#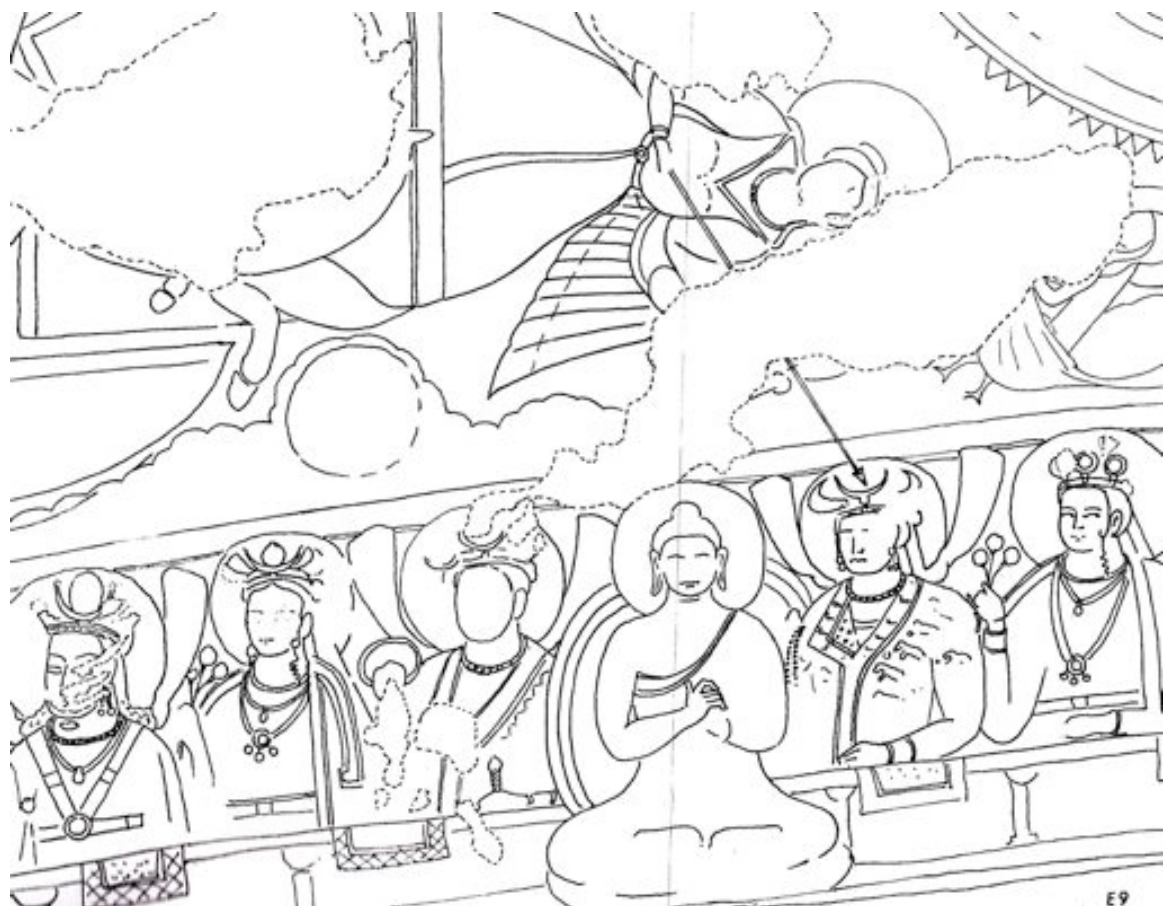 Agency in Material? The Iconography of Headdresses at Bamiyan and What It Suggests About Relations with Neighboring Regions Between the 5th and 8th Centuries A.D.

By: Nadia Hamid

Cover Photo: Adapted Reconstruction Drawing of Donor Figures. 35m Buddha Niche. Tarzi, Zemaryalai. 1977 *L'architecture et le décor rupestre des grottes de Bamiyan*. 2 volumes.

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Chapter 1   Introduction

The Hindu Kush region in Afghanistan was once part of a network of many trade routes sustained over a vast time period (roughly from 100 BC to 1450 AD). The result of this was an increase in trade centers, dispersed settlements, migratory people, and the emergence of religious complexes in the cultural landscape. This thesis focuses on Bamiyan, a Buddhist archaeological complex in the Hindu Kush region (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Bamiyan Valley and view of 55m Buddha (Credit:i.dawn.com)

Once known as the Kingdom of Bamiyan, this site is situated in an enclosed valley, on the northeast boundaries of the Hindu Kush mountain range (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 21) (Figure 2).[1] Historically, Bamiyan was both a commercial and monastic center, conveniently located at a junction of a trade route in the region of historical Bactria (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 27).[2] Merchants who used this trade route were largely dependent on religious complexes like Bamiyan, which offered refuge and religious faith in exchange for patronage to the monastic community (Klimburg-Salter 1989,72; 136-137).

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[1] The Kingdom of Bamiyan is known from literary references by Chinese sources as early as the 5th
[2] The evidence of this trade route is known by archaeological remains of fortification walls, and fortresses spread across the Hindu Kush region (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 24-27).

Bamiyan is widely recognized today by its two colossal sized Buddha statues, known as the "Great Buddhas", the largest Buddhist sculptures in the world (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 9) (Figure 3).   Both statues were constructed at different times during the 6th century AD in niches carved out of high rocky cliff.   The earlier Buddha was built in the first half of the 6th century, and is 38m tall. The latter Buddha was built in the late half of the sixth century and reaches a height of 55m (UNESCO Afghanistan, 2003).[3]   Although the large Buddha statues have been the focus of research for many scholars (e.g. Tarzi 1977; Klimburg-Salter 1989; Higuchi and Barnes 1995; Behrendt 2004) the frescoes painted in both the Great Buddha niches have not been studied as extensively.   This research will investigate the iconography of the two Great Buddha niche frescoes to measure the extent of interaction between Bamiyan and its neighboring regions.

Figure 2. Map of Bamiyan, Afghanistan (marked with blue arrow) and Neighboring Areas (Credit: Rambulation.com)

The frescos in both the Great Buddha niches at Bamiyan depict aspects of Buddhist religious imagery and iconography (Tarzi 1977; Klimburg-Salter 1989; Barnes and Higuchi 1995; Behrendt 2004). Scholars have suggested that part of

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[3] These dates have been prescribed and agreed by most scholars who have investigated the site of Bamiyan (Tarzi 1977;Klimburg-Salter 1989; Higuchi and Barnes 1995;Behrendt 2004).

these frescoes include scenes of elite figures sitting or standing at a balcony, next to images of seated deities on lotus pedestals (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 127-128; Higuchi and Barnes 1995, 298) (see Figure 4).   This assumption will be followed in this research.
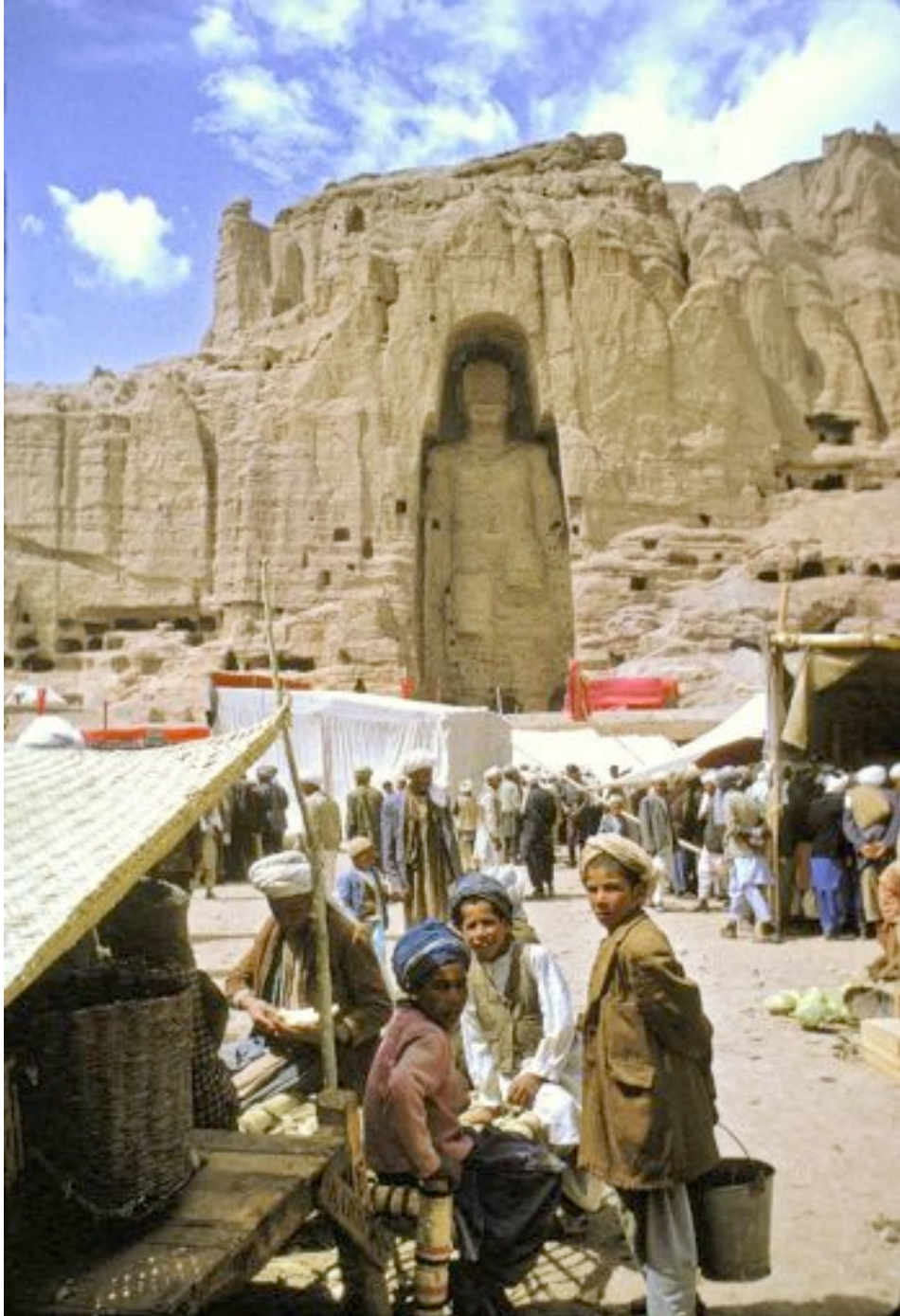
Figure 3. Photograph of 55m Buddha and marketplace in unknown time (Credit: panoramio.com)

This research focuses on the iconography of the rows of figures in both Great Buddha niches, specifically the crowns they wear. Some studies have briefly noted that Bamiyan figures painted in the niche frescoes and figures on coins from various sites across Asia contain stylistically similar crowns (e.g. Göbl 1967; Tarzi 1977; Klimburg-Salter 1989; Cribb and Hermann 2007; Stark 2009b). Though these studies have introduced the theory that the iconography of particular headdresses spread across areas of Asia on numismatics, there has not been a lot of research to develop an iconographic analysis and spatial distribution of headdresses depicted in the material culture. The relevance of this paper is to compare the crowns on figures depicted in the niche frescoes of the Great Buddhas at Bamiyan with the crowns of figures observed with similar headdress at neighboring sites and on coins, in order to examine extent of interaction between regions of historical Central Asia and China during the 5th to 8th centuries AD. The following sections will expand on this topic of research and what kind of methodological approach will be taken.
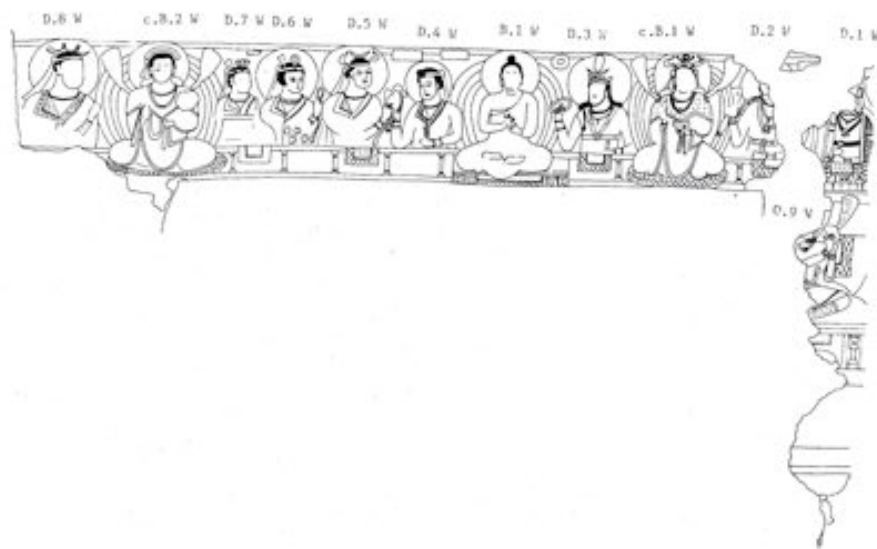
Figure 4. Reconstruction Drawing of Figures at 38m Great Buddha Niche (Tarzi 1977 Appendix, See also Appendix I of this paper Figures 63-65)

1.1. Purpose and Research Question

Past scholarly study of headdresses in historical Central Asia provides an understanding of what type of motifs had been utilized on crowns and, when possible, where they are found geographically. Lerner (2009) and Stark (2009), for example, have both introduced iconographical studies of headdresses found throughout areas of Central Asia. Lerner argues that animal elements on a headdress, such as wings or horns, stem from an ancient tradition honoring totemic

beliefs (2009, 216-217; 223).   Stark has suggested in his study, that the repetitive use of particular motifs, like the crescent symbol, were also used historically and used by certain cultural groups in the regions of Central Asia (2009, 292-293).

Some scholars have mentioned similarities of headdress motifs found at neighboring sites to Bamiyan (Il'yasov 2003, Grenet 2007; Kageyama 2006; Stark 2009).   Neighboring sites in this paper are defined as any sites in Bactria, Sogdia (present day Uzbekistan/Tajikistan), the Surkhandarya Province (present day Uzbekistan), Kashmir (present day Pakistan/India), Kizil, Khotan and Xi'an (all in present day China).   Although this past research has yielded insight into comparing headdresses at neighboring sites, there has been little iconographic analysis for headdresses depicted at Bamiyan.

This thesis asks to what extent can the iconography of headdresses depicted at Bamiyan suggest interaction with neighboring sites in Central Asia between the 5th and 8th centuries?   Furthermore, do the results of a network analysis of crown types correlate with the north-south trade route in the Hindu Kush region? The hypothesis is that motifs on crowns are found in areas of most interaction with Bamiyan and the Hindu Kush region, and were utilized in the iconography purposefully along the Silk Road.

The first objective of this thesis is to use the data from previous research to identify certain patterns of motifs of headdresses, beginning with the headdresses of figures at Bamiyan and comparing them to figures with headdresses at neighboring sites.   The second objective is to use a sample of numismatics from these same areas to compare the figures on coins to the material culture at Bamiyan and adjacent areas.   The third objective is to identify headdress types by location and to create a distribution map. Though these past studies have focused on identifying stylistically what headdresses exist at various sites around Bamiyan, the iconography of headdresses has yet to be applied thoroughly to the historical trade network that existed between the 5th and 8th centuries. The purpose of this last objective is to measure an extent of interaction between regional areas around Bamiyan.

The greater relevance of this for this thesis research is to interpret the social implications for the depiction of particular crown types on figures at Bamiyan and elsewhere   According to Lerner (2009, 224) headdresses in historical Central Asia are one way of depicting an affiliation of an individual or group symbolically, and in another way a means of continuing a tradition.   The extent of interaction through the exchange of similar motifs on headdresses, may justify a link between ideology and material culture (DeMarrais et *al*. 1996; Fowler 2004; Insoll 2009).

1.2   Chronology

This thesis covers the period between 5th century AD and 8th century AD. This time period has been chosen because it is a crucial moment during the prosperity of a highly engaged network of economic trade and religious development, and before the Arab conquest and subsequent Islamic conversion (see Figure 5). Bamiyan was one of the last places to be converted from Buddhist to Islam (roughly around the 10th century), resist foreign authority and maintain a relatively stable economic environment during this time (Klimburg-Salter 1982, 23).
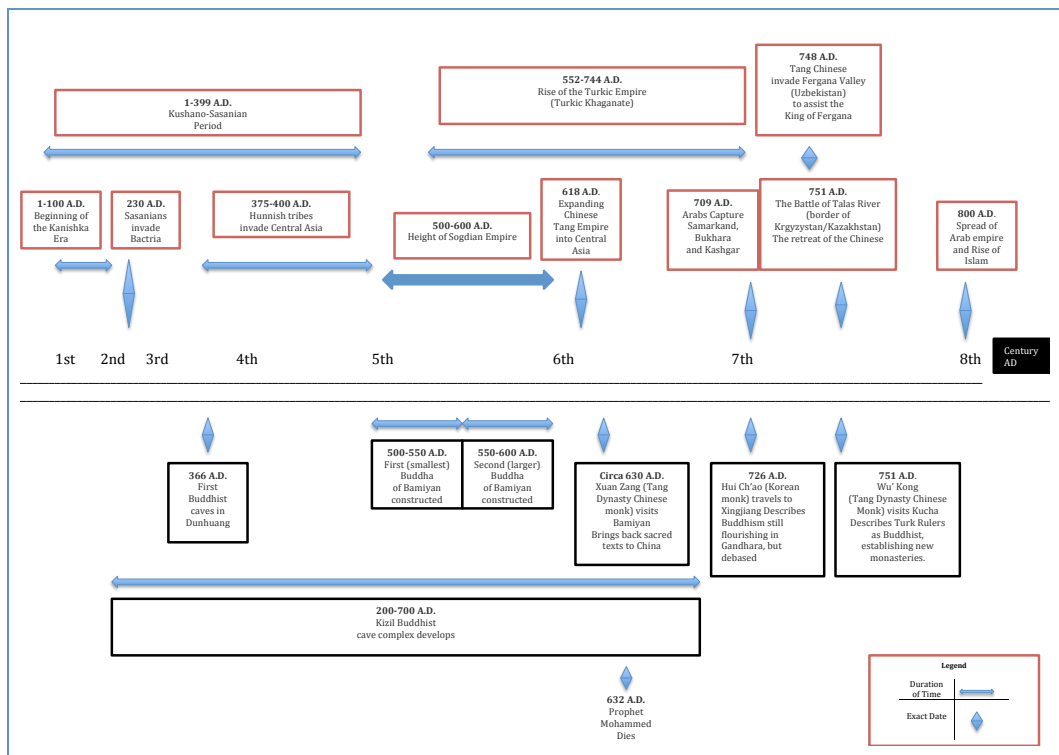
Figure 5. Time Line of Historical Events (Above); Religious Events (Below) (After Klimburg-Salter 1989; Cribb and Errington 1992; Cribb and Hermann 2007; Hansen 2012)

1.3   Methodology

The methodology that is applied in this research is primarily an iconographic analysis following the theoretical approach of Panofsky (1972), to identify headdress types by material and geographic context. The first category of data in the analysis will be frescoes and other forms of material culture (e.g. sculpture, objects). The second category of data in the analysis will be coins. The

case study in this thesis will be from Bamiyan, plus the sites of surrounding areas, namely regions of Bactria, Sogdia, Kashmir, and Xingjiang (see further Chapter 3). The patterns found by analyzing certain type headdresses in the data sample will form a basis to measure a geographic distribution of headdress motifs.

The fixed variable of this research analysis is the headdress or crown, which will be analyzed by type (see further Chapter 4). The provenance for this data has been retrieved through literature study, based mainly on the studies of Tarzi (1977) and Klimburg-Salter (1989). Other variables that will be included in the analysis, which have been observed by past scholars, such as the diadem or headband (Stark 2009), the triangular collar (Il'Yasov 2003), and a presence of a halo, will also be applied in the analysis (see further Chapter 5).[4] The provenance for coins is based on literature study of Smirnova (1963) and first hand observation from my research experience at the Hermitage Museum, Amsterdam during February 2014 to June 2014.

A theoretical framework based on iconographic analysis, which includes iconology, and network and interaction, will be applied to the interpretation of the analyses. Other theoretical concepts such as material engagement, ideology and archaeological memory will be mentioned (see further Chapter 7), but not focused on entirely, in hopes that this thesis can be developed further into future research. In the next chapter, a survey of theoretical concepts that will be applied in this paper will be considered in more detail.

1.4   List of Chapters

This thesis is separated into the following chapters. Chapter One has introduced the research of this thesis, including the research problem and purpose, the research question and greater relevance of this study. A theoretical framework focusing on iconography and visual culture will be discussed in Chapter Two. Chapter Three will be a review of the background information collected for this thesis research, including previous archaeological study, historical context, material studies and the origins of the headdress in Central Asia. Chapter Four will outline the methodological approach this thesis will apply to the analysis, including the definitions of headdress types and the other variables. A description of the data and iconographic patterns, of both figures and coins, will be analyzed in Chapter

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[4] This analysis also includes figures that are depicted with one or more of these variables without a headdress.

Five.   The results and interpretation of this analysis, including a map of distribution will be discussed in Chapter Six.   Finally, Chapter Seven will conclude this thesis with remarks on the achievability of this research's approach that will be intended for further discussion.

Chapter 2   Theoretical Approach

The focus of this chapter will be to introduce theoretical concepts that are relevant to the iconography of headdresses at Bamiyan and its neighboring regions from the 5th century AD to the 8th century AD.   The regions of Central Asia contain highly complex iconography, often related to religious iconography, which reflects many accumulated cultural traditions (Tissot 1983). Therefore, the theoretical framework, which is applied to this thesis will also reflect a multi-disciplinary approach, which compliments these complexities.   In order of hierarchal importance, this paper will cover first, theories of iconography and semiotics. Secondly, in order to apply how iconography was spread and distributed spatially, this paper will also introduce theories of interaction.   Finally, to bridge the contextual meanings of iconography and the extent of interaction, the third theoretical approach will be a social interpretation of iconography within visual culture.   Social interpretation here refers exclusively to concepts of the formation and exchange of ideology, and of archaeological memory.   The main theoretical focus for purposes of this research will be iconography with a secondary focus on interaction.   Social interpretation will be introduced in this chapter, and applied in the discussion and concluding remarks in later chapters, but will not be the focus as it remains outside the scope of this thesis.

Some problematic issues will be addressed in this chapter to highlight the concerns of the author in, not only using a multi-disciplinary approach, but to also address how the aforementioned theoretical approaches may also lend themselves to inconclusive assumptions.   The aim here is to promote a post-modernist theoretical approach for this study, but to remain mindful of larger problematic interpretations, specifically when using iconography as the basis for archaeological data.

2.1   Iconographic Studies Overview

The concept of iconography in both archaeology and art history studies the identification, description and the interpretation of the content of the images commonly referred to as semiotics.   Semiotics is a branch of iconography that also concentrates on signs and symbols.   The following sections will introduce semiotics, using past models of Pierce and Saussure.   Though it is worth mentioning

these aforementioned scholars, the focus of this research's theoretical approach will be the iconographical model put forth by Panofsky. His theoretical approach will be discussed in this section to address how signs and symbols may also convey meaning, referred to here as iconology.

2.1.1 Summary of Semiotics

The study of semiotics is largely attributed to the research of two scholars, Peirce (1934) and Saussure (1916). Although they were both interested in models of signs, often applied to the study of linguistics, they had two particularly different views of how a person may interpret them.[5] Although these two scholars are widely considered the founders of semiotics, this research will not be applying their models of signs and symbols for this analysis. An explanation for this follows.

In critique of the *structuralist* methods of Peirce and Saussure, other scholars in a postmodern or post-processual discipline have engaged these past theories to allow for a method of openness for interpretation, to subject the interpreter to both biases and misinterpretation (Foucault 1986;1993). Foucault argues that signs and symbols can change their meaning to adapt to a cultural situation that arises or the space in which it is found (Foucault 1986, 22). Accordingly, in effort to expand iconography from symbols and description of form, other scholars, namely Panofsky (1939, 1972), introduced another set of methodologies that could be used to interpret iconography, to see where symbols and meanings might overlap. Though the theories put forth by Foucault are relevant to the theoretical approach of Panofsky, this thesis will focus its iconographic analysis on the theories of Panofsky.

2.1.2 Summary of Panofsky's Model of Iconology

Panofsky (1939) became particularly well known for his studies of symbols and iconography within the discipline of art history. In his *Studies of Iconology,* Panofsky identifies three levels of art historical understanding of iconography

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[5] Peirce offers logical dimensions to break down the meaningful use of a sign. The three-part model he is so well known for is called Peircian's Triad, or the *semiotic triangle*. The key components of the triad, the 'representamen', the 'interpretant', and the 'object' share a relationship called *semiosis* (Pierce 1934). According to De Saussure, there is a two-part model, that includes the signifier and the signified, and the association of these two units produces a sign (De Saussure 1916).

(1972, 5-9). What was new in Panofsky's approach was his concern with content, when the discipline of art history was dominated by a preoccupation with form and stylistic analysis. These levels he has proposed will be described below.

Iconology is the link between thought and image (Panofsky 1972). This type of analysis was introduced to distinguish itself from just studying subject matter or images, which had been the traditional scope of iconography. According to Panofsky (1972), the first level of iconography is a basic level of understanding and devoid of cultural knowledge. With that in mind, Panofsky (1972) argues that the secondary level is reached when cultural and iconographic knowledge is brought together. This involves, for Panofsky, a familiarity with scholarly works, and in some cases the inclusion of ethnographic information (1955, 30). The third level becomes what Panofsky refers to as iconology or the intrinsic meaning. Panofsky argues that art is not an isolated event, but a product of the historical environment (1972, 5-9). Thus, the meaning of a symbol develops out of the context of its origins. The origins of the headdress in Central Asia, given that this paper relies heavily on the approach of Panofsky, will be discussed in a later chapter (see Background Chapter).

Panofsky's iconographic approach is particularly relevant for this thesis because it asks what do signs and symbols mean when placed in a historical context. This paper utilizes Panofsky's assumptions to describe the iconography of headdresses, then to address both how and where repetitive crown motifs are used across Central Asia, and lastly to expand on the underlying principles which may reveal the meaning behind the use of particular crown motifs. Though Pierce and Panofsky theoretical approaches have been applied to disciplines outside of archaeology, the objective of using theories of semiotics and iconology in this paper is to deal with the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, iconography is expressed by objects and events. This paper proposes that the relationship of iconography, expressed on any kind of material culture, and interaction is one way an iconographical analysis can be applied to archaeology. The section that follows will deal with a general theoretical approach to interaction.

