Coming to Cathay

Art of the *Semu* People in Mongol Yuan China

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Abstract

The Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) in Chinese history was ruled by the Mongols who conquered most of the Eurasian continent. Although much attention has been given to the hybrid art in diverse media produced in this period, this dissertation takes a less studied perspective, the *semu* (neither Chinese nor Mongol) people living in Yuan China as the centre. Based on their dominating cultural identities, the *semu* people under discussion include Christians, Muslims and Tibetan Buddhists who formed the intermediate level between the Mongol ruling class and the native Chinese in this multi-ethnic society. Setting Yuan China as part of the Mongol empire, this dissertation investigates the hybrid forms of art works related to the *semu* people through case studies on stone carvings, sculptures, reliefs on architectures, and luxurious textiles, to understand the formation of these hybrid images and the meaning of these visual representations for the *semu* people. The social and political privileges that the *semu* people enjoyed under the Mongol rule provide the dissertation with an extensive approach to compare art objects from multiple cultures that were integrated into the Mongol empire. The analysis is further supported by textual evidence on transmission factors that affected the formation of the hybrid forms in art. With a framework differentiating the functions of elements composing the hybrid images, the dissertation argues that by their choice of motifs from their original cultures, and mediated through their different levels of interaction with Chinese motifs, the *semu* people shaped distinctive cultural identities that stood out from the native Chinese. Meanwhile, in this formation process, earlier art development in northern China under the two non-Han dynasties, Liao (916-1125) and Jin (1115-1234), also played an important role in paving the accommodation of new foreign motifs into a Chinese cultural context through shared aesthetic tastes, and

material and labour resources accumulated in this area. This dissertation proves that the *semu* people were prominent social sections underlining the diversity of Yuan China and its position as the nexus of the trans-continental Mongol empire.

Key words: Yuan China, *semu* people, hybridity, cultural transmission, Mongol empire, integration, tomb steles

Declaration

This thesis comprises only original work toward the Doctor of Philosophy degree except where indicated separately and due acknowledgement has been made in the text and footnotes to all other materials used. The thesis is fewer than the maximum word limit in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies, and appendices.

Preface

A shorter summary of the first chapter has been submitted for the 35th Comite International d'Histoire de l'Art World Congress proceedings (Session 6 "Missions as Contact Zones: Migrating Artists, Material Objects and Aesthetic Practices in a Global World").

My research trip and conference attendance received funding through Faculty of Arts Graduate Research International Grant (Application ID: 907151495) and Graduate Research in Arts Travel Scheme (Application ID: 967970366; 1084459252), and was partly supported by Professor Anne Dunlop's Australian Research Council project "Eurasian Exchange and Artistic Transformation in Italy, c. 1250-1450" (DP190103062).

This dissertation has been proofread by *The Public Sentence* (Chris Mulherin), and the proofreader is not a researcher in the academic discipline of the thesis. The proofreading makes no changes on the contents and arguments of the dissertation.

Acknowledgement

When I started my PhD in 2019, I never expected the candidature will go in the way it actually went. A pandemic that my generation has not seen ever since we were born changed the world completely and produced serious effects on many people's lives, including my PhD research. The dissertation is only finished through the kind help and supports from many people whose generosity and hospitality shone through the bleakness of the pandemic.

My sincere thanks first go to my supervisors: Professor Anne Dunlop, with her extensive knowledge and passion for the global art history, has always brought me new inspirations and kept my research on the right path with good progress even under the pressure and difficulty of the pandemic; Professor Antonia Finnane has offered her good insight on the use of historical materials and concepts that gave me great help in shaping the fundamental definitions for the dissertation; Dr. Mark Erdmann, although joining the committee in a later stage, has been of help since the beginning with inspiring discussions on my research and reference to relevant studies, especially in directing my attention to the Japanese scholarship. I also would like to thank my committee for their detailed advice on my dissertation drafts and their huge support all through my candidature, especially for my research trip full of twists and turns.

The lockdowns during the pandemic have severely affected the resources that I could get for my research. I needed to rely mostly on the accessible online databases (both for classical Chinese documents and the contemporary scholarship) and digitised books that I could find. It also interrupted my research trip back to China, especially when my flight was cancelled in early 2022 and China went into a long-term strict control of both internal and international travel. Due to the change of the

situation, I had to adapt the trip in a virtual way by using digitised materials from the museums and taking online trips to the sites. For this, I would like to give my sincere thanks to Lin Han 林翰 (Deputy Director of Quanzhou Maritime Museum), Xue Yan 薛燕 (Senior Curator of China National Silk Museum), Wang Bo 王博 (Curator of Palace Museum, Beijing), Jiang Jie 江洁 (Curator of Three Gorges Museum, Chongqing), and Chen Yunlan 陈允兰 (Curator of Yangzhou Museum) for their kind support in providing digitised collection materials. I would also like to thank Ding Yuwen 丁渝文, Dr. Chen Xiao 陈筱 (Zhejiang University), and Fan Feifan 樊非凡 for their generous and valiant undertaking on my behalf to go to the sites in Yangzhou, Zhenjiang, Quanzhou, Hangzhou and Beijing during the pandemic. Thanks are also given to Dr. Wang Yi 王毅 (Zhejiang University), Dr. Wu Yiqiang 吴毅强 (Sichuan University), Dr. Jia Weiwei 贾维维 (Zhejiang University), Han Xiaojie 韩晓洁 (Lüshun Museum, Dalian), Heidi Wong 黃佩儀 (The Chinese University of Hong Kong), Dr. Li Zhiru 李子儒 (Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts), Dr. Lennert Gesterkamp (Friedrich Alexander Universität Erlangen Nürnberg), Dr. Chao Shin-yi (University of Rochester), Niu Yongli 牛永利, Professor Max Deeg (Cardiff University), Dr. Zhang Jingping 张景平 (Lanzhou University), Dr. Duan Zhiqiang 段志强 (Fudan University), Dr. Jiang Lu 蒋璐 and Chen Qingwen 陈清汶 (Zhejiang University) for their help on my research.

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Table of Contents

Introduction 1-32

Chapter 1 An Adaptation: Jingjiao Christians and the Paired-Angel Motif

Introduction 33-37

1.1 Christian objects in Mongolia and the Dadu area: an overview 37-44

1.2 The paired-angel motif in Quanzhou 44-69

1.3 The paired angels on the Yangzhou stele 69-72

Conclusion 72-74

Chapter 2 A Comparison: Adaptation Approaches of Latin Christians and Muslims

Introduction 75-77

2.1 The Latin Christian steles 77-94

2.2 Muslim tombstones in the port cities 94-108

2.3 The burial context and the use of *fenben* (copy-books) 108-113

Conclusion 114-115

Chapter 3 A Progression: Tibetan Influence on Buddhist Art in Yuan China

Introduction 116-120

3.1 Hangzhou Feilai Hill sculptures and private donors 120-130

3.2 The Nepalese Anige and the court production 130-150

3.3 Tibetan Buddhist art in late Yuan China 150-162

Conclusion 162-163

Chapter 4 A *Semu* Taste: Luxurious Textiles with Paired-Animal Medallions

Introduction 164-167

4.1 Paired-animal medallions on Yuan textiles 167-171

4.2 The medallions and roundels before Yuan period 171-180

4.3 The foreign connection of the Yuan paired-animal medallions 180-186

4.4 The production of exotic textiles in Yuan China 186–205

Conclusion 205-207

Conclusion 208-216

Illustrations 217-331

Bibliography 332-360

Appendix I

Dynastic names and periods I

Appendix II

The Mongol Khans and Yuan emperors and their reign periods II

Appendix III

The year title for the Yuan emperors III

Appendix IV

The major offices and workshops producing art objects and textiles in the Yuan court IV-VI

Appendix V

Two stele inscriptions VII-XVII

Notes on Translation and Format

With reference to *Official History of Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanshi*), and works written by the Yuan Chinese scholars and international travellers in the fourteenth century, the spelling of Mongol, Khitan, Jurchen, Tibetan, Tangut, West Asian, Central Asian Uighur and Turkish names in this research follows that used in *Cambridge History of China, vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907-1368*, but omits the diacritic marks. Pinyin spelling will be used for the Chinese names. While texts taken from the historical documents are put in traditional Chinese scripts, contemporary place names and scholarships from mainland China will use simplified Chinese scripts because this dissertation, although written in English, also aims at a Chinese readership, especially those from mainland China. The English translation of Yuan government offices and bureaus will mostly follow what are included in David M. Farquhar's article "Structure and Function in the Yüan Imperial Government", with further reference to *Chinese-English Dictionary of Ming Government Official Titles*.

European names from non-English sources are only put in their original spellings when appearing for the first time while English spellings are adopted in the dissertation. East Asian names in Asian language sources take the format that the surname is followed by the forename. For East Asian scholars and authors mentioned in the text, please refer to the corresponding footnotes for their names in native languages. The classical Chinese texts were mostly from the digital database *Zhongguo jiben guji ku*. As a result, most of the sources are detailed to volumes rather than pages. For the Chinese dynastic titles and periods, and the Mongol rulers with their reign periods, please refer to Appendix I, II and III. These dates will not be repeated in the main body of the dissertation.

Illustration List

(C) Photos taken by Chen Xiao

(D) Photos taken by Ding Yuwen

(F) Photos taken by Fan Feifan

Fig. 1.1 Detail of the cross on 'Daqin Jingjiao' stele, 781, 47 × 32 cm (top), 186 × 86.5 cm (body), discovered at Xi'an, rubbing, Harvard-Yenching library (no. 9814961).

Fig. 1.2 a. and b. Cross on the Fangshan stones, dates unconfirmed, 68.5 × 58.5 × 22 cm, marble, Nanjing Museum (C).

Fig. 1.3 Epitaph of a Jingjiao Christian, 1253, 46.5 × 39 × 6 cm, ceramic, Inner Mongolia Museum, photo taken by author in 2018.

Fig. 1.4 A carved slab discovered by Torii Ryūzō, possibly dated to Liao dynasty, (slab size) 102 × 85 × 18 cm, discovered at Anshan, rubbing, provided by Torii Ryūzō Memorial Museum, Tokushima, Japan.

Fig. 1.5 Jingjiao tomb marker, Yuan dynasty, 105 × 34 × 44 cm, granite, discovered at Darhan Muming'an United Banner, Baotou, Inner Mongolia, collection of Archaeology Institute of Inner Mongolia, photo from An Yongde ed., *Tianjiao yibao: Mengyuan jingpin wenwu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2011), 220.

Fig. 1.6 a. Angels flanking a cross, Yuan dynasty, length 75 cm, height 28cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum; b. Paired angels with cross on hats flanking a cross, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photo provided by Dr. Ken Parry; c. Paired angels holding a cross on lotus with Phags-pa inscriptions, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photo provided by Dr. Ken Parry.

Fig. 1.7 Angels flanking a cross, Yuan dynasty, length 56 cm, height 51 cm, discovered at Quanzhou, current location unclear, from Wu Wenliang and Wu Youxiong, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2005), B7, 368.

Fig. 1.8 a. and b. Paired angels flanking the cross on lotus pedestal on the Jingjiao pillar, 829, length 60-85 cm, width 15 cm on each side, discovered at Luoyang, rubbings, from Ge Chengyong, "Jingjiao tianshi yu fojiao feitian bijiao bianshiyanjiu," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, no.4 (2014): Plate 1 and Plate 2.

Fig. 1.9 An 'Enthronement' scene, c. 1300, size unclear, colour on paper, Ilkhanate, from Jeo Jungeon Oh, "Islamicised Pseudo-Buddhist Iconography in Ilkhanid Royal Manuscripts," *Persica* 20 (2004-2005): Fig. 24 (taken from M. Ipsiroglu, *Saray-Alben*, 1964).

Fig. 1.10 The Prophet Muhammad enthroned in Al-Varavini, *Marzubannama* (*Tales of the Margrave*), 698/1299, size unclear, colour on paper, made in Baghdad, Archaeology Museum, Istanbul, from https://newlinesmag.com/essays/islamic-art-is-pivotal-for-understanding-the-richness-of-the-muslim-world/, accessed Apr. 26th, 2023.

Fig. 1.11 'Enthronement' scene in London Qazwīnī, fol.100r, c. 1300, 30 × 19.2 cm, colour on paper, British Library (Or 14140), digitised photo from Qatar National Library, https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023586788.0x000001, accessed Aug. 13, 2020.

Fig. 1.12 Detail of a folio from *Shahnama* (*Book of Kings*) by Firdawsi (d.1020); recto: A ruler enthroned, 1341, 35.6 × 29.3 cm, ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, Sackler Gallery (S1986.112).

Fig. 1.13 The crown patterns on the Quanzhou angels, detail of fig. 6a.

Fig. 1.14 Angel with a cross-crown holding a cross, Yuan dynasty, length 90 cm, width 18 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

Fig. 1.15 Angel with four wings, Yuan dynasty, length 53.5 cm, height 50 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

Fig. 1.16 a. An angel with believers, fol.106v; b. Cross on top of a king with some labourers, fol.163r, from *Evangelia*, 13th century, size unclear, Sachau 304, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

Fig. 1.17 The archangels in London Qazwīnī, fol. 12r (the two sitting angels) and 13r (the Angel of Death and King Solomon), c. 1300, 30 × 19.2 cm, colour on paper, British Library (Or 14140), digitised photo from Qatar Digital Library

https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023630151.0x00001a, accessed August 18th, 2020.

Fig. 1.18 Jakata story: the praise to the pious crane, relief on the bottom of the Zhenguo Pagoda, Kaiyuan temple, Quanzhou.

Fig. 1.19 Jakata story: the boy seeking the truth in snow mountains, relief on the bottom of the Zhenguo pagoda, Kaiyuan temple, Quanzhou.

Fig. 1.20 Paired *apsaras* holding an offering, mid-late ninth century, wall painting, Mogao Cave 207, Dunhuang, from *Zhongguo shiku - Dunhuang Mogaoku*, vol.5 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), plate 136, photo provided by Wu Yiqiang.

Fig. 1.21 Mural painting fragment, mid-eighth to ninth century, from Albert von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1923), Tafel 8b.

Fig. 1.22 Two steles with the canopy over the cross, Yuan dynasty, (a) size unclear, (b) 39.2 × 31.6 cm, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photos provided by Dr. Ken Parry.

Fig. 1.23 The Almaliq stone with paired angels, c. 1301, length 38 cm, width 31 cm, State Hermitage Museum (CA-14296), photo from Ken Parry, "The Art of the Christian Remains in Quanzhou," in *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Zayton (Quanzhou)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 243-44, fig. 11.5.

Fig. 1.24 Tomb stele for Elizabeth, c. 1317, 29.8 × 25.8 × 4 cm, bluestone, discovered at Yangzhou, rubbing, from Wang Qinjin, "Yuan Yanyousinian Yelishiba mubei kaoshi," Kaogu, no.6 (1989): 554, Fig.2.

Fig. 2.1 a. Katerina's tomb stele, height 58 cm, width 48.8 cm; b. Antonio 'tomb stele, height 59.7 cm, width 37.5 cm, rubbings, from Geng Jianting, "Yangzhou chenggenli de ladingwen mubei", *Kaogu*, no. 8 (1963): Fig. 2 and 1.

Fig. 2.2 *Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne*, c. 1260/1280, 82.4 × 50.1cm, tempera on linden panel, Byzantine, National Gallery of Art, U.S (1937.1.1).

Fig. 2.3 The last judgement in "London Psalter", f. 030v, c. 1250-1260, (folios) 21 × 14.5 cm, colour on parchment, France, British Library (Add.17868).

Fig. 2.4 Initial “K” of the martyrdom of St Catherine in *Omne Bonum* (*All Good Things*) by James le Palmer (d. c. 1375), fol. 395v, c. 1360-1375, (folios) 44.5 × 30.8 cm, colour and gold on parchment, British Library (Royal 6E VII), photo from https://www.medievalists.net/2015/04/10-cool-facts-about-saint-catherine/, accessed October 8th, 2021.

Fig. 2.5 Survivals and reconstructions for the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, 1310-1328, Frieze fragment, Cloister of Santa Chiara, Naples, photo provided by Prof. Anne Dunlop.

Fig. 2.6 a. Initial of a burial, from Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), Plate 67c; b. Resurrection of the dead in “Winchester Psalter”, f.31r, c. Mid-12 to 13th century, (folios) 32 × 23 cm, colour on parchment, British Library (Cotton MS Nero C IV).

Fig. 2.7 A sacrifice scene in *Xinkan quanxiang pinghua: Qianhanshu, vol. III* 新刊全相平話：前漢書, f14, Yuan dynasty, Fujian jian’an yushi edition, National Archives of Japan (accessed through shuge.org). The figure on the far left is a woman.

Fig. 2.8 A banquet scene, from *Xinkan quanxiang pinghua: Sanguozhi* 新刊全相平話：三國志, f12, Yuan dynasty, Fujian jian’an yushi edition, National Archives of Japan (accessed through shuge.org).

Fig. 2.9 Plaque funéraire de Pariouz, 1224, size unclear, marble, le quartier des Charpennes (X532), Lyon, photo provided by Prof. Anne Dunlop.

Fig. 2.10 The Dormition scene in “Winchester Psalter”, fol. 29r, Mid-12 to 13th century, (folios) 32 × 23 cm, colour on parchment, British Library (Cotton MS Nero C IV).

Fig. 2.11 Detail of “the Death of Saint Louis” in *The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux, Queen of France*, Jean Pucelle (1319-1334), fol. 165v, ca. 1324-1328, (folios) 9.2 x 6.2 cm, grisaille, tempera, and ink on vellum, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (54.12).

Fig. 2.12 Tombstone of Andrea da Perugia (with detail of the inscription rubbing), Yuan dynasty, 55 × 45 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

Fig. 2.13 a. Muslim tomb marker fragments and stele at Puhading Graveyard, Yuan dynasty, (the longest base) 121.2 × 34.6 × 35 cm, (stele) height 90 cm, Yangzhou (D); b. The scarf decorations on the tomb markers; c. The largest tomb marker at Bakhtiyari Graveyard, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, Hangzhou (D); d. Muslim tomb marker from Quanzhou with scarf decoration, Yuan dynasty, 171 × 63.5 × 53 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum; e. Flowers on the ends of the tomb markers at Yangzhou (D).

Fig. 2.14 A scene of a Muslim graveyard in *Les Maqâmât d'Aboû Moammad al-Qâsim ibn Alî al-arîrî* (*The Assemblies of Abu Mohammad al-Qasim ibn Ali al-ariri*), fol. 50, 13th century, (folios) 27.5 × 21 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Arabe 3929).

Fig. 2.15 White pagoda, Liao dynasty, Balin Right Banner, Inner Mongolia, photo from Sekino Tadashi and Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryō, Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono butsuzō,* (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tokyo Kenkyūjo, 1934-1944), plate 18.

Fig. 2.16 Patterns from the Muslim stones in Hangzhou, details taken from the photos from George Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, London: Gingko Library, 2018 and taken by Chen Xiao on site.

Fig. 2.17 a. Stele for Shams al-Din, Yuan dynasty, height c. 120 cm, width c. 88 cm, Puhading graveyard, Yangzhou (D); b. Stele for Husam al-Din, d. 1307, in Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 108, plate no.1(C).

Fig. 2.18 a. Plate with gardenia flower and leaves, Zhang Cheng (date unknown), Yuan dynasty, D 16.5 cm, H 2.8cm, lacquer, Palace Museum, Beijing (故 00108191); b. Carved lacquer tray depicting birds and flowers, 14th century, D 30.5cm, H 1.5cm, lacquer, Kyushu National Museum (H178), photo taken by the author.

Fig. 2.19 a. Detail of the stele base of Negubei, Yuan dynasty, (full size) height c. 120 cm, width c. 88 cm, Puhading Graveyard, Yangzhou (D); b. Stele for Taj al-Din Yahya, Yuan dynasty, photo from Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 178, plate no.11; c. Lotus relief on the front side of the Negubei stele (D); d. Lotus on the back side of the base on the Negubei stele (D).

Fig. 2.20 Detail from one page in the first volume of *Tarikhnama* (*Book of History*) by Bal'ami (d. c. 992-997), Ilkhanate (early 14th century), 42.2 x 28.7 cm, ink, watercolour and gold on paper, Freer Gallery of Art (F1957.16).

Fig. 2.21 The reverse side of the stele of Bakhtiyari, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, Phoenix Mosque, Hangzhou (C).

Fig. 2.22 Stele for the renovation of the Juxian Guan in Zhiyuan Period, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, rubbing, photo provided by Niu Yongli.

Fig. 2.23 Scarf decoration on the tomb marker, detail of fig.13c.

Fig. 2.24 a.Tomb marker of Mahmud, with the full moon, Yuan dynasty, 114 × 58 × 41 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum; b. Stele with the crescent moon pattern, Phoenix Mosque, Hangzhou (C).

Fig. 2.25 The characters 'sun' and 'moon' in *Xinbian duixiang siyan*, printed time c. 1506-1620, (printed area) 26.7 x 17.3 cm, Columbia University Library (https://clio.columbia.edu/catalog/10820867), accessed through shuge.org.

Fig. 2.26 a. Pagoda, 1304, height 2.67 m, Fushan Village, Quanzhou (D); b. and c. Two portraits on the two pagodas at Fushan Village, Quanzhou (D).

Fig. 2.27 a. Adapted foliat-shell footed apron with lotus petals on the Muslim tomb marker, Yuan dynasty, length 193 cm, width 80.5 cm, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photo taken by the author; b Tomb decoration of the Ji country Macun brick tomb chambers, with the foliate-shell footed apron along with lotus petals, Museum of the Jin Tombs (D); c Sarcophagus of Feng Rong, ca. 1212, size unclear, discovered in Yonghe, Shanxi, from Jeehee Hong, *Theatre of the Dead* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 122, Fig. 4.14A.

Fig. 2.28 Stele commissioned by the young lady Wang of the Dai family, 1346, 52.5 × 25.5 × 8.5 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

Fig. 2.29 Stele of Ding Jiezhai, 1327, 84 × 60 × 12cm, igneous rock, from Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 42, A30.

Fig. 3.1 Gathering of the Locana Buddha, Song dynasty, niche 5, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.2 A monk, niche 48, Song dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.3 Skanda, niche 35, Song dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.4 Ushinisha Sita Tapatra, niche 52, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.5 Avalokitesvara in four arms (originally a triad), niche 40, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.6 Yellow Jambhala, niche 30, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.7 Ushnisha Vijaya in Stupa with retinue, niche 84, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.8 Manjushri, niche 67, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.9 a. Avalokitesvara of four arms, niche 93, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou; b. Lotus seat of Avalokitesvara (D).

Fig. 3.10 a. The Amitabha triad in Han Chinese and Tibetan/Tangut forms, niche 98 and 99, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou; b. Triad of niche 98; c. Triad of niche 99 (D).

Fig. 3.11a. The inscription written by Jingfu (with the names of Jingfu and Yang highlighted); b. The inscription outside niche 45 (with Yang's name highlighted) (D).

Fig. 3.12 Vaisravana Lokapala on a lion, niche 75, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.13 Manjushri, Yuan dynasty, height 18 cm, gilt bronze, Palace Museum, Beijing (故 00000156), photo from Shane McCausland, *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 113.

Fig. 3.14 a. Indra, 13th century, height 10 inches (25.4 cm), bronze, Seattle Art Museum; b. Indra, ca. 1200, height 15 7/8 inches (40.3 cm), private collection; gilded copper, Nepal c. Avalokiteshvara, 14th century (?), 62.9 × 17.5 × 10.8 cm, gilded bronze, Cincinnati Art Museum (1962.445), photos from Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal* (New York: The Asia Society, 1964), 66-68, entry 18, 16 and 19.

Fig. 3.15 Manjushri, 14th century, height 12.2 cm, gilded copper alloy, Nepalese work in Tibet, collection of Yuri Khokhlov, from Yuri Khokhlov "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art of the Yuan Dynasty," Fig.25.

Fig. 3.16 a. Bodhisattva, 12th-13th century, height 38 cm, gilded copper alloy, discovered at Khara Khoto, Inner Mongolia Museum; b. Vajrasattva, 13th-14th century, height 27.5 cm, brass, Jokhang temple, Lhasa; c. Buddha Akshobhya, 13th-14th century, height 17 cm, gilded copper, Nepal, collection of Yuri Khokhlov; d. Buddha, Yuan dynasty, height 20.5 cm, copper alloy, Robert Bigier collection, Switzerland, photos from Yuri Khokhlov, "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art of the Yuan Dynasty," Fig. 32, 28, 27 and 26.

Fig. 3.17 a. Avalokiteshvara Padmapani, second half of the 13th century, Nepalese artist in Tibet, height 17 cm, copper with silver and gold inlay, The Newark Museum, USA; b. Avalokiteshvara Padmapani, second half of the 13th century, height 18 cm, gilded copper, Palace Museum, Beijing, after Yang Xin and Wang Jiapeng eds., *Zhongguo zangchuan fojiao diaosu quanji,* vol. II (Beijing: Beijing meishu sheying chubanshe, 2001), 76, entry 197, from Michael Henss, "Thirteenth or Eighteenth Century?", Fig.1 and 3.

Fig. 3.18 Shakyamuni, 1336, height 21 cm, width 15.8 cm, bronze, Palace Museum, Beijing (新 00017059).

Fig. 3.19 Marici, Ming dynasty, height 25 cm, gilded bronze, Three Gorge Museum, Chongqing.

Fig. 3.20 White Pagoda, Beijing, photo from the display at the Miaoying Temple.

Fig. 3.21 Stupa, c. 13th century, height 46.5 cm, silver, coral, turquoise and glass, photo from Robert A. F. Thurman and David Weldon, *Sacred Symbols: The Ritual Art of Tibet* (London: Rossi & Rossi, 1999), 18-19, cat. no. 4.

Fig. 3.22 Stupa, c. 1400, height 42.5 cm, gilt copper and turquoise, photo from Robert Thurman and Weldon, *Sacred Symbols: The Ritual Art of Tibet*, 16-17, cat. no. 3.

Fig. 3.23 a. Portrait of Khubilai, Yuan dynasty, 59.2 × 47.4 cm, colour on silk (one page of an album), Palace Museum, Taipei (中畫 00032400003); b. Portrait of Chabi, Yuan dynasty,

61.2 × 47.6 cm, colour on silk (one page of an album), Palace Museum, Taipei (中畫 00032500001).

Fig. 3.24 a. and b. The Jina Buddha Ratnasambhava (detail), c. 1100-1125, 40.96 × 33.02 cm, mineral pigments and gold on cotton, Central Tibet, LACMA (M.81.90.5); c. Green Tara (detail), c. 1260, 52.4 × 43.2 cm, watercolour and ink on cotton, Tibet, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1970.156).

Fig. 3.25 "Five Horses" (detail), attributed to Li Gonglin (1049-1106), Northern Song dynasty, 28 × 257.2 cm, colour and ink on paper, Tokyo National Museum, photo from the exhibition catalogue published by Hatori shoten, provided by Li Ziru.

Fig. 3.26 Portraits of two men servants, Liao dynasty, mural paintings, tomb no.1, Baoshan, Inner Mongolia, photo from Wu Hung and Li Qingquan eds., *Baoshan liaomu: cailiao yu shidu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2013), colour plate 10 and 12.

Fig. 3.27 Vajrabhairava mandala, c. 1330-1332, 245.5 × 209 cm, silk tapestry (kesi), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1992.54).

Fig. 3.28 a. Detail of the deity with the lute, Liao dynasty, relief carving, Chaoyang Northern Pagoda, photo from Daniel C. Waugh, "The Chaoyang Northern Pagoda, a Photo Essay," *The Silk Road* 9 (2011): 58; b. Celestial beings, Liao dynasty, relief carving, Chaoyang Northern Pagoda, photo from Youn-mi Kim, "Virtual Pilgrimage and Virtual Geography: Power of Liao Miniature Pagodas (907-1125)," *Religions* 8, 206 (2017): 5, Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.29 The 'Cloud Terrace' at the Juyongguan, seen from the South, Yuan dynasty (F).

Fig. 3.30 Goat on elephant with dorje, on the northern face, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.31 One of the Buddha of Ten Directions, on the slope inside, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.32 Dhrtarastra 東方持國天王 and his entourage, on the eastern wall inside, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.33 Arhat, Liao Dynasty, 104.8 × 91.4 × 83.8 cm, stoneware with three colour glaze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (21.76).

Fig. 3.34 Garuda and dragon kings on the southern face, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.35 Indian gate and makara in the mandala, relief carving, Juyongguan (F)

Fig. 3.36 a. Shaoguan terrace, Yuan dynasty, Zhenjiang (D); b. Bijakshara on the side of the Shaoguan terrace; c. Inscription of 'The Avatamsaka Sutra' 大方廣佛華嚴經 on the pillar of the Shaoguan terrace (D).

Fig. 4.1 Cloth of gold with displayed falcons, mid-13th century, (overall) 57.5 × 18.4 cm, silk and gold thread, lampas, Central Asia, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1996.297).

Fig. 4.2 Cloth of gold with felines and eagles, 1225-1275, (overall) 170.5 × 109 cm, silk and gold thread, lampas, Northeast Iran, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1990.2).

Fig. 4.3 Cloth of gold with winged lions and griffins, 1225-1275, (overall) 124 × 48.8 cm, silk and gold thread, lampas, Central Asia, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1989.50).

Fig. 4.4 Silk with griffins, first half of the 13th century, 175.9 × 97.2 cm, silk with silver-gilt metal on parchment over cotton, Central Asia, or Eastern Iran, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1984.344).

Fig. 4.5 Quilt cover with paired griffins in medallions, Yuan dynasty, (overall) 195 × 118 cm, silk, Jining, Inner Mongolia, photo from Shang Gang, "Mengyuan zhijin," in *Guwu xinzhi* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012), 138, fig.11.5 and 11.6.

Fig. 4.6 Fragment with paired griffins in medallions, Yuan dynasty, 46 × 46 cm, tapestry, China National Silk Museum (2544).

Fig. 4.7 Fragment with paired oxen in medallions, Yuan dynasty, 33 × 32 cm, tapestry, China National Silk Museum (2586).

Fig. 4.8 Detail of the robe with paired sphinxes, Yuan dynasty, (body) length 142 cm, width 115 cm, (sleeves) length 246 cm, Mingshui, Inner Mongolia, silk and gold thread, from Zhao Feng, *Jincheng: Zhongguo sichou yu sichouzhilu* (Hefei: Shidai chuban and Huangshan shushe, 2016), 323, fig.9.

Fig. 4.9 Fragment with ‘pearl roundel’ featuring lion hunters, mid-8th century, tapestry, size unclear, photo from Matsumoto Kaneo, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan from the Shōsō-in and Hōryū-ji* (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1984), 56, entry 45.

Fig. 4.10 Garment fragment with flowers, cranes and clouds, Liao dynasty, (overall) 138 × 133 cm, compound twill, silk, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1992.112), photo from James Watt and Anne Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 44-45, entry 9.

Fig. 4.11 Woman’s robe, Liao dynasty, (overall) 130 × 177 cm, silk and gold thread, embroidery on silk gauze ground, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1995.20), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*, 176-79, entry 51.

Fig. 4.12 Textile with coiled dragons, Jin dynasty, (overall) 74 × 33 cm, plain-weave silk brocaded with metallic thread, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1989.205), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 116-17, entry 30.

Fig. 4.13 Fragment with phoenixes soaring amid clouds, Jin dynasty, (overall) 56.2 × 62.2 cm, silk and gold thread, tabby, brocaded, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1994.292), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 118-19, entry 31.

Fig. 4.14 Cover with animals, birds amid flowers, Song dynasty, (overall) 36.2 × 31.8 cm, silk tapestry (kesi), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1983.105), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 82-83, entry 20.

Fig. 4.15 Cotton padded jacket with dragons, Yuan dynasty, (body) length 66 cm, (sleeve) length 103 cm, brocaded, discovered from Longhua, Longhua County Ethnographic Museum, photo from Longhua Ethnographic Museum ed. *Cave-Hidden Splendid Textiles of 600 Years: Yuan Dynastic Cultural Relics from Gezidong Cave, Longhua, Hebei* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2015), 82-84, entry 3.

Fig. 4.16 Fragment with Flowering Plants, Birds, and Beasts (detail), Yuan dynasty, size irregular, silk tapestry with metallic threads, Tokyo National Museum (TI-553), photo taken by the author.

Fig. 4.17 Uighur donors, fragment of a mural painting, 9th -13th century, from from von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol.3, Tafel 14, photo from the Digital Archive of Toyo Bunko Rare Books, http://dsr.nii.ac.jp/cgi-bin/toyobunko/show_page.pl?lang=en&book=LFB-2/V-3&page=0089&keyword=bezeklik, accessed May 20th, 2021.

Fig. 4.18 Donors on the base of a Buddha statue, fragment of a mural painting, 9th-13th century, photo from Albert von Le Coq, *Chotscho: Facsimile-Wiedergaben der Wichtigeren Funde der Ersten Königlich Preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-Turkistan*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1913), plate 12.

Fig. 4.19 A Tangut donor, detail of a mural painting in Mogao Cave 409, 11th-13th century, photo from Digital Dunhuang https://www.dha.ac.cn/info/1425/3567.htm, accessed May 3rd, 2021.

Fig. 4.20 Illustrations of travellers from a. *Les Makamat de Hariri* (*The Short Stories of Hariri*), fol. 102, 1236-1237, (folios) 37 × 28 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothéque Nationale France (Arabe 5847); b. *Kalla wa Dimna* (*Kalila and Dimna*), fol.60, early 13th century, (folios) 28 × 21.5 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothéque Nationale France (Arabe 3465); c. *Les Maqâmât d'Aboû Moammad al-Qâsim ibn Alî al-arîrî* (*The Assemblies of al-Hariri*), fol.40, 13th century, (folios) 27.5 × 21 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothéque Nationale France (Arabe 3929).

Fig. 4.21 Robe with paired-duck medallions, 11th-12th Century, (overall) length 124 cm, silk and compound twill, Iran, Sarikhani Collection (I.TXT.1021), Oxfordshire, photo from Sheila R. Canby and Deniz Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Sejuqs* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 95, entry 24.

Fig. 4.22 Fragment with double-headed eagles and facing lions, 13th Century, (overall) 20 × 49.5 cm, silk, lampas, Anatolia, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2012.338), photo from Canby and Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Sejuqs*, 238, entry 149.

Fig. 4.23 Fountainhead in the form of a cockerel with a parrot for a tail, late 11th-12th Century, 38.6 × 26 cm, stonepaste in glaze, David Collection (ISL. 57), Copenhagen, photo from Canby and Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos*, 215, entry 132.

Fig. 4.24 Mirror, 12th-13th century, 1.1 × 10.3 cm, bronze, Iran or Anatolia, National Gallery of Victoria (52793), photo taken by the author.

Fig. 4.25 a. Robe with braids on the waist, Yuan dynasty, body length 122.2 cm, sleeve length 202.29 cm, waist 33.9 cm, silk, China National Silk Museum; b. Gold stamped jacket with short sleeves and xiongbei, Yuan dynasty, body length 53.4 cm, sleeve length 66.4 cm, silk and gold, China National Silk Museum, photos taken by the author.

Fig. 4.26 Robe with wide sleeves, with a baoli at the lower hem, Yuan dynasty, body length 203.9 cm, sleeve length 157.9 cm, silk, China National Silk Museum, photo taken by the author and Ding Yuwen.

