

## **SOGHDIAN SILVER**

Хорезмийские чаши. Более ранние по надписи и по декору (VI в.?): ВС 42—95,6%; 0,74%; ВС 47—97,6%; 0,82%. Более поздние (VIII в.?): ВС 46—96,4%; 0,84%; ВС 120—94,7%; 1,00%; ВС 285—96,0%; 1,12%. Обособленно стоит чаша ВС 44 (95,7%; 1,40%), отличающаяся своеобразием стиля.

Изделия тюркского круга. Кружка из Киргизии ВС 172—96,4%; 0,61%; кувшин с рунической надписью ВС 168—96,5%; 1,36%; кружки из Шадринска [85, с. 186, р. 1,2]—88,5%, 0,96% и 90,3%; 1,10%; кружка VIII—IX вв. из Сибири ВС 171—99,1%; 0,52%.

Блюдец X—XI вв. с изображением царя (рис. 29) — 96,3%; 0,28%.

*Translated by G. M. SERGHEYEV*

For decades Oriental metalwork has been a subject of scholarly polemics, and all the three aspects of attribution (authenticity, dating and place of origin) up till now remain poorly investigated. Few objects only were referred with certainty to Iran or Central Asia. This book is intended to elucidate the problem.

Before examining disputable vessels we should mention attributions which seem groundless. Thus the silver dish depicting a hunting scene with a lion and a wild boar [101, pl. 3] has been identified as Soghdian, which is in a contradiction to the Pehlevian inscription, speaking of the manufacture of the dish [75, p. 162—163]. As unacceptable is the attribution to Soghd of the silver carafes with human figures in arches [29, 104, 105], for analogies of the shape of the carafes are found outside Soghd only, though within the Sasanian empire [85, pl. 9; 163, p. 226; 229, fig. 11; 114]; silver vessels with similar subjects have been found in Iran as well [170; 172; 216].

Of particular importance for the problem of Soghdian silverware is the suggestion of Ya. I. Smirnov who divided metal objects into groups with common technical and stylistic features and iconographic characteristics, without, however, subordinating the investigation of the objects to the requirement of immediate interpretation. He did not provide his own attribution for all the objects, though he did demonstrate that "the dishes 106—108 are united in a group with the goblets 109—110, the cups 112—117, 291 and the platter 111" and that these vessels combine both Sasanian and manifestly non-Sasanian features [120, p. 7—8].

In the 1920's and 1930's J. Orbeli and C. Trever raised the question of the necessity to investigate jointly objects of various artistic crafts and the question "of relationship of every given group of objects to objects of a totally different manufacture". "Prior to dating or arranging chronologically Sasanian metalwork we must employ the historico-technical and stylistic analysis and correlate a given group of objects with such items as rock reliefs, wood carvings, textiles, etc. It is only then that we shall be able to distinguish an independent group of objects which should be named 'metal objects proper', i. e. objects whose ornament, ornament style and undisguised (which is particularly important) manufacturing technique is specific to and characteristic of metal only" [101, p. XXIII]. This "metal group proper" proved to be a part of the group of dishes and cups distinguished by Ya. I. Smirnov [101, p. XIX].

Another step in this direction was made by G. Grigoriev who showed that the cups with handle from the same large group (as well as

some other vessels published after Smirnov's "Oriental Silverware") were most closely connected with metal prototypes of the seventh century Soghdian pottery from the Kafyr-kala and Tali-Barzu sites in the environs of Samarkand [44, p. 94—103]. Thus the scholars obtained a possibility to compare not isolated objects, but two crafts and two groups of objects composed of closely interdependent vessels. It was soon found that Soghdian pottery manifestly owed much to metalwork but was not a prototype for silver objects.

There were other methods of toreutic studies which contributed to investigating the problem of the Central Asiatic silverware. A specific group of Khoresmian bowls was distinguished wholly by the philological method which permitted to identify inscriptions on their rim as Khoresmian. This conclusion of S. Tolstov [129, p. 120—145; 128, p. 192—194] was doubted by some scholars, but V. Livshitz's reading finally confirmed it [130, p. 55].

The progress of Sasanian numismatics made it possible to define and date the plate from the British Museum with the investiture scene, which was found to have been manufactured in the end of the 4th century in Sasanian possessions on former Kushan lands [78, p. 28—29].

Studies of monumental arts of Central Asia (architecture, sculpture and murals) permitted to find numerous points of contact between these arts and metalwork [48; 11—15; 139; 123; 2; 107; 112]. The confrontations gave particularly valuable results when the object of studies were vessels with next to no analogies in metal. The plates depicting a siege of a fortress and a duel scene were found to have good parallels in architecture and murals of Central Asia and therefore were identified with a sufficient certainty as being of a Central Asiatic origin [101, fig. 20, 21; 120, fig. 50; 126; 128, p. 193; 48, p. 136 ff; 70; 127, p. 125; 104, etc.]. Both vessels are too distantly related to the traditions we know in the metalwork art and too dissimilar to enable us to solve with their help the problem of the Soghdian contribution to Oriental toreutics, though they present the greatest interest as far as their subject is concerned<sup>1</sup>.

The investigator is confronted with by far greater difficulties when new data are employed not to identify unique vessels but to reattribute objects belonging to large groups. The group of Bactrian silver bowls with rounded bottom distinguished by C. Trever possesses a number of common features, and the definition of the group as a whole depends upon the definition of each vessel [132]. The successful dating of the bowl with a feast scene from

this group in the 6th-7th centuries [123; 2, p. 177] brought about the necessity to give a new explanation to the entire group<sup>2</sup>, which calls for an investigation of a wide range of problems.

As for "the metal group proper" singled out by Smirnov, Orbeli and Trever, and vessels closely related thereto, their ties with Soghd became manifest after G. V. Grigoriev's works. New links with the art of Central Asia discovered in recent decades changed nothing in the approach to the problem, since for us, like for Smirnov, combination of Sasanian and non-Sasanian features remains an enigma. Vessels of this group were often vaguely termed "post-Sasanian". Soghdian murals of the 6th to 8th centuries do not permit to trace evolution of artistic motifs, for we know neither their origins nor their development. Therefore, if we assume the silver work to be Iranian, analogies can be interpreted as Iranian features in Soghdian art or, vice versa, as Soghdian features in art of post-Sasanian Iran. The point is that all the vessels have many purely Sasanian characteristics. Thus the question of this group grows into the problem of the rôle and place of early mediaeval art of Soghd in the history of Oriental art. Analysis of gold and silver ware is nearly the only means to penetrate into peculiarities of art of different countries with the help of homogeneous material. Rock reliefs carved by Iranian kings' orders, ivories of Byzantium, murals in wealthy Soghdian houses, tomb reliefs and silk scrolls of China have so little in common as to their technique and material, their subjects and purpose, that it is difficult to detect the differences of artists' approach to similar tasks among many other differences.

<sup>2</sup> For an attempt of such an explanation see [89].

<sup>1</sup> It is intended to devote a special publication to these remarkable plates.

*Silver and pottery*

J. Orbeli and C. Trever demonstrated in their studies on Sasanian metalwork that objects close to Sasanian manufactures "which were formerly arranged in a chronological row may be neither posterior nor anterior with respect to one another; they may be contemporaries coming from different regions of a country or perhaps from different countries united by a common culture" [101, p. 24]<sup>1</sup>. As a way to distinguish such regions and countries J. Orbeli and C. Trever suggested to compare objects made of metals with those manufactured of a material "which had no tangible value in itself and could not be exported in unwrought state, such as clay or cheaper sorts of wood".

The method of comparison had to be the detection in metalwork of technico-stylistic features which took their rise in other materials, and in pottery and textiles — techniques which originated from metal working.

Following Grigoriev this author has endeavoured to employ the same method in his article "Influence of metalwork upon Soghdian pottery of the 7th and 8th centuries" [85] which dealt, however, not so much with similarity of individual vessels but rather with characteristic features of Soghdian pottery reflecting metal-working techniques. In addition the article suggested reconstructions of specifically Soghdian features of metal prototypes on the basis of ceramic replicas. Some of these features were distinguished on gold and silver vessels which possess many other characteristics bringing them together.

The vessels in question are primarily:

cups with handle

- with globular shoulder (1st type),
- with cylindrical body (2nd type),
- with poly-lobed rim (3rd type);

ewers with a pear-shaped body, lip drawn out to a point, and upper end of the handle near the rim,

as well as some vessels (see [85], illustrations).

Recent materials permit to judge on the origins of the shape of the vessels with a greater certainty than in 1961.

Excavations in Merv demonstrated us pottery of the late Sa-

<sup>1</sup> Further references to illustrations in this work by J. Orbeli and C. Trever are designated by the abbreviation SM, whereas references to Smirnov's book «Восточное серебро» (Oriental Silverware), СПб, 1909 [120] are abbreviated as OS, figures standing for the number of the illustration.

sanian time in the north-east of Sasanian domains. It was found that there as well potters imitated metalwork but reproduced shapes which were unknown to Soghdian ceramists. Excavated in Merv were earthenware ewers with oval-shaped mouth surrounded by vertical rim and with upper end of the handle lowered on the shoulder [114, fig. 13, 14, 17]. At present we know not only that Soghdian potters did not reproduce this shape very common in Sasanian metal, but also that Sasanian potters did reproduce it. Ceramists in countries east of Soghd were likewise unfamiliar with this shape. Their manufactures had prototypes similar to Soghdian objects, like for example the glazed ewer from Tumchuk (ca 7th century) with a characteristic beak-like lip, a dragon's head on the bend of the handle and a palmette at the base of the handle [182, vol. I, fig. 305]. Tang white porcelain ewers [122, fig. 75], seem to be a direct imitation of a Soghdian model. Their proportions, lip, handle, their application band which carries a palmette — everything resembles Soghdian and Semirechie vessels [19, fig. 68; see the table, fig. No. 24]<sup>2</sup>. Prevailing in China was a different version of ewers of this kind. Judging from two finds — in Semirechie [42] and in Tuva [84, pl. II] — the ewers formed a set with cylindrical cups with handle (2nd type). As early as 1961 cups with cylindrical body as well as those with poly-lobed rim seemed to be forms which had come from west of Soghd, in spite of their wide occurrence in the East of Asia. Cylindrical cups with handle were made by potters of northern Iran, as demonstrated by studies of Japanese archaeologists. Sasanian dating of these cups has not yet been proved [159, fig. 15]. Clay and bronze cups with poly-lobed rim of a variety different from the Soghdian one were very common in the Abbasid time and later both in Iran and in Egypt [191, fig. 48; 159, fig. 5, 3]. As for cups with globular body (1st type), new finds in Tuva, i. e. in the area of Turkic tribes [43, fig. 88, 88A; 84, pl. II, 12], include cups which resemble Soghdian vessels still more closely than those which permitted to draw the conclusion of a Turkic influence.

Thus the method of confronting metal objects with ceramic replicas proved to be efficient enough for outlining areas where this or that feature or form prevailed. It was found that metal items directly imitated by potters of Central Soghd resembled in shape silver vessels under discussion. On the other hand, the latter differed from the prototypes of Soghdian pottery in décor and certain details of the profile and formed, together with some other vessels having these elements but free of peculiarities of Soghdian earthenware, other groupings of a wide territorial and chronological range (see the diagram, fig. 1 above, p. 15).

<sup>2</sup> Further references to the table accompanying the book are abbreviated, e. g., «Table, fig. No. 24» is designated as T 24.

Fig. 1 Diagram of the relationship of "Sasanian" silver to Sogdian ceramics.

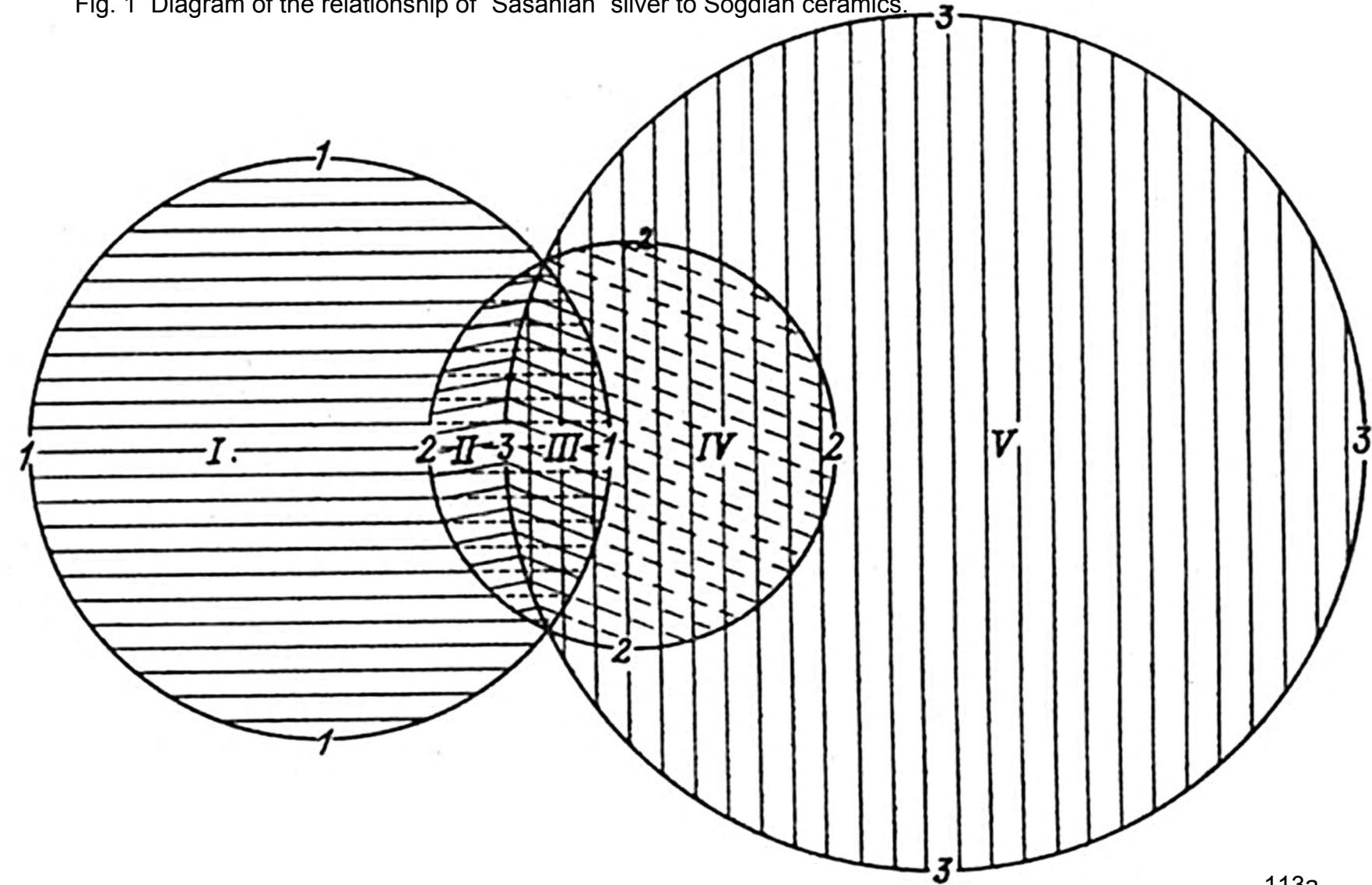


Fig. 1 Diagram of the relationship of “Sasanian” silver to Sogdian ceramics.