2.2   Overview of Interaction

Interaction refers to regional interactions between one area and another and the study of networks, the web in which these areas are connected to. In the last decade, new approaches to regional interaction have developed into a growing field

of study (Knappett 2013).   Complex systems, in this case, the trade network of the so-called Silk Road, are composed of interacting components (Hansen 2012;Knappett 2013).   These interactions developed out of trade networks can be measured in many different ways, most often by space or time, but interaction, to name another example, can also be between individual and groups in human societies.   For purposes of this thesis, theories of interaction are applied here based on the network of distribution of headdress iconography.   The following section will discuss what theories have been proposed by a few scholars on interaction and how they are relevant to a network of trade and religion.[6]

2.2.1 Theories of Interaction and Networks

Wasserman and Faust (1994) have suggested that a network can represent regional interaction among groups of people, in which the nodes of the network web are social agents, and the areas between nodes are the interaction.   Knappett (2013) has most recently expanded the study of structure of networks, on a large or small scale, to archaeology. According to Knappett, networks develop structure out of the result of interactions between its parts (nodes) (2013, 5-6).   The types of interaction that take place have also been applied to the trade of material culture. Knappett (2011, 2013) asserts that in most cultures a 'network of objects' exists, to clarify that material culture rarely stands independently from one another, rather it is interconnected into networks.   Furthermore, Knappett stresses that interaction of material culture is not always equally shared, in fact, there can be strong and weak links or stronger ties in one direction over another (Knappett 2013, 9).   This paper argues that the 'network of objects' proposed by Knappett (2011) is also relevant to iconography.   The transmission of symbols, in this case the motifs found on headdresses, are like moveable objects that can build and extend social relationships between societies.   Hansen (2012) has expanded this concept in more detail and will be discussed in the following paragraph.

Valerie Hansen (2012) has made impressive strides to connect theories of interaction and networks with the social and political context of trade in historical Central Asia.   In her attempts to deflate generalized perspectives of the network of trade along so-called Silk Road, she has expanded the discourse to include multi-

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[6] This introduction to interaction is by no means the entire extent of theoretical approaches available today.   This is also not an attempt to cover a network analysis approach, although this would be very interesting for future research.

directional and multi-faceted interactions dependent on vastly different variables, such as availability of resource, the amount of risk, disease, and geographic setting (Hansen 2012).[7]   In the past, Hansen has also reflected on the transmission of esoteric goods, like artistic traditions, along the Silk Road, and how these types of interaction do not have one kind of typical network structure (Hansen 2003, 18-19). She goes on to argue that the exchange of cultural motifs across long or short distances and in certain areas in particular, supports a hypothesis that these would have been the places of most interaction between different cultural groups (Hansen 2003, 19).

Following the hypothesis of trade networks proposed by Hansen (2012) and the theoretical approach that material culture is one determinant for the structure of social networks supported by Knappett (2011,2013), this paper assumes that certain motifs on headdresses that are depicted in Bamiyan and its neighboring regions will occur in areas of most interaction.   Although these theoretical approaches deal with how networks develop and evolve, for purposes of this research, it will not be the focus of the discussion, in order to concentrate on iconography and iconology.   The section that follows will discuss how the iconography of material culture, in this case specifically the depiction of headdresses, can be interpreted in visual culture.

2.3   Visual Culture Overview

Visual culture is a field of study that covers a wide breadth of disciplines, including cultural studies, art history, and philosophy.   Only in recent decades has this field of study been applied to archaeology (e.g. Skeates 2005).   The following sections focus on a few studies that bridge theories of visual culture, namely material engagement, and ideology.   The objective is to open up the discussion of how the perception of 'seeing iconography' or agency of material can be linked to ideology.   The relevance of the material engagement theory is to discuss the social interpretation for the function of particular headdress types depicted throughout Central Asia and China.   The aim here is that by including these last theoretical concepts, it will stimulate further research, and generate more links in the future between iconography, interaction, and visual culture.   For purposes of this research, a discussion of these theoretical approaches in relation to the iconography of

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[7] These are just a few examples Hansen (2012) discusses which have had an affect on the types of interaction that took place and the network of trade and religion, which she argues were highly influential

headdresses will be addressed in the last chapter (see Concluding Remarks), but will not be the focus of the theoretical framework.

2.3.1 Material Engagement Theory

The path of post-processual archaeology has made it possible to contribute theories and concepts normally accepted in other social and science disciplines (Hodder 2007). Following Hodder, "the importance of cognition and symbolism are central planks in the agenda of cognitive processual archaeology (Hodder 2007, 201). Recent discourse how material can engage the human mind has also been applied to archaeology (Malafouris and Renfrew 2008). Renfrew applied the *Material Engagement Theory* to archaeology to help better interpret how material culture is given agency through their engagement in a social network (Renfrew 2004). This concept is deemed relevant for this research to interpret how the headdresses of figures can materialize into mechanisms for ideology and identity. This will be discussed further in the sections that follow.

2.3.2 Ideology

Other scholars such as DeMarrais et. *al* suggests that ideology is developed out of a symbolic and material component (1996, 16). Rituals, such as symbols or ceremonial events, are ways to establish authority through repetitive action (DeMarrais et. *al* 1996, 16). DeMarrais et.*al* also suggests that once ideology is valued, either as a reminder of the past or as a method to maintain control of a dispersed population (1996, 16). Furthermore, ideology becomes useful for the authoritarian groups to use this to negotiate power relationships (1996, 16)

Fowler (2004) argues that objects are parts of more than one person, that is that the engagement of seeing an object or thing and all the origins of its past, are part of the 'personhood' of the object (2004, 28-29). Both Fowler and DeMarrais et. *al* suggest that materialization of ideology, in the form of symbolic objects or ceremonies strengthens identity (1996, 16; 2004, 29). What gives primacy over one ideology over another? The answer is grounded in the process by which these ideologies are given concrete, physical form (DeMarrais et. *al* 1996, 16). This paper uses this hypothesis to suggest that the visual act of seeing a crown on a figure, when it contains certain repetitive symbols and placed in a certain ceremonial context, transmit information and meaning to the viewer. This will be discussed further in a later chapter (See Interpretation and Discussion Chapter). This section

has dealt with how ideology is materialized in symbols and rituals, the section that follows focuses on how memory can also be materialized.

2.3.3   Archaeological Memory

Archaeological memory, or the continuation of ritual or symbols from the past is represented in many cultures (Insoll 2009). Ritual practices, which are used repetitively, can materialize as archaeological memory (Insoll 2009, 293).   This is a way of stabilizing the ritual, so that it is given meaning, and applied as a crucial component to the construction of nostalgia (Insoll 2009, 293).   Material, embedded in tradition, engages the viewer and can be a powerful way of marketing nostalgia so that it is recognized visually (Insoll 2009, 2).   Following Insoll, the construction of memory is key to validating ritual and nostalgia, and this paper argues furthermore that memory is also another method of uniting the ideology of dispersed communities (2009, 3). The memory of a cultural tradition or a reminder of a historical past will be relevant to this research to see if a particular crown is depicted in many geographical contexts, if it can also be interpreted as a form of nostalgia.

2.3.4 Discussion of Visual Culture Overview

Symbols in material culture engage the human mind and give meaning. Crown types, if they can be compared to past traditional crowns, and found in diverse contexts might suggest that symbols here also convey cultural memory. The reminder of a 'distant past' or an event associated with a type of crown can engage the viewer's cognition.   This paper will argue that headdresses depicted on the figures of the Bamiyan niches and other regions, may be in one way, a method to communicate authority and ideology, but in another way to create a sense of personal identity.   Following Fowler, patterns in practices, like the repetitive use of a certain crown depicted on figures, are means in which identities are shaped and managed (2004, 27).   The materialization of iconography on headdresses at various Central Asian sites, when associated symbolically with a form of memory of space or time, can encode for the viewer an ideology that does not require linguistics or writing.

2.4   Discussion of Limitations

In general, archaeology is consistently limited by various factors.   Following Shanks and Tilley, "the 'truth' of the past can never be known for certain" (1987, 12).   There are certainly limitations to this study, which in some respects proposes to trace the past by examining only a fraction of the iconography, most of which still remains relatively unknown. The lack of historical sources and archaeological data to provide more concrete evidence, serves as a reminder that interpreting any part of the material culture can always be doubtful and problematic.   Analyzing and interpreting the iconography of headdresses, whether applying theoretical approaches of semiotics, or interaction, or visual culture, is always subject to personal subjectivity.

This research is also limited by a greater fragmentation in today's post-processual archaeology, which often separates academic disciplines (Hodder 2007, 202). Following Hodder, ignoring one discipline over another does not allow for a 'big picture' of the full context.   In the case of sites like Bamiyan and others in Central Asia, there should be more inclusivity to collect as much information as possible, especially because there is so little compared to other great civilizations that have already been studied.   Thus the greatest limitation is not that these other disciplines cannot be employed in this paper, but rather the consequence of using both controversial and problematic theories, which has not been applied before.   For example, Homer (1998) suggests that visual culture remains a "slipper concept", which is one reason why, for the scope of this research, this paper will not focus heavily on these theoretical concepts (1998, 8).

The "unobservable" coined by Hodder (2007, 203) can refer arguably to disciplines like visual culture, that may pose difficulties in the interpretation of iconography, by using multidisciplinary theories which have not been applied to archaeology until recently.   In other words, using a theoretical framework, which borrows from Foucault's proverbial "toolbox", remains in essence a risky approach.   Though the headdresses of Bamiyan and its periphery regions will be interpreted by Panofsky's system of iconographic analysis, it would serve little in the way of post-modern archaeology to discredit other disciplines.   On the other hand, it is a reminder that the interpretation of the data in this research might be best achieved by limiting the theoretical framework in this thesis.   The next chapter will address the background information collected in this research to clarify the geographic, historical and religious contexts surrounding Bamiyan and also other neighboring regions.

Chapter 3   Background

The sections that follow in this chapter are intended to provide contextual information about the historical, political and religious background of Bamiyan and some Central Asian regions that are relevant for this research.[8] In light of these circumstances, these sections are not meant to address the entire background of Central Asia, but what should be mentioned for purposes of this thesis research.

In this research, the Central Asian and Chinese regions that contain sites that are featured in this paper's data set can be summated as[9]:

1. **Bactria**, northern Afghanistan and the former Soviet Union territory on the opposite bank of the Amu Darya.
2. **Sogdia**, north of the Oxus and around Samarkand, in present day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.
3. **Swat Valley,** in the Khyber Province near the Afghan/Pakistan border
4. **Gandhara**, North-western Pakistan around Peshewar to Gilgit
5. **Xingjiang**, often referred to in historical sources as Chinese Turkestan; around Khotan in the Tarim Basin in northeast China
6. **Shaanxi**, around Chang-an (historical Xi'an) in east China

3.1   Geographic Setting

Bamiyan is located at the western periphery of the Hindu Kush region at an approximate altitude of 2,550 meters.[10] This area consists of many high altitude mountain ranges in the eastern part, namely the Hindu Kush (approximately 7,690 m) in Afghanistan. These mountains are part of a larger chain, which begins at the easterly Hindu Kush, connects to the Pamirs (Pakistan, Tajikistan, China) mountain range the Alai and Tien Shan Mountains further north.   These aforementioned mountain ranges connect to the Himalayas further east.

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[8] The sections of this chapter are limited in how much detail the scope of this research allows for, because either information remains unknown or is still widely debated by scholars in the field.

[9] This information has been adapted from the study of Cribb and Errington (1992) and Cribb and Hermann (2007) and Litvinsky et. *al* "History of Civilisations: Central Asia" (2003). The regions that are referred here are only ones that are relevant to this research, and not all of the regions that exist.

[10] For purposes of this paper, the Hindu Kush region refers to the areas east of Bamiyan that are situated in the mountains.

Figure 6. Photo of Bamiyan Valley in the Hindu Kush region. (Credit: Warwick Ball, 2008)

The regions of Central Asia, in general, consist of a wide array of topography, from high mountains to fertile valleys in the west and south; desert steppes and oases in the north and east. The mountain ranges receive substantial snow and melt off, which supplies a vast river system, some which flows to the subcontinent India, in the summer months. The steppes also provide pastoral grass to raise cattle and a suitable habitat for persons wishing to escape the harsh, snowy winter in the mountains (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 104).

These areas rely on two main seasons, winter and summer (Warwick 2009)[11]. The climate of these regions is challenging, where the winter months the temperature plummets well below zero Celsius, and in the summer months, the temperature can be as high as forty degrees Celsius, especially in the steppe grass regions (Warwick 2009, 9).[12] The climate is characteristically dry. The mountainous areas of Hindu Kush region remain sheltered from the subcontinent monsoons, the steppe areas are prone to wind and sandstorms, which are carried west from the Tarim Basin, in present day China. In the Hindu Kush region, earthquakes are very prone.   Mountain passes and access ways can be blocked due to climatic changes, and the rock of these mountainous zones are conglomerate, therefore porous and brittle.

[11] Winter can last for upwards six months and the summer can be as short as three months.

[12] The steppe grass areas are known historically as Sogdia in present day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. See Historical Context section of this chapter.

3.2 Historical and Political Context

The context surrounding the history of the Hindu Kush region and the areas that surround it, in present day Central Asia and China, is relatively complex. Sources that relevant to the Hindu Kush region are usually textual references in early Indian, classical Greek and Roman, Chinese, Iranian and Arab literature. Despite problems with language and chronology, some scholars have made efforts to support further evidence of the history of the Hindu Kush and surrounding areas through the study of numismatics (Göbl 1967; Cribb and Errington 1992; Lerner et. *al* 2011).

The historical and political context provided in the next few paragraphs attempts, at best, to summarize the most important events of before and during the time period of this research (5th to 8th century AD). This will not cover the regions of Central Asia to China in its entirety.   The objective in these next sections is to concentrate on the historical, political and religious context of this paper's case study, Bamiyan and the Hindu Kush region (Bactria), and its relationship with the neighboring regions.   Where it is necessary, other regions will be briefly mentioned.

For many centuries, before and after the 5th century AD, the Hindu Kush region was largely under the control of a series of large empires, emanating from the west, north or east (Cribb and Errington 1992, 4).   After the fall of the Kushan Empire around the 3rd century, the Sasanian Empire took control of most of Bactria and Sogdia, but at times commanded authority through the leadership of Kushan kings.[13]   This phase has largely been referred in literature as the Kushano-Sasanian period (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 368).[14]   In the mid-fourth century A.D., a new kingdom had arisen which took control of the former Kushan territory under Sasanian control, named after one of its rulers, Kidara, as the Kidarites (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 368-369).   The identity of the Kidarites is difficult to understand, and some textual references consider them to be part of Hunnic groups, whereas Chinese sources, for example, suggest they may have been a branch of the Yuezhi

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[13] A mention of the Kushan period is deemed relevant in this research because the Kushan kings still maintained influence in the Hindu Kush regions long after, in particular in the artistic traditions (see further Klimburg-Salter 1989).

[14] The coins issued in this period, specifically the third Kushano-Sasanian ruler, Peroz I, had secured Kushan territory south of the Hindu Kush, and modeled these coins after Kushan issues and those of Ardashir I (Item 1C), with a crowned portrait in the front and a fire altar and throne in the back (see further Cribb and Hermann 2007, 368-369).

(Cribb and Hermann 2007, 369).[15] Kidarite coins use the titles of Kushano-Sasanian kings, the Kushanshah.

The Kidarite kingdom, coming to power around 360 A.D. ruled Bactria for at least one hundred years (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 369). Later, Hunnic groups (referred in literature as the so-called Hephthalite Empire) and Türkic groups arrived into the Hindu Kush and Gandhara regions by the late fifth century A.D., to compete for the territories of the former Sasanian Empire (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 309-310). While there is little written evidence left behind by the Hunnic groups, there is evidence of several rulers on coin inscriptions which feature the title "ephthalite" after their name (Grenet 2002). There is substantially more record of the Türkic groups, through epigraphy and again on coins (Litvinsky et. *al* 2003, 322). During the Hunnic and Türkic time period (roughly the 5th to the 8th century) in Bactria, there was little direct influence by the Sasanian Empire. There was, however, alliances made, between the Türkic groups and Sasanian kings, which united in order to defeat the Hunnic groups (Lerner et. *al* 2011). Around 560 AD, an alliance under Sasanian king, Khusro I and the Türkic confederation of tribes, ended Hunnish (or the so-called Hephthalite empire) dominance in Bactria (Lerner et. *al* 2011, 19). According to Lerner et. *al*, the result of which dissolved the entire region into small principalities, some ruled again by Sasanians and others by groups of the Türkic confederation (2011, 19).

By the seventh century AD, the Türkic groups gained control over territories north and south of the Hindu Kush, establishing a kingdom centered around Bamiyan, though there is evidence that the Huns or so-called Hephthalites still maintained control of a few principalities (Lerner et. *al* 2011, 19). Between the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. as well, many areas of Bactria were being taken over by Arabs, who thereby eliminating any remnants of the so-called Hephthalite empire north of the Hindu Kush (Lerner et. *al* 2011, 19). However at Bamiyan, and south of the Hindu Kush local Hun and Türkic rulers held out against the Arabs, some as late as the 9th century AD (Lerner et al 2011, 19-20).

In the mean time, the Arabs and Chinese, further east in the Ferghana Valley and Xingjiang region were also competing for ownership of the territory in Central Asia. The famous conflict, Battle of the Talas, in the mid eighth century AD, the Arabs defeated the Chinese, paving the way for the later *Islamization* of the whole of Central Asia and dominating the control of economy of trade routes in Bactria

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[15] There is continued debate among scholars where the so-called Hephthalites originated (for further information see Enoki 1955 and Il'yasov 2001).

(Litvinsky et. *al* 2003, 470).   Before many areas converted to Islam, there were
many other religions that co-existed in these regions.   A brief contextualization of
the religious context will be addressed in the next section.

3.3   Religious Context

Bamiyan is a large Buddhist complex, defined by its religious architecture,
monastic community, and site of religious pilgrimage (Klimburg-Salter 1989).
Bamiyan is an example of Buddhist monumental art, specifically evident in the two
Great Buddhas.[16] Other Buddhist sites that are similar to Bamiyan, are Kucha and
Dunhuang, in present day China (Klimburg-Salter 1989; Wriggins 2004).   Buddhist
pilgrim, Xuanzang visited these two aforementioned sites, in addition to Bamiyan, at
different times during the seventh century AD (Wriggins 2004).   According to
Xuanzang, Kucha was an important center of Buddhism along a northern trade
route, and he was impressed by its wealth and size (Wriggins 2004, 27-28).   In
Dunhuang, Xuanzang noted the large galleries of paintings and sculpture, and the
substantial library of Buddhist scripture (Wriggins 2004, 14).   These three
complexes share a similar representation of typical Buddhist architecture, which
will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Religion in the Hindu Kush and adjacent areas, specifically Sogdia, continued
to develop and migrate during the 5th and 8th centuries AD.   Many religions existed
at this time simultaneously, due to the admixture of many different cultural
influences and changes in political power (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 4). According
to Cribb and Hermann, Bactrian and Sogdian cities were cosmopolitan, with citizens
following different religions such as Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Christianity,
Buddhism and Hinduism (2007, 4).   There is also evidence that merchants,
specifically Sogdian, were also part of religious traditions moving from one place to
another (see further Grenet 2007).

For purposes of this research, the focus of this section will be on the
religious context of Buddhism in the Hindu Kush region, since it has been agreed by
most scholars that Bamiyan was a Buddhist center (e.g. Klimburg-Salter 1989;
Higuchi and Barnes 1995; Behrendt and Brancaccio 2011).[17] These sections will not

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[16] Cribb and Hermann suggest that Buddhist art in Bactria during the Kushan period, beginning in the
first century AD is the first and foremost monumental art, the main purpose of which was to create
monumental religious works (2007, 479).

[17] It should also be noted here that Zoroastrianism was a faith followed by many people during the
Sasanian period, and therefore it is possible that Bamiyan and the Hindu Kush region may have had
this religious influence as well.   For purposes of this paper, I will follow the assumption of Klimburg-

focus on the philosophy of Buddhism, but rather how certain aspects of Buddhism relate to the research question this thesis proposes.

3.3.1 Buddhist Architecture

Buddhist architecture incorporates the aspects of religious space and monastic space (Behrendt 2004). Religious space is used for state assemblies and religious iconography, whereas monastic space refers to space for worship and meditation; and the space where monks or nuns live (Behrendt 2004). It is useful to distinguish these two kinds of spaces because at Bamiyan, different parts of the complex assumed different functions. In most Buddhist architecture, there is patterning in compositional form (Higuchi and Barnes 1995). The sculptures and art, part of the religious iconography, are not distributed independently of the architecture (Higuchi and Barnes 1995, 296). The small, decorated caves were usually provided with a sculpture or two as a focus for worship (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 123). The caves at Bamiyan have either vaulted or flat ceilings. According to Higuchi, the function of caves with flat ceilings were possibly used for daily life activities or as storerooms, where as the cave temples which have a vaulted ceiling are usually more elaborately decorated and include arches in the niches (Higuchi 1995, 294-96). The niches of both the Great Buddhas, that are highly decorative and depict a wide use of Buddhist and secular imagery, suggests that this space functioned like a cave temple.

At Bamiyan, small caves notched into the large cliff side would have been spaces for isolated worship (Higuchi and Barnes 1995). These smaller spaces would be hardly suitable for instruction by monks. One of the functions of a typical Buddhist cave temple were monks practicing their religion in isolation (Higuchi and Barnes 1995, 282). These caves are relatively small in size, never large enough to serve as meeting or assembly halls.

Originally, the cave mouths of the Bamiyan cliff group were fronted by wooden façade buildings, which have long since disappeared (Higuchi 1995, 288). There is also evidence of a wooden balcony, the remnants seen by the holes tunneled into either side of the west *Buddha* head. Kotera of the Bamiyan Nagoya University Investigation of 1969 has pointed out that a large balcony of wood seems to have been anchored in these holes, paralleling two galleries side by side Buddha

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Salter (1989) and Higuchi and Barnes (1995) that Bamiyan during the 5th to 8th centuries was Buddhist, though these scholars have discussed that the religious iconography may have also contained Zoroastrian artistic traditions.

head, which might correspond to the lower fringe of a canopy at a point nearly level with the Great Buddha's head. Such a balcony would have been provided for the socially elite and their followers as well as musicians with seats from which they might offer hymns during ceremonial times (Higuchi and Barnes 1995, 298).

Scholars like Higuchi and Barnes and Klimburg-Salter surmise that Bamiyan would have functioned as a place for state assemblies (1995, 288; 1989, 123).   The colossal Buddhas and the decoration of the niches served as a focus for both public and private ritual (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 123).   Wooden balconies that would have been a part of the architecture might suggest that there was a relationship between elite members of society and the Buddhist monastic community (Higuchi and Barnes 1995, 288).

Buddhist architecture and the artistic traditions of the iconography, which decorates the architecture, influenced power between the monastic society of Bamiyan and the socially elite groups that patronized this complex (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 122-125).   The depictions of figures in the Great Buddha niches at Bamiyan, used in this research, are also illustrated in a balcony scene.   This might provide further evidence to support that the figures used in the Bamiyan data set were part of the patronage to the Bamiyan monastery. Although it is important to be aware of this, for the scope of this research, the kinds of patronage to Bamiyan's Buddhist monastery will not be discussed in this paper. The next section will focus instead on how trade was also a large part of Bamiyan, and how it may have also influenced the religious context.

3.4   Trade of Goods and Migration of People

Trade in the Hindu Kush region and neighboring areas followed horizontal and vertical directions of the landscape, which helped to sustain many dispersed communities and settlements.[18] For some 1,500 years land routes were crucial for the movement of merchandise and ideas, often evident in the transmission of religions, iconography and language (Litvinsky et. *al* 2003, 12). Contacts between peoples grew with the development of commercial ties (Litvinsky et. *al* 2003, 35). The Hindu Kush region, for the most part, maintained control of prestige goods like

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[18] The so-called Silk Road, a term coined in the nineteenth century by Ferdinand Van Richthofen, has been in part a way to describe a vast time period, a large network system of trade and migration, and an economic force which shaped the context of world history (Hansen 2012).   This paper will not use this term because its title does not suggest the entire scope of the networks of economy, or the goods that were traded.

minerals and gems, which were highly sought after in China and as far west as Rome (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 74).

Geography played an important role in the trade economy of the Hindu Kush region and neighboring areas. Bamiyan is located on the southern part of these trade routes, starting or ending in the area of Khotan, then Sogdia, Bactria (Bamiyan), northwestern India and thence by sea route across the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean (Litvinsky et. *al* 2003, 35). Bamiyan was presumably the last stop before crossing mountain passes to travel north towards Sogdia or south towards northwestern India (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 24).

Bamiyan was largely dependent on both trade and the migrations of nomadic people who crossed south of the Hindu Kush in the summer months (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 26-27). During the 5th to 8th centuries, it was in the steppe regions of Sogdia, of present day Uzbekistan, where the population was located in the winter months and would relocate temporarily to the mountainous valleys in the summer to cool off (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 74).[19] Snowmelt from the mountains supplied significant water source for rivers in the area and therefore irrigated the soil in the valleys between the mountains during the summer months (Warwick 2009, 11-12; Klimburg-Salter 1989, 74).[20] Unexpected changes in the topography of the mountains also played an important role in human adaptation to this landscape. In the past, earthquakes may have destroyed and redirected important trade routes by blocking mountain-passes (Warwick 2009, 11-12).[21]

3.4.1 Trade and Politics Alongside Buddhism

Monasteries grew in commercial centers, like Bamiyan, to provide a range of services required for trade (Klimburg-Salter 1989). Monasteries functioned as hospitals, schools and banks. Klimburg-Salter suggests that the flourishing of new Buddhist centers are directly linked to the expansion of trade routes (1989, 122). Following this assumption, Bamiyan was both center for Buddhist worship and pilgrimage, and a trade center which assisted traveling merchants. In addition,

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[19] Though the northern steppe pastures were well suited for communities who relied on cattle and horses for trade, this was not always the case during the summer season.

[20] Fertile valleys were often places for groups of people to profit from, albeit short, growing season. While we may characterize the steppes in Central Asia as idyllic for pastoral activities, the fertile valleys were also crucial for feeding animals or growing food and other types of plants The range of flora and fauna between greater Bactria and the rest of Central Asia indicates a lot of how both animals and people were directed very much by seasons.

[21] It may have also forced the people of these regions to rely on mud brick architecture, not only to serve as a cooling and heating agent when climatically necessary, but also because the rock found in these regions is often conglomerate, and therefore brittle and porous (Behrendt 2004).

Buddhist complexes like Bamiyan would have been appropriated for political demonstrations (Klimburg-Salter 1989).

Ceremonies in which tributes would be paid to the monastery were not uncommon during the 5th and 8th century AD (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 124-125). Following Klimburg-Salter, these ceremonies represented a massive sacrifice of material wealth by the elite, and a general confirmation of the social elite's devotion to Buddhist teachings (1989, 124-125).   The implications of the large-scale transfer of wealth in some Buddhist ceremonies and art, has been suggested by Klimburg-Salter, as a means of political propaganda by ruling institutions (1989,127). It demonstrates a merging of secular and sacred elements in Buddhist society and the reinforcing the ruling dynasty within the cosmic order (Klimburg Salter 1989, 127). Under these assumptions, it may be possible to suggest that the niche paintings at Bamiyan, depicting figures with crowns in between seated deities, was one method of reinforcing dynastic and monastic relationships through religious patronage. On the other hand, these paintings could also suggest the reinforcement of power, by placing the portraits of elites along side the large heads of the Great Buddhas. This will be discussed further in a later chapter (see Interpretation and Discussion chapter).