Introduction

When Franciscan friar Willem van Rubroeck (William of Rubruck, fl. 1253-55) visited the Mongol khan's court in Karakorum in the middle of the thirteenth century, he had two goals: to seek out the Mongols 'intentions on Europe and to convert more Asian pagans to Latin Christianity.[1] On arrival, and to his surprise, he met a fellow Christian goldsmith from Paris named Guillaume (William) Boucher who had just finished a fabulous drinking fountain for the Mongol khan.[2] The friar was amazed by the design of the fountain and wrote at length on it in his travel account:

> In the entry of this great palace, it being unseemly to bring in there skins of milk and other drinks, master William the Parisian had made for him [Mongke Khan] a great silver tree, and at its roots are four lions of silver, each with a conduit through it, and all belching forth white milk of mares. And four conduits are led inside the tree to its tops, which are bent downward, and on each of these is also a gilded serpent, whose tail twines round the tree. And from one of these pipes flows wine, from another *caracosmos*, or clarified mare's milk, from another bal, a drink made with honey, and from another rice mead, which is called *terracina*; and for each liquor there is a special silver bowl at the foot of the tree to receive it. Between these four conduits in the top, he made an angel holding a trumpet, and underneath the tree he made a vault in which a man can be hid. And pipes go up through the heart of the tree to the angel. In the first place he made bellows, but they did not give enough wind. Outside the palace is a cellar in which the liquors are stored, and there are servants all ready to pour them out when they hear the

[1] The full record by Rubruck is published in English as Willam of Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1235-55,* trans. William W. Rockhill (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1900).

[2] Rubruck, 176-78, 211-12. For the studies on the fountain, see Sarolta Tatár, "The Iconography of the Karakorum Fountain," in *Life and Afterlife & Apocalyptic Concepts in the Altaic World,* eds. M. Knüppel and A. van Tongerloo (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 77-105; Leonardo Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher: A French Artist at the Court of the Khans* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), 63-98.

> angel trumpeting. And there are branches of silver on the tree, and leaves and fruit. When the drink is wanted, the head butler cries to the angel to blow his trumpet. Then he who is concealed in the vault, hearing this blows with all his might in the pipe leading to the angel, and the angel places the trumpet to his mouth, and blows the trumpet right loudly. Then the servants who are in the cellar, hearing this, pour the different liquors into the proper conduits, and the conduits lead them down into the bowls prepared for that, and then the butlers draw it and carry it to the palace to the men and women.[3]

The intricate decorative elements of this elaborate fountain described by the friar provided meanings that can be approached from different cultures.[4] Topped with a mechanical angel, exotic to the Asian eyes, the fountain must have been an attraction at the Mongol court. Had it been preserved, the fountain would be a special piece of art work testifying to the great power of the early Mongol Empire in its military expansion that swept and embraced the various arts over the continent, a power that even compelled the French artist to create this stunning work that only left a vague trace in Rubroeck's notes.

Many works created by or for the foreign residents during the Mongol domination in East Asia shared a similar fate to this fountain of the early Mongol state, in that they only left fragmented remains in history. The ephemerality of these objects has resulted in less scholarly attention in art historical study on this period that is taken as the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) in Chinese history. Previous studies of Yuan art focused more on art works that can be allocated to a whole literati art spectrum from the tenth century extending into early modern times.[5] Yet the attention

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[3] Rubruck, *Journey of William of Rubruck*, 207-08.

[4] Olschki had talked about the meaning of specific motifs, such as the lion, the snake, the tree, etc. See Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, 67-85.

[5] Study on Yuan literati art in English scholarship was led by James Cahill, including *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279-1368* (Tokyo and New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1976), and *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: T'ang, Sung, Yuan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). Also Richard Vinograd, "De-centering Yuan Painting," and

to literati art obscures another large group of people living in Yuan China who composed the backbone of the society under Mongol rule. These people are categorised by the Chinese as *semu* 色目, people who were neither ethnically Chinese nor regarded as members of the Mongolian royal clan (more definition below). Art works related to this group were mostly produced by professional artisans and only in recent decades have begun to attract the interest of art historians.

This thesis will take these art works under the central theme of *semu* people as the focus. It will choose a new perspective to examine them within the cultural frame of Yuan China, a context in which people of different cultural backgrounds were living together and were actively involved in political, diplomatic, economic and cultural undertakings across various levels of society. By investigating the *semu* people's use and manipulation of art motifs both from the local Chinese and from their foreign homelands, this research aims to demonstrate that these motifs were used to express the respective cultural and religious identity of the *semu* people as a distinct social unit from the native Chinese in the Yuan society. To further enhance the artistic integration process embodied in the Yuan period works, this research also seeks to raise the awareness of art developed under the Khitans (Liao Dynasty) and the Jurchens (Jin Dynasty) when they ruled the northern part of China immediately before the Mongol conquest.[6] An important argument is that the development during this earlier period played an important role for the integration of foreign art forms during the Yuan period.

Eugene Wang, "The Elegiac Cicada: Problems of Historical Interpretation of Yuan Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2009): 195-212, and 176-94. There are also numerous studies on individual Yuan literati artists such as Zhao Mengfu and Ni Zan that will not be listed here. Although there is no denying that some Mongol and *semu* literati also showed mastery of the ink painting and calligraphy, they are not included in this research because this trend was not common in the *semu* group. The current research wants to target on the art works and motifs that were shared among these group of people.

[6] Please refer to Appendix I.

The Rise of the Mongols and the Yuan Dynasty

The Mongol empire produced long-lasting cultural effects because of its unprecedented territory and profound political legacy across Eurasia.[7] The overview here of the Mongol conquests and the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty in China aims to introduce the territory and people incorporated into the empire, a process that will facilitate the later explanation of the definitions used in the dissertation.

The Mongols were originally a tribal people from the Mongolian-Manchurian grassland. Temujin, the future Chinggis Khan, appeared first in written history when being rewarded by the Jurchen Jin emperor for a joint war victory in 1196.[8] Within a decade, Temujin unified the tribes on the Mongol plateau and took the title of Chinggis Khan in 1206, announcing the formation of the Mongol state.[9] The Uighurs, sensitive to the political power of the new neighbour, became the first to voluntarily submit to the Mongols.[10] They soon formed an essential part in the new Mongol polity because of their higher literacy, since the Mongols did not have written language at this early stage.[11] From 1211 to the death of Chinggis in 1227, the

[7] Publications on the various aspects of the Mongol legacy include Linda Komaroff, ed., *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2006); and Timothy May and Michael Hope, eds., *The Mongol World* (London & New York: Routledge, 2022). The historical background summary adopted here is largely based on chapter 4 and 5 in Herbert Franke and Denis C. Twitchett, eds., *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 321-413, 414-89. DOI:10.1017/CHOL9780521243315.

[8] The pre-empire idea of the Mongol community as a whole is discussed in Lhamsuren Munkh-Erdene, "Where did the Mongol Empire Come From? Medieval Mongol Ideas of People, State and Empire," *Inner Asia* 13, no. 2 (2011): 225-26. For Temujin's reward by the Jin, see Thomas Allsen, (Chap.4) "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire and Mongolian Rule in North China," in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, 338. For the reign periods of the Mongol Khans, please refer to Appendix II and III.

[9] The Song envoy in 1221 called the Mongols 'the Great Mongol State', showing that by then, the Mongols regarded themselves as a state polity among Asian states. See Zhao Gong 趙珙 , "Guohao nianhao 國號年號 State and Year Title", in *Mengda beilu* 蒙韃備錄, annot., Cao Yuanzhong, Guangxu Edition (Waseda University Library: リ 0704781), 9.

[10] Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire," in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, 342-43, 349.

[11] Michael C. Brose, "Uyghur Technologists of Writing and Literacy in Mongol China," *T'oung Pao* 91, fasc. 4/5 (Second Series 2005): 397-98.

Mongols launched wars on the territories of Jurchen Jin (northern China), Khara-Khitan (eastern Central Asia) and Khwarazm (western Central Asia to eastern Iran), and extended into the Russian and Qipchaq lands (northern Asia and eastern Europe).[12] The Tangut Xia (northwestern China) also fell under the Mongols in 1227.

The leadership of the Mongols, called 'khaghan', the Great Khan (*dahan* 大汗), was passed to Chinggis' third son Ogodei. Under his reign, the Jurchen Jin was finally conquered in 1234. Areas in Russia, and those of the Qipchaqs and Seljuqs (western Asia) were taken over from 1241 to 1243. Finally in 1259, the Koryo dynasty in Korea submitted to the Mongols after Chinggis' grandson Mongke became khaghan. The Mongols then occupied a vast territory stretching from the western Eurasian steppe to the shore of the Pacific Ocean.

Mongke adopted a stronger centralisation in his administration to consolidate his control of this huge empire.[13] He also started a new round of expansion, targeting the Abbasid Caliphate (western Asia) and Southern Song (southern China). His two younger brothers Hulegu (d. 1265) and Khubilai respectively conquered and took control of these two areas. Although Mongke's efforts were effective, the competition and hostility between his brothers Khubilai and Arigh Boke (d. 1266) after his death resulted in the division of the empire into four khanates (Golden Horde, Ilkhanate, Chaghadai Khanate, and Yuan China). However, on the surface all the other khanates acknowledged the khaghan who resided in the capital, Dadu (大都 modern Beijing).[14]

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[12] For the reason on attacking the Jurchens, see Zhao,"Zhengfa 征伐 Conquering", in *Mengda beilu*, 23-25; "Dazhu shiqi 韃主始起 Origin of the Tartar Lord", in *ibid.*, 4; Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire," 356-65.

[13] Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire," 393-395. Mongke's rule was also discussed in Thomas Allsen, *The Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1987), 79-93.

[14] The empire was divided because there were different supports for separate candidates to be the great khan. Although the division reflected the hostility between the cousins, they still regarded the seat in Dadu as the great khan. Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire," 412- 13.

Khubilai, after taking the throne as khaghan, announced the use of the dynastic title 'Da Yuan' 大元 in 1271.

With the expansion of the conquest, the early Mongol empire created a huge flow of people through the wars and also attracted various people into their service. Soldiers were recruited from different areas and skilled craftsmen were also employed in the army as needed.[15] A large number of refugees appeared both in the West (the Qipchaqs) and in the East (the Chinese), who rushed into new areas while escaping the Mongol invasion.[16] The Mongols had their own economic pattern from a nomadic tradition, aiming to get resources, levies or taxes from their subjects. As a result, they took census of all the newly conquered subjects to mobilise both labour forces and material resources, for the purposes of tax collection.[17] This approach allowed Muslim merchants skilful in making commercial profits in particular to gain a special status in the government through a trade system known as *ortogh* 斡脫 that financed the commercial activities with money-lending.[18] It is also for economic ends that the Mongols sought out and valued skilled artisans.[19] With the appreciation of profit-making and technical expertise, the Mongol rule encouraged immigrations, either voluntarily or by force. For the non-Chinese people who form the main topic of this

[15] Allsen, 403.

[16] Thomas T. Allsen, "Population Movements in Mongol Eurasia," in *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change: the Mongols and their Eurasian Predecessors*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 124 and 127.

[17] Thomas T. Allsen, "The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries,* ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 262.

[18] A brief introduction to these *ortogh* merchants is given in Elizabeth Endicott-West, "Merchant Associations in Yuan China: The 'Ortoy'," *Asia Major* 2, no. 2 (Third Series, 1989): 127-54. The powerful connection of these merchants with the Yuan officials and princes is mentioned in Thomas Allsen, "Mongolian Princes and Their Merchant Partners, 1200-1260," *Asia Major* 2, no. 2 (Third Series, 1989): 94-96 and 101.

[19] Artisans were picked out by the Mongols before they laid waste to a conquered city. Thomas Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 199.

dissertation, the opportunity to get the Mongols' patronage, most of all from the khaghan in Yuan China, was a major attraction to call them to the East.

When Khubilai set his capital in Dadu, his government was filled by an international staff from multiple conquered lands. Although initially reliant on the officials who once served the Jin dynasty, Khubilai soon began to favour the non-Chinese people from Central and West Asia, and the preference was continued all through the Yuan period by Khubilai's successors.[20] Contemporary legal records reflect the privilege enjoyed by these people and that they were given higher level posts than the Chinese either by hereditary appointment or through passing the national exam.[21] The biographies listed in the official record, *Yuanshi* (元史 *Official History of the Yuan Dynasty*), also show that these non-Chinese officials formed a considerable segment in the Yuan government.[22]

The Mongols also held an open attitude towards different religions. The early absorption of Kereit and Ongut tribes had brought the influence of the Church of the East, a Christian sect that strongly influenced the Mongol royalties since Khubilai's own mother, Sorghtani Beki (d. 1252) was a Christian.[23] The Uighurs, as the first sedentary people voluntarily submitted to the Mongol empire, also produced great influence through their multiple religions and their own mediation of different

[20] The reason for this shift could either be the result of the dispute with his brother Arigh Boke for the throne or the rebellion of the Chinese general Li Tan. Khubilai had to shape himself as the rightful Mongol ruler, meaning that he could not solely rely on the Chinese. More details are in Morris Rossabi, (Chap. 5) "The Reign of Khubilai Khan," in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, 416-24.

[21] Details on these are listed both in "Libu 吏部 Ministry of Personnel", in *Dayuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang (Yuan dianzhang)* 大元聖政國朝典章 *Statute Collection of the Yuan Dynasty,* vol. 3, photocopy of Yuan edition (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbodianshi chubanshe, 1998), 298-300; and vol. 5 and vol. 6, *Tongzhi tiaoge xiaozhu* 通制條格校注 *Annotations to the Legal Code, Custom and Practices*, annot. Fang Linggui (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 221, 240 and 268.

[22] Apart from the Mongols, the biographies of the other non-Chinese (*semu*) people in the 'liezhuan' (列传 biography of officials) part in *Yuanshi* consist of around 170 among the total of over 600 columns.

[23] Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire," 323.

cultures.[24] Concurrently, the presence and activities of Muslim merchants and officials expanded Islam into new areas. For example, Saiyid Ajall Shams al-Din (1211-1279), appointed by Khubilai as the governor of Yunnan, brought Muslim communities to this land outside the Islamic circle.[25] Later in his life, Khubilai came to venerate the Tibetan monks who enjoyed continued favour at the Mongol court in Dadu.[26]

Through the accumulation of the early Mongol empire's policy, along with Khubilai's favours to these non-Chinese people, Yuan China demonstrated an extraordinary level of diversity. During the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries in East Asia, it is on this world's stage that various groups of people were the players.

Definitions for the discussion of Yuan society

Owing to the complexity of Yuan society, before proceeding further, it is necessary to clarify several definitions used in the present research because current political boundaries and ethnic divisions can easily confuse our understanding of the situation in the Middle-Period. To avoid projecting contemporary concepts into the past, definitions listed here will help to give a thorough understanding of the boundaries of Yuan China along with other geographical terms used, as well as the constituents of the non-Chinese (*semu*) people to be discussed in this dissertation.

As mentioned above, Khubilai took the dynastic title 'Da Yuan' in 1271 and moved the capital from Karakorum to Dadu. This move has complicated the position

[24] Allsen, 348.

[25] Saiyid Ajall's military action has brought Muslims into the Yunnan area and formed a lasting Islamic influence in this part. Song Lian 宋濂 et al., *Yuanshi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 125: 3063-66. Studies on Saiyid Ajall are summarised in Jonathan N. Lipman, *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997), 33, footnote 30. For more on the expansion of Muslims in Yuan China, see Morris Rossabi, "The Muslims in Early Yüan Dynasty," in *China Under Mongol Rule,* ed. John D. Langlois (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 273-75.

[26] More about this will be discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

of Yuan in Mongol period, raising questions such as whether it only centred on the Chinese area or encompassed all of the lands under the Mongol rule; it also problematised the concept of the Mongol empire, causing doubts on whether it was still a unity or composed of four separate khanates.[27] Since the issue has already been discussed by historians, this research will not further argue this point. For the present thesis, the 'Yuan' is regarded as a Chinese language equivalent to the 'Great Mongol Ulus', thus not limited only to the geographic area regarded as 'China' by the contemporary Chinese, a concept that will be explained further below.[28]

This definition falls in line with one opinion proposed by the Chinese scholar Ge Zhaoguang, and the concern of being 'Chinese' by the Song Confucians helps to clarify the view on what was understood as 'China' at that time. As Ge notes, the definitions of 'barbarians' and 'Chinese' were under constant re-evaluation depending on the circumstances of different periods, and what was regarded as 'China' transformed both geographically and culturally over time, which in turn creates a changing perception of the people who regarded themselves as 'the Chinese'.[29] In contrast with previous dynasties, the Song Chinese had a stronger sense of 'nationalism' because of the kingdom's political weakness among the other regimes in East Asia and they tried to define the boundary between the 'Chinese' (the Middle

[27] This is a complicated issue and it seems there are different views on this. Khubilai did reach out to control the routes in Central Asia in order to maintain the connection with the other parts of the conquered land, and this was continued to the late Yuan period. The Mongols also had their own view towards their own 'state', and it seems that they never regarded themselves as four 'countries' since all acknowledged the khaghan in Dadu. John W. Dardess, "From Mongol Empire to Yuan Dynasty: Changing Forms of Imperial Rule in Mongolia and Central Asia," *Monumenta Serica* 30 (1972-73): 132-140, 160-61; Hosung Shim, "The Postal Roads of the Great Khans in Central Asia under the Mongol-Yuan Empire," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 44 (2014): 460-61; Munkh-Erdene, "Where did the Mongol Empire Come from?," 223-25; Allsen, "The Rise of the Mongolian Empire," 412-13.

[28] This dissertation adopts the opinion provided in Hodong Kim, "Was 'da Yuan' a Chinese Dynasty?" *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 45 (2015): 287-88 (and his footnote 25).

[29] Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *The Inside and Outside of Historical China: A Reclarification of the Concept of 'China' and Its 'Borders'* 歷史中國的內與外：有關「中國」與「周邊」概念的再澄清 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017), 26, 129.

Kingdom) and the 'barbarians'.[30] The Confucian scholars went back to the classic works to find the cultural justification for Chinese civilisation to fight against the 'invasion' of foreign ideas and even extended this hostile attitude to religions such as Buddhism with foreign roots.[31] Because of this anxiety, Southern Song scholars, especially after the conquest by the Mongols, formed a clear sense of a cultural identity as being 'Chinese' in contrast with the Mongol rulers and the foreigners coming with them.[32] Following this view, Ge then proposes that only people who share the same cultural and political system can form a coherence that can be regarded as a' nation', such as Song (and Ming) China, even though he also admitted that this definition makes it difficult to designate what 'China' is during its foreign-dominated dynasties, such as the Mongol Yuan period.[33]

This dissertation takes both concepts above into consideration and will regard 'Yuan' as the equivalent to the Mongol Empire. Thus, the term 'Yuan China' is used here specifically to refer to the eastern part of that empire, the "kingdom of the khaghan".[34] Based on Ge's opinion, the Northern Song territory will be adopted as the 'Chinese' cultural area, an area also being extended here further north to include the

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[30] Ge Zhaoguang, *Zhaizi Zhongguo: chongjian youguan 'zhongguo' de lishilunshu* 宅兹中国：重建关于「中国」的历史论述 *This is China: Reconstructing the Historical Discourses on 'China'* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 41-42, 48-51. Discussions on the Song Chinese's rejection of the 'barbarians' have also been raised in historical analysis of Song literati's writings, such as Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "Proto-Nationalism in Twelfth-Century China? The Case of Ch'en Liang," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39, no. 2 (1979): 424-27. A summary of the Song view of Chinese territory and culture is in Nicolas Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 208, esp. 165-66 on the perception of 'Han' as Chinese. For a discussion on the border conceived by the Song Chinese, see Tackett, "The Great Wall and Conceptualizations of the Border under the Northern Song," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, no. 38 (2008): 99-138.

[31] Ge, *Zhaizi Zhongguo*, 57-59. For a specific statement on differentiation of the Chinese from the 'barbarians', see Shi Jie 石介, "Zhongguo lun 中國論 Discourse on the Middle Kingdom," in *Song wen xuan* 宋文選, vol. 15, sikucongshu edition.

[32] Ge, *Zhaizi Zhongguo*, 61-62.

[33] Ge, *Inside and Outside*, 22-23.

[34] The "kingdom of khaghan", or "khaghan's ulus", actually was used by contemporary documents from the other parts of the Mongol empire. Kim, "Was 'da Yuan'," 295-98.

'sixteen prefectures of Yan and Yun' (part of modern Hebei and Shanxi) that were also regarded as dominated by Chinese culture even though these prefectures were governed by Khitans in the tenth to the eleventh century (Map 1).[35]

Map 1: Boundaries of geographical areas

The base map of Yuan China is from *Zhongguo shigao dituji* (Maps for the Chinese History), Shanghai: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe, 1990.

With the Chinese area defined, the territories of the Uighur kingdom, Tangut Xia and Tibet that were later conquered by the Mongols and included in the Yuan territory will be considered as 'foreign' lands when compared with the 'Chinese' cultural area based mainly on the Song territory. This designation also follows their listing as 'foreign countries' in the *Songshi* (宋史 *Official History of the Song Dynasty*).[36] Although the relationship between Tibet and the Yuan court remains

[35] For a discussion and definition for this area under the Liao in the view of the Song Chinese, see Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossing in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 7, 19-20; also Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation*, 184-86.

[36] They were listed together with Koryo, Dali and Japan as foreign countries, see Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Songshi* 宋史 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), contents, 141-43.

complicated, it is still regarded here as a land conquered by the Mongols, following statements in contemporary records.[37]

What makes the case complicated are Liao and Jin whose territories partially overlapped with the Chinese cultural area. Both Khitans and Jurchens were considerably influenced by the Chinese and were regarded by the Mongols as 'Chinese', *han ren* (see discussion below).[38] To avoid adding complexity to the definition, the term 'northern China 'is used in the present research to refer to the area occupied by Jurchen Jin (which also includes the major part of the Liao territory), and 'southern China 'is used to refer to the area of Southern Song, with the division being the borderline along the Huai River (not the Yangzi River, see Map 1).[39] This definition follows the common division used in medieval records both in European and Persian languages that nearly all took the previous Jin territory as 'Cathay' and the Southern Song as 'Manzi'.[40] Thus, artistic legacies of Liao and Jin are not treated

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[37] A discussion on the problematic domination over Tibet by the Mongols is Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. Langlois, 298-301. In the biography of Phags-pa, it mentioned that the Mongols had divided the land of Tibet into counties and made officials resident there. "世祖……思有以因其俗而柔其人，乃郡縣土番之地，設官分職", see *Yuanshi*, 202: 4520; Also in the epitaph for Chen Ping, "…the court paid great attention to this area (Tibet), and set up *Xuanzheng yuan* (the Bureau of Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs) to govern it…朝廷視為重地，建宣政院以統治焉", Huang Jin 黃溍, "Yinqing ronglu dafu dasitu chengong shendao bei 銀青榮祿大夫大司徒陳公神道碑 Spirit Way Stele of Lord Chen, Chief Minister, Grand Master of Glorious Happiness in Silver and Blue," in *Jinhua huang xiansheng wenji* 金華黃先生文集, vol. 27, continued vol. 24, Yuan edition.

[38] The Khitan and Jurchen people, especially military officials, also including many Chinese, who served the Mongols in their conquest of northern China, formed a special group that mediated between the nomad and agricultural worlds. In a certain sense, they were assimilated into the Mongol culture, but they also dedicated to maintain the Chinese culture and administration. For detailed discussion, see Igor de Racheviltz, "Personnel and Personalities in North China in the Early Mongol Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 9, no. 1/2 (1966): 102-03, 123-24, and 130-32.

[39] About the setting of Song-Jin border and the negotiation, see Wang Zengyu 王曾瑜, *Yue Fei he Nansong qianqizhengzhi yu junshi yanjiu* 岳飞和南宋前期政治与军事研究 *Studies on Yue Fei and Politics and Military in Early Southern Song* (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2002), 416-22.

[40] Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 103 (Manzi) and 257 (Cathay).

as ‘foreign’ in this research, but are understood as the type of art developed in northern China.[41]

These geographic definitions pave the way for defining the scope of the non-Chinese used in this dissertation, and here the concept of *semu* people will be used to designate this group. The term ‘semu’ in the Song records indicates ‘various kinds’ and its meaning in Yuan records remained generalised.[42] The Yuan legal document *Yuan dianzhang* (元典章 *Statute of the Yuan Dynasty*) has a case specifying the nature of *semu*: the legal record states that a Jurchen with a Chinese surname should not be allocated to the laws for the *semu* people.[43] It clarifies that *semu* people were identified particularly with non-Chinese surnames, and were governed under a separate set of laws. Another surviving local document, the *(Zhishun) Zhenjiang zhi* （至順）鎮江志 *Gazetteer of Zhenjiang* (under the Zhishun reign) includes a register listing major non-Han Chinese households, including Mongol, Uighur, *Huihui* (回回 Muslim), *Yelikewen* (Erkegün 也里可溫 Christian), *Hexi* (河西 Tanguts), Khitan, and Jurchen.[44] A more concise categorisation of thirty-one names for the *semu* people is

[41] It is acknowledged here that Khitans and Jurchens had their own preference in art and they had different traditions from Han Chinese in certain aspects, such as the burial art discussed by Tackett. However, because the main comparison in this dissertation is between the objects for the newly arrived foreigners under Mongol rule and art established in the conquered area (Jin and Southern Song), the discussion will not go further to distinguish Liao and Jin art from Han-Chinese art, a topic that deserves a separate study. Liao and Jin art here will be regarded as the type developed in northern China. Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation*, 211-45.

[42] For example, the word ‘semu’ is used in the Song encyclopaedia *Cefu yuangui* (冊府元龜 *Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature*) to refer to people taking up various businesses, Wang Qinruo 王欽若 ed., “Xingfa bu 刑法部 Criminal Code”, in *Cefu yuangui*, vol. 613, Ming printed edition. Another record states that since the late Tang period, the word was used to refer to people who had rare family names, see Ye Tinggui 葉廷珪, “Wenxu bu 文學部 Literature”, in *Hailu suishi* 海錄碎事, vol. 19, Wenyuange sikuquanshu edition.

[43] No. 49, “Xingbu 刑部 Criminal Law”, in *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章, vol. 11, Yuan edition photocopy, 1806-07. “Except *han’er*, Koryo, *manzi*, others are all *semu*; The thief is Jurchen, different from Mongol, and since he has a Chinese family name, it can not follow the law for *semu*. So this should apply ‘branding on the face’ as the same as with *han’er*.” 除漢兒高麗蠻子，俱系色目人……賊人既是女直，不同蒙古，況兼有姓，難同色目，合與漢兒一體刺字。

[44] For the English translation and the original text, see A.C. Moule and Lionel Giles, “Christians at Chen-chiang Fu,” *T’oung Pao* 16, no. 5 (Dec. 1915): 683-684. The concept for the ‘huihui’ (Muslims)

listed in the book *Nancun chuogeng lu* (南村輟耕錄 *Notes by Nancun during the Rest from the Plow*) by the Yuan Chinese scholar Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (c.1329-1410). Tao's list includes major groups such as Tibetan (秃伯歹), Tangut (唐兀), Uighur (畏吾兒), *Huihui* (回回), and Ongut (雍古歹, a major tribe of *Yelikewen* Christians), but excludes Khitans and Jurchens.[45] Because of the variety in the Yuan definition of 'semu', modern scholars have also formed different arguments on the categorisation of the *semu*, believing that the word has no definite ethnic indication as it sometimes include Khitans, Jurchens, and even Mongols.[46]

The present research compromises between these various opinions. It is acknowledged here that divisions only based on ethnicity cannot be applied, because people of the same ethnic groups were crossing cultural and religious boundaries,

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was not limited to the Persians and the Arabs, as the term 'huihui' had a complex meaning also including Uighurs under certain circumstances. From the Mongol period documents, the concept of 'huihui' during this time initially refer to Khwarezm people, and it was later used to refer to people believing in Islam. See Yang Zhijiu 杨志玖, "Huihuiyici de qiyuan he yanbian 回回一词的起源和演变 The Origin and Evolution of 'Huihui'," in *Yuanshi sanlun* 元史三论 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985): 150-52. Atwood regards the word 'huihui' as a simplified form for 'huihu', a word that was designated for the Uighurs in the earlier time. He believes this word in Mongol time refers to Central Asian oasis dwellers, but not specifically to religion. However, in most of the Chinese records, the word 'huihui' refers to the Muslims, with specific prefixes for other groups, such as calling the Jews "Zhuhu huihui" 术忽回回. See Christopher P. Atwood and Lynn Struve, *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources* (Indianapolis & Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2021), 62-64. Chinese names for the *semu* people here are taken from Tao's book. The explanation and origin of the word 'yelikewen' is summarised in Li Tang, *East Syriac Christianity in Mongol-Yuan China (12th-14th Centuries)*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 53-57.

[45] Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuogenglu* (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998), vol. 1, 12. The Chinese in the brackets are the words used by Tao.

[46] About questions on the categorisation, see Ma Jianchun 马建春, *Yuandai dongqian xiyuren jiqiwenhua yanjiu* 元代东迁西域人及其文化研究 *Cultural Study on the Immigrants from the West in Yuan* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2003), 18-19. For more on the concept of the word, see Funada Yoshiyuki 舩田善之, "Semu ren yu yuandaizhidu shehui: chongxintantao menggu, semu, hanren, nanrenhuafen de weizhi 色目人与元代制度、社会——重新探讨蒙古、色目、汉人、南人划分的位置 Semu People and the Relation to the Yuan System and Society: Re-discussion on the Division of Mongols, Semu, Hanren and Nanren," in *Yuanshi luncong* 元史论丛 9 (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbodianshi chubanshe, 2004), 162-65; and Hu Xiaopeng 胡小鹏, "Yuandai semu ren yu erdengrenzhi 元代"色目人"与二等人制 The Semu People and the Two-Caste System in the Yuan Dynasty," *Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Science)* 50, no.6 (2013): 56-57.

such as Uighurs being among Buddhists, Muslims, and even Manichaeans.[47] To minimise the effect of problematic ethnicity, this dissertation will prioritise the cultural identity over the ethnic division while not ignoring the latter. The reason is that the cultural identity reflects more accurately people's religious and cultural practices.[48] The formation of a shared culture, including religious customs, is also a crucial component to define a collective identity.[49] By using the proclaimed affiliation to a cultural or religious identity of the *semu* people, this dissertation embraces the flexibility embodied in this identity that is suitable to define a unit of multi-ethnic people in the Middle-Period. It also agrees with the argument of Thomas Allsen that "new religious and ethnic collectivities" were indeed formed during the Mongol time through mobility of people and transfers between different religions.[50]

In this view, taking cultural-religious identity as the guideline for division of the *semu*, and also considering the geographical boundary of the 'Chinese' cultural area defined above, the *semu* people in this thesis are classified as the following major groups based on their religious practices: Christians (*yelikewen*, including both Turkic 'Nestorians' in Central Asia plus Mongolia, and European Latin Christians), Muslims (mostly designated as *Huihui* in the Chinese language documents, including Central and Western Asian Arabic, Persian, and Uighur Muslims), and Tibetan Buddhism believers (majorly referring to Tibetans, Tanguts, and Uighurs who followed the

[47] For a detailed discussion of the Uighur's multiple religious beliefs and their cultural transitions, see Li Tang, "A History of Uighur Religious Conversions (5th-16th Centuries)," *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series,* no. 44, 2005, https://ari.nus.edu.sg/publications/wps-44-history-of-uighur-religious-conversions-5th-16th-centuries/.

[48] It is argued that cultural identity only becomes ethnicity when it is used to claim social privileges. See Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty*, 28.

[49] Cultural identity worked along with a common, single legal system to shape national identity when nation-states were formed. See Anthony D. Smith, "National Identities: Modern and Medieval?" in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995), 27.

[50] Allsen, "Population Movements in Mongol Eurasia," in *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change*, eds. Amitai and Biran, 140-43.

Tibetan school of Buddhism during the Yuan time). These three major groups form the core *semu* people for the present discussion.

However, this thesis acknowledges that there still existed a fluidity because people could change their religious beliefs. There was evidence of people who ethnically belonged to the *semu* but adopted Chinese cultural identities (Confucian ideas and Chinese names), and vice versa. To avoid confusion, the *semu* identity is determined in this thesis by both the dominating religious belief and ethnicity. Thus, a native Chinese will not be included in the *semu* even if he or she might have assumed a religious-cultural practice of the *semu*. Likewise, foreign religion believers, such as the Muslims arriving in Tang and Song periods, who had already adopted a Chinese cultural identity will not be included in the *semu* either.

As Japanese scholar Funada Yoshiyuki has pointed out, the Yuan-era *semu* concept was derived from the Chinese language.[51] However, the use of this word here does not imply a Sino-centric view. Rather its use is justified as a categorical means to regard these non-Chinese people as a separate social unit when compared with the native Chinese. In contrast with the *semu* is the Yuan notion of *han ren* 漢人 (northern Chinese) and *nan ren* 南人 (southern Chinese). Under the Yuan, the *han ren* indicated all groups of people living in northern China, including Khitans and Jurchens, and sometimes even Koreans.[52] Although this thesis acknowledges that exceptions did exist since individuals could transfer their cultural identity, to prevent further complications, when the term 'Chinese' alone is used in this dissertation, it includes both *han ren* and *nan ren,* people under stronger Chinese influence than the

[51] Funada, "Semu ren yu yuandaizhidu," 163. Chinese scholar Hu Xiaopeng proposes that the *semu* has a corresponding word in the Mongolian language, equal to the word 'foreign', but there is so far no direct translation proof on the use of the word. See Hu, "The Semu People," 57.

[52] Tao, *Nancun chuogenglu*, vol. 1, 12. It seems that all those people under certain Chinese cultural influence were not regarded as *semu* in the strict sense.

semu. However, when there is an essential need to differentiate the Chinese ethnically, the capitalised 'Han Chinese' is used.

A final word is required here regarding the names used for Christians in the Yuan. Most of the Christians in Yuan China belonged to the so-called 'Nestorians', a group following the Church of the East. This research will use mostly the Chinese name 'Jingjiao' 景教 for these Christian believers, but will use 'Nestorian' when quoting from original documents.[53] The same is applied to the Chinese-transliteration 'yelikewen', a word also designating Christians.

Cultural and art exchange under the Mongols: a literature review

Most research on the Mongol history relies on two bodies of first-hand literature: the Chinese and the Persian, but there is a growing emphasis on the limited writings in other languages.[54] While this dissertation will use original visual materials from Chinese, Ilkhanate, Seljuk, Uighur, and Turkish-Mongol cultures under the Mongol rule, it will still rely upon the comprehensive body of textual sources written in Chinese due to two reasons. One is that the focus of this thesis is on Yuan China where the khaghan resided and most first-hand materials in this area are written in Chinese. Official and legal compilations such as *Yuanshi*, *Yuan dianzhang*, *Jingshi dadian* (經世大典 *Great Statues of Statecraft,* now part of the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大

[53] Because the word 'Nestorian' is no longer a proper word to use in the field, the choice of the word 'Jingjiao' is based on it being a faithful Chinese translation indicating the essential Christian nature but also differentiating it from the Latin Church. For the origin of the vocabulary, see David Wilmshurst, "The 'Syrian Brilliant Teaching'," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30 (1990): 52. The word 'Nestorian' appears in certain Chinese documents, for example, Huang Jin, "Mashi shipu 馬氏世譜 The Family of Ma", in *Jinhua huang xiansheng wenji*, vol. 43, Yuan edition. "The ancestor of the Ma family came from the Western area, noblemen of the Nestorians." 馬氏之先出西域聶思脫里貴族 This word is also frequently used by the Franciscans.

[54] The scholarship overview is summarised in Masaaki Sugiyama and Neil Katkov, "New Developments in Mongol Studies: A Brief and Selective Overview," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, no. 26 (1996): 217-27. For a study on the early Mongolian source, see Christopher P. Atwood, "The Date of the 'Secret History of the Mongols' Reconsidered," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, no.37 (2007): 1-48. New publications on Persian and Chinese sources are Stefan Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami'al-Tawarikh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019); Atwood and Struve, *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources*, 2021.

