scheurleer 1985, 158
68 See Chapter 10
69 See note 65
70 Napier 1986, 204; based on Ekman and Oster 1979
71 Beer 1999, 69
72 Camman 1940, Fig. 1
73 Camman 1940, 9
74 Chang 1983, 35; For further comment on these axes, see e.g. Allan 1991, 154;
75 Barnes 1999, 123, caption of fig. 53
76 Rawson 1995, 123
77 Hansen 2000, 30; for the consequences of bronze-casting technique on the symmetry of the *taotie*-mask, see Barnard 1972, vol. 1, XXXVI
78 Barnard 1972, vol. 1, XXXVI

79 The *Lüshi chunqiu* (16/13a); see Allan 1991, 145
80 Chang 1983, 57
81 Allan 1991, 147-148
82 Liu and Capon 2000, 44, note 44
83 Liu and Capon 2000, 41
84 Smith and Wan-go 1979, 33; see also Whitfield 1993
85 Le Roy Davidson 1959
86 Hirth 1908, 86; Laufer 1912, 185
87 Pope-Hennessy 1923, 49
88 Boroffka 1930; Alföldi 1931
89 Rostovtzeff 1929, 70-73
90 Marchal 1938, 98
91 Zimmer 1972, 175, supplementary note citing Coomaraswamy
92 Watson 1971, 51
93 For more recent discussions on the *taotie* and its possible meaning see e.g. Allen 1991, chapter 6; Rawson 1987, chapter 4; Kesner 1991; Bagley 1987, Introduction
94 Kerr 1990
95 Abe 2002, 28
96 Abe 2002, 28; referring to Finsterbusch 1966, vol. 2, figs. 77 and 169
97 Edwards 1954, 123
98. Camman 1940, 9-19
99 In China the dragon was believed to ascend to the skies in the spring, and to bury itself in the watery depths in the autumn (Williams 1974, 132)
100 The term *pushou* is also found in literature to indicate other monsterfaces of China. In this work, however, the term is exclusively used for the monsterface under discussion here, which appeared for the first time during the Han period
101 Charleston 1948, 76; also later scholars refer to this monsterface as *taotie*, e.g. Rudolf 1951, 25; and Finsterbusch 1966, vol. 1, 241;
102 Boroffka 1930, 75
103 Edwards 1954, 122-123
104 Willets 1965, 158
105 Willets 1965, 158
106 For the legends concerning Chiyou, see Karlgren 1946, 283-285
107 Charleston 1948, 78; Willets 1965, 158
108 Lexicon 1988, IV, part 1, 289 ff.
109 Strong 1966, 111
110 Strong 1966, 147
111 Barbieri-Low 2001, 56
112 Dohrenwend 1975, 67
113 Charleston 1948, 70
114 Rawson and Bunker 1990, 47-55
115 Edwards 1954, 123
116 Rawson 1984, 95
117 Rawson 1984, 92

118 Ruitenbeek 1989, 310; It is interesting to note that in country districts in China, bronze mirrors were kept beneath the roof ridges in the eaves of the houses, or on the outside of doors to protect the principle routes of entry into the home from evil spirits (Kerr 1990, 98). The idea was to warn off a devil by showing him his own face. The same function of Lamastu and the gorgoneion amulets in the West is recalled here;
119 Camman 1940, 16
120 For an example from Anyang, Hunan province, dating from ca. 1300 B.C., see e.g. Bagley 1987, 110, fig. 140; The body of the vessel has been decorated all around with a *taotie* design, while two animal masks with rings have been attached at opposite positions on the shoulder
121 Lawton 1982, 63;
122 MacKenzie 1995, 176
123 Laufer 1970, 140
124 For example MacKenzie 1995, 186;
125 Also Abe 2002, 28, clearly differentiates between these two monsterfaces
126 These monsterfaces have been discussed in Hayashi Minao, "Jukan hosho no jakkan o megutte" (Demon mask with ring from Eastern Zhou to Tang period), in *Toko gakuho* 57 (March 1985), 1-174
127 Similar escutcheons are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (M138, 1938) and the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge (Sachs Collection); See also Aldsdorf Collection 1970, no. B14
128 Juliano and Lerner 2001, 83
129 See for *xianrui*, Chapter 8
130 Juliano and Lerner 2001, 84
131 Paludan 1991, 41 ff
132 Lions had been received as tribute from the 1st century A.D. onwards, but then were confined to the imperial menagerie
133 Paludan 1991, 101
134 Lee 1997, 294, fig. 376
135 E.g. Cultural Crossings 2005, fig. 64
136 Kerr 1999, 44
137 Riddell 1979, 140, no. 128
138 Chinese enamel ware 1971, nos. 30 and 31, 147/148
139 Brinker and Lutz 1989, 171
140 See Lempertz 1979, no. 1100; see also Yeo and Martin 1978, plate 87
141 Paludan 1994, 45; Camels do not carry water in their humps but fat. However, they can go for more than one week without water and then drink almost fifty litres of water in one drinking session. They can perceive water on large distances. Moreover, they were the carriers of all water supplies on a journey;
142 Williams 1974, 138
143 Arts of Korea 1979, vol.I, 169
144 Tenri Gallery 1962, 1
145 Arts of Korea 1979, vol.I, 171
146 Other examples are shown in Tenri Gallery 1962, no. 33; Portal 2000, 71, fig. 37; Richard 2003, 333, fig. 77;
147 Kobayashi and Nakamura 1982, 8
148 Richard 2003, 332-333

149 Lexicon 1988, IV, part 1, 288
150 Boardman 2003a, 136
151 Boardman 2003a, 136
152 See Chapter 10
153 See par. 1.3.3
154 Par. 1.3.3; Kerr 1978, 78
155 Rawson 1995, 209
156 Rawson 1984, 93, figs. 72a through f
157 Rudenko 1970, 254
158 In Noin-Ula also textiles have been found in a Xiongnu cemetery, which are thought to originate in Hellenized Bactria (Bunker 1978, 127)
159 Rawson 1995, 313
160 See also Boardman 2003a, 136
161 So and Bunker 1995, 71
162 So and Bunker 1995, 71
163 Juliano and Lerner 2001, 84
164 Rawson 1995, 310
165 Rudenko 1970, plts. 104 D, F and G; plts. 111 D and F;
166 Camman 1940, 16
167 Gangoly 1920, 13
168 Coomaraswamy 1985, 151
169 Cambridge - South-East Asia 1992, vol. I, 173
170 Cambridge - Japan, 1989, vol.III, 397
171 Joly 1967, 428
172 Hayashi 1975, 102; Joly 1967, 428
173 Hayashi 1975, 103
174 Hayashi 1975, 102
175 Joly 1912, 66
176 See par. 3.4
177 Cambridge - Japan 1989, vol.3, 459-460
178 Earle 1995, 36
179 Kerr 1990, 9
180 Arts 1987, 113
181 Imperial Commission 1900, 62
182 Klompmaker 1998, 172
183 Kurita 1981, 144
184 Stitt 1974, 59, no.62
185 Edmunds 1974, 117
186 Brinkley 1903, vol.5, 207-208
187 Suzuki 1980, 94, fig. 72
188 Kobayashi and Nakamura 1982, 8
189 Suzuki 1980, 72
190 Suzuki 1980, 39
191 See par. 4.3.3

192 Suzuki 1980, 39
193 In the book of Kobayashi and Nakamura, as cited, in total 90 examples of *oni kawara* are presented, covering the period of about 650-1930, from which 6 items have been selected for illustration and discussion purposes in the present work
194 See par. 11.1
195 See par. 11.1
196 See par. 11.3

CHAPTER 12

1 Unless otherwise specified, this compact story of Dionysos is borrowed from Warner 1975
2 Homer, Ilias, 14,325
3 Oxford Dictionary 1957, 288; see also Seltman 1957, 50
4 For a discussion of the nature of these Dionysiac associations based on epigraphic evidence dating from the 3rd century B.C., see Jaccottet 2003
5 Lissarrague 1987,7; These feasts represent what modern anthropologists call "rites of reversal", "periods of license" or "legitimate rebellion", where a reversal of appropriate behaviour is allowed for. The phenomenon occurs in almost all cultures, ancient and modern, in a large variety, and is known to us perhaps best as carnival. See e.g. H. Cox, The feast of fools: A theological essay on festivity and fantasy. Oxford (1970); A.C. Zijderveld, Reality through a looking glass. London (1982);
6 Carradice and Price 1988,53
7 Seltman 1957, 132
8 Coarelly 1970, plate 42: a 3rd century B.C. gold *naiskos* from Thessaly
9 Strong 1966, 79: a *kylix* from Scythian burials in Kuban, south Russia, dating from about 450 B.C.; ibid, 97: a pair of bowls from the 3rd century B.C. found in Tarentum; ibid, 102: three *rhyta* from the 3rd century B.C., found in Panagyurishte, Egypt; ibid, 118: a 1st century B.C. *alabastron* from Thessaly; ibid,140: cups, cast in heavy silver, from Belgrade, 1st century A.D.; ibid,168: a 3rd century A.D. saucepan, now in the Archaeological Museum, Turin; ibid, 196: a 4th century A.D. dish found in Kaiseraugst;
10 Zadocks 1963, 152, no. 4: an amber figurine of the drunk Dionysos leaning on a *satyr*, found in a tumulus in Esch, Holland, from the Roman period; Ancient Art 1989, 34: a large marble statue of Dionysos with a *satyr*, provenance unknown, Roman period
11 Matheson 1980, 56, no. 136, a large mould-blown flask from the 1st century A.D., where Dionysos is depicted giving wine to his panther;
12 Zahlhaas 1975, plts.9 and 10: decoration in relief of Dionysos as a child
13 Bell 1926a,60
14 Nilsson 1957,111
15 Toynbee and Perkins 1950,24
16 Harden 1987,77
17 Strong 1966,140
18 Matz 1968, 112 ff, no. 11
19 Villa Erculia, n.d,80
20 For more examples see Toynbee and Perkins 1950, 23 ff.
21 Ettinghausen 1972, 7
22 Ettinghausen 1972, 8

23 Ettinghausen 1972, 3-10
24 For Anahita, see also Gray 1925, 57-62
25 Boardman 1994, 145,146
26 Boardman 1994, 96-97, fig. 4.27
27 Behrendt 2007, 29
28 Behrendt 2007, 30
29 Behrendt 2007, 30
30 μ ε ρος means "part of", probably an association with Meru, the name of the ancient Indian mythological mount, the supposed centre of the earth, on which the gods dwelled
31 Carter 1992, 51 and 52, citing various Greek historians
32 Carter 1992, 53, citing Flavius Philostratus
33 Seltman 1957, 15
34 *ibid.,* 15
35 *ibid*., 23
36 *ibid*., 54
37 Schafer 1985, 142
38 Yü 1967, 198
39 Mallory and Mair 2000, 169
40 See Chapter 4, par. 4.3.2
41 Carter 1995, 260
42 Carter 1995, 263
43 Rawson 1984, 39
44 Bush 1976, 78, note 57; More recent insight takes into account the possibility that this vessel was made by a Bactrian silversmith as a copy of a roman prototype. (Watt 2004, 149)
45 Isings 1957, 50, no. 36c; Arts 2000, figs. 44, 66
46 See also Thompson 1967, 35
47 Shepard 1964, 82 ff. and Girshmann 1953, 51 ff.
48 Kokubo and Kanno 1987, fig. 65
49 Schafer 1985a, 141-144
50 Schafer 1985,18 and Thompson 1967, 35
51 Hirth 1896, 28
52 Schafer 1985, 311, note 24
53 Camman 1953, 266-269
54 Laufer 1919, 232
55 Schafer 1985, 141-145
56 Camman 1955,51
57 Bush 1976, 77, 79. See also par. 8.3 on the boy-motif
58 Camman 1955, 55
59 Schloss 1969, fig. 63
60 Fitzgerald 1961, 373
61 Clunas 1997, 51
62 See Glossary
63 Camman 1955, 51
64 Wirgin 1979

65 Garner 1954, 18
66 See Brinker and Lutz 1989, figs. 31 through 35
67 Brinker and Lutz 1989, 98
68 Hobson 1976, vol.II, p.23
69 Avitabile 1981,142, no.75
70 Honey 1947, 9
71 Honey 1947, 11
72 According to McCune 1962, 210, fig. 155
73 Korean Fine Art 1974, fig. 255
74 See Glossary
75 Hayashi 1975, 33
76 Hayashi 1975, 108
77 Hayashi 1975, 32
78 Umehara 1963, 72-75
79 Cambridge-Japan 1989, vol. 2, 344
80 Yonezawa and Yoshizawa 1974, 144
81 Mizoguchi 1973, 87
82 Mizoguchi 1973, 99
83 Brinkley 1903, vol.2, 80
84 Ball 1969, 164
85 Jenyns 1965, 263-269
86 Hayashiya and Trubner 1977, 110
87 See also Jenyns 1965, 89,95,97,104
88 Ball 1969, 163
89 Ball 1969, 164
90 Fahr-Becker 1998, 223
91 Yonezawa and Yoshizawa 1974,175-178
92 At an exhibition of Meiji art in 1987 in the Netherlands, where about 450 items were exhibited covering the fields of ceramics, cloisonné, lacquer, prints, illustrated books, drawings and paintings of the period, only one single item, dated 1894, was decorated with the grapevine motif. This was a lacquer tray of a set of ten for a meal of *kaiseki* (Meiji 1987, p.115-116, no. 199i).
93 Ettinghausen 1972, 9-10. For the diffusion and modification of the feline handle from Byzantium to the Sasanian and Islamic world, cf. Ettinghausen and Harper 1971
94 A similar silver-gilt ewer, also dating from the 6th century A.D., is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See Harper 2002, 103, fig. 4
95 See Art of the Eastern World 1996, 161, no. 73; Ades 1976, nos. 73-74
96 Garner 1962, 74
97 The history of the Japanese porcelain industry does not concern us here. Starting from about 1600 on, the development was largely dominated by the civil wars in China, which led to the overthrow of the Ming dynasty by the Qing, and the destruction of the porcelain production-centre at Jingdezhen, which forced the Dutch V.O.C. to find a substitute for the European market. No fine Chinese porcelain was shipped to Holland between 1657 and 1681, and the V.O.C. turned to Japanese porcelain, which showed considerable Chinese influence. For details of the history of Japanese porcelain, see e.g. Arts 1983, 17-26

CHAPTER 13

1 Rawson 1984
2 See par. 1.1
3 Rawson stipulates that, apart from the acanthus leaves, also palmettes have been introduced into China by the 5th century, although half-palmettes seem to have been known in China during the Han dynasty as a result of intercourse with the West. The simple forms seem to have been fallen into oblivion, but were revived by the re-introduction during the 5th century (Rawson 1984, 232, notes 6 and 7)
4 As the above information in this Chapter is exclusively drawn from the work of Rawson, no specific references to other sources have been made in the text so far
5 Mizoguchi 1973, 38

CHAPTER 14

1 par. 1.1
2 par. 2.4
3 par. 3.6
4 par. 4.4
5 Watt 2004, 10
6 par. 4.3.2; par. 4.4
7 par. 3.1
8 Chapter 9
9 par. 4.4
10 Chapter 9
11 par. 4.4
12 par. 4.4
13 Chapter 7
14 Chapter 13
15 Generally addressed in Chapter 5, sub Acceptance, sub 3 specific interest
16 par. 4.2
17 par. 4.3.2
18 par. 4.3.1
19 par. 4.3.2
20 par. 4.3.3
21 par. 4.4
22 Soper, A.C., The Rise of Yamato-e. Art Bulletin 24:4 (1942), 351
23 W.M. Barry (ed.), Sources of Japanese tradition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964. Vol. 1, 10
24 par. 12.2
25 I am indebted to Prof. Adele Schlombs for raising my attention to this point.
26 par. 2.2.3
27 par. 8.1
28 This has convincingly been discussed and illustrated e.g. in Watt 2004, 29
29 Chapter 11

GLOSSARY

1 The descriptions of the various periods of Chinese history have been put together from the pertinent short essays in Hook 1982, 163-244

GLOSSARY

abhaya mudrā (S)

Gesture of **Buddha**, with upraised right hand that indicates reassurance, protection and "do not fear"

acanthus (L)

A plant of which the leaves resemble the principle decorative element of the Corinthian **capital**

Achaemenid Empire

The Achaemenid Empire was the earliest and largest Persian Empire. It preceded those of the later Parthians (250 B.C.-226 A.D.) and Sasanians (A.D. 226-651), which were contemporary with the Roman Empire. "Achaemenid" derives from "Achaemenes", the founder of the ruling dynasty. The formation of the empire began around 550 B.C. with the conquests of Cyrus II (the Great) (559-530 B.C.). It was brought to an end by Alexander the Great's conquest between 334 and 324 B.C. Its territory reached from the Hellespont to north India including Egypt (most of the time) and extended into Central Asia up to the frontiers of modern Kazakhstan

Achilles (Gr)

Homeric hero; son of Peleus and Thetis

Achaeans

General name for all Greek people in the Homeric period

aegis (L)

Originally an upper cloak as worn by **Athena**, usually represented as a goatskin. It was always adorned with a **Medusa** head. In Hellenistic and Roman times it was –apart from Athena/Minerva- also worn by soldiers, some emperors and, incidently, by Jupiter

Aeolic capital

An early architectural **capital**, confined geographically to **Aeolis**, and characterized by upward-springing **volutes** spreading to either side

Aeolis

Territory of the northern most group of Greek immigrants to the western coast of Asia Minor, extending from the entrance of the Hellespont to the mouth of the Hermus

Aeolus (L)

See **Aiolos**

agora (Gr)

Market place; the commercial and administrative centre of a Greek city, equivalent to the Roman forum

Ai Khanum

Greco-Bactrian city on the banks of the Oxus River in northern Afghanistan. Possibly it was established by Alexander the Great as "Alexandria on the Oxus". The site was excavated by a French academic mission during 1965-1968, and revealed the dominantly Hellenistic nature of the city by about 150 B.C.

Aiolos (Gr)

Greek stormgod. He lives in Aeolie, a floating island, with his six sons and daughters, who have married one another. He can tie up the winds in a sack to prevent them from blowing, or he is thought of as a minor god, who keeps the winds, **anemoi**, represented as horses, in a cave in **Aeolis**. L: Aeolus

akimbo

Lit. "in a sharp curve". Said of a position of arms with elbows bent outward

akropolis (Gr)

Lit. "upper city". A generic term for a high place or citadel in a Greek city

akroterion (Gr)

Architectural three-dimensional ornament at the **apex** or outer angles of a pediment on a classical building. pl. akroteria

alabastron (Gr)

A perfume jar, sometimes made of alabaster, but more frequently of fired clay or glass, with a rounded base, small mouth and wide rim

Amaterasu (J)

Amaterasu Ōmikami is the most important figure in Shintō mythology. Considered an ancestor of Japan's emperors, she is said to have been a child of the gods Izanagi and Izanami, who created the Japanese islands

Amida (J)

See **Amitābha**

Amitābha (S)

One of the most devoutly worshipped deities in Sino-Japanese Buddhism, who reigns in the **Western Paradise**. As the personification of eternal life, boundless light and vast compassion, he welcomes to paradise those who -with a sincere heart- call out his name. In **Mahāyāna** Buddhism, besides the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, many Buddhas such as Amitābha are generally accepted as symbols of Buddhist teachings. J: Amida; see also **Daibutsu**

amphora (L)

A two-handled vase used for transporting and storage of liquids, especially wine. pl. amphorae

Anahita (P)

The worship of mother goddesses was very apparent in the Mediterranean area, from Iran in the east to Rome in the west and covering **Mesopotamia**, Egypt, Anatolia and Greece. It was Cybele who eventually came to be honoured in the Roman Empire as the Great Mother of the gods. In Iran Anahita, the Goddess of Fertility, who brings riches, milk and grains, was worshipped throughout the **Achaemenid Empire**. Under the Hellenistic name Anaïtis she later acquired considerable popularity throughout Asia Minor and the Occident, and she gradually coalesced in various ways with Athena, Aphrodite and Cybele. In Sasanian times she re-appeared. Anahita is in that period often depicted standing under a rinceau arch of trailing grape arabesques or under a grape-bearing vine

anastole (Gr)

An off-centre parting of the hair with locks brushed up and back near the parting

ancient China

Refers to most of the two millennia before the Christian era, during which time the earliest historical civilization of China was created under the Three Dynasties: Xia (ca. 2100-ca.1600 B.C.), **Shang** (ca. 1600-1100 B.C.) and **Zhou** (1100-256 B.C.)

Andun (Ch)

Name for the king of **Daqin** in **Han** records, almost certainly derived from Marcus Aurelius Antonius

Anemoi (Gr)

Generic Greek term for wind-gods, who were each ascribed a cardinal direction from which their respective winds came. They were each associated with various seasons and weather conditions. They were

sometimes represented as mere gusts of wind, at other times were personified as winged men. L: Venti

angel

The word angel comes from the Greek *angelos* which means "messenger", suggesting a being responsible for carrying messages between the natural and supernatural worlds

Animal Style

Term coined by Mikhail Rostovtzeff in 1929. Objects in the Animal Style, characterized by stylized representations of various animals, were widespread in antiquity. They were found in Siberia, Central Asia, the fringe area of China, northern, eastern and western parts of the Black Sea, and in the **steppe** and wooden steppe zones of Eastern Europe. The animals are usually shown in movement: intertwined struggling animal bodies, scratching paws, hurtling deer, etc.

antefix (L)

Vertical decorative plaque at the lower end of a cover tile. They were arranged in a row along the eaves of a roof

anthemion (Gr)

A **frieze** of floral decoration, frequently alternating lotus and **palmette**. Also called **honeysuckle**

Antioch

Ancient city in north Syria, on the Orontes River, which was navigable as far as the sea in antiquity. It was the crossroads of the trade routes from the north and the caravan trails from **Mesopotamia**. Reputedly founded by Seleucus I Nicator (r. 312-281 B.C.), just as **Zeugma**, and capital of the **Seleucid Empire**. From 64 B.C. onwards Antioch was the capital of Roman Syria. The site of ancient Antioch was explored in 1932-1939, revealing many mosaics dating from the 2nd to 6th centuries. The earliest ones show strong Hellenistic influence

Anxi (Ch)

City along the Silk Road (ancient Guazhou), Gansu province, China, where the Silk Road splits westwards into the Northern Branch and the Southern Branch

Anxi (Ch)

Chinese name for Parthia, as mentioned in **Han** records

apex (L)

The highest point

Apollo (Gr)

Son of Zeus and Leto; god of music, poetry, archery, prophecy and healing

apotropaic figures

Images believed to avert evil. Often they take the form of more or less distorted human faces or monstruous heads. This so because it is supposed among primitive people that demons can best be chased away by the presence of their own likeness

apsaras (S)

A Buddhist heavenly maiden dwelling in paradise. They are the mates of **gandharvas** and are often represented as attendants of the Buddha or bodhisattvas. J: hiten. Ch: feitian. pl. apsarasas

arabesque (F)

Foliate ornament typically using leaves derived from stylized half-palmettes, which were combined with spiralling stems

Archaic period

The period from ca. 600 to 479 B.C. when the Greeks defeated the invading Persians at Plataiai (Plataea), although stylistically there is no such clear cut-off point

archaic smile
A smiling facial expression, as an early Greek sculptural convention

architrave (L)
The Latin term for **epistyle**

arhat (S)
An ascetic in **Hīnayāna** Buddhism, who has attained enlightment through his own efforts. Ch: lohan; J: rakan

Arita (J)
Arita, a city near the port of Imari in the Hizen province of Kyūshū. It was the centre of a district where the first Japanese porcelain appears in the early 17th century as the product of a group of Korean potters. It showed the whole range of pictorial designs characteristic of the blue-and-white Chinese porcelains made during the last decennia of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643). Hence, the so-called Arita-porcelain is only blue and white

Artemis (Gr)
The Greek goddess of the hunt and wild animals, daughter of Zeus and Leto, twin of **Apollo**; later identified with the Roman Diana

aryballos (Gr)
A small globular or ovoid flask for holding oil or perfume. pl. aryballoi

Ashikaga period (J)
See **Muromachi** period

askos (Gr)
Small vessel with a spout and a single curved handle on top. pl. askoi

Aśoka (S)
Third ruler of Indian Maurya Dynasty (r. 268-231 B.C.). Patron of Buddhism and exemplar of the Buddhist ideal of kingship. See also **stūpa**

Assyrians
A people of northern Mesopotamia, second to first millennia B.C. See also **Neo-Assyrian**

Astraeus (L)
See **Astraios**

Astraios (Gr)
Greek god, husband of **Eos**, father of the windgods, called Astraeus by the Romans