3.5   Historical Sources Survey

Historical sources of the Hindu Kush region are scarce and contradictory (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 30). Compared to other fields of study, there are not a lot of written sources, which have survived the time period relevant to this study. The only written documents for the Hindu Kush region, of this paper's time period, are fragments of Buddhist texts and a few random phrases written on clay pots or stone (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 30). This has been problematic because most of Central Asian history, in general, has been reconstructed "almost exclusively on the basis of foreign sources, mostly hostile to the peoples of the region" (Sinor 1990, 3). The epigraphy that does exist is written in a variety of languages, but mainly in the scripts of Bactrian, Sogdian, Kashmiri, Greek, Persian, Chinese and Arabic (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 30). The other difficulty is that some of these documents or inscriptions have not been able to be translated or accurately dated (Behrendt 2007). Considerable breakthroughs have been made, especially in the decipherment of the Bactrian script, largely attributed to the research of Nicholas Sims-Williams (see Sims-Williams 1993).

Due to the problems concerning historical sources, the following sections will only address a brief contextualization of Bamiyan from the accounts of religious pilgrims. These accounts offer more insight into all aspects of Bamiyan: political, social and religious. For further information about other types of sources, which may be relevant to this research, but not necessarily to the research question of this paper, are included in the Appendix II at the end of this thesis.

3.5.1   Religious Pilgrims

Though many Chinese historical sources do exist which refer to areas west of present day China, the study of them presents some difficulties because, as stated before, some of these texts and documents reveal the hostile nature in which they may have been created originally for (Sinor 1990, 3). Therefore, the Chinese sources, which are most relevant to this paper's research are the accounts of religious pilgrims, from China and Korea, like the aforementioned Xuanzang. Several Buddhist pilgrims traveled at separate times in history to regions such as Bactria and Gandhara (Wriggins 2004). The translation of the pilgrim's journals revealed relevant information about Bamiyan and recorded the political climate of this site during different time periods (Wriggins 2004). A brief account of what each pilgrim has mentioned about Bamiyan provides a first hand account for how this site was known at a given time period.

Fa Hsien is the first recorded pilgrim to visit Bamiyan in around 400 A.D., who witnessed a ceremonial enclave and noted that the Buddha's relics (a tooth and his spitoon) was kept at Bamiyan (Dupree 1967). In 633 AD, Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang visited Bamiyan as a flourishing center with many monks (Wriggins 1996; 2004). In 727 A.D., Korean pilgrim Huichao traveled to Bamiyan and described this site as an independent state in *Wang Wu Tianzhuguo Zhuan* (translated as the *Record on the Five Indian Kingdoms*). In the accounts of Huichao, he suggests that Bamiyan may have been under Sasanian suzerainty (Green 2014). These personal narratives of their observations have also provided a better understanding to history and development of Bamiyan in respect to being both a political and religious center.

The aim of this historical survey has been to evaluate how social and political interaction played a significant role in the development of Bamiyan in the Hindu Kush region. The context for the religious and secular iconography at Bamiyan is undoubtedly connected to the mixture of cultural influences, the authority of the ruling empires and elites, and the power of imagery in the iconography.   For this

research, the iconography of headdresses at Bamiyan on painted figures still remains unclear.   Therefore, the next section will finish this chapter by addresses the origins of headdresses in the areas of historical Central Asia.   The aim is to illustrate a long tradition of crowns, in particular certain types of crown, and what this tradition might have represented at the time of their use.

3.6   The origins of the Central Asian Headdress

The headdress or crown, is a statement of fashion, which in some cases is worn for a specific social function, for example, to mark the identity of a person, to legitimize social status, or perhaps to suggest the kind of event the person is in, elite, ceremonial or festive (Lerner 2009;Stark 2009).   The origins of the use of the *winged* or *crescent* symbols observed on crowns of figures at Bamiyan and its neighboring regions can be traced to animal headdresses worn on the heads of older empiric rulers.[22]   The evidence of this larger context is best found on numismatics in archaeological sites associated with civilizations like the Parthian and Sasanian Empire, the so-called Hephthalite Empire, and the Western Türkic Confederation (Stark 2009; 2009b).   The coins of these different empires, assuming the ruler of the empire is depicted on the face of the coin, is an important part of the identification of that ruler and their kingdom.   As mentioned above, headdresses composed of either winged or crescent or elements observed at Bamiyan, may have developed out of a larger tradition of the use of animal headdress throughout areas of Central Asia. The following sections will briefly address the origins of the animal headdress, to outline the spiritual associations with animals in various cultural traditions of groups from earlier and later contexts.   Then, a later section will examine the earliest depictions of the crescent or winged crown, through numismatic evidence, in order to establish which crowns might be closely related to the type of crowns found in Bamiyan and its neighboring areas.

3.6.1   Origins of the Animal Headdress

The head of the animal is most often employed on top of a crown on the crowns of elite rules from ancient Central Asia (Lerner 2009, 220-223). The part of the animal also included the symbolic details of an animal, such as a ram's horn or a bird's wing.   Following Lerner, the assumption here is that the use of animal parts

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[22] During this study, it is important to bear in mind that elements such as 'winged' or 'crescent', which have been used in this paper, are just one type of crown associated with a larger context of headdress types that are composed of animal or religious elements, or both found in coins, seals, objects of the material culture.

allows the wearer to take on the actual attributes of the particular animal or bird used (Lerner 2009, 219).   Following Lerner (2009), this research assumes that animals, applied on the iconography of coins and material culture, may represent a particular spiritual entity in addition to conveying social ideologies like power.

Lerner (2009) states that animal elements on headdresses refer to beliefs of totemic power, where as Stark (2009b) elaborates further that any totems or symbols on a headdress, specifically the crescent symbol, may have either been relative to a tradition of using those symbols, or a type of headdress whose symbols denoted a certain type of function (2009, 219; 2009b, 120-121).   Stark (2009b) cites an example of a Türkic tradition of an eagle head and spread wings, associated with the soul of the deceased (2009b, 120).   Lerner cites an example of a ram's head associated with a Zoroastrians god and the use of horses associated with a Sasanian artistic tradition (2009, 219). Both of these scholars have remarked on the use of animal and crescent elements.   Along with the repetitive presence of a diadem on the portraits of elite figures, Lerner and Stark agree that these symbols are most likely a continued cultural tradition originating from the Sasanian Empire (Lerner 2009, 219; Stark 2009, 298).   The next section will deal with the origins of the crescent and winged type headdresses.

3.6.2   Origins of the Crescent or Winged type Headdress

The origins of the crescent or winged type headdress are not entirely clear. Kageyama (2007) has remarked on the favorable use of the crescent and winged headdresses by Sogdian merchants, providing evidence that particular headdress types are not exclusive to members of royalty (2007,11-12).   In addition to the crescent and winged type crowns, Kageyama has also remarked on the repetitive use of the triple crescent type crown (2007, 11-12).

Stark (2009) has found parallels with a crescent element on headdresses from many geographic areas of Asia and Central Asia, from Scythia to Siberia, over a vast time period[23].   Kageyama has also observed this crescent type of headdresses on figures at Bamiyan (2007, 11).   Stark argues that the crescent elements on a crown have long since been associated with headdresses from areas of historical Central Asia, and were used in exceedingly from the 5th to 8th century (2009, 294). As mentioned before, Stark (2009) has suggested these symbols are from a tradition

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[23] This time period is from the Bronze Age up until the 8th century AD

stemming from a Sassanid court art style, but also argues that certain headdresses also display 'local' features (2009, 298).

The origins of the winged type crown can also be traced to many rulers incorporating an animal element in the form of bird's wings into their crowns on coins. More specifically, beginning with the ruler Warahran II (276–293) [24], many Sasanian rulers incorporate an animal element in the form of bird's wings into their crowns (Lerner 2011, 220)[25]. On closer examination of the crescent shape on the headdresses, it appears to look rather similar to headdresses composed of bull's horns as seen on the coin of ruler Chosro I (591-628) (Stark 2009, 294). The crescent headdress can also be observed on coins of other rulers like Samudragupta (330-375) and possibly King Peroz (459-487) (Göbl 1967). The crescent shape is also commonly found in tamghas, symbols that are associated with certain groups or empires (Il'yasov 2003).[26] Tamghas and their association with the crescent will not be dealt with in this research.

Stark and Göbl have also compared particular crown types on coins to with similar headdresses of figures on Central Asian wall paintings and other items of material culture (Göbl 1967 II, 227, Stark 2009, 295). These headdresses have been observed in many different material contexts. At Bamiyan they are depicted on figures painted in frescoes, but in other geographic areas, these headdresses can also be found on sculpture and numismatics. The origin of the use of animal type or crescent type headdresses attests not only to a cultural tradition, but an association with ideas of power and legitimacy.

The background of Bamiyan and its neighboring regions is an on-going discussion. Why iconography, such as the iconography of headdresses, is observed at different geographic areas and different material contexts demonstrates that there might have been a purposeful reason for the use of particular kinds of headdresses. How concepts of continued tradition and power connect to the headdresses at Bamiyan will be discussed further in the Interpretation and Discussion Chapter (see Chapter 6). The next chapter will focus on what specific material is used for the data sample of this research, and how it will be applied in the analysis.

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[24] These dates and the others in this paragraph are taken from
http://pro.geo.univie.ac.at/projects/khm/?language=en

[25] This continued with other rulers up until the Turk Shahi kingdom suggested by the headdress on the coin of Sukandarya (825?).

[26] Tamghas are symbols that are also found on coins, normally adjacent to the portrait of the figure.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction to Material

There have been over fifty fresco paintings discovered in the Bamiyan valley (Klimburg-Salter 1989). This research analyses several fragments of frescoes, mainly from the niches of the two Great Buddhas focusing on the iconography of individual headdresses observed on many figures in votary scenes in the niches. In addition, this research will make a comparative analysis using figures with similar headdresses observed at sites in neighboring regions of Bamiyan. Furthermore, to identify a provenance basis for the iconography, this research will also incorporate the iconography of headdresses observed on numismatics. In these sections, the iconography refers to motifs on painted frescoes, funerary decoration, religious imagery, sculpture and numismatics. This research will also include several other variables of motifs, which will be addressed in a later section of this chapter.

The main focus of this research is to identify and analyze the patterns of headdress motifs found in the iconography of the Great Buddha niches at Bamiyan, and in other rock temples and secular sites in Central Asia where these motifs are also observed. In total 17 samples from Bamiyan are collected for this research, in the form of painted fragments located in the two niches of both Great Buddhas and a few other wall paintings from other painted caves located within Bamiyan valley.[27] The data from neighboring sites totals 20 samples of archaeological material from areas of present day Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kashmir Region and China. The iconography that is used for this research is not limited to a particular context; it may be religious or secular, and in some cases the context remains unknown.

The provenance of this data has been taken from the literature study of Tarzi (1977), Klimburg-Salter (1982; 1989) who have covered Bamiyan extensively, Kageyama (2007) and Il'yasov (2003) who have in recent years analyzed and compared different headdress motifs along with other variables in figures across Central Asia, Lerner & Sims-Williams (2011) and Grenet and Riboud (2007) who have provided images from other sites, and Smirnova (1963) and the collection at

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[27] The other wall paintings from Bamiyan Valley that are not located in the 38m or 55m Great Buddha niche account for three items (See in Master Trait Table: Items 6, 16 and 17 in the Appendix I)

Hermitage Museum, Amsterdam who have provided the sample of coins.[28] The sites
that have been selected in this research have also been adapted from these previous
studies. The table below will list the sites that are used for purposes of this research
and where they are located in present day (See Table 1). The objective of this
research is identify and compare headdress and other motifs, and in addition, to
map where these headdresses are located to see if they correlate with Bamiyan's
location along the historical north-south trade route.

Table 1. List of all sites and data type

Site Name	Present Location	Fresco	Coin	Sculpture/ Three Dimensional Object	Date	Sources
Bamiyan Valley	Afghanistan	17			6th -7th Century A.D.	Tarzi (1977) and Klimburg-Salter (1989)
Swat Valley	Pakistan			1	?	Klimburg-Salter (1989)
Kashmir	Pakistan/ India			2	?	Klimburg-Salter (1989) and Lerner Sim-Williams (2011)
Sukhandarya Province	Uzbekistan			4	?	Il'yasov (2003)
Khotan	China	3			? (Possible after 8th Century A.D.)	Collection of British Museum and Klimburg-Salter (1989)
Dalverzin-tepe	Uzbekistan			1	?	Il'yasov (2003)
Hissar Valley	Tajikistan			1	?	Il'yasov (2003)

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[28] This research does not include citations from Tarzi (1977) because this literature is in French. I made use of his reconstruction images of the frescoes, and relied heavily on Klimburg-Salter (1989), who has cited Tarzi on many occasions. In the future, anyone who can read French should also make use of Tarzi's research directly.

Place	Country				Date	Reference
Xi'an	China			2	After 580 A.D.	Grenet and Riboud (2007)
Kucha	China			1	?	Klimburg-Salter (1982)
Kizil	China	2			?	Klimburg-Salter (1982)
Dilberjin	Afghanistan	1			?	Klimburg-Salter (1989)
Gurgan/ Guwaim	Persia?		1		457/9-484 A.D.	Collection of Hermitage Museum
Bukhara	Uzbekistan		1		500-550 A.D.	Hermitage Museum
Khotan	China		1		200-400 A.D.	Hermitage Museum
Kucha	China		1		400-500 A.D.	Hermitage Museum
Samarkand	Uzbekistan		2		650 A.D. and After 728 A.D.	Hermitage Museum and Smirnova (1963)
Panjikent	Tajikistan		1		708-722 A.D.	Hermitage Museum
Kesh	Shahrisabz, Uzbekistan		1		722-738 A.D.	Hermitage Museum
Ferghana Valley	Uzbekistan		1		?	Smirnova (1963)
Unknown	Unknown		12		*See Coin Trait Table (see Appendix I)	Hermitage Museum and Smirnova (1963)

The data sample compiled for this research has been selected according to headdress types found in Bamiyan's frescos and comparative headdress types found

in other Central Asian and Chinese sites.[29]   Other motif variables that are used in this research, aside from crown type, will be the presence or absence of the diadem (headband), the triangular collar (triangular fold on a garment) and the presence or absence of a halo (the ring of light that surrounds a figure).   The motifs of headdresses and the other variables will be studied using an iconographical analysis following Panofsky's levels of representation and interpretation (see Theoretical Chapter).

4.2   Headdress Types and Other Motif Variables

The headdress categories are identified by the following types: Central Crescent Type, Winged Crescent Type, Triple Crescent, Crescent with Central Medallion, Crown with Crescent, and Small Circular Medallions and Plumage.   These types have been defined by using the Bamiyan item samples as a starting point.   A definition of all these crown types will be addressed later in this chapter (see also Table 2).

Other variables will also be included in this study in order to analyze distinguishing differences among figures of the Bamiyan samples and between the Bamiyan samples and the neighboring sites samples.   These variables have been adapted from literature studies of Il'yasov (2003) and Kageyama (2007), who have also analyzed the triangular collar, the diadem, and the halo.   Following Kageyama, these variables have been selected because they are common traits associated with the crescent type crowns (2007,12).   These other variables will be defined in more detail in later sections of this chapter.   Any undecipherable reconstruction images will be marked as *not applicable*, and in the case that the item is a fragment it will be marked as *unknown* during the analysis.[30]

In addition to the iconography of headdresses observed at various archaeological sites, coins will also be applied to the analysis of this research.   Coins and seals served an economic and communicative purpose during periods of trade.   Coins found at Central Asian archaeological sites depict rulers, religious affiliation, symbols and inscription (Cribb and Hermann 2007).   In total, 21 samples of coins have been selected on the basis of location or by observing the depiction of

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[29] The data that is compiled for this research is a sample, to make aware that this research is limited to include only part of the iconography at Bamiyan valley.
[30] Any figures that are not depicted with a headdress will be labeled as "no headdress".

characteristics similar to the headdresses found at Bamiyan and elsewhere. These coins have been selected using the previous study of Smirnova (1963) and from first hand observation of selected coins from the collection of The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg featured in the "Expedition Silk Road" exhibit held in Amsterdam of this year. This research will attempt to use the analysis of numismatics to assist the geographic distribution analysis to find out if there might be any comparative regional patterns, and to assist with the identifying the origins of headdress by provenance.

4.3 Data Sample at Bamiyan

Bamiyan is a Buddhist complex that displays highly symbolic compositions and a combination of iconographic themes: religious, cosmological, and the social elite (Klimburg-Salter 1989). The Bamiyan figures in this study occur within votary scenes of deities and donor figures (Klimburg-Salter 1989). The headdress motifs that are applied to this research follow the assumptions of Klimburg-Salter that these scenes are of figures and deities (1989, 116-117). The data sample are a mixture of figures that were painted in the earlier phases of the religious complex during the construction of the smaller Buddha (First Half of 6th century), and the later phases, during the construction of the large Buddha (Second Half of 6th century).

Tarzi (1977) and Klimburg-Salter (1989) surveyed the frescoes of Bamiyan and its adjacent sites in the Bamiyan Valley. These paintings survive, but often in terrible condition. Therefore, both their reconstruction drawings and photographs of the images are the source of images for the Bamiyan figure data sample.[31]

4.4 Data Sample of Neighboring Regions

The images that are used for the neighboring sites data sample have been adapted from the studies of Il'yasov (2003) and Kageyama (2007). In addition, the literature review of Lerner and Sims-Williams (2011) has also provided images used in this data sample. The choice of images has been largely based on location, and these neighboring sites samples have also been selected based on the past studies just mentioned. In addition, supporting evidence for the origins and use of crescent type headdresses have been adapted from the research of Grenet and Riboud (2007)

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[31] Most of these paintings are found in arbitrary contexts, either in caves, which are only best seen when illuminated by candle or in the case of the Great Buddha niches, located at a height of a 100 and 150 meters.

and Stark (2010).   The sites that have been selected for this study are found in Bactria, north of Bamiyan; the Sukhandarya Province in Uzbekistan, Hissar Valley in Tajikistan, Kashmir, Kucha, Khotan, Kizil, and Xi'an (See Table 1).   These are sites that may have played an active role with trade in the Bactrian region, and may have been involved to some extent in interaction with Bamiyan (Klimburg-Salter 1989). As we have seen in Chapter 3 (Background Chapter), these locations have also been selected in part in consideration that they might be comparative trade and religious centers to Bamiyan. This last anecdote will be discussed further in a later chapter (See Chapter 6 Interpretation and Discussion).

4.4.1   Limitations for the Data Sample of Bamiyan and Neighboring Regions

This research has selected the criteria for the data sample at Bamiyan and neighboring regions based on available images in past literature study and research, which also mentions particular headdresses that are relevant to this study (Klimburg-Salter 1982, 1989; Il'yasov 2003; Kageyama 2007; Grenet and Riboud 2007; Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011).   This selection is a small sample and in no way includes all of the available data at Bamiyan or neighboring regions. Given the scope of this thesis, this data sample (37 items total) has also been selected based on a connection with the numismatic sample based on geographic location.

A temporal analysis will not be included in this research because for most of the samples, the dating of these items is still widely debated. These items from Bamiyan and neighboring regions are selected though with respect that they might be relevant to the time period of this research based on the assumptions of the scholars of the literature study they are from.   When it is possible to give a date, this will be included in the Master Trait Table (see Table 4 in Appendix I).

4.5   Numismatics at Bactrian Sites and Neighboring Regions

The type of headdress, and other variables: the triangular collar, diadem, and halo, when present, will be analyzed in the coin samples using the same methodological approach used for this research's figure samples.   Though there are sometimes dates provided with coins, this research will identify that when available to make use of chronology, but the aim of this research is not to cover a temporal analysis of all the data. This research uses numismatics to focus on a geographic distribution of the headdress iconography as it relates to its use on coinage.

The criteria for identifying coin types will be different for the analysis of the headdresses in respect to the criteria: Animal Type. This is because of the different headdresses observed on the figures of some coins featured in this data sample. Animal type headdress, in this research, is defined by either a part of an animal featured on a headdress (e.g. head of an animal) or by a whole animal on the face of the coin and the absence of a figure altogether.

A constant aspect of Central Asian coinage tradition is the maintenance of a unified approach to coin issue and use (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 373). For more than a thousand years, the coinage of Central Asia endured a continuous tradition, although there was a partial interruption by the Chinese style coinage in the seventh to eighth centuries (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 373). The longevity of design imitation is evident in the adaptation of repetitive motifs, like the crescent type headdress, the diadem, and the halo (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 370). Following the assumption of Cribb and Hermann, the inspiration for the iconography of headdress beyond coinage can be compared in the analysis of this research to the other data samples, which will be demonstrated at the end of Chapter 5.

The material that the coin or seal is made of is also a good indicator for value during the prescribed time period (Cribb and Errington 1992; Cribb and Hermann 2007). The availability of resource will be suggested by the quantity results that compare the repetitive use of one material with another. Although the focus of the analysis of the coins in this paper is not on the material or methods of minting, this data has been included in the *Coins Trait Table* (see Table 5 of the Appendix I) so that it may be relevant to further research.[32]

4.5.1   Limitations for coins

The twenty-one coins used in this sample have been selected based on the provenance and chronology. The coins, which do include an inscription, have been identified by past scholars and have assisted in the chronological order of the presence or absence of headdresses over time. Coins, which are not identifiable, neither date or inscription, can pose problematic issues. Therefore, this research bears in mind that depictions on coins, as with wall paintings and other parts of material culture, have in some cases deteriorated, or sometimes unrecognizable

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[32] The material of coins and seals may provide some additional information on the economic resource and trade interaction between Bamiyan in Bactria and other sites during the 5th and 8th centuries AD. This research is valuable, but for the scope of this thesis will not be discussed in this paper.

through secondary observation.   In these cases, the coin will still be used in case part of the image is still decipherable or the provenance of the coin is relevant.
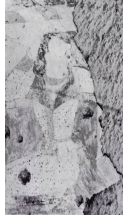
Some of the coins from the data sample may not yield absolute dates, but they can still be adapted in this research to compare both motif and material.   In addition, some coins have been selected outside of the time period of this research because there is evidence that there was a continued tradition of headdress from an older period, and to show the origins of certain headdress types by provenance. This research is also limited to the number of coins that have been selected, since there are many more available coins in other studies. The coins featured in this data sample have been selected mainly due to the advantage of being able to see them by first hand observation.

4.6   Identifying Types of Headdress at Bamiyan

The crescent crown type is one type of symbolic marker of Central Asian headdresses and elite crowns (Stark 2009, 294-298). This study compares all types of crescent crowns within its individual variations.   The crescent type crowns can be broken down into different type categories listed below.   These categories serve to separate and compare motifs on each headdress used in this paper's data sample. Where the headdress is unidentifiable, the crown type is categorized as unknown.

Table 2. Types of Headdresses at Bamiyan

Type	Type of Headdress	Image	Items No. Sample
A	Crescent with Central Medallion(s)		1
B	Winged Crescent Crown		10

C	Triple Crescent Crown		4
D	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage		11
E	Unknown		14
F	No Headdress		17

The crown types used for the analysis that follows in Chapter 4 are identified by the observation of headdresses at Bamiyan first. To clarify visually how these crowns look, an image of a Bamiyan figure will be defined by category type. These crown types are featured with an image in the table above (see Table 2).

The definitions for crowns by type will be categorized by the comparison of these images below (see Table 2) and by these following iconographic descriptions. Type A: A crescent crown with a central medallion, these two elements can be featured on top of a crown, or on top of the headband (diadem). Type B: A winged crescent crown is any crown with a crescent in the center and two winged elements on either side. Type C: The triple crescent crown features three crescents either placed on top of the crown or attached somehow to the headband (diadem). Triple crescent crown is also defined by one crescent in the center and two crescents on either side. Type D: A small, circular medallions and plumage crown includes any

crown with smaller elements (which may not be decipherable) and elements which may depict parts flora/fauna or plumage. Type E: An unknown headdress is categorized as any headdress, which either does not fit into any of the above type categories or cannot be deciphered from the image. Type F: Any figure without a headdress will be defined as "no headdress".

4.7   The Diadem and Triangular Collar

A comparison of different crown types will also include a study of the presence or absence of two other motifs: the diadem and the triangular collar. These motifs have been widely noted by past scholarly research of iconography, and in some cases associated with the crescent type headdresses (Kageyama 2007; Grenet 2007). The diadem and triangular collar are depicted on certain figures found in the visual culture and on numismatics of Central Asia, and therefore cannot be ignored. It will also be relevant to use these other motifs to form variables within the study of headdress motifs and to examine any patterns that can be concluded. In addition, the data of the diadem and triangular collar that is collected can be used to develop this study further in the future.

The diadem refers to the 'headband' worn by figures (Carter 1995). It is not exclusive to the Central Asian region, but it widely depicted there. The diadem is a type of crown made of metal or cloth, but in Central Asian iconography it is mostly depicted as a ribbon material, which is wrapped around the head and tied in a knot at the back (Lerner 2011). Very often, the cloth is also draped over the shoulders of the figure, and in other cases, it is shown spread to either side above the shoulders to make it appear as though it may be 'waving in the wind'.

The triangular collar refers to the part of the garment, shaped as a triangle, which has been turned upwards and pinned at the collarbone (Il'yasov 2003). Archaeological investigations have shown that the prominent garment of the prescribed time period was a kaftan, however there were many different variations to what kind of kaftan (Yatsenko 2013). One such variation would have been the triangular collar. The addition of this data will be useful for this study to see if there are any correlation between crescent type crowns and the triangular collar.

Table 3. Table of Other Variable Types marked with either blue arrows (Diadem and Halo) or red circle (Triangular Collar)

Type of Variable	Image	Items No. in Sample
Diadem		12
Triangular Collar		8
Halo		12

4.8   Central Asian Iconography

Central Asian iconography has been widely studied by art historians and numismatics (e.g. Rowland 1974; Klimburg-Salter 1982; Cribb and Errington 1992; Cribb and Hermann 2007).   The multi-ethnic and multicultural nuance of this region makes it difficult to identify one kind of style of iconography.   Additionally, the presence of different religious affiliations and ideological traditions is portrayed in a variety of styles and symbols (Klimburg-Salter 1989).   In an area with many different kinds of people, relating to culture, status or human or deity, it is not uncommon to come across different styles of dress which no doubt relate to identity or type of person.   In some cases, certain symbols can help distinguish general differences in personhood and might be indicated by attributes held in the hand, the pattern on the dress, the style of dress or headgear (as analyzed in this paper) or the location where the figure is found.