典) and *Tongzhi tiaoge* (通制條格 *Legal Code, Custom and Practices*) are sources that cannot be exceeded in content by any other source written in other languages. These edited official records can be complemented by contemporary writings of the Yuan scholars, tomb inscriptions, and commercial books for the public.[55] The second reason is that the Mongol political body, from the very beginning, had close relations with the other political regimes in East Asia. The Yuan China society, partially built upon a Chinese government system mediated through Liao and Jin in the North and Song in the South, cannot be studied without a Chinese lens.[56]

However, an emphasis given to the Chinese language sources does not mean that other sources will not be considered. Much useful information is also provided by many contemporaneous witnesses of the Mongol rule in East Asia, now passed down through the recollections of medieval travellers. The European missionaries and merchants to the Mongol court left written records that offer a glimpse of the Yuan society. The most famous of these are the narrations of the Italian merchant Marco Polo (fl. 1271-95).[57] Other examples include the Moroccan Muslim traveller Ibn

[55] As the official history was edited in the later Ming dynasty, the information and texts on the Mongol dynasty also reflect a selection by the Ming editors. To counterbalance the possible preconception through relying solely on the official history, other materials published in the Yuan period will also be referred to. Among them, most tomb inscriptions were written and collected in the works of major scholars such as Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫, Huang Jin 黃溍, Liu Minzhong 劉敏中. There are also inscriptions on the tombstones discovered in Inner Mongolia, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, and Quanzhou. Encyclopaedic works published during the Yuan include *Shilin guangji* (事林廣記 Vast Records of the Numerous Matters) by Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 and *Tuhui baojian* (圖繪寶鑒 Precious Mirror on Paintings) by Xia Wenyan 夏文彥. Examples of compilations by Chinese scholars and monks are the books by Tao Zongyi and monk Xiangmai 祥邁. It is also acknowledged here that scholars of modern periods also made significant research in the Yuan history, such as *Xin yuanshi* 新元史 *New History of the Yuan* by Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞 and *Yuan xiyuren huahua kao* 元代西域人華化考 *Research on the Sinicization of the People of the Western Region during the Yuan* by Chen Yuan 陳垣.

[56] Chen Yuan's book (see previous footnote) on the Sinicisation of the non-Chinese during the Yuan emphasised the adoption of the Confucian thoughts, literati art, Buddhist belief and Chinese customs by these people. The current research acknowledges that a Chinese perspective is unavoidable in the study of Yuan history, but the focus of this dissertation is not on the Sinicisation of the non-Chinese literati as Chen stated. The aim is to analyse the motifs used by a larger scope of the *semu* people as defined above.

[57] The European travellers' notes are collected in the database "Medieval Travel Writing", https://www-medievaltravel-amdigital-co-uk.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/documents (accessed Mar 1st, 2021). Yule's book, *Cathay and the Way Thither* is a complementary resource.

Battuta (fl. 1325-54) who also left detailed notes about his travels to Asia, as well as the letters of the Franciscan bishops who stayed in Yuan China, such as Giovanni (John) da Montecorvino (1247-1328) and Andrea (Andrew) da Perugia (fl. 1318-c.1332), who also wrote from their ecclesiastical perspectives.[58] These first-hand records provide different perspectives derived from interests and knowledge outside the Chinese frame, and thus form an important comparative source with the contemporaneous Chinese texts.

Recent scholarship has also included study of the non-Chinese living in the Yuan. Tibetans and their relationship with the Mongol khans continue to be an important area of research, especially the religious and political role they played in the Mongol court.[59] Studies on the Christians in Asia of this period focus especially on the traces of the Turkish tribes belonging to the Church of the East, whose members were married into the Mongol royal families, and produced a considerable political influence.[60] Turkish people, especially the Uighurs, present another reliable source on the Mongols since they laid many foundations for civil administration, and the Uighur alphabet was adopted as the early Mongol script.[61] Muslims from Central and West

[58] Ibn Battuta's travel in China is in Charles Defrémery and Beniamino Raffaello Sanguinetti, eds., *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2012), 256-304. The letters of the Franciscans are collected in Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 224-37.

[59] Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China", in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. Langlois, 296-328; Luciano Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and the Mongols," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Rossabi, 173-203; Patricia Berger, "Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China," in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner (San Francisco and Honolulu: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 89-124.

[60] Chen Yuan 陈垣, "Yuan Yelikewen kao 元也里可温考 Study on the Yuan Yelikewen," in *Chen Yuanshixue lunzhu xuan* 陈垣史学论著选 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981), 3-52; Tang, *East Syriac Christianity,* 87-149. Gai Shanlin 盖山林, *Yinshan wanggu* 阴山汪古 *The Onguts at Yinshan* (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 1991), 41-55.

[61] Yingsheng Liu, "From the Qipcaq Steppe to the Court in Daidu: A Study of the History of Toqtoq's Family in Yuan China," in *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013), 168-77; Igor de Rachewiltz, "Turks in China under the Mongols," in *China Among Equals*, ed. Rossabi, 281-312; Aleksandr Sh. Kadyrbaev, "Turks (Uighurs, Kipchaks and Kanglis) in the History of the Mongols," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Seletiarum*

Asia brought economic and technological expertise, offering practical supports to the Mongol rulers.[62] The historical studies on the *semu* people have enhanced the notion that these non-Chinese people were active participants in the Yuan society and court, and significantly impacted the political and economic arena in the 'khaghan's land'. Although most of these studies are not art history related, they nonetheless lay a foundation for the social position of these *semu* people in the Yuan context.

Art historical studies follow a similar pattern as historical studies, focusing especially on aspects related to cultural exchange in the Mongol period between various people across the Eurasian continent. Most of these studies, concentrate on objects belonging to one specific group or at a particular location, such as important port cities, highlight the hybrid forms composed by both foreign and Chinese elements in the art products of this period and arguing for a cultural encounter evidenced in art works of particular types or media.[63] Archaeological studies further support a heterogeneous hybridity with more concrete objects made or possessed by

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Hungaricae 58, no. 3 (Part III, 2005): 249-53. About the Uighurs, Thomas Allsen, "The Yuan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century," in *China Among Equals*, ed. Rossabi, 243-80.

[62] Introductions to the history of Islam in major port cities in China are Li Xinghua 李兴华, "Yangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu 扬州伊斯兰教研究 Research on Islam in Yangzhou," *Journal of Hui Muslim Minority Studies*, no. 1 (2005): 73-86; "Quanzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu 泉州伊斯兰教研究 Research on Islam in Quanzhou," *ibid.*, no. 2 (2010): 67-83 and no. 3 (2010): 51-68; "Hangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu 杭州伊斯兰教研究 Research on Islam in Hangzhou," *ibid.*, no. 3 (2011): 67-83 and no. 4 (2011): 68-75. Morris Rossabi has talked much about the Muslim influence, including his paper "The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. Langlois, 257-95, and the book he edited, *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China*. For the economy elements, see Endicott-West, "Merchant Associations in Yüan China," 127-54.

[63] A large body of works has been dedicated to the art produced in the Ilkhanate, such as works by Yuka Kadoi, Sheila Blair, and Persis Berlekamp. The works related to the Tibetan and Tangut monks also attracted much scholastic attention, such as research by Anning Jing, Michael Henss, Yury Khokhlov, Rob Linrothe, and Marsha Weidner. Art related to the Christians in Yuan China is given specific attention by scholars in the field, including Lauren Arnold, Thomas Ertl, Ken Parry, and Samuel Lieu. A few works focused on the textiles produced under the Mongol period, represented by studies of Eiren Shea, Angela Sheng, Mariachiara Gasparini, and Anne Wardwell. Finally, there are works particularly focusing on the ports Yangzhou, Hangzhou, and Quanzhou where large communities of non-Chinese were residing, for example, works by Jennifer Purtle, George Lane, Geng Shimin 耿世民, John Guy, Mukai Masaki 向正樹, and the late Chinese scholar Wu Wenliang 吴文良. There are also limited studies on the Hindu merchants living in Quanzhou during this period, including works by Risha Lee and Tansen Sen. Due to the focus of this discussion and the Hindu's limited presentation in Yuan China, the stone carvings related to the Hindus will not be included in the present dissertation.

different cultural groups.[64] While further discussions on scholarship of individual topics will be presented in each of the following chapters, an outline of the general trends in the field of Mongol Yuan art will be given here to specify the position of the current research.

In recent scholarship, the positive cultural influence that the *Pax Mongolica* had brought to the Eurasian world was promoted through the historian Thomas Allsen's works among others. By focusing on two topics, the mobilisation of textiles, and the diplomatic communication between Yuan China and the Ilkhanate, Allsen showed that Mongol governance, with its concentration on production and exchange, stimulated cultural borrowing and adaptation to a level that had never been considered before.[65] Two exhibitions held later in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353* in 2002-2003 and *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* in 2010-2011, respectively demonstrated the level of sophistication in art achieved at both courts.[66] These two exhibitions, although deeply rooted in respective geographical areas, have further enhanced the notion that the culture under the Mongols manifested extensive exchange over Eurasia through the conjunction of multiple religions, the movement of

[64] The archaeological discoveries and studies are mainly focused on the North in recent years, especially those related to the Jingjiao Christians, including works by Tjalling Halbertsma, Li Tang, and Wei Jian. There are also archaeological studies of the Mongol period on the Christian objects, Tibetan sculptures and architectures, textiles from tombs and storages, and steles related to Europeans made in earlier times by Asian scholars such as Gai Shanlin 盖山林, Xu Pingfang 徐萍芳, Niu Ruji 牛汝极, Su Bai 宿白, Xie Jisheng 谢继胜, Zhao Feng 赵丰, and Geng Jianting 耿鉴庭.

[65] Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 24-30, 82-97; Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, 59, 80, 157, 189-90.

[66] There was also the 2002 exhibition in the Palace Museum in Taipei, titled "Age of the Great Khan: Painting and Calligraphy in the Mongol Yuan Dynasty". However, this exhibition focused more on the literati-style works that are not the focus of this dissertation.

people from various backgrounds, and a transmission of artistic motifs happening simultaneously in the different parts of the empire.[67]

If the exhibitions still favoured a regional setting, a few studies in the following years, while focusing on specific khanates under the Mongol rule, emphasised a cross-empire perspective, represented by Yuka Kadoi's analysis on the Chinese elements in Ilkhanate art and the essay collection by Morris Rossabi on the West Asian, mostly Muslim influence on Yuan China. Both studies pointed out the cross cultural borrowings made through a conscious selection that resulted in a distinctive 'foreign' expression in art and technologies.[68] In 2014, Shane McCausland further presented a syncretic discussion on the various forms of art in Yuan China, taking on a transcultural approach. He summarised that the major challenge for studying Yuan art at present is the complexity embodied in the new meanings and styles, along with art's function as mediator of social changes under the Mongol context.[69] Although McCausland admits that Yuan China has been taken as a continuation and an extension of the native Chinese dynasties in the Chinese historiography, his thought not only echoes the earlier scholarship's emphasis on the cultural permeation under the Mongol rule, but also expands the context for understanding art in Yuan China from a Chinese perspective into a larger trans-regional setting.[70]

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[67] The catalogue of the two exhibitions are available from the museum's website. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, eds., The *Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353;* James C.Y. Watt ed., *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*, both published in New York, New Haven and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2002 and 2010. A symposium collection also edited by Linda Komaroff enforces what Allsen had proposed: that the cultural exchanges resulted from the Mongol rule promoted new artistic expression. Komaroff ed., *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 3-8.

[68] Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 2-9, 237-238. Rossabi, ed., *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China*, x-xvii.

[69] Shane McCausland, *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China, 1271-1368* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 16-20.

[70] McCausland, *The Mongol Century*, 9-12, 18-20.

In recent years, the interest in approaching the Mongol period material culture as an integrated form has become more and more prominent. In the special journal issue dedicated to Mongol Eurasia, Michal Biran stressed that a relativism in knowledge and religion, mediated through the Mongol rule, was crucial in the formation of the hybrid cultural phenomena in the Mongol empire.[71] A monograph by Roxann Prazniak also set up the discussion on a Mongol rule context to review the transmission of art and its materials across Eurasia through commerce and religion, with a particular attention to the function of art as part of the holistic social construction promoted by the Mongols.[72] It was Allsen's last book that illustrated and summarised an outstanding network established under the Mongols across both the land and the sea, reinforcing the global interconnection with the mediation of the empire.[73] The most recent assemblage on the studies of Mongol history, although covering an expansion of topics and periods, likewise highlights a section on art and culture that focuses on the cross-empire connection through politics, commerce and religions.[74] In all the recent English language scholarship, the Mongol empire continues to emerge as an integrated sphere placed in a substantial cultural context and certain common features across the empire are now surfacing from the depth of its comprehensive material culture.

Following these previous works by placing the research under the same trans-cultural frame, this dissertation intends to develop the art historical discussion from a different standpoint. While most of the earlier studies stood on the perspective of the

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[71] Michal Biran," Mobility Transformations and Cultural Exchange in Mongol Eurasia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 62, issue 2-3 (2019): 260-62, 266.

[72] Roxann Prazniak, *Sudden Appearances: The Mongol Turn in Commerce, Belief, and Art* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), 5-11.

[73] Thomas T. Allsen, *The Steppe and the Sea: Pearls in the Mongol Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 13-15, 139-40, ProQuest Ebrary.

[74] May and Hope, eds., *The Mongol World*, 2-11.

Mongol rulers as the 'cultural brokers' and emphasised the Mongols' role as a driving force behind, this dissertation chooses the stance of the *semu* people in Yuan China, a perspective that has not been treated independently in previous studies. This different perspective enables an examination more inclusive and closer to the social life than the focus being placed on the Mongols. Because these *semu* people of diverse ethnicities and religions enjoyed a unique social position and had more privilege than the native Chinese in the Yuan society, this phenomenon frees the current discussion from a Chinese culture, particularly literati art, domination, even though Chinese art forms a necessary comparison here. The thesis upholds the setting of Yuan China within the larger context of the empire proposed by the recent scholarship. Further, the *semu* people's foreign roots and their intermediate political status led to a more direct access to the mobilised materials and labour resources than their Mongol rulers, thus positioning the art works related to them in the forefront during this artistic integration process that highlights a strong connectivity.

From this standpoint, this dissertation will investigate how different artistic elements derived from resources available to the *semu* people were manipulated and used in art, especially in the motifs, through case studies on art works made for them, including Christian and Muslim tombstones, Buddhist sculptures and court construction projects, along with luxurious textiles that were related to the major *semu* groups. It also aims to find out what function and meaning that these particular types of motifs generated for the *semu* users. By a renewed inquiry into the motifs used on a broad scale of art works created for the *semu* people, this dissertation will demonstrate both specific and common features in art for the defined *semu* groups and thus will offer a fuller picture on the impact of artistic juxtaposition and adaptation under the Mongol rule. This analysis aims to enable a better understanding of the interactive flux between the foreign and the native Chinese art.

While much attention is given to foreignness in Yuan art, it cannot be forgotten that new forms of art did not appear suddenly. Although the discussion centres on Yuan China, the analysis will not be solid without reference to art in Liao and Jin periods, the two dynasties set up by non-Han Chinese in northern China immediately preceding the Mongol conquest. The legacies of Khitans and Jurchens in fact cast a long shadow over the Yuan period due to their close connection with the Mongols and other *semu* people, such as the Uighurs. For this purpose, a brief summary of the scholarship on Liao and Jin art will be covered here.

Due to the long-term excavation and the delayed publication of excavation reports, studies on Liao and Jin art outside the Chinese language scholarship have been greatly limited by insufficient knowledge of archaeological finds within China. Art historical studies on Liao and Jin written in Chinese, however, are sometimes tightly restrained by the greater attention and emphasis given to the native Song Dynasty. One of the two focuses on the Liao art is on the Buddhist architecture and relic storage.[75] The exhibition *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire* held in 2006-2007 (touring in New York, Cologne, and Zurich) falls under this category as it explored the diverse works of Liao Buddhism, textiles and architecture.[76] The other focus is the archaeological finds, especially mural paintings, from the Liao tombs. Wu Hung and Li Qingquan's joint study on the Baoshan tomb in

[75] The study on Liao pagoda and architectures has been established as a field, led by publications such as Nancy Steinhardt, *Liao Architecture*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997. For Buddhist studies, some example for this research are Youn-mi Kim, "Virtual Pilgrimage and Virtual Geography: Power of Liao Miniature Pagodas (907-1125)," *Religions* 8, 206 (2017): 1-29; "The Hidden Link: Tracing Liao Buddhism in Shingon Ritual," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 117-70; Yu Bo 于博, "Liaota mijiao tuxiang yiyunkao - Jianji duituxiangpeizhi de tantao 辽塔密教图像意蕴考 —兼及对图像配置的探讨 The Meaning of Liao Esoteric Images: Discussion on the Layout," *Fine Arts & Design* 美术与设计, no. 5 (2015): 112-23; Wang Shan 王珊 et al., "Liaodai Qingzhou baita fojingyongzhi yu yinshuade chubuyanjiu 辽代庆州白塔佛经用纸与印刷的初步研究 Initial Study on the Paper and Printing of the Scriptures in the Liao White Pagoda at Qingzhou," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 2 (2019): 76-93.

[76] The exhibition catalogue is Hsueh-man Shen, ed., *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire (907-1125)* (New York: Asia Society and Museum, 2006).

2013 is a representative of this type of art historical analysis.[77] Studies on Jin art in recent years also largely focus on the tomb decorations, mostly from the modern Shanxi 山西 area where many Jin brick tombs survive.[78] Research on the Jin royal tombs in their capital area (modern Heilongjiang 黑龙江) surged in the 1990s with the discovery of a Jin prince's tomb in 1989.[79] Although the archaeological field fell back to silence soon after this decade, examinations of the large quantity of textiles from this tomb have continued and produced more attentions to materials and decorations.[80] Apart from these Chinese discoveries, a body of rare sources on the Liao and Jin art works in northeastern China is collected in books compiled by the Japanese archaeologists who had the opportunity to photograph in the 1920s and 30s architecture, tombs, and fragmented burial works not available on site now.[81]

While these previous studies present features in the art works derived from Khitan and Jurchen customs, they mostly highlight a mutual adaptation through the non-Han and Han Chinese interaction. Art developed from this mutual adaptation

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[77] Wu Hung 巫鸿 and Li Qingquan 李清泉 eds., *Baoshan liaomu: cailiao yu shidu* 宝山辽墓：材料与释读 *The Liao Tomb at Baoshan: Materials and Interpretation* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2013); Tansen Sen, "Astronomical Tomb Paintings from Xuanhua: Maṇḍalas?" *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 29-54. There is also the publication on the Liao tombs in Xuanhua by the Hebei Archaeology Institute. Please refer to the bibliography for archaeological reports published in China.

[78] Studies on Jin burial art are represented by Fei Deng, "Modular Design of Tombs in Song and Jin North China," in *Visual and Material Cultures in Middle Period China,* eds. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Shih-shan Susan Huang (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 41-81; and Jeehee Hong, *Theater of the Dead: a Social Turn in Chinese Funerary Art, 1000-1400* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016). In Shanxi, Jin period tombs are still being discovered every year at present.

[79] Hao Side 郝思德, Li Yantie 李砚铁, and Liu Xiaodong 刘晓东, "Heilongjiang Acheng Juyuan jindai qiguowangmu fajuejianbao 黑龙江阿城巨源金代齐国王墓发掘简报 Excavation Report on the tomb of Jin Prince Qi at Juyuan, Acheng, Heilongjiang," *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1989): 1-10, 45, 97-102.

[80] Qixin Zhu, "Royal Costumes of the Jin Dynasty," in *Chinese and Central Asian Textiles: Selected articles from Orientations 1983-1997* (Hong Kong: Orientations Magazine, 1998), 105-10; Zhao Feng 赵丰, *Jincheng: Zhongguo sichou yu sichouzhilu* 锦程：中国丝绸与丝绸之路 *Chinese Silk and the Silk Road* (Hefei: Shidai chuban and Huangshan shushe, 2016). Jin examples also feature in the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition "When Silk was Gold" in 1998.

[81] Tadashi Sekino 關野貞 and Takeshima Takuichi 竹島卓一, *Ryō, Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono butsuzō* 遼金時代の建築と其佛像 *Architecture and Buddhist Sculptures of Liao and Jin* (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tokyo Kenkyūjo, 1934-1944); Saeki Yoshiro 佐伯好郎, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: The Tōhō Bunkwa Gakuin, 1951).

forecasts the integration process happening in the Mongol period, and as a foundation, it becomes an essential part in the discussion on the formation of the Yuan hybrid images.

A theoretical frame for studying 'hybrid' art

The concept of 'hybrid' art is not easy to define. Peter Burke proposed the idea of 'cultural translation' to express the encounter of a tradition with new styles and their integration, a process including the encounter of different cultures, the adaptation of elements from one into another, and the combination of the adapted features in the cultural production.[82] This definition is useful in discussing the art of Yuan China, but the process described above is still too general considering the specific function of the adapted elements. Nancy Steinhardt, from the architecture perspective, proposed the concepts of convergence and entanglement, setting two different modes of combination.[83] On the foundation of these two modes, to analyse the 'hybrid' form from the perspective of function, the concept of 'paratext' from translation theory will be added here.

The original meaning of 'paratext' refers to additional elements placed into a published text, elements that aim to mediate the main text with its reader, such as titles and notes, and this concept was also used in translation theory, for example on translator's notes.[84] The major functions of the paratextual elements are summarised

[82] Peter Burke, "Chapter One: The Idea of Cultural Hybridity," in *Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), 11-41.

[83] Nancy Steinhardt proposed these concepts in her lecture "Convergence and Entanglement: Reconsidering the Mongol Architectural Narrative" on July 23th, 2021 at Harvard University. Convergence means unrelated elements working together to form similar systems; and entanglement refers to interacting features inseparable from each other, but not necessarily producing direct influence. By taking the paratext framework below, I hope to build up a clearer structure to analyse the hybrid images based on Steinhardt's concepts. Also see Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Convergence and Entanglement: Reconsidering the Mongol Architectural Narrative," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 82, issue 2 (2023): 130.

[84] The concept was first proposed by Gérard Genette in 1982 (English translation 1997) and was used to discuss the relation between the text and its reception, especially focusing on the elements and

as navigational (guidance in the use of the text), interpretive (facilitating the understanding of the text), and commercial (serving the distribution of the text).[85] These three functions provide a general framework for the 'cultural translation' expressed through a similar visual system: placement of new motifs in a cultural context (navigational); using motifs to aid understanding (interpretive); and special motifs highlighting or diminishing the difference between the native and the foreign to aid transmission (commercial).

Another concept that will be applied is 'acculturation' from anthropology. This concept underlines cultural 'borrowing', 'diffusion' and adaptation in "elements brought in by native or alien carriers", especially through the contact, transmission, acceptance, rejection and circumstances that created the exchange.[86] 'Acculturation' theory will aid the analysis on the artisans and media involved in the transmission of motifs from outside the native Chinese area, and allows speculation on the possible factors that affected the interpretation and the use of the motifs across the boundary of religions.

Additionally, the method of 'juxtaposition', comparing of objects from different cultures, will be used for presenting the motifs that were spread across the temporal and spatial parameters.[87] The aim is not to find the source of a certain motif, but to point out the non-native root of some Yuan art motifs and their connection with the

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devices surrounding the text. Koenraad Claes, "Supplements and Paratext: The Rhetoric of Space," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 198-200. Carmen Toledano Buendia, "Listening to the Voice of the Translator: A Description of Translator's Notes as Paratextual Elements," *The International Journal for Translation & Interpreting Research* 5, no. 2 (2013): 150. DOI: ti.105202.2013.a09

[85] Sirkku Ruokkeinen and Aino Liira, "Material Approaches to Exploring the Borders of Paratext," *Textual Cultures* 11, no. 1/2 (Winter 2017): 109.

[86] Margaret T. Hodgen, "Glass and Paper: An Historical Study of Acculturation," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 1, no. 4 (Winter 1945): 466, quoting Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: the Study of Culture Contact* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), *passim*.

[87] Ethan W. Lasser, "The Return of the Wunderkammer: Material Culture in the Museum," in *Writing Material Culture History*, eds. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 232.

semu people's original culture. The comparison sets up the contextual frame of "a common visual language across cultural and religious boundaries".[88] It is in this 'common visual language' of the Mongol period that this thesis hopes to explore the different levels of emphasis among the *semu* people on their use of specific visual vocabularies from outside Chinese art to highlight their separate cultural identities.

Chapter structure

The structure of the dissertation revolves around the central subject of the thesis: art objects related to major *semu* groups. The first three chapters will focus respectively on the visual representations of three different cultural identities based upon their religious practice, and the fourth one will be a case study of a trans-group motif that was re-emerging with the medium of textile. The analysis will demonstrate that the *semu* people used specific integrated art motifs to shape their cultural identity; they employed different approaches and demonstrated uneven levels in absorbing Chinese elements; and the previous development of art in northern China played an important role in the whole process.

Chapter one will study a major motif used primarily by the Jingjiao Christians: the paired angels. This motif was used mostly on the Christian tombstones that have been discovered in the port city Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian Province. Although this motif appears on a few pre-Yuan examples, the typical features of the angels reveal a connection with Ilkhanate manuscript illustrations. Apart from addressing the assumption that the motif was taken from Buddhist iconographies, this chapter will look into the Persian characteristics that are emphasised in the Jingjiao angels of the Yuan time. Starting with an overview of the Jingjiao Christian community in Inner

[88] Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (Feb 2001): 21-22.

Mongolia who had ethnic and linguistic connections with those in Quanzhou, this chapter will examine the Persian features embodied in the angel motif that speak for a separate and renewed influence in the port city, and to investigate the Jingjiao Christian's dedication to a unique visual representation embodied in their deliberate choice of exotic elements integrated with both Buddhist forms and a Christian interpretation.

Extending the discussion on the Christians, in chapter two, a comparison will be made between the Latin Christians and newly-arriving Muslims who also lived in major port cities along Yuan China's coast line. The purpose of this comparison is to illustrate in a larger scope the *semu* people's different attitudes towards and varied levels of interaction with the local Chinese art. Unlike the Jingjiao believers, these new-comers came from cultures that had limited contact with the native Chinese art before the Mongol period.[89] This chapter will dissect the opposite approaches used by the two groups for their tombstone decorations, and to analyse how selective visual motifs were used as a self-representation. The elements appropriated by the two groups further call our attention to the function of model-books or *fenben* (粉本 copy-books) in the cultural translation process. The shared practice of taking motifs from model-books by artisans both in and outside Yuan China offers a glimpse on the motif-borrowing both across multiple media and under specific contexts in the art production of this period.

Chapter three will expand the discussion by analysing the process of artistic integration embodied in objects related to the Tibetan and Tangut monks, the most powerful group under direct Mongol patronage after Tibetan Buddhism became the *de*

[89] I am excluding those Muslims that had already lived in China for a long time in this chapter. Even though the Muslims had been keeping trading connections with the Song Chinese, those coming during the Yuan time under present discussion were new immigrants who had not been living in a Chinese cultural environment before they settled in the port cities.

facto dynastic religion.[90] Being part of this extensive discussion on Yuan art, this chapter will only focus on two aspects demonstrated in these Yuan Tibetan Buddhist objects. The first point concerns the process of interaction embodied in stone and bronze sculptures, and architectural relief decorations. Through a survey of works produced in different periods of the Yuan dynasty, this chapter examines how Tibetan iconographies were being gradually mediated by the local Chinese artisans and the flourishing Buddhist art in the Chinese cultural area. The second point is to raise the awareness of the influence of art in northern China during this formational process. While the Yuan capital Dadu was an active place for Tibetan and Tangut monks in the court, its location on the border between the sedentary and nomad cultures encourages more observation of how art traditions in northern China affected the integration of new motifs, especially considering the esoteric Buddhist root in northern China. The case study here will inquire into artisans who executed these art works and the way they located new Tibetan iconographies as part of a larger visual discourse of Buddhist art rooted in local forms.

Chapter four will look at a visual representation of the *semu* people in an even broader scope, not targeting any specific cultural identity. It is the motif of paired-animal medallions that were applied on the Mongol luxury textiles — products that were distributed to and consumed by the *semu* officials of various cultural backgrounds. The medallion's similarities and differences from an earlier Persian type in the seventh to the eighth century stimulate an examination of their re-appearance during the Yuan, and the motif also provides a locus to identify conspicuous foreign impact during this particular period. Through a close visual analysis and the

[90] Khubilai was converted to Tibetan Buddhism through his wife Chabi and the close relationship he formed with Phagspa symbolised the elevated status of Tibetan Buddhism in the Yuan period. Berger, "Preserving the Nation," *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850*, ed. Weidner, 103-04.

assessment of different textile workshops in the Yuan records, this chapter will argue that textile decorations highlighting 'mystical' animals with mixed artistic motifs reflect a second phase of the medallion's transmission from a Turkic-Islamic-Christian culture into East Asia, and their re-appearance were under a strong influence from the *semu* people. It will also investigate the channel and foundation in northern China for the flourishing of the new fashion in the aspects of workshop structure, materials, aesthetic taste and weaving skills.

By these case studies, this dissertation aims to provide a fuller understanding of the approaches for artistic adaptation and the impact of the *semu* people on the Yuan Chinese culture and art. By adopting various art motifs available to them, these people were able to differentiate themselves from the native Chinese, leading to a construction of the *semu* as a distinct social identity. Additionally, the discussion also exposes a hidden underpinning from northern China on which the new 'foreignness' in the art was accepted and absorbed. By choosing the *semu* people as the main thread, this dissertation holds a larger ambition that additional research will be stimulated to renew the perception of Liao and Jin legacies on the Mongol period and these three 'alien' dynasties in Chinese history might gain the status that they deserve.

Chapter 1

An Adaptation: Jingjiao Christians and the Paired-Angel Motif

Introduction

Turkic-origin people close to the culture from the Mongol steppe and Central Asia had a strong presence at the court in Yuan China. This chapter will focus on a Christian minor sect composed mostly of Uighurs and other Turkic people, the sect that is now regarded as part of the Church of the East whose first appearance in China started in the eighth century.[1] Some of these Christians, referred to here by their Chinese name, Jingjiao Christians, already occupied part of the Mongolian plateau at the initial stage of the Mongol empire, the leading tribes being the Kereits and the Onguts who also inter-married with the Mongol royals.[2] Although the religion originated in Syria in the first century, most of its traces during the Middle Period were found in the East. Major scholarship on the Christian tomb discoveries in Inner Mongolia are the early monograph by the archaeologist Gai Shanlin, and Tjalling Halbertsma's book on the Jingjiao remains in Inner Mongolia, the latter being developed on Halbertsma's 2007 PhD thesis that contains abundant photos of the stone works discovered and detailed analysis on the inscriptions, sites, and grave

[1] The early appearance of the Church of the East and how it got the name Jingjiao is in Wilmshurst, "The 'Syrian Brilliant Teaching'," 50-69.

[2] As mentioned in the introduction, this dissertation will use the Chinese name 'Jingjiao' for this minor sect. The Ongut tribe is regarded as part of the *semu* group while the Kereit is often taken as a Mongol tribe. However, they were allocated with the Ongut tribe in Rashid al-Din's book and modern scholars regard this tribe as close to Uighur culture. Cai Fenglin 蔡凤林, "Menggu keliebu zuyuan kaoshu 蒙古克烈部族源考述 Study on the Tribe Origin of the Kereit," *Inner Mongolia Social Science* 内蒙古社会科学 27, no. 1 (2006): 49-50. For the distribution of Christians of the Church of the East in the Mongol period and important Christian figures related to the Mongol court, see Tang, *East Syriac Christianity*, 87-98. For the Christian wife of the Mongols, see Tang, "Sorkaktani Beki: A Prominent Nestorian Woman at the Mongol Court," in *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia,* eds. Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter (Sankt Augustin: Institute Monumenta Serica, 2006), 349-56. For the inter-marriage between the Onguts and the Mongol royalties, see Gai, *Yinshan wanggu*, 43-53. This dissertation will focus mainly on the Onguts because most of the tombstones in Inner Mongolia are related to this tribe.

decorations.[3] A collective study on the Jingjiao iconographies is Zhou Yixing's 2020 dissertation that also covered some objects found in Central Asia.[4] These studies all prove that the Jingjiao Christians in Inner Mongolia had employed unique symbols, such as the 'cross-on-lotus' as their religious representation.

While acknowledging the importance of these studies on the Inner Mongolia objects as an important foundation for the discussion, the topic of this chapter is more specifically the paired-angel motif used on tombstones from the port city Quanzhou in modern Fujian along the southeastern coast of China. It was the most prosperous port city during the Yuan period.[5] A superintendency for maritime trade was set up there as early as the year 1087 and, under the Mongols, it remained the leading port in southern China, attracting many international merchants.[6] The city (called Zayton in Persian) made its fame through the descriptions of the medieval travellers such as Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta.[7] Its location on the maritime road connecting Southeast Asia and the Gulf area witnessed frequent communication between the eastern and western areas of the Mongol trans-continental empire.[8]

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[3] Most of the archaeological discoveries related to the Onguts are included in Gai, *Yinshan wanggu,* 1991; and Tjalling Halbertsma, "Nestorian Remains of Inner Mongolia: Discovery, Reconstruction and Appropriation," (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 2007), esp. Chapter 5, 70-86. (This part has offered a summary of archaeological work after 1949.) The latter is also published with adaptations as Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia: Discovery, Reconstruction and Appropriation* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2008).

[4] Zhou Yixing, "Studies on Nestorian Iconology in China and Part of Central Asia during the 13th and 14th Centuries," (PhD. diss., Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2020), esp. 32-44.

[5] For a brief discussion on Quanzhou in the Song-Yuan period, see John Guy, "Quanzhou: Cosmopolitan City of Faith," in *The World of Khubilai Khan*, ed. Watt, 159-62.

[6] *Songshi*, 186: 4561. "In the third year of Yuanyou, a superintendency of trade was set up in Banqiao in Mizhou, and in the previous year, a superintendency was also set up in Quanzhou." 元祐三年……置密州板橋市舶司。而前一年，亦增置市舶司於泉州。In the Yuan period, the superintendency in Quanzhou took an extra percentage of tax apart from the normal rate. *Yuanshi*, 94: 2401-02. "The superintendency was set in Quanzhou in the fourteenth year of Zhiyuan…among the seven superintendencies, only the one in Quanzhou could take another 1/30 as tax apart from the normal tax on goods. Now all the superintendencies are following Quanzhou's example…" 于是至元十四年，立市舶司一于泉州……市舶司凡七所，獨泉州於抽分之外，又取三十分之一以為稅。自今諸處，悉依泉州例取之……

[7] Guy, "Quanzhou: Cosmopolitan City of Faith," 162 and 166.

[8] About Quanzhou's status on the international commercial route during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, see Zhuang Weiji 庄为玑, "Song Yuan Ming Quanzhougang de zhongwai jiaotongshiji 宋元

The cultural diversity of this port city was proved when a large quantity of Christian and Muslim tombstones of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries were discovered by the middle of the twentieth century. The most extensive initial research on these stones is the book compiled by the local scholar Wu Wenliang 吴文良 (with an updated editing by his son, Wu Youxiong 吴幼雄, published in 2005).[9] This book includes most of the stone carvings discovered in Quanzhou, covering nearly all sects of foreign religions: Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Manichaeism, with some initial research mainly focused on the inscriptions.[10] The city's religious diversity also was highlighted in "The World of Khubilai Khan" exhibition in New York with a particular discussion on the religious stone carvings.[11] The research published in 2012 by the Australian group led by Samuel Lieu has continued the investigation on various aspects of the foreign cultures in Quanzhou, including English translations of some inscriptions, and several papers on the historical connections between various religious groups and the port city.[12] Among 512 pieces of the foreign religion stone

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明泉州港的中外交通史迹 The Historical Evidences for the International Communication of Quanzhou Port during the Song, Yuan and Ming Periods," *Xiamen daxue xuebao* 厦门大学学报, no. 1 (1956): 98-116. Also see Tansen Sen, "The Formation of Chinese Maritime Networks to Southern Asia, 1200-1450," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 4 (2006): 426-35, esp. 427 on the importance of the Yuan's maritime trade with Persian gulf and Indian ports. Samuel Lieu, "Nestorian Angels from Central Asia and Other Christian and Manichaean Remains at Zaitun (Quanzhou) on the South China Coast," in *Walls and Frontiers in Inner-Asian History,* eds. Craig Bejamin and Samuel Lieu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 1-5.

[9] This book is Wu Wenliang 吴文良, Wu Youxiong 吴幼雄 rev., *Quanzhou zongjiao shike* 泉州宗教石刻 *Religious Stone Carvings in Quanzhou* (Beijing: Kexuchubanshe, 2005).