Asuka period (J)
Period of Japanese history (552-645) named after the village of Asuka not far from Nara, where the Court resided temporarily. Two of the most influential ruler-patrons of the period were the empress Suiko (r. 592-628) and her nephew prince Shōtoku. This period saw the rise of Buddhist art and institutions in the Asuka district, patterned on Korean and Chinese examples and given the support of the imperial family

Asukadera (J)
First full-scale Japanese monastery, whose history dates back to 588 A.D. Expanded by Soga no Umako to celebrate his victory over the anti-Buddhist Mononobe clan

Atalanta (Gr)
Greek nymph who would not marry anyone, unless he could beat her in a foot-race; she follows the suitor and spears him if she can catch him

Athena (Gr)

Daughter of Zeus. Goddess of war and wisdom, protectress of cities and patron deity of Athens; identified by the Romans with Minerva

atlant

(Semi) nude muscular male, carrying the **architrave** or other architectural element. It is the male counterpart of a **caryatid**. Named after **Atlas**. pl. atlantes

Atlas (Gr)

Son of the **Titan** Iapetus and the nymph Clymene, and brother of Prometheus. After the revolt against the Olympic gods, Atlas was condemned to support the pillars that separate heaven and earth. He was identified with the Atlas Mountains in Africa, and legend said that he was turned to stone when Perseus showed him the **Gorgon**'s head

Attic

Of Attica, the home-territory of Athens. "Attic" or "Athenian" is used more or less interchangeable

Aurora (L)

See **Eos**

Avalokiteśvara (S)

A celestial bodhisattva, the archetype of universal compassion. Originally a male, he gained popularity for his virtues of saving travellers and other devout Buddhists from drowning, shipwreck, malicious demons, fire, lust, anger, beliefs and delusions. On his way across Central Asia he gradually acquired more feminine characteristics. In China by the 10th century A.D., Avalokiteśvara, as an elegant goddesslike, white-robed **Guanyin**, is adopted into the **Chan** pantheon. J: Kanon

bacchanalia (L)

See **Bacchus**

bacchantes (L)

See **Bacchus**, **maenads**

Bacchus (L)

A name of Dionysos, the Greek god of fertility, wine and ecstatic frenzy, whose worshippers were called bacchae or **bacchantes**. Bacchanalia was the Latin name for the mysteries celebrated in the god's honour. These were originally confined to women, banned in Rome in 186 B.C. but reintroduced during the 1st century A.D., and the source of much rivalry

Bactria

Region between the Hindu Kush and the River Oxus. Province of the Persian Empire, in the 5th century B.C. Geographically it covers present-day northern Afghanistan. In 329 Alexander the Great traversed Bactria and **Sogdiana**, placed garrisons in key positions and proceeded south for his invasion of India. After the death of Alexander in 324 B.C. both Bactria and Sogdania were held for two centuries by Greek rulers. The independence of Bactria was declared by Diodotus, a satrap of Bactria, about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. It gradually expanded into India (Kābul and Punjab), crossed the Pamirs and subdued oases in the Tarim basin. Heliokles was the last Greek king to rule the central kingdom of Bactria up to ca. 130 B.C., when Central Asian nomads invaded. About one century later the **Kushān** Empire was established in the area. The importance of Bactria in cultural exchange processes was partly derived from its cross-road position, with access West across or round the Caspian to Colchis (Georgia) and the Black Sea; south-west into Persia; east to the **Silk Road** and south-east past Kābul to India

Balkh

Ancient capital (Bactra) of the kingdom of **Bactria**, known for its resources of gold, silver, rubies and lapis lazuli in the vicinity. It fell to the armies of Alexander the Great in 329 B.C. Important crossroad of the **Silk Road** to Central Asia, Iran and India. The **Kushāns** built great Buddhist temples around Balkh, but it was also a centre for **Zoroastrianism** during the **Achaemenid** and Greco-Roman periods. It was still a thriving commercial and religious centre when **Xuanzang** visited Balkh in 630 A.D., and was destroyed and rebuilt many times until it was abandoned in 1852

Bāmiyān

Ancient city west of Kābul, Afghanistan, near an ancient branch of the **Silk Road** that linked India with China. It was a trade and religious centre. Most famous are the colossal **Buddha** images, destroyed by the Taliban in March 2001, and the wall-paintings (also destroyed) of the 3rd century A.D., showing strong Sasanian influence

banaspati (Jav)

See **kīrttimukha**

Barygaza

Town and sea-port (modern Bharuch) in the present state of Gujarāt, India, and located on the Narmada River. It was mentioned in the 1st century A.D. in the **Periplus** and by **Ptolemy** (w. 121-151 A.D.), but was known long before that to traders of the Middle East and south-west Asia. During the first centuries A.D. an important part of Roman trade was directed via Alexandria and Barygaza to **Gandhāra** and from there to Central Asia and China

baroque (F)

Style characterized by curved, elaborate, dynamic forms

Begram

Ancient city, about 70 km north of Kābul, Afghanistan, probably established in the 2nd century B.C. One of the most important cities along the **Silk Road** during the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D., a peaceful period in Rome, Parthia and China. Many artefacts of that period have been unearthed by a French archaeological mission in 1939-1940, which appear to have come from the Greco-Roman world, but indigenous Indian forms are also represented in Begram

Bellerophon (Gr)

Greek saga figure, son of king Glaucus of Corinth and Eurymede; killed the **Chimaera** riding **Pegasos**

Benten (J)

A female deity, named after the Sarasvati River in India, where she was the goddess of learning, music and poetry. In Japan she is associated with the accumulation of worldly goods and is also considered a patroness of music and art. Also, she is associated with water

Benzaiten (J)

See **Benten**

Bes

Egyptian demon usually depicted as a grinning bearded dwarf. He has an apotropaic function. He is the guardian of women in childbed

bezel

A decorative part of a finger ring, visible when the ring is worn on the hand and shaped as a seal or stone setting

Bhārhut

Site in the modern state Madya Pradesh, India, where the Mauryan king **Aśoka** (r. 268-231 B.C.) estab-

lished a **stūpa**. The stūpa contained many birth stories (**jakatas**) of the **Buddha**'s previous lives. Because **Hīnayāna** Buddhism was an-iconic, Buddha is represented through symbols, like the **bodhi**-tree or the **dharma**-wheel.

Binglingsi

Old Buddhist site about 70 km south-west of Lanzhou, Yongjing County, Gansu, China, where the **Silk Road** probably crossed the Yellow River. By the early 5th century A.D. the first cave complexes were constructed there, the sculptures of which evoke the styles of **Gandhāra** and Central Asia

Bishamon (J)

Japanese god of riches and chief of the Four Guardian Kings. He is equivalent to **Vaiśravana**, also known as **Kuvera**, the Indian God of Wealth and Regent of the North. He was introduced to Japan from China during the early **Tang** period. Bishamon appears clad in armour and carries a small pagoda and a spear or trident. Also called Bishamonten or Tamonten. Ch: Bishamen Huang

bixie (Ch)

Lit. "repel evil". Chinese mythical feline creature with large open mouth, long outstretched tongue, lion manes, but no horns. It usually had wings. It descended from the tiger as often found in **Han** tombs. It guarded royal (not imperial) tombs from the latter part of the **Period of Disunity** (220-589) on. Compare **qilin**

black-figure technique

A style of pottery painting in which black silhouette figures were decorated with incision and added colour against the natural reddish colour of the clay. Considered to be a Corinthian invention of about 650 B.C.

blood-sweating horse

See **Heavenly horse**

bodhi (S)

Lit. "awakened" or "enlightened". The bodhi tree refers to the tree the **Buddha** sat under when he achieved enlightment

Bodhgayā

Site in north India where Śākyamuni reached enlightment under the **bodhi** tree

Bodhidharma (S)

Indian monk who, according to tradition, came to China in 520 A.D. and founded the Chan (Zen) sect of Buddhism. J: Daruma

bodhisattva (S)

Lit. "enlightened being". In early Buddhism a term used to refer to Śākyamuni in the period before his enlightment. In **Mahāyāna** Buddhism anyone who has renounced Buddhahood in order to work for the salvation of all beings, was symbolically personified as a bodhisattva.In the hierarchy of the Buddhist pantheon, bodhisattvas stand one rung below Buddhas, functioning as their agents in the cosmos. They often appear as their attendants, though they are worshipped independently as well. J: bosatsu, Ch: pusa

Bonten (J)

See **Brahmā**

Boreas (Gr)

Greek name and personification of the north wind. Mythologically the son of **Astraios** and **Eos.** He brought the cold winds from the North and the winter. He raped, among other women, Oreithyia, an Athenean princess. The Atheneans asked him, as a "member of the family", for help in their battle against the Persian fleet of Xerxes

bosatsu (J)
See **bodhisattva**

Bosporus
See **Regnum Bospori**

Brahmā (S)
Indian deity, the supreme god of the Brahmāns. Worshipped in Japan as **Bonten**, guardian of Buddhist law and protector of the world. By the 1st century A.D. he was incorporated into Buddhist imagery and legends as a devotee of the **Buddha**, and thus symbolized the religious superiority of the new religion over Brahmānical orthodoxy. In the Indian Middle Ages Brahmā became the supreme lord of creation and sacred knowledge. In Japan he figures in Buddhist temples together with Indra as subordinate attendants of a Buddhist deity

brocade
A textile to which decorative threads have been added during the weaving process. Brocaded threads "float" over parts of the ground weave, resulting in a raised design

Bronze Age
General: a period of civilization between the Stone Age and the Iron Agee, characterized by bronze tools and weapons.
In Greece: the periods distinguished are
- **Minoan** Culture, based on the island of Crete (ca. 3200-1000 B.C.)
- **Helladic,** the culture on the Greek mainland (ca. 3200-1000 B.C.). The later part of the Helladic period (ca. 1650-1000 B.C.) is also called **Mycaenean**
- **Cycladic,** culture on the islands (ca. 3200-1000 B.C.)

In China: the period from about 2500 B.C. to about 600 B.C.
In Japan: the period from about 500 B.C. to about 500 A.D., is called the Bronze-Iron Age, because bronze and iron appeared in Japan at virtually the same time

Buddha (S)
Lit. "the enlightened one". Originally, Gautama (surname) Siddhartha, born in 563 B.C., who lived in the foothills of the Himalayas, present-day Nepal. He became also called Śākyamuni, i.e. sage of the Sakya clan. Renouncing his royal position in favour of the ascetic life, he finally succeeded through yoga and meditation under the **bodhi** (wisdom) tree at Gaya in attaining Enlightment. Later any of the deities of **Mahāyāna** Buddhism who has attained enlightment and entered **nirvāna**, or dwells in a heavenly paradise. J: Hotoke

Buddhist angels
See **tennin**

bugaku (J)
One of Japan's most ancient forms of dance with musical accompaniment, imported from China and Korea from the 6th to the 8th centuries. It employed elaborately carved masks, and was once performed chiefly by the aristocracy of Nara and Kyōto. It was similar to the **gigaku** dance which, however, is now extinct

Bukkyō (J)
Buddhism

bunjinga (J)
See **Nanga**

caduceus (L)
A magic staff, topped by two intertwining snakes, as held by Hermes. Gr: kerykeion

calyx (Gr)
Collective term for the petals of a flower; applied by analogy to cup-shaped formations of leaves, as in acanthus ornament in Classical architecture

cameo (It)
A precious or semi-precious stone carved in relief

capital
The upper, spreading element of a column, which forms a transition between the vertical shaft and the horizontal elements of the **architrave**

Capitol (L)
A Roman temple dedicated to the three Capitoline deities, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva

carchesium (L)
Footed cup with a bell-shaped body, concave sides and usually -but not always- handles. It was used for drinking wine and pouring libations

caryatid
A female figure supporting the **entablature** of a building. After the Greek "Caryatide", the name of a priestess in the temple of Artemis in Karyai in Laconia

celadon (F)
Term to indicate high-fired ceramic wares with a distinctive olive to blue-green colour glaze. The bodies were both grey stonewares and white porcelains

celestial horse
See **Heavenly horse**

cella (L)
Latin name for the central area and structure of a Greek temple that housed the cult statue

centaur
A Greek mythical creature, half horse and half man, sometimes with four equine legs and a human torso, other times with equine hindquarters attached to a fully human body

Central Asia
See **Xinjiang**

cetacean
Large sea-animal belonging to a group of watermammals with paddle-like forelimbs: whales, porpoises, and dolphins are cetaceans. The word is related to **ketos**

champlevé (F)
An enamelling technique for metal, where grooves, intended to receive the vitreous substance, are chiselled out of the metal, usually bronze, body; alternatively these grooves are produced, in the case of a bronze object, in the casting

Chang'an (Ch)
Ancient Chinese city, modern Xian, in Shaanxi province. It was the site of the imperial capital of the **Former Han dynasty**. Vulnerable to raids from horsemen of the north, it became fortified with walls. The city was laid out in a general rectangular shape, oriented to the points of the compass, and it grew to an immense city with a population of over 500.000. Chang'an suffered severely during upheavals in 25 A.D. and was abandoned by the **Later Han** dynasty as capital in favour of **Luoyang**. However, it was restored and continued to be an important commercial and political centre. During the **Period of**

Disunity (220-589) the city was adopted as a capital again by several rulers. Emperor Wendi (r. 581-604) of the **Sui dynasty** established his capital close to the old site of Chang'an, which served as a capital for the **Tang dynasty** thereafter. During the Tang period Chang'an was a metropole, the largest city in the world, with more than two million inhabitants

chanoyu (J)

Tea-ceremony in Japan using powdered green tea, developed by Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591)

Chan (Ch)

The meditative sect of Buddhism, according to tradition founded by **Bodhidharma** in the 6th century A.D., introduced in the 13th century from China into Japan, where it is called **Zen**. It is based on contemplation and self-discipline, teaching that **Buddha** is immanent in all things

chasing

A metalworking technique where the design in the surface is traced with a punch

chevron (F)

An inverted V-ornament

chi (Ch)

A Chinese measure, approximately equal to one foot

chimaera (Gr)

A Greek mythical fire-breathing creature, according to Hesiod born from the union of Echidna with Thyphaon. It had the head and body of a lion, with a goat's head growing from its back and a snake's head emerging at its tail, and consumed people and crops in Lycia. Bellerophon, mounted on the flying winged steed Pegasos, slew the monster by shooting darts at it

Chinese Turkestan

See **Xinjiang**

Chinhŭng (K)

King of Silla (r. 540-575 A.D.), the founding patron of the "Monastery of the Yellow Dragon" in present-day Kyŏngju, Korea, and of a nine-story wooden pagoda

chiton (Gr)

A linen tunic with sleeves, worn long by Greek women, shorter by men. May be worn under a **himation**

Chrysaor (Gr)

In Greek mythology, the son of Poseidon and Medusa, who, together with **Pegasos**, appeared from the bleeding neck of his mother, after **Perseus** had cut off her head

chthonic

Greek term meaning "of the earth", and often referring to the gods of the underworld as distinguished from those of the Olympus

Cimmerian Bosporus

The approach to the Sea of Azov. See also **Thracian Bosporus**

Cimmerians

Group of nomadic peoples who invaded Anatolia in the first quarter of the 1st millennium B.C. They were feared for their intrepid mounted warriors who raided the country

cire perdue (F)

The "lost-wax" method of making bronze objects. In this process the wax model, sometimes built around a clay core, is covered with clay and then fired. The hot-fluid bronze is poured in, to replace the melted wax, after which the outer clay shell is removed

classical

A term which has come to mean "pertaining to Greek and Roman culture". The literature of Greece and Rome is referred to collectively as "the Classics" and the civilization which produced them is called "classical civilization"

Classical period

The Classical period of Greece has been considered the height of Greek civilization. It started in 480 B.C. when the Persian fleet was defeated by the Athenians at the Battle of Salamis and lasted until the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.

cloisonné (F)

In cloissonné, or walled enamel technique, the designs are formed upon metal by fine ribbons of the same material, soldered in such a way to the basis as to form a multitude of cells in which the enamel pastes of various colours are placed and, after being vitrified by repeated firings, are finally ground and polished to a smooth surface

Cnidos (Gr)

A Greek colony situated at the south-west tip of Asia Minor. It produced a famous vintage and by the 6th century B.C. it had trade relations with Egypt (Naucratis) and southern Italy (Tarentum). It was also renown for its statue of Aphrodite, made by Praxiteles. It fell under Persian rule by 540 B.C. and became after the Persian Wars a member of the Delian League

colonnade

A range of columns of a temple or building supporting the **entablature**

Commagene

An independent kingdom in north Syria, established in 162 B.C. when its governor Ptolemy revolted against the Seleucids. Its king Antiochus I (c. 69-31 B.C.) submitted to Pompey in 64 B.C. and was rewarded with a part of Mesopotamia. The royal house claimed descent from Darius and, by marriage alliance, from Alexander. Its genealogy and religion -a superficially hellenized Zoroastrianism- are illustrated by the pretentious funeral monument of Antiochus I at Nimrud Dag

contorniate (L)

A coin-shaped medal brought into circulation in the late **Roman period** with the sole purpose of promoting the revival of paganism. Mythological or historical figures from the glorious past paraded on one side of the medal. The other side bore the figures of the "good caesars" whose virtue and achievements were thus extolled

contrapposto

Lit. "counterpoise". The pose where the body-weight rests on one leg, while the other is free-standing. It causes an S-curve in the body-line. Also called hip-shot stance. S: tribhanga

Corinthian

Style of black-figure vase decoration in Corinth (ca. 640-550 B.C.), characterized by animal friezes and copious filling ornament

cornice (F)

The horizontal course of the **entablature** of a building immediately above the **frieze**

cornucopia (L)

Horn of wealth and abundance. According to the myth, Amalthea, a nurse of Zeus, had wonderful horns flowing with nectar and ambrosia. One of them broke off, and was filled with fruits and given to Zeus. This was the origin of the cornucopia, the magical object whose possessor can get anything he likes out of it

Ctesiphon

City on the Tigris River, opposite of its twin town Seleucia, about 35 km south of Bagdad. Ctesiphon was founded by the Parthians around 140 B.C. and continued to flourish until the early years of Islam. Seleucia fell into decline during the 2nd century A.D. Ctesiphon was the capital of the **Sasanian Empire**

cuirass

A piece of close-fitting armour for protecting the breast and back. It was originally made of leather

culture

The totality of behavioral patterns (values, knowledge, beliefs, arts, skills, instruments, institutions) common to a group of individuals in a given period. Culture is transmitted by learning, not by genetic inheritance

cuneiform

The principal form of ancient Near Eastern writing, based on wedge-shaped impressions in clay. Adapted to write many languages

Cycladic

Adjective indicating

(1) Of the southern islands of the Aegean Sea (including most notably Delos, Paros, Naxos, Thera, Melos and Siphnos)

(2) Of the **Bronze Age** culture of these islands

cylinder seal

Small cylinder made of metals, rare stone, baked clay or frit, carved with various designs or inscriptions and rolled over wet clay to leave an impression. Cylinder seals were among other used to indicate ownership

dado

The lower part of a wall, often formed of a distinctive ornamental stone

Daianji (J)

Large temple in Nara before the Tōdaiji. It was built in 617 A.D. as Kumagoridera, successively moved and renamed Kudaradaiji and Daikandaiji. Named Daianji after move to Nara in 729 A.D.

Daibutsu (J)

Lit. "Great Buddha", an ancient designation for the giant bronze statue of the supreme deity of Buddhism at **Tōdaiji** (temple) at Nara, cast in 752 A.D. and re-cast in 1185. The total height of the image and pedestal is nearly 18 meters. Sometimes the bronze statue of **Amitābha** at Kamakura is also called a Daibutsu

Daijō (J)

See **Mahāyāna**

Daikandaiji (J)

See Daianji

Daikoku (J)

Lit. "Great Black". The Japanese name of the god of wealth. He is usually represented with three attributes: a mallet, the emblem of the miner and the mineral wealth of Japan; a bag containing jewels; a pair of rice-bales, the results of bountiful crops. Also called Daikokuten, Daikokujin, or Ōkuninushi. S: **Mahākāla**, Ch: Da-shen Wang

daimyō (J)

Lit. "Great name". Regional ruler during the period of Shōgun-governance in Japan

Dainichi Nyorai (J)

The supreme and eternal Buddha of the Shingon and Tendai sects of **Esoteric Buddhism.**

S: Mahāvairocana

Daoism (Ch)

Older spelling "Taoism"; a religion indigenous to China, which takes its name from *dao*, "the way". In its origin it draws on texts of the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.), but its formative years were the centuries immediately after the fall of the **Han** Dynasty in 220 A.D. Daoism offers personal salvation through a number of religious practices. Practisioners also perform rituals which seek to benefit society as a whole by maintaining cosmic harmony. Daoism offers its devotees the possibility of becoming an immortal, deathless being who dwells in one of the many paradises. Daoism is a religion developed at the same time as Buddhism was becoming accepted and the two religions enjoyed a complex relationship

Daqin (Ch)

The name of the Roman Empire as mentioned in **Han**-records. More precisely, Daqin was the political term for the Roman Empire, while geographically it was Egypt and Syria. Most of the descriptions apply to Syria only. Andu (Antioch) was supposed to be the capital of Daqin

Darius

Darius I, Achaemenid king of Persia, was born in 550 B.C. and came to the throne in 521. He consolidated Persian power in the East, including northwestern India. In 512 Darius penetrated into Europe on a punitive expedition against the Scythians. A revolt of the Greek cities in Ionia was suppressed, where upon he prepared to punish the Greeks for their interference. Ultimately he was defeated by the Greeks at Marathon (490 B.C.). He died in 486 B.C.