(Roman numerals denote the shading, Arabic the circles.)

- I. — Sogdian ceramics
  - II. — reconstructed silver prototypes of the ceramics
  - III. — silver cups and ewers
  - IV. — silver dishes, close in decoration to the cups and ewers
  - V. — “Sasanian” silver.
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- 1. — vessels whose form is analogous or identical to the form of Sogdian ceramics;
  - 2. — silver vessels among which “Sogdian” silver is most likely to be found
  - 3. — “Sasanian” silver vessels in collections.

All the vessels united by Smirnov in a group, as well as several related groups have become a subject of scholarly discussion in connection with the problem of the Soghdian metalwork. They are all presented on the table accompanying the book. The comparison of silver ware with pottery has permitted to distinguish features of shape and ornament which were popular in Soghd; however, they are *not all* the Soghdian features but just those most easily imitable for potters, and they are *not always exclusively* Soghdian. We have reconstructed *characteristic features* of Soghdian silver, but we have not found what silver items deposited in museums can be referred to Soghd. We have just selected vessels which include 7th and 8th century objects from Central Asia or areas closely related thereto. Thus the method of comparison with pottery has prompted where we must seek but given no definite attributions.

### *Problem of attribution*

The ultimate aim of a historical investigation must be to learn the history of a society from its reflection in art objects. This aim explains the tendency to proceed from the socially most important elements, such as, for example, iconographic and stylistic features which determine the appearance of an item. This approach, however, though very often solely possible, is altogether justifiable only when the item has already been given a reliable attribution. General likeness of style or iconography can be characteristic of a number of stages or local schools and thus present an important historico-cultural phenomenon, but we shall learn little of the phenomenon unless we are able to distinguish the schools and the stages on the basis of some criteria less dependent on the views of the society. The history of art studies demonstrates that such criteria do exist. Works of different schools and masters are distinguished in the first place by technique of execution and not by subjects.

Speaking in general, a feature of a décor answers, to some extent, two questions: what is depicted and how it is done. The following examples are given in order of decreasing semantic value of images. A. Senmurv on a dish is primarily *the subject* the customer wanted to see, but on the other hand a single figure of the Senmurv is *the manner* of decorating the dish chosen by the craftsman. Three leaves on the end of each bough can be interpreted both as the wish to depict a plant species the customer wanted to see and as *the manner* of representing the foliage. The formal aspect is particularly noticeable in line tracing and surface finishing techniques, for example, in widely or closely spaced cuts on medallion frames and the like. Here the customer required proper workmanship only.

The stronger is the formal aspect of a feature, the less the feature reflects customers' ideas and the more it expresses *peculiarities of a craftsmanship tradition*.

We must likewise differentiate between formal but conspicuous features and unobtrusive elements of technical execution. Features which determine the first impression produced by the item travelled together with motifs over countries and cities, and if we depend upon such features only, we, instead of saying where and when a style existed, shall say what objects are similar in the most easily recognizable features of style. Indeed, many a mistake was committed when dating objects by such superficial features as "picturesqueness", "baroqueness", "flatness" etc.

When investigating metal vessels we must try all stylistic and subject coincidences on the touchstone of technical execution, i. e. we must proceed from the features which depend the most upon the craftsman and the tradition, and only then return to the subject and the style. A repetition of the same artistic device may be accidental or due to borrowing, but similarity of objects both in unobtrusive elements of execution that were transferred from the craftsman to the apprentice, and in details and images permits to classify the items with sufficient certainty as works of craftsmen with a tradition going back to common teachers, that is, craftsmen of the same *school*.

### *Arrangement of the table*

The table appended to the book is not an illustration but the basis of the investigation. To make it as objective as possible it had to be prepared in a number of successive steps.

First step is the selection of the material. Objects related to Soghdian pottery are supplemented by several vessels which appear to be close to those selected earlier not only in shape and subjects but also in details. Undoubtedly the table includes vessels other than Soghdian as well, but the problem of Soghdian metalwork cannot be solved without attracting a wide range of objects.

Second step is the initial classification. Similar vessels are placed close to one another. Some objects cause doubts since different features permit to see their analogies in different vessels.

Third step is the search of place for controversial vessels. The position of a vessel in the table is determined with due consideration for all the relationships, therefore all the directions, and not only the vertical and the horizontal, must be used. Preference is given to elements of technical execution and to details, and only then the figures in the table are shifted, without disturbing the overall distribution, so as to bring as close as possible vessels simi-

lar not in insignificant features but in subject, stylistic principles and technique. Thus the transference of the craftsmanship experience ("school") is reflected in the table in the first place, while innovations and borrowings become apparent later.

Fourth step consists in turning the table, without shifting the figures, so that its bottom and top correspond to the chronological beginning and end, respectively. We have approached this step with the table reflecting an elaborate network of relationships between all the objects. Each object can be the starting point of several rows of items arranged in order of decreasing similarity. So far it is not clear what rows represent chronological sequences and what rows reflect geographical relationships. To find chronological rows, we must pass from arranging the figures to interpreting the table; such an interpretation is the subject of the first chapter. This step does not involve any material other than the vessels included in the table.

To interpret the table we must find in it groups of objects most closely related to one another in inconspicuous features. The degree of relationship permits to assume that these objects came from the same school. It remains unknown, however, whether they were manufactured at the same time or at different periods. Modifications in time which are to be identified on the objects can manifest themselves in various ways. Of the greatest interest for the history of art are the ways representing creative discoveries of artists, although it may be very difficult to distinguish between features due to development of style and those due to the craftsman's talent. Another type of innovations, namely reproduction of items which had not been depicted earlier, gives us a post quem date provided the items depicted have a definite date of appearance. New details and features of style may also derive from models belonging to another school. This way is important for synchronization of objects, though it is likewise of little help for retracing long typological rows.

Typological rows are best distinguished when images of the same objects appear repeatedly, which is accompanied by a loss of information. Details representing real objects and elements emphasizing expressiveness of the image become gradually mere decorative motifs which, adorning the item, do not help and even hinder the understanding of the subject. At the same time details are gradually complicated, since the loss of likeness to the real object permits to develop the motif from image to ornament without fearing to distort the meaning of the image, which was known a priori or indifferent to the customer.

When establishing typological rows one must remember of two dangers. First, the development of the décor from image to ornament in different schools could take similar forms but be non-con-

temporary. If a row happens to include objects of different schools it will not be possible to draw conclusions about relative dating. One is aided in avoiding this danger by the fact that rows are distinguished not before but after grouping together the objects belonging to this or that school.

Another danger lies in the fact that difference in the degree of stylization may be a result of unequal skill of individual artists and not a manifestation of development of the school. However, if we can trace modifications in several consecutive links of a chain not only in stylization but also in gradual substitution of features, such a chain can be considered a typological row representing development of the school.

In avoiding both dangers we are helped by the fact that we do not arrange rows but interpret as such the sequences we have already in the table. Complete images repeat but rarely, and to distinguish several links of a chain we have to analyze similar details such as drapings, flowers, muscles of animals, etc. of different images.

After several typological rows have been found the table can be turned about in such a way that the beginning of the rows is at the bottom and the end at the top. Now the vertical of the table becomes the analogue of time, and the horizontal may be considered the analogue of space reflecting the mutual position of the centres to which the schools were connected.

Time and space relationships in the table do not quite adequately reflect the chronological time and the geographical space. The end of a row may be higher ("later") than that of another row not because its closing objects are more recent but because the closing items of the second row are more archaic due to a slower progress of that school. Objects from adjacent but culturally disconnected countries may be located in the table far from one another, while items from culturally close but geographically distant countries may lie side by side.

The part of the investigation independent of historical interpretation is coming to an end.

Fifth step is to find place for the system we have obtained in the general system of our knowledge of art of the epoch.

On the basis of analogies with exactly attributed objects we establish external relations for each stage and row and determine the degree of affinity of stages and rows to definite areas and periods. The table is overlaid with a coordinate grid in which the vertical axis presents centuries and the horizontal axis, the relative position of the countries whose art objects our schools are connected with. The place of manufacture of the vessels in the table is not established at this step.



The table arranged so far internally only is now checked and oriented approximately in space and in time. The "time" of the table and the chronological time are now correlated.

Sixth step is historical interpretation of the system based upon the analysis of the contents and aimed at explanation of all the established formal relationships. The more accurate and complete is the disclosure of formal relationships, the less possible is an arbitrary interpretation. Even if some historical conclusions have to be rejected in the future because of some new material, the system of the facts, its structure being independent of these conclusions, will remain intact and become a part of a wider system including the new facts.

The acceptance of the interpretation will help to specify attributions of schools, stages and individual objects. Only now, after taking into consideration historical facts, we obtain the possibility of geographical determination, since schools could shift due to political and social events. We can also outline conclusions of the evolution of the style and history of ideas.

#### *Sequence of stages.*

*School A (T17, 18, 27—31, 41)*

The commentary of the table does not always follow the order of its arrangement. It will be easier first to describe the most distinct time-sequence rows.

The text points out the features which are of primary importance for placing the vessels in the table.

Soghdian pottery cups are related to the cup with handle OS 109 (T28) which makes part of a group of objects with numerous characteristic features in common. The objects are given in the stage-by-stage description below. These vessels were already grouped together by J. Orbeli, therefore there is no need to speak again of their affinitive iconographic and stylistic features [201, p. 756—757].

The group comprises a dozen of objects in repoussé chased from the front. It was these vessels that were distinguished by J. Orbeli and C. Trever from Smirnov's larger group as "the metal group proper". The back of the bowls and dishes in repoussé in majority of cases is not covered with an additional sheet of silver. Eight objects of the group possess a feature in common: they have lines ending in a round dot.

The typological row is arranged on the basis of the evolution of this trait and tested by progressive complication of the ornamentation and simultaneous schematization of the décor. We can distinguish a number of successive stages, each of them being most close in details of execution to two adjacent ones. When stages are

represented by one or two objects only we cannot say that such and such motif appeared at such and such stage, but it is possible and important to indicate changes of a motif at different stages. Presence of motifs with identical images does not seem significant for the sequence of stages, though in this particular case adjacent stages are often represented by identical images.

1st stage. Dish with Senmurv OS49 (T17)<sup>3</sup>. The fantastic creature is rendered with much expression and vigour. The line-ending dot occurs in volutes only, mostly at the base of half-palmettes. Here it is an artistic device emphasizing expressiveness of the volute which resembles a strained spring.

2nd stage. Dish with ibex OS107 (T18). The ibex with bent legs seems to be flying above the rocks. The representation is somewhat more dry, but still the curve of the neck, the raised head, the half-opened mouth, the leg muscles, the arched horn produce an impression of elasticity and completeness. The line-ending dot is widely employed. Like before, the element is used in the horn curve and thigh muscles, but it occurs also whenever it becomes necessary to render the end of an interstice, be it between the rocks, in the stalks of the buds or at the bend of the legs. The lotus buds, tight and elastic at the 1st stage, are now more flaccid but complicated by a groove in the middle.

3rd stage. Dish with ibex OS 108 (T27), cup, with handle with ibexes OS109 (T28). Both objects are referred to the same stage since each of them is in some features more archaic and in others more recent than the other. The expressiveness of the representation on the dish gets weaker while the ornamentation becomes more complicated. The field is much more crowded. The line with a dot is no longer an artistic device but rather a somewhat obtrusive motif, there being hardly a line without a dot (see for example the head or the foreleg). The buds are duplicated so that the lotus is no longer recognizable. The compact pointed end of the three-lobed half-palmettes we observed at the 1st stage is replaced by a rounded volute with a dot in the middle which was originally located at the beginning of the half-palmette. The head of the ibex is at a right angle to the neck, the tenseness disappeared. At this stage we notice how an unobtrusive and thus all the more expressive device becomes an element of the ornament literally striking to the eye.

The reliefs of the cup OS109 (T28) present the ibexes overtly lying with the bent legs, and not flying at a gallop. The rendering of the muscles, especially those of the thigh, is no longer expressive. The line with a dot is used less often than on the dish, but it likewise

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the dish with walking lion found in Kalar-Dasht (Northern Iran) belongs to the same stage [231, pl. 5a].

lost its former rôle. The middle petal of the bud replaces the middle lobe of the three-lobed half-palmette.

4th stage. Dish with lion tearing a deer, OS106 (T29). In spite of the dramatic subject, the image has a static, highly ornamentalized character, and we feel the artist's "fear of emptiness". The representation of the animals' muscles and hair and the floral design develop all the peculiarities of the décor of the cup OS106 (T28). The lion's lower jaw with the tongue seems to go back to the 1st stage. The volutes of the palmettes are uniform. The middle "petal" of the plant above the lion's back is still more complicated and has a characteristic outline of a brace with rounded lateral projections. The use of the line with a dot is the same as at the 3rd stage.

5th stage. Dish with a lion-hunting scene OS63 (T30), dish with a royal feast scene OS64 (T31). Whereas a similarity of stages was earlier more noticeable than their differences, the dissemblance of this stage with the previous one is very distinct. The king's hunting and royal feast motifs, the wide employment of punches, the composition without an adorned outer zone bring these objects together with purely Sasanian dishes. However, in many features they continue the tradition of the school A. It is confirmed, first of all, by the lions' figures on both vessels, by the rocks on the hunting scene dish, by the wings of the crown with "dishevelled" feathers on the feast scene dish (similar to those of the Senmurv on OS49, T17), and finally by the line with a dot.

May we consider these dishes to have come from the fifth stage following the fourth, and not from a branch of earlier stages of the school A? The representation of the lions is much more stylized than at the fourth stage, the hunting scene is static, but these stylistic features are significant only within very compact groups, while here they could be explained as peculiarities of a school branch. However, on these two dishes we notice some details that continue the evolution of the previous stages. Thus, it is at the 3rd and 4th stages only that there appears the manner of rendering the muscles of the hind leg as three isolated parts with an oval in the middle and an open curve below and above it, like we see on the figure of the standing lion on the hunting scene dish.