[10] For a topic study on the Christian stones, see Li Jingrong 李静蓉, "Research on the Iconography of the Christian Tombstones from Quanzhou in Yuan Dynasty 元代泉州基督教石刻图像研究" (PhD diss., Fujian Normal University, 2013), esp. 60-106. For study on the Hindu sites and stones, see Risha Lee, "Constructing Community: Tamil Merchant Temples in India and China, 850-1281" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012), 134-86.

[11] Guy, "Quanzhou," 162-76.

[12] The publication for the work of the Australian researchers is Samuel Lieu, ed., *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Zayton (Quanzhou)*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. The inscriptions are summarized in Lance Eccles and Samuel Lieu, "Inscriptions in Latin, Chinese, Uighur and Phagspa," Majella Franzmann and Samuel Lieu, "Nestorian Inscriptions in Syro-Turkic from Quanzhou (I and II)," in *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Zayton (Quanzhou)*, ed. Lieu, 129-214. Also in the book are Samuel Lieu, "The Church of the East in Quanzhou," Iain Gardner, "The Franciscan Mission to China and the Catholic Diocese of Zayton," and Majella Franzmann, Iain

carvings listed in Wu's book, there are 76 pieces he identified as Christian stones based on the cross or the angel patterns on them. Apart from the visual evidence, there are also four steles with inscriptions in Syro-Turkic or Uighur scripts.[13] Among the few studies dedicating to the art historical significance of the stone carvings, Ken Perry focused on the analysis of the Christian motifs depicted on these tombstones, the cross and the angels, and proposed a possible transmission of the motifs from the West to the East.[14] Ge Chengyong and Yao Chongxin also discussed the angel motif: while for Ge the angels had a specific Christian implication, Yao emphasised the Buddhist elements absorbed by the Jingjiao motif.[15] Since Wu's book was published over sixty years, the Quanzhou Maritime Museum that currently holds the majority of the collection has issued a renewed catalogue in 2020, which forms an essential complement to Wu's discovery.[16] However, there is still no definite conclusion on the meaning and the formation of the paired-angel motif in Quanzhou.

The interlacing between the Buddhist (the apsara) and Christian (the angel) forms as discussed in the studies mentioned above invokes attention on the strange hybrid form of the paired angels and its ambiguous relation with early Jingjiao images discovered in Inner Mongolia and northern China when this religion was active in the

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Gardner, and Ken Parry, "The Indian Background: Connections and Comparisons," *ibid*., 25-52, 53-60, and 215-42.

[13] These steles are B17, B22, B23, and B37 in Wu's book.

[14] Ken Parry, "The Art of the Christian Remains in Quanzhou," in *Medieval Christian and Manichaean*, ed. Lieu, 250-53, 258-59. He further summarised the current situation of art historical studies on the Church of the East in Parry, "Images in the Church of the East: The Textual and Art Historical Evidence in the Light of Contemporary Practice," in *The Church of the East in Central Asia and China*, eds. Samuel N.C. Lieu and Glen L. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 197-99. There are also studies on the connection between Muslim, Christian, and Buddhist stone carvings, and they will be discussed in the next chapter.

[15] Ge Chengyong 葛承雍, "Jingjiao tianshi yu fojiao feitian bijiao bianshiyanjiu 景教天使与佛教飞天比较辨识研究 Comparative Studies on the Jingjiao Angels and the Buddhist Apsaras," *Shijie zongjiao yaniu*, no. 4 (2014): 5-7; Yao Chongxin 姚崇新, "Shizilianhua: Tang Yuan Jingjiao yishuzhongde fojiaoyinxu 十字莲花：唐元景教艺术中的佛教因素," *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究, no. 17 (2017): 250-54.

[16] Quanzhou Maritime Museum ed., *Quanzhou haiwai jiaotongshi bowuguancang zongjiaoshike jingpin* 泉州海外交通史博物馆藏宗教石刻精品 *A Collection of Religious Stone Inscriptions in Quanzhou Maritime Museum* (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 2020), 16, 17, 116-17.

area in the pre- and early Mongol times. This chapter, following and supporting the previous studies, will examine the iconography of these angels created in the Yuan and compare them with images from manuscripts produced in Ilkhanate Persia. Through the comparison and based on the textual evidence of Quanzhou's close connection with both the Persian and Christian communities, it will be argued here that the angel motif on these tombstones in Quanzhou should be regarded as the result of a renewed form of adaptation, made possible by Mongol maritime communication. This motif reflected the effort of the Jingjiao Christians to keep their religious identity among the other immigrants and local Chinese living in this port city.

In order to consolidate the motif's intricate connections, the chapter will begin with a short overview of the visual symbols used by the Jingjiao Christians in the areas around Inner Mongolia and Dadu in the early Mongol period, based mainly on Gai and Halbertsma's research. It will give a foothold for the following discussions on the Jingjiao motifs and will function as a comparison to illustrate the innovation of the Quanzhou Jingjiao Christians in shaping their identity through the manipulation of the visual forms available to them.

1.1 Christian objects in Mongolia and the Dadu area: an overview

The appearance of Christians among the Mongols in the early imperial period is recorded in contemporary documents. Franciscan missionaries, ever since William of Rubruck who came to the Mongol court at Karakorum, were sensitive to the Christian presence in the East. They recorded the 'Nestorians' living in Mongol lands and made close observations of these fellow Christians whom they did not trust but had to rely on.[17] *Yuanshi* also offers information about Christians active in the Yuan court, and it

[17] Rubruck had offered detailed description of the 'Nestorians' and their rituals in his journal, see Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, 157-59, 202-05 and 213-14.

is well known that the Mongols took wives of Christian belief.[18] Objects related to these Jingjiao Christians in northern China are divided into two categories: stone carvings (including tomb markers, steles, and fragmented architectural parts) and small bronze cross badges.

Many scholars agreed that the cross was the most significant symbol for these Jingjiao Christians living in Yuan China.[19] Parry summarised that the basic form of the cross in the Church of the East is the 'leaved-cross' and when it spread to Central and East Asia, the cross began to develop with "expanding and bifurcated arms terminating in one or three pearls", placed on top of flower or cloud patterns.[20] The following examples will show that on the objects discovered in Inner Mongolia, the cross motif follows this form listed by Parry, and this symbol remains consistent even when the Jingjiao Christians spread to other areas in Yuan China.

The earliest visual evidence of these Christians in China is the 'Daqin Jingjiao' 大秦景教 stele (fig. 1.1) of the Tang dynasty (year 781) in Xi'an. On the very top of the stele is the cross, with a circle in the centre and four small pearls at the crossing of the arms. Three pearls are on the end of each arm, with the central one on the top as a flame pearl. The cross is lifted by clouds, flanked by flowers on both sides. The form of this cross is very similar to one in a late ninth-century mural painting in Khocho, and the cloud patterns on the 'Daqin' stele seem to follow the form of the leaves in

[18] Tang, *East Syriac Christianity*, 89; Bruno de Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran: The Khatuns, 1206-1335* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 188-92.

[19] Many scholars talked about the 'cross' iconography used by the Church of the East in China: A. C. Moule, "The Use of the Cross among the Nestorians in China," *T'oung Pao* 28, no. 1/2 (1931): 78-86; W. R. Taylor, "Nestorian Crosses in China," *The American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature* 55, no. 1 (January 1938): 56-60; F. S. Drake, "Nestorian Crosses and Nestorian Christians in China under the Mongols," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1962): 11-25. The latter two especially featured on the bronze cross pendents discovered in Mongolia. For a summary of the iconography of the cross, see Ken Parry, "Images in the Church of the East: the Evidence from Central Asia and China," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78, no. 3 (1996): 145-47.

[20] Parry, "Images in the Church of the East: The Evidence from Central Asia and China," 145-47, and fig.1. Halbertsma also regarded the cross as an adaptation of the 'leaved-cross', Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 237.

the ‘leaved-cross’.[21] Another image of the Jingjiao cross, almost contemporaneous with the ‘Daqin’ stele, is on a scripture pillar of the year 829 discovered at the other Tang capital Luoyang.[22] The cross has a large circle (one in a flower shape) in the centre with three pearls at the arm ends. It stands on a large lotus pedestal flanked by clouds and pairs of angels. Both examples confirm the use of the cross motif in this first phase of the Jingjiao church in the Tang period.

In 1923, stone carvings with crosses were discovered in Fangshan 房山, near modern Beijing.[23] The two crosses on the two fragments (fig. 1.2) also have a circle in the centre with further adaptations, one with a flower in the middle and four flower petals at the arm-crossings while the other has a larger lobed circle in the centre across the four arms. The ends of the arms on both crosses have one pearl-like decoration and both are supported by lotuses, one (fig. 1.2b) similar to its form in Buddhist art with double-layered petals. Further, clouds are added beneath one of the lotus pedestals. The Syrian inscription on this stone meaning “Look ye unto it and hope in it”, is similar to one from a Syrian Gospel dated to the sixth century now in the British Museum, followed with the words “the living Cross”.[24] This shows that the Chinese Jingjiao Christians who made the Fangshan stones apprehended the importance of the cross from the original Syrian scripture. However, it is not certain

[21] Parry, “Images in the Church of East: the Evidence from Central Asia and China”, fig.1, b,e and f and fig.4, f. It should be noticed that some of the ‘leaved-crosses’ in the early centuries also have small pearls attached to the end of the arms.

[22] For the description of the Luoyang pillar, see Matteo Nicolini-Zani, “The Tang Christian Pillar from Luoyang and its Jingjiao Inscription: A Preliminary Study,” *Monumenta Serica* 57 (2009): 103-05, esp. the two photos in footnote 12. A monograph on the Luoyang pillar is Ge Chengyong ed., *Jingjiao yizhen - Luoyang xinchu tangdai jingjiao jinchuang yanjiu* 景教遗珍：洛阳新出景教经幢研究 *The Treasure of Jingjiao - Studies on the Tang Nestorian Pillar Discovered at Luoyang* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009).

[23] Xu Pingfang 徐萍芳, “Beijing Fangshan Shizisi Yelikewen shike 北京房山十字寺也里可温石刻 Stone Carving of Christians in the ‘Cross Temple’ at Fangshan, Beijing),” *Zhongguo wenhua* 中国文化, no. 7 (1992): 184.

[24] Moule, “The Use of the Cross among the Nestorians in China,” 82. He mentioned the words from the Syrian manuscript was found by F.C. Burkitt, from the manuscript numbered Add. 14459.

when this stone relief was created and what structure these fragments formed, but the potted flowers depicted on the other sides of these stones are similar to those of the Jurchen period, offering a possible dating to Jin or early Yuan.[25]

Another form of cross appears on a ceramic tablet from a tomb (fig. 1.3) dated to 1253 discovered in Chifeng 赤峰 in eastern Inner Mongolia. This cross features bifurcated arms crossing on a large circle containing a small flower in the centre. There are no pearl decorations, and the cross is now sitting on a lotus flower standing with its stem, instead of the Buddhist pedestals on the Luoyang pillar and the Fangshan stones. The inscription confirms the dead person as a Uighur.[26] The same cross motif appears also on tomb markers and steles discovered in other areas in Inner Mongolia such as Baotou 包头.[27] On these images from Inner Mongolia, the crosses have similar bifurcated arms while standing directly on lotus flowers or leaves. However, the circle in the middle is obscured in some examples, and other elements began to be added. One example has lotus leaves (signifying a canopy) on top of it while another stele dated to 1327 at Olon Sume 乌伦苏木 even contains Taoist symbols for the sun and the moon.[28] For the subsidiary ornaments, scrolls and flowers are used on these stones, and in certain cases, the cross is placed in low-relief niches. A development to combine the cross with visual forms other than the lotus began to emerge by the early fourteenth century.

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[25] Xu, "Beijing Fangshan Shizisi," 184-85.

[26] Niu Ruji believes the person inscribed on this tablet belonged to the Onguts, see Niu Ruji 牛汝极, "Chifeng chutu Jingjiao muzhuan mingwen ji zhushu yanjiu 赤峰出土景教墓志铭文及著述研究 Study on the Ethnicity and the Inscription of the Nestorian Tomb Stele Discovered at Chifeng," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究, no. 3 (1996): 78-83, esp. 81. For the possible family history of the tomb owner and his plausible link to Almaliq, see Ma Xiaolin 马晓林, "Yuandai jingjiao renmingxue chutan - yi qianju jining de alimali jingjiaojizu weizhongxin 元代景教人名学初探——以迁居济宁的阿力麻里景教家族为中心 A Preliminary Study on the Anthroponymy of Nestorians in the Yuan Dynasty: A Case Study on an Immigrant Family from Almaliq to Jining," *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 53, no. 1 (2016): 136-37.

[27] Halbertsma, "Nestorian Remains of Inner Mongolia," Plate 16-18, 138-40.

[28] Halbertsma, plate 18, fig. 5 and Plate 16, fig. 1.

These examples show that the cross motif used in northern China follows the basic form of the 'leaved-cross' of the Church of the East proposed by Parry above. The cross has bifurcated arms, and/or a large circle in the centre, sometimes with pearl decorations on the arm ends, but the base lifting the cross has been changed to a lotus flower by the early Mongol time, different from the earlier Buddhist lotus pedestal. Chinese scholar Yao Chongxin regarded this as an adaptation of a 'divine seat' from Buddhism. Considering there were also images of crosses sitting on clouds or lotus with clouds, it is possible that the 'divine seat' had a celestial meaning for the Jingjiao Christians. This inference can be made from the Jingjiao manuscripts of the tenth century discovered in Khocho in which the scripture highlights the 'God in Heaven' and a wish for rising to the heaven by the clouds.[29]

However, records concerning the visual images of the Jingjiao Christians in East Asia between the Tang and Yuan periods are quite rare, making it difficult to argue for a direct connection between the early and later representations. The Japanese archaeologist Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍藏 once discovered a carved stone (fig. 1.4) from a Liao tomb in modern Liaoning Province and believed it was an image of a 'Nativity' scene with the three Magi.[30] However, after scrutinising the rubbing made by Torii from the stone, I found it more likely to be an image of a 'filial piety' story

[29] Yao, "Shizilianhua," 239-42. Halbertsma also thinks the lotus is taken from Chinese Buddhist art. Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 237. For the manuscripts, see A.C. Moule, *Christians in China before 1550* 一五五〇年前的中国基督教史, trans. Hao Zhenhua 郝镇华 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 332-41 (manuscripts from Khocho), 342-54 (Syriac manuscripts from the Palace Museum). For the Yuan period stones with cross on clouds, there are also a few in Quanzhou. It is believed that the Jingjiao Christians had their own meaning for the cross-on-lotus, see Ge, "Jingjiao tianshi yu fojiao feitian," 7.

[30] Torii Ryōzō, "遼代の画像石墓 Sculptured Stone Tombs of the Liao Dynasty," 鳥居龍藏全集 *The Complete Works by Torii Ryōzō*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1976), 558-635. This paper was initially published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute in 1942. He also discussed this particular stone in more details in "景教に関する画像石 Stone Carvings Related to Nestorianism," 考古学雑誌 *Journal of Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1937): 111-18. The stone is also mentioned in Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics*, 442-43.

rather than the Christian episode.[31] As a result, evidence is inconclusive about the use of Christian motifs and images during the period between the Tang and Yuan in northern China. The consistency of basic elements now remaining on the available relics, especially the extensive use of the cross-on-lotus, can only imply that the Christians of the Turkic Uighur origin may have maintained this religious symbol from the Tang period since most of the Yuan China Christian stones used Uighur or Syro-Turkic scripts.[32]

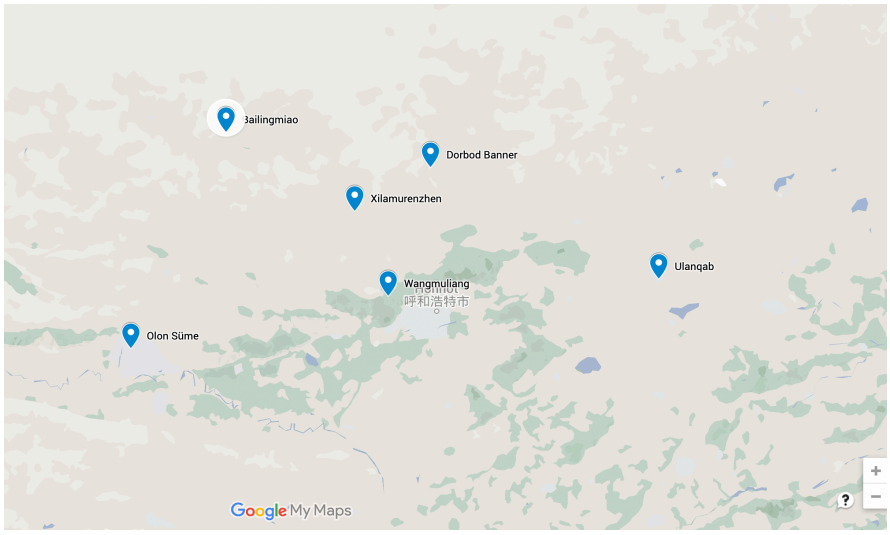
The tombstones discovered in Inner Mongolia were mostly scattered above ground over the Ongut tribe area crossing the modern Dorbod Banner down south to Baotou and Hohhot (Map 2). Speculations on the forms of these stones can only rely on what has been left considering the weather on the grassland. Most of those with the cross motif are arch-shaped steles and the so-called tomb markers with arched or lobed relief niches (fig. 1.5). The basic form of these tomb markers in the Mongolian area is composed of a square head formed by four panels with decorations of the cross or flower, and a long, rectangular body with scrolls and flower patterns. The body has various shapes as listed by Halbertsma, including roofed, arched, ribbed, and a type of roofed top with a fixed base.[33] It is not certain whether these tomb markers were formed under any Islamic influence, such as the use of the arched niche (the 'lantern window frames'), but the basic form is very different from the Muslim tomb markers

[31] Many carved stones from the Liao tomb in the Liaodong area used 'filial piety' stories as decoration and the stones from nearby locations discovered by Torii also feature 'filial piety' stories. I have also compared the image with editions of the stories and found it fits more with one of them than with the visit of the Magi to Christ. I will discuss this stone image in another paper.

[32] Similar cross motifs were also discovered in Central Asian areas during the same period, in the land of Chagatai. They were carved on irregular stones but used the same bifurcated-arm cross. Some have pearls at the termination and some have stepped altars. A study on these stones is Zhuldyz Tashmanbetova, "Christianity in Central Asia: Adoption of East Syriac Christianity in the Medieval Period," (Master diss., Nazarbayev University, 2019), esp. 86-103, Appendix 1, table 3. For the use of Syriac and Turkic scripts, see Hidemi Takahashi, "Representation of the Syriac Language in Jingjiao and Yelikewen Documents," in *The Church of the East in Central Asia and China*, eds. Samuel Lieu and Glen L. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 44-50.

[33] Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 175, fig. 1.

in other Yuan cities, such as Quanzhou and Hangzhou.[34] Further, many of the steles with inscriptions used an ogee arch shape.[35] However, this kind of stele was only used for Christians and Muslims. So far there is little evidence that the same shape was used for native Chinese tomb steles. Yet Chinese elements were applied to some of the Christian graveyards, as stone figurines or animals usually used in the Chinese tombs forming the 'spirit way' were also discovered.[36]



Map 2: The Ongut tribe locations, drawn on google map by the author

The small bronze cross badges discovered in Inner Mongolia have more diverse forms and motifs, and have features quite different from the motifs used on the stone

[34] Halbertsma believes it is under some Muslim influence but the general form of the tomb makers is quite different from the Muslims ones, see Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 238-39. In contrast, the Quanzhou Christian stones are more similar to the Muslim ones than to the Mongolia Christian tomb markers.

[35] Rawson talked about the use of the lobed frame in the Islamic art and she also mentioned that this form was used extensively in architecture, see Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Ornaments: The Lotus and the Dragon* (London: British Museum, 1984), 157-59. The ogee arch is used extensively on Buddhist architectures, especially the pagodas of the Liao and Jin periods, for one example see Sekino and Takeshima, *Ryō, Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono butsuzō*, plate 18. Halbertsma, quoting Japanese scholar Enoki Kazuo, states this form might be a recess or a curtain, and I will discuss an Islamic parallel in the next chapter, but there is no definite conclusion as to the source of this form on the Christian stone. Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 198. This research will not further elaborate on the origin of the form.

[36] Halbertsma, "Nestorian Remains in Inner Mongolia," Plate 24-28, 146-50, and Gai, *Yinshan wanggu*, 191-204. Halbertsma also included a stone coffin with decorations from Zhaohe, which is also evidence of the Chinese influence on the burial art, see Halbertsma, "Nestorian Remains in Inner Mongolia," Plate 21, 143.

carvings.[37] Although some of them maintain the basic cross with a circle (or a square) in the centre, there are many derivations. They emerge with various connected parts between the four arms, or with arms of geometrical forms composed by triangles and circles, or in linear decorative patterns of abstract symbols including the Buddhist swastika. Further adaptations include changing the badge into a bird form, or roundels and seals.[38] These bronze objects usually have a fixture at the back, implying they were possibly attached on clothes or hung as pendants.[39] Although it is still not certain whether these bronze crosses were purely for decorative functions or not, and whether they were solely used by the Jingjiao Christians, some of these objects were probably possessions of Christian believers who took them as magical charms.[40] However, such bronzes have never been discovered in southern China and they seem to have little connection with the stone carvings. Therefore, the present research will not dwell on them.

In sum, for the Christians living in the northern steppes in Inner Mongolia and around the Dadu area from the mid-thirteenth to the early fourteenth century, the cross, especially the cross-on-lotus was the main motif used on their decorative works in burial contexts during the Mongol period. Elements from the native Chinese, such as the lotus canopy, the Taoist sun and moon, and the 'spirit way' sculptures, began to

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[37] Examples of such bronze crosses are listed in Drake and Taylor's papers listed in footnote 19 of this chapter.

[38] Drake, "Nestorian Crosses," plate 3 and plate 4. Although Moule mentioned that the Chinese dealers believed these special shaped ones were seals, Drake regarded the high relief as too much for an ordinary seal, Moule, "The Use of the Cross among Nestorians in China," 85 and Drake, "Nestorian Crosses", 14. In Chinese documents on the study of seals, it is mentioned that the Yuan seals would use the shape of ancient ritual objects, musical instruments or flowers. See Gui Fu 桂馥, "Chongding xu sanshiwu ju" 重訂續三十五舉 Revised Continuation on the *Thirty-five Methods*, 3a, in *Zuanxue suozhu* 纂學瑣著, ed. Gu Xiang 顧湘, Qing Daoguang edition, 1840. 元人尤多變態，其式有用鐘鼎、琴樣、花葉之類，今人皆不行，瓢印頗有用者，亦隨時可耳。The possibility that these badges could be seals is enhanced by two bronze seals I found in the Yokohama Museum of Eurasian Culture. The two bronze seals are in bird forms and the patterns of the seals are illegible, being monograms. I would like to thank Dr. Wu Yiqiang, a specialist on seal scripts, for looking at the two seals.

[39] Moule, "The Use of the Cross," 86.

[40] Moule, 85-86.

be adopted by the Christians living in these areas, showing their close contact with the Chinese culture. The varied use of geometrical and animal shapes on the bronze crosses also shows a flexible and extensive absorption of the Chinese taste. However, these tombstone examples firmly prove that the Turkic Jingjiao Christians in northern China upheld a tradition of using the cross in their burial art.

1.2 The paired-angel motif in Quanzhou

The same cross-on-lotus found in northern China is also used on the Quanzhou tombstones with slight variation, but in several cases there is a different motif accompanying it, the paired angels.[41] These angels mostly hold together the base for the cross on the lotus (fig. 1.6). They wear crowns with plaited hair falling behind their ears. They also wear the yunjian 雲肩 , the ‘’cloud collar, a popular Yuan period collar-piece worn over a robe with four corners hanging down to the shoulders and chest. Ribbons are flowing around their bodies, and their legs are wrapped in and obscured by the robes. Some angels also have wings on their back and are flying among clouds (fig. 1.7).[42] Previous study has argued that this motif originated from the antique Byzantine art of two flying deities carrying a wreath, and may have come to China through Sogdian or Uighur influence with the early expansion of the Church of the East from the eighth to the tenth century.[43]

Although these stones have caught the attention of scholars ever since they were published by Wu in his encyclopaedic collection, there is so far only limited study in

[41] For further discussion on the comparison and changes of the cross motif, see Li Jingrong, “Citong shizijia fengge chutan “刺桐十字架”风格初探 Research in the Styles of the ‘Zayton Crosses’,” *Mintai wenhua jiaoliu* 闽台文化交流 18, no. 2 (2009): 106-111. Wei Jian and Zheng Yu 魏坚、郑玉, “Yinshan Wanggu Jingjiaotuxiangde chubuyanjiu 阴山汪古景教图像的初步研究 Initial Studies on the Jingjiao Images of the Onguts in Yinshan,” *Palace Museum Journal* 220, no. 8 (2020): 63-68.

[42] Wu Wenliang has also listed one example on the stele for a Christian woman who died in the year 1331. These angels have wings attached and the hats that they wear have feathers attached on the top. Wu Youxiong described them as ‘official hat’ but they have no similarity to the official hats of the Yuan period. Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 384-87, B23.

[43] Parry, “The Art of Christian Remains in Quanzhou,” 251-53.

English dedicated to the angel motif, while Chinese scholars have tried to find the origin of the angel motif and its meaning for the Christians.[44] In China, the earliest appearance of the angel motif related to the Jingjiao Christians is discovered on the Luoyang pillar of 829 mentioned above, whose information was published first in 2006.[45] The Luoyang pillar (fig. 1.8) contains two groups of angels. Both groups flank a cross with three pearls at the end of each arm on a round lotus pedestal. The first group of angels (with a clearer image on the rubbing) have bound hair, are surrounded by floating ribbons, have flowers in hands, and are flying over the clouds. They can be regarded as an adaptation from the Tang *apsara* images, especially those produced in the Luoyang area.[46] The second group is not executed as clearly as the first one and the details cannot be identified from the rubbings, even though they use the same composition of flying in clouds, and their two hands are pushing towards the central lotus pedestal.

The presence of the angels on the Luoyang pillar has encouraged some to speculate that this motif was possibly passed down within China among the Jingjiao community, but there are notable differences between the images of the two periods.[47] By the Yuan time, although the Quanzhou angels still resemble Buddhist *apsaras* that

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[44] Parry, "The Art of Christian Remains in Quanzhou," 243-62. Ge, "Jingjiao tianshi yu fojiao feitian," 1-7. Yao, "Shizilianhua," 242, 250-54.

[45] For the discovery of this pillar, see Nicolini-Zani, "The Tang Christian Pillar from Luoyang," 99-104, esp. 100. A group of clear photos of the pillar are provided in Ge, "Jingijao tianshi yu fojiao feitian," plate 1 and plate 2.

[46] Parry regarded the motif as similar to the *apsaras* depicted in Dunhuang and he believed that the Luoyang pillar has shown an established model for the Quanzhou stones to follow. Parry, "The Art of Christian Remains in Quanzhou," 252 and 244. Yin Xiaoping, Zhang Zhan 殷小平、张展, "Luoyang Jingjiao jingchuangtuxiang zaikaocha 洛阳景教经幢再考察 Reviewing the Jingjiao Pillar in Luoyang," *Jinan shixue* 暨南史学 12, no. 1 (2016): 14. However, Ge Chengyong believes that though *apsara* images were referred to on the Luoyang pillar, it nonetheless preserved the Christian essence of angels, see Ge, "Jingjiao tianshi yu fojiao feitian," 6.

[47] Yao regarded the angels as a type of *apsara* and believed that the Yuan angels are following the format of the Luoyang pillar, one of 'two *apsaras* with the cross', although he also agreed that there are new adaptations on the Yuan angels, especially their Mongol features. Yao, "Shizi lianhua," 250, 252. Li Jingrong also mentioned the Quanzhou angels have strong *apsara* features, and the Buddhist *apsara* shares similar functions to the angels, but she did not infer that there is any link between the Tang images and the Quanzhou angels. Li, "Yuandai Quanzhou jidujiao shike," 83.

fly in pairs in loose robes and ribbons, they differ from the Luoyang angels in the costume and headpieces, with wings being added sometimes. They also occasionally hold the base for the cross-on-lotus. The altered appearances of the angels strengthen doubts about whether the motif on the Luoyang pillar was directly passed on to those on the Quanzhou images over nearly five hundred years, especially considering the lack of visual materials discovered within China in the interval between as mentioned above.[48]

A possible influence for the Quanzhou angels

The appearance of the paired-angel motif in another area of the Mongol empire may reveal a possible influence for the Quanzhou examples. An illustration of an 'Enthronement' scene from the Diez album in Topkapi Palace produced around 1300 (fig. 1.9) shows a seated Mongol, above whom there are the two-winged creatures flanking a central figure.[49] These celestial creatures wear red cloaks over their shoulders, leaving their upper body bare, and they have pink wings folded behind them. Their hair flows down behind the ears and all wear crowns with a water-drop shaped ornament. These angels in the Persian manuscript have wings instead of the *apsaras*' floating ribbons and they wear crowns that seem to be mediated by some Central Asian influence.[50]

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[48] Apart from the uncertain Liao evidence I mentioned above, Li Jingrong has stated that there are no other angel images discovered from Central Asia, Inner Mongolia and Beijing. Li, "Yuandai Quanzhou jidujiao tianshi diaoshi de duoyuan wenhua xuanze 元代泉州基督教天使雕饰的多元文化选择 The Fancy Angel: the Cultural Selection of Quanzhou Christians in the Yuan Dynasty," *Journal of Quanzhou Normal University* 泉州师范学院学报 29, no. 5 (2011): 26. Yao also talked about the lack of visual evidence in Persian, Sogdian, and Uighur Christian images, and he offered a ninth or tenth century example of a plate with Syriac scripts and winged angels. However, it is not certain if such images still existed during the eleventh to twelfth century. Yao, "Shizi lianhua," 250, footnote 4.

[49] Leo Jungeon Oh regarded this motif as using a Buddhist iconography composition, and the central Mongol figure indicates the production of this illustration was during the Ilkhan period. Leo Jungeon Oh, "Islamicised Pseudo-Buddhist Iconography in Ilkhanid Royal Manuscripts," *Persica* 20 (2004-2005): 103-104 and fig. 24, taken from Mazhar S. Ipsiroglu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebande aus den Berliner Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 1964). DOI: 10.2143/PERS.20.0.2005886

[50] The crowns with a central roundel shape appeared among paintings discovered in the Central Asian area during the seventh and the eighth centuries. Examples are provided in Mario Bussagli, *Central Asian Painting* (London: Macmillan, 1978), 56-59.

In an illustration (fig. 1.10) in the Baghdad manuscript titled *Book of the Margrave* (Marzubannama) dated to 1299, contemporaneous as the previous example, the celestial creatures are changed into flying figures with wings. Both wear crowns, and hold a scarf together with one hand. The pose of each angel holding onto the central scarf has been regarded as following an earlier Central Asian model at Qizil.[51]

These celestial beings appear again in an 'Enthronement' scene (fig. 1.11) in the illustrated version of the *Wonders of Creation* (*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt,* hereafter referred to as the London Qazwīnī), dating to around 1300, and possibly made in Mosul in northern Iraq.[52] They are wearing long robes, decorated by golden strips on the arms and at the cuffs. One of the figures has Mongol-style plaited locks tied behind the ears while the other has hair flowing down behind the ears. The three-peaked crown is a particular feature for these creatures. The two figures hold a ribbon over the king's head and their legs are wrapped by the under robes to form a 'fish-tail' shape similar to the legs of the Quanzhou angels. A fully hybrid form appears in a manuscript of *Shahnama* dated 1341, possibly made in Shiraz. In this 'Enthronement' scene (fig. 1.12), the two angels hold a coronation symbol for the king. Both wear crowns of curving patterns and the one on the left has the same hair plaits hanging over the ears, but their legs are simplified into waving ribbons. The wings are now open on the back of the angels with layers of feathers. Through the last three Persian examples, there is the consistency of the symmetrical composition of two crowned angels holding a central object, and the depiction of the wrapped or obscured legs. It also seems that the images produced in the Ilkhanate had a flexibility in the use of wings, as some have them while others do not.

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[51] Stefano Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation and the Singularities of Painting: A Study of the Ilkhanid London Qazvīnī* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 51.

[52] The book was written by Muslim scholar Zakarīyā ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (c. 1203-83), and the copy used here is digitised and accessible at https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023586788.0x000001(accessed Aug 20th, 2020). The digitised version claims to be copied from an original one written by al-Qazwīnī.

The Quanzhou images follow the same flexible combination of elements. The two angels retain the basic symmetrical composition. The crosses on the Quanzhou stones are simplified and reduced in size compared with the Luoyang one. The lotus under the cross is now sitting on a base hand-held by both angels, who share with the Persian angels the crowns, plaits of hair behind the ears, the wrapped, tail-shaped legs, and some with or without wings. On the paired-angel slab (fig. 1.13), the detail of the crown also shows the same shape and curving patterns as the Persian counterparts.[53] Although adapted now to the visual context of Yuan China with the wide and loose Chinese costumes, the angels nonetheless are closer to the Ilkhanate images than to the Tang Luoyang one. A further adaptation of the angels in China is demonstrated by the adding of a small cross on the crowns (fig. 1.6b, 1.7, 1.14), a form used on some steles discovered in Quanzhou and also in Yangzhou.[54]

Other evidence that suggests links of the Quanzhou images to the Ilkhanate influence is the angel with four wings (fig. 1.15). It is not clear what filled the niche above the angel who is sitting in a frontal view, with a crown on his head.[55] This angel wears a double-layered robe with a 'cloud collar' and holds a cross in his hands, sitting on clouds and with ribbons floating behind him. The most noticeable feature is that the angel has four wings in two pairs on its back.[56]

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[53] Wu Wenliang used "seng mao" 僧帽 (the monk's hat) for the crown, but this is different from the five-leaf Buddhist crown and it is doubtful whether during the Yuan period, Chinese depicted the Buddhist monks with the five-leaf crowns. However, Wu did mention that the angels may wear a Persian style costume, but he did not give the source for this information. Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 391.

[54] Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 392-393, B32 and B34. A description of the stone stele is Wang Qinjin 王勤金, "Yuan Yanyousinian Yelishiba mubei kaoshi 元延祐四年也里可温墓碑考释 Study on the Tombstone of Elizabeth in the Fourth Year of Yanyou of Yuan Dynasty)," *Kaogu* 考古, no. 6 (1989) 553-54, 573. Also Parry, "The Art of Christian Remains in Quanzhou," 255.

[55] John Guy mentioned that this may be filled with a larger cross, Guy, "Quanzhou: Cosmopolitan City of Faiths", 175.

[56] Wu Wenliang also listed another tombstone with such angels. See Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 368, B7.

At present there is little record on the division of angels in the Church of the East of the medieval period.[57] A fragmented Gospel *Evangelica* in Syrian with illustrations dated to the thirteenth century, now preserved in Berlin, does include depiction of an angel.[58] However, the images in this manuscript follow closely the Byzantine style in the use of heavy lines to indicate the folds of robes and corporeality, and the angel is one with large, drooping wings (fol. 106v, fig. 1.16a). Yet, there is another kingly figure shown wearing the same three-peaked crown (fol. 163r, fig. 1.16b) as the Persian angels, with a cross on top. Only the lower part of the cross is identifiable, and its curved border resembles a little the bifurcated arms of the cross in Inner Mongolia. The depiction of the figure in the crown, similar to the Persian kings in the 'Enthronement' scenes, implies that this Christian manuscript possibly shared certain features with the Persian illustrations.