Dark Ages

Period in Greek civilization, from ca. 1200-900 B.C., characterized by depopulation, impoverishment and isolation

Daruma (J)

See **Bodhidharma**

Daxia (Ch)

Chinese name for Bactria as mentioned in **Han** records

Dayuan

Chinese name for Ferghana as mentioned in **Han** records

decadrachme (Gr)

A large, ten-drachme Greek silver coin

denarius (L)

A standard silver denomination of the Roman coinage, worth four brass sestertii

dentil

A rectangular toothlike projection, as on an Ionic **epistyle**

deva (S)

Lit. "the shining one". A deity inhabiting the heavenly realms. In Buddhism there are eight classes of demigods, which can be subdivided into two groups: those who are develish on the one hand and those who are benevolent on the other. The latter are grouped together vaguely as "deva" and comprise the **gandharvas**, their wives the **apsarasas** and the **kinnaras**. Soaring through the air they are as a melodious music descending from heaven. They often therefore appear in the form of winged hybrid creatures. Fem: devata

devata (S)

See **deva**

dharma (S)
The teachings of Buddha, the Buddhist law, as discovered and proclaimed by the **Buddha**

dhotī (S)
A loincoat worn by men in India

die
The engraved reverse-image stamp used to manufacture the **obverse** or **reverse** of a coin

Diadochi (Gr)
Greek term meaning "successors", denoting the Macedonian generals who amongst themselves divided Alexander the Great's empire after his death

didrachme (Gr)
A two-drachme Greek silver coin

ding (Ch)
Ritual vessel for cooked food with a round body and three legs. Used during the **Shang Zhou**, **Qin** and **Han** periods

Dionysia (Gr)
Greek festivals in honour of Dionysos, especially those at Athens from which the Greek drama originated

Dionysos (Gr)
Known to the Romans as Bacchus, the God of Wine and altered states, or religious ecstacy

Dioscouri (Gr)
In Greek mythology the twin-brothers Castor and Polydeuces (Roman: Pollux), often mentioned to be sons of Zeus. Their chief exploit is their expedition to Attica to recover Helen after Theseus had kidnapped her, and their participation in the expedition of the Argonauts. They were believed to have come to the aid of the Roman army at the battle of Lake Regillus, ca. 496 B.C. They were worshipped at Sparta, where their symbol consists of two upright pieces of wood joined by two cross-pieces, hence the astrological symbol for Gemini, with which they were associated

divination
Various methods employed to forecast events

divine horse
See **Heavenly horse**

drachme (Gr)
A standard unit of Greek silver coinage

dragon-horse
Creature of Chinese legend, having the head of a dragon and the body of a horse. Often its body was partly covered with scales. It was said to have emerged from the Yellow Rover with sacred diagrams. The symbols of the Eight Trigrams were formed after the patterns on these charts. The dragon-horse could walk over water without sinking. Ch: longma; J: ryūme or tatsu no uma

Dunhuang (Ch)
Entrepot in **Gansu** province, China, where a branch of the **Silk Road** called "**Route of the Centre**" splits off westwards from the southern branch of the Silk Road to join the northern branch at Korla. Established in 111 B.C. as one of the **Han** commanderies. Important centre of Buddhism. The first cave-temple was built there in 366 A.D., and in the subsequent millennium about one thousand grottos were constructed. The cave complex is known as "The Caves of the Thousand Buddhas"or "Mogao" caves. Excavations since the beginning of the 20th century have yielded wall paintings and texts invalu-

able for the understanding of Buddhist literature and art

dvārapālas (S)

see **Niō**

dye

Colouring matter that is initially soluble in water, but becomes physically or chemically attached to the textile surface. See also **pigment**

earthenware

Ceramic with body made from clay fired to between 800 and 1100 degrees Celsius, which is unvitrified and permeable by water

East Central Asia

See **Xinjiang**

Eastern Han

See **Later Han**

Eastern Iran

See **Transoxiana**

Eastern Mediterranean

The combined territories of the modern countries and regions, bordering the Eastern Mediterranean Sea and their inland areas: Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Cyprus and Egypt. See also **Near East**

East Turkestan

See **Xinjiang**

Edo period (J)

Period of Japanese history (1615-1868) where the country was ruled by the Tokugawa shōgunate (military government) in Edo, renamed Tōkyō in 1868. The beginning of the period is sometimes given as 1600, the year of the battle of Sekigahara which left **Ieyasu** master of Japan. Alternatively it starts in 1603 when he obtained from the Emperor the title of **shōgun**. Also 1615 is frequently used as the starting point of the period as in this work, because in that year the rebellious son of **Hideyoshi** was finally defeated by Ieyasu

egg-and-dart

Pattern applied to the Ionic rounded and convex molding, consisting of eggs alternating with slender darts

electrum (L)

An alloy of gold and silver, otherwise known as white gold, which occurs naturally in the sands of several rivers in Asia Minor. Early coins were made of this material in a short period of ca. 600 - 550 B.C.

embossing

A metalworking technique, where the shape of the decoration on the front of a piece is raised by hammering down the area around it

embroidery

Decorative sewing

enamel

Coloured glass fused onto a metallic surface

enamelled porcelain

Porcelain decorated over the **glaze** with coloured glazes applied in a second firing, lower in temperature than the first. The colours derive from metal oxides

Enkidu (Sum)
The wild-man companion of **Gilgamesh**

entablature
The horizontal architectural members forming the superstructure of a building above the columns: the **architrave**, **frieze** and **cornice**

Eos (Gr)
The Greek dawn-goddess. She drives over the sky in a chariot. Wife of **Astraios**. The Romans called her Aurora

epistyle (Gr)
A line of blocks that extend from column to column atop the capitals and support the upper parts of a building

Eros
Greek god of sudden, passionate love. Son of Aphrodite

Erythraean Sea
See **Periplus**

Esoteric Buddhism
Term used for one of the three major types of Buddhism which literally means "secret teachings" (See also **Hīnayāna** and **Mahāyāna**). It is also called Tantric or Vajrayana Buddhism. It developed in the 6th century A.D. and depended largely on "mysteries" taught and transmitted by esoteric masters. It was introduced into Central Asia –particularly the areas of Khotan, Kucha and Kashgar- in the 660's by the Tibetans who conquered that region by that time. In China it was introduced when the Emperor Ruizong (r. 710-712) ascended the throne in Chang'an and two great interpreters of Esoteric Buddhism arrived in the capital where they performed numerous court rituals. In Japan it refers primarily to two sects -Singon and Tendai- that took root in **Heian**-era Japan after being introduced from China. The sects translate their sense of cosmology into meditation based on **mandalas** and the use of implements, chief among which is the **vajra** (thunderbolt weapon). As time passed, the sects established large-scale monasteries and bands of warrior-monks who became a political power in their own right. J: Mikkyō

Etesian winds
Mediterranean winds that blow from the north-west for several weeks every summer

Etruscans
The people who dominated north-central Italy from the seventh to the fourth century B.C.

Euxine (Gr)
The Black Sea

faience (F)
glazed material made by firing quartz-sand bound with natron

famille verte (F)
A class of Chinese porcelain from the Kangxi period (1662-1722) where the green overglaze colour dominates, although yellow, turquois, purple and opaque red are also part of the colourscheme

Faxian (Ch)
Buddhist pilgrim from China who visited Gandhāra and South Asia about 400 A.D. and left an account of his travels

feitian (Ch)
See **apsaras**

feiyu (Ch)

Lit. "flying fish". A type of Chinese dragon, frequently appearing on Chinese porcelains of the Ming period, having the head of a dragon, with a projecting upturning nose, fins instead of legs, all-over fish scaling, and sometimes a true fishtail

fibula (L

A dresspin with a clasp; a brooch

filigree

A metal smith's technique using thin wire for decoration often left as openwork

Five Dynasties (Ch)

Period in Chinese history (907-960 A.D.), when China was again divided in a northern and a southern territory. In total thirteen emperors belonging to eight families succeeded one another. In fact the Five Dynasties were all in north China and their power base was Henan province. In south and central China was all but one of the so-called Ten Kingdoms. Nevertheless historians now call this period Five Dynasties. The Ten Kingdoms in the south, a number of short lived kingdoms, managed to achieve a relatively stable conglomerate. Many refugees from the north moved to the south and settled in Sichuan province, a particularly fertile area, which began to develop as a prosperous economic and cultural centre. Along the coast, sea-going trade –including trade with North China, Korea, the southern coasts of China and southern Asia- expanded, promoting both urban prosperity and cultural diversity. By contrast, North China was culturally impoverished during this period. The Five Dynasties came to an end when General Zhao Kuangyin founded the **Song** dynasty in 960 A.D.[1]

fluxes

Metal oxides included in glass to lower the high melting point of prime glass-forming silica-oxide, to temperatures manageable in pottery kilns or glass furnaces

flying gallop

A rapid, springing gait of a four-footed animal, conventionally indicated in art by a representation of an animal stretched out with all four feet off the ground

foreshortening

An illusionistic trick to suggest depth on a flat surface by representing forms as shorter in length than they actually are

Former Han dynasty (Ch)

Period in Chinese history, 206 B.C.-24 A.D. Sometimes called the Western Han because its capital **Chang'an** was west of **Luoyang**, the capital of the subsequent **Later Han**. Three stages may be discerned in the dynastic and political history of the Former Han dynasty. The initial period, which lasted from 206 to 135 B.C. was marked by imperial consolidation after Liu Bang (256-195 B.C.) had adopted the title "King of Han" in his domain in 206 B.C., and **Huangdi** or emperor of China in 202 B.C. (see **Qin dynasty**). He re-established imperial rule while the basic institutions of the preceding Qin dynasty were retained. Relations between the **Han** Empire and foreign states or leaders were largely influenced by the chief potential enemies of China, the **Xiongnu**. During the first stage of the Former Han Empire, Chinese foreign policies were directed to appeasement rather than to expansion, in order to avoid involvement in costly and dangerous wars. The second stage of the Former Han lasted from ca. 135 to ca. 90 B.C. China now took the initiative in foreign affairs by taking action against the Xiongnu in order to free the northern boundaries from the threat of invasion. The armed line of defense was further extended to the west, relations with tribal units around the **Taklamakan Desert** were established and trading caravans from the interior of China with surplus products of silk were actively protected. State

monopolies were founded to work the iron and salt industries and the minting of coins. Also large areas were incorporated into Han territory, both in the north-west and north-east. This policy of expansion is usually associated with the age of Emperor Wudi (r. 141-87 B.C.), who sent **Zhang Qian** to make personal contact with the leaders of Central Asian tribes, which led to the establishment of the **Silk Roads** to Central Asia. The expansionist policy, however, had weakened the dynasty and a serious crisis broke out in 91 B.C. and Chang'an city was ruined. The third stage of the Former Han started in 87 B.C. with Wudi's death, which triggered a reaction against the policies enacted under his reign (government's control of the population, increase of economic resources, and extension of Han influence into Central Asia). Gradually the dynasty weakened until there rose to prominence a family named Wang, which by requiring effective power at court was eventually able to end the Han dynasty and to replace it with its own house of Xin in 9 A.D., calling for return to the golden age of the ancient **Zhou** dynasty. The government limited the size of individual landholdings, freed all slaves and redistributed land, thus antagonizing estate holders. A massive flood of the Yellow River in 11 A.D. delivered the fatal blow to this short-lived government. Thousands of peasants rose up against the central government and a loose coalition of powerful landowning families gained control in 25 A.D. and put a distant heir of the Han founder on the throne. The Han dynasty was formally re-established. The capital was moved to Luoyang, because Chang'an had been destroyed[1]

Four Deva kings

See **lokapāla**

Four Guardian kings

See **lokapāla**

fravashis (P)

In Zoroastrian religion the fravashis are guardian angels or protecting spirits who guide the souls of the departed to heaven. The fravashis assisted Ahura Mazda, the supreme Zoroastrian divinity, in the creation of the world and are also the defenders of heaven

fresco (It)

A technique of creating a wall-painting by applying pigments to wet or damped plaster; a painting so created

fret

A meander

frieze

The zone (on a column) above the **epistyle**, decorated with alternating triglyphs and metopes (Doric order) or continuously carved in low relief (Ionic order)

fuchi (J)

See **fuchigashira**

fuchigashira (J)

The kashira covers the end of the hilt of a Japanese sword, and is held on it by the hilt-wrapping. The fuchi fits over the other end, next to the **tsuba**

Fujiwara Palace (J)

First permanent imperial structures with tile roofs and stonepillar bases. Built in 692 at Kashiwara, Nara Prefecture

Fujiwara period (J)

Period in Japanese history (897-1185); also called **Late Heian period**

Fūjin (J)

Japanese windgod, depicted usually as an elderly man in a running pose with a scarf-shaped bag of wind

wrapped around his shoulders. Also called Fūten, or sometimes kaze no kami

Fūten (J)

See **Fūjin**

Gaia (Gr)

In Greek mythology the Earth, conceived as a personal goddess. Heaven (Ouranos) was her child and husband and their offspring were, amongst others, the **Titans**. After her separation from Ouranos she bore, amongst others, the **Giants**, being fertilized by the blood from his wounds

Gandhāra

Old Indian name for the plain of Peshāwar, in the confluence of the Swāt and Kābul Rivers. It had a very strategic position because it is located about 20 km east of the Khyber Pass, where the principle trade route from India passed through to **Bāmiyān** and across the Hindu Kush to Balkh. The area of Gandhāra roughly included north-western India between the Khyber Pass and the region of the Kābul Valley in Afghanistan. Between the 4th century B.C. and the 7th century A.D. Gandhāra was controlled successively by Greeks, Indo-Greeks, **Śakas**, Parthians, Scythians, **Kushān**s, Sasanians, Huns and other political entities. From the middle of the 4th century B.C. on, Greek influence was considerable in the area. Buddhism entered Gandhāra probably by the 1st century B.C. and was embraced by Gandhāran people on a large scale when the Kushāns, Buddhists themselves, took control over the area by the early 1st century A.D. The Kushāns maintained intensive contacts with Hellenistic Rome, too, and in Gandhāra a culture developed which was a mixture of Greco-Roman and Indian Buddhist elements, often called **Greco-Buddhist culture**

gandharva (S)

Winged male celestial deity, known as the musician of the gods; their concubines were the **apsarasas;** pl. gandharvas. J: kogakuten

Gansu (Ch)

Area in north-west China, corresponding to the present-day province of Gansu and a portion of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. It lies between the Qilian Mountains of the Tibetan plateau to the south and the Gobi Desert to the north. Gansu was the passageway connecting the **Silk Road** from the desert regions (Taklamakan) of the west with China's heartland and its imperial cities **Chang'an** and **Luoyang**. By the 3rd century B.C., the area was inhabited by the **Xiongnu**, who intermittently launched attacks on Chinese settlements and even threatened the imperial capital Chang'an. Chinese recognition of the strategic position of Gansu, and of the **Hexi Corridor** in particular, stemmed from **Han** military campaigns against the Xiongnu. By the 1st century A.D., the **Han** army destroyed the Xiongnu threat and extended Chinese control to the **Tarim Basin** and the oasis cities skirting its northern and southern edges

genius (L)

According to ancient Roman belief, a guardian spirit assigned to a person at birth; hence a spirit, either good or evil, supposed to influence one's destiny. More generally, the term indicates a lower-order supernatural being. The word does not suggest either a malignant or a beneficial character. pl.: genii

Geometric period

Period in Greek civilization, a revival following the **Dark Ages**, from ca. 900-700 B.C. It is characterized by the almost mathematical precision with which painters decorated their pottery

Giants

In Greek mythology a race of monstruous appearance and great strength. They were sons of **Gaia** (Earth) from the blood of Ouranos (Heaven), which fell upon earth. They are described as valiant war-

riors who attacked the Olympian gods

gigaku (J)

A Japanese dance-drama tradition, similar to **bugaku**, but slightly more archaic in form and made up of Korean, Chinese and Central Asian elements. It was imported in the 7th century in Japan. It was performed mostly in Nara temples, where numerous gigaku masks have been preserved. The tradition seems to have died out in the beginning of the **Edo period** (1615-1868)

Gigantomachy

Battle involving **Giants** and Olympian gods

Gilgamesh (Sum)

Mythical king of the Sumerians, famed for his heroic exploits. The Akkadian Standard Version Epic of Gilgamesh was preserved in the library of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal in the 7th century B.C. on twelve clay tablets

glaze

Thin coating on ceramics of powdered rocks, ashes or minerals rich in glass-forming oxides, **fluxes** and the glass stabiliser aluminium which, after forming, closely resembles a sheet of glass. Glaze is continuous and impervious when correctly applied and fired

Gorgon (Gr)

Anyone of the three daughters of Phorkys and Keto (or Gaia) named Sthenno, Euryale and **Medusa**. They had hideous faces, fangs, beards and snaky hair. Of the three sisters only Medusa was mortal. The gaze of Medusa, who was beheaded by Perseus, turned people into stone

gorgoneion (Gr)

A **Gorgon**-head, representing the disembodied head of Medusa, a popular decorative device from the **Archaic period** through the later classical world

gorytos (Gr)

Bow and quiver case as used by the Scythians

gourd

A large fruit whose tough skin was used to hold liquids

granulation

A metal smith's technique of soldering very small globules of gold or silver onto a smooth surface

Great Wall

A series of stone and earthen ramparts, not one continuous wall, to protect China's border in the north. Since its earliest constructions by the **Qin** and extensions by the **Han**, the Great Wall had been rebuilt over the centuries, notably during the Northern **Zhou** dynasty (557-581), and by the **Sui** Emperors Wendi in 586 and Yangdi in 607. The Great Wall one sees today was built in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries

Greco-Buddhist culture

See **Gandhāra**

Greek key

A **maeander**

griffin

Mythical animal with a feline body, wings, the head of a bird-of-prey, a long curving tail and feet which resemble the talons of an eagle

groundline

In art the line on which figures stand

Guanyin (Ch)

See **Avalokiteśvara**

Guardians of the Four Directions

See **lokapāla**

Gupta

A dynasty of kings in India who ruled from 320-455 A.D. Arts flourished in that period. The artistic Gupta style period is usually taken from 320-550 A.D.

Guze Kanon (J)

Lit. "Kanon as the Universal Savior"; one of the many forms under which this deity was worshipped, in this case a gilded wooden image of **Avalokiteśvara** in the **Yumedono** of the **Hōryūji** temple. **Shōtoku Taishi** was believed to be an incarnation of the Guze Kanon. See **Avalokiteśvara**

gyoryū (J)

Fish-dragon. Ch: yulong

haima (Ch)

See **Heavenly horse**

Han dynasty (Ch)

Period in Chinese history, 206 B.C.-220 A.D. Distinguished are the **Former** or **Western Han**, 206 B.C.-24 A.D., and the **Later** or **Eastern Han**, 25-220 A.D.

Hāritī (S)

Indian goddess who, according to the legend, was once a devourer of infants, but was converted by the **Buddha**, and afterwards worshipped as the protector of children. She figures in Japanese pictorial art as a female holding a pomegranate (or peach) in her right hand and an infant, whose hands are folded in prayer, in her left. J: Kishimojin or Kariteimo

harpies (Gr)

In Greek mythology, supernatural winged beings that were originally winds, and have some characteristics of ghosts. They were depicted in art as winged women, or as birds with women's faces and long, hooked claws. Their peculiar activity was to snatch and carry off people and things. They tormented Phineus and were driven off by the sons of **Boreas**

Harpocrates (G)

Greek name for the Egyptian god of the sky, Horus. Harpocrates was regarded as the God of Silence and was popular throughout the **Roman** Empire. He is represented as a small boy with his finger held to his lips, the gesture of silence

Heavenly horse

1. **Dragon-horse**
2. Mythical horse with wings, as dubbed by the **Han** emperor Wudi (r. 141-87 B.C.) as a new manifestation of the dragon-horse
3. Wusun horse as brought back to China by Zhang Qiang on his mission to the **Wusun** tribe in 115 B.C.
4. "Blood-sweating" horses as brought to China from Ferghana in 101 B.C.
5. Any riderless horse in a flying pose – having no wings or stylized wings or being surrounded by flame-like attachments – as appearing in Chinese and Japanese art.

   Ch: tianma. J: tenba. Also called "celestial" horse or "divine horse". In cases where a Heavenly horse is depicted as flying above water it is usually called a "sea-horse" (Ch: haima. J: kaiba)

Heavenly Kings

See **lokapāla**

Heian period (J)

Period in Japanese history (794-1185), named after its capital city Heian, part of present-day Kyōto. In this period the imperial rule was established at Kyōto, and the warrior class developed. The period is divided in the Early Heian (794-897) which saw the introduction of **Esoteric Buddhism** and its distinctive aesthetic system in Japan, and in the Late Heian (897-1185) or **Fujiwara period**. The latter saw the closing of direct contacts with the Chinese mainland, and, in the arts, an increased awareness of native Japanese subject matter and aesthetic attitudes

Heiankyō (J)

Present-day Kyōto. Capital of Japan from 794 to 1185, called the **Heian** period of Japanese history. Kyōto remained the imperial capital until 1868

Helladic

Culture of the **Bronze Age** on the Greek mainland

Hellas (Gr)

Land of the Hellenes, the ancient Greeks

Hellenic

Pertaining to the history, language and culture of the ancient Greeks

Hellenistic Age

Period which begins with the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. and concludes in 31 B.C. when Augustus became the first Roman emperor. This period witnessed the dissemination of Greek and Macedonian ideas throughout what had been Alexander's empire

Hephthalites

A nomadic people, also known as the Chionites or White Huns, who had moved west from north-west China and by the mid-4th century A.D., had penetrated into eastern Iran and north-west India, alternating between being allies and enemies of the Sasanians. They had dominated **Sogdiana** from about 500 A.D. on, but were defeated by the alliance of the Turks and Sasanians around 550 A.D.

Herakles (Gr)

Herakles was the illegitimate offspring of Zeus and Alkmene, granddaughter of Perseus. He was honoured as a hero throughout the Greek world and, after his death by poisoning, was granted immortality by the gods. Known as Hercules to the Romans

Hercules (L)

See **Herakles**

herm

See **hermae**

hermae (L)

Originally marble or bronze pillars surmounted by a bust that represented the god **Hermes**. Later they served for portrait busts for other deities too. They were not known in sculpture before the 5th century B.C. Hermae stood in large numbers in streets and squares in the Greek cities

Hermes (Gr)

Son of Zeus and Maia, the daughter of the **Titan** Atlas. Hermes is identified with the Roman god Mercury. He is worshipped as the God of Fertility, as the protector of travelers and roads and as the conveyor of souls to the underworld. He was also the messenger of the gods and is often depicted wearing winged sandals or a winged hat

Herodotus

Greek historian (ca. 484-425 B.C.), dubbed "The Father of History", born in Halicarnassus (modern

Bodrum, Turkey). He travelled widely. The first six parts of his nine-part "*History*" introduce most of the peoples of the ancient world and their customs, legends, histories and traditions. The last three parts treat the Greek-Persian rivalry. He was the first writer to critically evaluate historical, geographical and archaeological material

Hexi Corridor

Part of present-day **Gansu** province, China, which begins at the province's western border and ends at Langzhou, where the Yellow River crosses the **Silk Road**. The area is mostly a narrow high-altitude plateau, only fifty miles wide.

Hideyoshi (J)

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598). Military dictator. Born as peasant, served Oda **Nobunaga**, and in 1582 became ruler of Japan

himation (Gr)

An outer mantel or cloak, usually draped diagonally over the shoulder, worn on its own by Greek men, by women over a **chiton** or **peplos**

Hīnayāna (S)

The "Small Vehicle", i.e. the symplest vehicle of salvation. The original form of Buddhism, Theravāda, also called the southern tradition, especially popular in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma. It believes in the doctrine of **Buddha** with emphasis on individual salvation without divine aid. It teaches that man can achieve enlightment and escape wordly misery only by a long series of births and rebirths and leading a life of monastic self denial and meditation. This school consisted historically of a group of conservative senior monks who advocated a strict adherence to the precepts, as opposed to another group of rather progressive monks, whose beliefs were to develop later into **Mahāyāna**, also called the northern tradition. Hīnayāna is a polemic epithet applied by Mahayanists to the early Buddhist school (Theravāda), which preached individual salvation. J: Shōjō

hippocamp

Fish-tailed horse of the sea (seahorse) that was the favourite form of transport of the ocean gods, in particular the **Nereids**

Historical period

Period of time characterized by the use of written documents. Cultural and historical interpretation is based on analysis of both written records and material remains. See also **Prehistorical period**

Hōitsu

See **Rinpa**

Hokusai (J)

Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) was an artist of the late **Edo period**. When young he studied the styles of the famous Japanese schools of painting, among which the **Rinpa** School. He specialized in landscape and bird-and-flower prints, but became particularly known for his scetchbooks, the Hokusai manga

Hōnen Shōnin (J)

Founder of the **Jōdo** (Amida's Paradise) sect of Buddhism

honeysuckle

A floral ornament resembling the honeysuckle plant. Originally the **anthemion**

hoplite (Gr)

A heavily armed (helmet, **cuirass**, shield, spear) foot soldier

Hōryūji (J)

A Buddhist temple founded in 607 A.D. near Nara by prince Shōtoku Taishi (572-621 A.D.). It was

destroyed by fire in 670 and there is much debate whether the present buildings are those of later restoration, datable to 708-714 A.D. It is one of the most ancient temples in Japan. The unification of the Chinese Empire by the **Sui dynasty** in 589 and the founding of the **Tang dynasty** in 618 suddenly opened channels of contact with the continent. Chinese culture was introduced and rapidly spread, among which Buddhism. Buddhist priests and temples became agents of a continuous flow of Chinese cultural imports. Great works of art were created by these immigrant priests and were preserved as Japanese national treasures which are kept at the Hōryūji. Part of the treasures originally donated to the Hōryūji, are now in the keeping of the Tōkyō National Museum

hōsōge (J)

Lit. "flower that looks like a jewel". Imaginary flowers, rather resembling peonies, which are prominent in Buddhist decorative arts, but also on textiles and in ceramic art

Hossō (J)

Buddhist sect, introduced from China into Japan about 650 A.D. It teaches that the only reality is consciousness

Hotoke (J)

See **Buddha**

Humbaba (Sum)

A monster killed by **Gilgamesh** and **Enkidu.** As "Guardian of the Cedar Forest" he was endowed with extraordinary power to detect trespassers and a terror-inspiring appearance to drive them away

Huns

See **Xiongnu**

hydria (Gr)

A water-jar, with two horizontal handles at the shoulder for lifting and carrying, and one vertical handle at the neck for pouring

iconography

The study of the subject matter of sculpture, painting and other visual arts

Ieyasu (J)

Member of the Tokugawa family. Lived 1542-1616. Prominent in the armies of **Nobunaga** and inherited the power over Japan after **Hideyoshi**'s death. Founder of the Tokugawa Shōgunate

Imari (J)

The province of Hizen on the island of Kyūshū had two parts, Nagasaki, where the Dutch were permanently settled, and Imari, from where large quantities of porcelain, manufactured there, were shipped to Nagasaki. The term Imari is used to describe a type of Japanese porcelain decorated for the most part in under-glaze blue and over-glaze red and gold. Alternatively, Imari may be defined as all polychrome wares of the area, other than those attributed to the Kamiemon and Nabeshima families

Indo-Parthians

Rulers who took over **Taxila** and Gandhāra from the Indo-Scythians, around or soon after the turn of our era. Their realm extended from Seistan across southern Afghanistan to the Punjab. Their capital, Taxila, was embellished with striking buildings and attracted imported Roman luxury goods

Indo-Scythians

Scythian groups who at various times occupied various areas between eastern Iran and north-west India. Originally nomads from Central Asia, they invaded Gandhāra and conquered the Indo-Greek kingdom in the 1st century B.C.