When we compare rows and branches of all the three schools, we shall be able to verify such a succession of the stages 3—4 and 5 with the help of the features of these stages which occur in other schools also at closing stages.

6th stage. Ewer with musicians OS65 (T41). Connection with the preceding stage is evident. Further stylization and ornamentalization of the rocks at the feet of the figures, the coils of the scarves, the ears that resemble now a trefoil follow the direction

which manifested itself at the 5th stage. The line with a dot appears in volutes of the ornament only.

Like the cup with handle OS109, the ewer OS65 is related in shape to pottery of Kafyr-kala, though not directly but via other types of metal vessels, which have not come down to us.

*School B (T1—5, 9, 10, 20, 37—39, 51)*

Close in style and technical execution to the school A, this school is represented by fairly similar objects. Publishing the polylobed bowl with djeiran (T10) C. Trever wrote: "Having no indications whatsoever we must leave unsettled the dating and the place of origin of the bowl; we can only point out that these two bowls (the other bowl is OS136 (T9) — BM) are so far the sole representatives of a particular group of objects" [133, p. 6]<sup>4</sup>. A characteristic feature of the group, in C. Trever's opinion, is thin sheets of silver, which is very important for interpretation as a sign of the necessity to save metal.

The bowl with standing stag from the village Volgina OS 136 (T9) has unfortunately been lost, so we have to use an old drawing. It was Smirnov who first confronted this bowl with three vessels OS135 (T37), 137 (T39), 138 (T51) found simultaneously in the village Repievka. The fragments of the bucket from the village Klimova OS313 (T38) have elements of the décor which occur on the vessels of the Repievka find. Two hoards with silver vessels were found in Central Asia in Munchak-tepe near Begovat in 1943 and in Chilek near Samarkand in 1961. The fragments of the thin sheet vessels from Munchak-tepe (3 bowls T3 to T5 and a little vase) are deposited in the Hermitage Museum; 4 Chilek bowls, of which two present interest to us (T1 and T2), are in the Samarkand Museum.

The Munchak-tepe hoard was found by chance, but the place of the find was investigated by the expedition of V. Gaidukevich, who kindly informed the author of crocks of red-slipped pottery discovered on the site. The hoard can be dated by a Soghdian inscription in the Bukharian script on one of the vessels to the 5th—6th centuries AD [41; 49].

The place of the Chilek find, also discovered by accident, was investigated by Ya. Krikis and the author in 1962—1963. The stratigraphy of the excavation indicates that the hoard was buried not later than the beginning of the 7th century, and the Sasanian and Hephthalite bowls of the hoard are dated to the 5th century<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The vessel is further referred to as NSP1.

<sup>5</sup> For descriptions of the bowls see [89].

The bowls from Munchak-tepe are presented in the table in a graphical reconstruction. These five bowls can be likewise united with those mentioned above because of many characteristic features.

The cup with handle from the Lower Don SM54 (T20), though close to the school A in its general appearance, strongly differs from vessels of the school in details, which bring it together with the group under consideration.

Since this group, unlike the vessels of the school A, is distinguished for the first time, we should point out the features that permit to refer all these vessels to a school.

1. All the objects are made of thin sheet metal.
2. Three little circles:
  - 2a) on the stalk or the stem: Chilek (T1); OS136 (T9); NSP1 (T10), OS135 (T37), 313 (T38);
  - 2b) on the point of the bosses: Munchak-tepe (T3); OS137 (T39);
  - 2a) with a small hollow in the middle: Chilek (T1); OS136 (T9); NSP1 (T10); OS135 (T37);
  - 2b) convex: Munchak-tepe (T3, T5), OS135 (T37), 137 (T39), 138 (T51), 313 (T38).
3. Ring of small convex dots in repoussé: Munchak-tepe (T3); OS137 (T39), 138, (T51), 313 (T38).
4. Poly-lobed form:
  - 4a) three-dimensional: Chilek (T1, 2); Munchak-tepe (T3, 4); OS136 (T9); NSP1 (T10);
  - 4b) illusory: OS135 (T37), 137 (T39), 138 (T51), 313 (T38).
5. Lotus-shaped rosette formed by bosses: NSP1 (T10); OS137 (T39), 138 (T51).
6. Bosses: of the internal row interlacing with those of the external one: Chilek (T3); OS136 (T9).
7. Frame of the medallion with widely spaced incisions SM54 (T20); OS135 (T37) (difference from the school A).
8. Trefoil with pointed leaves: OS136 (T9); NSP1 (T10); SM54 (T20).
9. Small curved band in relief ending in a volute: NSP1 (T10), OS135 (T37).

All these simple traits and details, almost neutral as far as the contents of the image is concerned, are features proving that the vessels came from the same school. We must also point out some more complicated peculiarities, for instance, in composition, such as placing the main plant above and not in front of the image of the animal: SM54 (T20); NSP1 (T10); OS135 (T37), 136 (T9), 137 (T39); connected with this is the head turned back: NSP1

(T10); OS135 (T37). The rendering of the head of the deer, the wild goat and the djeiran is very similar.

1st stage. Vessels from Chilek and Munchak-tepe (T1 to T5). Both hoards include poly-lobed bowls with a circular or undulated rim, on conical feet, with long inscriptions running on the exterior rim. One of the Chilek bowls (T2) has an omphalos; the other is adorned with a rosette in repoussé in the centre (T1). One of the Munchak-tepe bowls (T3) had a flattened omphalos decorated with a circle of convex dots around an identical dot in the centre. Another bowl from the same hoard (T4) was fitted with an application plate with an image which has not survived.

2nd stage. Bowl with djeiran NSP1 (T10), bowl with stag OS136 (T9). They differ a lot from the Chilek and Munchak-tepe bowls. These similar bowls are referred to the 2nd stage, and not to a later one, on the basis of the analysis of other vessels, which have no archaic features preserved at the 2nd stage. The shape of the lobes and the décor are more complicated, the bowls have images of animals.

3rd stage. Platter on three legs with deer OS135 (T37). We observe a degeneration of the lobes which are now flat; the middle field is surrounded by a decorative frame; the deer's antlers look like a kind of a crown. The fact that the platter is typologically younger than the 2nd stage vessels is traced in minor details as well: the flower behind the deer's head is complicated by two petals added to former three; the small curved bands with volutes employed at the preceding stage to render the vine scrolls are now employed to represent the edges of the petals; identical bands used as an element of the "capitals" decorate the boundary between the lobes.

4th stage. Dish with bird OS137 (T39), bucket OS313 (T38). These vessels undoubtedly are very close. The lobes are already purely decorative and no longer affect the shape of the vessels. It is tracing and not relief which is now the basis of the ornament. relief elements being preserved in the borders only. The petal ornament in the medallion frame which appeared at the previous stage now becomes one of the principal motifs. There is a triple petal border under the fillet on the bucket.

5th stage. Dish with rosette OS138 (T51). Here we observe the lobes, formerly a shape element, finally becoming parts of a flat ornament. The triple petal border fills the lobes, its large coarse petals being complicated by additional arches.

When subdividing the school into stages we take into consideration the features the development of which can be traced on the vessels under review. The appearance of details whose evolution is observed on vessels of other schools was used for comparing rows, i. e. other than vertical directions on the table.

It is felt intuitively that the rate of evolution between the 3rd and the 5th stages of the school B was approximately the same as between stages of the school A. Earlier stages of the school B (1 to 3) are manifestly less closely spaced than stages 4 and 5. Whereas we had no grounds for distinguishing parallel "sub-schools" in the school A, in the school B later vessels OS137 (T39), 138 (T51), 313 (T38) are more close to two Munchak-tepe bowls of the 1st stage (T3, T5) in such details as 2b, 2 $\beta$ , 3, but the vessels OS135 (T37), 136 (T9), NSP1 (T10) are more close to the Chilek bowl with rosette in other versions of the same traits, namely 2a and 2 $\alpha$ . The features 2 and 3 seem to have been stable at all the stages. We shall come back to the question of "sub-schools" in connection with historical interpretation.

#### *School C (T 14, 25, 26, 46—48)*

There is an easily distinguishable group of vessels with traced ornaments on the ring-matted background and with cast relief parts. However, individual details absent on objects of the schools A and B cannot be found on large groups of vessels. No more than three vessels have many similar details; they are, on the one hand, the cups with handle OS114 (T26), 115 (T14) with octagonal body and two heads in profile on the thumb pieces, and on the other hand, the poly-lobed cups with handle OS112 (T47), 113 (T46) and the poly-lobed lamp OS291 (T48).

The evolution is traced separately for both subgroups.

Of the octagonal cups, OS114 (T26) is typologically younger than OS115 (T14), since the lotus flower in the latter seems to support the cup, while in the former it is broken down into isolated trefoils.

The cups with handle OS112 (T47) and 113 (T46), found together, are typologically older than the lamp OS291 (T48). In the décor of the latter we notice elements of both cups and trace a complication of the three-petal flower, behind which the scrolls branch off. On the lamp some petals have a dented edge and a ring-matted area in the middle, which makes the flower very ornamental and less figurative. A confrontation of the subgroups and a more exact dating are impossible without involving other vessels.

#### *Comparisons of the rows A and B. Vessels related thereto*

24 The 1st stage of the school B does not show direct connections with the schools A and C.

The 2nd stage of the school B<sup>6</sup> has affinities to early stages of the school A. The bowl with djeiran and early vessels of the school A have a striking expressiveness. In spite of the quiet posture, the figures are full of tense movement. All the vessels are made in the same technique of undisguised repoussé. They all exhibit similarity in a minor feature as well: the muscle of the lower foreleg is represented by a double line. This manner is a stylization of a more common representation when the muscle is shown by one line and the fold of the skin above it is denoted by a short arch. In metalwork this double line is a prevailing method for the schools A and B (see, for instance, OS135, T37). Another feature bringing close B2 and B3 with A1-3 is the little circle which separates the flower from the stem, a detail unexisting in the natural models of lotus and tulip flowers. The school B exhibits a purely sculptural, almost statuary representation of the animal, which is rendered very lifelike, while the floral design is highly stylized and ornamental. The school A begins with a considerably more linear and ornamental rendering of the animal. The absence of a framing around the central medallion likewise demonstrates that B2 is more archaic than A1, but at B3-5 richly decorated borders begin to appear.

There are *four more objects* similar to items from the early stages of the school A and to one another. They are the dish with walking tiger (?) OS91 (T6), the ewer depicting a winged camel OS 84 (T7), the sculptural head of Senmurv [228] (T19), the cup with handle depicting two lying ibexes SM54 (T20)<sup>7</sup>.

The dish OS91 (T6) is related in the representation of the animal to the vessels with beasts of prey of A1, and in the rendering of the rocks, to the objects of all the stages of the school A with a landscape. Its composition, however, with two plants respectively in front of and above the animal, is close to B2 (OS135, T37), while unusually large five-petal flowers are identical in pattern to those of B1 (the Chilek bowl, T1), the flower in both cases being separated from the stem by a circle. The head is depicted with the mistake characteristic of the school A, the upper fang being placed very far from the end of the jaw. The lines of the back and the breast, the brows, the cheek-bones, the flocks under the lower jaw and on the front of the back exhibit the love for dynamic spring-like curves peculiar to the craftsmen of the school A.

<sup>6</sup> Further references to the schools and stages are abbreviated, B1 and A2, for instance, standing respectively for the 1st stage of the school B and the 2nd stage of the school A.

<sup>7</sup> The cup should be rather referred to the school B (see below, p. 127).

It is obvious, however, that the style of the school A is not yet mature. The nostrils, the tongue, the neck, the body, the thigh and the tail of the animal, permeated with intense movement on the vessels of the school A, do not always obey the general idea of rendering motion and remind rather of Sasanian models remote from the schools A and B. The line with a dot does not occur anywhere. The dish displays iconographic and stylistic parallels to B1 and B2, but is undoubtedly less close to the school B than to the school A.

The place in the row between OS91 (T6) and OS49 (T17) is taken by the ewer with winged camel OS84 (T7), which not only in style but also in such details as a much more conventionalized and complicated reproduction of the rocks is younger than OS91. The ewer combines the features found both at A1-3 and A5-6, which confirms the correctness of referring T30, T31, T41 (A5-6) to one and the same school with vessels of earlier stages. However, the ewer has none of those features of A2-6 the development of which can be traced from stage to stage; it shows only such elements which appear at a certain stage ready-made. We may assume that in fact they existed from the beginning stages but are not detected on early specimens of the school since only isolated items have survived.

The features which distinguish the ewer OS84 (T7) from all the vessels of the school A, namely absence of the line with a dot, varied palmettes without an elongated lobe, a simpler pattern of the feathers, as well as some minor details, can be said to be characteristic of a stage of the school preceding those known to us. Via the dish OS91 (T6) still earlier sources of the school A find parallels in the school B.

The sculptural head of Senmurv (T19) is iconographically close to the Senmurv of the dish OS49 (T17) but exhibits no specific features of the school A. Details of its complicated ornament evoke motifs of the ewer OS84 (T7). The eye-sockets are shifted back and down, their natural place being taken by an odd concavity similar to the one on the head of the winged camel from the ewer OS84, where it does not, however, affect the eye. The reproduction of the jaw with an even row of teeth, without a curved tongue, recalls more OS84 (T7) and OS91 (T6) than the school A.

The school A is best presented in collections and may be the most important, though not the sole branch of an earlier school represented by OS91 and OS84.

The cup with handle depicting ibexes SM54 (T20) from the Lower Don is in a number of details close to the school A. The resemblance is striking to the eye, *but features which can be traced in evolution* are very scarce. The palmettes of the up-

per frieze find the closest parallel in their counterparts on the shoulder of the Senmurv on the dish OS49 (T17), i. e. at A1. The rocks with oval intervals under the feet of the ibexes, though close to those on OS91 (T6), are strongly diminished. The cup SM54 (T20) may have prototypes similar to those of the early vessels of the school A, but it does not exhibit any influence of the later stages of this school. It can find a definite place in the row of the school B between B2 and B3 (see p. 122). The trefoil characteristic of B2 is combined here with such features of the stage B3 as, for instance, the bough above the animal's back departing from the frame of the medallion with widely spaced inclined incisions. The figure itself is less sculptural than at B2 and less linear than at B3.

*Thus B1, B2, the vessels OS91 (T6), OS84 (T7) are typologically older than A1, whereas the cup with handle SM54 (T20) is approximately contemporaneous with A1—2.* Beginning from B2 the schools A and B interact.

The stage B3 reflects a direct influence of A3 and A4, which is seen clearly in the brace-shaped edge of the petal, in the dots of the volutes on the floral ornament of the outer zone of the dish (T37), in the representation of the deer's muzzle and hind legs and possibly in the fact that the figure in the central field trespasses upon the frame.