Nonetheless, it is still the London Qazwīnī images of angels that resonate most closely with the Quanzhou images. There are three images of the archangels, two of them (fol. 12r, fig. 1.17a) in a seated position, both with multiple wings, and wearing large three-peaked crowns. The angel of death on another page is depicted as standing with his four wings spread behind (fol. 13r, fig. 1.17b). The basic elements of the long robe, the crown and the spread wings of these Persian angels are all used in Quanzhou. The story of the angel of death also suggests a possible prototype for the Quanzhou four-winged angel and its meaning. The Islamic angel is recorded in a

[57] Li regarded the four-winged angel as developed from ancient Persian or Assyrian gods. However, there is no concrete visual evidence to prove that the Persian gods had been taken by the Church of the East and were later spread to East Asia. As mentioned by Yao, the only evidence concerning the 'Nestorian' is the plate with pairs of winged angels flanking Christ. The angels only have one pair of wings. Li, "Yuandai Quanzhou jidujiao shike," 102-05; Yao, "Shizi lianhua," 250, footnote 4; also see Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia Before 1500* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), plate 21 for the image of this Sogdian silver plate.

[58] The manuscript is Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Sachau 304, with the links to the two illustrations: https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN783899599&PHYSID=PHYS_0074&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001; https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN783899688&PHYSID=PHYS_0067&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001 (accessed July 15th, 2021)

manuscript as having "70,000 feet and four wings" and is called Izra'il (Azrael) as God's agent to take the human spirit.[59] The meaning is suitable for a burial context, but it is not certain whether this particular angel on the Quanzhou stone indeed had a specific identity since there is no inscription on the stone.

However, the artisans who made these tombstones in Quanzhou did not merely copy the Persian models. They added Chinese elements and adapted them into a Buddhist visual format with which they were familiar. For comparison, there are relief images on two pagodas re-built around the mid-thirteenth century in Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺, one of the largest Buddhist temples in Fujian.[60] On the bottom of the eastern pagoda (the Zhenguo pagoda), there are several depictions of Jakata tales. In the scene of the praise to the pious crane (fig. 1.18), the two celestial beings, possibly *apsaras*, wear tall flower crowns and loose robes tied by ribbons fluttering in the wind. Clouds support them and cover the lower half of their bodies. In another story, the boy who seeks the Buddhist truth in the snow mountains (fig. 1.19), the Indra, dressed in an official robe, appears in a frontal view, standing on the cloud. His long sleeves also seem to be blown by the wind along with the ribbons. The same features of the wide-sleeved robe, the floating ribbons and the supporting clouds are used on the paired angels of the Jingjiao stones, and the seated four-winged angel is given the same frontal view as the Indra instead of the three-quarter angle in the Persian manuscript.

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[59] Dr. Stefano Carboni pointed out this illustration during his lecture in Melbourne in 2019. A manuscript dated to 1683, now kept at the University of Leeds, contains this text on the angel of death. John MacDonald explains that both this text and a later published one have a shared origin. John MacDonald, "The Angel of Death in Late Islamic Tradition," *Islamic Studies* 3, no. 4 (December 1964): 489, 485 and 517, note 2. About the long tradition of the angel of death in the Islamic literature, see Aiman Sanad Al-Garrallah, "The Islamic Tale of Solomon and the Angel of Death in English Poetry: Origins, Translations and Adaptations," *Forum for World Literature Studies* 8, no. 4 (2016): 525-28.

[60] Parry, "The Art of Christian Remains," 257-58. For the twin pagodas in Kaiyuan Temple, see Gustav Ecke, "Structural Features of the Stone-built T'ing-Pagoda: A Preliminary Study," *Monumenta Serica* 1, no. 2 (1935): 261-67, 274-75.

These treatments in Quanzhou make it difficult to locate any specific Persian influence that the makers had absorbed.

Nonetheless, the Quanzhou angel motifs contain the most diverse elements, including crowns (with or without the cross), plaited hair, wings (or no wings), floating ribbons, 'cloud collars', and wrapped, tail-shaped legs. These angels have maintained the symmetrical composition of the earlier Tang models, but also adopt iconographical details from the Persian motifs: they hold a central object, wear the three-peaked crowns, and some have wings. The depiction of the open eyes with elongated corners also seems to copy the Persian examples.

The use of more abundant elements on the Quanzhou images, including the 'cloud collar' and the cross on top of the crown that do not appear in the Persian ones, shows that the images produced in Quanzhou were likely formed later in the cultural transmission process than those in Ilkhanate. This is revealed when comparing the Quanzhou motif with one leaf in the Miscellany collection (H. 2152) in Topkapi Palace in Turkey, whose stunning difference stands out from the Quanzhou angels.[61] The paired, winged creatures in the Topkapi leaf have distinct Turkic headpieces in garland form, with their hair falling down to the shoulders. Each has only one hand holding the long scarf in the centre. This illustration is regarded as being produced by a Uighur school of the Mongol time in the late thirteenth century.[62] Although basic elements are the same, the difference of the head ornament, hair feature, and the hand positions of the Quanzhou images suggests that they were not directly borrowing from this Uighur model, but through a Persian mediation. The angel motif in Quanzhou, as a later development, thus absorbed models from both the Persian manuscripts and

[61] These two illustrations were analysed in E. Esin, "A Pair of Miniatures from the Miscellany Collections of Topkapi," *Central Asiatic Journal* 21, no. 1 (1977): 21-24, 16-18, Plate 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b.

[62] Esin, 16-20, 33. The school is the one named Hitay, possibly practicing in Khocho.

local Buddhist icons. The Jingjiao Christians, who adopted this motif, highlighted the angels' exotic features and the central cross they hold, to speak in a different visual language from the Buddhist images.

The interaction with Buddhist art in Ilkhanate Persia

One detail of the Quanzhou image, different from the one on the Luoyang pillar, is worth noticing. On the Luoyang pillar, the paired angels flank the central lotus-based cross without holding onto it, while several of the Quanzhou images (including paired and single ones, fig. 1.6 and 1.14) clearly hold the base for the cross. It is understandable why Parry proposed that this detail might be a mediated Sassanian influence since similar images did appear on Sogdian tombs, such as the Zoroastrian bird-human priests who have wings and wear crowns.[63] Two stone couches discovered in Sogdian tombs around the sixth century show priests wearing crowns, and a pair of celestial beings with 'fish tails', one having wings, hanging onto the central ritual object.[64] Although it has been pointed out that a possible connection of the Persian bird-human priests existed with *Kinnara* or *Kalavinka*, the creature from

[63] Parry, "The Art of the Christian Remains in Quanzhou," 252. The major tombs of the Sogdians discovered in China are the An Jia tomb dated to 579, Lord Shi tomb dated to 580 and Yu Hong tomb dated to 592 in modern Xi'an and Taiyuan. The decorations of these tombs all feature Persian, Central Asian or Zoroastrian motifs. Archaeology reports of these tombs see Yin Shenping 尹申平 et al., "Xi'an faxian de Beizhou An Jia mu 西安发现的北周安伽墓 The Tomb of An Jia of Northern Zhou Discovered at Xi'an," *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2001): 4-26; Zhang Qingjie 张庆捷 et al., "Taiyuan Suidai Yu Hong mu qinglijianbao 太原隋代虞弘墓清理简报 Archaeological Report on the Tomb of Yu Hong of Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan," *Wenwu*, no. 1 (2001): 27-52; Yang Junkai 杨军凯 et al., "Xi'an Beizhou Liangzhousabao Shijun mu fajuejianbao 西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报 Archaeological Report on the Tomb of Lord Shi, the Priest of Liangzhou of Northern Zhou at Xi'an," *Wenwu*, no. 3 (2005): 4-33.

[64] The two photos of the stone bases are provided in Pénélope Riboud, "Bird-Priests in Central Asian Tombs of 6th-century China and Their Significance in the Funerary Realm," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21 (New Series 2007): 6-8, fig. 10 and 12, colour plate 3 and 5. Ge Chengyong believes the 'apsara with wings' is an image connected with the angels depicted in Gandhara art, see Ge Chengyong, "Xianjiao shenghuoyishude xinfaxian – Suidai Anbeimu wenwuchutan 祆教圣火艺术的新发现 - 隋代安备墓文物初探 New Discovery of the Zoroastrian Art – A Preliminary Research on the Tomb of An Bei of Sui dynasty," 美术研究 *Art Research*, no. 3 (2009): 16.

Buddhist art having a human head but a bird body, it was not mentioned that the two pairs of celestial beings above them are more similar in appearance to *apsaras*.[65]

Figures similar to *Kalavinka* also appeared in Liao and Tangut art. A Liao relief image shows a human-head bird with wings of layered feathers and wearing a triangular hat.[66] Nearly in the same period, in the Tangut lands, this motif of *Kalavinka* also appeared in a burial context, now wearing a flower decorated crown with ribbons tied behind the ears.[67] Both the Liao and Tangut images show pious Buddhist gestures, affirming their connection with this religion, but the figures do not indicate being a symmetrical pair. The evidence is not conclusive that the Quanzhou images have a direct lineage from the Sogdian models or from the *Kalavinka*, since there are not enough images of this bird-human creature in Quanzhou.[68]

There were indeed images showing *apsaras* holding onto a central object, but this Buddhist format may not reach the Quanzhou angels directly as is sometimes assumed. An early image of the paired *apsaras* holding a central object in a Buddhist context appeared on the Tamamushi shrine 玉虫厨子 of the Asuka period (592-710), owned by Hōryūji in Japan. The panel shows the monks making offerings to the Buddhist relics, and a pair of *apsaras* above holding a small bowl with a lotus on top.

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[65] By *Kinnara* or *Kalavinka*, Riboud referred to the half-human and half-bird form holding musical instruments. Also she labelled fig. 17 in the paper as Kinnaras, but admitted that the Chinese sources seldom depicted Kinnara as bird but more as horse hybrid deities. Riboud, "Bird-Priests in Central Asian Tombs," 11-12.

[66] The rubbing of an image of *Kalavinka* is provided in Gustav Ecke, "Structural Features of the Stonebuilt Ting Pagoda, a Preliminary Study, Chapter II: Brick Pagodas in the Liao Style," *Monumenta Serica* 13 (1948): 335, fig. 1. This rubbing was taken from a brick slab discovered in Hebei, the area under the Khitan rule, *ibid.*, 342.

[67] See the photos provided in Diane Zhang-Goldberg, "Singularités architecturales du cimetière imperial des Xixia: le monument funéraire," *Arts Asiatique* 67 (2012): 58-59, figs, 19-20. These sculptures were discovered in the no. 3 tomb of the Tangut imperial cemetery.

[68] There are a group of *Kalavinka* carved on the pillars of the main hall in the Kaiyuan Temple in Quanzhou. Local history traces this temple to the Tang period, but it suffered several destructions. The present hall and its decoration might be the reconstruction in the early Ming period (in 1389). As a result, the *Kalavinka* inside the temple should not be used to prove the iconography of the angels being borrowed from them. Information on the Kaiyuan Temple: http://www.qzhnet.com/qzh179.htm (accessed Feb 14th, 2022). There is also a Kalavinka pottery figure discovered from the site of Dadu. It has thick ribbons attached to the flower crown, also different from the Quanzhou images. The figure was displayed at an exhibition held in Yangzhou from May 18th to Aug 31st, 2023.

It is believed that the scene is about the praise to Buddha and shows the transformation of the relics.[69] This image on the Tamamushi shrine at least shows this format of paired figures holding one object was adopted as early as the late seventh century in Buddhist art.[70]

A second example of *apsaras* holding a central object can be found in the murals of Mogao Cave 207 at Dunhuang, regarded as a creation of the Uighur period (mid-late ninth century) because the painting shares a certain similarity in style with works in Bezeklik 柏孜克里克 of Khocho.[71] In this image (fig. 1.20), the two *apsaras*, wearing Central Asian flower crowns, hold a lotus-form bowl with flowers in it. Their legs are all wrapped in the robes with floating clouds and ribbons surrounding them. The basic form of the *apsara* with wrapped legs was preserved in the Liao and Jin relief images on several pagodas, and they are mostly arranged in symmetrical pairs for a larger design, but few images in the same Uighur format have been noticed so far in China dated to the two centuries before the Mongol period.[72]

Although paired flying creatures over a king was an ancient motif survived in West Asia, winged creatures holding an object (sometimes a scarf) in the thirteenth-century Persian illustrations were regarded under certain influence from the Uighur Qizil 克孜尔 image prior to the Dunhuang Uighur cave; they appeared not just in

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[69] Hasegawa Tomoharu 长谷川智治, "Hōryūji tamamushi zushi kō shari kuyōzu o chūshin ni 法隆寺玉虫厨子考—舎利供養図を中心に A Reflection on the Tamamushi zushi in Houryuuji Temple: A Focus on the Image of Buddhist Relics and Memorial Service," *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Bukkyo University*, no. 18 (2011): 106-07; Akiko Walley, "Flowers of Compassion: The Tamamushi Shrine and the Nature of Devotion in Seventh-Century Japan," *Artibus Asiae* 72, no.2 (2012): 278-80.

[70] Since worshipping of Buddhist relics came to Japan from China, even though it is not know what was the original model for this image, it probably existed on the continent too during this time. Hasegawa, "A Reflection on the Tamamushi zushi," 107.

[71] A comparison of the cave 207 with Bezeklik paintings see Yin Bo 殷博, "A Study of the Scenes of Buddha's First Sermon in Mogao Cave 207 莫高窟第 207 窟初说法图考," 敦煌研究 *Dunhuang Research* 178, no. 6 (2019): 27-31.

[72] See *apsaras* on North Pagoda, Chaoyang, from Kim, "Virtual Pilgrimage and Virtual Geography: Power of Liao Miniature Pagodas (907–1125)," 6, fig. 3. DOI: 10.3390/rel8100206. Similar images are also on other Liao and Jin pagodas in modern Liaoning province.

manuscripts, but also on ceramic and metal works in West Asia.[73] This connection with Uighur art can be supported by a comparison with the 'Enthronement' scene from the Diez album (fig. 1.9). In addition, a fragment (fig. 1.21) related to the Manichaeans discovered in Khocho shows a central figure with a smaller attendant. Outside the circling band there is another winged figure wearing Central Asian flower crowns, a form similar to the celestial beings in the Diez leaf. Judging from the composition, there should be another figure on the lost opposite part to form a pair. The winged figure with flower crown and the symmetrical composition flanking a central figure could be a model for the Diez 'Enthronement' scene conveyed in a similar Central Asian style. The Topkapi Turkic style illustration mentioned above also demonstrates that these Uighur images of paired creatures holding a central object were still being spread to the Ilkhanate on paper medium in the early Mongol period.

If the paired *apsaras* used by the Uighurs still follow the 'praise to Buddha' meaning as in the early Buddhist example, then it could explain the adoption of this motif in other contexts. 'Praise' allows an open interpretation especially for images with a sovereign or a holy object placed in the centre as used in the Persian manuscripts, a meaning that could also appeal to the Uighur Jingjiao Christians whose manuscripts also wrote about the angels' praise to God.[74] It can be inferred that some Ilkhanate depictions may be an adaptation of much older visual traditions under a strong Buddhist influence in addition to the Byzantine angels, and the motif of paired

[73] Carboni has discussed the transmission of this motif from the antique period to Islamic art through Central Asian influence, see Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation*, 50-52. He also mentioned the use of this motif on works of other media and pointed out that the paired beings were also taken as genii by the Muslims.

[74] The Syriac Christian manuscripts discovered in Khocho, dating from the tenth century, include phrases such as "angels singing the praise". See Hao Zhenhua trans, Moule, *Christians in China before 1550*, 335 and 338. Halbertsma also mentioned (quoting from Hans-Joachim Klimkeit) that the cross used by the Jingjiao Christians may indicate a glorification of Christ. Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 235, and footnote 61.

celestial beings holding an object could have composed part of the pack of transmitted Buddhist visual elements.

In fact, the Central Asian influence on the Persians has already been proposed by scholars such as Leo Jungeon Oh and Roxann Prazniak. When the Mongols conquered Central and West Asia, the Uighurs living in the extended area across the Mongol steppe into the Liao and Tangut territories and their movement later across the Mongol empire could have imported such an influence.[75] Rashid al-Din (1247-1318), the Ilkhanate minister, mentioned in his book *Compendium of Chronicles* that Buddhist monks at the court of Abaqa Khan (r. 1265-82) were from India, Kashmir, Cathay, and Uighur lands.[76] It has also been discovered that certain 'Buddhist art' in the Ilkhanate manuscripts consisted of features from the Uighur Tarim area and Christianised Buddhist stories included Manichaean elements, all highlighting a possible Uighur influence.[77] The direct visual borrowing presented through the examples above enhances this Uighur connection in the transmission of Buddhist art motifs to the West.

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[75] Even though the Ilkhan Mongols were surrounded by the Muslim faith, the expansion of the Mongols enabled the Buddhist art to penetrate into Islamic art, see Oh, "Islamicised Pseudo-Buddhist Iconography," 95-96. The Buddhist influence in Persia during the Ilkhanate period is analysed in Roxann Prazniak, "Ilkhanid Buddhism: Traces of a Passage in Eurasian History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56, no. 3 (July 2014): 651-57, 673-79. Prazniak especially mentioned that the Buddhists active in Ilkhanate mostly were related to communities from areas of Uighur or Kashmir, and many motifs were more related to the art in Central Asia, see *ibid*., 661,664 and 671. There was also close contact with Uighurs both in the Khitan Liao and Tangut Xi Xia, and there were Uighur populations living in both kingdoms. Tuotuo ed., *Liaoshi* 遼史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1974), 37: 441. "East to the Southern Gate is the living area of the Uighurs. The Uighur merchants stayed in the upper capital so they assembled to live together." 南門之東回鶻營，回鶻商販留居上京，置營居之。Wang Long 王龙, "Xixia wenxianzhongde huihu: Sichouzhilu beijingxia xixia yu huihu guanxi buzheng 西夏文献中的回鹘：丝绸之路背景下西夏与回鹘关系补证 Uighurs in the Tangut documents: Additional Proof for the relation between Xixia and Uighur on the Silk Road," *Social Sciences in Ningxia* 207, no. 1 (2018): 225-28.

[76] Rashid al-Din ed., *Compendium of Chronicles* 史集, vol. 3, trans. Yu Dajun 余大钧 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), 348.

[77] Prazniak, "Ilkhan Buddhism," 671 and 679. Buddhist images were also adapted in the Ilkhanate images showing Biblical or Qur'anic scenes and figures, see Oh, "Islamicised Pseudo-Buddhist Iconography," 98.

However, the appearance of the crown with curving decorations seems to be a new motif added by this time for the angels in Persian visual representation. In Konya, a city in the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum (in modern Turkey), relief sculptures show a similar kind of crown, and an illustration dated 1260 also depicts the first Ilkhan Hulegu (r. 1256-65) and his wife Doquz Khatun (d. 1265), a 'Nestorian' Christian, wearing similar crowns, possibly under a Byzantine influence.[78] The angels in the London Qazwīnī and in other manuscripts are also given the same crowns as their headwear.[79] The same type of crown is also worn by a celestial figure representing a constellation on a globe.[80] It seems that in the Persian manuscripts, this type of headwear was used to indicate either celestial divinity or earthly rulership rather than a specific Christian meaning, as it was applied to both angels and rulers, and even celestial gods. This again offered an openness of interpretation when it was adopted for the Quanzhou angels.

The flexibility in applying these elements can be further backed up by the shared hair plaits on the Konya figures and the Qazwīnī images, a feature more similar to the Mongols and not typically Christian. The combination of the crowned angels holding an object, with plaited hair and wrapped legs under the robes, in the London Qazwīnī image demonstrates that the angels in the Ilkhanate manuscript are themselves the result of a cultural fusion of Buddhist and Christian art, with a tint of the Central Asian Uighur colour.

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[78] Parry, "The Art of Christian Remains in Quanzhou," 258-59. Both Hulegu's mother, Sorghaghtani Beki, and his wife were Christian followers of the Church of the East. About Sorghaghtani Beki's religious belief and tolerance, see Tang, "Sorkaktani Beki," 349-55; About Doquz Khatun's religious belief, see de Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran*, 193. It is also note-worthy that similar crowns also appear on the heads of the sphinxes on a piece of textile that will be discussed in the last chapter.

[79] London Qazwīnī, fol. 12r and 13v; also frontispiece of the Assemblies of al-Hariri from Anna Ballian, "Three Medieval Islamic Brasses and the Mosul Tradition of Inlaid Metalwork," *Μουσείο Μπενάκη*, no. 9 (2009): 126, fig. 14.

[80] The crown is depicted for Cassiopeia on the globe made in Ilkhannate observatory, see Moya Carey, "The Gold and Silver Lining: Shams al-Din Muhammad B. Mu'ayyad al-'Urdi's Inlaid Celestial Globe (c. AD 1288) from the Ilkhanid Observatory at Maragha," *Iran* 47 (2009): 102, fig. 7a and 105. It was used especially for constellation iconography.

Many social aspects confirm that such combined borrowing was possible in the Ilkhanate. The Mongol rulers, initially having their own Shamanic belief, held an open attitude to other religions, such as the 'Nestorian' sect.[81] The Mongol khans also married women of different beliefs, greatly encouraging the patronage and social status of various religions. As a consequence of this intermingling, the arts of multiple religions were exchanged. There exists a similar phenomenon in literature, such as Christians in Syria using Buddhist stories in their manuscripts.[82] Since West Asia was a hub of the Byzantine Church, the Church of the East, and the Islamic schools, there was a great possibility that artisans who made the manuscripts in the Ilkhanate for their new Mongol patrons were familiar with iconographies from various art traditions and could choose from a large pool of different motifs for their artistic purposes. For example, there are Christian motifs used on Islamic works, and certain Jacobite manuscripts were adopting Islamic motifs and styles.[83] The fact of a large Christian population, including merchants living and travelling between Ilkhanate and the Crusader states, should also be considered as a possible influence on these visual choices.[84] This encounter of multiple religions and their arts, along with the mobilising artisans, stimulated this new type of Buddhist-Christian hybrid angels, one that also anticipated the appearance of the Quanzhou angels at the eastern coast of Yuan China.

The Quanzhou interpretation

[81] De Nicola listed the Quanzhen sect of Taoism, the 'Nestorian' church, Tibetan Buddhism, and Sufism as those encouraged by the Mongols across Asia. These branches were all minor ones before the Mongol conquering of their respective sedentary culture. De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran,* 185.

[82] Prazniak, "Ilkhanid Buddhism," 657.

[83] For discussions on Christian motifs on metal works, see Ranee A. Katzenstein and Glenn D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 53-62. For the Muslim connection shown in Jacobite manuscript images, see Hugo Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in Its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," *Syria*, T. 20, Fasc. 2 (1939): 146-49. It should be acknowledged that the 'Nestorian' manuscript in Berlin also has strong Byzantine roots, but with tiny hints of an Islamic influence.

[84] Ballian, "Three Medieval Islamic Brasses," 116 and 120, also note 21.

Turning back to Quanzhou, to understand why the Jingjiao Christians there adopted a motif mediated by the Persians and the meaning of the motif for them, it is necessary to look first at the connections of the Quanzhou Jingjiao community.

The linguistic elements indicate a strong connection of the Jingjiao Christians in the South with those from northern China and Central Asia, whose tombstones have been reviewed in the first section of this chapter. Samuel Lieu, based on textual materials in Zhenjiang, pointed out that the 'Nestorians' during the Yuan period were Uighurs, Mongols, and Tanguts, and these different groups were reflected in the scripts used on the Quanzhou Christian inscriptions, including Syro-Turkic, Uighur, and Chinese.[85] Chinese linguist Niu Ruji also confirms the same point; a link existed between Uighur Christians in Quanzhou with those in northern China because Syro-Turkic and Uighur vocabularies and letters were used on the stones discovered in both areas.[86] Moriyasu Takao likewise proposed that the Turkic language of the Uighur 'Nestorian' community in Quanzhou was the same as that used in the North.[87] The linguistic evidence thus suggests that the Jingjiao community in Quanzhou during the Yuan possibly shared the same root with those in the North.

From the visual evidence, the consistent use of the main cross-on-lotus motif, especially the flower-shaped lotus, seems to back up the linguistic proof. There is also the appearance of the canopy over the lotus used on both Inner Mongolia and Quanzhou stones (fig. 1.22). However, for the angel motif, the evidence is not as

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[85] Lieu, "The Church of the East in Quanzhou," 43, also quoting from Yu Xilu 俞希魯, *(Zhishun) Zhenjiangzhi* （至順）鎮江志, footnote 83 and 84. The Syro-Turkic here refers to the practice adopted by these believers using a combination of Syriac and Turkish languages, or writing Turkish language in the Syriac scripts. See Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 225-26.

[86] Niu Ruji 牛汝极, "Cong chutu beiming kan Quanzhou he Yangzhou de jingjiaolaiyuan 从出土碑铭看泉州和扬州的景教来源 The Origin of the Jingjiao in Quanzhou and Yangzhou from the Inscriptions," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, no. 2 (2003): 79.

[87] Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, "Nippon ni gensonsuru mani kyō kaiga no hakken to sono teki haikei 日本に現存するマニ教絵画の発見とその歴史的背景 The Discovery of Manichaean Paintings in Japan and Their Historical Background," *Inner Asian Studies* 内陸アジア史研究, no. 25 (2010): 16-17.

persuasive. As there is no yet discovered stele with the angel motif in the Jingjiao burial compounds in Inner Mongolia, Parry mentioned a stone discovered in Almaliq 阿力麻里 to show a corresponding pictorial example of the angels (fig. 1.23).[88] These two angels have two wings on the back and two on the waist, wear long, tight-sleeved robes with clear indication of their legs and feet, and have no crown. The lotus and cross is put on a centre-recessed base while the angels are reaching out to the lotus flower. Apart from the different dress code, another distinct difference from the Quanzhou image is the proportion of these angels to the cross. They look quite small here and definitely cannot hold the lotus. Further, they seem to be standing in the air rather than flying. The lower body is in an upright position, not floating as those in Quanzhou and in Ilkhanate. The recessed base also is not used in any image discovered in Quanzhou. It is interesting to notice that although these angels also have four wings, the position of the second pair is different from the Quanzhou one, being not on the back but placed on the waist. These wings are away from the first pair and are attached to the body in a strange way.

The inscription on this stone confirms that it was created around the years 1301/2.[89] The recessed base can be regarded as a kind of altar and one cross-on-lotus on a similar altar was discovered on another stele in Inner Mongolia.[90] It seems that the image on the Almaliq stone should be linked to those used by the Jingjiao Christians in Mongolia, but it is unfortunate that there is no image of the angels discovered in the latter area and it is not clear if such angels were used broadly by the Jingjiao community in northern China and Central Asia.

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[88] Parry, "The Art of Christian Remains in Quanzhou," 243-44, fig. 11.5. Due to the scarcity of evidence from Central Asia, it is doubtful that this motif was passing through the land to Quanzhou.

[89] For detailed information of the stone, see Zhou, "Studies on Nestorian Iconology in China and Part of Central Asia ," 215-16, Appendix 2, A-1.

[90] Zhou, 322, Appendix 10, S-1.

However, there is no denying the greater similarity between the Quanzhou images and those in the Ilkhanate manuscripts. This is confirmed by the shared three-peaked crowns, plaited hair, wrapped legs and the wings on their backs in several cases. The Quanzhou angels are flying among the clouds, and some hold the central cross-on-lotus. They definitely form a different group from the one on the Almaliq stone.

Although there is the undeniable connection with the North in these Jingjiao images, such as the use of the same cross-on-lotus, it is suggested here that the transmission of the Ilkhanate influence on the angels was through a sea route. Quanzhou, being a port connected with the Gulf area, had a large Persian community in medieval times.[91] The Persians also set up economic bases in Southeast Asian countries to form a commercial network, particularly along the coast of India and in hub ports such as Ma'bar.[92] Among these Persians, there were also 'Nestorian' traders in Java and south Sumatra.[93] It is also reflected in the Chinese record that *Yelikewen* merchants were among those who participated in foreign trade.[94]

What is noticeable in the foreign trade is the role of the Bureau for Imperial Investment (Quanfusi 泉府司). The bureau was set up in the seventeenth year of Zhiyuan (1280) to replace the General Administration for the Supervision of Ortoy

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[91] About Quanzhou's Persian community and its position in the Muslim commercial network, see Prazniak, *Sudden Appearances*, 209. Ibn Battuta also mentioned the greatness of the port Zayton (Quanzhou) and that Muslims were living in a separate part of the city, Charles Defrémery and Beniamino Sanguinetti, eds., *Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah,* vol.4, 269.

[92] For the Persian merchant community in the maritime trade, see John W. Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 221-25.

[93] For this information, see John Roxborogh, "Contextualisation and Re-contextualisation: Regional Patterns in the History of Southeast Asian Christianity," *Asia Journal of Theology* 9, no.1 (1995): 32-33 and John C. England, "The Earliest Christian Communities in Southeast and Northeast Asia: An Outline of the Evidence Available in Seven Countries Before A.D. 1500," *Missiology: An International Review* 19, no. 2 (1991): 207-08.

[94] "Shibo 市舶 maritime trade", in *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu*, annot. Fang, 533-34. The Chinese record does not specify what type of Christians these merchants were. Considering most Jingjiao believers were of the Turkic people, a part of the 'semu' group performing foreign trade, it is very likely that these merchants were Jingjiao Christians.

(Wotuo zongguanfu 斡脱總管府), the office that managed the Uighur and Muslim traders who made investment for the Mongol royalty.[95] The Bureau also set up branches in 1287 at several places to supervise the maritime trade.[96] The connection of Quanzhou with the branch bureau can be inferred from the appointment of the Uighur official Yighmish (Yiheimishi 亦黑迷失, fl. 1265-93).[97] Khubilai appointed Yighmish as the Grand Minister for the Branch Bureau for Imperial Investment 行泉府司太卿 in 1287, the year when the branch bureaus were set up, and he later was appointed as the Chief Administrator of Fujian Branch Secretariat 福建行省平章 when Khubilai sent out troops to conquer Java. A stele of his Chinese wife, discovered in Quanzhou and dated to 1303, further enhanced his connection with the port. The inscription says that Yighmish came to Quanzhou in the post of the Branch Bureau for Imperial Investment, and it can be inferred that he was staying in Quanzhou, the largest port, to perform his duty of overseeing foreign trade.[98] Thus at least one high Uighur official was directly involved in the management of international trade in Quanzhou.

Another person from the bureau testifies to the connection with Jingjiao Christians. When Khubilai re-established the Bureau for Imperial Investment in the twenty-second year of Zhiyuan (1285), he appointed an official named Dashiman 答

[95] For the definition of both offices, see Endicott-West, "Merchant Associations in Yüan China: The 'Ortoy'," 127, 133-34. For the setting up of the Bureau for Imperial Investment, see *Yuanshi*, 11: 227. For the relationship between the two offices, see Bao Yuhong 包玉红, "Yuandai quanfusi yanjiu 元代泉府司研究 Research on the Department of Quan Fu in Yuan Dynasty," (Master diss., Inner Mongolia University, 2015), 15-17.

[96] *Yuanshi*, 93: 2365; 15: 311. The latter record says that in the twenty-fifth year of Zhiyuan (1288), the Branch Bureau for Imperial Investment also set up offices managing transport ships and maritime trade.

[97] For Yighmish's biography, see *Yuanshi*, 131: 3198-3200.

[98] Chen Lihua 陈丽华, "Cunzai yu xiangxiang: Quanzhou Yuandai shehai muzhi beikede lishishuxie 存在与想象：泉州元代涉海墓志碑刻的历史书写 Existence and Imagination: a History in Quanzhou's Yuan-Dynasty Epigraphs about Maritime Activities," *Yuanshi ji minzu yu bianjiang yanjiujikan* 元史及民族与边疆研究集刊 2 (2015): 49-51. The inference of Yighmish staying in Quanzhou was made by Chen Dezhi, as quoted by Chen, based on his enormous accumulated wealth.

失蠻 (1247-1304) as the head of the bureau.[99] This Dashiman has been identified as the brother of Esen-buqa (Yexian buhua 也先不花 d.1309) who has a biography in *Yuanshi*, which states that the family were Kereit Jingjiao Christians.[100] From Dashiman's tomb inscription, it is known that his ancestors had connection with the Ongut tribes, also Jingjiao Christians.[101] The fact that Dashiman was a leading official for the management of foreign trade income makes it possible to infer that Jingjiao Christians were a prominent presence in the maritime trade of Yuan period along with Uighur officials like Yighmish.

Apart from trading activities, there are also records about embassies between the Yuan state and the Ilkhanate through Quanzhou. Another epitaph discovered in Quanzhou records a delegate travelling from this port to Hormuz in the early Dade period (possibly from 1297 to 1299), who later returned to the city (his home) where he died in 1304.[102] Since this record says the delegate brought back gifts given by Ilkhan Ghazan (r.1295-1304) himself, it was a high-level official embassy. Another record shows that in 1296, Baiju 拜住 (d.1323?), a decedent of Muqali (d.1223), the renowned commander under Chinggis, also travelled to the Ilkhanate under imperial order and was appointed to a military position by Ghazan before his return.[103] He was also in the same Java expedition as Yighmish. There is a chance that the embassy of Baiju was the same as the one recorded in Quanzhou, considering the closeness of

[99] *Yuanshi*, 13: 278. Yang Zhijiu had a detailed discussion on this Dashiman and his career, and also identified his birth and death year. Yang Zhijiu, "Yuandai de jige Dashiman 元代的几个答失蛮 The figures named Dashiman in Yuan Dynasty," in *Yuanshi sanlun*, 211-17.

[100] Yang has compared the tomb inscription of Dashiman with information on him in *Yuanshi*, and reached this conclusion that he was brother of Esen-buqa. Yang, "Yuandai de jige Dashiman," 212-13. For Esen-buqa's biography, see *Yuanshi*, 134: 3266-67.

[101] For the full text of the inscription, see Yao Shui 姚燧, "Huangyuan Gaochang Zhonghuiwang shendaobei 皇元高昌忠惠王神道碑 The Spirit Way Stele for the King Zhonghui of Gaochang, Da Yuan," in *Mu'an ji* 牧庵集, vol. 13, Qing Wuyingdian juzhenban congshu edition.

[102] For the detail of this epitaph, see Chen, "Quanzhou Yuandai shehai muzhi," 47-49.

[103] Yuan Jue 袁桷, "Baizhu yuanshuai chushi shishi" 拜住元帥出使事實 Record on the Mission of the General Baiju, in *Qingrong jushiji* 清容居士集, vol. 34, Sibucongkan edition.

time.[104] Although it is not sure whether this Quanzhou delegate was a Christian or not, Baiju's mother was from the Kereit Jingjiao Christian tribe.[105] It is also worth mentioning that, during the time of this Dade embassy, the governor of Fujian, Kuolijisi 闊里吉思, whose seat was located in Quanzhou, was a Mongol 'Nestorian'.[106] These figures listed above demonstrate that Jingjiao Christian officials in Quanzhou at the time were actively involved in economic, diplomatic and military activities, and potentially had connections with other officials of the same religion or ethnicity.

These records prove that there were communications with the Persian area both at commercial and official levels at Quanzhou, and that both Uighur officials and Jingjiao Christians were involved in these exchanges. Thus, it is possible that a channel existed for the community in Quanzhou to get access to materials from Ilkhanate Persia. The fact that Uighur influence existed in both areas is an important link, considering many Jingjiao Christians in Yuan China were also of a Turkic-Uighur origin. The transmission of Buddhist motifs through the Uighurs to West Asia, the Uighurs being among both the Buddhist and Christian communities, and the Uighurs' and Jingjiao Christians' participation in overseas trade and diplomacy, could

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[104] The epitaph says the delegate went to Hormuz until three years already in Dade "至於大德三年內". It is possible that the whole trip extended into the early years of Dade, not necessarily meaning that he departed in the third year of Dade. It has been estimated that it took about two years for a round trip from China to Hormuz during the Yuan period, and possibly longer if the delegates stayed in Ilkhanate for business, see Qiu Yihao 邱軼皓, "大德二年（1298）伊利汗國遣使元朝考：法合魯丁·阿合馬·惕必的出使及其背景 Background and Aftermath of Fakhr al-Dīn Ṭīb'īs Voyage: A Resurvey of the Interaction between the Ilkhanate and the Yuan around 1298 AD ," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 87, no.1 (2016): 86-87. If this was the situation, there was a high possibility that he went with Baiju's embassy. Also the Quanzhou delegate seemed to have a military function as he was given a special tally issued by the Ministry of Military Affairs, which may also relate to Baiju's military purpose. For the special function of the tally, see Haneda Toru 羽田亨, *Recueil de Oeuvres Posthumes de Toru Haneda (Etude Historiques)* 羽田博士史学論文集 （歷史篇）, (Kyoto: Toyoshi-Kenkyu-kai, Université de Kyoto, 1957), 98-99, 103-05.