In general, in this data set, the iconography of the Hindu Kush region and neighboring areas are represented by parts of religious iconography (e.g. halos, posture, hand gesture) and in other parts of social and cultural iconography (e.g. banquets and ceremonies, merchants, embassies, funerals, animal caravans).   It is

problematic to analyze the iconography of Central Asia when it bridges these two areas. Thus this paper makes no attempt to discuss all of Central Asian iconography, rather the aim is more to make comparisons of a few motifs, the headdress and other variables mentioned before, across a time period. The objective is to evaluate if any distinguishing comparisons can be made from the figures painted at Bamiyan, and figures, which are found in neighboring regions. These comparisons will be the basis for interpreting how the headdress iconography was applied in the context of the place and time, and how the motifs can suggests interaction between Bamiyan and elsewhere. The next chapter, Discussion and Interpretation, will attempt to expand on the comparative analysis of both surveys and to interpret meaning associated with the iconography of headdresses.

4.9   Applying the Methodology

Using systems of Pierce's and Panofsky's iconographic analysis, the data sample is measured first by description, then by comparing the description of motifs to other headdresses in the data sample, and lastly to some extent this research will try to interpret the symbolic meaning of headdress motifs. Following Panofsky's system of iconographic analysis (see Theoretical Chapter), the iconography of headdresses is the primary denotation or representation. The second level of analysis is achieved by comparing the Bamiyan item samples and the neighboring sites item samples. The interpretation of iconography will be a third level of analysis, which considers the meaning of motifs and symbols in their social and political context.

This analysis will begin by first identifying the types of headdresses found at Bamiyan, at Neighboring regions, and on numismatics. Then, by using this analysis of headdress types as a basis for observing patterns, a brief description of these patterns will follow. Then, a comparative analysis between particular sets of Figure data and particular sets of coins will be considered in order to find correlation between these two types of data. This will all be included in the next chapter (see Analysis Chapter). Finally, a map which illustrates where the data samples have been found will be included to demonstrate the geographic distribution of the headdresses, and if these results are at all relevant to respective trade routes to and from Bamiyan (See Interpretation and Discussion Chapter).

Chapter 5   Analysis

5.1   Catalog of Headdresses and Other Variables

The next sections focus on the descriptive observation of each Bamiyan figure and each Neighboring Area figure from this research's data sample using Pierce's method of iconographical analysis.   Following Panofsky (1972), this analysis is based on deconstructing the image by characteristics: crown types and the motifs of other variables (e.g. diadem, triangular collar, and halo).   The analysis begins by cataloging the Bamiyan figures and then the Neighboring Areas figures, grouping each area by crown type.   The sections that follow thereafter will include the same descriptive observation for this research's coin sample.   The section on numismatics will be organized by the provenance (e.g. empire and date).   The objective will be to define crown type on the coins by its chronology.   Following the surveys, a brief outline of patterns will be included, in addition to some explanation of Central Asian iconography.   Lastly, a comparative analysis between selected figures and coins will also be included to further evaluate these patterns.   The data that is collected in these sections will be put into two trait tables, for Figures (Table 4) and for Numismatics (Table 5), found in the Appendix of this paper.

This research will attempt to remain as objective as possible, while examining the iconography of each item in the sample.   Therefore, any doubt in the observation will be made clear in the Trait Tables (Tables 4 and 5) and by labeling the figure or coin with a question mark.   An unknowable image may be due to damage or to scrutiny in the observation of the reproduction drawing.   The titles of the figures are not official titles.   On the contrary, where applicable, the names of rulers associated with coins will be noted in the numismatic titles.

5.1.1   Bamiyan Figures

The fresco paintings at Bamiyan depict seated and standing figures, wearing different style clothing and portraying different attributes in their hands.   Each figure in this survey has been categorized by crown type, and a brief description follows.

Type A: Crescent with Central Medallion(s)

These figures above (Item 1 and 2) have been categorized in the *Crescent with Central Medallion* type crowns that are found in Bamiyan. *Crescent with Central Medallion* entails a round element above the crown, which has been surmised to be a kind of medallion, which then rests above a thin crescent shaped symbol. This image on the left (Item 2), possibly a female[33], is depicted with two horns on either side of the top of her headdress. Her crown consists of horns at each side of her crown, though it is unclear how it is fastened, and a diadem around her forehead which holds, in the middle, a crescent and round medallion. The figure on the right (Item 1) is depicted with a structured, possibly metallic crown (see left side of crown) and a more elaborate detailed diadem. On the top of the diadem is a crescent and an oval shaped medallion. When comparing these two images it is clear to see that the motifs are similar, but the shapes of the crescent and the medallion vary.

Figure 7. Item 2. Bamiyan, 38m Buddha Niche. Figure with crescent, circular medallion and horns (left). Item 1. Man with "crown" of crescent and oval medallion (right). (After Tarzi 1977)

The headdress depicted on Item 3 resembles the headdress seen in Item 1. The figure below (Item 3) is depicted with a structured, possibly metallic crown at the base of his headdress. Above the crown is a broader crescent shape, noticeably wider than the crescent element depicted on the headdress of Item 1. Behind the crescent is a tall oval medallion and in the center of it is a line, which might have been to emphasize that the medallion was convex and reflective, assuming that this

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[33] This figure has been denoted as female because of the "widows peak" hairstyle, which has often been observed on Buddhist female deities. Since this is most likely not a deity, this observation remains purely speculative.

medallion was indeed made of metal.[34] There is also a possibility that the
'medallion' of the headdress (Item 3) could be a depiction of a large stylized feather.
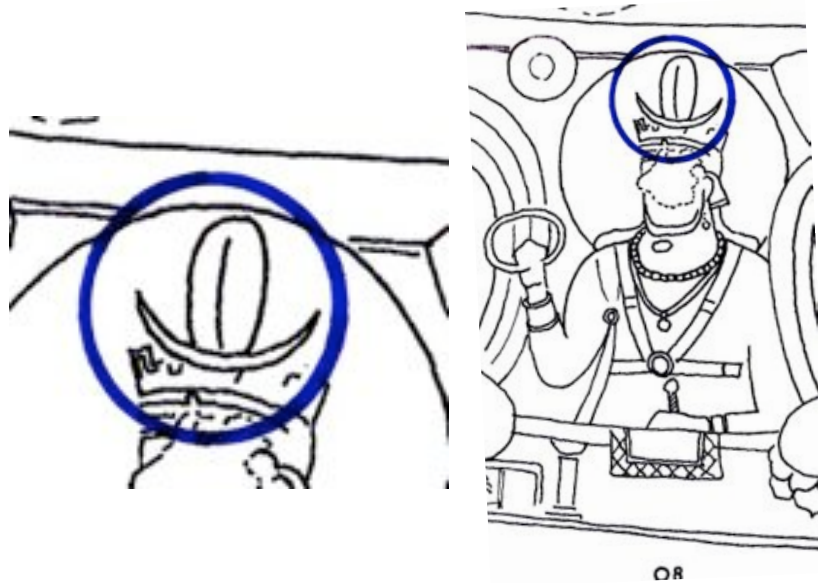
Figure 8. Item 3 Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha Niche. Crescent with Oval Medallion (left). Full size image of Item 3 (right) (After Tarzi 1977)

Type B: Winged Crescent Crown

Figure 9. Item 7. Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha niche, man with winged crescent crown (After Tarzi 1977)

The *Winged Crescent Crown* type on Item 7 is adorned with a characteristically
large crescent in the middle of his crown, which is then flanked by two large stylized
wings.[35]   The arrow which points directly to the figure (and the reason why this

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[34] This remains speculative because this is observed on a reproduction drawing. As it has been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there are various subjective interpretations that limit the accuracy of this analysis.
[35] This author has noted that these "wings" may also suggest horns, but this is unclear without further research.

figure has been noted in a red color) is interesting because the central figure of this niche painting (see Figure 67 in Appendix I), is a male deity that points his arrow at this particular figure.   This image is also in the center of the row of other figures, perhaps suggesting the hierarchal importance of this particular individual. In addition, while most donor figures from the 55 m Buddha niche are depicted with crowns, not all are depicted with jewelry.   This figure (Item 7) shows dangling earrings from the figure's ears. The fabric from the diadem flows upwards at the back.

Figure 10. Item 8. Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha niche. Winged Crescent Crown (left) and triangular collar worn on the dress of the same figure (right) (After Tarzi 1977).
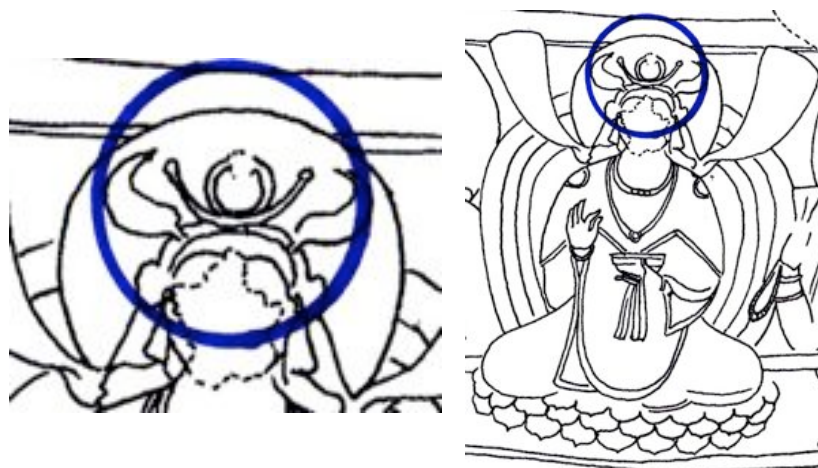
Figure 11. Item 10. Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha Niche. Deity(?) with Winged Crescent Crown and Central Circular Medallion (left). Full size image of Item 10 (right) (Adapted from Tarzi 1977)

The headdress of Item 8 is very similar to the headdress found on Item 7, which also features a central crescent and two wings flanking either side of the

crown, characteristic of the *Winged Crescent Crown* type. This image is also marked in red because in the larger painting, an arrow points to the head of this figure. The arrow is held by the same central deity mentioned in the catalogue description of Item 7, and clearly part of an intentional composition.[36] The headdress worn by this figure (Item 8) depicts a dome shaped cap or helmet, which the crescent and wings elements are attached to. Item 8 also wears dangling earrings in his ears, his dress is fitted with a triangular collar, and his diadem is tied to the back.

Figure 12. Item 9, Bamiyan, 55 m Niche, Winged Crescent Crown with Circular Medallion. (After Tarzi 1977)

The headdress of Item 9 is a combination of elements that are featured throughout this catalogue of Bamiyan figures. This figure (Item 9) is reminiscent of the headdress of Item 7 because both crowns feature large wings on either side of the headgear. On the contrary, the headdress of Item 9 consists of a small central crescent, as well as a smaller circular medallion that rests atop of the crescent. There is a separate outer ring of the central medallion, but the top of the ring is partitioned perhaps to indicate another stylized crescent.

The *Winged Crescent Crown* type has been depicted in other figures in this catalogue (see Items 7, 8, and 9), but each containing some form of variation. The headdress of Item 10 is depicted with wings on the sides of the headdress, but a much wider crescent, similar to the crescent depicted on the crown of Item 3. This image (Item 10) depicts a rounded detail on either tip of the crescent, which is not depicted in any other crescent crowns of this catalogue. The medallion depicted in the center is also suggests a full ring on top of the crescent. Item 10 depicts a person sitting on top of a lotus pedestal and in front of a concentric halo, suggesting that

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[36] The symbolism behind the arrow pointing at these figures will not be a focus in this analysis, but would be very interesting for on going research.

this individual could be a deity.[37]

Type C: Triple Crescent

The *Triple Crescent* type crown is a headdress consisting of three crescent shaped elements fastened on top of the crown or attached to it. Item 4 depicts a man with this three crescents fastened on top of the diadem. The depiction of this figure (Item 4) suggests that the crescents are facing forward.

Figure 13. Item 4, Bamiyan, 38m Buddha niche, man with triple (?) crescent crown. (After Tarzi 1977)

Figure 14. Item 5. Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha niche. Man with triple crescent crown. (After Tarzi 1977)

Another figure (Item 5) wears a similar triple crescent crown seen in Figure 8. In this case, it appears as though the crescents are not connected to the diadem. Instead, the three crescents appear to be connected to each other and arbitrarily floating above the head of the figure, perhaps to suggest the crescent elements of

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[37] These are some of the defining characteristics for the representation of 'holy' figures in specifically Buddhist art.

this headdress are connected in some other fashion that cannot be observed in this depiction.

Figure 15. Item 6. Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha Niche. Deity with Triple Crescent Crown
(Adapted from Klimburg-Salter 1989)

It is difficult to observe from this image, but Item 6 is a deity depicted with a triple crescent crown. It has been noted as a deity because of a number of signifying factors, including a halo around the head and around the entire figure, in addition to several figures, possibly donor figures, that kneel below (not pictured). The headdress is most similar to Item 4, where the crescents are face to the front and connected to either a crown or a headband.

Type D: Small Circular Medallions and Plumage

There are many variations of each headdress. This research includes separate instances of crowns or headdresses that do not contain a clear crescent motif, like the *Small Circular Medallions and Plumage* type to show the other forms of headdresses depicted on individuals in the Great Buddha niches. This figure (Item 11) is depicted with a crown, perhaps dome shaped cap, where three elements are connected to the main diadem. These elements suggest that there are two circular symbols on the right and middle and to the left, and another attribute which resembles a kind of plumage or feather. The very vague triangular shape, in the back of these three elements, may be a feather that sticks out from the back of the headdress.[38] Item 11 does not have a triangular collar.

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[38] This is not a definite observation because this may be a stylized depiction adapted by the Klimburg-Salter (1989).
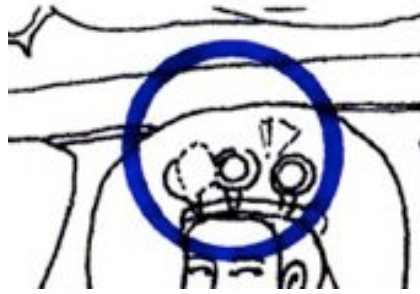
Figure 16. Item 11. Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha niche. Headdress of two rings and plumage. (After Tarzi 1977)

Item 12 is depicted with a headdress consisting of a central round medallion and a piece of plumage or feather possibly on the left. The reproduction drawing (Item 12) does not show if the other side of the headdress also has another attribute, but by observing the headdress of the figure below (Item 13), it is probable that there would have only been one attribute on one side, in this case (Item 12),on the left side. The diadem wraps around the head and drapes in the back of the figure. The small circular design at the back of the figure's head might represent the knot tying the diadem around the head, though this is not entirely clear.

Figure 17. Item 12 55m Buddha Niche. Headdress with one circular medallion and one feather (?) (After Tarzi 1977)

The headdress of Item 13 is depicted with three flower elements, or possibly plumage, at the center of the figure's headband. Similar to Item 12, the headdress here (Item 13) includes a triangular element at the back. This might be a stylized feather or it could be part of the cloth (e.g. a fold) of the diadem.[39] Both Item 12 and Item 13 are depicted with a triangular collar.

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[39] Figures that are in the *Small Circular Medallions and Plumage* type crowns continue to be the most controversial headdresses to analyze because it is hard to distinguish exactly what these elements are without firsthand observation.

Figure 18. Item 13 Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha niche. Headdress of three feather of flower elements? (From Tarzi 1977).

Type E: Unknown

Item 14 is the individual who sits to the right of the Item 8 in the niche composition.   Though the headdress here is hard to decipher, it does suggest that either the figure wears a headband with an attached crescent or other kind of circular shaped medallion.   The headdress of this figure (Item 14) suggests this central element is attached to a diadem, but otherwise lacks any kind of structured crown. This figure (Item 14) also suggests that he is a significant part of the Item 8 because he directs his gaze towards this figure and he is also depicted handing Item 8 three flowers (?) or jewels, while Item 8 exchanges a necklace (See Figure 19). Item 14 is depicted with a triangular collar.

Figure 19. Item 14. Bamiyan 55 m Buddha niche.
Figure with unknown headdress (left) and triangular collar (right) (From Tarzi 1977).

Figure 20. Larger image of Item 14(right) and Item 8 (left) (After Tarzi 1977)

Type F: No Headdress

Figure 21. Item 15. Bamiyan, 55 m Buddha niche. Donor Figure (left of central
Buddha) (From Klimburg-Salter 1989).

Item 15 stands in between the central Buddha on the right and another
smaller seated Buddha to the left. The figure is depicted without a crown, but does
have a halo at the back of his head.   This figure (Item 15) is also depicted with a

triangular collar. There are several other instances of figures that appear at Bamiyan which have similar traits to Item 15, including a dress with a triangular collar and the absence of any crown or headdress.   These figures (Item 16 and 17) depict individuals in a kneeling position.   The line going across Item 16 suggests, in addition to the right angle of his left arm, that he may be holding a spear or kind of arrow, but this is not certain.   Item 17 shows an individual with his palms together and wearing a similar dress style as Item 16.

Figure 22. Item 16. Bamiyan, 55 m niche. Kneeling Donor Figure with arrow (left). Item 17. Bamiyan 55 m niche. Kneeling Donor Figure (right).(After Klimburg-Salter 1989)

5.1.2 Neighboring Regions Figures

For this research, the iconography at Bamiyan was utilized as a starting point to make comparisons with the visual or material culture of other neighboring sites. The survey below contains images that were selected based on its similarities with headdress types that are included in the catalogue of selected Bamiyan images. These figures are categorized by crown type just like in the previous section.   Any image that cannot be deciphered will be marked by a question mark, to emphasize that there is still a lot of unknown information that is difficult to determine from a reproduction drawing or from a fragment from a larger painting.

Type A: Crescent with Central Medallion(s)

Item 18 is a fragment from a larger composition around the base of a silver bowl. The headdress on the figure's head shows a central crescent coupled with a round shaped symbol on top of the crescent. On either side of the crescent are two similar upside down u-shapes, which may be stylized decorative elements or perhaps "wings". The figure rides a horse while grasping a large staff, which is pointed towards another animal below the horse (not shown). The individual in this image (Item 18) is dressed in a robe and the attribute clasped in his hand suggests a weapon associated with hunting.

Figure 23. Item 20. Kashmir region? Ring with Female and Crescent Headdress (After Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011)

Figure 24. Item 18. Swat Valley. Fragment of Silver Bowl (After Klimburg-Salter 1989).

The figure above (Item 19) is a crowned deity who stands on a lotus pedestal and flanked by a full-bodied halo. Item 19 is adorned with jewelry: necklaces and dangling earrings. This figure wears an elaborate headdress depicting a tall crown with a central crescent medallion. Unlike Item 18, Item 19 is

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adorned with a very a detailed crescent, which might have been spaces set with gemstones or other kinds of jewels. The crescent shape is denoted with a solid line while the circular symbol in the middle of the crescent is represented by small circular dots placed around a smaller solid circle.

Figure 25. Item 19. Kashmir, Northwest India or Pakistan? Crowned Deity with Crescent Medallion Crown (After by Klimburg-Salter 1989)

Item 20 is a bust of a female figure that makes up the central image of a ring. The image of the female is encircled with a solid round border and a bulbous shaped top. The image of this figure is partially missing on the left side, but what is left of it depicts a bejeweled female and a headdress with a central crescent. The figure's crescent is depicted with a bold line. The attributes on either side of her headdress or on top of the crescent are not clear. This image is one of the few representations of female figures in this data sample of Neighboring Figures.

The image (Item 21) shown above is another example of a the crescent type headdress found on a fragment of terracotta figurine found in the so-called Burdrach site located in present day Sukhandarya Province, Uzbekistan. Though it appears from the reproduction drawing that the figure is no longer intact and most likely badly damaged, the image suggest three elements on the headdress. The central crescent is attached to the headband and flanked by two other elements, which appear to be different than the central crescent. There are similarities between the headdress of Items 20 and 21 because in addition to the solid crescent

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symbol, there is another symbol or entity above it.   The manner in which the crescent rises from the headband in both figures is similar to the depiction of headdress in Item 7 and Item 8.

Figure 26. Item 21 Sukhandarya Province (Uzbekistan). Hephthalite Terracotta of Figure with Crescent Headdress (After Il'yasov 2003).

Type B: Winged Crescent Crown

Figure 27. Item 22. Xi'an, China. Reproduction Drawing of Figure from Shi Jun's Tomb with Winged Crescent Crown Adapted from Grenet/Riboud 2007 (left).
Item 23. Sogdia, Uzbekistan. Reproduction Drawing of Fragment of Silver Plate showing Man with Winged Crescent Crown (right) (After Klimburg-Salter 1989; Collection of the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg).

These two figures (Items 22 and 23) have been placed side by side to note the slight variations between the *Winged Crescent Crown* types. Item 22 is part of a narrative scene which was carved on a tomb found in Xi'an and by inscription has been attributed to a person named Shi Jun who has been suggested to be originally from the region of Sogdia (Grenet and Riboud 2007; Kageyama 2007).   The

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reproduction drawing of Item 22 suggests a solid crown containing three elements connected to the base. The central part of the crown (Item 22) is not necessarily a crescent, instead it is depicted here as a larger round medallion on the bottom and a smaller round medallion on the top. On either side of these two round elements are two stylized wings. Item 23 depicts an individual with a halo around his head and a winged crescent headdress. The reproduction drawing of this figure (Item 23) suggests two-winged shaped elements on either side of triangular cap or helmet, which is topped by a combination of crescent and solar symbol. The base of the wings is triangular in shape with a dotted pattern, and the top parts of each wing are spread into four parts.

Figure 28. Item 24. Sukhandarya Valley, Uzbekistan. Hephthalite Terracotta with Winged (Crescent?) Crown (AfterIl'yasov 2003)

The headdress of Item 24 consists of stylized spread wings . Item 24 contains a similar winged part of the headdress depicted in the image of Item 21 because the feathers of the wings curl inwards. In the middle of the spread wings is another element, but it is not clearly defined by the image. It is possible that there would be another medallion. The depiction above (Item 24) also suggests that there is a round halo at the back of the figure's head.

Type C: Triple Crescent

Items 25 and 26 are examples of the triple crescent crown types found in fragments of bark paintings from Khotan (present day Hotan, China). The figures appear to be different individuals, but wearing similar headdresses. Both figures are adorned with crowns of three connected thin crescent shapes. The headdresses of both figures can be described as one crescent in the center and two other

crescents of the same size left and right of it.   This crown type is similar to the depiction of the headdress worn by Item 5 found in Bamiyan, though there is one large distinction.   Both images of Items 25 and 26 in addition to the crescent headdress, suggest a dome shaped cap or helmet, which fits over the figure's head. It is unclear if this 'cap' is somehow connected to the triple crescents or if they are separate elements.

Figure 29. Item 25.. Khotan, China. Fragment of Bark Painting of Man with Triple Crescent Crown (left).
Item 26. Khotan, China. Fragment of Bark Painting of Man with Triple Crescent Crown (right). (After

Klimburg-Salter 1982)

Figure 30. Item 27 Khotan, China. Deity with Triple Crescent Crown (After Klimburg-Salter 1989)

Item 27 is a fragment from a larger wall painting also found in Khotan. The halo at the back of the figure's head, the attributes of the long earlobes and the three lines around the neck suggest that Item 27 is a deity. [40] The headdress consists of three crescents, one main central crescent and two other crescents on either side. The image depicts a small line around the head to which the crescents may be attached. The main central crescent sits on top of a semi-circle dome. Similarly to Item 6, which is also presumed to be a deity, a round medallion sits on top of the central crescent. This is also seen in the headdresses of Items 1 and 2 found at Bamiyan.

Figure 31. Items 28-31 (left to right).
Item 28. Dalverzin-tepe Burial Site, Uzbekistan. Hephthalite Terracotta with Headdress of Triple Crescent
Item 29. Burdrach Site, Uzbekistan. Hephthalite Terracotta with Headdress of Triple Crescent
Item 30. Sukhandarya Province, Uzbekistan. Hephthalite Terracotta with Headdress of Triple Crescent
Item 31. Hissar Valley, Tajikistan. Hephthalite Terracotta with Headdress of Triple Crescent
(After Il'yasov 2003)

These figures (Items 28-31) have been grouped together because the images show a similar triple crescent headdress type and these images are associated with a group of terracotta found at archeological sites in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan called the "Hephthalite Terracottas" (Il'yasov 2003). Items 28 and 29 are similar headdresses consisting of one central crescent shape with a central dome symbol and two smaller crescents on either side. The small dome above the headband in Items 28 and 29 resemble a kind of medallion. Item 30 also has a headdress that consists of two smaller crescents on the left and right side of the headdress. The central element in the headdress (Item 30), if any, is not clearly defined because the sculpture is damaged. The reproduction drawing of Item 31 depicts a triple crescent crown that is similar to Item 27 because the crescents are not connected

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[40] Three lines around the neck is a typical representation of a deity in Buddhist iconography (Klimburg-Salter 1989).

together. As seen in Items 25 and 26, this drawing suggests that Item 31 wears a dome shaped cap or helmet.   Items 28 and 30 both have triangular collars.

Type D: Small Circular Medallions, Plumage and Feathers

Item 32 is found along side Item 22 in the larger composition and is therefore suggested here that it could be a queen or consort (Kageyama 2007). Item 32 is adorned with an unusual headdress consisting of three round medallions either on top of a large 'crown' base or perhaps on top of a headscarf that is worn tightly around the head and neck.   This is also conducive to the costumes of women who cover their heads with a fitted scarf.   It is not entirely clear from the reproduction drawing of Item 32 if the headdress consists of circular medallions or solid balls.   Aside from the headdress, Item 32 does not appear to wear any jewelry.

Figure 32. Item 32. Xi'an, China. Fragment of Shi Jun's Tomb. Female (?) with Three-Medallion Headdress (Adapted from Kageyama 2007)

Type F: No Headdress

Figure 33. Item 33. Sukhandarya Province, Uzbekistan. Hephthalite Terracotta Man with No Headdress.

Item 33 is another reproduction image from a group of terracotta known as the "Hephthalite Terracottas" (see Items 28-31).   This figure (Item 33) depicts a man with a short hairstyle and no headdress. His hairstyle is emphasized by a 'widow's peak' where the hair forms a triangular shape at the top of the figure's forehead.   In the middle of the figure's eyes is a diamond shaped marking.

Item 34 is a fragment is taken from a larger painted reliquary that was found in Kucha (present day Xinjiang province of China). The figure above (Item 33) is similar to Item 34 because the man has no headdress and the figure has a short hair cut with a similar hairstyle with a characteristic 'widows peak'.   This figure also has a triangular collar.