The lamp from the village Turushevo SM55 (T34) belongs to *a period after A3 and B3* since it combines characteristic features of both schools. Thus to A3 can be traced the scaled border around the medallions, the medallion frame with closely spaced incisions etc. The rendering of the walking animal repeats that of the deer on the dish OS135 (T37) of the B3 stage in the bough with a five-petal flower behind the animal's back, in the hair on the side of the neck, in three intercostal hollows only in the thorax area. The animals from vessels of the school A, on the contrary, have many hollows all over the flank.

There are also features characteristic of B4, such as the half-palmettes pressed to the frame of the medallion, the line with three dots at the end (in the petals of the three-petal flower on the lamp and in the lobes of the palmettes in B4), the three-petal flower separated from the stem by an arched belt. The flower has two rounded outer petals and a pointed petal in the middle.

A feature we have seen at A5 is the pomegranate with three large sprouts on top and with a three-leaf calyx covering the lower part of the fruit.

It is to be noted that all the features of the schools A and B found on the lamp are not those used to distinguish the schools at early stages. The vessel SM55 (T34) can be approximately placed between A4 and B4. A number of details permit to refer the bucket OS134 (T35) to the same new school with a predominance of fea-

tures of the school B to which belongs SM55. The continuity is distinctly felt in the representation of the deer, the shoulder and the neck being rendered in such a manner on these vessels only, as well as in the half-palmettes, the three-petal flowers, etc. However, a very advanced complication of the floral design and a parallel simplification and exaggeration of the petals induce us to refer the vessel to a stage later than B3.

Both vessels have features which bypass the evolution of the school A and go back to OS84 (T7), i. e. to predecessors of the school A. They are the five-lobed palmettes and the lower scrolls of the plant on the ewer OS84, which are highly modified on SM55 (T34) and OS134 (T35). Unfortunately, intermediate links between OS84 and SM55 have not survived.

There is another group of *buckets and dishes with a rosette in the centre of the bottom*, namely OS103, 122, 312, 314 (T36)<sup>8</sup>. Similar to them in the decoration of the bottom are SM54 (T20), OS134 (T35) and 313 (T38), i. e. mostly vessels of the school B, whereas the composition brings them close with the school A.

The saucer OS100 (T32) is close to the school A in its composition and to the school B, in design of its frame and in details of its palmettes. It is difficult to refer the item to a stage. The saucer seems to be closest in details to the Senmurv (T19), SM54 (T20), OS49 (T17).

Close to the school B are such vessels as the poly-lobed bowls depicting a sitting lion from Lo-yang (T16) and from the village Shudyakar in the Kama basin [99] (T21). If the tendency towards a dry, static and somewhat mannered style we have noticed at later stages of the schools A and B is characteristic of this group as well, it can be said that the style of the bowl from Shudyakar is younger than B2, though it has none of the details which developed at later stages of the schools A and B.

Closely related in shape to the ewers OS84 (T7) and OS65 (T41) are the gold ewer from the Perm district [119] (T8) and two silver ewers respectively from the river Vyatka OS124 (T22) and from the village Pokrovskoye in Semirechie [42; 132, pl. 34] (T11). Smooth sides is their obvious distinction from the vessels of the school A. The gold ewer is more archaic than OS84. The cast figure of a griffon and the palmette under the handle of this item show many parallels with details of OS84 and OS65, but lack both the vigour of the earlier stages of the school A and of B2 and the complicatedness of the later stages of these schools. The profile of the foot does not acquire a horizontal line at the foot-rim, which recalls the feet of the school B. Both silver ewers look bulbous and squatty. The central lobe of palmettes on their handles seems to

be slightly flattened. It is not, a result of a courser execution, but the artist's intention. The slightly flattened elastic shape both in its component curves and in its general outlook has the closest analogies in the lobes of NSP1 (T10) and in the lotus bud of OS49 (T17).

Found in the village Pokrovskoye together with the above ewer were another two smooth-walled vessels, namely a dish (T15) and a cup with handle (T12). In the shape of its thumb-piece and its foot the latter is close respectively to SM 54 (T20) and to Chilek bowls (T1, T2). The palmettes of the thumb-piece have no characteristic features of the school A palmettes.

The dish above had a suspension ring fastened to a pentagonal application which was secured by three nails. The nail heads were concealed by hemispheres soldered from the interior of the dish. The legs of the dish with walking deer (B3) were fastened identically. Thus the dish and the cup with handle from the village Pokrovskoye are close to the school B.

This is the end of the review of relationships between the schools A and B, which in spite of a close interaction preserved their distinctive features. The comparison of rows has permitted to outline the evolution of style and shown principal peculiarities of the relationships at different stages:

1. The forerunners of the school A were connected with the school B at the 2nd stage of the latter.

2. The school A influenced the school B at B3.

3. On the basis of the two schools, with a predominant influence of the school A, there arose new branches, mostly contemporaneously with A4, A5 and A6. One of them is represented by the vessels SM55 (T34) and OS134 (T35).

4. Several small groups of vessels are close to the school B or to the origins of both schools in a few details.

These items cannot be given any other place on the table, but the allocation is based on very few features. The attribution will be confirmed if these vessels and their neighbours in the table prove to be connected with objects of the same dating and origin.

#### *Comparison of rows. Schools A, B, and C*

Unlike the schools A and B the school C cannot be presented as a time-sequence row without being compared to other schools. We shall begin the comparison from the elements, development of which in the school A permits to state datings exactly. Before the stage A3 the established relationships gave no basis for synchronization, since there were no distinct borrowings from the school A,

<sup>8</sup> Another dish of this kind was published recently [73, fig. 1].

but the cup with handle OS109 (T28) is connected with the cups with handle OS110 (T42), OS117 (T45) and the cup from the Sterlitamak grave [5, pl. II; 118, p. 48, 49] (T44). From this moment features of the school A can be helpful in a relative dating of vessels close to the school C and dealt with in this section.

The handle of the cup OS110 (T42) is very close to that of OS109 (T28), but the "drinking Persian's" figure is inscribed here in a brace-shaped contour similar to that of the central petal of the upper plant on the dish OS106 (T29, stage A4). The line with a dot widely used in the ornament does not permit to refer the vessel to a very late stage, since in the school A this detail was particularly characteristic of the stages 3 and 4.

The Sterlitamak cup (T44) is approximately contemporaneous with OS110. The oversize volutes on the upper side of its half-palmettes are a rare décor motif, which makes its first appearance on OS110 (T44), where, however, it has no particular importance and does not give the palmettes an "untidy look" they have on this item. On the other hand, the cup exhibits no direct borrowings from the school A.

The cup OS117 (T45) is also close in ornament to OS109 (T28), but a wide use of festooned contours, a festooned thumb-piece and some other features demonstrate that this item, like two other cups with identical thumb-piece OS112 (T47) and OS113 (T46), is rather closer to SM55 (T34), i. e. younger than OS109 (T28) and possibly OS110 (T42), and approximately contemporaneous with A4. Curved flutes in themselves do not help in dating, but the occurrence of such flutes on the neck of the ewer OS65 (T41, stage A6) and on the thumb-piece of the cup, where they replace more common images or floral design, is hardly accidental.

The poly-lobed cups with handle OS112 (T47), 113 (T46) and the lamp OS291 (T48) are connected with a number of stages of the school A in one more aspect. The lamp OS291 is related in shape to the lamp SM55 (T34), though the degree of the relationship is difficult to define. On the other hand, the three-petal flower with branching-off scrolls, earlier variations of which are seen on OS112 and 113, and a later version, on OS291, is reproduced in a still more dry and uniform manner on the carpet depicted on the dish OS64 (T31), i. e. at the 5th stage of the school A, where not some but all the petals have a festooned edge and a ring-matted space in the middle. *Thus A4 does not precede OS291 (T48), which is younger than OS112 (T47) and 113 (T46) corresponding to A3-4.* The shape of these cups with a double row of large bosses is traced back to B2. The cups OS110 (T42), 113, 117 (T45), as well as the Sterlitamak cup (T44) are in various details, such as proportions, three-lobed small and narrow palmettes on the ends of stems, curved flutes, close to a wine cup from C. Kempe's

collection [118; 181, fig. 24k] (T25), which, in its turn, should be placed in front of the octagonal cup with handle OS114 (T26). This will permit us to link two parts of the development row of the school C, namely OS115 (T14) — OS114 and OS112, 113 — OS291.

Because of the cast images of bald bearded heads on its thumb-piece the octagonal cup with handle OS114 (T26) has been always connected by the scholars with OS109 (T28), but theirs is not a direct neighbourhood, since the images are in profile on the former and full face on the latter. The elongated middle lobe of trefoils on the lower part of the body has been encountered on the ewer OS84 (T7) and on the head of the Senmurv. Rows of small convex dots are close to the school B. The lotus flower above the foot of an earlier cup OS115 (T14) recalls to mind a resembling lotus on the bowl NSP1 (T10, stage B2). The proportions of this cup are close to those of its counterpart from the village Pokrovskoye (T12). Thus the early stage of the school C also finds its place on the table.

A limitation of the table is that contemporaneous objects of three schools and of various intermediate groups are located on a horizontal line in such a way that items of the school A seem to be separated from those of the school C, whereas each school was connected with both of the other two. Every stage could be represented by a table where the position of the vessels would correspond to the degree of their closeness to each school (see the three-dimensional diagram on fig. 2 above p. 35).

*There are two branches of the school A appearing at the 3rd stage and slightly later, which are close to the schools C and B respectively. On the other hand, the influence of the school C is noticeable at A5 and A6. There also exist direct relationships between the schools B and C.*

#### *Vessels less closely related to the schools A, B and C*

Related to all the three schools is the platter depicting a deer and a naked woman in the centre OS111 (T43). The dimensions and the shape of the platter, as well as the traces of its three legs have analogies with OS135 (T37, stage B3), but the total absence of reliefs and images of birds makes it more close to B4 and to the later stages of the school C. For a greater convenience of references to the floral ornament of the dish we shall divide it into the 1st (central), 2nd (intermediate) and 3rd (outer) zones and twelve "o'clock" sectors. The curved plants we have met on the cup OS109 (T28) and the dish OS106 (T29), with characteristic projections at the base, rows of half-palmettes with



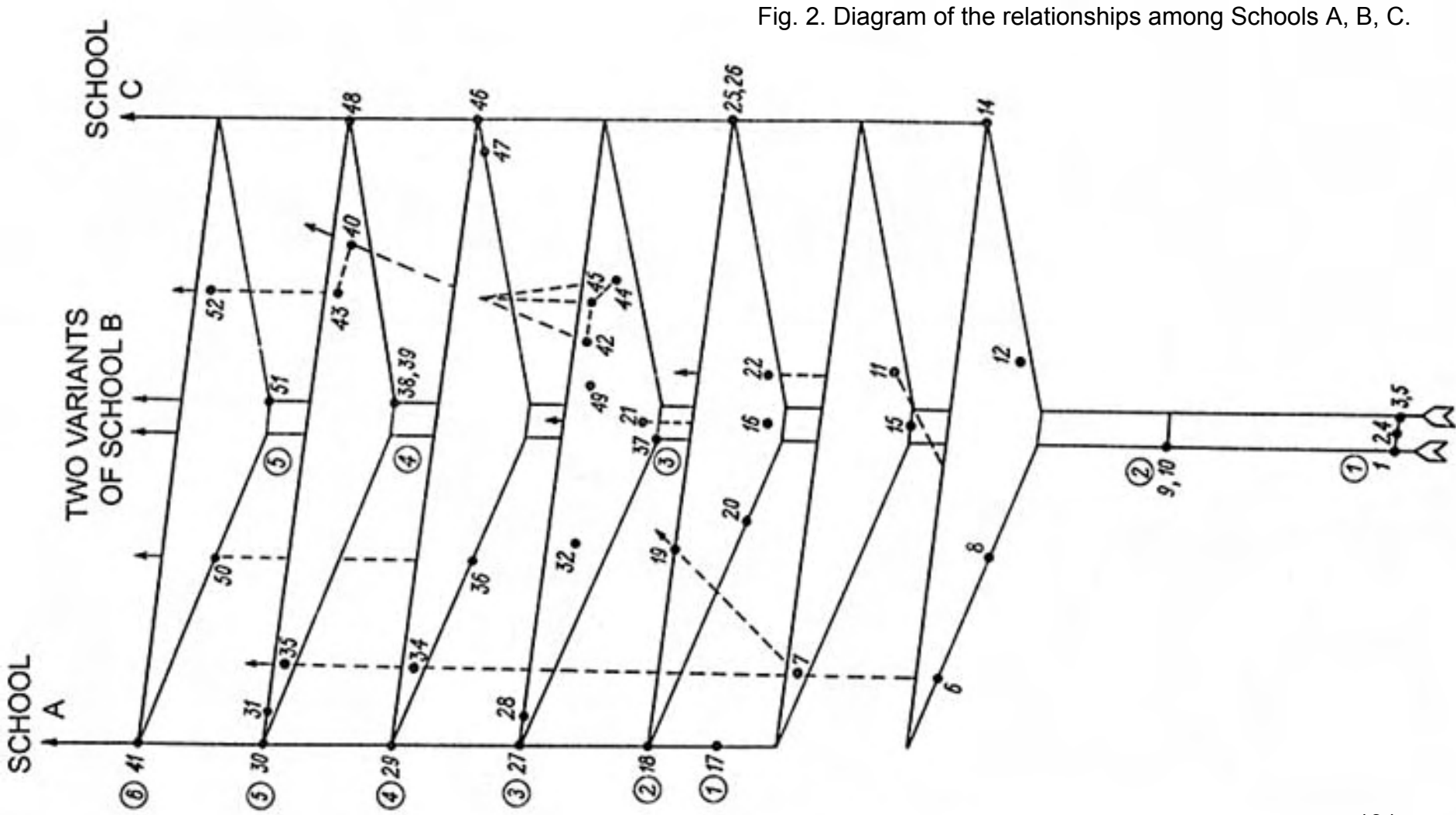




Fig. 2. Diagram of the relationships among Schools A, B, C.