[105] For Baiju's biography, see *Yuanshi*, 136: 3300-06.

[106] *Yuanshi*, 134: 3262.

all have enabled the spread and acceptance of this Buddhist-Christian hybrid motif across the continent.

Further, the openness for interpretation of the elements in the angel motif also enabled transmission across religious boundaries. The common meaning embodied in the motif in the Ilkhanate — the 'praise' to divinity, the celestial nature of the crown and the allowance for adding exotic features — provided imaginative space for the believers and artisans of different religions. Echoing this western end on the sea trade route, the multi-cultural environment of Quanzhou provided the same perfect soil to share common meaning, and it is no wonder that the motif was adopted more abundantly at this port city than any other place in Yuan China.

If the motif was imported, then were these tombstones at Quanzhou also made by foreign hands? The answer is likely negative. Both Ken Parry and John Guy believe that local stonemasons played a role in the carving of these stones, based on a decorative closeness with the relief carvings on the Zhenguo pagoda 鎮國塔 (the eastern pagoda) in Kaiyuan Temple.[107] In Yuan China, although there was an official management of the stone carvers under one Office of Stone listed under the Directorate-General for Artisans of Various Classes, there are no definite records on the official stone carvers in Quanzhou.[108] Apart from the official management, stone carvers in China seemed also to take commissions through their own workshops, such as one Song workshop titled "Lushan Jade Carving Shop" and one Yuan example showing the title of "Xingyang Stone Buddha Shop".[109] Considering the tombstones

[107] Guy, "Quanzhou: Cosmopolitan City of Faith," 164; Parry, "The Art of the Christian Remains," 256-60.

[108] Cheng Zhangchan has talked about the official management of stone carvers in Yuan, but focuses mostly on northern China. Cheng Zhangchan 程章灿, *Shike kegong yanjiu* 石刻刻工研究 *Research on Stone Carvers* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 159-76.

[109] This type of workshop was regarded as offering 'character carving' services 刻字店 since most of the steles for the Chinese needed inscriptions. The Yuan example shows there were also workshops focused on Buddhist stone carvings. Cheng, *Shike kegong yanjiu*, 176-77. Lushan is in modern Jiangxi

in Quanzhou mostly had a private nature, it is likely that they were also made by similar, independent workshops. Further, the strong Buddhist influence in the angel images indicates that these tombstones were made by local stone carvers familiar with Buddhist commissions.

In fact, stone carving and building techniques had been well developed in Quanzhou even before the Mongol conquest. In the Song Dynasty alone, there were a hundred and five stone bridges built in Quanzhou.[110] Buddhist monks also participated in these construction works, joining the building of forty-two bridges in the Song and thirteen in the Yuan.[111] They also helped to develop the stone pagodas and relief images on these constructions.[112] By the Yuan time, in Quanzhou, a local stone carving industry already prospered and Buddhist temples were wealthy enough to renovate their own halls and pagodas with elaborate decoration.[113] The role of local stonemasons and the permeation of Buddhist motifs are further expressed by the lotus leaf and the scrolling-vine borders that are used extensively on stone works related to Buddhist, Christian and Muslim communities in Quanzhou.[114] The unified use of subsidiary decorations prove that these tombstones were made by the same source and the patterns were unavoidably affected by local taste.

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in southern China and Xingyang is in modern Henan, thus northern China. The Yuan stone carvers also regarded stone as a type of 'jade'. Cheng, 55.

[110] Li Yukun 李玉昆, "Senglu zai songdaizaoqiao huodong zhong suoqide zuoyong 僧侣在宋代造桥活动中所起的作用 The Role Played by Buddhist Monks in the Bridge-building of Song Dynasty," *Fayin* 法音, no. 2 (1984): 41.

[111] Li, "Senglu zai songdaizaoqiao," 41.

[112] Yan Aibin 阎爱宾, "Songyuan Quanzhou shijianzhu fazhanmailuo 宋元泉州石建筑发展脉络 Development of Quanzhou Stone-building Technology in Song-Yuan Dynasties," *Maritime History Studies*, no. 1 (2009): 83.

[113] Yan, "Songyuan Quanzhou shijianzhu," 102. The wealth accumulation of the Buddhist temples already started during the Song.

[114] For the tombstones, many examples are listed in Wu's book. A close comparison could be made between A183 and A 184 (Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 164-65) and B 63 and B 64 (Wu, 426-27).

Therefore, in Quanzhou, there was no lack of Buddhist images and elements that were applied extensively on objects for other religions.[115] This strong Buddhist flavour raises the question of how Jingjiao people interpreted the angel motif. The fact that Jingjiao Christians did not just choose a local Buddhist *apsara* image as their Tang predecessors seem to have done, explains clearly the intention of these Christians to be distinguished from the local Buddhist believers. For this purpose, they chose to adapt the imported image rather than using one from local culture. The unique Jingjiao interpretation had already been suggested by scholars studying the Luoyang images. Ge Chengyong proposed that the Tang Christians were using the *apsara* to create their own angel image, and they never put it into a Buddhist context.[116] In the Quanzhou representation, it is possible to see how they interpreted the new motif along with the old ones. The central motif of the 'cross-on-lotus' was maintained all through from Inner Mongolia to Quanzhou, replacing the central object in the Persian models, and certain elements from the North, such as the canopy, were preserved. However, the angels in Quanzhou mostly take on the unique characteristics of wearing three-peaked crowns, flying in their loose robes, and some having wings. The Jingjiao community in Quanzhou might also try to emphasise the celestial divinity when they allowed the adding of the 'cloud collar' to the image, since for cultures under the Mongol influence, the 'cloud collar' also refers to divinity from heaven, thus a suitable symbol for the angels.[117] Through this combination, the angel motif for the Quanzhou Christians becomes a distinctly different symbol from the Buddhist *apsara* and thus produces a strong foreign colour for a Christian identity.

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[115] Jennifer Purtle, "Salvaging Meaning: The Art of Recycling in Sino-Mongol Quanzhou, ca. 1276-1408," *The Medieval Globe* 6, no. 1 (2020): 58.

[116] Ge, "Jingjiao tianshi," 6-7.

[117] For the symbolism of the 'cloud collar', see Schuyler Cammann, "The Symbolism of the Cloud Collar Motif," *The Art Bulletin* 33, no. 1 (March 1951): 3-5. See also Parry, "The Art of the Christian Remains," 258.

The further adding of a cross on top of the angel's head enhances this unique interpretation as it puts more emphasis on the cross motif that is essential to the Christians.

Lastly, the inscription also backs up the separate identity of the Jingjiao Christians. Apart from the continuing use of Uighur or Syro-Turkic letters, several of the steles also use Phags-pa script alongside Chinese characters.[118] The use of Phags-pa, the writing system set by the Mongols to be used in official documents after 1269, implies an identification with the higher level of the society, including the *semu* communities that enjoyed privileges under the Mongols, or even (ambitiously) with the Mongols.[119] The linguistic elements on these stones thus supports the exotic visual images, both contributing to emphasise a Jingjiao Christian representation that adopted cultural influence from the Uighurs, Mongols, and Persians to give expression to their own religious and social identity.

1.3 The paired angels on the Yangzhou stone

This section will look at a puzzling piece in this discussion. In another port city, Yangzhou, a tombstone belonging to a Christian woman named Elizabeth (yelishiba 也里世八) was discovered in 1981 (fig. 1.24). The stele is square-shaped, and capped with a semi-circular top that differs from the arched-shape steles for the Christians in Quanzhou. The upper part is filled with images and the lower half has an inscription

[118] Niu Ruji has summarised that among the Quanzhou stones, there are eight with Syriac scripts, five with Chinese (some bilingual), four with Phags-pa, and one with Uighur scripts. Niu, "Cong chutu beiming," 73-74.

[119] The use of Phags-pa letters are recorded in *Yuanshi*, and Khubilai's order had made it clear that this new letter should be used for the imperial orders and official documents along with the commonly used languages in each areas of the empire. *Yuanshi*, 202: 4518. Chinese characters are only used on the steles to show the date of death while the names of the dead are all in Phags-pa. As a result, the use of Phags-pa along with Chinese on many Jingjiao steles indicates that these people were from families with an official background. Niu also mentioned that the women appearing among the names could either be Chinese wives of the Uighurs or Sinicised Uighur daughters, Niu, "Cong chutu beiming," 78-79. Further, the use of different languages, not limited to Phags-pa, could have a political implication, as suggested by the use of both Chinese and Syriac scripts on the steles in Inner Mongolia, Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains*, 224.

in both Chinese and Syro-Turkic. It states that Elizabeth was buried in the year 1317, and that her husband came from Dadu.[120] The image features a cross with bifurcated arms standing over a lotus flower, a symbol that is consistent with the cross motif found in the Mongolia and Dadu area.

The stele also includes a pair of angels flanking the cross. Each has four wings, two from the back of the neck, two from the waist. They wear round collared robes belted at the waist and round, lobed hats topped with a cross. The legs are conveyed into a ribbon-like ambiguous shape by two defining lines. There is no doubt that the images were distorted by the crude execution, but the carver was attentive to emphasise the large eyes and the high nose bridge of the angels with stronger and thicker lines.

These angels share some similarity with the Almaliq image. They all wear tight-sleeved robes, and the position of the wings is similar, with the second pair strangely coming out from the waist. Yet, the Yangzhou angels wear lobed hats, possibly a corruption of the three-peaked crown of the Quanzhou angels. Further, they share the use of the cross on top of the hat with some Quanzhou images, and the simplified legs.[121] The inscription on the stele wishes the soul of the deceased to be with Sarah, Rebekka and Rachel, a format that was also used on one of the steles in Quanzhou for another Christian woman.[122] These features make it difficult to locate the Yangzhou image. It seems it is in an intermediate stage between the Almaliq and the Quanzhou angels.

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[120] Niu Ruji has translated the inscription of the Syriac letters, which also contains the death date of the woman, her name and age. The format of the Turkic inscription is similar to those discovered in the North. Niu, "Cong chutu beiming ," 76. A short discussion has been made on the husband, but the textual proof is not very convincing, Geng Shimin 耿世民, "Xuliyawen tujueyu yangzhou jingjiaobei yanjiu 敘利亚文突厥语扬州景教碑研究 Reexamination of the Nestorian Inscription from Yangzhou," in *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia,* eds. Malek and Hofrichter, 246-48.

[121] Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 393, B34.

[122] Niu, "Cong chutu beiming," 76; Quanzhou Maritime Museum, *A Collection of Religious Stone*, 17.

The mention of Dadu in the inscription indicates that the woman might have come from the capital as did her husband, and the use of Syro-Turkic testifies that she was possibly Uighur, as other Uighurs' steles use the same script. The format of the Syro-Turkic inscription also has some similarities in grammar with the inscriptions from Central Asia, and the date of the stone is not far from the Almaliq one dated to 1301/2.[123] Moreover, the Deputy *Darugachi* in Zhenjiang, the twin city opposite Yangzhou across the Yangzi River, during the early Yuan period was a Mar Sargis from a family that originated in Samarkand.[124] Mar Sargis is recorded to have built seven churches in Zhenjiang and Hangzhou.[125] Considering the closer location of Zhenjiang with Yangzhou (even closer than Hangzhou), it is sensible to infer that the Yangzhou Jingjiao community likely formed a contact with the Zhenjiang one.

However, it is not possible to find a direct connection for the Yangzhou Jingjiao community only based on the inscription. It is not even known if the husband, named Xindu, who came from Dadu, was a Christian or not because there were so many people with this name in the Yuan period of different ethnicities.[126] A stele written in both Chinese and Syro-Turkic discovered in Quanzhou also shows that a bishop named Mar Solomon, who died in 1313, was in charge of the Jingjiao churches all over the Jiangnan area (south of Yangzi), while Yangzhou is on the northern bank of the river, even though it possibly could have contacts with the South.[127]

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[123] About the inscription of the this stele and its grammar, see Takahashi, "Representation of the Syriac Language," 44-45.

[124] Information on this person is in Yu Xilu, *(Zhishun) Zhengjiang zhi* （至顺）镇江志 *Zhenjiang Gazetteer*, vol. 9, Qing edition.

[125] A full study on the seven churches is Qiu Shusen 邱树森, "Zhenjiang 'Daxingguosiji bei' yanjiu 镇江"大兴国寺记碑"研究 Study on the 'Stele for the Temple of Prosperous State' in Zhenjiang," *Dongnan wenhua* 东南文化 201, no. 1 (2008): 49-54.

[126] Geng Shimin regarded the husband Xindu as the son of a high official in the Dadu court, but he also admitted that the person he identified had no record of serving in Yangzhou, see Geng, "Reexamination of the Nestorian Inscription," 247, and his footnote 21.

[127] The identity of this person and his official rank has been studied and here will not be elaborated. For studies on this stele, see Moriyasu, "The Discovery of Manichaean Paintings in Japan," 10-13, and

Only this limited information can be gained from the available sources on the Jingjiao communities around Yangzhou, and this is far from enough to set up a firm connection for the Yangzhou angel image with either the one in Almaliq or those in Quanzhou. It is also not known who made the stele for this woman and what was the model for the image used here. The unconventional shape of the stele with its semi-circular top also provokes questions on whether it was reused.[128] With the lack of further examples from Inner Mongolia and Dadu, it is not certain what role the single Yangzhou image played in the transmission of the angel motif, nor the transmission direction, whether from the North to the South or vice versa. It still requires more examples to confirm whether there was a northern type for the Jingjiao angel motif.

Conclusion

The evidence discussed in this chapter prove that the angel motif on the Quanzhou Jingjiao Christian stones had a close connection with Persian manuscript images. The shared Buddhist influence between the two and the open interpretation embodied in the Persian angel motif may have facilitated the transmission of this motif across different religious groups.

Since this chapter does not aim to find out the source for the paired-angel motif, it will not deny the use of this motif by the Tang Jingjiao Christians, but the transmission and appearance of the angels, especially in Quanzhou, demonstrate that there was a new influence at hand. The abundant use of various elements and the complex combination on the Quanzhou angel motif, especially its closeness to the Ilkhanate images and difference from Turkic ones, suggest that this was at a later stage in the visual transmission, possibly later than the Persian angels that were

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Majella Franzmann, "The Epitaph of Mar Solomon, Bishop of South China, Administrator of Manicheans and Nestorians," *Open Theology*, no. 1 (2015): 295-98.

[128] Almost all the steles used by the non-Chinese in the Yuan period are arch-shaped, but it is also possible that stones were being reused in emergencies or due to lack of material.

affected by the Uighur models. Yet, the importance played by the Uighurs, including Jingjiao Christians from northern China, in the transmission and mutation of the motif should not be overlooked and their movement out of the Mongolian steppe must have helped to form a cultural exchange channel within the Mongol Empire.

By comparison, both the two angel images on the Almaliq stone and the Yangzhou stele seem to belong to a different group from the Quanzhou motif, provoking the question whether there was a similar motif in use in northern China and Central Asia during the Yuan period. Unless there are new discoveries of other angel motifs from Mongolia of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the Quanzhou motif, based on existing evidence so far, should be regarded as a renewed adaptation through access to Ilkhanate images by the Quanzhou Jingjiao Christian community, who used it to highlight their own religion and social status.

Nonetheless, it is certain that the Jingjiao Christians of Yuan China continued to use their unique visual representation from the North: the cross-on-lotus that was inherited from their Syriac predecessors.[129] The Buddhist lotus, exchangeable in a few occasions with the clouds, is transformed into a divine seat for the holy cross, and the angels with exotic features and symbols of divinity are used to glorify the cross. This visual vocabulary for their religious identity highlighted the central cross venerated by the Jingjiao Christians and pronounced specific Christian underlinings despite a visual similarity with elements taken from other religious art. The use of the Buddhist lotus and the *apsara*-like angels helped to place the motif into a Chinese cultural context, but the deliberate choice of Persian characteristics in the angel motif at Quanzhou, its specific meaning created for the Christians, along with the use of non-Chinese scripts, aimed to emphasise the unique identity of the Jingjiao Christians living in this port city that embraced many foreign communities. In this way, the Jingjiao Christians in

[129] Yao, "Shizilianhua," 242.

Yuan China had a unique symbol to differentiate themselves from the large population of native Chinese and Buddhist believers living in southern China.

Chapter 2

A Comparison: Adaptation Approaches of Latin Christians and Muslims

Introduction

Apart from the Jingjiao Christians active in the Yuan, there were also Latin Christians who began to arrive in East Asia, headed by the Franciscan missionaries such as Giovanni da Montecorvino and Giovanni da Marignolli (fl. 1338-1355). Muslim merchants from Central and West Asia also rushed into East Asia with the opening of commercial routes and markets by the Mongols, as testified for instance by the prosperity of the Quanzhou port. Although Muslims began to live in China long before the Mongol period, it was only after their commercial talent and services were recognised by the Mongols that they began to take on a higher social status in this society largely composed of Chinese.[1] The presence of Muslim quarters in several Chinese cities is evident in the notes of the Moroccan Ibn Battuta.[2] This population was much larger than the Christian group (Jingjiao included), a point reflected in population numbers recorded in the *Gazetteer of Zhenjiang*, the city on the bank of the Yangzi River opposite Yangzhou. In this record, the immigrant households of Muslims were 59 while Christian ones were 23, less than half of the former.[3] It can be inferred that the ratio may have been similar in other transportation hubs like Hangzhou and Quanzhou, cities sharing the Muslim diaspora through maritime trade.[4]

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[1] For an overview of the Muslim immigration history in major commercial cities, including Hangzhou, Yangzhou and Quanzhou, see Li, "Yangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," *Huizu yanjiu*, no. 1 (2005): 75-78; "Quanzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," *ibid*., no. 2 (2010): 69-72 and no. 3 (2010): 55-58; "Hangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," *ibid*., no. 3 (2011): 72-79.

[2] Defrémery and Sanguinetti eds., *Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4, 274 "…dans chacune villes de la Chine il y a toujours un cheikh de l'islamisme, qui décide en dernier ressort tout ce qui concerne les musulmans, et un kadhi, qui leur rend la justice."

[3] Part of the *Gazetteer* was translated in Moule and Giles, "Christians at Chen-chiang Fu," 630-60. For the Chinese text and the list of the households, see ibid., 685-86 and footnote 10.

[4] In Yuan time, Hangzhou was a transportation hub for merchants from Quanzhou to northern cities, such as Yangzhou and Dadu. Li, "Hangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," no. 3 (2011): 73.

The number of Latin Christians, only a small part of the whole Christian population, would be much smaller than the Muslims.

The visual materials related to the Latins and Muslims are limited. There remain only two known tomb steles connected to the Latin Christians discovered in Yangzhou that can be dated to the Yuan period. Although Muslim tombstones are more numerous, they mostly feature inscriptions with no images. Pictorial decorations on the Muslim tombstones are confined to non-figurative topics such as vegetal and floral scrolls. To narrow down the scope, the current research will only look at the steles related to new Muslim immigrants coming during the Yuan period who could be identified by the date in the inscriptions, not those who already lived in China for centuries before the Mongols came. Remains of mosques in China will not be included because the buildings, while dated to the Song or Yuan period, were all subject to later renovations.[5]

It is then possible to make some comparison between the two groups based on following reasons. One is that tombstones for both groups are of a similar form in arched shape, with mono-thematic decorations. The two Latin ones centre on images of the saints, while most Muslim ones focus on vegetal motifs. Another is that both groups came from (European or Persian) cultures that were not under much Chinese influence before the Yuan period, compared with Buddhists and Jingjiao Christians. By comparing these two groups, this chapter aims to demonstrate the different approaches taken by the Latins and the Muslims, whose attitudes towards Chinese art are on two extreme ends of the axis. While the Latin Christians mostly kept to their own tradition and placed Chinese elements into a Christian context, the Muslims had a more open attitude in embracing Chinese motifs, and even developed their own

[5] Steinhardt has a monograph on these Islamic architectures. Nancy Steinhardt, *China's Early Mosques* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

symbol from the absorbed Chinese elements. On the Muslim steles and tomb markers, there are also traces of forms and decorations shared with tomb decorations used in northern China, a fact suggesting an influence through the burial art practiced by the Chinese artisans.

2.1 The Latin Christian steles

There are only two Latin steles surviving. Both belonged to siblings from the same family and were discovered in Yangzhou in the 1950s. There are still certain puzzles around the discovery of them. The first English publication of one stele, with the name Katerina, was in 1954 by a Jesuit priest, Francis Rouleau, living in Shanghai at that time.[6] He said that the stele was discovered in 1951 and he made a facsimile from a rubbing sent to him in 1952.[7] The second stele, with the name Antonio, was published by Geng Jianting in 1963, and Geng claimed that this one was discovered in 1952.[8] The archaeologist Xia Nai, published both steles again in 1979, and said that both were discovered in 1952.[9] Worth noting is that in the photos published by both Geng and Xia, there is no trace of the Chinese seal on the Katerina stele that appeared on the rubbing offered by Rouleau. If the discovery process revealed by Rouleau is correct, the Katerina stele was definitely found earlier than its first appearance in an

[6] Francis. A. Rouleau, "The Yangchow Latin Tombstone as a Landmark of Medieval Christianity in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17, no. 3/4 (1954): 346-65.

[7] The rubbing was sent through a Chinese Christian priest named Ding Ruren 丁汝仁 according to his contemporary Gu Baohu 顾保鹄, see Gu Baohu, "Yangzhou yuandai tianzhujiao mubei 揚州元代天主教墓碑 Yuan Catholic Tombstones in Yangzhou," *Constantinian Bimonthly*, 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20140405043522/http://www.cdd.org.tw/Costantinian/509/50914.htm (accessed May 11th, 2022). Unfortunately there is no information about Father Ding to be found in the Catholic Church in Yangzhou (personal communication with the Sacred Heart of Jesus Catholic Church in Yangzhou, May 20th, 2022).

[8] Geng Jianting 耿鉴庭, "Yangzhou chenggenlide ladingwen mubei 扬州城根里的拉丁文墓碑 Latin Tombstones Discovered in the Old Yangzhou City Wall," *Kaogu*, no. 8 (1963): 449.

[9] Xia Nai 夏鼐, "Yangzhou ladingwen mubei he Guangzhou weinisi yinbi 扬州拉丁文墓碑和广州威尼斯银币 Latin Tombstones in Yangzhou and Gold Coins of Venice in Guangzhou," *Kaogu,* no. 6 (1979): 532, 535.

Italian newspaper in April 1952.[10] As it is his Chinese seal on the rubbing, it seems likely that the person who discovered both steles was Geng.[11]

Apart from this confusing timeline for discovery and publishing, the images on these two tombstones also raised many questions concerning their sources and production. Previous art historical discussions of these two steles, through comparison of the motifs, conclude that images on these two stones follow European models, while they have been adapted to the linear depiction used in printed illustrations in Yuan China, proving that these two steles are examples of trans-regional objects created under the mobilisation of people in the Mongol period.[12] Yet more examination is still required for the details of the two steles as will be done in the following section. The aim is to offer more clues to permit a circumstantial observation on the maker of the two images, an observation that provides possible reasons for the choices made for the two narrative images. By saying it is circumstantial, it is acknowledged here that the Latin stones only compose a single case, but the tentative conclusion still suggests that the Latin Church in Yuan China was strict in following European models and was making efforts to differentiate itself from the other religions, even from the Jingjiao Christians.

The model for the images

As mentioned above, the steles belong to two siblings, Katerina and Antonio,

[10] Rouleau, "The Yangchow Latin Tombstone," 349, and footnote 1, 346.

[11] This information is pointed out in Xia, "Yangzhou ladingwen mubei," note 3, 537. Geng was a herbalist doctor from a family with generations in practice, and he was probably working in the 'cultural object committee' in the early 1950s. Geng Yinxun 耿引循, Liu Huizhen 刘晖桢 et al., "Geng Jianting xiansheng shengping 耿鉴庭先生生平 Biography of Geng Jianting," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 中华医史杂志 30, no. 1 (2000): 52-54.

[12] Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and its Influence on the Art of the West* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999), 135-46; Jennifer Purtle, "The Far Side: Expatriate Medieval Art and Its Languages in Sino-Mongol China," *Medieval Encounters*, no. 17 (2011): 177-186, 196-97; Mengtian Bai, "Yangzhou Latin Tombstones: A Christian Mirror of Yuan China Society," (Honors diss., Oberlin College, 2018), 17-42.

with the family name of Ilioni from Genoa, who died respectively in 1342 and 1344.[13] These tombstones (fig. 2.1) are scarce evidence of Europeans living in Yuan China, backing up the information that there were Latin communities in commercial cities including Yangzhou.[14]

At the top of the Katerina stone is an image of Mary and the Christ Child. Mary is sitting on a stool that resembles a round table and holds the Christ Child in her left arm. Her right hand is placed in front of her robe which is depicted with dense lines. The Christ Child has a nimbus inset with a cross. Below the mother and the child, to the left are two angels flying. Underneath these angels the martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria is depicted. This scene includes her symbol of the spiked wheels and the torturers who were hit by the wheels when angels came to assist her. To the right of this scene, a soldier is about to cut St. Catherine's head off with a sword. Above, her body is being laid into a grave by angels. Finally on the extreme right side beyond the life stories of the saint, a man in a long robe is kneeling on the ground and holding a baby in his hands.

The Antonio stone adopts a similar layout, but depicts different scenes. It starts on the top with Christ sitting on a square stool, flanked by two figures of either angels or saints. The figure on the right with wings holds a lance and the crown of thorns. The one on the left without wings holds a cross in one hand and an unidentifiable

[13] About the family name on the stone, there were different interpretations on Ilioni or Vilioni, but most scholars agree it is Ilioni from Genoa in Italy. Rouleau proposed first that this is Vilioni and Arnold followed this in her book. See Francis Rouleau, "The Yangchow Latin Tombstone," 360-61. Lopez regarded the name as Ilioni in his paper. See Robert Lopez, "Nouveaux documents sur les marchands italiens en Chine à l'époque mongole," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 121 année, N. 2 (1977): 456; The Ilioni name was acknowledged by the Chinese in Luciano Petech, "Yangzhou ladingwen mubei kao 扬州拉丁文墓碑考 A Study on the Latin Tombstone in Yangzhou," trans. Xia Nai, *Kaogu*, no. 7 (1983): 672. Purtle in her 2011 paper above used Ilioni.

[14] Odoric of Pordenone said he saw a Latin convent in Yangzhou and John of Montecorvino, the archbishop of Khanbaliq, possibly organised missions to Yangzhou and Hangzhou, see L. Bressan, "Odoric of Pordenone (1265-1331). His vision of China and East Asia and his Contribution to Relations between Asia and Europe," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 70, no. 2 (1997): 7, 9.

object in the other. The nimbus of Christ is inset with a cross whose end is bifurcated. Below this trio, two angels blow horns, signifying that this is the scene of the Last Judgement. Starting from the right on the lower section, souls are coming out from their graves, and in the middle, rendered only in vague lines, are two rows of souls paying their respect to Christ above. In the lower left corner, St Anthony is depicted as seated in contemplation on a long bench with a small winged figure at his foot and the Tau cross in his right hand. Another figure is kneeling in front of him, also holding a baby.

There is no background for either of the two scenes. A blank space is left between the upper and lower sections on the Katerina stone while the images on Antonio's are squeezed together. These compositional faults suggest that these stone carvings were not carefully considered compositions, but were instead composed of fragments taken from unknown models. There is no textual reference for the images, therefore making it difficult to identify the primary model for them. However, some characteristics of the images might give a clue for the prototypes.

The depiction of Mary on the Katerina stone focuses on the use of dense lines for the robe, especially near the collar. It is likely that the artisan was trying to copy a model with a heavy, layered drapery. Around Mary's head, lines show hair covered by a cape, and her tiny feet are shown coming out of the robe. These features are consistent with Byzantine depictions of 'Mary and Child Enthroned' around the second half of the thirteenth century (fig. 2.2). The cross-inset nimbus of the Christ Child and the bifurcated crossed nimbus of Christ also conform to this Byzantine model.

On the Antonio stone, the depiction of the Last Judgement is similar in motif and composition to a page from a French manuscript of the mid-thirteenth century in Gothic style (fig. 2.3). In the manuscript, Christ is sitting on a stool covered with cloth

and two angels flanking him are holding a cross and a lance with the crown of the thorns. In the lower half of the image, two angels are blowing horns and the souls are coming out from their rectangular graves. All these elements are consistent with the images depicted on the Antonio stone.

A crucial point of concern is the depiction of the martyrdom of St. Catherine. This scene appears in many medieval European manuscripts, with the kneeling saint facing wheels with spikes. Although the wheels, the protruding spikes and the levers are derived from European images, there are relatively few scenes that depict Catherine as kneeling between two wheels.[15] One rare example is an ivory diptych of the mid-fourteenth century showing the life of Catherine, on which the crowned saint is praying between two spiked wheels on two stands.[16] Another illustration, closer to the scene on the stele, is in an English manuscript (fig. 2.4, dated to 1360-1375), in which the bare-chested saint is kneeling in a frontal view between two spiked wheels. A nearly contemporary example with the Katerina stone is the reconstructed frieze in Santa Chiara in Naples dated to 1310-1328 (fig. 2.5). It depicts St. Catherine praying (but standing) between two large wheels with levers. Two soldiers are stricken face-downward, lying under the feet of Catherine. Even though the detailed description of Catherine and the soldier differs with that on the Katerina stone, the composition is almost the same. These images prove that depictions of the martyrdom similar to the one on the Katerina stone existed in Europe during the fourteenth century, and a copy of a similar visual representation of St. Catherine's martyrdom must have been known to these Christians in Yuan China.

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[15] One image for comparison is from Douce MS d. 19, fol. 11, cutting 4 in the Bodleian Library of Oxford. Also Judith Oliver, "Medieval Alphabet Soup: Reconstruction of a Mosan Psalter-Hours in Philadelphia and Oxford and the Cult of St Catherine," *Gesta* 24, no. 2 (1985): 131, fig.5.

[16] This object is in Musée Louvre, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010099604 (Accessed Nov. 19th, 2021).

The depiction of the beheading of St. Catherine likewise seems to refer to European models.[17] For example, the particular hat worn by the soldier also appears in a "Book of Hours" illustration (from MS Liturg 41, Bodleian, 1470). Similar costumes of soldiers also are depicted in an Armenian manuscript (*T'oros Roslin Gospels*, W. 539, Walters Art Museum, 1262). Additionally, the form of the graves/coffins on both stones correspond to those used by Latin Christians, repeating a rectangular shape with the base and cover (fig. 2.6a). Another parallel is the body coming out from the graves on the Antonio stone that is a faithful rendering of the models in Latin manuscripts (fig. 2.6b). The individual saints, Catherine and Anthony, also retain their specific symbols: the wheels and the crown for St. Catherine and the T-shaped pastoral staff for St. Anthony.[18]

In consequence, the models used for these images seem to be under Latin or Byzantine influence, and possibly include Armenian features. Again, it is difficult to be certain about the exact models, but the mixture of Latin and Byzantine characteristics proposes a possible channel to transmit similar motifs to Yangzhou. It is known that the western end of Asia, the area for an encounter of various artistic influences in the thirteenth century, was a nexus for the Franciscans and European merchants when they took the land route through Central Asia to Yuan China.[19] Montecorvino, the Latin archbishop of Khanbalik (Dadu), who was preaching in Armenia before he came to Dadu in 1294, had mentioned in a letter of 1306 that he had several images of Christian teachings made.[20] Although it is not clear how he did

[17] I do not agree with Mengtian Bai's analysis that the soldier wears Mongol costume. Bai, "Yangzhou Latin Tombstones," 35-36.

[18] For the symbols for the saints, see George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965), 76, no. 31; 256, no. 75.

[19] William of Rubruck started his journey to the Mongol court from Acre and enjoyed the benefit of contacting people who were already familiar with the Mongols, Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 119.

[20] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Giovanni da Montecorvino." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 1, 2021. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Giovanni-da-Montecorvino (Accessed 19 February 2021); For Montecorvino's letter, see Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 228.

this, it implies that he had some visual models for the making of the images. It is also worth noticing that model-books, especially those from the Crusader lands, played a role in the transmission of Byzantine iconography to the West as this medium is highly portable and artisans were free to choose the elements needed from them.[21] Fragmented drawings from such model-books or manuscripts were likely to be passed on through hand-drawings or copies taken by friars and merchants when they went to the East.[22] Comparison with manuscript and icon images produced in West Asia confirms the similarity shared by the Yangzhou images, such as Christ sitting on a rectangular stool without a back, his nimbus inset with a cross pattern (sometimes with bifurcated ends), and the strong linear drapery of Mary's robe.[23] One drawing from a Byzantine Gospel of the thirteenth century highlights bust images of Mary and Christ, depicting Mary's hair under the cape in exactly the same way as on the Katerina stone.[24]

The use of model-books can also explain the choice of fragmented selection for the Yangzhou images. On both steles, the feet of Mary and Christ dangle over an invisible ground with the disappearance of the footrest. This manner of depicting a sitting figure appeared in drawings such as one image of a sitting figure in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript.[25] The deliberate choice of single motifs from drawings and copies can be further inferred from the lack of a background and the omission of

[21] Robert Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-ca. 1470),* trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 44-45.

[22] William of Rubruck mentioned that he brought a psalter with fine illustrations endowed by the French Queen. Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 120.

[23] The characteristics of the Latin Kingdom iconography are analysed through the icon in Sinai in Kurt Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 69-83, esp. fig. 1, fig. 34 and fig. 57.

[24] This is the fig. 57 in Weitzmann's paper, Fol. 178r of Garrett MS. 7 now in Princeton University Library, https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/99108853563506421 (accessed Nov 21st, 2021).

[25] Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," fig. 53. In the model-book, the scholar is depicted sitting on a table-like seat. It is possible that the Yangzhou artisan was copying such a partial image because most icons and finished manuscripts would have a footrest for the seated person.

certain details, such as the lack of supports for the wheels, not to mention the disordered composition on the Antonio stone. Yet considering the closeness of certain motifs to the European images, it is also difficult to say whether the Franciscan friars who were familiar with the Christian images amended certain parts from their memories of the manuscripts or paintings they had seen before.

In contrast to these Latin and Byzantine influences, a clear Chinese hand is shown in these images. The large halo for the saints is consistent with many Chinese Buddhist paintings and the seats are all adapted versions of Chinese furniture.[26] The bare-bodied Catherine has no distinct female features (not even her long hair), the same as other women in the Chinese book illustrations, while the costume of the soldier beheading her is, apart from his strange hat and the long lower hem of the robe, more similar to Chinese renderings of soldiers' uniforms (fig. 2.7-2.8).

The other Chinese characteristic of the carving on the steles is the same linear style used for woodblock illustrations, and the composition for the narrative also follows established patterns used in illustrations for vernacular literature. Yuan period illustrated books adopt a format of 'shangtu xiawen' 上圖下文, with pictures on top and texts below. The depicted scene is only given one-third of the page and usually unfolds from right to left. As a result, the illustration is confined to a rectangular space like on a handscroll.[27]

The separation of the upper and lower half is most noticeable on the Katerina stone with a large blank space left in the middle. If the deity images on the top are ignored, the lower half narrative section on each stele follows exactly the same format as book illustrations, one that was not unfamiliar to Latin readers since medieval

[26] Bai has identified this and pointed out the similarity with the elements in woodblock printed illustrations. Bai, "Yangzhou Latin Tombstones," 40-41.