Indra (S)

The vedic Indian deity with many functions: lord of rainfall, archetype of earthly rulers, king of heavenly hosts. He, together with **Brahmā**, were shown in early Buddhist art as devotees of the Buddha, as though to demonstrate the superiority of Buddhism over orthodox Indian creeds. J: Taishakuten

ingot

A cast piece of metal, based on a defined weight standard, that can come in different shapes

intaglio (It)

"Hollow relief" carving, commonly used for engraving seals and gems, in which a positive imprint is formed when pressed onto heated wax

inrō (J)

A miniature set of interlocking compartments, hung from the **obi** by a silk cord with a **netsuke** at its other end, and used to carry a supply of medicines. Inrō were introduced in Japan about the 14th century by Chinese **Chan** (Zen) priests. The Chinese containers were much larger, however, and were used exclusively as cases for the seals and thick red ink with which the priests personalized their paintings and writings

Ionians

Greeks speaking the Ionic dialect, including the Athenians; the Greeks of Ionia on the central Aegean coast of Turkey and adjacent islands

Iron Age

A period of civilization characterized by the introduction and development of iron tools and weapons. It follows the **Bronze Age**. In China from about 600-220 B.C.

Jainism

The name of a religious-philosophical sect in North India, which was established contemporary with and largely in competition with Buddhism. Both were a reaction against the supremacy of Brahmānism. The founder was Vardhamana, also called Mahavira, i.e. the hero Jina. In the religion the highest goal is the attainment of nirvāna, i.e. the liberation from the cycle of death and rebirth. Jain sculpture strongly resembles Buddhist sculpture and sculptural motifs and symbols are closely related. The main difference is that Jain images are unclothed and have their hands in the meditation gesture (dhyāna mudrā), while Buddhas wear monastic garments and have their hands in the blessing gesture. During the 1st century B.C., in **Mathurā**, Jainism seems to have dominated over Buddhism. Generally Jainism was more tenacious to tradition, perhaps resulting from the fact that it was not exposed to so many foreign influences as Buddhism, which at an early period received the influence of ideas and traditions from the north-west. By its very pliancy and also by its missionary impulse, Buddhism was able to develop into a world-wide religion. Jainism, however, which had not been exposed to so many foreign influences, remained more conservative and therefore did not acquire the numerous followers among foreign nations that could have made it a world religion.

jātaka (S)

Birth stories, episodes from the historical Buddha's prior lives, intended as moral lessons.Upon reaching enlightment, Śākyamuni was able to remember these past lives. In total they number 550

Jin (Ch)

Chinese dynasty, 1115-1234 A.D. , founded by Aguda (r. 1115-1123), the leader of the semi-nomad Jurchen tribe in Manchuria who had been subjects of the Qidan. In 1125 a war broke out between the Jurchen and the **Song**. In 1127 the Jurchen crossed the Yellow River and took the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng. War between the Jurchen and Southern Song lasted until 1141 A.D., when a period

of co-existence, interrupted by brief warfare, followed until the Mongol attacks in 1214. After 1141 the government of the Jin in the North was based on Tang and Song models, but the two societies diverged in important ways. While the South preserved its Chinese culture, the Jin in the North, at least initially, tried to support Jurchen ways, and favoured an amalgam of cultures. However, in population the Chinese largely outnumbered the Jurchen. After all, the situation in the North stabilized to become a Chinese civilization under non-Chinese rule. Alltogether, conservatism may be regarded as a dominant characteristic of the Jin culture. The Mongol armies began to attack Jin from 1211, who moved their capital from Beijing to Kaifeng in Henan province by 1214. In 1234 the Mongols integrated the Jin state into their empire[1]

Jingdezhen (Ch)

Name of a large kiln-complex in Jiangxi Province, China, where all the imperial porcelains of the Ming and Qing periods were made. The kilns were destroyed in 1644 during the turmoils related to the overthrow of the Ming dynasty by the Qing and restored in 1681

Jizō (J)

Frequently represented, very popular **bodhisattva** in **Mahāyāna** Buddhism, shown as a priest with a shaven head. Generally regarded as the patron of children and of those in trouble, like travellers and warriors. He is the embodiment of compassion and service to mankind.

Jōdo (J)

Buddhist sect founded by **Hōnen Shōnin** in 1224 A.D. It teaches that salvation lies in invoking the name of Amida Buddha

Jōmon period (J)

Period of Japanese history (ca. 10500-300 B.C.). In this period metal crafts (both bronze and iron) were imported from the Asian continent. Development of agriculture, stable communities and regional political units. Characteristic relics are ritual weapons and belly-shaped objects made of bronze, jewellery of semi-precious stone, and rather fine pottery. Continental influences in the arts were marked

Judgement of Paris

A Greek myth, telling that Paris was herding cattle on Mount Ida when he was approached by Hermes and asked to decide which of the goddesses Hera, Athena or Aphrodite was the fairest and should win the golden apple. The goddesses tempted Paris respectively with wealth, victory in battle or the most beautiful woman in the world. Paris chose beauty and was promised the love of Helen of Sparta, thus setting in motion the cause of the Trojan War. Paris set off for Sparta with Eros, the god of love and son of Aphrodite

Jurchen

See **Jin**

kabuki (J)

Popular Japanese theatre. It originated from dance-shows given in Kyōto in the 17th century, when urban growth and economic prosperity created a demand for new forms of mass-entertainment. Kabuki actors served as principle theme for woodblock print makers

kaiba (J)

Sea horse, see **Heavenly horse**

Kakiemon (J)

A class of Japanese porcelain, named after the family that is believed to have applied over-glaze enamels for decorating Japanese porcelain for the first time in the late 17th century. Its main characteristic is its white body and soft-tone enamels. The style of decoration is usually immediately recognizable for the

trained eye. A more accurate use of the term is "Imari with Kakiemon enamels"

kaiseki (J)

Initial part of the formal tea-ceremony in Japan, during which a light meal is served. The word **kaiseki** means literally "breast stone", related to the fact that the Zen-monks carried a warm stone against their stomach to alleviate hunger and cold. In this way the light meal is meant, only to oppose to hunger at the worst for a short time

kāla (Jav)

A word denoting in Javanese a class of demons

kāla (S)

Time in Sanskrit; also one of the names of Śiva and also of the god of health

Kamakura period (J)

Historical period of Japan (1185-1333), covering the years of government by military rulers from the city of Kamakura, fifty-one kilometers south-west of present-day Tōkyō. It saw the attempted Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281. Zen Buddhism rose to the status of semi-official state religion. There were strong waves of artistic influence from Song China

kami (J)

Deities of the **Shintō** pantheon. They are divine spirits and personages associated with native forms of Japanese worship. For the Japanese, many kami are still thought of as being embodied in nature, most particularly in mountains, unusual rock formations and trees. Kami are believed to have the ability to move, and it is to attract, temporarily house, and draw on the power of kami that sacred enclosures are built and special ritual receptacles are employed. The Japanese view kami as capable of bringing both good and bad fortune to the community, and it is to ensure that kami are beneficiently inclined that Shintō's rituals, offerings and purifications are pursued.

kaminari no kami (J)

See **Raijin**

Kanon (J)

See **Avalokiteśvara**

kantharos (Gr)

A drinking-cup with a wide mouth, stemmed foot and two large vertical loop-handles, usually extending from the bottom of the bowl upward into a loop above the rim. Associated with Dionysos. pl. kantharoi

karahana (J)

Lit. "Chinese flower". A generic floral design that in its simplest form has four of five petals, and is always presented in a highly stylized symmetric form

karakusa (J)

Lit. "Chinese grass". A scrolling vine motif introduced in Japan from **Tang** China. Its basic shape is a continuous scrolling vine, often interspersed with leaves, fruits, flowers and insects

karamono (J)

Lit. "Chinese things"; art objects of Chinese origin

Kariteimo (J)

See **Hāritī**

Kashgar

An important oasis city of **Central Asia**. The route from Kashgar leads westward to the fertile Ferghana valley. Kashgar was captured several times by Mongol nomadic hordes. While Kashgar was under

Chinese control, the Tibetans and Arabs exerted a continual military pressure. The rulers of Kashgar collected taxes from merchants arriving from the West along the **Silk Road**. Kashgar was noted for the excellent quality of its textiles and carpets

kashira (J)

See **fuchigashira**

katana (J)

A curved blade longer than 60 cm, usually around 90 cm long; it is worn thrust edge upwards through the belt, often in combination with the **wakizashi**. The katana came in wide-spread use in the early **Muromachi period** (1392-1573)

Katō Kiyomasa (J)

Kumamoto-based **daimyō** (1562-1611). He led Japan's invasions of Korea in 1592 and 1597 at the behest of Toyotomi Hideyoshi

kawara (J)

Tile

kaze no kami (J)

See **Fūjin**

Kegon (J)

A Buddhist sect introduced from China into Japan in A.D. 736. It is based on a voluminous **sūtra** setting forth the practices of a **bodhisattva**

kenzan (J)

See **Rinpa**

kerykeion (Gr)

See **caduceus**

ketos (Gr)

A Greek composite sea-creature with the head of a dragon and the body of a fish

khagan (T)

King or ruler, also khan

khan (T)

See **khagan**

kharosthi

Writing system used in northwestern India from 500 B.C. to about 500 A.D., probably derived from **Armaic** script and influenced by another Indian script, Brāhmī. It was introduced to the southern Xinjiang regio, China, during the 2nd century A.D. The presence of kharosthi inscriptions show the influence of **Gandhāra** in that region

Khotan

The largest and most important of the group of oases cities along the southern margin of the Taklamakan Desert, Xinjiang province. Reputedly it was established during the 3rd century B.C. by a group of Indian nobles from Taxila. Because of its geographical position as a supply-base on the south branch of the **Silk Road** to the West and as a connecting link between Central Asia and India, the Chinese as early as the **Han** dynasty had begun to establish control over the **Tarim Basin**. **Hīnayāna** Buddhism reached China by way of Khotan, which later flourished as a centre of **Mahāyāna** Buddhist learning. During the 7th century it was one of the four garrison cities through which the **Tang** rulers controlled and administered the Tarim Basin. In addition, Khotan was an important source of jade (nephrite), which the Chinese imported from an early period.

kibisis (Gr)
The bag carried by Perseus

Kinmei (J)
Ruler of Japan (r. 539-571); reign marked by official acceptance of Buddhism

kin no shachihoko (J)
Golden **shachihoko** on the top of a castle roof

kirin (J)
Mythical quadruped, creature of good omen, commonly called a unicorn. Ch: qilin

kīrttimukha (S)
Lit. "face of Glory", the Indian name for the mask of a devouring monster used as an architectural ornament above temple doors and windows in India from the 3rd century A.D. on. It diffused henceforth widely over South-East Asia. On Java it is called banaspati (lit. King of the Woods) or **kāla**

Kishimojin (J)
See **Hāritī**

Knielauf (Ger)
Term referring to a stylized posture-convention, adopted for depicting running figures in archaic Greek art, with the legs and arms flexed in pin-wheel fashion

Kōbō Daishi (J)
Buddhist monk (774-835) who in 804 went to China, where he studied for two years under the most famous masters. On his return he engaged in a discussion organized by the emperor between the most learned bonzes. After that he began to spread the Shingon doctrines. He is said to have invented the hiragana-alphabet

Kōetsu (J)
See **Rinpa**

Kōfukuji (J)
One of the Seven Great Temples of Nara. Centre of the **Hossō** school

Kofun period (J)
Period of Japanese history (ca. 248-646 A.D.). A **prehistoric** period, marked by growth of national consciousness and the power of a supreme imperial ruler. Chief remains are the kofun (ancient tombs), concentrated in the Kinki-area (Ōsaka, Nara, Kashiwara, Sakai), the haniwa (clay figurines) which were ceremonially placed around such grave mounds, bronze mirrors and tomb furnishings

kōgai (J)
A skewer-like implement, carried in the scabbard of **katana** and **wakizashi**

Koguryŏ (K)
See **Three Kingdoms**

Kojiki (J)
Lit. "Records of ancient matters"; mythical, historical account of Japan from its legendary creation, compiled in the early 8th century A.D.

Kōken (J)
Pro-Buddhist empress of Japan (r. 748-757; 764-770). Daughter of emperor **Shōmu** and empress **Kōmyō**. Called Empress Shōtoku during second period on throne

ko Kutani (J)
Type of Japanese porcelain. The province of Kaga was the domain of the powerful Maeda family of feudal lords during the **Edo period** in Japan. In the village of Kutani just before 1660, the Maeda daimyō

built a kiln where in the late 17th century over-glaze decorated porcelain was made. Two classes of Kutani porcelain are distinguished: Old Kutani (ko Kutani) produced during the second half of the 17th century, and revived Kutani, produced from the beginning of the 19th century on and made to revive the old Kutani ware

Kōmyō (J)
Devote Buddhist consort (701-760) of emperor Shōmu; supported his many monumental projects, such as the establishment of state monasteries and nunneries in each province and the construction of the **Tōdaiji** as a palladium of state

Kondō (J)
Lit. "Golden Hall". Part of the nucleus of a Buddhist monastery, intended primarily as the main hall to house statues and paintings of deities serving as the focal point of ceremonial worship there. Often the most imposing of the monastery's buildings

kongōsho (J)
See **vajra**

Kongō Rikishi (J)
See **Shūkongōjin**

kore (Gr)
An archaic statue of a draped female figure; pl. korai

Kōrin (J)
See **Rinpa**

kōro (J)
Incense burner

Koryo dynasty (K)
Governed Korea from 918 or 935-1392, following the disintegration of Unified Silla. The dynasty promoted and patronized Buddhist ideas and institutions

ko sometsuke (J)
Lit. "old dyeing". Term identifying blue-and-white Chinese export porcelains produced during the late Ming Dynasty. There were two general types. One was created for the Japanese tea-ceremony market, according to special orders, with Japanese style decoration and shapes. The other was less specialized and included types also exported to Europe and elsewhere

kouros (Gr)
An archaic statue of a standing nude male figure; pl. kouroi

kozuka (J)
Handle of a small knife which fits into the scabbard of a sword, more precisely, of the **katana** and **wakizashi** on the side opposite to the **kōgai**. Also referring to the knife itself

krater (Gr)
Large open bowl with a foot and two side handles and a small circular base. It was used to mix water and wine (The Greek never drank undiluted wine)

guang (Ch)
Name of Chinese bronze wine pitcher, zoomorphic in form, elongated from front to back with cover extending over the spout

Kucha
Kucha, situated along the north branch of the **Silk Road** through Xinjiang province, enjoyed the advantage of a geographical position particularly favourable for trade. The trade route was joined here by roads

leading north across the mountains to the fertile lands of Dzungaria, while to the south **Khotan** could be reached directly by the route that crossed the Taklamakan Desert along the Khotan River. Because of its geographical location Kucha played an important role throughout history, and was one of the four oasis garrison cities of the **Tang** Empire, together with **Kashgar**, Khotan and **Turfan**

Kudara (J)

Japanese pronounciation for the name of the Korean kingdom of **Paekche**

Kumārajīva (S)

Monk of mixed Indian and Kuchan ancestry (344-413). He reached China in 401. He is one of the two greatest and most gifted translators of Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Chinese. The other is the Chinese monk **Xuanzang**, translator of the enormously influential **Lotus Sūtra**

Kushān

The nomadic tribe of the **Yuezhi** laid the foundation for the state that eventually succeeded the Greek kingdom of **Bactria**, and later became known as the Kushān Empire. A prince of one of the domains, Kushān, conquered Kābul from the Parthians as well as other lands to the south of the Hindukush. The date of the formation of the Kushān state, in north-west India, is uncertain, but is probably early after the beginning of our era. In about the 1st century A.D. Kushān power extended from south of the Aral Sea to the mouth of the Indus and eastward to the River Ganges, Kaśmīr, and the western frontier of **Xinjiang**. Under the Kushān kings Buddhism flourished, mainly in the 2nd century. The Kushān rule came to an end with the coming of the Sasanians in the 3rd century A.D.

Kushinagara

City in north India where **Śākyamuni** died and reached **nirvāna**

Kuvera (S)

Indian God of Wealth and Fertility and son of the Hindu deity **Śiva**. He is the king of the nature spirits, **yakshas.** He hides his treasures in the depths of the earth. Also called Kubera. See also **Vaiśravana**

kwi-wa (K)

See **onikawara**

kyathos (Gr)

A dipper in the form of a small shallow bowl, having a long vertical straight handle attached to one side of the rim. It therefore looks like a ladle, which was used for transferring beverage from a **krater** into a cup

kylix (Gr)

A drinking-cup with a wide shallow bowl resting on a stemmed foot. It has two horizontal handles. pl. kylikes

kyōgen (J)

Brief, comic theatre sketches that evolved into their present form during the 14th century A.D. The sketches are generally staged between individual no-plays. Most elements of the repertoire date to the **Edo period** and the costumes used sometimes bear symbolic decorations

Laconian

Refers to Laconia, the area around Sparta

lakshanā (S)

A divine mark or characteristic. The **Buddha** has 32

Lamastu (Sum)

Near Eastern goddess/demon who was part lion; an enemy of pregnant women, women in childbirth, and babies

lapis lazuli (L)

A semi-precious, deep-blue stone found in the Old World only in Afghanistan

Later Han dynasty (Ch)

Period of Chinese history, 25-220 A.D. Sometimes called Eastern Han, because its capital **Luoyang** was east of the capital **Chang'an** of the **Former Han dynasty**. After the Former Han had ended with widespread civil warfare, the Han dynasty was re-established in 25 A.D. under Emperor Guang Wudi (r. 25-57 A.D.). The Later Han emperors reverted to Former Han practices. However, by ca. 75 A.D. a series of struggles for mastery between various families of imperial consorts began, in which officials and eunuchs participated from 92 A.D. on. These struggles culminated in a major crisis in 168 A.D. and a massacre in 189 A.D. In the meantime a religious movement gained strength in an area from the valleys of the Yellow River down to the Yangzi River, and turned into an armed rebellion in 184 A.D. As a result of these disturbances and the loss of social cohesion, effective central control gave way to the rise of regional landowners, who were able to set up virtually independent provinces. Hence, China became divided into the Three Kingdoms of Shu-Han in the west, Wei in the north and Wu in the south. This period began with the abdication of the last Han emperor in 220 A.D. In foreign affairs the Later Han dynasty saw the re-establishment of Chinese strength on the **Silk Roads** to Central Asia. Active trading efforts led to greater export of silk to the West, but no direct contacts were established with the Roman Empire. The cultural achievements of Later Han included a re-assessment of the norm of Confucian education, the foundation of the first Buddhist establishments in China in the 2nd century A.D. and the formation of the Daoist religion[1]

lekythos (Gr)

A bottle for perfumed oil with narrow neck through which only a little liquid could be poured at a time; especially used at funerals

Levant (F)

The combined territories of the modern states of Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and Syria west of the River Euphrates. From old French *levant* (rising), said of the sun

Liao dynasty (Ch)

Chinese dynasty (907-1125). The very North-East of China, Liaoning province, parts of Hebei provinve and Inner Mongolia, was controlled by a confederation of semi-nomadic people called the Qidan. They started to build a large North Asian empire, which was formally established in 907 A.D. After 936 it was chiefly known as Liao. They successfully subdued most of the tribes in North and Central Asia, conquered various Manchurian states, and confined the Koreans to their peninsula. Although they ruled contemporary with the **Five Dynasties** in the South and later with the **Song** dynasty with whom they traded, they preserved their own way of life based on Chinese agricultural skills and tribal pastoralism. They used their own language and script. Apart from Buddhist practices and institutions, they kept their life untouched by Chinese civilization. Their major contribution to Chinese history is that they managed to keep a political balance with the Song dynasty. In 1125 they were overthrown by another semi-pastoral and semi-nomadic people who originated in Manchuria, the Jurchen **Jin**[1]

lingua franca (It)

Lit. "Frankish language". A language used for communication between different peoples, e.g. the Sogdian language which became the lingua franca of the Silk Road

lintel

A horizontal block or beam bridging a door or other opening

li (Ch)

Chinese measure for distance, equal to one third of a mile. In Chinese literature phrases such as "a hundred thousand li", simply mean a distance beyond imagination

lohan (Ch)

See **arhat**

lokapāla (S)

Lit. "world-guardian", hence a guardian-god of one of the four directions. According to tradition these four guardians dwell on slopes of Mount **Meru**, which in ancient Indian cosmology was the vertical axis of the centre of the universe. By the mid-7th century, the widespread popularity in China of the four Buddhist Guardian Kings, or lokapāla, led these figures to be assimilated with the four Chinese "Heavenly Kings", legendary guardians of the four directions. The lokapālas share with the **dvārapālas** their grimacing bulging-eyed facial expressions, but, in contrast with these, they wear full-dressed armour, boots and helmets, and brandish weapons. J: Shi Tennō

longma (Ch)

See **dragon-horse**

Longmen (Ch)

Site of Buddhist cave-temples near **Luoyang**, Henan province, China, begun early 6th century A.D. under Northern Wei Dynasty. The carvings of the famous Binyang cave were begun in 505 and include an immense central figure of **Amitābha Buddha**. The caves were patronized by royalty, aristocraty, religious and lay devotees throughout the **Tang dynasty** (618-907). Between 672 and 675 the largest structures, the Fengxian caves, were built with an immense statue of **Vairocana**

lost wax

See **cire perdue**

Lotus Sūtra

New set of scriptures adopted by the **Mahāyāna** line of Buddhism in ca. 100 A.D. in stead of the **tripitaka**. At the same time the Mahāyāna Buddhists formally accepted the concept of salvation for all beings and that of **Buddhas** and **bodhisattvas**

Loulan

Chinese city west of Lop Nor Lake on a part of the **Silk Road** which ran from **Dunhuang** to Korla and was known as the "**Route of the Centre**". The area of Loulan was frequently raided by the **Xiongnu** during the **Later Han** period, and a military defense post was established there in 124 A.D. Aurel Stein explored the site in 1906 and discovered, apart from many documents, architectural fragments decorated with western classical motifs, and Buddhist sculptures inspired by the art of 3rd century Gandhāran art.

Lumbinī

Gardens in the Ganges basin, near the southern edge of Nepal, where **Śākyamuni** was born

Luoyang (Ch)

Chinese city of ancient foundation and association with the kings of **Zhou**. It was situated in Henan province and adopted as capital by the **Later Han** emperors from 25 A.D. It served several subsequent dynasties for the same purpose. The city housed half a million inhabitants in Later Han. It was laid out in rectangular shape to face the four points of the compass. Some of China's earliest Buddhist establishments were built in Luoyang that was ruined by looting in 189-190 A.D. The city was rebuilt and ruined several times thereafter, until in 538 A.D. it was devastated again and almost depopulated. The first **Sui** Emperor Wendi (r. 581-706) built a new capital close to the old site of **Chang'an** and Luoyang was

rebuilt as China's second city during the early 7th century

Lydia

Region in western Anatolia, seat of powerful and wealthy kingdoms in the 1st millennium B.C. Lydian rulers maintained relations with Greeks as well as Assyrians and excersized control over **Phrygia**

maeander

A rectilinear decorative motif, winding forward and backward continuously

maenads (Gr)

Also called **bacchantes**, frenzied women, devotees of the Greek god Dionysos. Armed with ivy-twined staffs tipped with a pine cone, and clothed in animal skins, they roamed the mountains, celebrating the cult of Dionysos with ecstatic dance and song. They were said to tear live beasts apart and to devour the flesh, probably as a rite of communion with the god

Maeotis

Sea of Azov

Magna Graecia (L)

Lit. "Great Greece", as termed by the Romans. Strictly the Greek districts of South Italy but extended sometimes to include Sicily. "Megalè Hellas" to the Greeks

Mahākāla (S)

Lit. "Great Black God". Indian deity, little worshipped, who had a place at the door of the temple-dining-hall, where he was seated, holding a money bag as guardian of wealth. He owes his name to the fact that he was blackened by the oil constantly poured over him by the faithfull in performing a certain ritual. His origin is not very clear, and sometimes it is thought that Mahākāla and Kuvera are one and the same divinity. See also **Daikoku**

Mahao cave

Cave tomb in Leshan, Sichuan province. It was cut during the **Eastern Han** period into a red sandstone cliff. Pictorial reliefs decorate the front chamber of the tomb, but these are badly damaged. There are two important reliefs of the Buddha, a scene representing the attempted assassination of the king of **Qin**, and a remarkable monsterface

Mahāyāna (S)

The "Great Vehicle" of salvation. The school of Buddhism, later developed, which included in the pantheon an assemblage of **Buddhas** and **bodhisattvas**. This school was most prevalent from Nepal to Japan and therefore also known as "Northern" Buddhism, in contrast to the older "Southern" Buddhism or **Hīnayāna** school. The doctrines seem to have been formulated in north-west India as early as the 1st century B.C. It accepts all beings suffering in this world of birth and death, and can lead all of them, without any discrimination, to the state of Enlightment with the help of **bodhisattvas**. J: Daijō

Maijishan

Site in Gansu province, China, about 300 km west of **Chang'an** (modern Xian). It was a Buddhist centre from the 5th to the 10th century A.D. About 200 caves have been carved in the granite walls, containing about 700 statues and many murals. Because of its position on the main trade route to the West, the sculptures and paintings show mixed artistic styles

Maitreya (S)

The future **Buddha**, residing in **Tushita** heaven, who will be born in this world after the decease of Śākyamuni Buddha. Often represented as a **bodhisattva**. Ch: Mile; J: Miroku

makara (S)

An Indian composite mythical sea-monster, very much like a Greek **ketos**, but with two front legs with

claws and sometimes with the head of a crocodile. From the makara stems a family of dragons in Chinese art of which the members, either with fishtail or foliated tail, are sometimes indiscriminately called makara

mandala (S)

The most commonly encountered mandalas are schematic paintings, usually of circular design, showing the Buddhist view of creation or the relationships among various deities. Although originally developed in the context of Buddhist worship and used as an aid for meditation, mandalas in Japan are associated as well with **Shintō**. Also, an aureole. J: mandara

mandara (J)

See **mandala**

mandorla (S)

In Buddhist art, a large head-and-body halo placed behind a Buddhist deity. It is generally either almond-shaped or pointed at the top and straight at the bottom with curving sides. J: kōhai

Manichaeism

During the late 7th century A.D. (probably 694 A.D.) introduced into China. It was a strictly ascetic religion forbidding all sexual union, the use of meat or wine and the acquisition of wealth and other wordly goods. It had been founded by a Persian named Mani, who was put to death in A.D. 274 by one of the Sasanian kings. Its main rival religion was **Zoroastrianism**. It spread from Persia to Central Asia where it was embraced by the Uighur Turks of Turfan, whose wall-paintings were discovered by von Le Coq in 1906. From Central Asia it spread eventually to China. Outright suppression by the Taoist Emperor Wu Tsung in the middle of the 9th century distroyed all but a few small communities

manji (J)

See **svastika**

mantra (S)

A sound expressing the deepest essence of understanding, the recitation of which is believed to evoke a state of enlightment or intense positive energy

Maranant'a (K)

Serindian monk sent by the ruler of Eastern Jin to the court of **Paekche** with the Buddhist texts and a Buddha image in 374 A.D.