The dots indicate vessels; numerals, the numbers of the objects in the table; numerals in circles, stages of the development of the schools. The vertical axes correspond to the typological series of the schools; the horizontal planes on which are located dots connect approximately synchronic objects. The closer the vessel to a particular school, the closer its designating dot to the axis of the school, and the closer it is to any two schools, the closer its dot to the line of the edge of the plane connecting their axes. Dashed lines indicate the most important connections between vessels which were not included in the series of schools A, B and C.

volute ends, palmettes with a pointed central "petal" occur in the outer zone of the platter. Particularly close to the décor of A3—4 are the plants at V and VI o'clock. The central "petal" with lateral projections which made its first appearance on the dish OS106 (T29) occurs here in the outer zone, at I o'clock. In the intermediate zone at I o'clock we have twin half-palmettes with a pointed lobe between them, and at IV o'clock there are twin half-palmettes with a small three-lobed palmette on a straight stem between them, as seen on OS110 (T42). Identical stems with a narrow three-lobed palmette occur on OS112 (T47). If we pass from direct coincidences to similarity of motifs, we shall find a cloud (3rd zone, IV o'clock) close to the clouds on OS110, five-petal flowers similar to those of OS135 (T37), flowers with petals with concave edge (1st zone, IX o'clock and many places of 2nd zone) related to OS112 (T47) and OS291 (T48), petals with an inscribed ring-matted oval (1st zone, V and VII o'clock and in many other points) with parallels on OS291.

*There are direct relationships with A4 and contemporaneous vessels of other schools on the platter.* Characteristic features of later periods of school branches find here no reflection whatsoever. All the analogies help to establish the chronology of the item, but do not permit to refer it to a school under consideration.

The bowl OS121 (T52) is close to OS111. It is younger in representation of vine scrolls, since the grape cluster on OS121 is given in outline only; though occurring on OS111 (2nd zone, I and VIII o'clock), this representation is yet exceptional there as compared to depicting individual berries inside the outline or composing a grape cluster of several circles without outlining it. The method used on OS121 occurs on these two vessels only. It is to note that OS121 shows a three-petal flower with an arched belt looking like the ornaments of OS137 (T39), SM55 (T34) and OS134 (T35), i. e. of vessels of the later stages. This bowl has many peculiarities of technical execution and does not belong to any of the schools, A, B or C.

Because of a complicated outline of the thumb-piece the cup with handle OS116 (T40) is younger than OS110 (T42). The images of birds make it close to OS111 (T43) and OS137 (T39). The ornament on the bottom goes back to that of SM54 (T20). The cup is given a place on the table beyond the schools under consideration.

The bowl OS99 (T49) is close to a certain degree to the school A and can be referred to a stage not earlier than A3 judging from the characteristic form of three-lobed petals. Peculiarities of the latest stages are lacking, but on the whole the vessel affords little material for comparison.

The table which this chapter was to explain has permitted to establish an approximate relative chronology of all the vessels and to demonstrate interaction of the schools and their branches on the basis of the evidence furnished only by the objects themselves. However, objects dissimilar in style and in details may be of the same date or from the same country, but emanate from different schools. Alternatively, related items may have different datings and places of origin, but be made by craftsmen of the same school. In addition, many pieces, which do not belong to the principal schools, have been given a place on the table on the basis of a limited number of features. We can consider the place to have been determined correctly only in case all the relationships of such vessels and their neighbours are directed to the same dates and centres. This can be tested by comparing the resulting picture with dated objects.

VESSELS OF SCHOOLS A, B  
AND C AND ANALOGIES OF  
THEIR SHAPES AND DÉCOR  
IN ART OF ASIA*Relationships with art of Iran*

Now it is not isolated objects but schools and stages that we can compare with dated items of different countries.

It is highly important that the 1st stage of the school B, which has been proved by archaeological and epigraphical evidence to be contemporaneous with late Sasanian Iran (see above, p. 121), exhibits no connections with Sasanian art. The poly-lobed phialae of Chilek and Munchak-tepe close to Parthian [213, fig. 734, 733B], Achaemenian and even Assyrian models [194] demonstrate an astonishing vitality of the Achaemenian tradition. Ancient Oriental traditions survived in Iran as well, but poly-lobed bowls developed there to totally different versions with very faible [154, fig. 1] or, on the contrary, very large shaped bosses (SM36, 37). Arrangement of lobes identical to that of Parthian and Achaemenian vessels was preserved by the school B, but it never occurred in Sasanian metalwork.

The school A from beginning to end is very close to the Sasanian tradition.

*Influence of Sasanian art upon the school B, which began at B2, was much less strong than upon the school A and after B2 was exerted via the latter only.*

*Connections with art of Central  
Asia. School B and art of Soghd*

All the stages of the school A exhibit relationship not only to Iran but also to Soghd, mostly to the latter's monumental arts, which demonstrate numerous parallels with metalwork.

The dish OS91 (T6) with walking tiger (?) recalls to mind by its rendering of water and rocks the stuccoes of Varakhsha and the murals of Pendjikent. Other variants of such a rendering are preserved up till A6.

Winged camels resembling very much the camel on the ewer OS84 (T7) are depicted in Varakhsha as throne supports. Another winged camel hovers in the air in the offering scene [139, pl. XIV, XV]. The floral ornament of the ewer OS84, as pointed out by

A. Strelkov [219, p. 452, 453] is close to that of the ossuary lids of Biya-Naiman. It is to be noted that the elongated five-lobed leaf topping the composition is missing on the ewer, but occurs on the silver head of the Senmurv and on the ossuary lids.

Features occurring in pottery of Central Asia and in the school A are the shape of the ewers OS84 (T7) and OS65 (T41), as well as the image on the thumb-piece of the cup with handle OS109 (T28) similar to the clay-stamp impression from Ak-tepe near Tashkent [127, fig. 24].

The closing stages of the school A also show parallels with Soghdian art. The winged crown, the ear-rings and the "cape" of the king on the dish OS64 (T31), the knot in the middle of the flying scarves on the dish OS63 (T30) and the ewer OS65 (T41) have direct analogies in the murals of Pendjikent [53, pl. XXXIV, XXXVIII; 14, fig. 15]. Of particular interest is the identical departure, both in Soghd and in the school A, from Sasanian prototypes of crowns not only in the shape of the wing but also in the overall composition and in the form of the central part.

The school B is less rich in figurative material and exhibits distinct relationships with handicraft objects, rather than with murals.

The 1st stage is represented by finds in Soghd and Ustrushana only. Its objects differ a lot from all the early mediaeval Oriental metalwork being most close to Khoresmian silver, in which the Achaemenian décor of phialae also survived as late as the 6th—8th centuries (OS286). The pattern of three circles on a stalk is similar to that occurring on Soghdian pottery. Such a form of stalks, popular in the Near East, appears on a bronze tray from Daghestan (SM64), the ornament of which is dominated by motifs characteristic of Mediterranean countries. On the tray stalks with three circles (or with two circles and almond-shaped figure between them) grow from fluted amphorae together with vine scrolls, sometimes on vine scrolls, which carry grape leaves and pomegranate fruit. The three circle ornament on the vessels of B1 is no longer connected with grape-vine scrolls.

On the ewers of Kafyr-kala such stalks with three circles are the most common motif which does not resemble a floral design and becomes purely geometrical.


Sasanian art has the circles-on-a-stalk ornament. Three punched rings is the most simplified representation of a flower (SM43) or just a manner of adorning a smooth surface. But for silver ware of Khoresm, for Soghdian silver and pottery three balls or three circles is an important individual motif.

Three circles above the crescent in the goddess's crown and at the end of the sceptre in her hand on a Khoresmian silver bowl (OS43), as well as three circles between the arches of flutes on

other Khoresmian bowls (OS46) are very much like three circles at the end of almond-shaped bosses of the bowl B1 from Munchak-tepe and at the end of direct stems of the Chilek phiala. In pottery a direct stem with three circles has been found on an ossuary lid from Biya-Naiman and on a 6th century Pendjikent amphora [87, fig. 3; 124; fig. 4—5]; in the 7th—8th centuries, it occurs on Kafyr-kala ewers. This simple motif seems to have been no less popular with Soghdian craftsmen than the seven-circle rosette in Khorasan copper work in the 12th—13th centuries. It must be stressed that this ornament is used in pottery on imitations of silver ware only.

The outer rim of two B1 bowls with poly-lobed top could be inscribed in Soghdian at a later date, which was a current practice with silver, but it is more probable that the inscriptions are contemporaneous with the pieces, since on Khoresmian bowls the inscriptions made at the same time with the vessels, as well as Soghdian inscriptions on unornamented bowls OS71, 72, are arranged identically. The arrangement is not characteristic of Iranian items.

At a later stage of development of the motif a five-petalled tulip and a circle between the flower and the stem occur on Pendjikent wall paintings [117, pl. XXV].

The second stage affords further important evidence. The deer on the bowl OS136 carries a brand  which is the principal symbol on coins of Soghdian kings in the 7th and 8th centuries [121]. The position of the brand (cf. the mark on the royal horse in Taq-i-Bostan) indicates that in all probability it makes part of the original composition and was not added later.

Both bowls have in the middle of each boss a small decoration in relief. Such a disposition occurs neither on Iranian nor on T'ang metalwork and resembles the placing of small impressions of clay-stamps on pottery of Kafyr-kala. The likeness becomes all the more evident if one takes into consideration that the image on the bosses is pomegranates, the most popular motif of Soghdian pottery [44, 85].

The reproduction of the muscles of the foreleg, which is characteristic of the schools A and B and first appears at B2, is found on representations of elephants, lions and leopards in Varakhsha and of horses in Pendjikent.

The cup SM54 is brought close to Soghdian objects by differences from the school A. Of particular importance is a different representation of identical subjects. All but one wild goats on the cup are depicted without scarves but with a bell on the neck, i. e. as on Kafyr-kala pottery and not on Iranian silver and reliefs.

In Sasanian art the ibex symbolized a deity. The ram with luxuriant scarves on the neck was more common in Iran, where it

was a symbol of Hwarena. Both the ibex and the ram with ribbons on the neck were used in everyday life for alluring game to the Iranian king's hunting ground. The goat with a bell served habitually as the herd leader; as to the symbolism of the image on the cup it could be similar to or different from the Sasanian one.

Three-lobed rosettes between medallions on the cup have their analogies on clay-stamps from Kafyr-kala, while the wrestling scene on the thumb-piece appears on Pendjikent murals (excavations of 1964). However, the subject is always a weaker attribution argument than details, since wrestling is also depicted in Indian sculpture, in Korean painting [222, fig. 100], on 13th century Iranian tiles [180, fig. 71].

The shape of the cup is related to Kafyr-kala specimens and finds still more close parallels in pottery of Ferghana (Kuva) and Chach (Ming-Uryuk) [33, pl. V], where cups of the 1st type with a thumb-piece handle were very popular.

Three-lobed half-palmettes with a long pointed curved end lobe on the upper frieze of the cup have analogies not only on objects of the school A, but also on wall paintings of Pendjikent [117, pl. XXV] and Varakhsha [139, pl. VI], in the latter case the palmette being located on the lower part of the wing, like it was with the Senmurv on OS49 (T17).

The poly-lobed cups with handle depicting a sitting lion with a raised foreleg from the village Shudyakar (T21) and from Lo-yang (T16)<sup>1</sup> are related in shape to items of B2. The representation of the lions does not resemble a Sasanian manner but rather recalls to mind sitting lions of Pendjikent wood carvings and those on a Soghdian ossuary [107, pl. 54, 55]<sup>2</sup>.

The field of the dish OS135 (T37, stage B3) had nine large convex rivets which secured three legs with horse hoofs. But for the fact that such legs and delicate starlets of rivets are reproduced on a replica made in China [227b, Nos 52, 53] they might have seemed to be a later addition, so unusual it is to see rivets on a silver platter. However, a silver platter with three hemispheres concealing rivets of the suspension ring and a ceramic copy of such a platter have been found respectively in the village Pokrovskoye in Semirechie and in the 7th-early 8th century level in Kuva [36]. In 1954 in Pendjikent there was excavated a bronze leg of a vessel also shaped like a horse leg. Thus the third stage of the school B likewise proves to be fairly closely connected with Central Asiatic traditions.

<sup>1</sup> I use the opportunity to express my deep gratitude to Prof. B. Gyllensvärd for his very kind permission to publish this bowl from the Carl Kempe collection (Sweden).

<sup>2</sup> The caption erroneously indicates the location of the item as the Historical Museum instead of the State Hermitage.

Fig. 3. Details of Pendjikent painting:

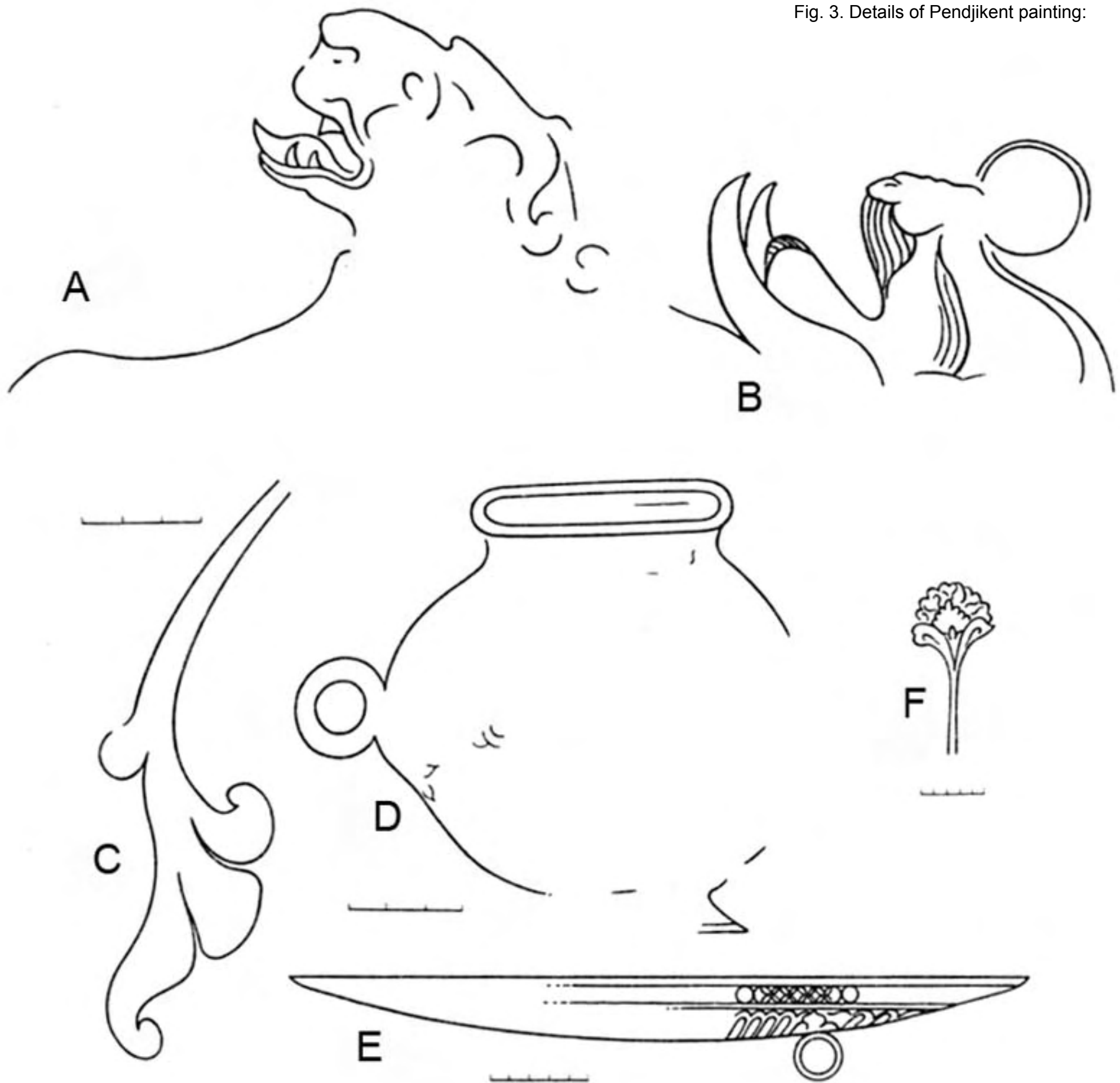


Fig. 3. Details of Pendjikent painting:

- A) lion (citadel)
- B) winged camel (object XVII)
- C) palmette
- D) cup
- E) dish
- F) fan (C-F – object XXIV).