[27] For a discussion of the Yuan *Quanxiang pinghua* 全相平话 illustrations, their format, and their similarity with handscroll paintings, see Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 168-76, 179.

manuscript illustrations were sometimes arranged in a similar way. Another feature is that on the lower sections of the steles, the left and right end are bookended by opposing figures. On the Katerina stone, the kneeling man on the right faces St. Catherine to the left. On the Antonio stone, the pensive St. Anthony counterposes the souls rising from graves on the far right. This compositional method was frequently employed in the Chinese treatment of narrative scenes.

All the evidence suggests that the artisan who made the images for the stones was very familiar with the style and compositions of woodblock illustrations, and this assumption can be backed up by the fact that some stone carvers indeed made woodblocks during the Song time.[28] The practice could still thrive in Yuan, since a stele dated to the Dade years says "carved by Cao Dexin" (Cao Dexin zi 曹德新梓).[29] The wording of 'zi' (梓 carve the wood) instead of 'ke' (刻 carve the stone) shows again that the stone carver could also be a woodblock cutter. Further, there is a certain unity between the two steles, in that the images follow the same composition with the main deity on the top, and a serial narrative scene below. It is also noteworthy that each stele includes the motif of a kneeling person holding a baby. Both figures are depicted in the same robes, with one having a headpiece, and both are facing the patron saint of the deceased. These shared features imply that the two tombstones might be created by the same designer or workshop, one that the commissioner for the Ilioni family tombstones turned to in Yangzhou.

[28] In the earlier Song period, many stone carvers were also woodblock carvers. Luo Changfan 罗昌繁, "Dalishi yu xiaorenwu: Beisong wanqi dangzheng shiyuxiade guansishigong kaocha 大历史与小人物：北宋晚期党争视域下的官私石工考察 Grand History and Small Figures: A Study on Official and Civil Stone Carving Workers from the Perspectice of Factionalism in the Late Northern Song Dynasty" *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Science)* 49, no. 3 (2019): 48, footnote 2 and 56-57. DOI: 10.3785/j.issn.1008-942X.CN33-6000/C.2018.11.071

[29] This record is in Ye Changchi 葉昌熾, *Yushi* 語石 *Discourses on Stone Carvings*, vol. 6, 23a, photocopy of Qing Guangxu edition.

The maker of the images

The visual aspects of the two steles lead to speculation on the maker of the images. Both Yangzhou steles contain fragmented pictorial elements in a disordered composition while they retain a neat and tidy inscription section. This forms a contrast with a European contemporaneous example (fig. 2.9). On a tomb plaque in Lyon, images of Mary and the Christ Child accompanied by two angels are also mingled with inscriptions, but the whole composition is carefully calculated with the main deities in the middle while the two angels and the inscriptions fill the two sides, forming a symmetrical layout. In comparison, the disarrangement of the pictorial part on the Yangzhou steles implies that the carver might be working with limited visual resources to fill in a restricted space. He needed to squeeze everything into the empty part left on the Antonio stone, while elements for the Katerina stone are too sparse to fill the blank area. This contrast indicates that the inscriptions on the two steles were executed first. The inference is backed up by a Song stele which recorded that the inscription was written by Pang Renxian, and the images were added later by Bai Tingcan.[30] It then is possible that the Yangzhou tombstones were following the same production process. Moreover, if the beautiful Gothic scripts can be assumed to have been written by a literate European Franciscan priest, this order of execution for the steles implies that the pictorial parts might be left for a lesser member of the church because they were regarded as less important than the inscriptions.[31]

This point is related to the possible maker. On the one hand, the linear style of the carving and the possible adaptation from woodblock illustrations indicate a carver who was either Chinese or familiar with local narrative images and styles. On the

[30] Ye, *Yushi*, vol. 6, 21a. The original text is "龐仁顯書常清淨等經，白廷璨續象". The stele is dated to year 980 (fifth year of Taiping xingguo 太平興國五年) and the author explains that the 'xuxiang' 續象 means the inscriptions were carved first and the images were added later.

[31] Purtle mentions that the lettering style is consistent with those from the Genoese school. Purtle, "The Far Side," 180.

other hand, the similarity with the Latin and Byzantine models suggests that the person who put these images together was acquainted with Christian iconography. Rouleau argued the images on the stones were produced by an artist from the Franciscan missions who borrowed from their new environment.[32] However, there exists no definite record of artists among the European friars. It is likewise doubtful there were European-trained mature artists, and, even if there were, the degree to which they would be willing to utilise Chinese elements is questionable. Another possibility is that the images were created from an oral or textual description, but this does not satisfactorily explain the visual closeness to the Western models in the depiction, especially the Mary and Child in the Byzantine fashion.

There are other possibilities. Montecorvino mentioned that he had trained young boys in the Christian rituals among whom "several of them write psalters and other suitable things", and these boys were notably sent out to different places.[33] Although Montecorvino did not mention who made those images of Christian teaching for him, and whether there was artistic training for the boys, it may be imagined that he would have the boys trained for an artistic skill, as he claimed in the letter that if he were to get psalters and books from Europe, the boys could also make copies of them.[34] In view of this claim, it is possible that the draft of the stele images was drawn by one of these 'trained boys' (or their disciples) who received a Chinese artistic training but then learnt Western motifs from the Franciscan friars, or from the limited Christian resources available in Yuan China.

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[32] Rouleau, "The Yangchow Latin Tombstone," 359.

[33] Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 225 and 227. There is a record that Montecorvino also sent missions to Hangzhou and Yangzhou, and maybe some boys were sent to the two cities. Bressan, "Odoric of Pordenone," 7. It is possible that there were a Latin Christian community larger than expected in this city. Thomas Ertl pointed out that it was not coincidental that the Latins were living in Yangzhou. See Thomas Ertl, "Repercussions from the Far East: A Comparison of the Catholic and Nestorian Presence in China," *The Journal of Transcultural Studies* 6, no. 2 (2015): 60.

[34] Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 227.

Considering the death date of the two siblings, there is another possibility. The liveliness of the Latin Christian communities in Yuan China is clearly evidenced by the embassy of Marignolli that stayed in China from 1342-47 until the friar departed from Quanzhou (Zayton).[35] Marignolli described the prosperous churches in Dadu and Quanzhou, and traveled through China to reach the port city before departure.[36] It is also believed at least fifty European friars were with him in this embassy and some of them remained in China.[37] The idea that some members of the Marignolli embassy brought these images of the Virgin, Christ, and Saints to Yangzhou is a tantalising one.[38] Indeed, the Marignolli mission's soujourn in China also coincides with the death years of the siblings. All this said, from the visual evidence, it remains most likely that the designer responsible for the two steles must have been trained in a dual-cultural environment to produce such hybrid images. A Christian artist trained in the Yuan Latin Church by a Chinese art master remains the best candidate.

That the person who designed the images on the two steles was likely not from Europe is further suggested by his choice of subjects. Both saints are depicted with limited symbols for their identity: Catherine has only the crown and the wheel, while Anthony has the robe, the staff, and the unclear creature under his foot (possibly a cock considering the wings), while the European depictions of the two saints sometimes included more diverse symbols.[39] The violent scene of St Catherine's martyrdom on the Yangzhou tombstone may relate to the importance attached to

[35] Marion A. Habig, "Marignolli and the Decline of Medieval Mission in China," *Franciscan Studies* 5, no. 1 (New Series, March 1945): 25-26.

[36] Habig, "Marignolli and the Decline," 26.

[37] Habig, 31. There is another saying that there were thirty-two people in the embassy. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 340.

[38] We do not know if the embassy stopped at Yangzhou or whether any member of the embassy stayed in the church in the city. Considering the presence of the Genoese in Yangzhou, it was likely that the European embassy would stop there.

[39] It is surprising that the Yangzhou images only include minimum elements listed by Kaftal. There are 16 elements listed for representing Anthony and 14 for Catherine in Kaftal's *Iconography of the Saints*.

martyrdom for those Franciscans living among the 'unfaithful' in the fourteenth century.[40] Andrea da Perugia (Andrew of Perugia, d. 1332?), the Bishop of Zayton, specifically mentioned the death of the Franciscans in India in his letter.[41] The promotion of the idea of 'martyrdom' in order to show fidelity to the Christian faith and to encourage belief among the converted, likely made the topic suitable.[42] As a tombstone erected presumably in the yard of the church, converted believers might see the images even if they could not read the inscription. For such a purpose, putting the death of St Catherine on a tomb stele did not look odd even if it was not commonly used in a European burial context. Further, an artist trained in China would not ignore the use of narrative theatrical or moral-teaching images in northern Chinese burials (to be discussed later), and adopting such a practice should not be taken as very unorthodox.[43]

To enhance the notion that the designer was a non-European, another piece of evidence is the use of the motif of a figure holding a baby. The different depictions of this figure on the two stones seem to imply this is not the same person or someone with a fixed identity. Rouleau regarded the kneeling person as a friar.[44] The figure is also proposed to be a family member of the deceased.[45] The present research will not

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[40] Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries)," *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 441.

[41] Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 237.

[42] For the "martyrdom strategy", see Heullant-Donat, "Martyrdom and Identity," 447-48.

[43] The depictions of the 'filial piety' stories were popular in the Song, Jin and Yuan period tombs, especially in northern China. Many discussions have been dedicated to this topic, and for a summary of the discussion see Deng Fei, "Guanyu Song Jin muzangzhong xiaoxingtu de sikao 关于宋金墓藏中孝行图的思考 Thoughts on the Filial Piety Images in the Song and Jin Tombs," *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物, no. 4 (2009): 75-81 and "Diverse Forms and Meanings: Rethinking Illustrations of Filial Paragons in Song and JinTombs 图像的多重寓意——再论宋金墓葬中的孝子故事图," *Art Exploration* 艺术探索 31, no. 6 (2017): 47-69.

[44] Rouleau believed that this man on the Katerina stone represents the Franciscan friar. However, it is not depicted with a Franciscan monk's hair style. The dress of both figures on these stones also eliminates the possibility of this being a monk if the clothing implies different genders for the two figures as Bai suggested. The identity of these two figures should be left open for now until there is other evidence. Rouleau, "The Yangchow Latin Tombstone," 356; Bai, "The Yangzhou Latin Tombstones," 28.

[45] Bai, "Yangzhou Latin Tombstones," 28.

posit another theory as to the identity of the kneeling person here. No matter who they are, either friars or family members, it is the inclusion of such a motif that is worthy of consideration.

The similar motif of using a baby to represent the soul of the dead is commonly used in the depiction of 'Dormition' in the thirteenth century in which Christ, by the death bed of Mary, is holding a baby representing him receiving the soul of his mother (fig. 2.10). This iconography was later also used in a 'Book of Hours' (fig. 2.11) for the French King Louis IX (r. 1226-70). In both scenarios, the 'baby' soul is accepted by divine figures, either Christ or angels. The artist for the Yangzhou images manipulated this motif and placed the offering of the 'baby' soul especially close to the respective patron saint, St. Catherine and St. Anthony. Both figures are facing the saints face to face, while they are far away from the main deities on top. The one on the Antonio stone even turns away from Christ. By this visual link, the images highlighted the significance of the patron saint for these Christian believers, especially when facing death.

From the selection of the topics and motifs, it can be inferred that the artist who designed the images on these two stones was well aware of Christian doctrines and ideas from the Franciscan missionaries, and he was able to adapt based on his own understanding of Christian teachings. It is not known if there were still European family members around these deceased siblings when they were buried as the inscription shows their father, Dominus Ilioni, had already passed away. Yet it is possible that in the early 1340s, the European community in Yangzhou, apart from their fellow merchants, might also be associated with both Chinese-trained friars and newly arriving friars with the Marignolli embassy, who, after the death of the siblings, selected such visual representations to highlight the Latin Christians' efforts to maintain their faith in God and the saints while living among non-believers.

The Latin approach to visual representation

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Jingjiao Christians maintained the central motif of the cross-on-lotus as a symbol on their tombstones. They adopted Buddhist influenced elements such as the lotus and the Persian angels, and placed these along with the most important motif, the cross. In this way, these elements were configured into new, specific Christian meanings for the Jingjiao group. The Yangzhou Latins, in comparison, used another means to highlight their differences from the non-Christian population. They were stricter in following their visual models to express the Christian doctrines. This fidelity is manifest by the effort spent on these Yangzhou steles to copy the Western models, and the exact rendering of the martyrdom and the Last Judgement. In these limited examples of Latin images, the Chinese elements are not given new meanings in the Christian context as happened in the Jingjiao Christian cases. Instead they are used to closely copy the form and the function of specific objects, such as the seats of Christ or Mary, derived from the original Latin or Byzantine Christian models. In addition, the Latin images do not put particular emphasis on the cross, but divert attention to Mary and Christ placed on top of both steles, and the patron saints in relation to the kneeling figure holding the soul of the deceased. There is not even a cross in the Katerina image. The reason for such handling might be that the Latin Christians were quite aware of the motifs used by the local 'Nestorians', and intentionally sought to differentiate from them, especially on the tombstones for European descendants.

Historical information reflects this need for difference from the Jingjiao Christian peers. Montecorvino had recorded in detail how he tried to convert the Prince Gorigis (Kuolijisi 闊里吉思 d.1298) of the Ongut tribe in competition with the 'Nestorians' and lamented his failure when the prince passed away and the tribe

reverted to Jingjiao belief.[46] The second bishop of Quanzhou, Peregrinus de Castello (d. 1322?) also specifically mentions their dispute with the 'Nestorians' in his letter.[47] It can be observed that the Franciscan friars were in competition to win converts from the Jingjiao sect. Further, the Genoese involvement in the diplomatic activity on behalf of the Christian Asud officers (descendants of the Alans from northern Caucasus) in the Yuan court shows that the Latin merchants had developed their own connections with members at a higher level of the court, rather than only through the Ongut Christians.[48] In light of this social background, the images for the two Latin steles of the Ilioni siblings in Yangzhou could enhance the self-perception of cultural identity for the European community in Yuan China. By highlighting Mary and Christ, the significant role of the patron saints, and the scenes of martyrdom and the Last Judgement, they produced a different visual representation of Christianity from the Jingjiao images examined in the previous chapter.

Given this approach, renewed doubt should be cast on the stele discovered in Quanzhou (fig. 2.12) that has been attributed to the bishop Andrew of Perugia mentioned above. The major image used on this particular stele is the Jingjiao iconography: the cross-on-lotus flanked by two angels, although the top of it has been

[46] Dawson, *Mission to Asia,* 224. Although Montecorvino mentioned that he had converted the Prince Gorigis (George) of the Ongut, it seems that after the death of the prince, there was no further connection between the Franciscans and the Ongut members, since there is no mention of this in latter letters by other Franciscans. Montecorvino states that the brother of the prince had converted everyone back to 'Nestorian', *ibid.*, 226. However, it is doubtful whether Prince Gorigis actually was converted to the Latin Church since evidence shows that shortly before his death, he seemed to have Jingjiao priests with him, see Takahashi, "Representation of the Syriac Language," 60-62.

[47] Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 232-33, 236.

[48] These people was called 'Alani' by Marignolli in his chronicle (*Cronica Boemorum*). For the information on the Alans and the Genoese participation in the diplomacy, see Jong-Kuk Nam, "The Envoy to Pope Benedict XII by the Great Khan in 1336," conference proceeding for "The 10th Korean-Japanese Symposium on Medieval History of Europe" (Waseda University, Tokyo, 2019): 83-87; Vladimír Liščák, "The Christian Nobles at the Court of the Great Khan as Described in Mediaeval European Sources," *Golden Horde Review* 5, no. 2 (2017): 277-80. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2017-5-2.276-289. A specific study on these Asud officials is Yeo Chiho 吕治昊, "Yuandai Asuren de taitou yu zhengzhi zuoyong 元代阿速人(Asud)的抬頭與政治作用/元代아스人(Asud)의 擡頭와 政治的役割 The Rise and Political Function of Asud in Yuan Dynasty," (PhD. diss, Kyungpook National University, 2010).

cut off. It is exactly this particular choice of symbols that raises questions on the early attribution of this stele to Bishop Andrew.

From Andrew's letter, it can be assumed that he died in the 1330s.[49] However, when Marignolli arrived in Quanzhou in 1347, he admired three Latin churches with their fine bells and rich decorations.[50] A friar was still sent to become Bishop of Zayton as late as the 1360s.[51] These records prove that the Latin Church in Quanzhou kept its vitality after Andrew's death and it is difficult to imagine that the friars in the Quanzhou church would choose a Jingjiao motif for the remembrance of the bishop when they were keen to be differentiated from the Jingjiao believers.

The interpretation of the beginning of the inscription as "Hic…Sepultus" is from a very early reading based on Wu's photograph and it does not confirm the name of the deceased.[52] By close examination of a high-resolution rubbing photo provided by the Quanzhou Maritime museum, it is possible to see the first letter from left in the first line may not be a cross as previously assumed, especially when compared with the Yangzhou Latin stele.[53] Further, the small proportion of the crude inscription is at odds with the images covering the whole of the top. Alongside the Ilioni steles, it seems unlikely that a merchant's family obtained a much better calligraphy than the bishop of Zayton. It is proposed here that the script on this stele should be re-examined for alternatives other than Latin, and considering the choice of the symbols, it is more likely to have been created for a Jingjiao Christian.

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[49] Andrew mentioned in his letter of 1326 that among the friars from Europe, he alone remained while all the others appointed by the Pope had passed away, and those sent after him died in India. Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 237.

[50] Habig, "Marignolli and the Decline," 26.

[51] Habig, 28.

[52] John Foster, "Crosses from the Walls of Zaitun," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* no. 1/2 (April 1954): 18.

[53] Foster, "Crosses from the Walls," 17. The scripts on the rubbing also look more similar to Greek or Syrian rather than Latin. Because I got the rubbing photo quite late, by the submission of the dissertation, I was still waiting for specialist's feedback on the script.

2.2 Muslim tombstones in the port cities

In contrast with the early Latin Christians, more attention has been given to the history of Islamic tombstones in China, including the Muslim steles in commercial centres such as Yangzhou, Hangzhou, and Quanzhou, because of the longer presence and the larger number of Muslims in China.[54] In addition to Wu and Lieu's work on the Quanzhou stones mentioned in the previous chapter, a monograph has also been written on the Muslim steles in the Phoenix Mosque located in Hangzhou.[55] However, each of these previous studies largely focus on the inscriptions and offers little discussion of the decorations. In art history, both Jennifer Purtle and John Guy have pointed out the cross-cultural aspect on the Muslim stones, especially those discovered in Quanzhou.[56] Purtle further pointed out that the combination of forms and elements from various religions on the stone carvings in Quanzhou contributed to create a 'racial' interchange.[57] Continuing with this opinion, this section will discuss further the visual motifs used on some of the tombstones both in Hangzhou and Quanzhou that belonged to the newly arrived Muslims during the Yuan period. It expands the previous discussions by looking into the extent and the emphasis of using

[54] Chinese scholars have been working on local Muslim community history and the stone inscriptions discovered in port cities. Guo Chengmei 郭成美, "Zhejiang huizu yisilanjiao beike gaisu 浙江回族伊斯兰教碑刻概述 A Brief Study on the Islamic Inscriptions in Zhejiang," *Huizu yanjiu* 回族研究, no. 3 (2006): 56-63; Guo Chengmei and Guo Qunmei 郭成美、郭群美, "Hangzhou yisilanjiao alabo wen bosi wen gumubei kao 杭州伊斯兰教阿拉伯文波斯文古墓碑考 Textual Research on Hangzhou Ancient Islamic Tombstones Written in Arabic and Persian," *Huizu yanjiu*, no. 1 (1997): 65-72, 104; About Quanzhou Muslim stones, apart from Wu's book, see Chen Lihua 陈丽华, "Yuan Wang Yingzuo muzhiming kaoshi 元王应祚墓志铭考释 Interpretation of the Inscription on the Stele of Wang Yingzuo of Yuan Dynasty," *Fujian wenbo* 福建文博, no. 1 (2016): 15-20; Hu Xiaowei 胡晓伟, "Guanyu Quanzhou fanshang Pu Shougeng de sange wenti 关于泉州番商蒲寿庚的三个问题 Three Questions on the Foreign Merchant Pu Shougeng in Quanzhou," *Maritime History Studies*, no. 1 (2015): 38-43; Huang Zhongjie 黄忠杰, "关于泉州伊斯兰教石刻艺术若干问题的研究 A Research on Some Related Problems of Quanzhou Islamic Stone Carving" (Master diss., Fujian Normal University, 2007), 15-52.

[55] George Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque and the Persians of Medieval Hangzhou* (London: Gingko Library, 2018), 32-67. Alexander Morton, "Muslim Gravestones in the Phoenix Mosque in Hangzhou," *Qinghua yuanshi* 清华元史, no. 1 (2011): 193-214. Morton's research is also part of Lane's book.

[56] Purtle, "Salvaging Meaning," 70-78; Guy, "Quanzhou: Cosmopolitan City of Faith," 163-66.

[57] Purtle, "Salvaging Meaning," 83-84.

Chinese artistic elements on the Muslims tombstones, and leads to the comparison of the differences and the interchangeability between the Christian and Muslim stone carvings in the next section.

It is now commonly believed that the earliest mosque in China is the *Huaisheng si* 懷聖寺 in Guangzhou, regarded to have been built in the early Tang period (the seventh century). There is, however, little information related to its creation and the current plan can only be traced back to 1350.[58] A tomb yard in Yangzhou is said to be the burial place of the imam Puhading (普哈丁 maybe Abu al-Din) who arrived in China in 1259.[59] Although the present structure of the tomb is reconstructed, in the same cemetery there are still several tomb markers and steles that date to the Yuan period (fig. 2.13a). The four steles there are recognised as belonging to four Muslims with limited information about their identity, named respectively Niegubo 捏古伯 /Negubei (a *darugachi* and a Muslim educator, d.1310), Alaiding 阿萊丁 (possibly Al al-Din, a religious judge, d. 1302), Ayisha 阿伊莎 (possibly Aishah, a philanthropist, d.1324), and Shams al-Din 贍思丁 (a scholar, d. 1324).[60] The four Yuan tomb markers in the yard, each about one metre long, only have their top layers left, but the nearly intact ones in Hangzhou and Quanzhou (fig. 2.13c and d) show that these markers were characterised by a stepped pyramidal shape, sometimes with up to five layers. The different levels on these stone markers are decorated with floral and vegetal scrolls, some also carved with a scarf pattern on top (fig. 2.13b). The ends of the Yuan markers are filled with peonies and camellias (fig. 2.13e). Even though

[58] Steinhardt, *China's Early Mosques*, 59-60.

[59] Li Xinghua has quoted an inscription from a stele dated to 1344, which is now lost. The inscription recorded that the arrival of Puhading in China was in the first year of Kaiqing (1259, reign of Song Lizong). See Li, "Yangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," 77. About Huaisheng si, see Nancy Steinhardt, "China's Earliest Mosques," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 3 (September 2008): 335.

[60] Li, "Yangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," 82.

Chinese motifs are mostly adopted, the stepped tomb marker is never used in Chinese burials. In contrast, this form was popular among the Muslims even before they came to China. In the Islamic Middle East and North Africa, a common form of the grave marker is a stepped structure made by brick or stone.[61] Contemporaneous examples are depicted in an illustration from the manuscript *The Assemblies of Abu Mohammad al-Qasim ibn Ali al-ariri* (fig. 2.14). The illustration portrays a cemetery filled with stepped tomb markers on the ground, and one of them possesses an arched top.[62]

Muslims also used the same ogee arched shape for their tomb steles as the Jingjiao Christians did. In this same cemetery illustration, side-views of the vertical tomb structures with pointed tops imply the use of the arched steles.[63] The elaborately decorated steles from Yangzhou and Hangzhou also use the same shape. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the ogee shape appears extensively in many cultures and various forms of art, one type being a form of niche used on Buddhist architectures such as the pagodas (fig. 2.15). The niche function is revealing since the Yuan Muslim tomb steles contain an outer border that forms a similar kind of niche with the central part recessed into it (fig. 2.13a). This type of decorative frames was also used for inscriptions in Seljuq Anatolia, and denoted the prayer niche in the mosque.[64] Although these steles use a form that was extensively employed across Eurasia, the ones in China typically have borders of vegetal scrolls, geometrical, and

[61] Andrew Petersen, "The Archaeology of Death and Burial in the Islamic World," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial,* eds. Liv Nilsson Stutz and Sarah Tarhow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 249.

[62] This page is also used in Małgorzata Redlak, "Ornaments on Funerary Stelae of the 9th-12th Century from Egypt," *Research,* PAM 20 (2008): 571-72, fig. 10.

[63] Redlak, "Ornaments on Funerary Stelae," 572.

[64] Although the shape of such an arch was not new to the Iranian culture, it was mostly used in architecture, while in Anatolia, this was used as a decorative frame for inscriptions and the shape began to have corbelled or tri-lobed forms. The arch of this shape was a special feature in Anatolia. Camilla Edwards and David Edwards, "The Evolution of the Shouldered Arch in Medieval Islamic Architecture," *Architectural History* 42 (1999): 83. Redlak also quoted the use of the arch shape on one epitaph stele which she regarded as similar to a prayer niche, see Redlak, "Ornaments on Funerary Stelae," 569 and fig. 6.

sometimes pseudo-Kufic patterns surrounding a main body of inscriptions in Persian or Arabic, strongly pronouncing their Islamic identities. In contrast, borders with such complicated patterns seldom appear on the Jingjiao steles from Inner Mongolia even though they use the same ogee form.

Mixed decorations on Muslim tombstones

As mentioned above, a detailed inscription and historical study has been carried out on the Muslim steles in the Phoenix Mosque in Hangzhou, one of the four major mosques in southern China.[65] The steles from the mosque used in this research are currently displayed in a special room and, consequently, it is not possible to infer their original burial environments.

Most of the steles in Hangzhou adopt the same form as the Yangzhou examples, with a protruding outer border ending with a pointed arch, forming a niche for the inscription section (fig. 2.13a and 2.17b). The vegetal scrolls decorate both the outer border and the inner area, surrounding the central inscriptions. The outer decoration often emphasises the basic form of the half-palmette, with an adaptation of the acanthus leaves used in some Islamic architectural decorations.[66] The most common format is this oval-shaped leaf with a serrated border, the two ends swirling inward along with a small tail-like leaf on the end of the vines (fig. 2.16, group a). There is great attention in the rendering of the veins and borders of each leaf. This manner of depiction is a distinctly different approach from the Chinese practice of defining the same shape with outlines (fig. 2.16, group c).

The half-palmette scroll pattern was not unfamiliar to the Chinese. It came to China with the spread of Buddhism and appeared on stone carvings in the fifth to the

[65] Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 32-50.

[66] Acanthus leaves with serrated borders were adapted by the Muslims from the Coptic works, Barbara Finster, "Vine Ornament and Pomegranates as Palace Decoration in 'Anjar," in *The Iconography of Islamic Art,* ed. Bernard O'Kane (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 145.

sixth centuries.[67] By the time of the Tang dynasty, the Chinese artisans had developed the pattern into a 'peony' scroll, with large curling leaves and flower petals.[68] The emphasis of the 'peony' scroll is on the dynamic of the curling leaves, created by the movement and modulation of the defining lines of the petals that were multiplied into a flower. However, in contrast to the free rhythm of the Chinese style, on the Muslim steles both in Hangzhou and Yangzhou, thin carved lines fill the inside of the leaves and the serrated border shows a disciplined repetition. The emphasis on the veins results in a reversed effect especially when the patterns are transferred to rubbings because these dense lines confuse the perception of the leave shapes (fig. 2.17a).

This attention to minute and repetitive detail within the patterns is also seen in stucco decorations in medieval Islamic art. The stucco on the Haftshu'iya Friday Mosque at Isfahan shows the same attention to the lines inside the leaves and some possess the same serrated borders, a form possibly originating in the Fatimid North Africa (909-1171) but also used in Ilkhanate decorations.[69] Another pattern is a flower scroll on one of the Hangzhou steles with the vines circling around a whole flower (one of the patterns being the lotus, fig. 2.16, group b, right), a type that was already used on stuccos since the Umayyad period (661-750).[70] Moreover, the density of the vegetal motifs, and the overlapping vines and leaves (fig. 2.17) on the Yuan Muslim steles shows a complexity not unlike the stuccos. Most of these dense floral patterns are depicted on the inner decorative sections of the steles.

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[67] Rawson, *The Lotus and the Dragon*, 64-66, early half-palmette scroll in China, esp. fig. 42 and 44.

[68] Rawson, 72-75, esp. fig. 52, 53 and 55.

[69] For comparison of different leaf patterns in Islamic art, see Yahya Abudllahi and Mohamed Embi, "Evolution of Abstract Vegetal Ornaments in Islamic Architecture," *International Journal of Architectural Research* 9, no. 1 (2015): 34-35, 36, table 1. For the use of similar patterns in Ilkhanate works, see Ana Grbanovic, "The Ilkhanid Revetment Aesthetic in the Buq'a Pir-i Bakran," *Muqarnas* 34 (2017): 53 and 56, also fig. 12 and 25.

[70] Richard Ettinghausen et al., *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 91, fig. 137.

Among the vegetal and floral depictions, it is no surprise to find many Chinese motifs, such as lotus flowers as well as peaches and pomegranates (fig. 2.16, group b and d). The flowers and fruits are all naturalistically rendered. The style conforms with flower-and-bird paintings produced since the late Tang period in China, and such subjects were also applied to burial contexts.[71] The style of these motifs, especially the vegetal ones, is similar to those on contemporary metal and lacquer wares.[72] One such example is a lacquer plate with a gardenia pattern in the Palace Museum in Beijing (fig. 2.18a).[73] This plate possesses the signature of an artisan named Zhang Cheng 張成 and is dated to the Yuan period. The central flower is surrounded by rich and textured petals and leaves that extend out to the whole of the plate. On both the leaves and petals, there are tiny, thin lines indicating veins, but the lines in this case are not as dense as those on the Muslim steles. Another similar lacquer tray (fig. 2.18b) in Kyushu National Museum in Japan portraits dense flowers layered up in a three-dimensional effect around two parrots, with serrated borders on the petals and leaves. There are also the thin lines on the leaves indicating the veins.

The difference of the rendering between the Chinese and the stucco styles can be further compared on one of the Yangzhou steles (fig. 2.19a). On the three layers of the base of the stele for Negubei, the *darugachi*, the top one contains the stucco-like, veiny half-palmette while the second one has the Chinese naturalistic flowers. The same combination is used on a Hangzhou stele for an Arabic preacher (fig. 2.19b),

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[71] An analysis of the flower and bird motifs used in burial art and their function in twelfth-century China is Ellen Johnston Laing, "Auspicious Motifs in Ninth- to Thirteenth-Century Chinese Tombs," *Ars Orientalis* 33 (2003): 52-68.

[72] For the use of vegetal motifs on metal wares, compare Yang Zhishui 扬之水, *Shehuazhise: Song Yuan Ming jinyinqi yanjiu* 奢华之色：宋元明金银器研究 *Studies on the Metalworks of Song, Yuan and Ming* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 2011), vol. 1, 17, gold hair pin, fig. 1-3:1 and vol. 3, 18, saucer, fig. 1-4:5b; 22, plate, fig. 1-5:3 and 35, plate, fig. 1-9:4b. These vegetal scroll motifs were not a new topic for the Chinese artisans.

[73] The link for the object: https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/lacquerware/234588.html (accessed Jun 15th, 2022).

with the inside peony flowers forming a contrast with the outside acanthus leaves. In comparison, it seems that the Negubei stele is more in line with the Chinese fashion, with an emphasis on the outlines while the Hangzhou one stresses the stucco form with even lines filling in the stiff, serrated flower petals. The contrast is not a surprise considering Negubei's stele also has a Chinese inscription.

The rigid rendering of the stucco-like patterns on these steles raises the question of Muslim carvers from outside the Chinese cultural area. On the base of the Negubei stele, the lotus high-relief (fig. 2.19c) with rigid petals on the front contrasts with the line-carved counterpart on the back (fig. 2.19d) depicted in the Chinese style. The two central rigid petals are upright with serrated borders and dense lines filling the outer side of the petals. The same form of lotus appears also on a piece of embroidery attributed to eastern Central Asian production, and on porcelain tiles produced in Ilkhanate.[74] Despite the visual similarity, there is no confirmed document showing Muslim stone carvers coming to Yuan China. Traces do exist showing Chinese steles being exported to Southeast Asian Muslim countries from Quanzhou, and stone carvers were moving long distances in certain areas, such as Western Indian stone carvers working for East African clients.[75] However, there is no indication about those carvers in Yangzhou and Hangzhou. Therefore, only a circumstantial conclusion can be drawn here: either some models from the Islamic stuccos were copied on these Muslims steles, or there were a few immigrant Muslim carvers working together with

[74] This piece of textile (Acce. 1988.296) is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/39737?ft=1988.296&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=1 (accessed Jun 15th, 2022). The porcelain tiles (Acce. 1878,1230.569 and 1907, 0610.2) are in the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1907-0610-2_1 and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1878-1230-569 (accessed Jun 15th, 2022).

[75] For the Quanzhou stone exported to Brunei, see Da-sheng Chen, "A Brunei Sultan in the Early 14th Century: Study of an Arabic Gravestone," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 23, no. 1 (March 1992): 2-10. For the mobilising stone carvers in West Asia and East Africa, and the discussion on Indian stoneworks in Africa, see E. Lambourn, "The Decoration of the Fakhr al-Din Mosque in Mogadishu and Other Pieces of Gujarati Marble Carving on the East African Coast," *Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 34, no. 1 (1999): 75-76. DOI: 10.1080/00672709909511472. John Guy also mentioned the export of stones by the Indian marble carvers, Guy, "Quanzhou," 164.

their Chinese peers. No matter which situation, there is a larger chance that these stones were produced by local stonemasons because the same serrated half-palmette border of the Yangzhou Muslim steles is also used on the two Latin ones mentioned above, indicating a possible existence of production line where the stones were cut even before the client was settled. Considering the commissions for tombstones were possibly carried out by private stonemasons, it is possible that local stone carvers were absorbing new elements from available sources, trying to meet their new clients' demands.

The dominant quantity of the Chinese vegetal motifs and the use of a naturalistic depiction further suggest that these tombstones were largely executed by Chinese carvers. It can also be certain that there must be mutual influence on the decorations used on these stone carvings with those used on other media, no matter Chinese or Islamic, including lacquer, porcelain, metal works, paintings, and possibly even textiles.[76] It is not known whether the commissioners of these tomb stones also understood the meaning of the Chinese vegetal patterns as used in a Chinese context, especially for burials. Yet, the appreciation of Chinese patterns by the Muslim community can be supported by an illustration from an Ilkhanate manuscript (fig. 2.20) depicting a throne seat with a lobed back decorated with scrolling flowers.[77] On the back of the seat, large lotus and peony flowers are rendered in forms similar to those on the steles in the Phoenix Mosque (fig. 2.19b). A man with a Mongol hat is standing behind the casket and a Chinese dragon is in front of it. These distinctive

[76] Ellen Laing also mentioned that the flower-and-bird motifs in burial context may also be derived from metalwork, Laing, "A Survey of Liao Dynasty Bird-and-Flower Painting," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, no. 24 (1994): 98. Kadoi, in the discussion on Ilkhanate art, also pointed out that the transmission of motifs across various art media was an established practice at this period. Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 103.

[77] For meanings of the flower motifs in Chinese burial art, see Laing, "Auspicious Motifs," 57-58. It is also possible that the Muslims preferred vegetal motifs for the garden in paradise, which is a popular theme in Persian and Arabic culture. The discussion later will talk about motifs from textiles.