Mathurā

Town on the Yamunā River in the modern state Uttar Pradesh, India, 145 km south-east of Delhi. Strategically located at the trade routes that led northwards via **Taxila** to Central Asia and westwards to **Barygaza** and the sea route to the Roman Empire, it was a thriving centre of trade where various cultures and religions like Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism peacefully coexisted from the 3rd century B.C. up to the 4th A.D. An Indian school of Buddhist art developed in Mathurā, essentially Indian in form although Greco-Roman influences were also present. Its artistic influence migrated to Central Asia, together with those from **Gandhāra**. According to the legend Mathurā is the birthplace of Lord Krishna

Medusa (Gr)

See **Gorgon**

Meiji period

Period of Japanese history (1868-1912), which saw the establishment of the Imperial Palace in Tōkyō, and competition between adherents of western and traditional styles of painting, sculpture and architecture

menuki (J)

Small decorative carved metal fittings worn under the wrappings of the kilts of **katana** and **wakizashi**. They improve the grip

Mercury (L)

See **Hermes**

Meru (S)

Mount Meru is the central mountain in the mythological geography of the Hindus. Mount Meru was identified with the highest peak of the Himalaya and was, according to legends in **Sanskrit**, the axis around which the earth, imagined as a flat disk, turns. The mountain of Meru existed of pure gold and was the source of the holy River Ganges. Also called mount Sumeru

Mesopotamia

Lit. "between the rivers". Greco-Roman name of a Roman province. In modern usage it denotes the geographical area between the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris from their confluence near the Persian Gulf up to Anatolia

metope

A slab, usually blank but sometimes decorated, between two **triglyphs** of a Doric **frieze** in classical architecture

Mikkyō (J)

See **Esoteric Buddhism**

Ming dynasty (Ch)

Period in Chinese history (1368-1644 A.D.) Zhu Yuangzhang (1328-1398) was the founder of the Ming dynasty, himself taking the reign-title Hongwu. Although he had forced the mongol troops back into Mongolia, the Chinese lived in constant fear that they would regroup and overrule them again. The Ming court built a series of fortifications that constituted the **Great Wall** as we know it today. The Hongwu reign can be seen as a high point in Chinese imperial history. He based his governmental system on an agrarian economy. He registered population and land and the central government was able to collect sufficient land taxes for its needs. He emulated **Tang** practices, even in the design of court robes and ritual, and ordered his subjects to follow the hair style and clothing of the Tang and to abandon foreign styles. Hongwu was succeeded by Yongle (r. 1402-1424) who rebuilt the old Yuan capital Beijing, which became the official capital in 1421. Yongle accomplished further institutional adjustments and consolidation. He was a great supporter of learning. However, the reign of the succeeding emperor Xuande (1426-1435) is often regarded as a golden age, characterized by Confucian government and patronage of the arts. The porcelain industry at Jingdezhen is an example of his ambitions, and became the largest centre of ceramic production in the world. Its output was bought by the Ming court, had a national market and was exported to Korea, Japan and throughout East Asia. By the late 16th century it had become important in European trade.

During the years 1405 to 1433 China became an important maritime nation. Huge official expeditions were sent to South-East Asia, the Indian ports, the Persian Gulf and even to the eastern coast of Africa, but the interest in official trade declined in the years thereafter, leaving the busy trade to private merchants.

During the Ming dynasty, increasingly, the eunuch-organization of the court gained power, with the chief-eunuch emerging in the position of a kind of minister, even to that of an official virtually ruling the empire. Throughout most of the last century of the Ming rule as many as 70,000 eunuchs were in service of the palace procurement office. This power even led to the temporary capture of an emperor

in 1450. From 1435 on, and until the end of the dynasty in 1644, the subsequent rulers were at best mediocre. Nevertheless, the quality of government was maintained by the bureaucracy until the late 16th century. However, two long reigns of mid and late Ming are noteworthy.

The Jiajing emperor (r. 1522-1567) who at least initially was a serious governor, turned his attention almost exclusively to Taoist religion practices. But his reign is looked upon as an age of great prosperity. In foreign affairs his reign saw Japanese piracy and Mongol invasions. The Portuguese were given permission to settle and trade in the Pearl River estuary.

His grandson, the Wanli Emperor (r. 1572-1620) carried out notable reforms, but later declined to take any responsibility for governance, and the start of the decline of the Ming dynasty is ascribed to his reign. During his reign, in 1583, the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) entered China. He and his collegues were accepted as literati from abroad.

The rebellion of Li Zhuzhen (ca. 1605-1645) formally ended the Ming dynasty. Beijing was taken and the last Ming Emperor Chongzhen (1628-1644) committed suicide. The Manchus, in concert with the main defence army at the Great Wall, invaded China, invested Beijing on 5 June 1644 and proclaimed a new dynasty, the **Qing** (1644-1911)[1]

Minoan civilization

A prehistoric civilization based on the island of Crete; named after the legendary king Minos. See also **Bronze Age**

Miran

City in Xinjiang province on the southern branch of the **Silk Road** explored by Aurel Stein in 1907 and famous for its extensive finds with influence from the Greco-Roman world, **Gandhāra** and India. It has been called "an outpost of Gandhāran art", because possibly fugitives from Gandhāra, fleeing for the Sasanian invasion of the **Kushān** Empire by the mid 3rd century A.D., established themselves there. Around the 3rd to 4th centuries Miran was a flourishing Buddhist and commercial centre

Mischwesen (Ger)

German term meaning "mixed beings", i.e. composite creatures

Misshaku (J)

See **Niō**

mizusashi (J)

Waterjar with cover for the tea-ceremony

Mogao caves

See **Dunhuang**

Momoyama period (J)

Period in Japanese history (1573-1615). It was dominated by the warlords Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, and characterized by increasing national unity and considerable contact with the West

Mononobe (J)

Japanese clan opposed to the recognition of Buddhism; defeated in power struggle with pro-Buddhist Soga-clan

mudrā (S)

Symbolic posture or gesture of Buddhist divinity, signifying specific state or action (e.g. meditation, preaching)

Munyŏng (K)

King of **Paekche** (d. 523). He maintained active diplomatic relations with the Liang dynasty (502-557) in

south China. His tomb, a tiled chamber beneath a tumulus excavated in 1972, revealed many artefacts

Muromachi period (J)

A period of Japanese history (1392-1573), also called the Ashikaga period, of almost continuous civil strife during which the Ashikaga family were shōguns

Muses (Gr)

Greek deities of poetry, literature, music and dance; later also of astronomy, philosophy and all intellectual pursuits. They were daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne and sang and danced at the festivals of the Olympian gods. The **sirens** once tried to compete with the Muses; defeated, they lost their wings and jumped into the sea. The Muses were regarded as among the most lovable and influential creatures

Mycenaean civilization

A **Bronze Age** civilization of the Greek mainland and adjoining areas; named after its most famous site, Mycenae

Nabeshima (J)

Class of Japanese porcelain made in the kiln of the **daimyō** of the Nabeshima family at Iwayakawachi in South **Arita**. The products of the kiln were made for the use of the Nabeshima family only and were offered as presents to the **shōgun** of the Tokogawa family and the feudal lords. This was a reason for producing a very high quality and for preventing discovery of the techniques. Because of this the Dutch did not succeed in trading Nabeshima porcelain in the early periods. This in contrast to the 19th century, when a vast quantity of Nabeshima porcelain entered Europe

Nagarahara

Ancient name for a region in the eastern part of central Afghanistan

Nāgārjuna

Name of the Buddhist philosopher who founded the school of **Mahāyāna** Buddhism in ca. 200 A.D.

naiskos (Gr)

A little gold shrine worn as jewellery

nāga (S)

Lit. "snake". A snake deity or spirit, often depicted in part-human form. It is a protective creature that appears frequently in **jātaka**

namban (J)

Lit. "Southern barbarians". A term generally applied to Westerners, initially to Portuguese and Spanish merchants and missionaries, who reached Japan in the middle of the 16th century. Also applied to artefacts produced for Europeans or under European influence

Nanbokuchō (J)

Period of the history of Japan from 1333-1392, during which there were two reigning dynasties at the same time: one called the Southern (nan) dynasty which was the lawful one; the other called the Northern (hoku), upheld by the Ashikaga **shōgun**. For more than sixty years, during this period, feudal barons of all degrees strived to satisfy their personal ambitions and their hunger for domains. It was a period of almost constant warfare

Nanga (J)

Lit. "Southern painting". Southern school of Chinese painting in Japan, so called because originally it was influenced by 18th century Chinese painting. Also called **bunjinga**. Its members, like their Chinese predecessors, sought to be individual in their painting. They were frequently Confusian scholars, poets and calligraphers. Unlike almost all other schools of painting in Japan, it was not dependent of family relationship

Nara period (J)

Period of Japanese history (645-794). It comprises the Early Nara period (645-710), also called Hakuhō period, with the reigns of seven emperors and four empresses who fostered contacts with China and Korea, and the Late Nara period (710-794), also called **Tenpyō** period

Narasimha (S)

The fourth, man-lion incarnation of **Vishnu**

Near East

The combined territories of modern Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and Cyprus

necropolis

Large cemetery outside the walls of a city

Neo-Assyrian

Adjective denoting the late period of Assyrian art and culture, ca. 911-612 B.C., when the Assyrian empire dominated much of the Near East

Neo-Babylonian

Adjective denoting the resurgent Babylonian culture, ca. 626-539 B.C., from the fall of Assyria to the capture of Babylon by the Persians

Neolithic Age

Lit. "New stone age". See **Stone Age**. In Japan and Korea: from about 2500-500 B.C. In China before about 2000 B.C.

Neptune (L)

See **Poseidon**

Nereids

Nymphs of the Mediterranean Sea, daughters of Nereus. Traditionally there were fifty of them, lovely young goddesses, who lived with their father in the depths of the sea.Nereids are associated with the cult of Achilles, hero of the Trojan war, to whom a Nereid brought armour forged by Hephaistos

Nestorianism

Early Eastern Orthodox (Christian) doctrine, named after Nestorius of Syria. He became bishop of Constantinople in 428, but was expelled from the church in 432 A.D. for heresy. It held that Christ has two natures - one human and one divine. His followers took Nestorianism eastwards from the 6th century onwards and it survived in parts in China until the 14th century, when it was almost eliminated by the Mongol invasions

netsuke (J)

A toggle, usually not exceeding five centimetres in length and tied to the upper end of a silk cord, which holds the **inrō** or other hanging objects like pipe cases, tobacco pouches and wallets. They were used primarily in the **Edo period** and were often carved with exquisite detail from various organic and inorganic materials. Many symbolic themes and legends were illustrated in this miniature art form

Nichiren (J)

Priest and founder of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism (1222-1282)

niello (It)

A black compound of copper, lead, sulfur and borax as inlay in an engraved design on metalwork

Nike (Gr)

In Greek mythology the winged goddess of victory

Niō (J)

Lit. "Two Kings"; two guardian kings frequently found on either side of the central entrance of a

Buddhist temple. They are usually represented as bald, half-naked, fearsome, muscular athletes with grotesque, almost demonic, faces. Although the name literally means "two kings", he is in reality one deity. As guardian of the Buddhist scriptures, he is believed to reside on Mount **Meru**, the centre of the universe, but he will manifest himself whenever enshrined and worshipped with proper ceremonies. Niō, however, is best known in his dual form of Misshaku and Kongo. The king Kongo is at the right of the gateway of a Buddhist temple, and holds a **vajra**, with which he is believed to destroy all evil. He has his mouth closed. The king Misshaku is enshrined at the left of the gateway and is believed to propagate goodness. He has his mouth open. Sometimes also referred to as **dvārapālas**. Ch: erwang

nirvāna (S)

Lit. "extinction", i.e. the extinction of the fires of greed, hatred and ignorance, thus the release from desires and suffering of the world. It ends trans-migration after death, so that the cycle of earthly rebirths ceases. State of non-existence. Those who have attained this state are called **Buddhas**

Nishi Honganji (J)

In 1224 the Shinran-sect of Buddhism, a sect from Ōsaka, was established in Kyōto. It took its name from the great temple there, the seat of the sect, which was built in 1272. The movement was later encouraged and endowed with many revenues by Tokugawa Ieyasu, and forms the basis of the Jōdo Shinshū sect of Buddhism. Exquisite products of Japanese decorative art are kept here, a profusion of paintings, sculptures, folding screens, ivory statuettes, wrought iron work and lacquer ware

nishiki (J)

Brocade; a term originally applied to any richly textured fabric

Niya

Town that once has been a major commercial centre along the southern branch of the **Silk Road**. It appears to have been abandoned around 350 A.D. Large numbers of documents were found at Niya, written in Chinese and **Kharosthi**. Wooden architecture and clay seals were commonly decorated with classical motifs

Nō (J)

The ancient Japanese heroic drama using masks and splendid costumes, originating in the 14th century

Nobunaga (J)

Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582). First of the three military heroes of the 16th century (the other two were Hideyoshi and Ieyasu) to dominate the contending clans and temple strongholds and to unify Japan

Northern Wei dynasty

See **Period of Disunity**

nymph

Female nature spirit

Ōbaku (J)

A sect of Zen Buddhism, founded by the Chinese priest Ingen (1592-1673) who became a naturalized Japanese

obi (J)

The sash worn with any robe for holding it closed. Specially ornate in **Nō**

obsidian

Extremely hard and sharp, dark glass-like volcanic stone

obverse

A side of a coin, corresponding to the contemporary English expression "heads"; many ancient coins do bear a portrait of the ruler on this side, but technically it is the side stamped by the anvil die

Oda Nobunaga (J)
See **Nobunaga**

oinochoe (Gr)
Jug with one handle, used for pouring wine into cups. pl. oinochoai

olpe (Gr)
A special type of **oinochoe**, tall and thin with circular mouth

oni (J)
The generic name for all the devils and demons of Japan as imagined by popular belief

onikawara (J)
Lit. "devil tile", i.e. a tile with the image of a monster mask. It is met in Japan as a tile on the ends of ridge poles, but also as an independent sculpture on the roofs of houses and temples. It has an **apotropaic** function. K: kwi-wa

opus sectile (L)
Decoration on a wall or floor, made by fitting together elements of different shapes and colour

oracle
An answer given by a deity, the place where such an answer is given or the person delivering the answer

order
Any of the several styles of classical architecture, characterized by the type of column used. The three most important orders are the Doric, the Ionic and the Corinthian

Ordos
Refers to the semi-desert region on either side of the bend in the Yellow River in north-western China

Oreithyia (Gr)
See **Boreas**

orgia (Gr)
The rites of worship of the Greek god Dionysos

oriental
In Greek archaeology this term refers to the **Near East** and also Egypt, hence "Orientalizing". It is equivalent to the **Eastern Mediterranean**

Orientalizing period
Roughly the period between 700-600 B.C., which is generally assumed to represent a phase in which Greek artists created a number of works of art in metal, ivory and terracotta under the stimulus of Near Eastern, or Oriental, prototypes. These were imported during an era of Greek commercial expansion inaugurated in the 8th century. In architecture there are also traces of oriental influences. Models of the Orient in this period play an important role as "evidence" for the background to relations between Greece and Persia in the 6th and 5th centuries

orthostate
An upright slab, taller than normal wall blocks and usually at the foot of a wall

ossuary
A receptacle for holding bones of the deceased. In **Zoroastrian** belief, the earth may not be defiled by decomposing flesh. Instead of burial in the ground, the corpse is exposed to beasts and birds of prey and the defleshed bones then gathered for storage in a stone or ceramic container, an ossuary

Ottomans
A dynasty of rulers established in 1299 in northern Anatolia by Osman I. His successors expanded their territory to include all of Asia Minor and the Levant and much of southeastern Europe and the circum-

mediterranean Middle East. Considered one of the greatest and most powerful civilizations of the modern period. Their zenith under Suleiman I (1520-1566) represents a peak of human activity, optimism and artistry

overglaze enamels

Term used to describe decoration in enamels on top of a **glaze** which has already been fired. See **enamelled porcelain**

Paekche (K)

See **Three Kingdoms**

paideia (Gr)

The system of the traditional education of the elite in the Greco-Roman world. It comprised a strict and standardized program of mastership of the Greek and Latin language, including oratory techniques. The components of paideia remained more or less the same from the 2nd century B.C. up to late antiquity, when the elite continued to value paideia as an important part of their self-definition

pagoda (Po)

A brick, stone or wooden tower of several storeys, erected to house relics of the **Buddha**. It evolved from the **stūpa** of India, the primary Buddhist monument for ritual and worship

palmette (F)

A stylized floral design consisting of leaves arranged like a palmshoot, supported by two volutes, widely used in the ancient Mediterranean world and the **Near East**

Palmyra

Ancient city in Syria and great commercial centre of the region during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Palmyran merchants favoured a trade route that went across the Syrian Desert to Dura Europos on the Euphrates River, and from there by boat to the head of the Persian Gulf. Hence, Palmyra was linked to all-sea traffic, based on monsoon navigation that played such a dominant part in the Roman trade with India and China. Much of the caravan traffic between Rome and Arabia, Iran and India passed through Palmyra

Pamirs (P)

Lit. "Roof of the world**".** The word Pamirs is used loosely to describe the mountainous plateau which separates Sinkiang from western Turkestan. It covers an area of some 400 miles from north to south and some 300 miles from east to west, and has an average altitude of 13,000 feet. It lies north of the western Himalayas and the Hindu Kush, and is the source of the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers in the west and of the Kashgar River in the east

Panathenaia (Gr)

The major festival of Athens. The Greater Panathenaia was every fourth year, the Lesser Panathenaia annually

Pāñcika (S)

Indian deity, general of **yaksha**, and companion of **Hāritī**

pantheon (Gr)

Lit. "all the gods"

Parthian Empire

People of Iranian origin separated from the Seleucid Empire in ca. 250 B.C. and established an independent empire under Arsaces I. The empire extended its frontiers west to the Euphrates, south to the Indus and north to the Caspian Sea, where they maintained an important trading position. Nisa, and later **Ctesiphon**, were the capitals of the independent Parthian kings. For centuries the Romans, like the

consul Crassus, and the emperors Augustus, Trajanus and Hadrianus, tried to subdue them without success. They were eventually subdued by Artaxerxes, the founder of the **Sasanian Empire**, in 226 A.D.

Parthian shot

A cavalry tactic, also popular as an artistic motif in which a hunter shoots backwards from a galloping horse

patera (L)

A roman glass vessel similar to a greek **phiale**, but having one flat horizontal handle. They were made in Syria during the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. in forms adopted from silver models. Similar glass vessels were made in Cologne during the 3rd century

patina

Corrosion product formed on bronze or copper. It is usually green or greenish-blue and is formed by natural conditions. It is valued as being ornamental

Pazuzu (Sum)

Near Eastern demon. As king of the evil wind demons he was invoked as guardian against **Lamastu**; usually portrayed with a leonine or dog-like face

pediment

The triangular space formed by the pitched roof at either end of a Greek temple. It could also be used decoratively to crown niches and window-openings

Pegasos (Gr)

Winged horse born from the bleeding neck of the slain **Medusa**

Peloponnesian war

Fought intermittently between Athens and Sparta from 431 until 404 B.C.

Peloponnesus (Gr)

Lit. "Isle of Pelops", the large peninsula of south Greece, connected with the mainland only by the Isthmus of Corinth

peplos (Gr)

A heavy, sleeveless, one-piece garment worn by women. It was fastened at the shoulder with pins (**fibulae**) and was often worn with an overfold

Period of Disunity

Period in Chinese history (220-589 A.D.). After the final collapse of the **Han** dynasty in 220, China experienced nearly four hundred years of disunity and was disrupted by internal power struggles and nomadic invasions until stability was restored briefly by the **Sui** in 581, and finally by the **Tang** dynasty in 618 A.D. In 311 A.D. the **Xiongnu** sacked **Luoyang** and the Chinese court, together with many descendants of northern Chinese aristocrats, fled to the south, i.e. the area south of the Yangzi River, leaving the north to the invaders. They restored the fallen dynasty in the south under the title of Eastern Jin, with its capital at Nanjing. This constituted the beginnings of the period of the Six Dynasties (265-589) in the south. In the north in 386 A.D. a tribe called the **Toba** settled in the northern corner of Shanxi province, founded the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535), conquered the **Gansu**-area by 439 and unified the north by ca. 450. Although the period knew upheavals and disorder, large areas enjoyed peace and prosperity for generations, where agriculture was remarkably productive. Literature of these centuries had an unprecedented sophistication and in some visual arts the levels reached were never surpassed. Much Indian and Central Asian culture was absorbed within Buddhism and Buddhist art, which acquired powerful new patrons in the nomadic rulers that controlled various parts of Gansu and beyond to **Turfan** from the late 4th through the early 5th century A.D.[1]

Periplus (L)

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea is one of the most important sources of information about the ports and products of the Roman sea-trade with the East. Written as a handbook for merchants by an Egyptian Greek mariner around 70 A.D., it describes the marine routes through the Erythraean Sea, i.e. the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, with notes of distances, anchorages and ports, and specifies the merchandise carried

peristyle

A **colonnade** surrounding a building (external peristyle) or a court (internal peristyle)

Perseus

Mythological hero who killed the **Gorgon Medusa**. Son of **Zeus** and Danae

Persians

Iranian people who formed two empires in the ancient **Near East**. The first was the **Achaemenid Empire**, founded about 550 B.C. by Cyrus II and conquered by Alexander the Great between 334 and 323 B.C. The second was the **Sasanian Empire** (ca. 226 - 651 A.D.)