In the school B we can trace a relationship to Soghdian art, which is more close and less overshadowed by Sasanian influences than in the school A.

At this stage of the investigation we might try to pass to labeling individual stages and schools. *It may be assumed that the school B is connected mainly with Soghd and neighbouring areas.*

This assumption appears to explain two important details.

1. All the vessels of the school B, like Khoresmian bowls, are light and thin-sided, as opposed to weighty and massive vessels of the school A and to majority of Sasanian, Kushan and Hephthalite items<sup>3</sup>. Small Soghdian principalities had none of the vast treasures of Sasanian kings, and silver was high-priced at the time [74, p. 182, 185].

2. The djeiran on a B2 stage bowl\* (T10) is depicted against a background with a highly ornamentalized plant characteristic of the style of the time. The animal itself is not ornamentalized at all its purely sculptural representation being anomalous among 6th—9th century reliefs [133, p. 5]. One gets an impression of a three-dimensional figure located in front of a "back-drop" in relief. Other vessels [OS135 (T37), 136 (T9), SM55 (T35)] have chased images of deer, of a horse, of a camel standing on four legs or with a foreleg raised. Uncommon in Sasanian silver ware, these peculiarities can be explained by influence of monumental sculpture. Squares of Samarkand were decorated, most probably in pre-Arab epoch, with sculptural figures of animals. "Astonishing images of horses, bulls, camels and wild goats are carved of cypress wood; they oppose each other as if examining and challenging the other to fight or to compete" (Ibn Hawkal).

Now that we have examined principal details we shall turn our attention to semantic analysis. We must point out a relationship of B2 (T9) to Samarkandian Soghd as seen from the "sign of the Kang house", and a connection of OS84 (T7), the threshold of the school A, to Bukhara, for judging from Chinese chronicles and from Varakhsha wall paintings the winged camel was the symbol of the local dynasty and of the respective worship [139, pp. 159—161; 22, vol. II, p. 272, 282]<sup>4</sup>. At the same time OS49 (T17) with a Senmurv very close to OS84 is semantically connected with the official Sasanian cult. A Senmurv with a bird's tail occurs in Central Asia not in compositions with other fantastic winged creatures,

<sup>3</sup> For the latter see [89].

<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly Soghdian and related mostly to different parts of Soghd, in the 7th—8th centuries both symbols were known all over the country. The "sign of the Kang house" was a sign used on coins of Samarkand, but it occurs on pottery of other principalities, as well as on early Hephthalite coins [173 A, Em. 33, 34, 35]. Small winged camels were found on murals in Pendjikent in 1967—1969 (fig. above p. 45).

but on representations of Iranian textiles and on pottery of later periods. In Iran it was depicted on the crown of the heir to the throne (3rd century) and on the clothes of the Shahanshah (6th century). The manner of representation on the dish OS49 demonstrates that the meaning of the image was so far clear and important to the artist [135, p. 315]. The Senmurves were modified to a decorative motif in the 8th century and later in Arabic and Byzantine art.

As for chronology, archaeological data and Soghdian epigraphic material permit to date the stage B1 to about the 6th century, thereby referring B2 with OS91 (T6) and OS84 (T7)<sup>5</sup>, as well as SM54 (T20) and A1—3 to the 7th—8th centuries.

If we summarize our observations, we can ascertain that in floral design and particularly in palmettes of Varakhsha and Pendjikent wall paintings of ca. 700 A. D. are closest to objects older than A2—3 and B3 but somewhat younger than B2 and OS91. Most closely related to pottery of the same period are B2, OS84, SM54, A1—3. Sasanian influence in details is most conspicuous before A3.

*Whereas there are no significant contradictions hindering the localization of the school B, the school A presents so far the alternative of Central Asia or Iran.*

The school C is related to Soghdian art in its shapes. OS112, 113 (T46, 47) are close to 8th century Pendjikent cups with handle, OS291 (T48) has analogies in the lamp from the VI level of Tali-Barzu dated by Abbasid coins to 740—780 A. D., OS114 (T26) 115 (T14) and the cup from C. Kempe collection find parallels in fluted cups with handle from Pendjikent and Tali-Barzu V [85].

*Relationship to T'ang art.*

*Datings of analogies.*

*Datings from B2 to A3 and B3*

While there are no exact datings of art objects of Iran after the fall of the Sasanides, i. e. from the mid-7th to the 10th century, Chinese art of precisely the same period (7th—9th centuries) has a strictly established chronology of ornament based on dated objects [181], which is very important for our attributions.

The school C is close to T'ang silver ware in shapes and technique, though its ornament has numerous original features, such as a different version of border of palmettes, stem with three-lobed palmette, etc.

<sup>5</sup> C. Trever gives to the ewer OS84 a tentative dating from the 7th century [176, p. 178—179].

The shape and certain elements of the décor of the cup with handle OS115 (T14) permit to refer it with exactitude to the second half of the 7th century [cf. 181, fig. 24, 52, pl. 9]. The cup with handle OS114 (T26) is dated to the 8th century, a later date being hardly possible because of its likeness to OS115, although similar cups of higher and more narrow proportions were made as late as in the 9th century, as demonstrated by Idikutshari murals [179, p. 665]<sup>6</sup>. Analogies between OS114 and OS65 (T45, stage A6) show that early features survived even at the 6th stage of the school A, such as, for instance, the chequer pattern with a circle in each field, which had been known in China since long before the 7th century. Because of its three-petalled flowers the lamp OS291 (T48) must be referred to ca. 800 A. D.<sup>7</sup>. For the same reason A5 as well cannot be dated earlier.

Near the mid-8th century the petal border rapidly becomes a popular motif in T'ang metalwork. Beginning from the stage B3, OS291 (T48), SM55 (T34) it is employed on our pieces. The use of gilding to emphasize the ornament on a smooth (not ring-matted) background becomes a common practice in Middle T'ang (755—820 A. D.). On objects under discussion the technique is used both for parts OS110 (T42), OS113 (T46) and totality OS117 (T45) of the décor.

Thus the stages that follow A3 are not older than 750 A. D. We must decide how much younger they can be. In dating A3 we are helped by the cup from the Sterlitamak grave (T44), which, as has been demonstrated above, is closely related to OS110 (T42) and via it to A3 (T27, 28). In the same grave with it was discovered a golden dinar of 705—706 A. D., whereas other graves of that burial ground contained dirhams of 712, 743, 770, 774, 779 A. D., which had been used as pendants [5]. It means that the cup belongs to a group of objects imported from countries of the east and should be dated, like the foreign coins, to the 8th century, which does not permit to refer A3 to a late period.

Even though the platter OS135 (T37, B3) was not a direct model for the Chinese vessel [181, pl. 19d], it belongs to the series which was imitated. The closest, if somewhat incomplete, Chinese analogy of the bird on OS137 (T39, stage B4) is tentatively dated by B. Gyllensvärd to early Middle T'ang [181, p. 20a].

*Characteristic features of Late T'ang (820 A. D.—the beginning of the 10th century) are not reflected by our vessels. T'ang details are found on OS111 (T43) and OS134 (T36).*

<sup>6</sup> A 9th—10th century dating has been given to the Uigur cup with handle from the Minusinsk region; however, though similar in shape, it is far removed from the school C in décor and technical execution [40 A].

<sup>7</sup> Cf. [181, pl. 12e, 20a], i. e. objects of the mid-8th century with a less developed ornament of the same group.

There is a contradiction between the investigators of Chinese art and their colleagues dealing with art of the Middle East, the same phenomena being explained on equal grounds as western or, on the contrary, eastern influences. As likely as not these phenomena in a number of cases have a common source in lands between Iran and China, i. e. in Central Asia. Questions at issue include ring-matted background, some types of palmettes etc. Very often one might speak of mutual influence; for example the Chinese manner of reproducing clouds, which can also be seen on OS110 (T42), OS99 (T49) and other vessels, is close to the rendering of floral palmettes in the school A.

Over a half of what has been explained as result of Sasanian influence upon T'ang China, which is an immense contribution to development of new T'ang style, finds analogies not so much in Iran as in Central Asia and in the school A [181, pp. 56—68, 108—185]. It is evidenced first and foremost by shapes of vessels. Various poly-lobed and lotus-like pieces appear to go back to B2. Elongated poly-lobed bowls are related to Sasanian vessels, though not impossibly via Soghd<sup>8</sup>. Cylindrical cups with handle of the 2nd type, ewers with lip drawn out a point, platters on three legs and many other forms with no prototypes either in China or Iran have parallels in earthenware of Soghd and in metalwork of the schools A, B and C. It is probably to the school C that can be traced Chinese pottery rhyta with hexagonal top resembling in details OS114 and OS115 (T14 and T26) [215, fig. 145; 181, fig. 26a].

The poly-lobed bowl depicting a lion with a raised foreleg (T16, fig. 31) and the cup with curved flutes (T25) and trefoil scrolls on the exterior bottom [181, fig. 24k, 77a, 21b, 70u, p. 23, 63, 64, 59, 119, 130], found in China and labelled by B. Gyllensvärd as post-Sasanian, can be referred to the schools B and C<sup>9</sup>. We have already mentioned a Chinese-made replica of Soghdian platter close to B3 (OS135; T37).

Another vessel of very nearly the same shape (T23) with an identical composition of the ornament depicting a lion with a raised leg has been dated by inscriptions on accompanying silver bars to around 751 A. D. [164a]. Discovered in the T'ang capital the dish has been identified as made by a local craftsman; nevertheless it displays a strong influence of the school B.

<sup>8</sup> For a bowl of such shape see Pendjikent murals [53, pl. VII, XII].

<sup>9</sup> Both vessels have runic inscriptions made by their Turkic owners. Recently one more bowl [T40A, fig. 32] belonging to the school B was discovered [141B, fig. 7] in a T'ang grave. It has a Chinese character scratched on its bottom and can be located on the table between T21 and T39.



*Throughout the 7th to the early 9th century close ties with China were not interrupted, Chinese metalwork was greatly influenced by Central Asiatic vessels; the opposite was also seen, however, not in shapes and subjects but mostly in details of ornament.*

*The best items of the school C, which resemble the least those of the school A, may be referred to eastern Central Asia, since they are connected both with the school B and with China. They differ from Chinese pieces in the manner of execution and often in form, but a number of motifs of their ornament attribute them a place in chronological rows of T'ang silver.*

Branches of this school are related to art of steppe peoples.

### *Relationship to metalwork of steppe peoples*

The shape of cups with handle of the 1st type (T20, 28) goes back to Turkic prototypes [85]. Turkic silver and wooden mugs [35, pl. I, fig 1, p. 294—295] influenced silver ware of nomads in the Ukraine (the Pereshchepino hoard) and Pannonia [192, pl. II, p. 30]. Pereshchepino mugs [SM50, 62; 23, fig. 49] have been dated to the 7th century. Their shape repeats the profile of wooden mugs, while their handle in the form of a ring composed of balls was a common detail of 7th—8th century Turkic vessels (for example, OS159) and of items of the school C. The height of the ewers explains why the artist made the neck of another sheet of metal, but the seam is almost invisible. A simpler procedure consisted in making a kind of a ledge of the profile near the seam; originally the technique was used on ewers, but Turks and Soghdians alike came to employ it on low pottery mugs, or rather cups [85]. The ledge is replaced on cups with handle of the schools A and B, as well as on some earthenware cups, by a neat nodule.

The Pereshchepino rich tomb of a nomadic chieftain dating from the second half of the 7th century contained Byzantine, Sasanian, Avar [192, pp. 278—288] objects, together with some items of a peculiar décor. The latter were golden sheet covering of a saddle, a quiver and a mug as well as silver and golden stem cups [23, p. 23, 25, 43—45, 49]. The basis of the ornament is a palmette with "untidy" pointed lobes or with similar lobes ending in a rounded volute. The former version was common in Soghd [87, p. 3], the latter one became popular in the Altai and on the Yenisei [40, p. 8; 51, p. 115]. A similarity of subjects and motifs in the art of European and Asiatic nomads in the 6th and 7th centuries, which has been remarked by the scholars on numerous occasions, finds another substantiation in this hoard.

Ornaments on the nose and under the jaw of the sculptural head of the Senmurv demonstrate both versions. Another feature of the ornament under the jaw, namely the convex band dividing the petal in two, occurs on the attaching plate of the handle of a Pereshchepino mug (SM50, cf. T35). Several semicircles supported by an arch are a part of a floral design on the underside of the above Senmurv. They become an independent pattern on end belt plaques of the late Avar period [145; 144, No. 13]. All these comparisons demonstrate that the head of the Senmurv (T19) is somewhat younger than the Pereshchepino hoard and can be dated to around 700 A. D.

Belt decorations of Eurasiatic nomads change synchronously with décor of silver vessels. Kite-shaped plaques from the 6th—7th centuries are similar to ornaments of B2 in outlines. One of Altai belt plaques (Kudyrgha, 7th century) has the same deer-and-tree pattern as OS136 (T9).

In the 8th century an ever increasing popularity is gained by festooned outlines of belt decorations resembling the contour of thumb-pieces on cups with handle of later stages. In floral design as well the cup with handle of this type OS116 (T40) is very close to belt plaques of the Saltovo culture of the 8th—9th centuries, which was pointed out as early as 1909 by Smirnov. The cup with handle might have been made in south-eastern Europe under influence of the school C.

The use of identical décor both on vessels and on belt decorations characteristic of the nomads has permitted to give a more exact dating to the 2nd burial mound of the Kopyony chaatas [52, pp. 33—54; 64, pl. LV—LIX], the best example of the Kyrgyz style which emerged on the Yenisei, by the middle of the 9th century.