Figure 34. Item 34 Kucha, China. Fragment of Kucha reliquary (Adapted from Klimburg-Salter 1982).
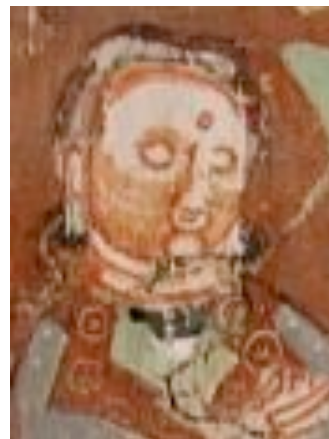
Figure 35. Item 35 Kizil, China. Painting Fragment of Figure (Left).
Item 36. Kizil, Cave 8, China. Painting Fragment of Figure (Right). (Adapted from Klimburg-Salter 1982)

The figures above (Items 35 and 36) are both found at the archaeological site of Kizil, in present day China.   These two share similar features to the other figures above such as Items 33 and 34 because they too do not have a headdress. Items 35 and 36 are depicted with short hairstyles and triangular collars.   Item 35 is shown with a similar symbol in the middle of the forehead, like the one seen in Item 33, though here (Item 35) it is a circle or dot and not a diamond shape. It is unclear in the painting whether Item 36 also has a similar dot or circle on his forehead.

Item 37 is a fragment of a wall painting located at the archaeological site of Dilberjin in present day Afghanistan.   This figure (Item 37) is depicted without a headdress and wearing a robe that has a triangular collar.   The depiction of the individual in this painting suggests a similar short hairstyle, but it is possible that it is a turban, implied by the shape of the 'hairstyle'.   The costume of Item 37 has an embellished floral brocade collar.   The emphasis on patterned brocade is also depicted on Item 14 (not shown) at Bamiyan.

Figure 36. Item 37. Dilberjin Site, Room 16, Afghanistan. Fragment of wall painting
(Adapted from Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011).

5.2   Numismatics: Coin Sample

The coins that have been selected for this sample are twenty-one examples of numismatics from Central Asia, which circulated from a period before the 5th century and after 8th century A.D.   This research sample has been adapted from previous study by O.I. Smirnova (1963), N. Sims-Williams (1992), E. Errington and J. Cribb (1992) and from first hand observation at the Hermitage Museum, Amsterdam.   The purpose of including coins from a wider time period is to provide circumstantial evidence for the use of particular headdresses or no headdress, in order to make comparisons with the figures that have been analyzed above.   These

coins have been organized in the survey below by crown type followed by a brief description.   These crown types are similar to the Figure surveys prior, but do include another type referred to as 'Animal Elements' or headdresses, which contain parts of an animal or animal characteristics.

Type: Crescent with Central Medallion

Figure 37. Item 1C. Drachma of Ardashir I

The Drachma of Ardashir I (Item 1C), a Sasanian coin, is one of the few examples of this type of crown in this study. The coin dates from the early 3rd Century A.D.   The figure's headdress contains a large round sphere above the figures crown.   The presence of a crescent is observed at the front of the medallion. The figure is bearded with long hair.   A diadem is wrapped around the head and tied at the back, which is depicted by two pleated cloths behind the figure's head.

Type: Winged Crescent

Figure 38. Item 4C. Drachma of Peroz

The Drachma of Peroz (Item 4C) is a Sasanian coin that dates from the 5th Century A.D. The figure is displayed in profile view with a headdress consisting of large wings on either side of the figure's head. At the top of the crown, is a crescent and round shape.   At the back of the figure are two pieces of fabric of the diadem that flow upwards on either side of the figure's shoulder.

Figure 39. Item 3C. Dinar of Kushanshah Varakhran

In a coin dated from the latter half of the 4th century A.D. and attributed to a Kidarite ruler, the Dinar of Kushanshah Varakhran (Item 3C), a standing figure with a long staff in one hand also wears a headdress consisting of animal attributes. In this case, however, the figure's headdress on one side depicts bird's wings and on the other side depicts an animal horn.   The staff that is held in one hand is flanked by a crescent motif.

Type: Central Crescent

The coin of the Ruler Satchak (Item 16C) is a coin which dates from 700-750 A.D. from Chach.   In pre-Islamic time, the oasis town Tashkent was known as Chach. The figure on this coin is depicted with a central crescent headdress.   The crescent is raised above the head by a vertical element.

Figure 40. 16C. Coin of the Ruler Satchak

Рис. 56.

Figure 41. Item 20C. Unknown ruler with Arab Inscription (not legible)

In another example of this type of headdress, the coin of an unknown ruler with Arab inscription (Item 20C) depicts a full frontal portrait of a person with a central crescent. This crescent contains a smaller spherical element above and below the crescent, which resembles a stylized version of the 'crescent with

medallion' type.   This coin has not been dated.

Another version of this type of headdress is also observed in the coin of King of Akhurpat (Item 15C), a Sogdian coin dated to the 8th century A.D. from Kesh (Shahrisabz, Uzbekistan).   This coin has been categorized as "non-applicable" because there remains some doubt about the exact headdress type because the image is not clear.   In this coin, the figure is in profile, and presumably depicts a headdress consisting of a crescent on top of the figure's head.

Figure 42. Item 15C. Coin of King of Akhurpat

Type: Crescent with Crown

Figure 43. Item 10C. Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V

The crescent with crown type is observed in several coins from this sample, mostly coins that are from Bukhara.   The earliest coin of this headdress type is titled, Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V (Item 10C) and dated 600-633 A.D. This coin depicts a figure in profile, with a large, presumably, metal crown. On top of the crown is a crescent motif.   At the back of the figure, a profiled diadem flows upward.
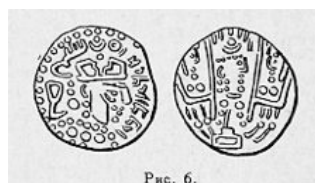
Figure 44. Item 12C. Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V

This similar headdress is observed in other coins from this sample like

Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V (Item 12C) dated to 700-755 A.D. from Bukhara. The figure is depicted in profile with a metallic crown with a crescent on top of it, and an upwards flowing diadem similar to the version found in Item 10C.

Figure 45. Item 14C. King Turgar

In a Sogdian coin dated after 728 A.D., the coin of King Turgar (Item 14C), can also be compared to the characteristics in Item 10C and 12C.   Unlike the previous exmples of this type, this coin (Item 14C) was found in Samarkand, and instead of a crescent motif above the crown, this coin depicts a sphere.

Figure 46. Item 17C. Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V with Name Caliph al-Mahdi

Item 17C is a coin, which dates from 761 A.D. to 800 A.D., and from an unknown provenance.   This coin (Item 17C) depicts a figure with a similar headdress as observed in the last three figures (Items 10C,12C,14C).   The inscription on this coin reads a name "Caliph al-Mahdi"[41].

Type: Animal Elements

Many coins selected for this sample are observed with totemic motifs, like wings and horns.   For example, the coin of Tetradrachma of Vazamar (Item 2C) dated to 350-400 A.D. from Chorasmia, depicts a figure with a headdress consisting of a type of bird (or part of a bird).   The reverse of this coin depicts a man on a horse.

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[41] During this period, caliph referred to a person who has converted to Islam.

Figure 47. Item 2C. Tetradrachma of Vazamar

Figure 48. Item 5C. Drachma of Unidentified Ruler Alkhon (White Hun) Kingdom

On another coin dated to the late 400 A.D. and attributed to a Hunnish ruler (Item 5C), a figure is depicted in profile with an elongated head with presumably a cap headdress with a single horn sticking out of it.
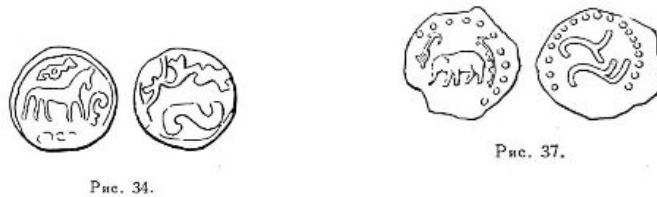
Figure 49. Item 18C. Unknown Ruler (Coin on Left) Item 21C. Satachari
(Coin on Right)

In addition to parts of animal, some coins were observed having no figure at all and instead replaced by a depiction of a whole animal.   In a coin from Fergana Valley (Item 18C), whose date is unknown, a depiction of a horse is observed.   In another coin (Item 21C), with the title Satachari and found in Chach, a depiction of an elephant is observed.

Figure 50. Item 7C. Khotan coin with Chinese Inscription and Kharosthi Script and
a Camel.

A Khotanese coin with Chinese inscriptions and Kharosthi script (Item 7C), dating from 200 to 400 A.D., depicts a camel on the reverse.   Unfortunately, it is not clear if there would have been a figure on the other side of the coin.

Type: No Headdress

The purpose of including coins with the no headdress type is to include coins, which are found in relevant sites, which demonstrate that some coins found at these sites do not contain any figure on it at all.   This section will deal with the figures without a headdress first.

For example, the Sogdian coin of Asbar (Item 6C) dated from 500-550 A.D. and found in Bukhara, depicts a figure in profile with a diadem wrapped around his head which is tied at the back.   Unlike the diadem of other coins from Bukhara, such as Item 14C, the fabric ends of the diadem does not flow upwards.

Figure 51. Item 6C. Coin of Asbar

Figure 52. Item 9C. King of Turak

In a Sogdian coin dated from 700-750 A.D. and titled King of Turak (Item 9C), the depiction suggests a figure with long hair and without a headdress, but this is not entirely clear from secondary observation.

Lastly, three coins from this sample are observed with significantly different traits than the rest of this sample. These coins are absent of any figure or animal, and are casted with a hole in the middle. One coin from Kucha (Item 8C), dating

from 400-500 A.D, is titled Wu Zhu.   On the reverse is a legend written in Kharosthi
script.

Figure 53. Item 8C. Wu Zhu Coin

A similar coin titled Imitation of Kai Yuan Tong Bao, found in Samarkand and
dating to 650 A.D., is observed with Chinese script (Item 11C).   In another example
of a Sogdian coin dating from 708-722 A.D. from Panjikent, the hole in the middle is
relatively smaller (Item 13C). A legend, "Nana, Lady of Panch" surrounds the middle
hole of the coin.

Figure 54.
Item 11C. Imitation of Kai Yuan Tong Bao (Left)
Item 13C. Coin with Legend 'Nana, Lady of Panch' (Right)

5.3   Description of Patterns

Certain patterns begin to emerge from the descriptive observation of both the
Figure and Numismatic samples.   Most of the figures that used for this data sample
have a headdress, whether it is a crescent type, or animal type (observed on coins),
or another.   Fewer figures from this sample are shown without a headdress.   In the
instances of no headdress, a crescent can still be found adjacent to the figure.

Other variables such as the presence of a triangular collar or the presence of a
diadem are not mutually exclusive. Most of the figures have one kind of form of
diadem. There is not a gap in chronology, between the 5th and 8th centuries, where
there is a figure without a crescent type headdress, though there are instances of
figures without a headdress as well.   These types of headdresses are represented on

painted or sculpted figures, or on the faces of coins.   There are many occurrences of the crescent type crowns and in varying spatial and cultural contexts, on the one hand in sacred spaces (temples), and on the other hand on prestige goods (coins, silverware, reliquary).

5.4   Comparative Patterns: Figures and Coins

In addition to the patterns, which derive from the descriptions of the both surveys, there are also comparative patterns that occur when analyzing the coins against the figures.   The following section outlines four descriptions of these patterns using a comparison of either headdress type or one of the other variables. This section uses visual diagrams to illustrate these comparisons, beginning with winged crescent type comparison (Figure 52), a diadem comparison (Figure 53), a crescent type comparison (Figure 54), and finally a medallion and crown comparison (Figure 55).

Figure 55. Comparison of Winged Crescent Headdress

The winged crescent crown is observed frequently, and occurring in different geographic locations.   The coin shown here, the Drachma of Peroz, is a Sasanian coin dated to the middle of the 5th century A.D.   Item 23, a fragment Silver Plate from Sogdia is dated much later at 7-8th century A.D., but maintains the similar headdress pattern to the Sasanan coin of Peroz I.   The dates of Items 24 and 22 are unknown, but they are also observed with a similar headdress to the Sasanian coin.

Item 22 is a fragment of a painting found at Shi Jun's tomb, a Sogdian merchant who was buried in Xi'an.
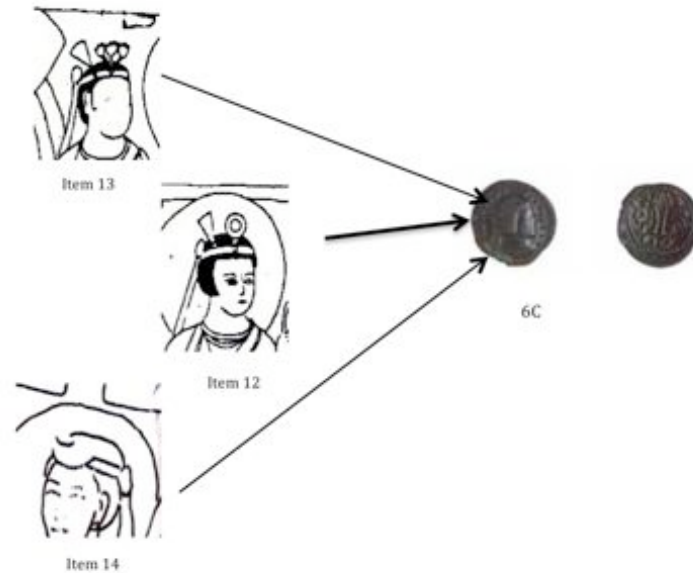
Figure 56. Diadem Comparison

In this comparison above (Figure 56), the diadem observed on the three figures from Bamiyan (Items 12, 13, 14) is relatively similar to the diadem present on the Coin of Asbar (Item 6C).   This is a coin from Bukhara, which dates from 500-550 A.D..   The figures (Items 12,13,14) from Bamiyan are all dated to the second Great Buddha, thus the late 6th century.   These figures, especially Figure 13, are observed not only with a similar style diadem around the top of the head and knotted at the back, but also a similar short hairstyle.

Many different kinds of crescent type headdresses are observed throughout this chapter. The comparison below shows a *Crescent with Central Medallion* type (Type A) headdress.   The coin (Item 16C) of Ruler of Satchak depicts a figure in three quarters view with a single central crescent atop his head.   This coin dates to early half of the 8th century from Chach (Tashkent).   The crescent on the headdress of this coin is reminiscent of the Bamiyan figures (Items 4, 7, 8), which date much earlier, although these headdresses are also observed with other characteristics, like birds wings, which is different from coin of Satchak.
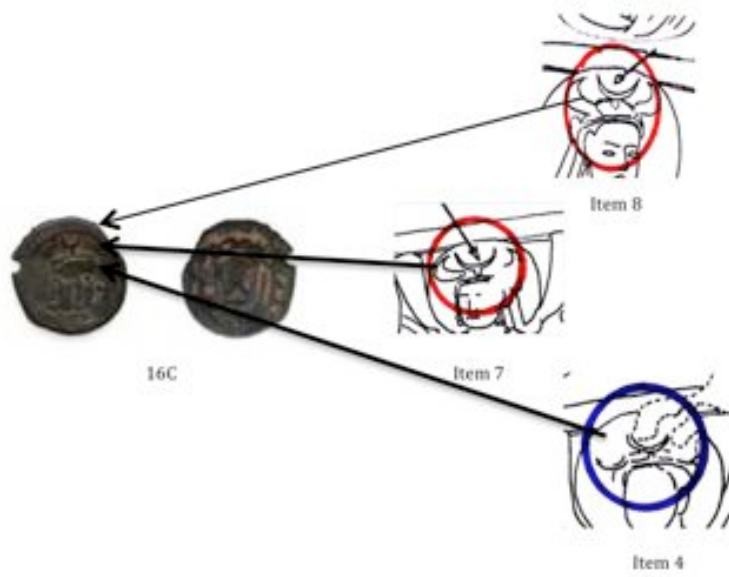
Figure 57. Crescent Type Comparison
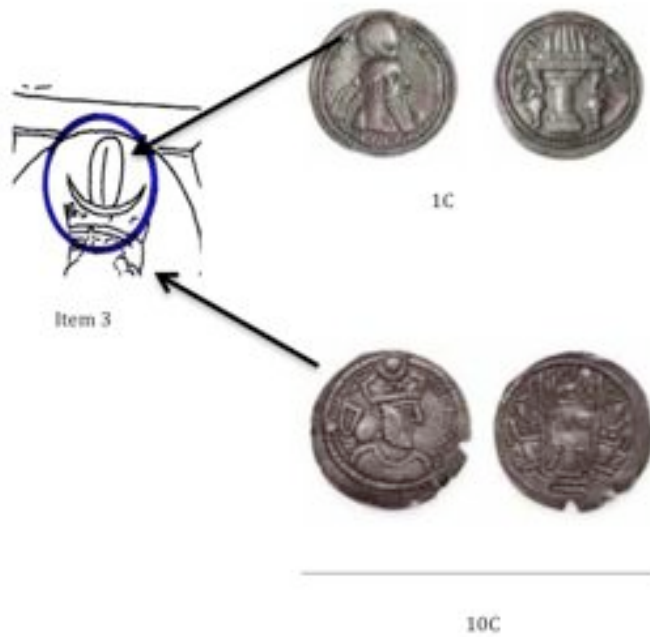
Figure 58. Medallion and Crown Comparison

In some cases, a comparison can be made from a combination of elements found on separate headdresses.   Two coins (Item 1C and 10C), dated to different time periods, contain characteristics observed on the headdress of a Bamiyan figure (Item 3).   The Bamiyan figure is from the late 6th century, while the Drachma of Ardashir I (Item 1C) is a Sasanian coin that dates to the early 3rd century and the Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V (Item 10C) from Bukhara dates to the early 7th century.   The round medallion or disc observed on Item 3 is similar to the large disc seen on top part of the headdress of Item 1C   The metallic crown at the base of the headdress of Item 3 shares a resemblance to the crown observed in Item 10C.

The implications of these surveys and the comparative patters with the coin sample is to demonstrate the extent to which iconography is used in different material and geographic contexts.   The interpretation of the results of what has been outlined in the previous sections of this chapter will be addressed in the next chapter (See Interpretation and Discussion).   In addition to the statistical results, a distribution map will follow to show how these motifs relate to a network a trade. Lastly, few sections will be dedicated to the discussion of how these motifs might have been interpreted and the possible reasons for the repetitive use of certain iconographic motifs on headdresses, which will be substantiated with the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter Two.

Chapter 6   Interpretation and Discussion

The iconography of headdresses found at Bamiyan and its neighboring regions are indicative of the diversity and interaction among the people who lived in this region between the 5th and 8th centuries.   In essence, no two headdresses are completely alike, but this research has identified patterns of types that in a general can form comparisons from one crown to another, and establish which headdress type is observed more dominantly in the material culture. The pattern of crown types observed in the seventeen samples of Bamiyan have been divided into four crown types, Types A-F, almost all of which are observed in other headdresses depicted on figures from the twenty samples from neighboring regions (see Table 6).   The different variables that have been applied to this analysis, the triangular collar and the diadem which are observed at Bamiyan also share a similar pattern of occurrence with neighboring regions.   A further overview of the results of these patterns will be explained in the sections that follow.

6.1   Main Results Table

Table 6. Results of Headdress Types for all Sample Sites

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E	Type F
	Crescent with Central Medallion(s)	Winged Crescent	Triple Crescent	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage	Unknown	No Headdress
Bamiyan	3	4	3	3	1	3
Swat Valley	1					
Kashmir	2					
Xi'an		1		1		
Sogdia		1				
Khotan				3		
Dalverzin-Tepe				1		
Sukhandarya	1	1	2			1
Hissar Valley				1		
Kucha						1
Kizil						2
Dilberjin					1	

6.2   Bamiyan

The predominant headdress observed in the Bamiyan samples is Type B observed on four figures in total.   Other headdress types, such as Type C is observed on three figures, Type A is also observed on three figures and Type D is also observed on three figures (see Table 7).   Equally, there are three figures without a headdress, and one figure whose headdress was undecipherable. The winged crescent type is the headdress depicted most often in the Bamiyan sample.   The percentages of the occurrence of headdress types are listed below in Figure 59.

Table 7. Quantities of Types of Headdresses at Bamiyan Frescoes

Type	Headdress Type	Quantity
A	Crescent with Central Medallion	3
B	Winged Crescent	4
C	Triple Crescent	3
D	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage	3
E	Unknown	1
F	No Headdress	3

The analysis observed that out of the seventeen figures in the Bamiyan sample, three figures (Items 15,16,17) were observed with Type F and they are found only in the 55m niche. These same three figures are depicted with a triangular collar.   Scholars agree that the 55m Great Buddha niche was constructed later than the 38m Buddha niche.   Therefore, the figures from the Bamiyan sample depicted without a headdress would have been likely to have painted later than the figures observed in the 38m niche. The implications of a figure without a headdress and with the same costume (triangular collar), while there is still evidence that other figures are depicted with headdresses, suggest that these three figures (Items 15,16,17) might have been a part of the same social group. In order to distinguish the Bamiyan figures, the results of the other variables will follow.   The aim is to find out if there are any patterns that can be associated with a particular headdress type, as we have observed with the Type F figures above.

6.2.1 Other Variables at Bamiyan

Other variables in combination with the headdress type assist with distinguishing the differences when comparing headdress types.   The results of this

are shown in Table 6. All three variables (triangular collar, diadem and halo) occur in only one figure (Item 14).   For the rest of the figures from the Bamiyan sample, the variable least occurring is the triangular collar, except in the case of the figures without a headdress, discussed in the previous section.   Outside of the figures without a headdress, the triangular collar occurs the most (two out of three times) on figures observed with the Type D. The triangular collar is observed the least on Type B figures.
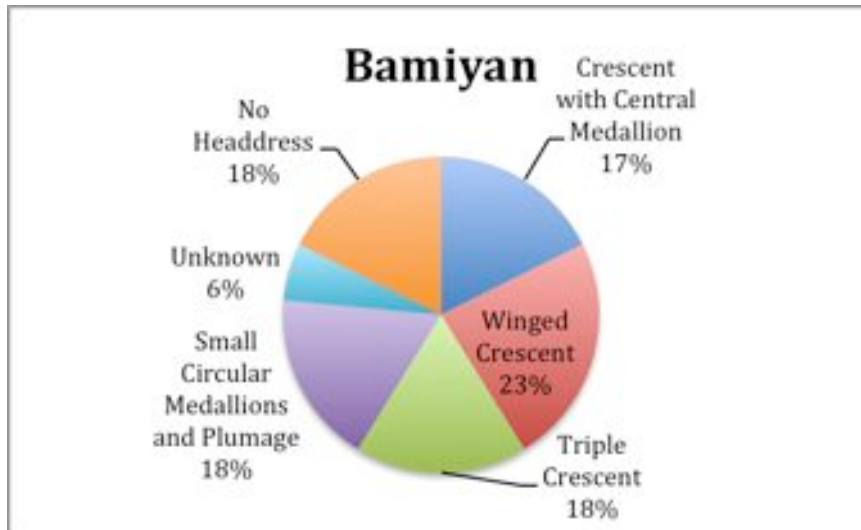
Figure 59. Percentages of Headdress Types at Bamiyan Frescoes

Table 8. Comparative Results between Headdress Types and Other Variables at Bamiyan

Headdress Type	No. Occurrences in Bamiyan Sample	Triangular Collar	Diadem	Halo
Crescent with Central Medallion	3	0	3	3
Winged Crescent	4	1	4	4
Triple Crescent	3	0	3	3
Small Circular Medallions and Plumage	3	2	3	2
Unknown	1	1	1	1
No Headdress	3	3	0	1

The diadem variable occurs in every figure of the Bamiyan sample, except for the Type F figure.   Therefore, almost unanimously, the diadem is a variable that is associated with any headdress type at Bamiyan.   The halo occurs on figures with the Crescent and Central Medallion type, on the Winged Crescent type, on the Type C, and Type E in every instance.   The halo is not observed on one figure with the Type D (Item 13).   There are one out of two Type F figures, which do have a halo (Item 15). To visualize these results better, refer to Figure 60. In the Bamiyan figure sample, the number of occurrences for the other variables shows that there are an equal number of figures associated with a diadem and a halo (Table 8).   The triangular collar occurs the least often, and does not occur ever on a Type F figure. Therefore, the triangular collar is only observed on Items 15, 16, 17.   Type B headdress is depicted the least with the triangular collar. Type C, Type A and Type D are never depicted with a triangular collar.   The results of this analysis indicates that among seventeen figures, there is a forty percent occurrence for a figure to have a diadem or a halo, and a twenty percent occurrence for a figure to have a triangular collar.
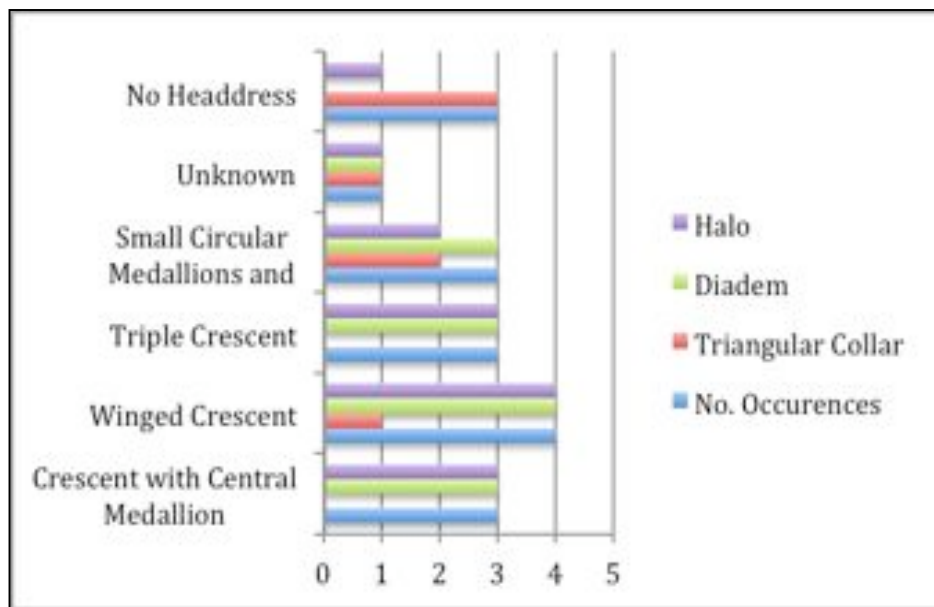
Figure 60. Comparative Results Between Headdress Types and Other Variables at Bamiyan

The conclusions made here are, that at Bamiyan, the headdress that is depicted the most is the Winged Crescent type (Type B). The variable that is depicted the most is the diadem, followed closely by the halo. The variable depicted the least at Bamiyan is the triangular collar. At Bamiyan, figures without a headdress are not depicted with a diadem, and sometimes depicted with a halo. In addition, at Bamiyan, the figures that are not depicted with a triangular collar wear the Crescent with Central Medallion type headdress (Type A). To conclude further about the identity of the figures from the Bamiyan sample, a discussion of personhood will follow, as well as the results of the gender and deity analysis in combination with the headdress types will be interpreted.