Peshāwar Valley

See **Gandhāra**

phalera (L)

Circular parade decoration, issued to soldiers and worn over the breastplate (**cuirass**)

phiale (Gr)

A shallow bowl with a foot ring or flat bottom, but without handles. It was used by men for pouring libations and by gods as a drinking cup

Phoenicians

The Canaanites on the Levantine coast north of Palestine were known to the Greeks as Phoenicians, probably because of their monopoly of the only colour-fast dye in antiquity, the purple (phoinix) extract from the murex shellfish. The coastal cities of Phoenicia controlled the great pine and cedar forests of the Lebanon, the chief source of timber for Egypt. They had long owed their prosperity to this and to their position as middlemen between Mesopotamia and Egypt. They controlled the south and eastern Mediterranean seaways already before the **Dark Ages** until the conquests of Alexander the Great

Phorkys (Gr)

Son of Nereus and Gaia, father of the **Gorgons**

phrygian cap

A conical woolen or felt headdress with a pointed crown, originating in Phrygia in Asia Minor

Phrygians

A people who lived in Central Anatolia and who formed a state that lasted from the mid 12th century B.C. until about the 6th century B.C. They are also known from later Greek sources, which emphasize their great wealth, derived from agriculture, trade and metalwork

pictographic

Adjective applied to a system of writing that uses pictorial symbols to represent words, sounds and ideas

pigment

A material applied to a surface by a binding medium. See also **dye**

pithos (Gr)

Large ceramic container to preserve wine, oil, etc. It was buried in the ground

polis (Gr)
Greek city-state; pl. poleis

Pontus
(1) The Black Sea
(2) A region in northern Turkey, bordering on that sea

Pŏphŭng (K)
King of Silla (r. 514-540) who embraced continental ideas and institutions to strengthen the state through centralization. Buddhism was actually recognized in 527 A.D.

porcelain
Ceramic with body made from china stone (crushed volcanic rock) containing kaolin (a pure form of clay) and fired between 1250 and 1350 degrees Celsius: it is translucent, white, vitrified and impermeable by water

Poseidon (Gr)
God of the sea in Greek mythology

post-and-lintel
An architectural system based on vertical supports for horizontal members. See also **lintel**

prāna (S)
Lit. "breath of life". Vital essence, intuitive insight, wisdom. Ch: qi; J: ki

Prehistoric period
Period of time when writing was not used. Cultural interpretation is based solely on analysis of material remains (e.g. stone, bone, architecture and art). See also **Historical period**

pristis (L)
The Latin word for **ketos**. Also the name of a small boat, having a **ketos**-head on its prow. Also the name of a small fast warship

prometopidion (Gr)
A frontlet, attached to the bridle of a horse, covering the area above the nostrils and beneath the eyes

Propontis
Sea of Marmora

prothesis (Gr)
The lying state of a deceased person for ritual mourning; a common subject on **Geometric** pottery

Proto-Attic
Attic pottery-style, ca. 700-630 B.C.

Proto-Corinthian
Corinthian pottery-style, ca. 720-640 B.C.

Proto-Geometric
Period and style of Greek art, ca. 1050-900 B.C.

protome (Gr)
An independent upper part (head, head and neck, or everything above the waist) of an animal, mythological creature or human figure

Ptolemy
Mathematician, astronomer and geographer, born in the Hellenistic centre Ptolemais Hermiou in Upper Egypt around 100 A.D. He worked between 121 and 151 A.D. Apart from his books on mathematics, optics and astronomy, his *Geography* –a treatise in eight books with an atlas and maps- is well-known

Ptolemy I

Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 367-283 B.C.), Macedonian general in the army of Alexander the Great who became ruler of Egypt after Alexander's death (323 B.C.) and founder of the Ptolemic Dynasty, the first non-Egyptian rulers of Egypt

Ptolemy II

Ptolemy II Phyladelphus (ca. 308-246 B.C.), son of Ptolemy I who built Alexandria into the cultural and commercial centre of the Greek world

Purāna (S)

Lit. "old", hence an ancient legend or tale. The Purāna's describe the powers and works of positive gods of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. They consist of 18 sections, 3 groups of 6 each, and are all written in verse. Their invariable form is that of a dialogue between various persons. In total the Purāna contain about 400.000 verses

Pure Land

A school of **Mahāyāna** Buddhism, which promises everyone who has faith in and devotion for **Amitābha** to be reborn in a paradise, the Pure Land or **Western Paradise**. It developed during the 3rd century A.D. in the **Kushān** Empire and entered China, first in a monastic environment, in the 5th century A.D. It only spread gradually to a domestic context to become one of the most potent strands of Buddhist devotion in China

pūrnaghata (S)

Vase-of-plenty, usually in the shape of a lotus. Often used as a decorative element in Buddhist art

pushou (Ch)

Lit. "animal head". A monster face that appeared rather suddenly on Chinese artefacts during the **Han** period and remained popular thereafter. It has large staring eyes, a flat nose, a pair of heavy eyebrows, a rectangular or trapezoidal gaping mouth. Often it has **akimbo** arms, sometimes with wings, terminating in paws

putto (It)

Chubby, cherub-like young boy, frequently depicted with wings and derived from depictions of Eros, appearing in painting and sculpture; pl. putti

pyxis (Gr)

A cylindrical box with a lid, used for cosmetics or jewellery

Qidan

See **Liao dynasty**

qilin (Ch)

Lit. "male female". The term indicates a Chinese mythical beast, but is often confusingly translated as "unicorn". It has a long sinuous body with a serrated spine, wings, whirls of beard, and a long coiled tail. Moreover it had horns. They developed from **Han** tomb beasts found in Central Asia, and have a dragon ancestry. They guarded imperial tombs from the latter part of the **Period of Disunity** (220-589) on. Compare **bixie**

Qin dynasty (Ch)

Period in Chinese history (221-207 B.C.). According to tradition Qin was a petty state, situated near present-day Daiyuan, Shanxi province. It belonged to the Qi clan which was numerous and widely spread throughout China by **Shang** times and included the **Zhou** house, which was to succeed the Shang. Lying outside the central region along the (middle of the) Yellow River it grew in power, like other peripheral feudal states, when Zhou declined. By the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. it had acquired sufficient strength to annex or conquer its neighbours. By 325 B.C. further steps were taken to increase the territory by taking

over areas in the present province of Sichuan. Then king Zheng (259-210 B.C.) assumed souvereign rule over all the territories and formed an empire in place of the seven major kingdoms, which had grown to occupy most of the Chinese territory. He adopted the newly coined title *Huangdi* or emperor. He called himself Shi Huangdi (First Emperor). As part of his effort to unify China, the Qin ruler required that the defeated kings moved to his capital accompanied by the noble families of their kingdoms. He unified all measures and imposed a standard currency on the empire, a circular coin with a square in the middle. In addition to implementing a unified system of units for lengths and volume, the new dynasty also specified a national standard range for vehicles, so that roads could be of uniform width and carts could travel freely throughout the empire. Also the script was standardized and the use of different variants for the same character were forbidden. Massive public projects were organized, creating a network of roads, irrigation canals and extensive walls of pounded earth along the northern border of China, stringing together existing walls. One of the largest public works was the construction of his own tomb. The first emperor died away from his capital while engaged in east China (210 B.C.), and one of his sons came on the throne. The second emperor was a weaker man than his father and no constructive actions are ascribed to him. Excessive burdens were imposed on the population and opposition was excited by excessively severe punishments of state. Rebellions broke out and the rivalries of statesmen, together with the resurrection of independent kingdoms that claimed to be the successors of those that had been abolished when the Qin empire had been formed, caused severe and widespread civil warfare. By 206 B.C. a number of independent leaders had declared themselves "king" of small areas of land. The strongest of them, Liu Bang, who called himself "King of Han", eventually succeeded in defeating the others and to occupy the former metropolitan area of Qin. In 202 B.C. he adopted the title of Huangdi or emperor, and the dynastic title of **Han**[1]

Qing dynasty (Ch)

Period in Chinese history (1644-1911). By the late 16th century A.D. a young **Jurchen** (Manchu) tribal leader named Nurhaci (1559-1626) began to organize his people into a political and military force. By the early 1640's they successfully pushed south of the **Great Wall**, settled at Beijing in 1644 and proclaimed themselves as successors of the **Ming**. It took them about four decades to defeat groups of Ming loyalists (1681) and to annex Taiwan (1683), and to establish domestic peace. Three able descendants of Nurhaci marked a glorious period in Chinese history of about one hundred years. The Emperors Kanxi (1662-1722), Yongzheng (1723-1725) and Qianlong (1736-1795) succeeded in building an imperial image acceptable for both Manchu and Chinese subjects, stabilizing governmental operations and military influence, and expanding economy and international trade.

By the 1790's however, anti-dynastic sentiments culminated in open hostilities, which the Emperors Jiaqing (1796-1820) and Daoguang (1821-1850) were not able to control. A series of unfavourable climatic conditions like floods and droughts deteriorated the situation further. Then, during the 1830's, they were confronted by an aggressive foreign presence in the East Asian waters, opium trade, and an outflow of silver to finance the purchase of opium. The Opium War (1840-1842) ended in defeat of the Chinese, forcing them to accept Britain, and later the USA and France, as dominating commercial partners and "most-favoured" nations, and to pay huge indemnities. Meanwhile, during the 1850's internal resistance aggravated, leading to several rebellions among which the Taiping rebellion (1851-1864) is best known. They succeeded in gaining control over much of South-Central China until 1864 when Nanjing was retaken by Qing forces. Politics in Beijing were dominated by the Empress Dowager Cixi who *de facto* ruled behind the scenes from 1875 to 1908, during the reign of Emperor Guangxu. During that period Japan absorbed the Ryukyu Islands (1875), the French occupied Vietnam (1885) and the British annexed

Birma (1886). The Boxer uprising of 1900 was suppressed with the assistance of international forces leading to further dependency of China on foreign countries. In 1911 the Qing Emperor Xuantong (1909-1911), selected by the Empress Dowager before her death in 1908, abdicated, ending China's imperial rule, which had existed for more than two thousand years[1]

radio carbon dating

A method of dating that relies on measurement of the rate of decay of radio-active carbon 14 isotopes which occurs in any organic matter such as shell, teeth or bone. The time limit for radio carbon dating is about 100.000 years

Raijin (J)

Japanese personification of the thunder. He is usually depicted with a barrel drum or circlet of barrel drums decorated with the three-comma-motif (mitsu tomoe). Also called Raiten or kaminari-no-kami

Raiten (J)

See **Raijin**

rakan (J)

See **arhat**

red-figure technique

A style of pottery painting in which the background is painted black and the figures are left in the natural colour of the clay and decorated with dilute glaze paint and some added colours. Invented in Athens about 530 B.C.

Regnum Bospori (L)

Area around the Black Sea. The Bosporus is the narrow strait joining the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. The Bosporus is noted for its wealth of fish and many ancient Greek coastal towns bore fish as a device on their coins. In antiquity it was called the Thracian Bosporus to distinguish it from the Cimmerian Bosporus connecting the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea

reign marks

Marks consisting of four or six Chinese characters, giving the title of the emperor and the corresponding reign period. They were first applied in the reign of the Ming dynasty emperor Yongle (1403-1425)

relief sculpture

Sculpture in which figures project from a sunken background

repoussé technique (F)

A metal-working technique in which a design is raised by hammering on the reverse of a metal sheet

reverse

A side of a coin, corresponding to the contemporary English expression "tails"; technically it is the side stamped by the punch or hammer **die** and normally showing the patron deity and name/title of the ruler

rhyton (Gr)

An animal- or horn-shaped vessel for libation; pl. rhyta

Rinpa (J)

The Rinpa school of painting was founded in the early **Edo period** by Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558-1637) and Tawaraya Sōtatsu (d. ca. 1640), and was brought to maturity by Ogata Kōrin (1658-1716). The tradition was carried on by Kōrin's younger brother Ogata Kenzan (1663-1743) and later revived by Sakai Hōitsu (1761-1828). The Rinpa school is considered as one of the most important schools in Japanese history

Rinzai (J)

A sect of Zen Buddhism, introduced in Japan by Eisai (1141-1215) on his return from China. Patronized

by the emperor, the shōgunate, the nobility and the warriors of the **Kamakura** and **Muromachi** periods. Many famous temples were built in its name

Roman period

The Roman Imperial period, started in 31 B.C. when Augustus became the first Roman Emperor and ends in 476 A.D., when the Germanic leader Odoakar became king of Italy. It includes the so-called Late Roman period, which started in 323 A.D. when Constantine the Great became the absolute monarch and lasted until the beginning of the Byzantine period in 491 A.D.

rhyton (Gr)

A drinking cup, usually in the form of a head of a person or an animal, tapering to a rounded or pointed bottom, so that it could stand only when inverted and empty. Some examples were not in the form of a head but somewhat resembled a drinking horn, curving upward to a wide mouth and broad rim. pl. rhyta

Route of the Centre

Part of the **Silk Road** from **Dunhuang** to Korla, where it joined the northern branch of the Silk Road around the **Tarim Basin**. It fell into disuse sometime during the 4th century A.D., probably because its water resources dried up

ryūme (J)

See **dragon-horse**

Śakas (P)

Iranian word applied to the peoples called Scythians in Western sources, in particular by Herodotus. However, the Śakas were one of the Scytho-Siberian groups in Central Asia. They were centered in the Tien Shan region of present-day Kazakhstan and western China. The Śakas were reputedly pushed out of their territory, between the Jaxartes and Lake Issyk Kul, by the **Yuezhi** (ca. 177 B.C.), who earlier were defeated and pursued by the **Xiongnu**. Dislodged from their territory, they overran most of northern and southern Afghanistan, where they founded Indo-Scythian city-states

Śākyamuni (S)

Lit. "Sage of the Sakya (clan)". The title of the historical **Buddha**, also called Siddhārtha Gautama, who died ca. 487 B.C. J: Shaka

Samarkand

Outpost of the Persian **Achaemenid Empire** and already a large fortified city when Alexander the Great arrived there in 329 B.C. Under Greek rule the city developed further around the nearby town of Afrasiab. Under **Kushān** rule the **Sogdian** inhabitants commenced trade with the lands to the east and west. By the 3rd century A.D. Samarkand was **Sogdiana**'s capital and thriving commercial metropole. After the invasion of the **Hepthalites** trade waned temporarily, until the 6th century when an alliance of Turks and Sasanians ruled the region. During the next centuries control over the city changed several times, but it continued to thrive as a commercial centre

Sāñcī

City in the modern state Madya Pradesh in north India. It became a pilgrimage site when the Mauryan ruler **Aśoka** (r. 268-231 B.C.) established a **stūpa** there and erected a monolithic column in the mid 3rd century B.C. During the next centuries up to the 12th century A.D. more stūpas were built, which reveal an historical survey of Indian Buddhist art and architecture

sanctuary

A sacred place. A building or place set aside for worship of a god or gods

sancai (Ch)

Lit. "Three colours". Polychrome glaze decoration, not necessarily limited to three colours. In the **Tang** period sancai was a popular method of decorating earthenware. The glazes commonly used were amber, yellow, green and blue. In the Ming and Qing periods sancai decoration was added to stoneware using yellow, green, aubergine and blue and white enamels. J: **sansai**

sansai (J)

Three-colour glaze earthenware produced in Japan during the **Nara** period, after Chinese examples. See **sancai**

Sanskrit

The classical literary language of ancient India and one of the Indo-European family of languages. It is divided into Vedic and Classical Sanskrit. The scriptures of the **Mahāyāna** tradition of Buddhism have been written in this language, which style is called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

sarcophagus (L)

A coffin of stone, **terracotta**, or wood

Sardis

City in western Anatolia, capital of Lydia until its capture by the Persians in ca. 540 B.C. It continued to flourish under the Achaemenids and throughout the Hellenistic period. See also **Susa**

Sasanian Empire

The Sasanian dynasty ruled an empire from 226 to 651 A.D. which covered an area generally equivalent to that including present-day Iran, Iraq up to the River Euphrates and parts of Armenia and Georgia

satrapy

A province of the Persian Empire, governed by a satrap (governor). He was responsible for collecting taxes and functioned as supreme judge and arbiter. He was also in charge of maintaining roads and ensuring their safety

satyrs and sileni

Satyrs are nature spirits who share animal anatomical characteristics with horses and goats: their ears are pointed, they usually have flowing tails, and often their legs are similar to those of a horse or goat. Although satyrs and sileni originally were independent spirits, their close relation to nature and their lusty, sensual interests brought them into the circle of Dionysos, and sileni are usually taken as aged satyrs

scarab

In Egyptian religion a sacred beetle; seals made in this shape

schist

A crystalline rock that can be easily split into layers. Used in Gandhāra for masonry and sculpture

Scylla (Gr)

Greek seamonster composed of a female form with twelve feet and six heads. Scylla was one of the obstacles of Odysseus on his journey home. Traditionally the mythological creature was located in **Magna Graecia**

Scythians

A group of nomadic people, probably Iranian in origin, that inhabited the Kuban Valley, the Taman and Kerch peninsulas, Crimea, the northern and north-eastern littoral of the Black Sea and the steppe and lower forest-steppe regions now shared between Ukraine and Russia, from the 7th century down to the 1st century B.C. See also **Śakas**

Seiryōji (J)

Buddhist temple, part of the building of the Kyōto-Palace, where the emperor normally lived

Seleucia

See **Ctesiphon**

Seleucid Kingdom

Kingdom of the Seleucids who ruled over Syria and surrounding countries from 321 B.C. to 63 B.C. Their most important kings were named Seleucos or Antiochus. Its area fluctuated violently between 312 B.C., when Seleucos I seized Babylonia and 129 B.C., when the losses of Antiochus VII left the dynasty rulers over a small area in northern Syria. By 203 B.C. the further eastern region was added to Seleucos' dominions, and in the next twenty years he and his successor Antiochus I, acquired most of Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. But from the middle of the 3rd century, **Bactria** broke away and Parthian power grew, with the result that everything east of a line from the eastern end of the Caspian Sea to the mouth of the Persian Gulf was lost.

sencha (J)

Steeped tea; a form of tea-drinking introduced from **Ming** China to Japan in the 17th century and popularized as an aspect of the literati school of painting. Leaf tea steeped in hot water is used rather than the whipped powdered tea of the **chanoyu.** Sencha gained wide popularity when a Zen priest named Baisaō sold tea in Kyōto in the mid-**Edo** period and associated with a large circle of enthusiasts for chinoiserie. Baisaō's involvement also helped make sencha popular among many other people, and even today there is quite an impressive number of practitioners

Sennin (J)

Immortals, fairies and wizards of the Taoist tradition that evolved in ancient China. Many sennin existed in legend only, but others, the Chinese claim, were historical figures

Seres (L)

Lit. "country of silk", the name given by the Romans to China

Serindia

See **Xinjiang**

sestertius (L)

A large Roman brass coin, worth a quarter of a denarius

shachi (J)

An orc; a grampus; a killer whale

shachihoko (J)

Imaginary sea creature, a dolphin-like fish, which combines the body of a fish with the head of a dragon. On roofs they are represented resting on their chins with their tails arched overhead

Shaka (J)

See **Śākyamuni**

shakudō (J)

Alloy of copper with a small quantity of gold, pickled in a solution to produce a black-dark surface-colour

Shang dynasty (Ch)

Period of Chinese history (ca. 1600-1100 B.C.). According to legend, the early Shang rulers received Heaven's mandate to overthrow the wicked preceding Xia dynasty. The state was centred on a capital or cult centre. Most elements from Shang culture evolved from indigenous **Neolithic** antecedents. At the core of the state were groups of ritual specialists, administrators, warriors, artisans and retainers linked to the royal house by blood, belief and self-interest. The theocrat, known while alive as *Wang*, "king", excercised a chiefdom-like power through dynastic alliances, religious intercessions and the hunts and

campaigns by which he taxed outlying areas. Divination controlled most aspects of life: diviners numbered the cracks in bones and interpreted these as auspicious, inauspicious or neutral, pertaining to rituals, ancestral curses, luck, rainfall, harvests, sickness, dreams and so forth. Ancestral worship played a major role, as the ancestors were believed to influence life and could curse, cause sickness, produce dreams, approve the king's acts, confer assistance in battle and so forth. Ritual bronzes, weapons, jades and other articles of high culture, together with numerous retainers, buried with the lord, suggest that the Shang believed in a life hereafter, and that status conditions of this world were projected into the next. The dynasty's material power depended upon the efficient exploitation of a servile peasantry, particularly for agriculture and warfare. An ethic of service permeated all levels of life. The Shang kings controlled various handicraft industries that produced sophisticated wood carvings, stone and jade statuettes, personal ornaments, clothes, ceramics, chariots, weapons and ritual bronzes. These ritual bronzes were used to offer food and wine to the ancestors. The casting of Shang bronze vessels, thousands of which have been found, required a large-scale labour force to mine, refine and transport copper, tin and lead ores and to produce and transport charcoal. It required skilled technicians to make clay models, construct sectional ceramic piece-moulds with their intricate surface patterns, manufacture clay crucibles and pour moulten metal and hand-tool the eventual product. Late Shang bronze décor reveals an intense interest in linear pattern, geometric designs such as spirals, quills and **maeander** backgrounds. The most important centra of Shang-period bronze casting were in Henan province, but peoples in different areas employed the Shang techniques[1]

shime (J)

A sacred (**Shintō**) straw festoon, stuck with cut paper

Shintō (J)

The indigenous religion of Japan, originally based on the veneration of ancestors and natural phenomena and largely merged with Buddhism by the end of the **Heian period**

Shi Tennō (J)

See **lokapāla**

shishi (J)

lion

shōgun (J)

Military rank equivalent to general; tai shōgun is equivalent to generalissimo. The term is an abbreviation of sei-i-tai shōgun (military commander sent against the barbarians), used first in the 8th century as a temporary rank granted by the emperor. It was given on a lifetime and hereditary basis to Minamoto no Yoritomo. During the **Kamakura** and **Muromachi** periods it designated the supreme secular authority in the land, subordinate only to the semi-divine emperor

Shōmu (J)

Japanese emperor (701-756; r. 724-749), during whose reign Buddhism flourished, and under whose patronage much of Tōdaiji including the Great Buddha (**Daibutsu**) was built. During his reign a survey was made of all the provinces of Japan, and official examinations for public office -in imitation of the Chinese system- were first held

Shōsōin (J)

Storehouse built in 756 A.D. in the precincts of the **Tōdaiji** (temple) at Nara, in which many objects were kept of the **Nara** period (645-794 A.D.). The repository contains primarily the rich personal effects of the Emperor Shōmu (724-749), founder of the Tōdaiji. His widow, the Empress **Kōmyō**, presented them to **Daibutsu** for the sake of Shōmu's soul on June 21, 756, in a ceremony marking the forty-ninth

day after his death. They have been kept under imperial seal and preserved intact to the present. The contents of the collection can be divided into two kinds of material: the prized personal belongings of the Emperor Shōmu, and the implements actually used in such Buddhist rituals as the consecration ceremony for the Daibutsu. Some objects were imported from the continent, many from China and others from as far west as Persia. Other objects were made by master-craftsmen from China or Korea who had immigrated to Japan or by native craftsmen working under their supervision. Till to-day the Shōsōin is intact and actually is an important archaeological museum

Shōtoku Taishi (J)

Prince regent for the Empress Suiko who lived from 572-622. He promoted the growth of Buddhism, developed relations with China, and laid down lines for political reforms. He encouraged Chinese and Korean specialists in religion, scholarship and the arts to come and settle in his country

Shūkongōjin (J)

Lit. "Thunderbolt bearer"; in Indian Buddhist legends an animistic deity armed with the thunderbolt who accompanied Śākyamuni as a guardian. He is either occasionally depicted as a single isolated guardian figure in Japanese Buddhist temples, or as one of a pair of **Niō** at the entrance. J: Kongō Rikishi, S: Vajrapāni

Silenus (L)

In classical mythology one of the sileni, woodland spirits, who became associated with **Dionysos** and the **satyrs**. He is represented as an elderly, fat, hairy but bald-headed man with the ears of a horse, riding an ass or a wineskin. He is profoundly wise and constantly drunk. He is sometimes said to have been the teacher of the young Dionysos or the father of the satyrs

Silk Roads

The name for the transcontinental network of caravan routes, that went from China through Central Asia to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea and along which all kinds of goods -among which silk- were transported. The term was coined by Friedrich von Richthofen (1833-1905), a leading geographer and geologist. He travelled from 1860-1862 to Ceylon, Japan, Formosa, Celebes, Java, the Philippines, Siam and Burma as these countries were then called. From 1868-1872 he undertook a series of expeditions to China

Silla (K)

See **Three Kingdoms**

siren

Greek mythological creature at first represented with the head and bust of a woman and the body of a bird. Later they were depicted as women, whose bodies terminated in fish tails. Sirens transfixed sailors by their song in *The Odyssey* and led them to destruction. They also were invoked at the moment of death to guide the deceased to the netherworld. In that function they appear frequently on Roman Imperial **sarcophagi**

Śiva (S)

Lit. "Beneficient one". One of the principal Hindu deities, together with **Brahmā** and **Vishnu** a mentor of the trinity called Trimurti, characterized by a cosmic energy that manifests itself as both a destructive and a creative force

Six Dynasties period

See **Period of Disunity**

skyphos (Gr)

A deep drinking cup with two handles at the rim

slip

A coating of clay applied to cover the surface of a pot, of a different constitution from the clay of the pot itself

Soga (J)

Clan paramount in Japanese politics, 6th century A.D. Pro-Buddhist

Sogdiana

Region in Central Asia, around Samarkand, between the Rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. Also called Sogdia. In the 6th century B.C. it was integrated as a satrapy into the Achaemenid Empire of Cyrus II and later it was conquered by Alexander the Great. It was composed of small city-states. Samarkand was its most important city, which at times dominated the area, but basically the city-states were independent. By about 500 A.D. Sogdiana came under the rule of the **Hephtalites**.In the middle of the 6th century Sogdiana fell to the Turks, who had joined with the Sasanians to defeat the Hephtalites, and who established their **khaganate**

Sogdians

Iranian people who inhabited the region of **Transoxiana**. They established a large trade-network. They were trading regularly, at least from the 3rd century A.D. on, with the upper Indus region. By the early 4th century their trade with China was well established and they had direct trade relations with Constantinople. Their overlords, whether **Hephtalites** or Turks, supported their commercial activities as they benefitted from it

solidus (L)

Late Roman/Byzantine gold denomination (weighing about 4.5 grams), introduced by Constantine the Great (r. 306-337 A.D.)

sometsuke (J)

General term for porcelain decorated with underglaze cobalt blue. Such wares had been produced in China since the Yuan dynasty, but in Japan production did not begin until the early 17th century or possibly somewhat earlier. This term is sometimes used for blue and white porcelain made in the late Ming dynasty for export to Japan

Song dynasty (Ch)

The history of the Song dynasty (960-1279) falls into two distinct chronological periods, Northern Song (960-1126) and Southern Song (1127-1279). After the period of the **Five Dynasties** a powerful general, Zhao Kuangyin (r. 960-976) conquered and unified a large area which shortly after his death comprised the modern provinces Shandong, the southern part of Hebei and Shanxi in the North; all the provinces bordering the East China Sea and the South China Sea in the East and the provinces Sichuan, Guizhou and Guangxi in the West.. The capital was modern Kaifeng. The north-east of China beyond the **Great Wall**, however, remained under **Liao** control.