In Pannonia of the late 9th century with Hungarians there followed a style combining Saltovo elements with features of the latest objects of the school B and of late items of the schools A and B uniting details of the both (cf. T34, 35). Features of these schools are seen best on the cup with handle (fig. 35) from a Hungarian burial ground in Zemplin [146A].

As shown by T. Arné, in the 9th century similar ornaments spread over a vast territory from Siberia to Hungary and Scandinavia [141A]. They show motifs of the schools B and C but lack uncontaminated elements of the school A. These 9th century analogies indicate that the later stages of the schools in question date from the 9th century, but the pendant of the necklace from the Redikor hoard (T33) close to the décor of OS134 (T35) should be dated, like the rest of the imported part of this Kama find, to the early 9th century as latest judging from fourteen 6th—8th century coins of the necklace and from 8th—9th century belt decorations [101A, p. 228ff].

*Relationship to India  
and southern neighbours of Soghd*

The schools A, B and C do not represent all the wealth of metalwork art of Soghd and her neighbours.

A bronze matrix [32] and a ceramic replica of a metal platter [36] discovered in Kuva in the level of about 700 A. D. bring to light the problem of Ferghana metalwork art. In various features both objects are close to the silver platter depicting Kuvera (?) (OS41) found in Pundjab, which has been remarked by the authors of the above publications. Indian features occur in this case on items from a settlement connected to a Buddhist temple. It is difficult to draw a line between genuine Indian features and those which came to Soghd via Kushan and Hephthalite Tokharistan. The lotus reproduced by all the three schools [T10, 14, 17] is ultimately traced to India as well.

In Pendjikent (sector VII) in the masonry of a 6th century city wall there was found a silver gilt medallion of 4 cm in diameter chased in high relief and depicting "Kirtimukha" in a frame of pearls (fig. 33). Presumably it might have been an emblema which came off a silver bowl. Such emblemas were soldered at the middle of the bottom of the Munchak-tepe bowl with an inscription in the 5th—6th century Bukhara script (T4) and of the Khoresmian bowl OS47. "Kirtimukha" was often depicted in countries other than India from the Kushan period on. All the representations of "Kirtimukha" in Pendjikent, both in a clay sculpture of the temple and in terracottas dating from the 6th—8th centuries, are close to one another in details.

After B1—3 and A1 it is A5 only which shows relationship to Indian or rather Hephthalite tradition. M. Bahrami has pointed out the lotus as a detail of the throne and the king's posture on OS64 (T31) bearing resemblance to iconography of Buddha [142]. The form of the scarves on OS64 is common on the so called "Bactrian" bowls [132, pl. 22—24; 6, fig. 4, 5] dating from around the 4th century [61, p. 108; 89 p. 72].

The T'ang "cloud-shaped" palmette appears to have acquired a floral aspect under the influence of a "Bactrian" model (cf. palmettes of the underside of the Bartym goblet [6, fig. 4]). Beginning from A3 (T27, 28) the school A displays derivatives of the same palmette close to those of T'ang.

*Relationship to Byzantium  
and Syria*

144 Byzantine influences are felt in a fluted amphora in pottery from Pendjikent [87]. The central medallion makes a silver bowl

from Chilek (T1) look very much like a Byzantine bowl [224, fig. 5—6].

A mid-6th century Byzantine dish with a Soghdian inscription dating from before 600 A. D. and with another inscription in uncertain characters shows how rapidly Constantinopolis items reached Soghd [157, p. 85]. Stamps with crosses on the ewer from Pokrovskoye demonstrate that the craftsman tried to make his ware pass for a Byzantine article. Speaking in general, ewers of the schools A and B are more close in shape to classical oinochoae than to Sasanian models. Cylindrical cups with handle are also traced to Roman examples. Particularly characteristic is the cup from Pokrovskoye with its classical medallion on the thumb-piece. Popular in Soghdian art were vine and acanthus scroll motifs, in the latter, however, lateral projections of the leaf turning to stems ending in three pointed lobes [39, fig. 18]. A similar representation of this motif is found on the bronze frieze of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. On the head of the Senmurv and on the cup with handle of the school C the acanthus scroll is hardly recognizable. In the 8th century a three-apexed stem in the décor of the school C helps to differ it from T'ang ornament, though here it is no longer connected with scrolls because of being most often located between two half-palmettes; in the 9th century such a composition occurs in Byzantium [217] and even in Carolingian Europe.

Soghdian vessels with narrative subjects (SM20, OS50) are close in their representation scheme (a segment of the sky or the earth) to a number of 6th—7th century Byzantine dishes. The Khoresmian bowl from Bartym [6; 108] is related by the ornament on its sides to late Roman and Byzantine items [7, pl. 78].

We shall not dwell upon those Byzantine features which occur on many vessels, and shall pass to the dishes OS111 and OS135 (T43, T37), which both in form and composition go back to Byzantine prototypes. Via the school B this form reached T'ang silver and pottery and then came back to the Near East in earthenware items of Samarra [205, pl. 10].

Mythological figures in the centre of OS111 are surrounded by vine scrolls framing various animals. The outer zone also shows animals and plants. All this is traced to compositions found on Syro-Egyptian objects. Such a detail as elements shaped like card suit spades are characteristic of Byzantine ornament. The bowl OS121, close as it is to OS111, has analogies of technical execution not in the Orient, but in Byzantine vessels, the latter, in their turn, displaying Oriental loans as well [166, pl. 1, 2, p. 109—110].

Byzantine features, however, do not help much in localizing art objects, since Byzantine influence could easily travel through the steppes to the east. Of vessels with an Eastern European Saltovo ornament one has a Byzantine shape (OS92) and another (OS116,

T40) shows a Byzantine subject with two peacocks under a tree.

In the 7th century a similar form of stem-cups going back to Graeco-Roman models emerges in different lands — among the Avars and the Turks, in Pereshchepino and in China of Sui and T'ang [192; 4, pl. CIV, 3, etc.].

The "steppe bridge" was used for movements from East to West as well. In the 9th—10th century Byzantine and Danube Bulgarian silver cups with handle [131] had their body divided in a manner characteristic of Soghdian earthenware and T'ang silver, rather than of cups of the school C. The cup found on the island of Gotland (OS295) is decorated with a T'ang phoenix and T'ang leaves with edges which appear to have been bent by the wind [232, p. 430]. A phoenix seldom appears on Byzantine pieces, but this type of leaves is the prototype of one of the most common motifs of Byzantine décor in the 10th—11th centuries [233, pp. 22—32]. In the 9th century or even earlier the shape and the décor arrangement of cups with handle of the schools A and C are imitated in Western Europe [218, p. 33ff] and in Pannonia (Nagy Szent Miklos).

These details and elements could travel to Europe both through the steppes and via Iran and Syria. Syrian bronze censers of uncertain dating [240, fig. 969, 975] have on their necks several traced palmettes on the ring-matted background and patterns in relief on their bodies, the whole, together with the shape, recalling to mind cups with handle of the school A. Such a censer with Christian subjects of its reliefs was also found in Urgut near Samarkand.

The problem of the south-western direction of ties and relationships can be solved in connection with the question of early Islamic art.

#### *Relationship to early Islamic art. Datings*

Many analogies in early Islamic art are explained by Iranian and Byzantine prototypes which were common for Central Asiatic and Near Eastern craftsmen. Equipment of a Central Asiatic type used by Omeyyad warriors [210, pl. 2a; 225, fig. 28] reached Iran as early as the late 6th century [223, vol. IV, pl. 160B]. The nude on the dish OS111 (T43), like the naked figures of the décor of the Khalifs' palaces, most probably had Syro-Egyptian models.

The type of the faces, the festooned cape on the figures' shoulders and the subjects of A5—6 find their closest parallels in early Islamic objects. Compare, for instance, the cape of the dishes of A5 to that of Samarra female dancers [187, pl. II]. Reduced scenes of a feast (two female servants with musical instruments and ewers) occur both in Omeyyad paintings [210] and metalwork (OS65, T30).

The dish OS64 (T31) is the earliest example of the composition which was used as late as the 13th century for representing the Moslem ruler surrounded by his court.

Unfortunately, the art of the Omeyyads is older and that of Samarra younger than A5—6, which hinders comparisons.

The later stages of the school B have elements in common with 9th—10th century objects. Half-palmettes, along frames occur on medals of the 10th century, ring-matted background, three-petalled flowers with an arched band between the stem and the cup, lines with three dots at the end, petals (or feathers) filling parts of the background are observed on 9th—10th century vessels.

Neither did the school A disappear without a trace. The silver saucer in the Hermitage Museum (fig. 29) discovered in the Yamal-Nenets region was referred either to the 6th [134] or the 8th—9th century [112, p. 153—154]. The saucer has many elements of A5—6. The king's crown, the draping, line-ending dots are very close to respective details of OS64. The plant above the male servant's head, the double arch on the shoulders of all the figures on the saucer, like the arch on the shoulder of the female servant holding a pomegranate on the ewer OS65 (T41), the mountains under the feet of the figures on the saucer resemble such details of A6. Features of both stages are often combined, e. g., hair falling to the shoulders, haloes, pattern of the pillow, etc.

However, the saucer displays many features unexisting on objects of the school A. The composition and the proportions of the figures bring it close to 10th century medals [142, 198], especially to the one from Nishapur. The 11th century silver bowl OS146 [230, p. 405, 406] resembles the saucer in details unfamiliar to the school (the form of the halo, the semicircular edge of the carpet, the double arches on the shoulders). The above vessels have similarities of proportions and relief, whereas the general composition of the bowl is close to the Buid coin with a lute-player. Other 10th—11th century analogies to be pointed out are the unusually shaped lapels and the lower flaps of the kaftan on the saucer appearing also on pictures in an early 11th century manuscript of al-Sufi, Shiraz [234, fig. 3—6, 8—10]. All these parallels of details permit to date the saucer to the 10th—11th centuries, but this item, and all the more so OS64, cannot be referred to Buid objects, from which it differs both in style and in Mongoloid features of the ruler. The Nishapur medal recalls Khorasan ruler, among whom Ghaznevid Turks might have been Mongoloids. Two-horned caps of courtiers of the dynasty, often mentioned by different authors of the time, are depicted on this saucer. The kaftans and the boots on this vessel are close to details of wall paintings in Lashkari-Bazar [212], while the general character of the figures and the faces resembles reliefs of the palace in Ghazni [146] where we can also find analo-

gies of some ornamental motifs. A Ghaznevid bronze bowl of the 11th century [144, p. 115—116, pl. IIIa] is likewise related in some general features to the saucer.

On the whole the saucer appears to lie at the boundary line between traditions of the school A and Buid and Ghaznevid styles. A confrontation of the iconography of the vessel of ca. 1000 A. D. to literary evidence permits to assume that the saucer portrays Mahmud Ghaznevi who declared himself the king of Khorasan in 999 A. D.

As late as the 11th—13th centuries the influence of the school A made itself felt not only in Khorasan but also, though in a lesser degree, in western Iran and in Iraq. We shall cite one example only. A drawing of a 13th century manuscript written in north-western Iran depicts an animal which resembles a great deal lions of the school A. Its lower jaw and tongue are the same as those on vessels of this school, but differ from those on Sasanian objects [234, p. 22—23, fig. 165].

Related in some degree to the schools A and C is the ewer in bronze cast and ornamented in Basra [47]. The ornament on its neck and foot with many-petalled palmettes and twin half-palmettes on the ring-matted background, as well as with dots at the end of volutes (fig. 26—28), is close in its details to OS110 (T42) and in its style to Samarra ornaments (9th century). The décor of a similar ewer [SPA VI, pl. 1295B] includes modified T'ang clouds (cf. OS110). A detail of particular interest in its pictures is a sword of the 10th—13th centuries. Four more ewers of similar shape have a typical Seldjuk ornament. The style of writing of the inscription on the Basra ewer with its characteristic hook-shaped lower ends of the letters ر ن ل is close to 9th century scripts. The inscription reads:

بركة من صنعة ابي يزيد مما عمل بالبصرة سنة تسع و ستين

("Blessings. From products of Abu Yazid which were made in Basra in the year of sixty nine"). The date indicated 69 H.=689 A. D., is manifestly in discordance with stylistic and palaeographic evidence. The inscription is placed in a narrow ring-shaped frame and spaced widely in the beginning, but there is not enough place for the last word. The inscription could correspond to other observations if we assume that the craftsman lacked space not only for the last word but also for a complete word denoting hundreds. Then the date could read as 169 or 269<sup>10</sup>. The assumption may seem far-fetched, but it would be much more unreasonable to shift all the datings of the table nearly a century back on the basis of a

single inscription and thereby to refer Central Asiatic and T'ang influences to as early as the 7th century.

The dishes of A5 were referred to 7th century Soghd or to 10th century Iran. These datings have to be rejected. The fact that the table lacks, on the one hand, features of developed Abbasid, Samanid and Buid styles and, on the other hand, elements of Late T'ang makes us *limit the upper dating of B5 and A6 to the mid-ninth century*, though some features of the schools A, B and C survived in art as late as the 10th—13th centuries.

However, vessels of A5—6 have Soghdian and early Islamic elements alike and are connected with Iran and the Near East almost as closely as with Central Asia.

The review of analogies can be closed by dating a number of vessels of two principal schools.

School A: OS91 (T6), 7th century; OS84 (T7), ca. 700. A. D.; A3 (T26, 27), mid—8th century; A5 (T30, 31), ca. 800 A. D., A6 (T41), 9th century.

School B: B1 (T1 to 5), 5th—6th centuries; B2 (T9, 10), 7th century; SM54 (T20), early 8th century; OS135 (T37), early second half of 8th century; B4 (T38, 39), ca. 800 A. D.; B5 (T51), 9th century.

These points of reference permit to date approximately the rest of the vessels included in the table.

<sup>10</sup> The author is much indebted to O. G. Bolshakov for consultations on epigraphics and palaeography.

HISTORICAL  
INTERPRETATION*Progress of Soghd  
in the 7th century  
and metalwork*

Archaic forms resembling those of the Arshakid and Achaemenian period prevailed in Soghd in the 5—6th centuries. Vessels of the time were distinguished by lightness and simple technique of execution and showed steady connections with Khoresm only.

Two local versions were already outlined within the Soghdian school B [cf. T1, 10, 37 and T3, 5, 38, 39, 51].