6.2.2   Personhood

Some effort has been made in this research to identify the gender of the Bamiyan figures. Out of the seventeen figures, only one figure has been possibly identified as a female. Although, this result is purely speculative, the following assumptions are made based on the differences of headdress between the possible female figure and the male figure that is placed next to her in the larger composition. Both the female figure and all the male figures are depicted wearing crowns, though their crowns are different. The female crown (Item 2) is a crescent with a circular medallion in the center. Her crown has a broader crescent and a smaller medallion than her male counterpart (Item 1). The depiction of Item 2's headdress suggests two horns are attached to her crown, which is similar to the one horn seen on the headdress of Item 1.[42]   The use of horns on headdresses has been discussed by Il'yasov (2003) and Kageyama (2007) as a method of identifying, in their opinion, a certain ethnic group, or to identify whether the female is married or not (see further Il'yasov 2003; Kageyama 2007).

The other type of "person" that has been analyzed in the Bamiyan sample is the deity. According to Klimburg-Salter (1989), a deity (or non-secular person) can be identified by the attributes in the hand, the presence of a lotus throne, and the halo around the figure's head. Out of seventeen items in the Bamiyan sample, there

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[42] Horns might be depicted on the headdresses of Item 7, 8, 9 and 10, though for purposes of this study, these headdresses have been referred to as 'Winged Crescent Type' because the reconstruction drawing (Tarzi 1977) suggests two feathered wings on either side of a cap or helmet headdress.

are only two figure that have been identified as deities (Items 6 and 10). This analysis found that there was no correlating pattern between headdress and deity figures at Bamiyan. Item 6 is depicted with a Type C headdress, while Item 10 is depicted with a Type B headdress. Both Item 6 and Item 10 are dated to the latter half of the 6th century A.D. In this data sample from Bamiyan, the deities are only depicted as male. It is worthy to note here that the Type C headdress depicted on Item 6 is very similar to the decoration of Cave C2, which also has two diadem-like elements flowing from it (See Figure 58 in Appendix I). Though there are no correlations to support a substantial pattern for deity figures, a further analysis of the neighboring site figures might offer more insight.

6.2.3   Other Motifs in Bamiyan Sample

Part of this analysis included observing other motifs on the figures, like animal and crescent symbols (Table 9).   This has been included to refer back to the research of Lerner (2009), Stark (2009) and Kageyama (2007) who have all observed either animal attributes on headdresses. Not surprisingly, all figures depicted with a crescent type headdress were observed with a crescent symbol. Any headdresses (Types D-F) without a crescent do not have crescent symbol associated with them. Due to the fact that there could be flower symbols depicted on the headdress (Item 13), this symbol has also been included in the table. This analysis still remains speculative whether bird's wings that have been identified on a number of figures in the Bamiyan sample, could also depict animal horns.[43] This will require further research, and perhaps first hand observation.

Table 10. Animal Symbols on Headdresses at Bamiyan

Animal Symbol	Horns	Wings	Plumage	Flowers	Unknown	Absent
Type A	1				2	
Type B		4				
Type C						3
Type D			2	1		
Type E						1
Type F						3

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[43] In this analysis, the figures that are marked with bird's wings or horns are identified as wings in Table 10. This is because there is some information about horns, but the depiction of the reconstruction drawing provided by Tarzi (1977) is more than likely a representation of wings. Again, this requires further research.

The results of this table are more or less directly related to the type of headdress.   By no coincidence, Type B headdresses have winged elements, and Type D headdresses contain plumage elements, and perhaps one figure depicted with flowers on his crown.   Type C and Type F headdresses are not depicted with any animal elements. This does not seem to be surprising for Type F, but for the figures with Type C headdresses, the disassociation with animal elements might be further proof that some individuals wore crowns that are not a part of the traditional "winged crescent type" that Lerner (2009), Stark (2010) and Kageyama (2007) discuss.   To elaborate on these nuances, the next section will expand on the results of the neighboring figures sample.

6.3   Neighboring Sites

Neighboring sites of Bamiyan that have been analyzed in this research total 20 samples. Most of these sites are located in present day Uzbekistan (Sogdia, Dalverzin-tepe, Sukhandarya Province), but also including Dilberjin in Afghanistan, Hissar Valley in Tajikistan, and sites in present day China (Khotan, Kucha, Kizil, Xi'an).   Out of these sites, there are very few figures that are depicted without a headdress. An exception is observed in one figure from the Sukhandarya Province (Item 33) and all figures from the sites Kizil and Kucha (Items 34-36). The headdress of Item 37, from Dilberjin, Afghanistan is unknown, and suggests a cloth headdress like a turban.

The predominant type of headdress found at these other sites is Type C headdress.   This type of crown was observed occurring mostly in sites throughout Uzbekistan, and three instances depicted in figures from Khotan (Items 25, 26, 27). The second headdress type most often observed is the Type A headdress, which occurs in five instances. The locations of these occurrences are from sites in Uzbekistan, Kashmir and the Swat Valley (See Table 11).

Table 11. Quantities of Headdress Types At Bamiyan and Neighboring Sites

Site Sample	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E	Type F
	Crescent with Central Medallion	Winged Crescent	Triple Crescent	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage	Unknown	No Headdress

Bamiyan	3	4	3	3	1	3
Neighbo-ring Sites	4	3	7	1	1	4

From the analysis, a few patterns emerge.   First, at both the Bamiyan and Neighboring Sites samples similar type crowns are observed.   Type D is not observed once from a site at Xi'an. The context of Item 32 is that this individual is possibly the wife of Shi-Jun, a Sogdian merchant (Kageyama 2007).   Therefore, it should be noted that although the headdress is featured on a funerary monument in present day China, this is possibly a headdress following a Sogdian artistic tradition. It is evident that Type C headdress is depicted the most widely.   Type C occurs at seven neighboring sites, one in Hissar Valley, two in Sukhandarya Province, one at Dalverzin-tepe, and three at Khotan.   How these headdresses are distributed geographically is shown in Figure 61.
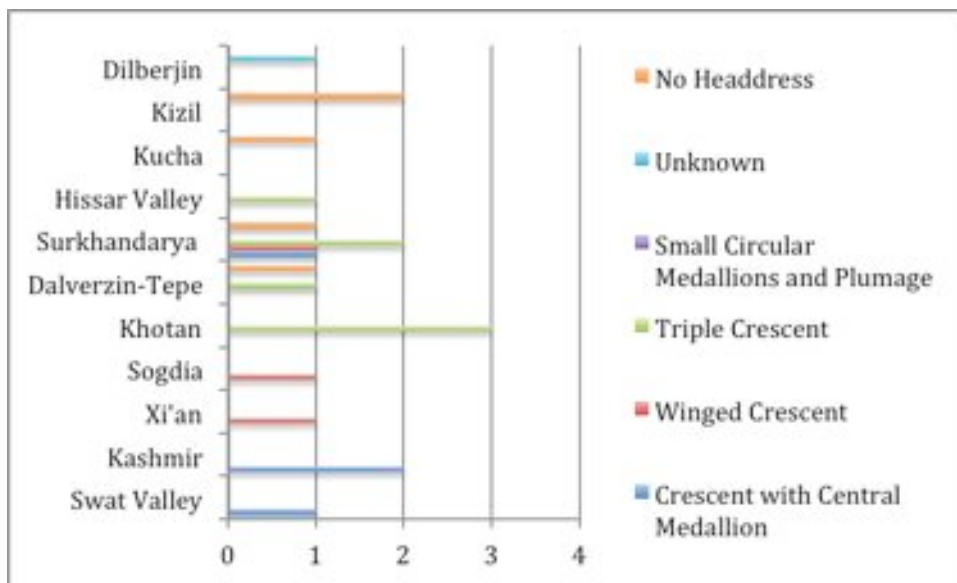
Figure 61. Headdress Types Results at Neighboring Sites

6.3.1   Other Variables at Neighboring Sites

Other variables, like the triangular collar, the diadem and the halo, occurred without a consistent pattern (Table 11).   Most figures from these neighboring sites were not depicted with a triangular collar or a diadem.   These results are not entirely conclusive because in some cases the images did not contain enough material to show the parts of the upper or lower body.   When the triangular collar

was observed, it occurred Dilberjin (Item 37) and in figures from Kucha and Kizil (Items 34-36).   These are the same figures, which are depicted without a headdress (Type F).

Unlike in the Bamiyan sample, figures of the neighboring sites sample are not often depicted with a diadem.   This occurs once on an item from Kashmir (Item 19).   Furthermore, the triangular collar, which was the variable least depicted at Bamiyan, is the variable most depicted in the neighboring sites sample.   This variable occurs six times, and almost exclusively in the present day regions of Uzbekistan and Afghanistan, with one exception, Item 34 at Kucha.

Table 12. Other Variables at Neighboring Sites

Site Name	Triangular Collar	Diadem	Halo	No. Of Items in the Sample
Swat Valley				1
Kashmir		1		2
Surkhandarya	1		3	4
Xi'an				2
Sogdia			1	1
Khotan			3	3
Dalverzin-tepe	1		1	1
Hissar Valley				1
Kucha	1			1
Kizil	2			2
Dilberjin	1			1

6.3.2 Personhood

The neighboring site sample does not yield a whole lot of gender difference, as seen in the Bamiyan sample.   Out of twenty figures from neighboring sites, only one is certainly a female (Item 20) and there are possibly two other figures, but these are still being debated (Items 28 and 32).   The representation of men over women is not uncommon in the iconography of Central Asia.   There have been known representations of females as goddesses, but rarely do you find a non-deity female (Rowland 1974).

A deity figure on the other hand occurs at least once at Khotan (Item 27) (Klimburg-Salter 1989). There is some debate whether the aristocratic figure on the Khotan bark painting (Item 26) may be a deity as well.   The correlation between the

Type C headddress and deity, though not apparent in this research, cannot be ignored.   Many figures in Buddhist iconography are depicted with three main elements on their crown, but not always crescents (Klimburg-Salter 1989).   It is the opinion of the author, albeit small evidence in this research, that the triple crescent headdress has another connotation than the winged crescent headdress. The triple crescent, observed on the façade of Cave 2 at Bamiyan (See Figure 65 Appendix I) shows how this motif is not only applicable to headdresses of the elite or religious individual, but also featured on religious architecture.   This is perhaps another avenue of study for future research.

6.3.3 Other Motifs

Animal type characteristics do not occur as often at neighboring sites. The analysis of animal type motifs found that either they are absent or unknown, meaning they cannot be deciphered from the image.   The animal characteristic that does occur the most often, are bird's wings, followed by animal plumage.   There were no horns observed on any headdresses from this selected sample. It is the author's opinion that perhaps at some point in time, the adoption of animal elements stopped, particularly in areas furthest from Bamiyan.   In areas closer to Bamiyan, at later time periods, this does not seem to be the case.   For example, in Figure 64 (see Appendix I) is a reconstruction drawing, adapted from the drawing of Klimburg-Salter 1989, from Nigar (present day northern Afghanistan). This image depicts a man on top of two horses, wearing a costume with a triangular collar and a headdress consisting of both bird's wings and animal horns.   Klimburg-Salter suggests that this figure can be dated to the eighth century (Klimburg-Salter 1989).

Iconographic evidence of the use of animal elements on headdresses, such as this image (Figure 64), can dispel animal type headdresses are discontinued from the iconography at later periods.   This is one reason that this research has made no attempt to measure the distribution of headdress motif by chronological order.   In the next section that follows, the results of the numismatic sample may shed more light on how headdress motifs were distributed geographically, and if it may follow the same pattern as the Bamiyan and neighboring data samples.

6.4 Results of the Numismatics

There are twenty-one coins that have been collected for this data sample. The locations of the coins from this sample are indicated in order to show how the

crescent type headdress might occur in each area or attributed to a social group. The types of crowns depicted on the coin sample are very similar to the types of crowns found in the Bamiyan and Neighboring Site sample.   In the criteria for this coin sample, there was one more type added which was consistently observed, referred to here as 'crescent with crown type'.

In the results of the numismatic analysis show that there was a whole diverse range of types of crowns for used on coins over a vast time period. Sogdian coins are observed with the most diversity, some times having a portrait on the face of the coin, and sometime the absence of a figure entirely, replaced by a Chinese style (hole in the middle).   Coins from Bukhara are consistently shown with a similar 'crown with crescent', occurring three times in this sample.   Sasanian coins, from an earlier period (3rd century to 5th century) represented both Type A and Type B.

In addition to the 'crescent with crown' type that was added to the criteria for coins, 'animal' type was also included due to the observation that some coins from neighboring regions, namely Ferghana Valley (Item 18C) and Chach (21C) are depicted with whole animals instead of the portrait of a ruler.   'Animal' type here can also refer to an animal element on the headdress.   In this way, coins of the Chorasmian and Kidarite empires in this sample also represented the 'animal' type of coin, as well as the horn depicted on the Hunnic coin.
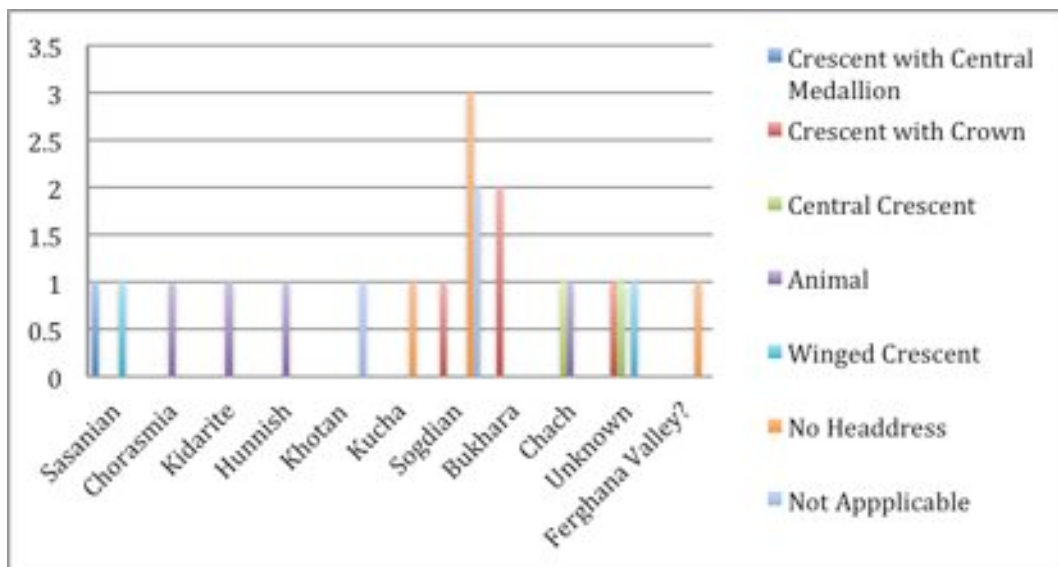
Figure 62. Headdress Type on Coin Samples

Part of the analysis also included evaluating the presence or absence of a headdress, and was recorded for each coin (Table 13).   In only two cases, this was

not applicable because the coins were too damaged to properly decipher the image or reconstructed image.   For the rest, the dominant pattern observed on coins of this sample consisted of a figure with a headdress, unless the style of the coin did not allow for it.   This is the case of many Sogdian coins from this sample (Item 8C, 11C), which are casted coins with a hole in the middle.   These coins do not contain a figure.   Other coins (Items 7C, 18C, 21C) depicted animals on the front or reverse of the coin instead of a figure with a headdress, as mentioned previously.   These animals were inconsistent with the figures found at Bamiyan or its neighboring sites, which were either bird's wings or animal horns.   In these coins (Items 7C, 18C, 21C), animals such as a horse, camel or elephant were observed on the face or reverse of the coins.

Table 13. Presence or Absence of Headdress on Coins

	Headdress Present	Headdress Absent	Not applicable
Sasanian	2		
Chorasmia	1		
Kidarite	1		
Hunnish	1		
Khotan			1
Kucha		1	
Sogdian	2	3	1
Bukhara	2		
Chach	1	1	
Unknown	2		
Ferghana Valley?		1	

The other analysis applied to the data set of coins was the presence or absence of any kind of crescent on the coin, regardless of the presence of a figure with a headdress.   In the case of the Sasanian and the Bukharan coins (Items 1C, 4C, 10C, 12C), a crescent is always present in the image. The coin from Chorasmia (Item 2C) and the coin possibly from the Fergana Valley (present day Uzbekistan) are absent of a crescent (Figure 61).   This analysis indicated that the crescent symbol is used solely on the headdress and not as a motif to replace a figure, or in any part of the coin composition.

Although this research does not apply a temporal analysis, there were some patterns observed based on the chronology of these coins, namely the change in inscription language and the material it is made of.   The geographic areas where the coin is from, which did not depict a figure with a crescent type headdress, are

distinguished by their time period.   The later period coins from this sample represent coins with Kharosthi script or Chinese inscription.   These coins also appear different (hole punched in the middle).   The material used for these later coins is mostly copper, as opposed to the earlier coins mostly made of silver.   The provenance origins of these coins are Sogdia, Khotan and Kucha.
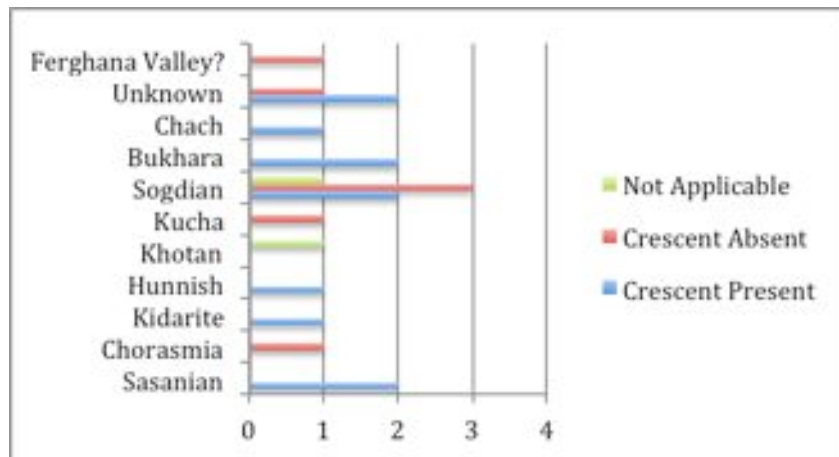
Figure 63. Presence or Absence of a Crescent on the Coin

By analyzing the presence or absence of the diadem on each coin, it was observed again that the on the Sasanian coins and the coins of Bukhara, the diadem is present.   On most coins, the diadem was present, though unfortunately it was very difficult to clearly evaluate the image at times.   In the coins from Sogdia and Kucha, any portrait with a diadem was absent (See Table 13).

Table 14. Presence or Absence of a Diadem on the Coin

Provenance of Coin	Diadem Present	Diadem Absent	Not Applicable
Sasanian	2		
Chorasmia		1	
Kidarite	1		
Hunnish		1	
Khotan			1
Kucha		1	
Sogdian	1	3	2
Bukhara	2		
Chach			2
Unknown	1		2

Ferghana Valley?			1

The presence of a diadem on Sasanian coins might reflect why the diadems are also portrayed on the figures from the Bamiyan sample. There are also similar patterns found observing coins that are Bukharan, Sogdian and Kidarite. By comparing the iconographic patterns of the coins to the other data set, two aspects are apparent. There is a use of crescent type headdresses that are similar to both Bamiyan and the neighboring regions, namely Type A and Type B. The coins that follow these types are Sasanian. Secondly, the use of animal type elements, or even crescent motifs are absent at later periods in most of the coin sample, with exception of the coins from Bukhara. A further evaluation of the geographic distribution of these motifs will be discussed in the next section.

6.5   The Scope of Geographic Distribution of Headdress Motifs

The results of both the sample of figures and the sample of coins indicate that the concentration of crescent type headdresses is found in sites that are just neighboring or nearest to Bamiyan and the Hindu Kush region. This includes Dilberjin (Afghanistan) just north, Surkhandarya Province, Dalverzin-tepe and northwest to Bukhara. Between Bamiyan and these regions there is a particularly strong connection with the headdress types, but also the occurrence of the diadem and the triangular collar.

Furthermore, these regions are sites that follow the north-south trade route from Bamiyan used during the 5th and 8th centuries (Klimburg-Salter 1989). There are other, sporadic instances of the crescent type headdress, which occur mainly around Kizil and Kucha. These locations are on the outer peripheries of Bamiyan, but may suggest a religious affinity due to the similar large monastic complexes, which existed at Kizil and Kucha (Klimburg-Salter 1989). The comparative headdresses found as far as Xi'an, on the funerary couch of Sogdian merchant, Shi Jun, might be more indicative of the mobility of Sogdian traders during this time, rather than the use of the crescent in China. There is no evidence that the crescent type headdress occurs further east than Kucha into present day China. For the results of the distribution map, please refer to Figure 62 (see Appendix I).

6.6　　　Interpretation of Results

The crescent crown types have been observed on both the figures and deities.   In some cases, the crown of a deity is similar to the crowns worn by figures at Bamiyan and in its neighboring regions.   This pattern occurs between the two figures from Bamiyan and the one image of a deity at Khotan (Items 6, 10, 27). These patterns suggest there might have been a relationship between the use of similar headdress between the elite and the religious communities.   This might be because of the tribute system that was developed by means of royal patronage (Klimburg-Salter 1989; Higuchi and Barnes 1995).   This paper assumes that the groups of figures depicted in the Bamiyan Great Buddha niche frescos, seated with deity figures, suggest that there was a significant relationship between the monastery and the social elite. (See figures 67-69 in the Appendix I)   A need to affirm legitimacy of power and ideology, through ceremonial patronage could have been a way to control the trade route through Bamiyan, by paying tribute for the construction of the Bamiyan complex.   The headdresses that the figures wear, in consideration that is a continued tradition from rulers of past empires, indicates that symbols on headdresses may have also been a mechanism to show power.

The headdresses of the elite at Bamiyan vary by individual.   The diverse types of headdresses suggest that there may have been an alliance of many different individuals.   The same types of headdresses and diversity of them, over a vast time period (before and during the 5th to the 8th century), was also observed on the numismatics of this area.   The indication here is that perhaps the ruling elite was identified individually by the headdress they wear, and as well, to communicate particular social or cultural messages to the public audience. This would have especially been the case with the frescoes at Bamiyan, where it has already been suggested was a place for ceremonial rituals, and political propaganda (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 124).

 In essence, headdresses are not only just material crowns, which display elements of prestige, they are also communicative devices used to address a wide and dispersed populations.   De Marrais et. *al* (1996) argues that ceremonies, ritual objects, and writings are all methods of materializing ideology.   In this paper, I argue that for the case of Bamiyan, headdresses were facilitated as means to materialize power in the Hindu Kush region.   The evidence that the same motifs of headdress are found in adjacent areas of the north-south trade route implies furthermore, that a certain ideology was spread through the iconography.

Following De Marrais et. *al* (1996), when the iconography is located in a religious complex, such as the case of Bamiyan, ideas of power may have been legitimized through the rite of religious traditions and ceremony.   Furthermore, the presence of these similar headdress motifs (and other variables) on figures on numismatics may have also legitimized this power by an exchange of economic interaction between regional areas.

The headdresses types, which have been discussed previously, communicate by means of a symbol (e.g. the wing or the crescent).   These continued use of these symbols, over time, also suggest a kind of nostalgia for certain types of headdresses. From the analysis of the coin sample, it was evident that the use of the crescent headdress, whichever type, was most comparable to the historical Sasanian headdress.   Additionally, both the Sasanian and Bukhara coins represent images of figures with the diadem. It is in the continued use of the diadem, depicted on the figures at Bamiyan that suggest these may have been a symbolic context.   Following Insoll, ritual practices and repetitive use can materialize as archaeological memory (2009, 293).   That said, by engaging the material in a historical context, and then at Bamiyan in a religious context, there is a marketable value to the headdress.   Any ruler depicted with a crescent headdress could engage the viewer in associating the material with, in this case, a past tradition, a powerful empire, and the ceremonial relationship with the religious community (De Marrais et. *al* 1995; Insoll 2009).

This research has found that the figures depicted at Bamiyan are almost always depicted with a headdress composed of or including a crescent. Following again De Marrais et. *al*, insignia and elite symbols like the crescent are applied over and over, and in different forms on a headdress to accomplish a political objective (1996, 31).   The ideologies of ruling elite are by nature ambivalent and contradictory, so promoting a sense of community and common identity would justify the social differences and unequal access to wealth and authority (De Marrais et. *al* 1996, 31).   The crescent symbol, in the case of Bamiyan, might have been applied to unite different social groups or political powers. More importantly, any crescent type headdress depicted on the niche fresco of the Great Buddhas would have inherently perpetuated images of authority, in addition to reinforcing authority through monumental religious architecture.

6.7 Discussion

The iconographic use of the crescent on the headdress at Bamiyan is in one part agency to distribute and maintain power, and in another part memory, to

justify the continued tradition of using crescent type crowns.   The Hindu Kush region has been historically one of the last regions to be converted to Islam by Arab occupiers (Klimburg-Salter 1989, 27).   Bamiyan, before the Arab period, was part of a thriving trade settlement, strategically located along the north-south trade route, which ran adjacent to the Hindu Kush Mountains.   The cultural identity of this region is still relatively unclear.   It was either difficult to get there, or a safe place to be once arrived.   Therefore, this paper argues, that the construction of the Bamiyan Buddhas, as with any monumental architecture, might have been a plight of a growing Buddhist monastic community, but the construction itself may have been patronized by the elites depicted in the niche frescos.

The significance of these niche paintings lies mostly in the composition of an elite ceremony of different figures seated at a balcony, each individual depicted with a headdress.   The significance of iconography, in this case the use of the crescent symbol, could have been incorporated into the headdresses of these figures to show solidarity.   There is no doubt that the areas of Central Asia, in the past, were in constant conflict, and in constant exchange powerful empires. The sponsoring of the construction of both Bamiyan Buddhas may have been in part assisted by elite groups, as a strategic plan to sustain political and financial stake in the Hindu Kush region.

The frescos of the Buddha niches, like any painting of a great leader, served to illustrate through material culture, the complex relationships between elites, and in the case of Bamiyan, between the elite and monastery.   During the 5th and 8th centuries, in order to suppress competing empires like the Arabs or the Chinese, these wall paintings would have been a reminder for the viewer that powerful groups were aligned with these two colossal statues.   In order to appeal to a diverse public, which at Bamiyan would have been undoubtedly merchants and religious people in addition to many more, the crescent headdress may have been associated with the ideology of power and memory.   In short, the crescent type headdress depicted at Bamiyan and elsewhere in adjacent regions was certainly a form of material agency.

Chapter 7   Conclusions

7.1   Concluding Remarks

The first aim of this research was to identify the iconography of headdresses at Bamiyan and to compare them with other headdresses found at neighboring sites. The second aim was to compare this analysis with numismatics from the same geographic areas, with some inclusion of relevant provenance, dictated by previous research. Assuming that headdresses found on coins and material culture can be transmitted spatially, the last objective was to produce a map of distribution to show how the headdresses from this sample occur geographically, in order to measure the extent of interaction between regions and to find out if this pattern matched the north-south trade route which Bamiyan was a part of.