Three features of the Northern Song period characterise the important developments of the unified empire in particular.

First, the large provincial administrative and military units were dismantled, and administrative control was replaced by civil officials who qualified for office through civil service examinations.

Second, they stimulated and supervised foreign trade over sea, while their tax system for merchant ships provided large revenues needed for protecting the northern borders. But also overland trade prospered, while agricultural products and a wide variety of handicraft goods moved in volume along the trade routes.

Third, art and technology experienced new developments. The Song emperors were great patrons of the arts, which resulted in a period of artistic glory, in which especially painting and ceramics reached

perhaps unequalled heights. In technology especially woodblock printing was innovated. Books on every conceivable subject were printed, which caused a significant increase in literacy, while the government found in printing an effective tool for propagation of laws, information and ideas.
In 1123, the Jurchen nomads in the North, who had established their **Jin** dynasty in Manchuria in 1115, crushed the Liao without significant Song aid. Subsequent hostilities led to the Jurchen conquest of north China including Kaifeng in 1127. The Song court fled to a new capital, present-day Hangzhou, south of the Yangzi River. Thus, the north part of the Song Empire was lost to the Jurchen Jin, leaving the Song in a reduced area, i.e. south of the Huai River, during the Southern Song period. However, war between the Jurchen Jin and the Southern Song persisted until 1141, when a peace treaty was negotiated. Under the Song a commercial revolution took place as the result of a dramatic increase in agricultural production, a steadily growing market and numerous improvements in the means of exchange and distribution. Population under the Song increased sharply. The appearance in north China in 1209 A.D. of a new and almost unknown group of "barbarians", the Mongols, left the Song Empire untouched. However, after the final defeat of the Jurchen Jin armies in 1234, the Mongol armies began a sustained attack against south China. It took about forty years before the Mongols defeated the last of the Southern Song armies (1279)[1]

Sŏngmyŏng (K)
Ruler of **Paekche** (r. 523?-544) who introduced Buddhism to Japan via an embassy in 538 A.D. (or 552) bearing Buddhist texts, images, ritual objects and banners

Sosurim (K)
Ruler of **Koguryŏ** (r. 371-384). The first Korean ruler to officially recognize Buddhism, when presented in 372 by a monk with Buddhist texts and a Buddha-image from the ruler of the Former Qin (349-394), a brief-lived kingdom in northern China

Sōtatsu (J)
See **Rinpa**

sphinx
She-monster with a winged lion's body and a woman's head

stamnos (Gr)
A two-handled high-shouldered storage jar

stanza (It)
A group of lines of verse forming one of the divisions of a poem. It is usually recurrent and characterized by a regular pattern with respect to the number of lines

stater (Gr)
The principle coin of ancient Greece, usually of silver, of which the value varied according to the place of issue, generally regarded as equivalent to twenty silver **drachmai**

steatite
Soapstone

stele (Gr)
A tall narrow stone slab; some are funerary and may have been sculptured in relief, others carry inscriptions; pl. stelai

steppe (R)
The Russian word for "grassy plain", which has become synonymous with the vast belt of grasslands that stretches across northern Eurasia from the **Great Wall** in China to the Carpathian Mountains in eastern Europe

stoa (Gr)

A long, rectangular, collonaded building, familiar in **sanctuaries** and **agoras**

Stone Age

A period in human culture during which stone implements were used. It is divided into the Eolithic, Paleolithic and **Neolithic** periods

stoneware

Ceramic, usually glazed, with body made from clay and fired to between 1200 and 1300 degrees Celsius, which is vitrified and impermeable to water

Strabo

Greek geographer and historian (ca. 63 B.C.-23 A.D.). He was born in what is now called Amasya in Turkey. His 17th book "*Geography*" survived virtually intact. It is full of rich details of the lands and the peoples of the Roman Empire and other areas such as India

stucco (It)

A plaster made of lime and/or sand, used to cover the surface of walls to render these smooth

stūpa (S)

Solid hemispherical mound, raised over the relics of a **Buddha** or Buddhist saint. The traditional manner of honouring the buried remains of heroes and kings was the mound of dirt erected over the post-cremation relics. After a time, for Buddha, the locations, where key events of his life had occurred, were commemorated by the erection of these dirt tumuli or stūpas. Gradually these stūpas became not only a symbol of the Buddha himself but of the doctrine as well. Also railings were put up to protect the precinct from defilement. The railing and four symmetrically placed gateways served to keep night-animals from trespassing the holy ground. After entry through the gateway the worshipper walks around the stūpa in the direction of the path of the sun (circumambulation). By the 3rd century B.C. the stūpa was encased in brick to protect it from erosion. During the 3rd century B.C. stūpas proliferated. King **Aśoka** (r. 268-231 B.C.) is said to have erected 84.000 stūpas

Sui dynasty (Ch)

Chinese dynasty (581-618 A.D.). Power struggles in the north ended when the **Zhou** house was overthrown in 581 by one of its own generals, Yangjian (541-604), who re-asserted supremacy in the north as the first Sui emperor Wendi, and went on to conquer the south and re-unite China. He centralized civil and military power on the model of the **Han**. He sensitively deployed **Daoism**, Confucianism and Buddhism in a series of ideological measures designed to overcome centuries of cultural and political fragmentation. He took up residence in **Chang'an**, the old Han capital of the same name, after heavy reconstructions. His son and successor Yangdi (r. 605-617) continued to make improvements in civil administration, state education and civil service examinations, and continued the vigorous foreign policy of his father. He initiated e.g. diplomatic relations with Japan and established Sui colonies along the Western trade routes. While retaining Chang'an as centre of administration, he constructed an eastern capital at **Luoyang** in Henan province. He undertook massive military expeditions against northern Korea in 611 to 613 which were not successful and disastrous for his prestige. Large revolts engulfed north China and led to his assassination by one of his officials in 618[1]

Suikoden (J)

Japanese title of the Chinese story Shui-hu-zhuan, about a band of robbers who terrorised two of the provinces of China in the 12th century A.D. It is largely a work of fiction based upon historical facts and reputedly written by a certain author Shi Nai-an of the 13th century. The band consisted of one hundred and eight persons, men and women, who are commonly known as the "Hundred and Eight Heroes of

China". The story was translated into Japanese by Kyokutai Bakin (1767-1848), and illustrated by Hokusai, Toyokuni and Yanagawa Shigenobu. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861) illustrated them in the set Tsūgoku Suikoden Gōketsu Hyaku-hashi nin no hitori, "The hundred and eight heroes of the popular Suikoden all told"

Sukhāvatī heaven

The Western Paradise presided over by Buddha **Amitābha**. In **Mahāyāna** Buddhism there are four paradises, each associated with a cardinal direction

Sumeru (S)

See **Meru**

surimono (J)

A deluxe Japanese print made for a special occasion in a limited edition, usually inscribed with a poem composed for the occasion

Susa

Iranian city in the plain of the Ulai River. It had a long history of occupation spanning seven millennia. It was destroyed by the Assyrians in the 7th century B.C.. **Darius I** constructed a new palace in Susa and built The Royal Road, a road from Susa to Sardis in Anatolia, a 2700 km long, well maintained stretch, with over a hundred post stations

Susa no O (J)

Susa no O no Mikoto was the offspring of the god Izanagi and brother of the sun goddess **Amaterasu** Ōmikami. According to Japanese mythology, the defiling acts of Susa no O led his sister Amaterasu to retreat into a cave and plunge the world into darkness. As a result of his bad behaviour, Susa no O was banished from heaven to live in the land of the Reed Plains, i.e. the Japanese islands

sūtra (S)

Buddhist religious scriptures, the records of the Buddha's teachings. The word stems from the Sanskrit root "siv", "to sew", meaning to thread or string. Therefore, a sūtra is a body of doctrine. It must be composed of words coming from Buddha's own lips - words "strung together" in the form of a sermon. It pertains to both **Hīnayāna** and **Mahāyāna**, but differs in content and orientation

svastika (S)

The svastika is one of the sixty-five marks of Buddhahood, found in the imprints of the Buddha's foot. On some of the images of Buddha it is on his breast, but it may also be represented before him on the lotus-throne. As a Buddhist symbol it represents the esoteric doctrine of the Buddha, and was adopted by several sects. The svastika, however, is found in many other countries and is the subject of much controversy. Called **manji** in Japan

Swāt

High river valley north of the **Peshāwar** basin

Siddhārtha (S)

The personal name of the historical **Buddha**

symposium (L)

A drinking party, popular with the Romans as such. However, at Athens drinking was the least important part of the entertainment. Wine was seldom drunk pure, the mixing ratio with water in the **krater** being one to three. Music by flute-girls, performances by hired entertainers, songs by the guests, impromptu verse and riddles were the ordinary diversions. Above all there was conversation and discussion on every sort of subject

Taira (J)

A Japanese samurai family which contended with the **Fujiwara** and their supporters, the Minamoto, for power at the court during the late **Heian period**. Linked to the imperial family by marriage, as the Fujiwara had been before them, the Taira enjoyed an era of glory under the leadership of Kiyomori in the second half of the twelfth century until they were decisively defeated by the Minamoto in 1185 A.D.

Taishakuten (J)

See **Indra**

takazōgan (J)

Overlay technique to decorate metalware

Taklamakan

See **Tarim Basin**

Tamamushi (J)

Name of a shrine, built in the form of a miniature palace, in the **Hōryūji** temple in Nara. The name is said to derive from the open work metal edging of its pedestal, which was originally inlaid with the iridescent wing sheaths of thousands of tamamushi (jewel insect) beetles

Tamonten (J)

See **Bishamon**

Tang dynasty (Ch)

Chinese dynasty (618-906 A.D.). The dynasty emerged from the anarchy left by the collapse of the **Sui** in 616. The Tang founder Li Yuan (566-635; r. 618-626) was a high Sui official who took advantage of the situation when the Sui emperor fled to his southern capital. His second son Taizong (r. 626-649) was an active ruler who secured the northern borders against the Turks, established control into the **Tarim Basin** to secure the silk routes. He also established diplomatic ties with Byzantium, the **Sasanian Empire** in Iran, the newly emergent Tibetan kingdom, and a range of tribal people all over Asia. With these wide contacts, the Tang Empire became a more open society than China had been ever before. Trading communities of **Sogdians**, Arabs, Uighurs and Jews settled in the two capital cities **Chang'an** and **Luoyang**. They brought with them their religions, Islam, Judaism, Nestorian Christianity, **Zoroastrianism** and **Manichaeism**. Their cultures influenced Chinese taste, fashion, cuisine, art and literature. However, the most all-pervading of these foreign influences was Buddhism. By the 7th century it influenced every section of Chinese society. Until the 750's many of the foreign contacts came via the Central Asian caravan routes. After 750 China's power in Central Asia waned, due to increasing interference of the Arabs, cutting her off from the overland trade routes to the West and India. The sea routes from India and the Persian Gulf to Canton (modern Guangzhou) and Yangzhou became predominant. Besides trade, China exported its cultural influence. During the Tang hostage, ambassadors from many countries were educated at the Tang court and returned to their countries imbued with Chinese culture. By the end of the Tang, the Chinese *oikumene* in East Asia, in which Chinese culture played the same role as Greco-Roman culture in the West, was firmly established[1]

Tantrayāna (S)

The vehicle that is based on the Tantras, the third and final interpretation of the Buddha's teachings. Also called Tantrism or **Esoteric Buddhism**

Tantrism

See **Tantrayāna**

taotie (Ch)

A kind of mask without lower jaw, which is often found on Chinese bronzes, dating back to ca. 1500 B.C.

The word taotie is supposed to mean "glutton" but this throws no light at all on the object as presented. One theory is that it represents two confronting animals in profile, but its origin and significance are not known. J: tōtatsu

Tarim Basin

Arid area, virtually devoid of vegetation, enclosed between the Tianshan Mountains to the north, the Kunlun Mountains to the south and the Pamirs to the west. The Taklamakan Desert occupies the centre of the Tarim Basin. It is part of the modern **Xinjiang** province. By the early 1st century A.D., the **Han** army destroyed the **Xiongnu** threat and extended Chinese control westwards to the Tarim Basin and the oasis cities skirting its northern and southern edges. Han military and political dominance in the region led to the opening of the **Silk Road**, thus beginning the lucrative silk trade with the West

Taxila

Urban and religious centre in **Gandhāra** known through inscriptions and texts and identified through archaeological excavations. Established by the Greeks of Bactria during the early 2nd century B.C., Greek rule was maintained until the 1st century A.D., when it gradually waned under Scythian, Parthian and **Yuezhi** influence respectively. By the end of the 1st century A.D. it became the capital of the **Kushān**. Situated at the junction of trade routes, Taxila was a thriving commercial centre, and excavated artefacts dating from the early Gandhāra-school show strong Greco-Roman influence

tempera technique

A painting technique in which a colloidal medium (such as egg yolk) is used to bind the colours

Tenpyō (J)

Era name given to the years 749-756 in the reign of the Japanese emperor **Shōmu**. Also refers more broadly to the art and culture of the **Nara period** (645-794)

tenba (J)

See **Heavenly Horse**

Tendai (J)

The **Esoteric Buddhist** sect introduced from China into Japan by the priest Saichō (767-822), who studied in China from 804 to 805

tennin (J)

Buddhist angels, usually shown floating in the sky while holding musical instruments or lotus flowers. They are clothed in robes and/or wings and celestial scarves that weave around them. Ch: feitian; see also **apsaras**

terracotta (It)

Lit. "baked clay". The term may be applied to pottery, but usually refers to figurines and plaques

tessarae (L)

Small squares or cubes of stone or glass used in making mosaics

tetradrachme (Gr)

An ancient four-drachme Greek silver coin, the standard denomination in many Greek cities including Athens

Theravāda (S)

See **Hīnayāna**

thermoluminescence

A method of dating clay objects by measuring the accumulated radiation dose of the time elapsed since the clay was fired and/or exposed to sunlight. Reheated (thermo-) clay emits energy in the form of light (luminescence) proportional to the radiation dose

Thessaly

Region in north-east Greece, south of Macedonia

Thetis (Gr)

Sea nymph or **nereid**; mother of **Achilles**

Three Kingdoms

The native Koreans received great stimuli from the Chinese and grew strong. The strongest was the **Koguryŏ** united tribes, which occupied southern Manchuria and the northern part of Korea. They were organized in a kingdom in 37 B.C. Koguryu first introduced Buddhism to Korea in 372 A.D. From the 5th to the 7th century A.D. it had its capital in P'yongyang. The second kingdom, **Paekche**, emerged as a leading power only in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. after slow political development of the South Korean tribes. It established its capital eventually in Puyo. The third kingdom, **Silla**, emerged somewhat later in the south-eastern part of Korea. In the beginning of the 4th century A.D. the Korean peninsula was divided into three rival kingdoms: Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla. This situation continued for about 300 years until Silla unified the whole peninsula in the 7th century. We speak of Silla after the unification of the peninsula as Unified or Great Silla to distinguish it from the state of Silla in the pre-unified period, which is known as Old Silla or Silla of the Three Kingdom period

thyrsos (Gr)

Ivy-twined staff tipped with a pine cone, or sometimes with a bunch of grapes and vine leaves, which was an attribute of the Greek god Dionysos and was carried by his worshippers. Ivy was the plant of Dionysos and the phallic pine cone an emblem of fertility and immortality

tianma (Ch)

See **Heavenly horse**

Tillya Tepe

Royal necropolis built in northern Afghanistan by the **Kushāns** during the first centuries B.C. and A.D. Many funerary remains were found there by the Sovjet expedition in 1978-1979, including Indian, Roman and Parthian coins, mirrors inscribed in Chinese, cameos in Roman and Greco-Bactrian style and over 20,000 gold objects. Most notable of these finds is that in Tillya Tepe the "**animal style**"of the nomads has been mixed with Greco-Roman motifs

Titan (Gr)

In Greek mythology, one of the six sons and six daughters of Uranos (Heaven) and **Gaia** (Earth). They were older gods predating the Olympian gods. In a battle for power of the universe the Titans were defeated by Zeus, the leader of the Olympian gods

Toba

Name of a non-Chinese people of Turkic origin who established the Northern Wei dynasty. 386-534 A.D. They lived to the east and north of China, in the present-day republic of Mongolia.Ch: Xianbei

Tocharians

According to speculation, one of the tribes of the confederation of the **Yuezhi**

Tōdaiji (J)

Buddhist temple erected at Nara in 728. It is the headquarters of the Kegon sect of Buddhism. In 746, a large statue of Buddha, **Daibutsu**, was erected. Endowed with rich revenues by the emperors, the Tōdaiji became a great power and had a large body of men in its pay. It was burnt down several times and rebuilt again, the last time in 1567 and rebuilt by the end of the 17th century by the shōgun Tsunayoshi

Tōji (J)

Buddhist temple of the Shingon sect, south of Kyōto erected in 796 by **Kōbō Daishi**

torana (S)
In Indian architecture, a gateway, especially to a Buddhist **stūpa**

Tōshōdaiji (J)
A temple founded in Nara in 759 by the Chinese priest Ganjin from the **Tang** court. This priest came to Nara at the request of his former pupils in China to impose the strict monastic rules of life on the Japanese priesthood. Part of the main buildings were ruined in the 13th century and restored in the 17th century

tōtatsu (J)
See **taotie**

Tracian Bosporus
Approach to the Black Sea at Byzantium/Istanbul

Transoxiana
Historical region in Central Asia, the area between the Amu Darya (Oxus) River and the Syr Darya (Jaxartes) River, modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Also called Eastern Iran (meaning really the eastern extension of Iranian culture), or Western **Turkestan**

tribhanga (S)
See **contrapposto**

triglyph (Gr)
A grooved slab in the **frieze** course of a Doric order column

tripitaka (S)
Lit. "the Three Baskets", original collection of Buddhist scriptures adopted by the **Hīnayāna** line of Buddhism

tripod
Three-legged cauldron

Triton (Gr)
Mythical sea-monster with the upper body of man and the lower body and tail of a fish. In art, it is often shown wrestling with **Herakles**

tsuba (J)
Sword guard, fitted at the blade end of the hilt of a Japanese sword, next to the **fuchi**, pierced with a wedge-shaped central hole to take the blade and often with one or two smaller holes to admit two smaller knives. With the exception of purely ceremonial ones, tsuba in earlier times were made of iron and were designed simply. But by the end of the 17th century, when even the wearing of swords was largely a formality, sword ornaments had become a matter of almost general concern. The sword accessories referred to as mitokoro-mono were the three pieces tsuba, **kōgai** and **kozuka** needed for each sword a man owned.

tumulus (L)
Burial ground

Turfan
Turfan was an oasis city on the northern branch of the **Silk Road** along the Taklamakan Desert. During the **Han** period it was conquered by nomadic Turkic tribes, especially the **Toba**, with whom the Chinese remained in continuous struggle for control of this region. Before the Turkic invasions and settlement, the native population had been **Tocharian**. In the 6th century A.D., Turfan fell to the **Sui** rulers and in the year 640 A.D. it passed into the hands of the **Tang** rulers. In 846 A.D. Turfan was again conquered by Turkic tribes, this time the Uighurs

Turkestan

See **Xinjiang**

Tushita

Name of one of the Buddhist heavens, where the future Buddha **Maitreya** lives before his last rebirth on earth

tympanon (Gr)

A round shallow drum, played by striking it with the hand. Frequently shown in Bacchic representations

underglaze blue

Cobalt pigment applied for decorative purposes directly to a ceramic body before **glazing** and (second) firing. The second firing, deficient in oxygen, takes oxygen away from the body and the glaze, causing the cobalt to turn blue. Cobalt was first imported into China from the Near East, later native sources were used.

underglaze painting

Decoration applied to a ceramic body before it is **glazed**

ūrnā (S)

A tuft of hair between the eyebrows, often represented as a dot, that denotes a great man, particularly with regard to the **Buddha** and **boddhisattvas**. It is sometimes represented by a jewel, a small protruberance, or as a third eye

Uruk

City in Southern **Mesopotamia**, modern Warka in Irak. It has a history of continuous habitation from the 4th millennium to the Seleucid period. It was the seat of dynasties of the 3rd millennium, but thereafter mainly a religious centre

ushnīsha (S)

Protuberance on the skull of the **Buddha** symbolizing his superior knowledge and enlightment

Utamaro (J)

Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806) was an artist of the Japanese **Edo Period**, specializing initially in woodblockprints of detailed representations of various animals and plants. By the end of his life he began bringing out a number of half-length and detailed portraits of women

Uyghur Autonomous Region

See **Xinjiang**

Vairocana (S)

Lit. "Brilliant One", the Great Sun Buddha, the most important Buddha in **Tantrism**. The worship of Vairocana was especially popular among ruling circles of China and Japan in the 7th and 8th centuries, and was expressed by colossal statues of which the **Daibutsu** in Nara and the rock-cut image at Longmen, built between 672 and 675 A.D., are the most famous

Vaiśravana (S)

Vaiśravana is the patronymic of **Kuvera**, because, according to Hindu mythology, Kuvera was the son of a sage called "Viśravas", hence his name Visravana or Vaiśravana. He is said to have performed austerities for a thousand years, in reward for which **Brahmā** gave him immortality and made him God of Wealth, guardian of all the treasures of the earth, which he was to give to whom they were destined. His abode was said to be on Mount Kailas, but when Brahmā appointed him God of Riches, he gave him Lanka (Ceylon) as his capital. Vaiśravana was also worshipped by the Buddhists and was looked upon as one of the **lokapāla**, guardians of Mount **Meru**, the centre of the Universe. He was also one of the Regents

of the Four Cardinal Points, especially as the Regent of the North. He is figuring in presentations of the Great Vehicle, **Mahāyāna**, as an armed guardian of Buddha. He is easily discriminated from other figures in that scenery by a pair of wings on his head. In China he is variously called Cai-zhen, Wei Bo and Duowen. J: **Bishamon**

vajra (S)

In Indian mythology a thunderbolt, the weapon of Indra, Vedic lord of rainfall. The legend is that **Śākyamuni** wrested the vajra from Indra and adopted it for his use by closing the points of the prongs of the three-pointed instrument. The vajra became a common feature in Buddhist arts as brandished by guardians, and, in particular, by **Buddha**'s inseparable acolyte **Vajrapāni**. It is also the most common attribute of Zeus in Archaic and Early Classical art, and of other deities like Athena and Poseidon among the Greeks. J: Kongōsho

Vajrapāni (S)

See **Shūkongōjin**

Veda (S)

Sacred texts of the Indians, written ca. 1500 B.C., and introduced into South Asia by the Aryans (a nomadic group from Central Asia)

Vedic literature

See **Veda**

Venti (L)

See **Anemoi**

vidyadharas (S)

In Vedic literature these celestial beings are described as belonging to the same group as the **gandharvas**, **apsarasas** and **kinnaras**. The vidyadharas render services to the gods by assuming various bodies. They also can assume a "flying"pose, as the gandharvas and apsarasas, and are then difficult to discriminate from these

Vishnu (S)

One of the three members of the Hindu trinity (the Trimurti) along with **Brahmā** and **Śiva,** who appears as ten different manifestations, most notably Rama, Krishna and **Narasimha**, the man-lion incarnation

volute (F)

A spiral (one of two) on the face and back on Ionic or **Aeolic capital**

votive offering

An object dedicated or vowed to a deity

wakizashi (J)

A standard short sword of the **Momoyama** and **Edo periods**, that is from the late 16th to mid-19th centuries. It was worn in combination with the **katana**

Western Han

See **Former Han**

Western Paradise

See **Pure Land**

Western Turkestan

See **Transoxiana**

Wusun

A pastoral people, situated about 1,000 kilometres to the north-east of Ferghana, who lived a nomadic life like the **Huns**

Xianbei

See **Toba**

xiangrui (Ch)

Lit. "Good omen". The word refers to auspicious, foreign, strange and unusual zoomorphic phenomena and beings that were considered as good omens during the **Former Han** period in China, because their appearance was thought to indicate the approval of Heaven

Xianyang (Ch)

Ancient capital in Shaanxi province of the **Qin** state from ca. 350-206 B.C.