The 7th century saw a progress of economics and culture of Soghd. Cities grew, internal and foreign trade developed, the Soghdians intensified the colonization of eastern Central Asia. The upsurge was rapid and powerful. The ancestors' experience proved to be insufficient for solving new problems in art, and Soghdian craftsmen soon assimilated artistic achievements of other peoples. A fundamental change in decorative art occurred in the 7th century when a new style in pottery became highly popular, though in figurative arts the new iconography and style succeeded as early as the 6th century. The change is supported by the evidence of clay figurines which seem to have been replicas of statues in temples. Instead of a few fixed posture representations of earlier periods there appeared reproductions of gods or kings on various thrones, warriors in armour, syrens, etc. Old types vanished leaving next to no trace, along with the former self-contained style of Soghd. New iconography borrowed a lot from India, Iran and Byzantium. Wall paintings in Varakhsha, Samarkand and Penjikent demonstrate that terracottas were true to the spirit of monumental art of the 6th—7th centuries.

The tendency to exquisiteness and luxury and the wide range of cultural contacts, which were characteristic of Soghdian art as a whole from the 6th to the 8th century, find reflection in pottery and metalwork as well beginning from the 7th century.

*Soghdian silversmiths and  
neighbouring civilizations*

In the 6th and 7th centuries Soghdian principalities submitted to Turkic Qaghans. Soghdian aristocrats adopted Turkic belt decorations [110], some weapons and horse equipment, feast vessels in

the form of cups with handle and rounded body, i. e., items connected to Turkic horsemen, who had conquered a multitude of tribes from the Crimea to China, and to the court of the Qaghan, the sovereign of Soghd.

Alternatively, the Turks who succeeded in subjugating the entire Inner Asia in a few decades drew upon the artistic experience of long-settled nations. A particularly important rôle in the life of the Turkic Empire was played by Soghdians. In nomadic states the style of the craftsman who attended to the needs of the ruler soon became the style of the whole state, for belts and bowls were widely used by the Qaghan's warriors. Such a mechanism of development of style among the nomads permits to explain rapid changes in art synchronous with changes in politics, and saves the trouble of seeking prototypes in the art of ancestral tribes. As a matter of fact, such attempts have proved to be fruitless for the 1st and 2nd Turkic Qaghanate, for the Avars of the 8th century, for the Hungarians, the Kyrghyzes, etc. The Soghdian ornament, more flexible than the Iranian one, was willingly reproduced by steppe craftsmen, losing in the process its floral character and becoming a set of conventionalized elements.

Art of the steppes was influenced by settled peoples other than Soghd as well.

Early Middle ages saw a rebirth of the animal style. Soghdian and Turkic versions of the latter were related to each other by their high expressiveness, which differs them both from T'ang and Sasanian variants. Common for the Soghdians and the Turks was the representation of animals with features of the heroic ideal, whereas Sasanian zoomorphic symbols were influenced by official portraits with their ideals of a bureaucratic state.

A Sasanian silver dish of the late 3rd century (OS36) has six medallions with protomes of animals [fig. 30]. The vessel is dated by unfrequent features of little importance for the subject. The border of its central medallion and the ends of the acanthus scroll shaped like a three-lobed half-palmette are close to details of the dish with an inscription of Papak, the pitiakhsh of Varahran II and Narseh [13; 76]. Three-lobed lateral projections of scrolls, half-palmettes with a pointed central lobe and rounded volute on lateral lobe, as well as border of outer medallions, are similar to respective details of the bowl of Varahran II [226; 76]. The heads of the bear and the lion are rendered like the head of the bear on the dish of Varahran [91; 76]; the application includes one ear and the upper jaw of the animal, while the other ear and the lower jaw are beyond it. Thus there are analogies to all the 3rd century Sasanian vessels we know. Details of the dish have many Roman elements, but the zoomorphic representations of deities are made in the style of official portraits.

Their borders are identical to that of the king's portrait; the head, the shoulder and the foreleg are given a position as close as possible to that of the head, the shoulder and the arm on the portraits. Static character, calm grandeur and spirit of courtly etiquette differ Sasanian images from Soghdian ones.

Difference of the styles becomes particularly noticeable when one compares vessels of the school A with Sasanian items. Early specimens of this school are of a manifestly Sasanian iconographic pattern, but many details, first of all sharp expressiveness and dynamism, indicate to Soghdian sources.

Where did this combination emerge? It was not in Iran, where there was no perceptible Soghdian influence prior to the Arab conquest of Soghd. Sasanian influence in Soghd was felt since the later part of the 4th century. In the 6th century under the Hephthalites features of the Gupta worship iconography affected monumental arts of Soghd and Khoresmian metalwork, but they had little influence on Soghdian silver, since it remained mostly beyond the sphere of official or religious art.

In the mid-seventh century after the fall of the Sasanides there was a flow of refugees and valuables to Soghd and farther to the east. A great many of Sasanian silver dishes bear Soghdian owners' inscriptions made in the 7th and 8th centuries [75, pp. 65—73].

The inflow of models can explain Sasanian elements of the school B, but the set of Iranian features, both in composition and in iconography of the school A, presents such an integral whole that the formation of this school appears to have been due both to foreign models and emigrant artists.

The Byzantine influence upon shape and composition of vessels was no less faïence than the Iranian one. It affected décor as well, though not so much. Bukharian "zandaneji" textiles [186; 16] go back to Byzantium [57; 58] and in a lesser degree to Sasanian Iran. Characteristic Soghdian features become conspicuous in pattern details only. Colours of "zandaneji" textiles can be traced to T'ang. The Soghdians, like other nations, appreciated technical refinement of artists of the T'ang Empire. This explains why T'ang motifs occur in the décor of vessels of the 8th and 9th centuries; however, these influences, salient in the school C, are limited to a few features in other schools. Alternatively, all that the Chinese borrowed from the Persians and the Soghdians was connected with an aristocratic way of life. In imitations it was secondary details that came to the front. It will be of interest to mention the history of such a silver-working technique as the ring-matted background. This method made its first appearance in late Sasanian Iran on details of decorations in relief; in the 7th century in Soghd it was used on parts of minor importance, where it became

the background to traced patterns, and in China, likewise in the 7th century, the ring-matted background emphasizing the unmatted traced design came to be the principal method of decorating vessels.

### *Soghdian metalwork in the time of Arab rule*

In the first half of the 8th century the Arabs conquered Soghd. The centre of Arab domains in Central Asia was a Khorasan city of Merv, where golden and silver vessels were made for the Khalif's court and through which tributes from Soghd came to the Khalifat. Items of the local school B were rather summarily made of thin sheets of silver. In the 8th and 9th centuries Soghdian principalities, plundered on numerous occasions and forced to pay enormous contributions and tributes, had no riches comparable to treasuries of Shahanshahs or Khalifs. Purely Sasanian features on items of that period, for instance, the Senmurv (A1—4), formerly avoided by artists who would rather create new fantastic hybrids (OS91; T6 and OS84; T7), demonstrate that links with Iran did not weaken and even strengthened. That the school A had new customers at that time is shown by reproductions of vessels of A1—2 on coins of princes at the south-eastern borders of the Khalifat (fig. 34)<sup>1</sup> and on a wall painting of the Khalif mansion in Syria [176, fig. 253]. It is highly probable that craftsmen of the school A already worked not only in Soghd but in Merv as well, where a Soghdian colony emerged. In the 8th and 9th centuries Persians and natives of Central Asia in the Arabs' service traced their traditions back to the Sasanian Empire, since the Khalifs were proud to declare themselves the heirs to the glory of Persian kings. The Persian language became popular in Soghd. In art as well the Sasanian tradition was not distinguished from the Central Asiatic one which merged with the former and thus found way to the centre of the Khalifat. In the 8th century the artist was ordered to create "remindful" and decorative pieces. The meaning of the subject was of little if any importance to the customer, who only wanted to have an item no worse than those which, in his opinion, had been used by the Sasanian court. Because of this from the 2nd to the 4th stages of the school A expressiveness of representation decreases and the rôle of decorative elements grows.

The approach became different after the 4th stage. It was not a mere reproduction of a Sasanian item that the artist aimed at; he endeavoured to create a composition in the spirit of the dynastic

<sup>1</sup> For coins see [173A, Em. 216, 242, 244, 246 etc].

Sasanian art. A5 and A6 furnish the earliest examples of the king's feast iconography which was to become a favourite subject in Islamic countries for half a millennium. Soghdian, Tokharistan and Sasanian features merging in this iconography are in a full accord with the situation in Khorasan in the early 9th century, when the Khalif Ma'mun ruled in Merv (809—817 A. D.) supported by the nobility of Khorasan and Central Asia who gave much attention to the idea of a revival of pre-Islamic traditions identified with Sasanian ones. Khorasan dishes (T30, 31) resemble a historical masquerade. Clothes, personal ornaments and horses' harnesses combine contemporaneous 8th—9th century items, misrepresented Central Asiatic objects of the 7th and 8th centuries and Sasanian decorations. The fervour of the king's hunting is gone. The horse is standing still, the king holds the spear with little hands.

By the end of the 8th century the influence of the schools A and C reached the centre of the Khalifat. It is more clearly seen in bronzes, though felt in silver ware too. The platter OS111 (T43) with its Syro-Egyptian composition, classic mythological subject, Chinese and Sasanian details and with manner and style foreign to both Central Asia, Iran and China, has been dated by features of the schools A and C to ca. 800 A. D. The bowl OS121 (T52) related to OS111 is still more close to Byzantine objects. Both items reflect an interest in exotic non-Islamic cultures peculiar to the high society of the Khalifat. The poet Abu Nuwas praised bowls portraying Sasanian kings and Christian saints caring little for symbolism of the figures. There was a mural with the goddess of the earth in the castle of the Khalif himself, who undoubtedly was an adversary of idolatry.

Some stylistic features of the schools A and C survived in art of the Near East until the 13th century.

Regeneration of the school B to an ornamental style went hand in hand with the vanishing of the remnants of the Soghdian state system. Loss of original subjects was the price paid by Central Asiatic metalworking art for the wide dissemination of its ornamental motifs in Asia and Eastern Europe in the 8th—10th centuries. The spread of the influences went via kings' palaces and nomadic chieftains' residences.

In conclusion I should like to stress the importance of metalwork for studies of history of the early mediaeval art. We cannot compare art objects as dissimilar as Syrian mosaics, Pendjikent wall paintings and Iranian rock reliefs. Silver objects closely related to one another in forms and patterns in different countries enable us to compare contributions of these countries to the same field of art and to find out that we must use as a unit of comparison not only a country but an artistic school as well, which could change countries undergoing but slight local modifications and preserving basi-

cally its tradition. Such was the school A, Soghdian in the 7th and Khorasan in the 9th century. Relationship between mediaeval schools and areas, though not negligible, did not define completely the artistic tradition. Political and ethnical boundary lines are more difficult to trace than much stabler boundaries between craftsmanship schools.

We have endeavoured to trace the evolution of Soghdian silver ware from provincially poor and archaic forms to its bloom in the seventh century, when it began influencing neighbouring countries. We have tried to understand how a wide range of contacts and relations with the entire civilized world contributed to development of an original style reflecting the energetic, vigorous and nonetheless refined spirit of Soghd. We have seen this creative flash fade away gradually with the loss of independence. The picture drawn remains incomplete because we have so far left out two dishes with narrative illustrations, but if we summarize conclusions regarding individual vessels and separate schools, it would not seem an exaggeration to say that Soghd was a focal point of evolution of Oriental metalwork between the Sasanian and the Abbasid periods in the 7th and 8th centuries.

## CONCORDANCE

No. on the table	Designation in the text	Dimension	School, stage	Century	Fig. Nos. (photos)
1	Bowl from Chilek	Dia. 17 cm	B1	6	12—13
2	Bowl from Chilek (with inscription)	Dia. 16 cm	B1	6	
3	Bowl from Munchak-tepe (with rosette)	Dia. 16 cm	B1	6	4
4	Bowl from Munchak-tepe (with inscription)	Dia. 20 cm	B1	6	
5	Bowl from Munchak-tepe	Dia. 13 cm	B1	6	7
6	OS91	Dia. 25 cm		7	
7	OS84	Height 40 cm		7—8	14
8	Golden ewer	Height 30,5 cm		7	
9	OS136	Dia. 22 cm	B2	7	23
10	NSP1	Dia. 19 cm	B2	7	
11	Ewer from Pokrovskoye	Height 28 cm	B (?)	7—8	23
12	Cup with handle from Pokrovskoye	Height 8,5 cm	B (?)	7	
13	Pottery ewer from Tumshuk	Height 33 cm		7	23
14	OS115		C	7	

No. on the table	Designation in the text	Dimension	School. stage	Centu- ry	Fig. Nos. (photo- es)
15	Dish from Pokrovskoye	Dia. 27 cm	B (?)	7—8	
16	Bowl from Lo-yang		B	7	31
17	OS49 (detail)	Dia. 27 cm	A1	8	5
18	OS107	Dia. 30 cm	A2	8	6
19	Sculptural head of the Sen- murv	Length 30 cm		8	21
20	SM54	Height 7,5 cm	B (?)	8	22
21	Bowl from Shudyakar	Dia. 26 cm	B (?)	8	
22	OS124	Height 28 cm	B (?)	8	24
23	Dish from China	Dia. 34 cm	Tang	8	
24	Porcelain ewer	Height 29,5 cm	Tang	7—8	
25	Cup with handle, C. Kempe		C	7—8	
26	OS114	Height 6,5 cm	C	8	
27	OS108	Dia. 25 cm	A3	8	7
28	OS109	Height 11 cm	A3	8	
29	OS106	Dia. 27 cm	A4	8	8
30	OS63	Dia. 26 cm	A5	8—9	9
31	OS64	Dia. 26 cm	A5	8—9	10, 20
32	OS100	Dia. 16 cm		8	
33	Pendant from Redikor	Dia. 5 cm		8—9	
34	SM55	Height 10 cm		8	
35	OS134	Dia. 21 cm		8—9	
36	OS314	Dia. 39,5 cm		8	
37	OS135	Dia. 35 cm	B3	8	15
38	OS313	Dia. 15 cm	B4	8—9	17
39	OS137	Dia. 25 cm	B4	8—9	16
40	OS116	Height 6 cm		8—9	32
40a	Bowl with a bird from Chi- na	Height 5 cm	B	8	
41	OS65	Height 32 cm	A6	9	
42	OS110	Height 9 cm		8	
43	OS111	Dia. 38,5 cm		8—9	25
44	Cup with handle from Ster- litamak	Height 7 cm	C (?)	8	
45	OS117	Height 6 cm	C (?)	8	
46	OS113	Height 5,5 cm	C	8	
47	OS112	Height 5,5 cm	C	8	
48	OS291	Height 6 cm	C	8—9	19
49	OS99	Dia. 21 cm		8	
50	OS312	Height 20 cm	12	9	18
51	OS138	Dia. 28 cm	B5	9	
52	OS121	Dia. 16 cm		9	

Note: Vessels from Munchak-tepe (3—5) are given in a graphical recon-  
struction