The research question which threads this paper is what the iconography of headdresses at Bamiyan suggests about the extent of interaction with neighboring regions during the fifth to eighth centuries AD? Furthermore, is a distribution map of the identified headdresses relevant to the north-south trade route?

The methodological approach that was adhered to relies heavily on an iconographic analysis, in order to feasibly compare one headdress from another beginning first at Bamiyan and then in the regions of Central Asia. The iconographic model that was considered for this research followed Panofsky (1972). First, description and type identification was given for each sample, and then a comparison was made between the Bamiyan sample and the neighboring sites sample. Then, using selected numismatics, this research compared the results of an iconographic analysis on coins with the analysis for the two other samples. Lastly, an interpretation was made about the use and distribution of headdress iconography, using a historical and religious context as a basis and the theoretical framework of this paper, which introduces concepts of interaction, material engagement, ideology and memory.

Although the methodological approach was promising in this research, it was also problematic at times. The areas of Bamiyan and the Hindu Kush are relatively unknown, even by primary sources, and therefore a lot of research had to be undertaken in order to establish a good grasp on the historical and religious background. In addition, the theoretical approach of using iconography as a basis for the measurement of interaction was not something I could readily research. This approach was at times difficult, but at other times very creative by making

connections between different artistic traditions, as well as the social implications behind material culture. For the most part, this research benefited from the multitude of approach, but was limited in other factors.   There never seems to be enough material that could have been included in the data set, and so it is the opinion of the author that perhaps by including more material evidence, there could have been more solid conclusions made.   Also, by using reconstruction images, for the most part, was difficult to decipher and at times risky in the case that the author misinterpreted the image.   Furthermore, this research would have liked to concentrate more on the analysis of interregional networks, but the scope of this paper did not allow for it.

In general, the research question that was asked in the introduction, could be answered.   The hypothesis that the regions of most interaction would be closest to Bamiyan was correct, and interestingly, these regions shared the most similarities in iconography. The areas which shared the most comparative iconography of headdress, namely Bukhara and Sukhandarya Province (historical Sogdia) are also relevant to the north-south trade route which Bamiyan was a part of.

  The iconography of headdresses at Bamiyan share a relationship, political, social, arguably also religious, with its neighboring sites to the north into Sogdia.   The occurrence of headdress at other sites beyond this region of interaction might be interesting in the future to investigate any long distance ties, or even ties between religious centers during the 5th and 8th centuries. In the future, one might ask when does the crescent type headdress disappear from the iconography of Central Asia? How is the crescent motif applied in the ideology of Islam, and does it have any relevance to the past tradition of its use on crowns at religious sites like Bamiyan? If there was regional interaction between Bamiyan along a north-south trade route, is there any other iconographic evidence to support long distance interaction with other religious complexes across Asia?

This research of headdresses at Bamiyan, and its comparative analysis with headdresses found in neighboring regions, has suggested that there is meaning associated with the characteristics of crescent type crowns through the repetitive use and a continued cultural tradition. The symbols on the headdress are associated with a particular value, and in this paper, I argue these values relate to ideas of power and memory.   These notions are not uncommon to today's modern context. Today, visual culture can be associated with marketing strategies in advertising are also mechanisms to engage the viewer.   Logos have long since been adapted to form the basis of these mechanisms, so that once the logo gives meaning to the viewer,

and these values remain recognizable.   The idea that this type of 'marketing of power' strategy could have been applied in the past is perhaps controversial, but not outside the realm of human cognition.

The use of written and spoken language, coins and other prestige material all convey symbols or characteristics of ideology, adapted to appeal to groups of people. In order to formulate identity within these groups of people, these meanings must be significant to the viewer.   This paper argues that the headdresses at Bamiyan conveyed a sense of past tradition, in addition to legitimizing power through iconography.

7.2   Suggestions for On-Going Research

The research applied for this study relied mostly on an iconographical analysis.   To suggest methods to improve this kind of study, this paper recommends that more weight is given to iconography within the discipline of archaeology. Furthermore, this paper suggests that a more in depth research is conducted on numismatics of Central Asia for the time periods *after* the 5th century.   Pastoral and nomadic groups of Central Asia are poorly represented, and need to be reexamined and included in future research.   The complexity of these groups due to the lack of written evidence is perhaps a large limitation, but an iconographic analysis and measure of interaction should be applied to the study of these groups.   If the research focuses on a trend of specific characteristics, a pattern might emerge that provides new evidence of social ties between these kinds of groups of people.

This paper recommends that archaeology consult different disciplines, in the humanities and art history, to establish new conclusions for this region in the future. Paintings or details on a piece of three-dimensional sculpture, in an archaeological perspective, must be valued beyond just the interpretation of style.   When iconography is analyzed and interpreted with secondary evidence, it can indicate a wealth of information about the social and political order of societies, which may not otherwise have a lot of historical or written evidence. Depending on what the material context is, iconography is a source of significant information regarding the social interpretation of how material is engaged with. This approach can accommodate for the gaps in the historical and archaeological record.

Abstract

The famous archaeological site of Bamiyan in present day Afghanistan, besides portraying grand achievements of culture and religion, was also the foci for trans migration around the Hindu Kush region. Between the 5th and 8th centuries, Bamiyan and other adjacent archaeological sites in Central Asia, were connected by a highly developed network of trade.   The visual culture of Bamiyan, aside from the two Great Buddhas, suggests there was a necessity to represent ideology and power of the social elite in symbolic ways.

At Bamiyan, frescos depict many figures with different type headdresses or crowns. The depiction of these crowns is also found in other archaeological sites and on coins distributed throughout present day Central Asia and China.   The details of a headdress or crown suggest characteristics of the social or political identities of the individual or group depicted.   The similar type crowns found on figures in other geographic contexts may indicate a degree of interaction between Bamiyan and other religious and trade centers.

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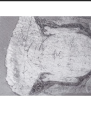
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Appendix I

Table 4. Master Trait Table All Figure Samples (7 pages)

Image	Item No.	Title	Motif Type	Site	Present Day Location	Context: (Date/Stratigraphy/Site)	Headdress	Animal Sign	Crescent Symbol	Triangle Collar	Diadem	Halo	Gender type	Deity	Source
	Item 1	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 38 m	Crescent with Central Medallion (and Crown)	Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Early 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Present	Unknown	Present	Absent	Present	Present	Male	no	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)
	Item 2	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 38 m	Crescent with Central Medallion	Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Early 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Present	Horns	Present	Absent	Present	Present	Female	no	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)
	Item 3	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Cresent with Central (Oval) Medallion?	Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Present	Unknown	Present	Absent	Present	Present	Male	no	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)
	Item 4	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 38 m	Triple Crescent	Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Early 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Present	Present	Male	no	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)
	Item 5	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Triple Crescent	Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Present	Present	Male	no	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)
	Item 6	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Triple Crescent	Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Present	Present	Male	yes	Klimburg-Salter 1989, Plate XXXI
	Item 7	Item, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Winged Crescent	Bamiyan	Afghanistan	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Present	Bird Wing/Horns	Present	Absent	Present	Present	Male	no	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)

Item 8	Item 9	Item 10	Item 11	Item 12
Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m
Winged Crescent	Winged Crescent	Winged Crescent	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage
Bamiyan	Bamiyan	Bamiyan	Bamiyan	Bamiyan
Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Afghanistan
Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco
Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bird Wing/Horns	Bird Wing/Horns	Bird Wing/Horns	Bird Feather?	Plumage?
Present	Present	Present	Absent	Absent
Present	Absent	Absent	Absent	Present
Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
no	no	yes	no	no
Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)

	Item 13	Item 14	Item 15	Item 16	Item 17
	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m	Figure, Great Buddha Niche 55 m
	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage	Unknown	No Headdress	No Headdress	No Headdress
	Bamiyan	Bamiyan	Bamiyan	Bamiyan	Bamiyan
	Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Afghanistan
	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco	Late 6th Century A.D., Fresco
	Present	Present	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Flowers? Animal Hair?	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Absent	Unknown	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
	Present	Present	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Absent	Present	Present	Absent	Absent
	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
	no	no	no	no	no
	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)	Tarzi 1977 (Appendix)	Klimburg-Salter 1989, XLVII	Klimburg-Salter 1989	Klimburg-Salter 1989, LXXXIX

	Item 22	Item 21	Item 20	Item 19	Item 18
Name	"Figure from Fragment of Shi-Jun's Tomb"	Terracotta Figure	Female Figure Seal on Ring	"Crowned Buddha"	Figure with Spear on Horse
	Winged Crescent	Crescent with Central Medallion	Crescent with Central Medallion	Crescent with Central Medallion	Crescent with Central Medallion
	Xi'an	Sukhandarya Province	Kashmir	Kashmir	Swat Valley
	China	Uzbekistan	Pakistan/India	Pakistan/India	Pakistan
	After 580 A.D., Funerary Decoration	Unknown Date	Unknown Date	Unknown Date	Unknown Date, Fragment of Silver Bowl
	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
	Bird Wing	Unknown	Unknown	Absent	Absent
	Absent	Present	Present	Present	Present
	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Absent	Absent	Absent	Present	Absent
	Absent	Present	Absent	Present	Absent
	Male	Male	Female	Male	Male
	no	no	no	no	no
	Grenet and Riboud 2007	Ilyasov 2003	Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011	Klimburg-Salter 1989, Plate XXXV	Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011

Item	Name	Crescent Type	Region	Country	Date	Attribute	Wing	Attribute	Attribute	Attribute	Attribute	Sex	Attribute	Reference
Item 23	"Silver Plate" Fragment	Winged Crescent	Sogdia	Uzbekistan	7th-8th Century A.D., Bowl	Present	Bird Wing	Present	Absent	Absent	Present	Male	no	Klimburg-Salter 1989, Plate XXXIX, Hermitage Museum Collection Inv. S-4
Item 24	Terracotta Figure	Winged Crescent	Sukhandarya Province	Uzbekistan	Unknown Date, Terracotta Sculpture	Present	Bird Wing	Possible	Absent	Absent	Present	Male	no	Il'yasov 2003
Item 25	Fragment of Painting	Triple Crescent	Khotan	China	Unknown Date (Poassible after 8th century), Bark Panting	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Absent	Present	Male	no	British Museum Collection,1925,0619.35
Item 26	Fragment of Painting	Triple Crescent	Khotan	China	Unknown Date (Possible after 8th century), Bark Panting	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Absent	Present	Male	no	British Museum Collection,1925,0619.35
Item 27	"Fragment of Buddha"	Triple Crescent	Khotan	China	Unknown Date, Fresco	Present	Absent	Present	Absent	Unknown	Present	Male	yes	Klimburg-Salter 1989, Plate X

	Item 28	Item 29	Item 30	Item 31	Item 32
	"Hephthalite Terracotta"	"Hephthalite Terracotta"	"Hephthalite Terracotta"	"Hephthalite Terracotta"	"Figure from Fragment of Shi-Jun's Tomb"
	Triple Crescent	Triple Crescent	Triple Crescent	Triple Crescent	Small Circular Medallions and Plumage
	Dalverzin-tepe Burial Site	Sukhandarya Province	Sukhandarya Province	Hissar Valley	Xi'an
	Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan	Tajikistan	China
	Unknown Date	Unknown Date	Unknown Date	Unknown Date	After 580 A.D., Funerary Decoration
	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
	Unknown	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Present	Present	Present	Present	Absent
	Present	Unknown	Present	Unknown	Absent
	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Present	Present	Present	Absent?	Absent
	Female ?	Male	Male	Male ?	Female?
	no	no	no	no	no
	Ilyasov 2003	Ilyasov 2003	Ilyasov 2003	Ilyasov 2003	Grenet and Riboud, 2007

	Item 37	Item 36	Item 35	Item 34	Item 33
	Painted Figure	Painted Figure	Painted Figure	Fragment on Reliquary	"Hephthalite Terracotta"
	Unknown Headdress	No Headdress	No Headdress	No Headdress	No Headdress
	Dilberjin	Kizil	Kizil	Kucha	Sukhandarya Province
	Afghanistan	China	China	China	Uzbekistan
	Unknown Date, Wall Fresco, Room 16	Unknown Date, Wall Fresco	Unknown Date, Cave Fresco	Unknown Date, Reliquary	Unknown Date
	Present	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Present	Present	Present	Present	Absent
	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Absent	Present ?	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
	no	no	no	no	no
	Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011	Klimburg-Salter 1982	Klimburg-Salter 1982	Klimburg-Salter 1982	Ilyasov 2003

Table 5. Master Trait Table For Coin Sample (2 pages)

Image	Item No.	Title (Inscription or Elite Name)	Motif Type	Provenance	Context: (Date/Site)	Headdress: present or absent	Animal Sign: type	Crescent: present or absent	Triangle Collar: present or absent	Diadem: present or absent	Halo: present or absent	Gender type	Material	Method	Source	O1 Smirnova Reconstruction Drawing
	1C	Drachma of Ardashir I / Crescent with Central Medallion	Sasanian		224-41/42 A.D.	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	2C	Tetradrachma of Vazamar	Animal	Chorasmia	350-450 A.D.	Present	Bird Head/Man on Horse (Reverse)	Absent	Not Applicable	Absent	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	3C	Dinar of Kushanshah Varakhran	Animal	Kidarite	350 A.D.	Present	Horn and Wing	Present Crescent on staff (right arm)	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Gold	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	4C	Drachma of Peroz	Winged Crescent	Sasanian	457/9-484 A.D. Gurgan/Guwaim	Present	Bird Wings	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	5C	Drachma of Unidentified Ruler Alkhon (White Hun) Kingdom	Animal	Hunnish	Late 400 A.D.	Present	Horn	Present (Right of Figure)	Not Applicable	Absent	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	6C	Coin of Asbar	No Headdress	Sogdian	500-550 A.D. Bukhara	Absent	Not Applicable	Absent	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Copper	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	7C	Khotan Coin with Chinese Inscriptions Kharosthi Script and a Camel	Not Applicable	Khotan	200-400 A.D. Khotan	Not Applicable	Camel	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Unknown	Copper	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	8C	Wu Zhu Coin with a Kharosthi Legend on the Reverse	No Headdress	Kucha	400-500 A.D. Century Kucha	Absent	Not Applicable	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Not Applicable	Copper	Cast	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	9C	King of Turak	Not Applicable	Sogdian	700-750 A.D.	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Unknown	Copper	Cast	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	10C	Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V (Bukharkhudat)	Crescent with Crown	Bukhara	600-633 A.D.	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	11C	Imitation of Kai Yuan Tong Bao	No Headdress	Sogdian	650 A.D. Samarkand	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Not Applicable	Copper	Cast	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	

Image	Item No.	Title (Inscription or Elite Name)	Motif Type	Provenance	Context: (Date/ Site)	Headdress: present or absent	Animal Sign: type	Crescent: present or absent	Triangle Collar: present or absent	Diadem: present or absent	Halo: present or absent	Gender type	Material	Method	Source	OI Smirnova Reconstruction Drawing
	1C	Drachma of Ardashir I	Crescent with Central Medallion	Sasanian	224-41/42 A.D.	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	2C	Tetradrachma of Vazamar	Animal	Chorasmia	350-450 A.D.	Present	Bird Head/Man on Horse (Reverse)	Absent	Not Applicable	Absent	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	3C	Dinar of Kushanshah Varakhran	Animal	Kidarite	350 A.D.	Present	Horn and Wing	Present (Crescent on staff (right arm)	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Gold	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	4C	Drachma of Peroz	Winged Crescent	Sasanian	457/9-484 A.D. Gurgan/Guwaim	Present	Bird Wings	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	5C	Drachma of Unidentified Ruler Alkhon (White Hun) Kingdom	Animal	Hunnish	Late 400 A.D.	Present	Horn	Present (Right of Figure)	Not Applicable	Absent	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	6C	Coin of Asbar	No Headdress	Sogdian	500-550 A.D. Bukhara	Absent	Not Applicable	Absent	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Copper	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	7C	Khotan Coin with Chinese Inscriptions Kharosthi Script and a Camel	Not Applicable	Khotan	200-400 A.D. Khotan	Not Applicable	Camel	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Unknown	Copper	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	8C	Wu Zhu Coin with a Kharosthi Legend on the Reverse	No Headdress	Kucha	400-500 A.D. Century Kucha	Absent	Not Applicable	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Not Applicable	Copper	Cast	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	9C	King of Turak	Not Applicable	Sogdian	700-750 A.D.	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Unknown	Copper	Cast	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	10C	Imitation Drachma of Varakhran V (Bukharkhudat)	Crescent with Crown	Bukhara	600-633 A.D.	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Present	Not Applicable	Male	Silver	Struck	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	
	11C	Imitation of Kai Yuan Tong Bao	No Headdress	Sogdian	650 A.D. Samarkand	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Not Applicable	Copper	Cast	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg	

Figure 64. Nigar, Afghanistan. "Paintings in niche" Credit: Markus Mode, iranicaonline.com (Adapted from "sketch of remains" Klimburg-Salter 1989, Plate LXXXVII
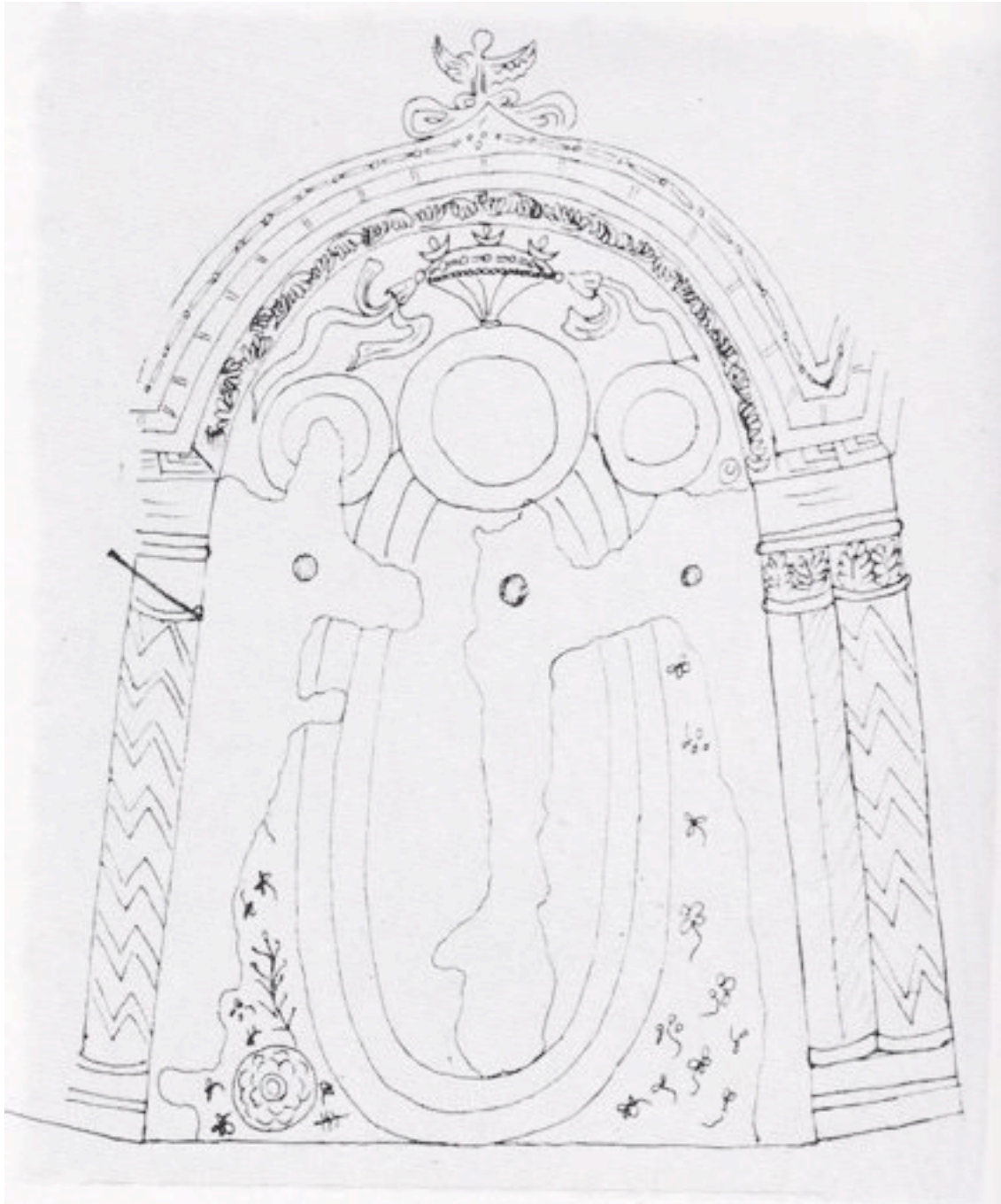
Figure 65. Bamiyan. Cave C2. Reconstruction of Niche (From Klimburg-Salter 1989, Plate XL)
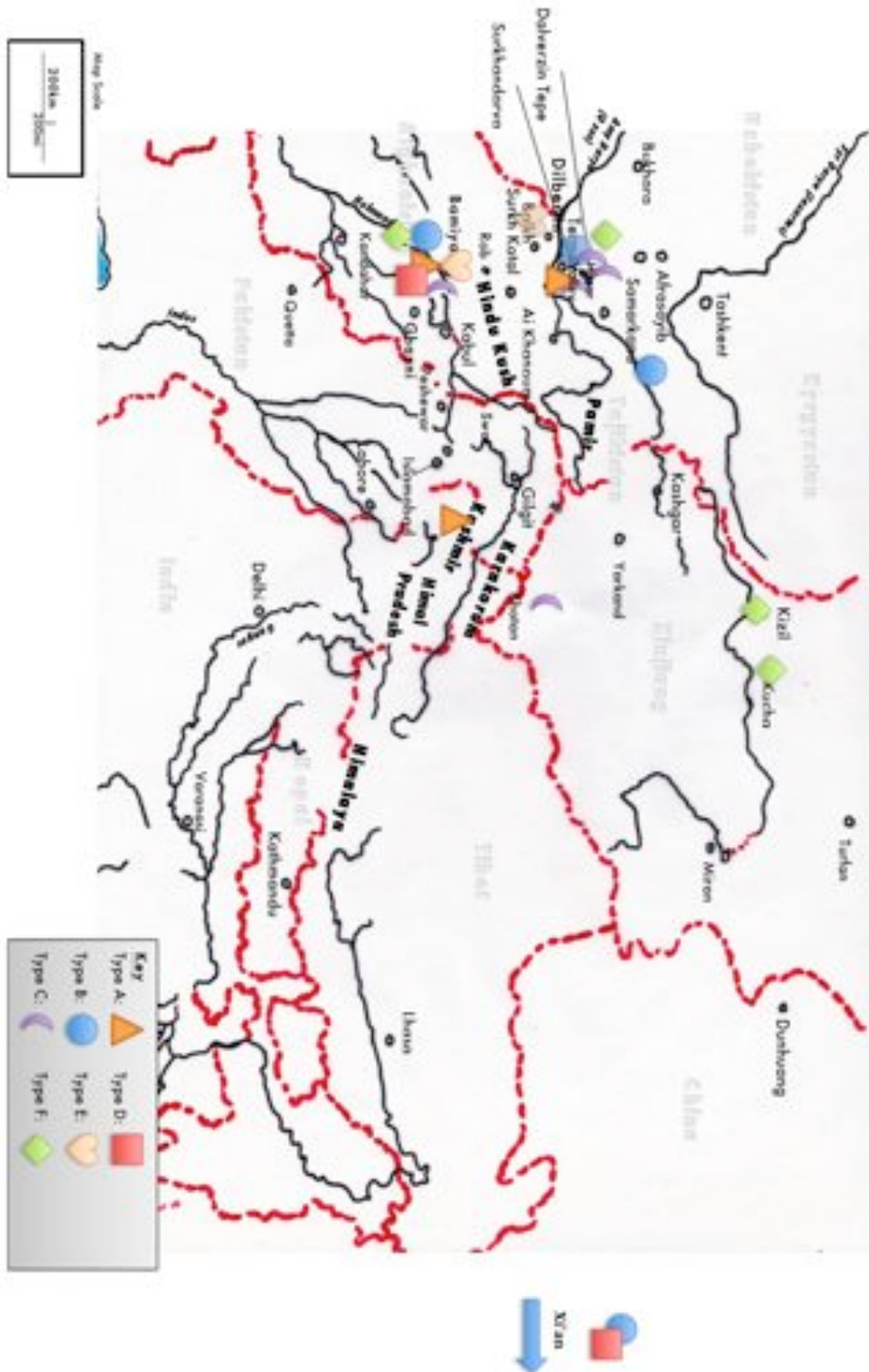
Figure 66. Distribution Map of Headdress Types (After Cribb and Errington 1992 and by Nadia Hamid)
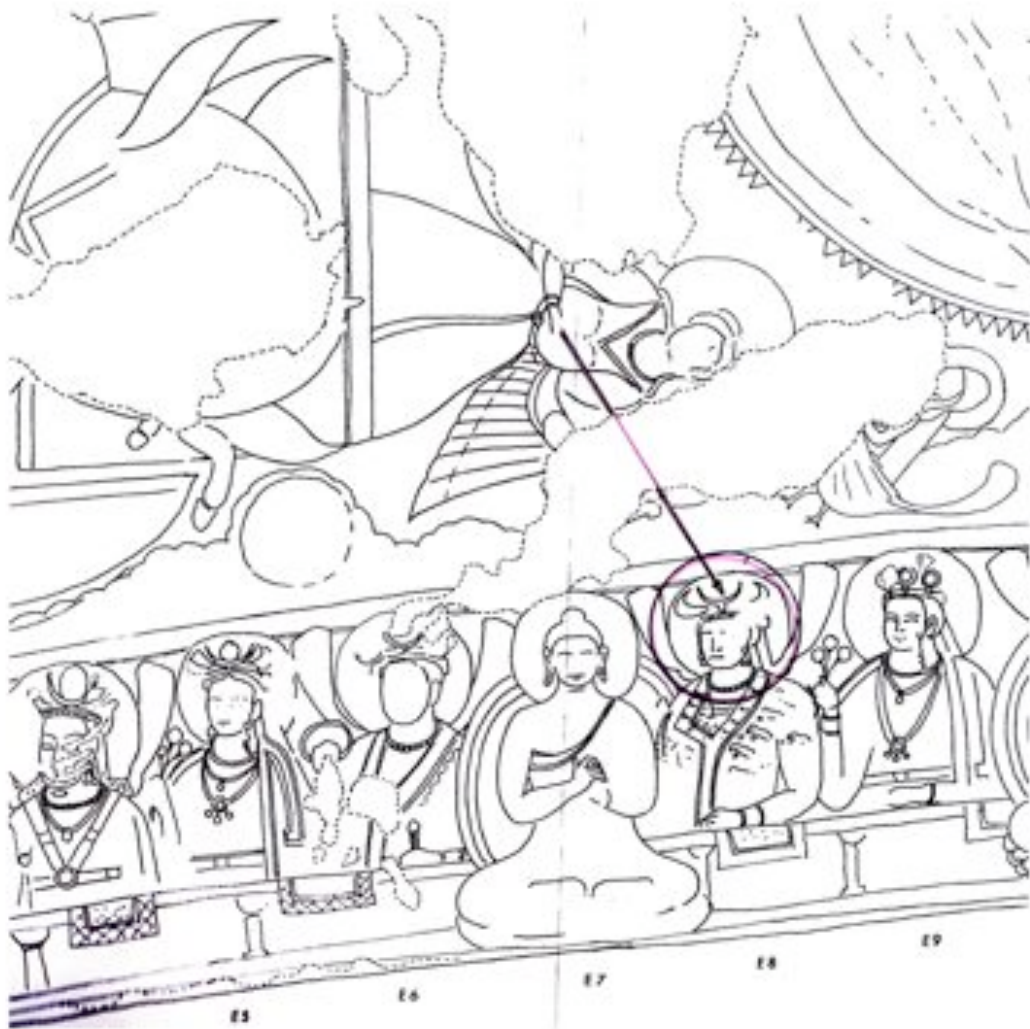
Figure 67. Reconstruction Drawing of Rows of Figures at Bamiyan 38m Niche (Tarzi 1977 Appendix)
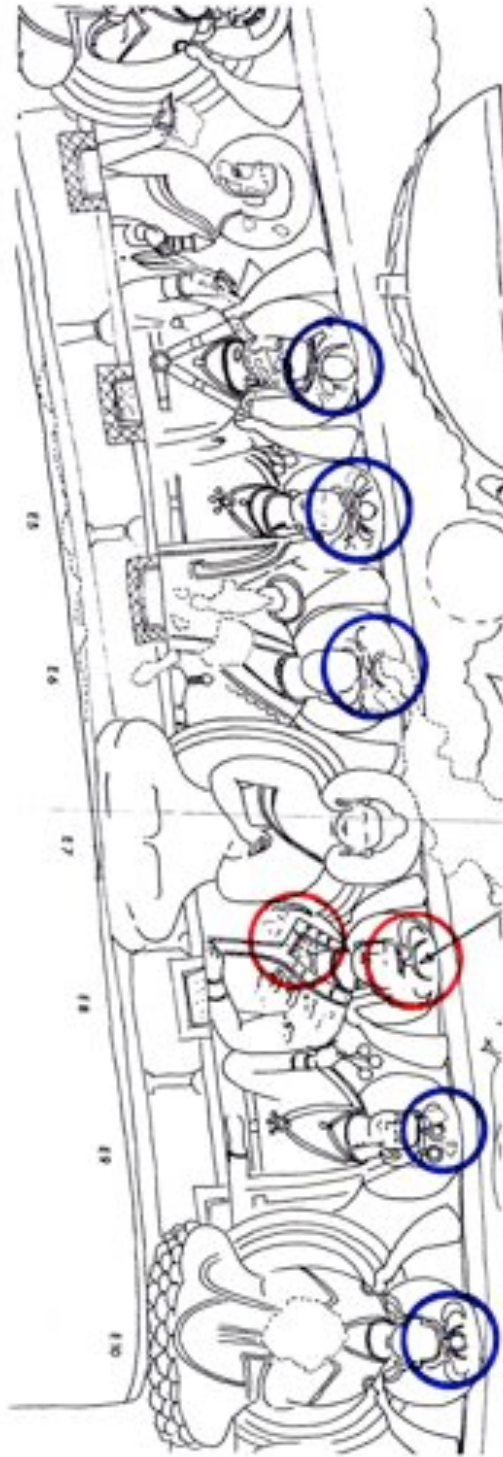
Figure 68. Reconstruction Drawing of Rows of Figures at Bamiyan 38m Niche (Tarzi 1977 Appendix)
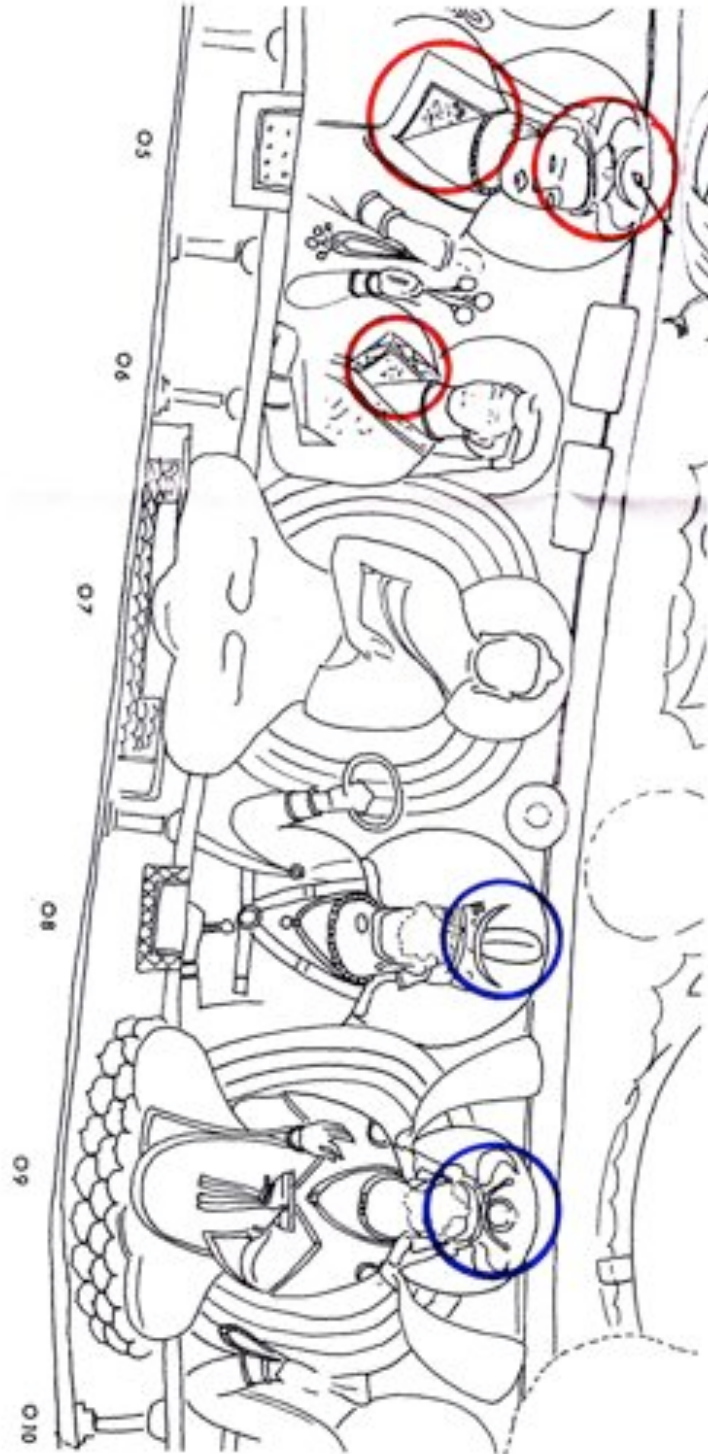
Figure 69. Reconstruction Drawing of Rows of Figures at Bamiyan 55m Niche (Tarzi 1977 Appendix)