Xinjiang (Ch)

Lit. "New Dominion". Common political designation of a territory (former Sinkiang) which became a province of China in 1884. The area is more properly known as the **Uyghur Autonomous Region** of Xinjiang, as the Uyghurs -a Turkic people- settled there in the 8th century A.D. The names "**Eastern Turkestan**" or "**Chinese Turkestan**" and "**Tarim Basin**" have also been applied to the region, as well as "**East Central Asia**" and "**Central Asia**". It is also called **Serindia**. Its area covers about 600.000 sq. miles, one-sixth of the total area of China

Xiongnu (Ch)

Name of a confederacy of nomadic tribes, which appears in Chinese records in the 3rd century B.C. Possibly the same as the **Huns** known in the West. They had no permanent residence. They were a constant threat to the **Han** dynasty with raids on the northern frontiers until they weakened by the 2nd century A.D. It was chiefly against these enemies that the Qin and Han governments built and manned the **Great Wall**. Constantly in search for new land for their herds, Xiongnu pressed other tribes to move, and were the cause for large migrations, e.g. of the **Yuezhi**

Xuanzang (Ch)

One of the most eminent Chinese monks (ca. 600-664) and translators in the history of Chinese Buddhism. He studied Sanskrit and Buddhist pilosophy in north India, and upon his return to China he produced a monumental account of contemporary India and a translation of the **Lotus Sūtra**. J: Genjō

yaksha (S)

Male god of the trees, demon in the suite of **Kuvera** who appears in the figure of a human being. He is associated with wealth and protection of the dead. Fem. yakshī

yakshī (S)

See **yaksha**

Yakushiji (J)

Centre of the Hossō sect of Buddhism. The temple was established south of Nara in 680 and completed in 720. At first it was very much favoured by the Court. It originally sheltered a bronze statue of Yakushi, one of the gods of wisdom and the Physician of the Souls. It was cast in 697 by order of the Emperor Temmu for the return of his wife's health

Yakushi Nyorai (J)

Yakushi means lit. "The Physician of the Souls", Nyorai is a person who has attained Buddhahood. Yakushi Nyorai is therefore the **Buddha** who heals all ailments including those of ignorance. Yakushi Nyorai became one of the most popular deities in early Japanese Buddhism, at a time when immediate and practical benefits were often expected from the faith

Yamato (J)

Name of the old state formed in Japan, ca. 350-400 A.D., by immigrants from south Korea, who themselves probably came from Manchuria. The formation of the state took place parallel with that of the

formation of Silla, Paekche and Koguryŏ in Korea. With the Yamato state Japanese political history begins together with a process of centralization. By the 5th century A.D. Yamato succeeded in integrating such power centres as the chiefdoms of Kyūshū, Izumo and Kinai into the orbit of its centralized administration

yōraku (J**)**

An item of personal ornament

yulong (Ch)

See **gyoryū**

Yuan (Ch)

By about 1200 A.D. the Mongols moved out of their homeland, the steppe areas of what is now the independent state of Mongolia and the Chinese Autonomous region of Inner Mongolia. They gradually succeeded in bringing under their rule much of Eastern Europe and Asia, including all of China. Much of this was the work of Khubilai Khan (r. 1260-1294), who adopted the state name Yuan in 1271. The dynasty was built on the **Liao** model of government and **Jurchen** experience of rule in north China. They had two capitals, the winter capital at present-day Beijing and the summer capital at Shangdu, present-day Dolon Nor in Inner Mongolia.

Agriculture was the economic basis of the state. After the re-unification of China in 1275 international trade began to flourish, partly due to the overall upgrading of the infrastructure, which was required for grain transports to the capital. But these relationships remained largly informal.

The first recorded arrival of Europeans in medieval China seems to have been a visit of northern European traders at the court of Khubilai Khan in 1261. The travels of Marco Polo (ca. 1271-1292) also contributed to the knowledge about China in the West. Foreign religions in China benefited from the generally liberal religious policies of the Mongols. In art, Chinese painters continued work in the traditions of the **Song**. Many Yuan painters excelled in landscape painting.

An inherent weakness of the Mongol imperial rule was the absence of fixed procedures of succession. Several emperors were put on the throne at a young age. This ultimately caused the fall of the dynasty in the years after 1332, when powerful figures at court succeeded in naming the thirteen-year-old boy, Toghou Temur (r. 1332-1368) to be emperor. Uprisings in the 1350's caused disorder leading Zhu Yuanzhang (1328-1398) to emerge as the triumphant founder of a new dynasty in 1368, the **Ming**[1]

Yuezhi

Confederation of nomadic tribes of Caucasoid origin, which lived in the western part of Gansu. Around 170 B.C., under pressure of the **Xiongnu**, they migrated westward and occupied an area which is now Uzbekistan. Then, about 130 B.C., they again moved westward across the Jaxartes River to occupy the northern part of ancient **Bactria**. From ca. 30 B.C. on they migrated southwards over Bactria (present-day Afghanistan). One of their tribal chiefs, Kudjala Kadphises I, founded the **Kushān Empire**

Yumedono (J)

Lit. "Hall of dreams". Octagonal hall and focal building of the Eastern Precinct of the **Hōryūji** temple. It was constructed in 739 A.D. by order of Emperor **Shōmu**. The name alludes to a legend that **Kanon** appeared there in a dream to prince **Shōtoku**

Yungang (Ch)

Site near Datong, Shanxi province, China. Site of cave-temples begun in 440 A.D. under Northern Wei dynasty patronage, and abandoned after 493, when the Northern Wei ruler moved the capital to Luoyang. The caves contain more than 50,000 Buddhist images, and show a strong **Gandhāran** and Chinese influence

Zen (J)

See **Chan**

Zeugma

Lit. "the bridge", a city located north-east of Aleppo on both banks of the Euphrates, about 10 km north of the present-day Syrian-Turkish border. Zeugma was founded by Seleucis I Nicator (r. 312-281 B.C.) and takes its name from the bridge of boats that once spanned the river. Emperor Trajan replaced the boats with a stone bridge and Zeugma grew as one of the most important crossing places on the river, a customs-post at the frontier of the Roman and **Parthian** worlds

Zeus (Gr)

Supreme god of the Greek pantheon, the protector and ruler of humankind, identified by the Romans with Jupiter

Zhang Qian (Ch)

Courtier of the palace of the Chinese Emperor Wudi (140-87 B.C.) who was sent in 138 B.C. as an envoy to the **Yuezhi**. Wudi hoped to ally with them against the **Xiongnu**. The mission failed but Zhang Qian came back to Cina with important information about the western regions, including the Ferghana horses, and paved the way for trade in Chinese silk

zhiwen (Ch)

A Chinese composite creature, one of the nine offshoots of the dragon. Its foreparts are of a dragon, its back part is of a fish. It is believed to ward off the danger of fire when placed on roofs of buildings, and is often represented with uplifted tail. Compare **shachihoko** in Japan

Zhou dynasty ((Ch)

Period of Chinese history (ca. 1100-256 B.C.). According to tradition the Zhou dynasty was established sometime during the 11th century. The Zhou were semi-nomadic people from the north-western fringe of the Chinese world who moved south and came in contact with **Shang** kings who were displaced by them. The Zhou capital was Hao, near modern Xian, but an eastern capital was built near modern **Luoyang** as a stronghold from which to govern the Shang subjugates. Western Zhou rule was a kind of feudal monarchy very similar to the Shang. The ruling class were the nobles with family names. They practiced ancestor worship, and divination marked every important decision or event. The end of Western Zhou and the beginning of Eastern Zhou is generally set at 771 B.C., when the royal house moved its residence to the eastern capital Luoyang. The traditional western capital, Hao, had been sacked by barbarians and dissidents, and was no longer habitable. This was the culmination of a lengthy process of disturbance and change. Despite this, the symbolic role of the dynasty, supported by the sanctions of ancient religion (ancestor worship and divination) remained important. The Eastern Zhou period is acknowledged as the shaping period of Chinese culture. Chinese recorded history begins in that period and other collections of anecdotes and historial romances date from Eastern Zhou. Likewise, in the field of philosophy, religion and literature, Eastern Zhou was the essential period. Ancient forms of Chinese religion declined and transformed into the major streams: Confucianism and **Daoism**. In social organisation Eastern Zhou created a framework adopted by subsequent dynasties. Military thought and technology advanced (crossbows, methods of city siege and defense). The introduction of iron and the capacity to mass produce iron implements, coupled with developments in agriculture, led to rapid economic growth from the 6th century B.C. onwards.[1]

Zōjōji (J)

Large Buddhist temple at the Shiba-district in the South-West of Tōkyō. It was established in 1393 and was chosen by Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa **shōgun**, to contain the funeral tablets of his family

zoomorphic

Having the form of a living creature

Zoroastrianism

A pre-Islamic religion, founded in ancient Persia during the 6th century B.C. by Zoroaster (or Zarathustra). Its basic beliefs concern the struggle between good and evil, light and darkness. It was introduced in North China with the Persian embassies of ca. 516-519 A.D. It spread further into China by the 7th century

Zuganji (J)

A **Zen** temple of the **Momoyama period**, built at Matsushima from 1604 to 1609 by Date Masanume

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All photographs are taken by the author.

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10.9 Boardman 1994, fig. 6.3; Art Museum, Lovech
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10.24 Garner 1962, fig. 32B
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13.40 Newby and Painter 1991, plt. 18; Corning Museum of Glass, New York
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13.47 Gold and Silver 1999, 36, no. 34; Agency for Cultural Affairs, Nara
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13.55 Japanese Metalwork 1983, 67, no. 72-7; NMT
13.56 Yoshikawa 1976, 33, fig. 27;Hōryūji temple, Nara
13.57 Yoshikawa 1976, 37, fig. 35; Hōryūji temple, Nara
13.58 Suzuki 1980, 73, fig. 52; NMT
13.59 Suzuki 1980, 80, fig. 59; National Research Institute, Nara
13.60 Mizoguchi 1973, 45, fig. 42 ; Chūsonji temple, Hiraizumi, Japan
13.61 Gold and Silver 1999, 71, no. 80; Ninnaji temple, Kyōto
13.62 Gorham 1971, plts. 2, 4 and 21
13.63 Gorham 1971, plt. 2
13.64 Gorham 1971, plt. 5
13.65 Gold and Silver 1999, 230, no. 237; Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tōkyō
13.66 Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 28
13.67 Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 59
13.68 Imaizumi 1974, cplt. 4
13.69 Imaizumi 1974, 378, no. 36
13.70 Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 100
13.71 Nagai 1979, no. 80; Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa, Japan
13.72 Shimazaki 1977, no. 109
13.73 Shimazaki 1977, no. 111
13.74 Shimazaki 1977, no. 10
13.75 Shimazaki 1977, no. 104
13.76 Nishida 1979, no. 68
13.77 Gorham 1971, plt. 1
13.78 Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 63
13.79 Nishida 1978, no. 28; Idemitsu Art Gallery, Tōkyō
13.80 Nishida 1978, no. 41
13.81 Kurita 1981, no. 11; Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan
13.82 Kurita 1981, no. 78; Kurita Museum, Ashikaga, Japan
13.83 McCune 1962, 109, no. 34
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13.89 Mizoguchi 1973, 42, fig. 38; Enrakuji temple, Shiga Prefecture
13.90 Mizoguchi 1973, 73, fig. 80; Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Arts, Tōkyō
13.91 Imaizumi 1974, b/w plt. 96
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13.93 Nishida 1979, no. 84
13.94 Nishida 1979, no. 81
13.95 Yabe 1977, no. 74
13.96 Nagai 1979, no. 61; Imaimon Old Ceramics Preservation Institute, Arita, Saga Prefecture
13.97 Nagai 1979, 38
13.98 Shimazaki 1977, no. 29; Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa
13.99 Kurita 1981, no. 69; Kurita Museum, Ashikaga
13.100 Kurita 1981, no. 117; Kurita Museum, Ashikaga
13.101 Nishida 1979, no. 92; NMT
13.102 Yabe 1977, no. 29; Prefectural Museum of Art, Okayama
13.103 Yabe 1977, no. 37
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13.105 Nagai 1979, 73; Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa
13.106 Traditions in Japanese design 1967, 41; Shinshōji temple, Narita

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Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg
8.67;
Acropolis Museum, Athens
1.13; 1.22; 8.57;
Agency of Cultural Affairs, Nara
13.47;
American School of Classical Studies, Athens
1.25;
Ancient Agora Museum, Athens
6.59;
The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, England
8.61; 8.62;
Antikenmuseum, Basel
6.71;
Antiquarium depositi della soprintendenza, Pompeii
9.10; 11.20;
Archaeological Museum, Istanbul
2.5; 2.11; 7.42;
Archaeological Museum, Olympia
6.70; 7.3;
Archaeological Museum, Pella
8.58; 8.59;
Archaeological Museum, Seville
6.73;
Archaeological Museum, Taxila
3.10; 3.11; 3.12; 3.16; 7.35; 8.27;
Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki
12.10;
Art Museum, Lovech
10.9;
Art Museum, Phoenix
10.28;
Art Museum, University of Singapore
12.82;
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
6.25; 7.7;
Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
8.81; 8.82;
Bardo Museum, Tunis
2.28; 7.21;
Beirut Museum, Beirut
11.17;
Bibliothèque National, Paris
2.56;
Bredius Museum, The Hague
12.94;
British Museum, London (BML)
1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 1.4; 1.6; 1.7; 1.17; 1.20; 1.21; 1.23; 1.24; 1.26; 1.27; 1.28; 1.33; 1.34; 1.35; 1.36; 2.48; 2.54; 2.57; 2.60; 2.62; 3.14; 3.15; 4.15; 6.2; 6.3; 6.28; 6.41; 6.45; 6.46; 6.47; 6.63; 6.64; 6.81; 7.52; 7.83; 8.1; 8.2; 8.5; 8.9; 8.14; 8.35; 8.60; 8.63; 8.64; 9.1; 9.4; 9.9; 9.12; 9.13; 9.38; 9.46; 10.6; 10.16; 11.11; 11.12; 11.13; 11.46; 11.63; 11.88; 12.2; 12.3; 12.4; 12.12.; 12.14; 12.60; 12.69; 13.3; 13.18; 13.22;
Bujōji temple, Kyōto
13.85;
The Ch'ŏngju Museum, Ch'ŏngju
7.65;
Chūsonji temple, Hiraizumi
13.60;
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland
4.10; 7.5; 8.46; 8.68; 11.61; 12.20;
Collections Bauer, Musée des Arts d'Extrême-Orient, Geneva
12.58; 12.93;
Corbridge Roman Fort Museum, Corbridge (Northumberland)
6.27;
Corfu Museum
11.8; 11.9;
Corning Museum of Glass, Corning (N.Y.)
9.19; 11.22; 11.23; 13.40;
Daigoji temple, Kyōto
6.68;
Delphi Museum, Delphi
1.14; 6.23;
Delos Museum, Delos
8.26;
Directorate General of Antiquities, Bagdad
2.37; 2.39; 2.40; 2.42; 2.44;

Dresden Museum, Dresden
12.96;
Eisei Bunko Museum, Tōkyō
8.43;
Eleusis Museum
11.4; 11.5;
Enrakuji temple, Shiga Prefecture
13.89;
Eskenazi Ltd., London
11.84;
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England
8.24; 13.23;
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (FGW)
2.47; 2.49; 8.23; 9.28; 11.44; 11.45. 11.52; 12.70; 12.71; 12.78;
Ganjōjuin temple, Shizuoka
6.55;
Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou
4.7;
Geldmuseum, Utrecht
7.15
Gemeente Museum, The Hague
12.22;
The Goto Museum, Tōkyō
7.58;
Groninger Museum, Groningen
11.97;
Guyuan Municipal Museum, Ninxia Hui Autonomous Region
11.70;
Gyeongju National Museum, Kyŏngju
8.51; 9.41; 11.87;
Hakone Art Museum, Gora, Kanagawa Prefecture
12.84;
Hakutsuru Fine Art Museum, Kōbe
7.51; 9.30; 10.17;
Hatakeyama Memorial Museum of Fine Arts, Tōkyō
13.90;
Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang, Hebei
11.64;
Himmler Verlag, Munich
1.32;
Home of Successus, Pompeii
2.33;
Hōryūji temple, Nara
6.33; 7.67; 7.68; 7.69; 8.47; 8.53; 11.96; 13.45; 13.46; 13.54; 13.56; 13.57;
House of the Vetii, Pompeii
2.6;
Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha
9.25;
Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tōkyō
6.15; 10.21; 12.35; 12.89; 13.79;
Il Parnaso Editore, Pella
2.13;
Imaimon Old Ceramics Preservation Institute, Arita, Saga Prefecture
13.96;
Imperial House Agency, Tōkyō
11.95;
Indian Museum Calcutta, Calcutta (IMC)
6.80; 7.26; 10.13;
Institute of Silk Road Studies (ISS)
6.1; 6.8; 6.9; 6.10; 6.52; 6.60; 7.34; 8.20; 8.34;
Isabel Steward Gardner Museum, Boston
6.12;
J.P. Getty Museum, Malibu, Los Angeles (PGL)
1.15; 1.16; 1.29; 1.30; 6.22; 7.4; 8.16;
Jōbon Rendaiji temple, Kyōto
7.75;
Kenninji temple, Kyōto
6.14;
Kestner Museum, Hannover
12.7;
The Khamza Scientific Research Institute of Arts, Tashkent
4.1;
Kongōin temple, Kyōto
6.34;
Kongōji temple, Ōsaka Prefecture
8.54;
Kurita Museum, Ashikaga
8.85; 8.86; 11.99; 11.101; 12.37; 13.81; 13.82; 13.99; 13.100;
Kurogawa Institute of Ancient Cultures, Kurakuen, Hyōgo Prefecture
12.51;

Kyŏngbuk National Museum, Taegu
8.44; 11.86;
Kyō-ō Gogoku-ji temple, Kyōto
10.30
Maijishan Art Institute, Tianshui, Gansu
7.54; 7.62;
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMN)
2.25; 2.29; 4.16; 8.29; 8.41; 8.42; 9.2; 9.14; 12.13; 12.67; 12.75; 12.76; 12.79;
Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis
12.17;
Municipal Museum, Luoyang
11.74; 11.79;
Municipal Museum of Art, Ōsaka
6.88;
Municipal Museum Ma'anshan, Anhui province
8.66;
Musée d'Aquitaine-Espérandieu, Bordeaux
6.72;
Musée du Châtillonnais, Châtillon-sur-Seine
1.10;
Musée Cernuschi, Paris
4.9;
Musée d'Ennerie, Paris
10.33; 10.35;
Musée du Louvre, Paris (MLP)
1.5; 2.9; 2.20; 2.21; 2.30; 7.2; 7.39; 7.46; 11.6; 11.31; 11.57; 12.77;
Musée Nationale des Arts-Guimet, Paris (MGP)
3.17 ; 6.17 ; 6.53 ; 7.36 ; 10.11 ; 10.12 ; 11.56 ; 12.80 ;
Musées Royaux, Brussels
7.12;
Museo di Antichitá, Turin
2.3;
Museo Archeologico, Florence
7.18;
Museo Archeologico, Taranto
9.7; 10.5;
Museo Arqeologico, Madrid
7.10;
Museo Capitolino, Rome (MCR)
1.31; 2.17; 2.24; 2.27; 7.15;
Museo Civico Archeologico, Milan
8.17;
Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples (MAN)
2.2; 2.14; 2.18; 2.32; 6.5; 6.26; 6.43; 6.74; 6.78; 7.20; 8.13; 8.15; 8.39; 12.6;
Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Palermo
10.10;
Museo Nazionale Romano, Florence
7.25;
Museo Nazionale Romano (Therme Museum), Rome (MNR)
2.16; 2.23; 7.14;
Museo di Palazzo, Venice
6.87;
Museo Profano, Vatican City, Rome (MPV)
2.1; 2.22; 6.58; 7.23; 7.24; 8.36;
Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (MIK)=Museum of Asian Art, Berlin
4.2; 4.3; 6.11;
Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin
9.16; 9.18;
Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg
10.31;
Museum Lahore, India
6.79;
Museum für Ostaziatische Kunst, Berlin= Museum of Asian Art, Berlin
11.40;
Museum für Volkenkunde, Berlin
6.84;
Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, England
11.25;
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
7.22; 7.57; 8.49; 9.5; 10.2; 12.66;
Museum of National History, Chicago
10.20;
Muzeh-e-Iran-e Bastan, Teheran
2.35; 2.38; 2.41;
National Archaeological Museum, Athens (NMA)
1.11; 2.26; 6.4; 8.25; 9.6;
National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden
6.44; 11.19; 12.63;
National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing
3.7; 4.6; 8.72; 11.73;

National Museum of the History of the Ukraine, Kiev
1.39; 1.44; 1.45; 6.42; 11.18; 12.5;
National Museum of Korea, Seoul
4.14; 8.45;
National Museum, Kyōto
6.38;
National Museum, New Delhi (MMD)
3.5; 7.29; 7.31; 7.32; 7.49; 8.38; 10.10; 11.48; 11.49;
National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi (NMP)
2.63; 2.64; 3.8; 3.9; 6.61; 7.47; 7.48;
National Museum Rogozen, Bulgaria
1.37;
National Museum, Tōkyō (NMT)
7.70; 7.71; 8.56; 9.43; 10.32; 12.28; 12.40; 13.48; 13.55; 13.58; 13.101;
National Research Institute, Nara
13.59;
Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri (NAK)
1.41; 1.42; 1.43; 8.28; 11.71;
Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, Tōkyō
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Ninnaji temple, Kyōto
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2.19; 6.7;
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12.9;
Percival-David Foundation, London
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Peshāwar Museum, Pakistan
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Portland Art Museum, Portland
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Prefectural Museum, Saga
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Prefectural Museum of Art, Ishikawa
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Regional Museum, Syracuse
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Rietberg Museum, Zurich
6.30;
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
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Roman Baths Museum, Bath, Somerset
11.24;
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (ROT)
4.13; 8.4; 8.6; 8.7; 8.8; 8.40; 8.48; 9.21; 9.22; 9.23; 9.24;
Schloss Fasanerie, Adolphseck
7.19;
Seiryōji temple, Kyōto
6.54;
Sekiyama Jinga, Myōkō Village, Niigata Prefecture
8.52;
Shaanxi History Museum, Xian
4.11;
Shinshōji temple, Narita
13.87; 13.106;
Shōsōin, Nara
8.69; 9.17; 9.44; 12.25; 12.26; 12.74; 13.84; 13.88;
Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.
11.90;
Sousse Museum, Sousse
12.68;
Spink and Sons Ltd., London
8.12;
Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich
1.18; 1.19; 11.7; 11.14; 11.15; 11.16; 11.32; 12.1;
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB)
1.12; 2.4; 2.8; 6.66; 6.92; 7.6; 7.9; 10.1; 10.4; 11.55; 12.72;
State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (HMP)
1.40; 2.7; 3.23; 3.24; 3.25; 3.26; 3.27; 3.28; 3.29; 3.30; 7.17; 9.8; 10.8; 12.73;
State Museum Lucknow
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Suburban Villa of Murecine, Pompeii
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Taimadera temple, Nara Prefecture, Nara
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Tenri Museum, Nara
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Tōkyō Geijitsu Daigaku, Tōkyō
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Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo
2.46;
Transylvanian Historical Museum, Cluj-Napoca
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Trinity College, Cambridge, England
7.43; 7.44; 7.45;
University Museum, Würzburg
11.27;
University of Pennsylvania Museum
11.1;
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
6.39; 8.80; 9.40; 10.29; 11.78; 11.80; 11.82; 12.18; 12.42; 12.85; 13.25;
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond
11.3;
The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
12.65;
Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart
11.21;
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Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven
11.53;
Yale University Library, New Haven
2.55;
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