Appendix II

Bactrian Historical Sources

The origins of the Bactrian language are a combination of the Greek writing system, and Iranian and other Indo-European languages. After the conquest of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE, Greek script was used in Bactria for administrative purposes. Some time during the Kushan Dynasty, the adoption of Bactrian language took place, in the first century AD. According to a few scholars, Bactrian grammar and vocabulary reflects the geographic position of Bactria between Parthian to the west and Chorasmian and Sogdian to the north (Henning 1960;Skjærvø 2005). The type of document containing Bactrian script range from contracts and deeds, receipts of goods recovered or delivered, marriage contracts, slave purchases, the purchase or sale or lease of land, loans, peace offerings as well as other varieties.

Some of the most notable Bactrian sources are the *Rabatak Inscription*, discovered in 1993 and deciphered in 2000. The Rabatak inscription, found in excavation in Rabatak near Surkh Kotal (present day Afghanistan), dates to the era of king Kanishka, circa 127 A.D.   When this inscription was deciphered, it read that the Kushan king decided to no longer use Greek and to adopt Bactrian as the new language of the region (Nicholas-Sims and Cribb 1995-1996).[44] In addition to assisting scholars with the grammatical structure of Bactrian, this inscription was also helpful for identifying names and places associated with the rule of the Kushan dynasty.   From the Rabatak inscription, it is now clear for scholars that the Kushan dynasty under Kanishka I, and spread throughout areas from Bactria to Northern India (Sims-Williams 1997). The implications of understanding where the script spread to other geographic areas provides clues to how culture may have also been influenced by interaction and mobility.

Another Bactrian source, is a marriage contract between a woman and two men found in Rui (present day Afghanistan).[45]   This is the earliest dated document, which involves a woman to be engaged to two brothers, and surprisingly, containing a similar terminology with known marriage contracts in Sogdian (Skjærvø 2005,

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[44] The study of this inscription was first published in "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great" (Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb 1995-1996).
[45] Rui is also known as Rob in some literary references.

Sims-Williams 2000).   Some scholars have argued that polyandry, or the marriage of one woman with multiple male partners, was a typical practice in areas of Bactria (Sims-Williams 2000; Alram 2009).

Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang, when visiting Bactria around 633 AD referred to the area as a "Hunnish region" and a place that practiced polyandry (Wriggins 2004). Some scholars have insinuated that the horns on the headdress of female figures from Bactria may in part signify the marriage status (Il'Yasov 2003; West 2009).   Aside from the many cultural implications of this contract, the practice of marriage to two siblings might reflect its necessity within the social structure of the time period.   This means, it suggests a number of hypotheses ranging from either the population disparities (more men than women) or a means for survival that guarantees that the woman will produce off spring from one or both of her husbands.

Sogdian Historical Sources

Sogdian is an Iranian language written and spoken across areas north of Bactria in what is now known as Sogdia, in present day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. The Sogdian script derives from Archemaic script (Cribb and Hermann 2007, 40-41) . The origins of its use are still unclear.   The discovery of Sogdian manuscripts in the region of Xinjiang, sparked a great development by scholars such as Robert Gauthiot and Paul Pelliot (1920,1926,1928) to study many sources that were found there.   The respective study of both authors has not only contributed to a glossary of Sogdian texts, and revealed that the Sogdian language was in effect the language used by merchants who traveled to and from Sogdia and present day regions of China, along the so-called *Silk Road* (Hansen 2012).

The historical sources found in Sogdia, much like the Bactrian counterpart, are documents related to legal and social contracts, deeds, merchant receipts and personal letters. Archaeologist Aurel Stein discovered letters near Dunhuang in 1907, which date to 3rd century AD (see further Sims-Williams 2005), that provide clues to the kind of merchant and political activity that took place in these regions. In addition to naming many products that were actively traded, the letters are also evidence for significant political tension between passages that led to and from Sogdia and China. In some cases, these letters express the personal plight of a Sogdian merchant in a foreign land.   Above all, these letters suggest how mobile the people of the Sogdian region were in comparison with the neighboring regions in

Central Asia, as well as reflecting the commercial activity that was taking place up until the Arab conquests after the 8th century AD (Lerner et al. 2011, 19-20).

Past Scholarly Research in the Greater Bactrian and Neighboring Regions in Central Asia

Archaeology During the Colonial Period

The scholarship of Bactria and Central Asia, from a Western perspective, developed in the 19th and 20th Centuries[46] during the colonial occupation of these regions. Due to many different international powers involved in this region, expeditions and archeological surveys were conducted under the jurisdiction of colonial authority. Therefore many nationalities were involved, including teams from Great Britain, America, and Russia. There was a dominance by the British in historical research[47] in India and Pakistan, but there was less control over the research of archeological sites in Afghanistan. On the contrary, the study of Bactria (Afghanistan) and Central Asia was largely dominated by Russian archaeological excavations, up until the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Afghanistan

The unusual circumstances surrounding the geographic and political control of the Afghan region has seemed to have played a significant role in the archeological surveys of 'Bactrian' sites[48]. Many scholars cite Charles Masson[49] for his contributions to the study of important cultural sites in Afghanistan, during his expeditions in the mid-nineteenth century (Salomon 1999;Van Krieken-Pieters 2006; Ball 2008; Behrendt 2004; Sharma 2004)[50]. Though his published work is from the mid 1800's, his narratives provide an early interpretation of the material

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[46] This is the time period of British colonial reign of modern day Pakistan and India.

[47] Referring explicitly to Western researchers, this does not mean to say there were not any 'Indian' or for that matter, Afghans, researching their own history.

[48] Long before the work of archeologist John Marshall, who has been attributed to researching the foundations of Indian archaeology, several significant expeditions were led in Afghanistan.

[49] Also known as 'James Lewis'

[50] Masson was a British soldier who deserted his post in British East India to cross the border into Afghanistan, escaping British jurisdiction. He partnered with an American, Josiah Harlan, who was already living in Afghanistan.

culture of Afghanistan[51]. He is also responsible for finding many birch bark manuscripts written in Kharosthi script as early as 1834 (Salomon 1999, 59-60). Aside for the fact that he brought the study of Afghanistan to the world's attention through his expeditions, his accounts and recollections are significant in capturing the impression of Afghanistan, a country which sustained constant conflict and instability even before the colonial period. In the last two hundred years, many of the sites that Masson visited were eventually destroyed or looted. Masson, however unscrupulous his past was[52], is responsible for the first Western archeological expeditions in Afghanistan, including to Bamiyan, Begram, the Kabul Bazaar, Hadda, Jalalabad and others. The bulk of material culture, which was collected, was ultimately sent to the collection in the British Museum.[53] Scottish explorer, Alexander Burnes was also one of the very first Westerners to visit Bamiyan and to make illustrations of that depict the complex.[54]

During the nineteenth century and up until the early twentieth, Afghanistan suffered through many wars during this time, the Anglo-Afghan Wars and its own civil unrests. This was also an opportunity for other countries to become involved in the archaeology in Afghanistan. From the early 1900s through the 1970s, French teams dominated the archeological excavations in Afghanistan with the newly formed coalition, *Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan* (DAFA). These expeditions brought noteworthy archeologists, such as Foucher, Godard, Hackin and Barthoux, to reexamine sites that were formally explored by Masson[55]. The emphasis of these researchers was to expand on the interdisciplinary nature of multi ethnic diversity, in addition to studying the chronology of Afghanistan's historical events.

Other archeological excavations that were focused in Afghanistan were led by Russian archaeologists during the Soviet occupation in the 1970s and 1980s. Viktor Sarianidi, between 1978-1979 discovered the *Tillya Tepe hoard*[56]. This

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[51] See *A Memoir on the Buildings Called Topes. In Ariana Antiqua: A Descriptive Account of the Antiquity and Coins of Afghanistan (*Masson,1841*).

[52] Some scholars have mentioned that Masson was possibly a spy and involved with Josiah Harlan to ultimately overthrow the Afghan King at the time.

[53] See Masson Bombay Dispatches, 1834.

[54] Burnes published some of his experiences in various works, including *Cabool: A Personal Narrative of a Journey to, and Residence In, that City, in the Years 1836,7 and 8* (1843). He is also a known participant and player, acting on behalf of British East India, in The Great Game. It was through this work that led him to survey certain areas in Afghanistan on the British's behalf. Contrastingly, he was also known to oppose British occupation of Afghanistan.

[56] Tillya Tepe is an early example of Scythian culture in Bactria

hoard is one of few examples of royal burials in Afghanistan.   In addition to Russian, Japanese archeologists were also becoming interested in Buddhist sites in Afghanistan (Higuchi 1983-84). Though this research is originally published in Japanese, considerable efforts, with assistance from Gina Barnes, have been made to translate some of this material into English (Higuchi and Barnes 1995).

Central Asia

The historical regions that are used for this study are located for the most part in countries of present day Central Asia and China.   These regions and sites, such as Sogdia, Chorasmia, Kizil, Kucha, Kohtan, Dunhuang and Xi'ian were independently studied by scholars, though the inherent connection between all of these places was also the focus of a great number of research.   The word used to describe these sites and this area in general is usually known by the 'Silk Road', referring to the trade network, which played a vital socio and political role in these regions.   Similar to the situation in Afghanistan, Central Asia was explored by many different international expeditions.

Sir Aurel Stein, a Hungarian-British archaeologist who was also active in Afghanistan and colonial India, led four major expeditions in Central Asia. His significant finds for this area were in the exploration of the Taklamankan Desert , his excavation of Khotan in 1900 and his excavation of Khara-Khoto during his third expedition in 1913-1916 (Wang and Perkins 2008).   Stein was also active in the discovery of the Magao Caves near Dunhuang in 1907. It is here where he found the "Diamond Sutra", the oldest dated printed Buddhist text, which dates to approximately 868 A.D.

Russia organized the earliest expeditions into Central Asia, and to the east in China and Mongolia.   The aim of these investigations was to discover the ancient sites that made up the so-called Silk Road.   The Russian expeditions were directed by scholars Pyotr Kozlov and Sergei Oldenburg after 1905[57].   Kozlov explored the Gobi Desert, and his expertise was mostly in the areas of Tibet and Mongolia. Oldenburg was a master of the Sanskrit language and an scholar of Buddhist study, also known as the founder of Russian Indology.   Oldenburg led an expedition and excavation in Kucha in 1909-1910 and in Dunhuang from 1914-1915.

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[57] Kozlov rivaled Aurel Stein, explorer of Afghanistan's antiquity, as the foremost researcher on Xingjiang.

The Japanese were also very active in the archaeological investigation of Central Asia, mainly focused on Western Chinese[58] sites (what is considered Xingjiang, Turkistan and present day Tajikistan) with an aim of exploring historical Buddhist sites (Galambos and Koichi 2012).   His three expeditions, commonly reffered to as the Otani expeditions, were led by Kozui between 1902-1914.   Kozui recognized the significance of publishing his results outside of Japan to better integrate his research into the international community, but also to acknowledge Japanese scholarship was equal to Western explorers.   Otani Kozui was also in contact with Sir Aurel Stein, who acted as intermediary with the publication, Royal Geographic Society (RGS)[59].   Unfortunately Otani faced financial difficulty and his discoveries were mostly sold off finding their way into private collections.   A small number of artifacts were dispersed, either transferred to collections at the Ryukoku University, and have formed the collections of the National Museum at Tokyo and National Museum at Kyoto (Galambos and Koichi 2012, 119). It is likely that more of his discoveries will come to light in the future.

On-Going Excavations

From the 1970s onwards, archaeologists returned to Afghanistan to excavate[60]. In more recent times, Afghanistan is still under a lot of unpredictable conflict due mainly to the clash between religious extremist group, The Taliban and NATO forces, led by the United States.   That being said, few archeologists are willing to return to these volatile areas now, but there are still on going excavations. Today, archaeologists such as Zemaryalai Tarzi, originally from Afghanistan, are still continuing their research in the region despite the conflict [61].   After the demolition of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban in 2001, Tarzi has been revisiting the site,

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[58] This area was known as Chinese Turkestan during Kozui's lifetime.

[59] Though Kozui collaborated with the RGS to send the society maps, photographs and information about his expeditions, a lot of his material was never published mostly due to problems with crude translation, and therefore the results of his expeditions remained unknown to the Western world for some time.

[60] These expeditions were led by Afghan, Soviet, Japanese and French teams.

[61] Tarzi also leads a non-profit based in the United States called the Association for the Protection of Afghan Archeology (APAA). His daughter, Nadia Tarzi, also published reports on her father's quest to find the mysterious 'third reclining Buddha' See *Tarzi on Tarzi: Afghanistan's Plight and the Search for the Third Buddha* (2006).

primarily with the assistance from Japanese archaeologists, to conserve the site and its fragile fresco paintings (Yamauchi 2007; Taniguchi 2006; Taniguchi 2008)[62].

In another example, Tarzi and French archeologist, Philippe Marquis, along with members of the Afghan National Institute of Archeology have collaborated to salvage an ancient copper mine and Buddhist complex site near Kabul, called Mes Aynak.[63] As Afghanistan attempts to manage its own infrastructure it has opened up its ecological resource for major international corporations. China is one country interested in investing, and has contracted the ownership of Mes Aynak, in order to gain control of the copper.[64] The site is set to be bull-dozed by the Chinese mining company, but the date continues to be shifted back, to allow more time for archeologists to complete the salvage rescue and because of on going threats from extremist militants in the area.[65]

On-Going Excavations in Central Asia: Uzbekistan, Krygyzstan, Tajikistan

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, and the independence of countries such as Uzbekistan and Tajikistan from the Russian Federation local archaeologists have been motivated to conduct fieldwork in conjunction with teams from France, Italy, Germany, Great Britain and Japan.   Russian organizations that regularly conducts excavations in Central Asia today do so at Panjikent and ancient settlements of the Semirechye, on behalf of the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. In addition to Russian and local archaeologists collaborations, a new emerging interest in the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods of this region have been taken up by archaeologists, mostly from Italy and Australia.   Today scholars such as Pavel Lurje, of Russia and Franz Grenet and Etienne de la Vassiere, of France are responsible for the scholarly research of topics related to Central Asian archaeology for the time period this paper covers.   These authors explore issues of economic and social history (De La Vassiere) , cultural transfer (Grenet) and issues of epigraphy and phonology (Lurje).

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[62] These published reports are originally titled and written in Japanese.   For an English report, see Taniguchi's *Conserving Mural Paintings as Intermediate Layers between Immovable and Movable Heritage: Case studies from Central and East Asia* (2006).

[63] Knowledge of this site was discovered by Russian and Afghan geologists during the 1970s, but archeological work was hardly conducted prior to this "rescue" salvage.

[64] The Chinese metallurgy company has a contract with the Afghan government to mine the site for the next thirty years after the archeologist have moved out.

[65] Mes Aynak is the largest 'salvage' dig or rescue operation conducted so far.

On-Going Excavation in China's Xinjiang Province

Since the expansion of infrastructure and housing projects in the China's Xingjiang province which began in the 1970s, Chinese archaeologists were very much interested in exploring sites and mummified remains found throughout the periphery of the Tarim Basin. Archaeologists who work in this region have found mummified remains of so called foreign travelers, persons with notably European features[66], that are dated as early as the Bronze age and up until 500 A.D., the height of the *Silk Road* trade period[67]. Since the 1980s the Xingjiang province has gained popularity with tourism and therefore some of the artifacts from the Tarim Basin expeditions have been displayed, though most if not a majority has remained in undisclosed areas under Chinese authority.

Construction Techniques of Materials

Wall Painting

Construction techniques of the paintings located throughout Central Asia vary by type, as different pigments and painting methods were employed throughout the region. For the most part, wall paintings, paint on a rocky surface, use a fresco technique. Fresco means to apply the paint over freshly laid lime plaster (Laurie 2013, 17)[68]. Paint is applied using water as a medium to the plaster, and a chemical reaction binds the pigment with the plaster. Essentially, after this reaction, the painting becomes an integral part of the surface it was applied to. There is much speculation of the origins of this painting technique, most art historians suggest the first frescos to have been produced in Crete around 1500 BC, but this is subject to further discussion (Gombrich 1976; Eastlake 1960).

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[66] In some examples of mummified remains, persons have auburn or red hair and large round eyes, features which are commonly thought to have been a part of European ancestry.

[67] This fieldwork has in recent times stirred up controversy because of conflict between Uyghur people, a group of Muslim people who speak a language related to Kazakh and Turkish (and who often look more European) and the ethnic Han Chinese. In Xingjiang, it is the Uyghur people who claim their right to sovereignty in the Tarim Basin, using these mummified remains as a basis of evidence for their ancestors.

[68] The word fresco in Italian, *affresco*, is derived from the Italian adjective meaning "fresh".

The basic material construction for the paint also varies accordingly. In Central Asia, and archaeological sites around the Himalayan mountains, paint is composed of mineral pigment and some kind of animal glue to act as a binding agent (Laurie 2013). Mineral pigment is made from ground mineral or gemstone. The different colors of the rainbow spectrum can be found respectively in different mineral rocks. For example, shades of blue are derived from ground ultramarine or lapis lazuli, and ochre or iron oxide produce red and brown pigment. Pigment was considered a resource in antiquity, and traded according to availability and prestige. This was the case in Central Asia for lapis lazuli, which was traded for a high cost (Hermann 1968). The relationship of prestige goods such as pigments and its exchange for trade in Central Asia will not be focused on in this paper.

The pigment used for the wall paintings at Bamiyan and its neighboring sites throughout Central Asia most often employ water-based pigment (Klimburg-Salter 1989). There have been some recent studies using synchrotron methods to test the pigment of other wall paintings at Bamiyan, which were revealed after the destruction of the two Great Buddhas in 2001 (Cotte et al. 2008). The study conducted by Cotte et al. (2008) concludes that some of the pigment that was applied in the Great Buddha niche frescos is actually a composite of pigment and oil[69]. An explanation for the use of oil based pigment at Bamiyan has not been fully developed and is therefore not included in this research, but hopefully at another time can be discussed compared with other archaeological sites which employ the same composite materials.

Sculpture

Part of the data sample of Neighboring Sites figures uses the previous archaeological study of Il'Yasov (2003) who has been analyzing a set of terracotta sculptures found in sites of present day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, which he refers to as the "Hephthalite Terracotta". Terracotta[70] is a type of earthenware that is clay based, which is then fired glazed or unglazed to become a ceramic. Clay is molded

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[69] Oil based pigment was in use at this time for cosmetics, found in Roman and Egyptian archaeology. Some of the paintings at Bamiyan that are made from oil based pigments are considered by art historians, the oldest evidence of this form of paint.

[70] Literally translated from Italian means "baked earth"

to its desired shape and then left to dry, afterwards it is fired at a high temperature in an oven[71].

Silver objects are also featured in this data sample such as the bowl from Sogdia (Item 25), which displays a banquet scene. These particular objects were casted by first producing a model, normally made from clay, but in some cases can be created out of wax, commonly referred to in art history as the 'lost wax technique' (Mayer 1991). Thereafter a mold is constructed around the clay model, normally out of plaster, and subsequently, hot silver would be poured into the mold and left to set. Once the silver has cooled, the metal hardens at which point the plaster mold can be separated from the object, leaving an exact replica of the original clay model.

Numismatics

Coins found in the Central Asian region reflect a vast difference in material and mint technique according to the kingdom which the coin is minted for, the time period, and the region. Coins from regions west of the Pamirs and Himalayan mountains are almost always struck, whereas areas further east, in present day China, coins are casted (Lerner 1999; Alram and Klimburg-Salter 1999). Coins that are attributed to more Chinese influence, either by regional inscription or technique employed, are often minted with a hole in the middle of the coin to be used to string them together (Alram and Kilmburg-Salter 1999). This suggests perhaps the ingenuity at the time, to keep the owner's coins together and to make it easier to count them. The coins of Central Asia are composed of silver, copper or gold.

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[71] Terracotta is not unknown to the materials of Central Asia and is commonly employed for smaller objects and sculpture.