Eastern motifs demonstrate that the Persian painter was fully aware of these Chinese patterns and their appeal to his fellow Muslims.[78]

There was indeed a possible connection through the new immigrants as shown in the inscriptions on these steles. All four Yangzhou ones contain mixed Arabic and Persian inscriptions and two of the deceased might have come from Persia, one being the *darugachi* Negubei.[79] Several steles in Hangzhou recorded the deceased's hometown, including two from Isfahan, one from Khurasan, one from Bukhara, and one from Dadu.[80] Persians dominated in Quanzhou, with ten out of the seventeen inscribed steles recording people from Persian cities, including Tabriz, Siraf, Tehelan, Isfahan, and Qazvini.[81] The use of Persian also stands out among the inscriptions, with Persian verses carved on steles both in Yangzhou and Hangzhou.[82] This evidence, among other records such as trade and diplomacy, is a strong proof of the Persian Muslim presence in Yuan China, and it is likely that direct communication across cultures brought new motifs and influence to the local stone carvers who began to serve these newcomers. It seems that the Muslim community largely maintained their religious identity through the adherence to the use of their own scripts, Arabic or

[78] Kadoi has discussed at length the adaptation of Chinese motifs in Iranian wood, lacquer, and stone works and pointed out that the lotus motif was one taken up by Ilkhanid artists for decorative works. She also mentioned how the dragon motif particularly attracted the attention of Ilkhanate manuscript painters. Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 102-10, 144-46. For further discussions on the Chinese influence on Ilkhanate manuscript illustrations, see Sheila Blair, "Illustrating History: Rashid al-Din and his Compendium of Chronicles," *Iranian Studies* (February 2017): 7-14, esp. 12, DOI: 10.1080/00210862.2016.1268376; Persis Berlekamp, Vivienne Lo, and Yidan Wang, "Administering Art, History, and Science in the Mongol Empire: Rashid al-Din and Bolad Chengxiang," in *Pearls on a String: Artists, Patrons, and Poets at the great Islamic Courts,* ed. A. Landau (Baltimore: University of Washington and Walters Art Museum, 2015), 65-71.

[79] Li, "Yangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," 82.

[80] The information regarding the inscriptions is summarised from George Lane's book, *The Phoenix Mosque*. The two with Turkish father names are A1 (p. 101) and A15 (p. 119). The latter's family came from Khanbalikh, Dadu.

[81] The information is summarised from examples in Wu Wenliang's book, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike.*

[82] On one of the steles in Yangzhou, apart from the beginning and ending lines in Arabic, all the other 18 lines are Persian poems. Guo Chengmei 郭成美, "Yangzhou yuandai yisilanjiao jingjiaobei zhi bijiao 扬州元代伊斯兰教景教碑之比较 Comparison of the Yuan Islamic and Jingjiao Steles in Yangzhou," *Nanjing musilin* 南京穆斯林, no. 4 (2015): 36. For the Persian inscription on Hangzhou steles, see Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 95-96.

Persian, but they seemed to be open to incorporating distinctive Chinese artistic elements on these tombstones they commissioned. By using Chinese motifs, the Muslims in Yuan China not only showed a generous embrace of Chinese culture, but also began to develop their own symbols.

Manipulation of the Chinese motifs

As the examples above have shown, the Muslims used mainly floral decorations on these steles. However, certain motifs appearing on a few steles and tomb markers show the surprising extent to which Muslims absorbed local culture. One example is a stele in the Phoenix Mosque (fig. 2.21). This stele is characterised by an ogee arch shape, depicting on its reverse side a three-foot incense burner flanked by two long-necked flower vases with shoulder rings. Peony and lotus flowers are inserted into the two vases. This combination of motifs is typically used in Buddhist rituals related to the dead, as depicted for instance in a Southern Song painting now in the Nara National Museum.[83] In the lower part of the painting, a monk is leading a ritual and on the table in front of him is an identical combination of vases holding lotus flowers and an incense burner in the shape of a lion. A similar combination of vases and an incense burner also appear on a Daoist stele dated to 1334, the ritual objects being put on a small table in front of the venerated Daoist master (fig. 2.22).[84] This shows that this Muslim commissioner had deliberately chosen a motif used by the native Chinese on the stele. The reason for this decision can be found in the inscriptions. The deceased, named Bakhtiyari, was a descendant of Saiyid Ajall who was mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the Muslim *darughachi* of Yunnan whose family

[83] Phillip Bloom, "Visualizing Ritual in Southern Song Buddhist Painting," in *Visual and Material Cultures*, eds. Ebrey and Huang, 87, fig. 2.1.

[84] I learnt about the rubbing from the lecture given by Prof. Lennert Gesterkamp on Dec 18th, 2021 and was kindly offered a digital copy by Niu Yongli, the holder of the rubbing on Jan 4th, 2022.

originally came from Bukhara.[85] The family's openness to Chinese culture is indicated by the way the death year is recorded, as it includes the Islamic, the Chinese, and the Turkic calendars.[86] This Muslim family, while still maintaining their Islamic and Turkic roots, was possibly using this local Chinese motif to boast of their integration into Chinese culture.

The Muslim tomb markers also seem to be following a common aesthetic since the markers in Yangzhou, Hangzhou, and Quanzhou all have this scarf decoration. One of the four fragmented markers in Yangzhou (fig. 2.13b) has the most elaborate scarf pattern filled with various lifelike flowers, such as peony, peach blossom, camellia, and lotus, with the half-palmette and Arabic inscriptions carved in the lower section of the marker.[87] The four strip borders of the scarf also have Arabic inscribed. It is rendered in such a naturalistic way that the stone marker appears to be imitating a real coffin. Similar scarf decoration is also applied to the largest tomb marker located at *Qingbo* Gate 清波門 by the West Lake in Hangzhou, and on a marker discovered in Quanzhou (fig. 2.23, detail of 2.13c).[88] This decoration was possibly derived from the tradition in Medina where tombs were covered by curtains.[89] Both the Hangzhou and Quanzhou stone markers with this relief scarf decoration contain diamond patterns. Notably, the Quanzhou example's patterning is similar to the hexagon background of a textile discovered in the Jining Circuit in Inner Mongolia that will be discussed in

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[85] Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 130-31. For the biography of Saiyid Ajall and his family, see *Yuanshi*, 125: 3063-70.

[86] For translation of the inscription see Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 132.

[87] For a detailed description of the stone and its photo, see Geng Jianting, "Yangzhou chutude alabowen shiji 扬州出土的阿拉伯文石嵴 Stone Ridge Discovered in Yangzhou," *Wenwu*, no. 3 (1978): 87-88 and plate 9.

[88] Li mentioned that the stone attributed to Bakhtiyari at *Qingbo* gate has a scarf decoration of diamond patterns, see Li, "Hangzhou yisilanjiao yanjiu," no. 4 (2011): 72. The graveyard seems not open to the public now.

[89] Richard J.A. McGregor, *Islam and the Devotional Object: Seeing Religion in Egypt and Syria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 56-57.

the final chapter. This affinity demonstrates again Chinese motifs used on multiple media were adopted by the stone carvers for these Muslim steles.

The Muslims carried the use of Chinese motifs even further. A symbol of 'moon-and-cloud' 雲月 (fig. 2.24) appears frequently on many of the Muslim steles and tomb markers in these port cities. This motif comes in two types: on the Hangzhou steles the moon is a crescent, while on Quanzhou markers it is turned into a full moon. The crescent moon is in modern society taken as the representation of the Islamic religion, and is used in many Chinese mosques. Yet, the crescent was only consolidated as a religious symbol of Islam during the sixteenth century under the Ottomans, while its earlier celestial meaning was largely transcended.[90] Purtle has turned to the literary meaning of the moon symbol from the Islamic writings, while she also noticed that the full-moon motif in Quanzhou is similar to an illustration in the primer book *Xinbian duixiang siyan* (新編對相四言 *A New Version of the Four-word Primer with Pictures*).[91] However, the full-moon picture actually refers to the character 'sun' 日 in the book while the character 'moon' 月 is represented by the crescent (fig. 2.25).

Further, although this primer book quoted by Purtle is believed to have initially appeared in the Song, the version that includes these two illustrations could be a Yuan production because it includes Mongol vocabularies and images.[92] The Yuan edition with these sun and moon pictures, and its nature as a primer for learning Chinese

[90] The crescent moon motif had already been used on Islamic standards and on top of certain mosques before the Mongol period, but its religious meaning was under development until consolidated under the Ottomans. Ünver Rüstem, "From Auspicious Ornament to State Symbol: the Crescent Moon in Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *The Moon: A Voyage through Time,* ed. Christiane Gruber (Toronto: The Aga Khan Museum, 2019), 48.

[91] Purtle, "Salvaging Meaning," 62, fig. 4.2, and 65-66.

[92] Zhang Zhigong has offered a detailed analysis on the word choices used in this book and estimated that the book was edited in the early Yuan period, see Zhang Zhigong 张志公, "Shitan Xinbian duixiang siyan de lailongqumai 试谈《新编对相四言》的来龙去脉 Discussion on the Origin of the *New Version of the Four-word Primer with Pictures*," *Wenwu*, no. 11 (1977) : 58-59. The pictorial evidence in the book also confirms an after-Song date.

characters make it possible that the newcomers, Muslims included, had access to it, but it is doubtful that the Muslim learners would mix the simple pictorial representations of the two characters, especially considering the moon's significance in their own culture.

The crescent moon has a specific calendar meaning for the Muslims as it signifies the onset of a new month and was praised by the Prophet Muhammed, and this form was adopted by the Seljuk Turks as a cosmological sign.[93] The use of the different pictorial forms in Hangzhou and Quanzhou then implies that Muslims in Yuan China had not settled on whether to use 'moon' or 'sun', but there must be a consistent implication behind both. Taking the original calendar meaning of the crescent moon, and the phenomenon of mixed use of the signs on these tombstones in consideration, it is proposed here that the symbol 'moon-and-cloud' in the fourteenth century may well point to celestial symbols related to the cosmological divinity, signifying light in a general sense.[94] It could still be a visual representation for a cultural identity under development at that time.

Evidence that Muslims were developing their own symbols from their access to Chinese motifs is the use of this full-moon motif on two stone pagodas dated to 1304 in the Fushan village 浮山村 in Quanzhou. These pagodas are re-assembled from fragments, and the two in discussion are in the storied form with images of Buddha and figures, along with some inscriptions (fig. 2.26). The two figures depicted on them wear pointed headpieces. One of them has deep eyes and a large nose, while the other has thick lips. It seems that the carver was attentive to suggest individual

[93] Hamza Yusuf, *Caesarean Moon Births: Calculations, Moon Sighting, and the Prophetic Way* (Berkeley: Zaytuna College, 2007), 11-12. The use of crescent moon shapes on the dome of the litter for Seljuqa Khatun, the daughter of the ruler of Seljuk of Rum, Qilij Arslan II, is quoted in Suzan Yalman, "'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: a Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 168, footnote 104.

[94] Yalman, "'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated," 171-75.

identities. On both pagodas, there is a large symbol of the sun or 'full moon' on top of clouds with ribbons tied below, almost the same as the pattern on the Muslim tomb markers. The inscriptions on these two pagodas are much worn, and the limited recognisable part shows that one is labelled *Shouchun baota* 壽春寶塔, and another *Fuyan baota* 福延寶塔, with the 'Shouchun' and 'Fuyan' possibly being donors' names.[95] It is likely that the two pagodas were private donations from local Buddhist believers who had them made by the same stonemasons who were also carving Muslim tomb markers. This adaptation across objects for different functions, on one hand, confirms again that the local stone carvers had production line for these stones, sharing motifs across those supplied to different religious groups. On the other hand, it is not strange for the Chinese stone carvers to apply Buddhist motifs on a tombstone since Buddhist features have been embodied in the burial and memorial objects in China for a long time, and were especially popular in stone carvings in Quanzhou during the Yuan.[96]

The use of the crescent moon could also be taken from other arts, since a crescent among the clouds is used on metalwork and porcelain from the Song period onwards, especially in a pattern called 'plum blossoms under the moonlight' 月影梅花, all the way into the Yuan period.[97] Considering the Muslims' preference for the Chinese floral motifs, it can be assumed this crescent-moon symbol appealed to the

[95] The inscriptions are in illegible condition, and only a few words could be identified. One reads "A woman named Zeng (Shou)? Chun…carved…prayed for seven…taking the lead to do this, created in the years of Dade…" 女子□（曾、壽？）春……刻……乙未？祈七視……親率作者，大德中作……The other one has a short label saying 'Pagoda for Fuyan' 福延寶塔. It is not certain whether Fuyan was a name or just a wish of fortune. For the inscription, also see Liang Yuan 梁源, "Fujian Quanzhou diqu jinian shigoujianzhu de xingzhitezheng ji yanbian 福建泉州地区纪年石构建筑的形制特征及演变 The Characteristic on Forms and its Evolution of the Stone Architectures with Confirmed Dates in Quanzhou, Fujian," *Fujian wenbo*, no. 1 (2020): 59-60.

[96] Shuishan Yu, "The Translation of Buddhism in the Funeral Architecture of Medieval China," *Religions* 12, 690 (2021): 22-24. DOI: 10.3390/rel12090690.

[97] Metalworks examples are listed in Yang, *Song Yuan Ming jinyinqi*, vol. 3, 21, 23; For examples of this motif on porcelains see The Metropolitan Museum of Art collection, Acce. 24.100.1 and 2007.204.

Muslims with its potential implication of tranquility, a meaning that is essential to the Islamic teaching, and was adopted broadly, such as the name for the *Qingjing* Mosque 清淨寺 in Quanzhou.

The use of these Chinese motifs shows that the Muslims, in choosing the motifs to be used on their tombstones, were combining an Islamic preference for non-figural art with the broader aesthetic choices offered through various kinds of Chinese art. They were open to the forms and patterns suitable for their own religious belief and were pursuing a naturalistic tendency in the execution of the images. The use of the moon representation further demonstrates their choice of symbols that could fit with their religious understanding of cosmological divinity and the peacefulness. The application of the moon-and-cloud symbol on tombstones from multiple port cities evinces that the Muslim communities in Yuan China were gradually developing a common taste and even a unified visual representation for their own cultural identity.

2.3 The burial context and the use of fenben (copy-books)

A stronger connection with existing Chinese forms is shown further through the functional components on these tomb markers. They have a particular kind of base with a wavy foot and several layers above, with different decorations including floral scrolls, lotus petals, and some with inscriptions.[98] This foot of the base is called the "foliate-arch, scallop shell footed-apron" 圭腳貝殼轉角 (fig. 2.27a).[99] The whole base is regarded as a 'Sumeru' shape by Wu, since it is similar to the Sumeru Base used in Buddhist sculptures and architecture.[100]

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[98] This element is not limited to the Quanzhou markers. Both the tomb markers attributed to Puhading in Yangzhou and the largest one at *Qingbo* gate have the same kind of base. See Li, "Hangzhou yisijianjiao yanjiu", no. 4 (2011): 72.

[99] Purtle has mentioned this peculiar form on the Zhenguo pagoda at Quanzhou and its popular use in Christian and Muslim gravestones. She believes it is from the Indic sutra-shaped pagoda, the Asoka pagoda as called by the Chinese. However, as will be discussed below, it may be taken from other sources. Purtle, "Salvaging Meaning," 71-77.

[100] Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 254.

Purtle's comparison of the apron with the base of Zhenguo Pagoda further confirms the tomb marker's adaptation of Buddhist architectural elements on these Muslim stones.[101] In fact, ever since the Song period, such an apron has appeared on pagodas, but in various forms, with either heavier feet or larger openings.[102] However, the same base with similar decorations on smaller metal or stone relic pagodas discovered in cellar depots in Zhejiang implies that this may be a functional attribute shared by miniatures and architecture. Gold and silver pagodas discovered in Buddhist cellars of the Song period at Rui'an 瑞安 and Ningbo 宁波 (modern Zhejiang) both use the same foliate-arch aprons with stepped layers above.[103] Similar stepped-feet with lotus petals also appear on some stone pagodas discovered in a cellar at Dingzhou 定州 (modern Hebei), also of the Song time.[104] Purtle pointed out that almost identical forms and decorations are used on a 'sutra-shaped' pagoda in Xianyou 仙游, Fujian, one that also has a metalwork prototype in Zhejiang since the pre-Song period.[105] These comparisons again prove that Chinese stonemasons making these tomb markers had chosen from a broad spectrum of Chinese decorative art shared by other media. The transfer of elements across Buddhist works and burial

[101] Purtle, "Salvaging Meaning," 70-78.

[102] For a summary of this apron shape on Fujian pagodas, see Liang, "Fujian Quanzhou diqu jinian shigoujianzhu," 67, esp. fig.7.

[103] Yang Zhishui 扬之水, "Liangsong jinyin sheli rongqi zhijianlu 两宋金银舍利容器知见录 A Systematic Study on the Gold and Silver Container of Buddhist Relics of the Song Periods," *Journal of National Museum of China* 中国国家博物馆馆刊 194, no. 9 (2019): 89-90, fig. 17,18.

[104] Images of the Dingzhou cellar collections can be found here https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_5942239 (accessed Feb 21st, 2021).

[105] Purtle, "Salvaging Meaning," 71, 75, fig. 4.12. Several of the type of pagoda made in gold and silver are in the collection of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum. Comparing with stone pagodas has the problem of dating. Purtle mentioned that Chinese scholar Yan Aibin has doubts on the date of the Xianyou pagoda, see Purtle, 71, footnote 50. The base of the Zhenguo pagoda also casts some doubts on its date. Although the main body of the pagoda is dated to the Southern Song period in a Ming document, there was no mentioning of date for the base. It is likely that the base was made during the Yuan period, judging from the iconography and style of the relief decorations. The Ming document for the dating of the Zhenguo pagoda is *Wenling Kaiyuansi zhi* 溫陵開元寺志, written by the monk Yuanxian 元賢. http://www.qzhnet.com/qzh492.htm (accessed Jul 5th, 2022)

decorations calls for a special consideration on the burial context behind these tomb markers.

In fact, the same 'foliate-arch, scallop shell footed-apron' with the lotus petal decoration also appeared in the Jin tombs of the Chinese in northern China (fig. 2.27b), and the same form of base is used on a sarcophagus of a local Chinese of the same period discovered in Shanxi (fig. 2.27c).[106] These examples combine the arched foot and the bands of scrolls and lotus petals to form the rectangular base, a form that was adapted and modified on the Muslim tomb markers.[107] It is beyond this chapter's scope to discuss the decoration and meanings of the various decorative works in the Jin tombs, but the use of such form and pattern in tombs, coffins, and Buddhist architecture and miniatures opens the possibility of an adaptation through a burial practice onto the Muslim tombstones.

Studies of the burial art have revealed that during the Yuan, popular decorative motifs, especially narrative images, were spread across northern and southern China. For example, a representation of theatre performance scenes used in an early Yuan tomb in Shanxi was also depicted on a porcelain work (a burial object) discovered in a tomb of around 1338 in Jiangxi in the South.[108] Porcelain pillows made in Jingdezhen but decorated with popular northern drama stories were discovered in tombs from Shanxi, Jiangxi, and Anhui.[109] The spread of these motifs can be attributed to the movement of people. Apart from the *semu* people who were immigrating across Yuan China, such as the Jingjiao Christians, it is also known that previous Jin scholars and

[106] This sarcophagus is discussed in Hong, *Theater of the Dead*, 119-22.

[107] Li regarded the Muslim tomb markers as using elements taken from the Buddhist Sumeru base. See Li, "Hangzhou yisijianjiao yanjiu", no. 4 (2011): 72

[108] Jeehee Hong has discussed this sharing of model images of the theatre in burials from both Shanxi and Jiangxi. Hong, *Theater of the Dead*, 115-16.

[109] Wen Hui 文慧, "Datongshi bowuguancan Yuandai guanghangong qingbaiyou cizhen xiangguanwenti yanjiu 大同市博物馆藏元代广寒宫青白釉瓷枕相关问题研究 Research on the Yuan Period Green Glazed Porcelain Pillow in Datong Museum," *Wenwu tiandi*, no. 9 (2020): 33.

officials were appointed to positions in southern China after the demise of the Southern Song.[110] These northern people, when they came to the South, very likely brought along their preferences in tomb decorations.

Despite the immigrant clients, a similar practice in Chinese art production and Latin Christian art is worth considering. These Chinese artisans also used a type of model-book, called *fenben* (copy-books 粉本) or *huayang* (miniature copies of the paintings 畫樣), mostly for mural paintings. For the artisans, these sketches are not taken as precise models to follow but more as a source for recollection during their work, in which they could recreate the elements with slight changes.[111] When decorating tomb or temple walls, they could further derive models from *fenben* or *huayang* to combine different motifs into new creations through re-grouping of elements from one model or motifs from various models.[112] We have already discussed the identical way of using the models in the analysis of the Latin steles, and it should be remembered that the images on the Latin tombstones also follow the format of book illustrations that shared certain similarities with the narrative scenes from *fenben* used for tomb mural paintings.[113]

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[110] A record of the Jin officials moved to southern China was written by Liu Guan 柳貫 (1270-1342), a Hanlin academician, quoted in Marilyn Wong Fu, "The Impact of the Re-unification: Northern Elements in the Life and Art of Hsien-yu Shu (1257?-1302) and their Relation to Early Yuan Literati Culture," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. Langlois, 376-77.

[111] Deng, "Modular Design of Tombs," 68.

[112] Li Qingquan 李清泉, "Fenben - Cong Xuanhua liaomubihuakan gudaihuagongde gongzuomoshi 粉本——从宣化辽墓壁画看古代画工的工作模式 Fenben - The Working Mode of the Painting Artisans Reflected from the Mural Paintings in the Liao tombs at Xuanhua," *Nanjing yishuxueyuan xuebao* 南京艺术学院学报, no. 1 (2004): 37-39.

[113] This phenomenon has been noticed through representations of 'filial piety' stories used in tomb paintings, see Deng, "Diverse Forms," 53. Also see Fan Jeremy Zhang, "Jin-dynasty Pingyang and the Rise of Theatrical Pictures," *Artibus Asiae* 74, no. 2 (2014): 349, 352, and footnote 55. Buddhist elements in the prints seem also to be taken up in mural paintings, Xiang Tao 向涛, "Chaoyue meijie: Song Liao Jin mushiyishu zhong de banhuayinsu tanxin 超越媒介：宋辽金墓室艺术中的版画因素探析 Surpassing Media: Research on the Elements from Prints in the Burial Art of Song, Liao and Jin," *Yishu chuanbo yanjiu* 艺术传播研究, no. 4 (2021): 84-87.

This common practice allows inference of cross-cultural transmission of artistic motifs: the Chinese elements being combined with the stucco-like patterns and the acanthus-leaf scrolls on these Muslim tomb markers could be achieved through an imaginative recreation and combination of different motifs with a manipulation of patterns from various model-books. It would also permit a transmission across multiple media. The use of the different types of the 'moon-and-cloud' pattern, the 'foliate-arch, scallop shell footed-apron' from tombs, architecture and miniatures, and the adoption of Buddhist elements, all confirm that this recombination method could produce new forms of visual representations in a new context, producing hybrid forms, such as the Christian and Muslim tombstones, through a translation of artistic languages that testify the cultural interchangeability.

It may be also due to this same practice that the tombstones for both Christians and Muslims demonstrate a converging trend, especially at Quanzhou. When the Jingjiao Christians came to the southern port, their square-head, long-tail tomb markers used in Inner Mongolia changed into the stepped, pyramidal form adopted by Muslims.[114] The secondary floral decorations on these tombstones also become unified in Quanzhou, with the same tendril scroll and the 'foliate-arch, scallop shell footed-apron' applied to tomb markers for both communities. Further, there is the consistent use of the ogee, arched steles among the Christians and Muslims across Yuan China (fig. 1.21a, b, 2.1b, 2.17b, also Halbersma PhD. diss., plate 16.1). The special use of this arch-shape stele by the *semu* people can be illustrated by a comparison of two steles with Chinese inscriptions, even though their owners do not exactly belong to the *semu* group as defined in this dissertation.

[114] For examples of these tomb markers, see Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 426-27, B63, B64, and 432-33, B68, B69.

The two steles were respectively commissioned by a Madam Wang (fig. 2.28), dated to 1346, and a man with the name Ding Jiezhai 丁節齋 (fig. 2.29) who died in 1327, a member of a Muslim family that had been settled in Quanzhou for generations.[115] The family of Madam Wang possibly were converted Chinese Christians since the stele only used Chinese for the inscription, and the address to the deceased women 'ruren' 孺人 was in common usage among Confucians.[116] However, the commissioner chose a stele decorated with the cross motif on top, and with the same arched shape as the other Christian and Muslim steles. Conversely, Ding's stele used the lobed form mostly adopted by the Chinese.[117] This may indicate that newly converted Chinese Christians preferred to use the arch-shaped stele popular among the *semu* people, while localised Muslims who already regarded themselves as Chinese did not use this type of stele for their tombs. The examples here enhance the connection of the arch-shape steles with a *semu* identity in the Yuan time.

The converging among the Christian and the Muslim tombstones might partly be a side-effect of the production line adopted by local stonemasons, itself a crucial channel allowing for the transmission of decorative motifs and forms across different religions. However, the fact that none of the ogee, arched shape steles or the stepped tomb markers were used in a Chinese or Mongol tomb is the most powerful proof to categorise steles of this type as a unique feature of the *semu* people's burial

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[115] The dating of Wang's stele caused many discussions. See Wu, "Yuandai Quanzhou liangfang jidujiao (jingjiao) mubei yanjiu," 467-71; Chen Shaofeng 陈少丰, "Yuandai Quanzhou Hanzujingjiaotu hezangmubei jinankao 元代泉州汉族景教徒合葬墓碑纪年考 Study on the Stele for the Han Chinese Jingjiao Believers in Quanzhou of Yuan Dynasty," *Catholic Church in China* 中国天主教, no. 4 (2020): 61-62. For Ding's stele, see Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 42-45, A30, A31.

[116] For the discussion of the inscription on this stele, see Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 414-15. The stele is numbered B47 in the book.

[117] Wu testified that the Ding family came to Quanzhou from Suzhou by the end of Song and the family would have lived in China many years before the Yuan. Wu, 42, 44-45.

practice.[118] By highlighting their own motifs, recombining elements from various cultures, and sharing a common type of identity indicator, the shaping of a *semu* group as a separate unity in the Yuan society was gradually established.

Conclusion

The discussion of this chapter has shown the different attitudes and approaches of the Latin Christians and the Muslims in their visual representations on remaining tombstones. The Latins strictly followed their European models in the rendering of images of the saints and in their interpretation of Christian doctrines. Chinese patterns and styles were incorporated, but with little transgressing on any Christian meanings. They merely serve the original Christian context. The Latins aim to highlight the religious symbols of the patron saints and the deities, and these are the motifs that they had chosen to represent their cultural identity on the tombstones.

The Muslims, in contrast, were more open to the Chinese motifs, especially naturalistic floral and vegetal patterns. Their embrace of Chinese culture permitted more choices in the visual motifs as long as they did not violate Islamic doctrine. This attitude enabled the artisans to take motifs broadly from the pool of Chinese art. However, the Muslims who commissioned these tombstones maintained the original stepped form of the tomb markers used in West Asia and highlighted their unique languages, Persian or Arabic, in the inscriptions. In visual forms, the Muslims were also in a process to establish the motif of 'moon-and-cloud' by giving it a new interpretation as a prominent element on their tombstones.

Through the analysis, it is possible to find that both approaches are consistent with the paratextual functions. The foreign or self-adopted motifs play an

[118] For a high-level Mongol tomb *in situ*, see Li Tang, "Rediscovering the Ongut King George: Remarks on a Newly Excavated Archaeological Site," in *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, eds. Li Tang and Dietmar W. Winkler (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013), 255-60.

interpretative function for respective religious and cultural identities. They also help to differentiate the specific religious group from others visually, thus helping transmission and formation of a community. The adaptation of the Chinese elements and linear styles, on the other hand, contribute to locate the visual identity into the local cultural context.

In this visual translation process, the role played by the model-books and *fenben* is prominent in the adaptation of visual elements across multiple artistic media. Although it was a method mostly applied by mural painters in northern China working on the temples and tombs, the visual evidence from these tomb markers and steles proves that this recombination method was also used by stone carvers.[119] Visual connection between decorations in burial art both in the North and the South points to a potential exchange between the two areas that might very well be embodied in the larger burial art context that swept all over Yuan China with people's movement. The phenomenon heeds the notion that burial art, especially that in northern China, could have stimulated tombstone decorations for the *semu* people in the Yuan period.

Lastly, the newly arrived Muslims' open attitude to Chinese art may have been assisted by local Muslim communities already living in China for a long time. It is an advantage that the Muslims enjoyed over the Christians whose religion was nearly cut off in China in the period before the Mongols' rise. Nonetheless, even though they had such benefits, the Muslims were still creating a symbol unique for themselves. This implies that no matter how extensively affected by Chinese culture, the *semu* people still regarded themselves as a separate section of the Yuan society.

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[119] Li, "Fenben," 38-39.

Chapter 3

A Progression: Tibetan Influence on Buddhist Art in Yuan China

Introduction

The *semu* people in Yuan China were a complex group with different religious identities. The previous chapters have discussed distinctive motifs used by Christians and Muslims for visual representation. This chapter will focus on another group that had a profound influence not only among *semu* people, but also on the Mongol rulers. They are the Tibetan and Tangut monks who practiced what is called Tibetan Buddhism in modern scholarship. These people enjoyed patronage from the Mongol elites, and played crucial roles in Yuan politics.

A sure record of the early history between the Mongols and Tibetans begins with Koden (1206-1251), the son of Ogodei. He had invited the Sa-skya Pandita (1182-1251), head of the Sa-skya order in Tibet, to the Mongol court to be an agent on behalf of the Mongols in Tibet.[1] This connection offered the opportunity for the nephew of the Pandita, Phags-pa 八思巴 (1235-1280) to come to the Mongol court, where he later attracted the attention of Khubilai.[2]

Khubilai initially had formed a close relationship with Chinese Chan Buddhist monks.[3] However, Chan Buddhist thought did not offer the utilitarian benefits that the

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[1] Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung China and the Mongols," in *China Among Equals*, ed. Rossabi, 179-82, esp. notes 42, 44-45. Berger, "Preserving the Nation," 103. For the early contact during the time of Chinggis, see Su Bai 宿白, "Xi Xia guta de leixing 西夏古塔的类型 Types of the Xixia Pagodas," in *Zangchuan fojiao siyuan kaogu 藏传佛教寺院考古 Archaeology on Temples of Tibetan Buddhism* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 320, note 99, also quoting from Wang Sen 王森, *Xizangfojiao fazhanshilue 西藏佛教发展史略 A Brief History of the Tibetan Buddhism* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 1987).

[2] Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung," 183-85.

[3] This includes the master Haiyun 海雲, the teacher of Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠, the crucial minister in Khubilai's government. Jan Yün-hua, " Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu: The New Situation and New Problems," in *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, eds. Hok-lam Chan and Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 384-90.

Mongols preferred, compared to the magical powers and the esoteric, ostentatious rituals performed by the Tibetan monks.[4] Further, for political purpose, when Khubilai directed his attention to Tibet, he was also looking for a suitable agent to strengthen his rule over this area, a role to be fulfilled by Phags-pa who grew up among the Mongols.[5] In the first year of Zhongtong (1260), Khubilai granted Phags-pa the title of National Preceptor (*Guoshi* 國師), signifying that Tibetan Buddhism had become the royal-patronised religion.[6]

The term Tibetan Buddhism is used by scholars to refer to the Buddhist theories and practices adopted by the Tibetans with their unique tantric features. Art works related to their practices are regarded as Tibetan Buddhist art, most of which was produced in the Himalayan area. This research will not go deep into this special field with its abundant materials and theories, but will only offer some case studies of Yuan Buddhist works related to this school produced in the Chinese cultural area, works that demonstrate the integration process of this form of Buddhist art into the larger Chinese Buddhist art frame. As a result, the discussion adopts a comparative approach in analysis based on previous studies. It aims to offer a different perspective: to examine these works in the context of the *semu* people and how these works reflect a *semu* identity in Yuan China.

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[4] Jan, "Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu," 398. Zhu Lishuang 朱丽双, "Science, Miracles and Magic: A Tentative Study on the Reason of Mongol Acceptance of Tibetan Buddhism 科技、神通与幻术：试论蒙古接受藏传佛教的原因," in *Marco Polo, Yangzhou, the Silk Road* 马可·波罗扬州丝绸之路, eds. Xu Zhongwen 徐忠文 and Rong Xinjiang 荣新江 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016), 307-11.

[5] The reason for choosing Phags-pa as his tool for ruling Tibet by Khubilai was explained in Petech, "Tibetan Relations with Sung," 184-85.

[6] *Yuanshi*, 202: 4518. Phags-pa was given the title "imperial preceptor" after he died in 1276. 中統元年，世祖即位，尊為國師，授以玉印。十六年，八思巴卒，訃聞，賻贈有加，賜號皇天之下一人之上宣聞輔治大聖至德普覺真智佑國如意大寶法王、西天佛子、大元帝師。About the 'patron-priest' relationship between the Tibetan monks and the Mongol rulers, see Anning Jing, "Financial and Material Aspects of Tibetan Art under the Yuan Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 64, no. 2 (2004): 214.

The definition of esoteric Buddhism (*mijiao* 密教) used in this discussion refers to Buddhist ceremonies or doctrines with distinctive ritual performance and concepts related to esoteric teachings, including the use of sculptures, stupa, mandalas, and 'seed syllables' (bijakshara).[7] This research will not differentiate 'tantric' and 'esoteric', but treats the terms as interchangeable.[8] In the early Yuan period, esoteric Buddhist art in Tibet itself was still developing and largely relying on the influence from India and Nepal, while it was also spread to the Tanguts who were ethnically close to the Tibetans.[9] It is argued here that Yuan Tibetan Buddhist art produced in the Chinese cultural area underwent a process from a juxtaposition of different forms or styles to a mature combination and integration of motifs through the interaction of the Tibetan and Tangut monks, *semu* officials, and Chinese donors and artisans, especially those from northern China. In this process, art in northern China had laid a foundation and opened a channel for the incorporation of Tibetan Buddhist art into the Chinese cultural area, especially in the area around the capital Dadu.

To demonstrate this progress, the discussion of this chapter will range more broadly than in previous chapters. It includes the sculptures patronised and promoted by the Tangut monk Yang Lianzhenjia (楊璉真珈 Rin-chen-skyabs, fl. 1277-1292) at Feilai Hill (Feilaifeng 飛來峰) in Hangzhou, the previous Southern Song capital; the works related to the Nepalese Anige (阿尼哥 Araniko, 1245-1306) who was taken to

[7] For the definition of esoteric Buddhism, see Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011), 6-18.

[8] For the different opinions on the use of the two terms, see Orzech, Sørensen and Payne eds., 5.

[9] An introduction to the early Tibetan Buddhist paintings is in Steven M. Kossak and Jane Casey Singer, *Sacred Visions - Early Paintings from Central Tibet* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 14-24. For the relation between Tibetan and Tangut Buddhism, see Kirill J. Solonin, "The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism," *Central Asian Journal* 52, no. 1 (2008): 67-69; Solonin, "Dipamkara in the Tangut Context: An Inquiry into the Systematic Nature of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia (Part 2)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 69, no. 1 (March 2016): 21-23. Li Fanwen, "Zangchuan fojiao dui xixia de yingxiang 藏传佛教对西夏的影响 Influence of Tibetan Buddhism on the Tangut Xia," *Lishi bowuguan guankan* 历史博物馆馆刊 6, no. 3 (1996): 51-54, accessed from http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-MISC/mag61196.htm (accessed Nov 12th, 2021).

the Yuan court by Phags-pa; and finally two large-scale projects that are directly related to the Mongol royals and the court, the Vajrabhairava mandala and the relief carvings at the Juyong Pass (Juyongguan 居庸關) outside the capital Dadu. These works have been widely studied by many scholars within the field of Tibetan Buddhist art. In the English scholarship, an extensive study has been offered on Anige's works along with several essays especially dedicated to the bronze sculptures attributed to him, aiming to find evidence for an 'Anige style'.[10] Discussions of the Vajrabhairava mandala mostly focus on the royal portraits embodied in it and a dissertation has analysed the format and motifs of this mandala.[11] Chinese scholarship has offered detailed examination on the sculptures and reliefs both at Feilai Hill and the Juyong Pass, led by the Tibetan art expert, Xie Jisheng and his colleagues based in Zhejiang, such as Xiong Wenbin, Liao Yang, and Lai Tianbing.[12] All these previous

[10] Anning Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245-1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court," *Artibus Asiae* 54, no. 1/2 (1994): 70, 74-78; Herbert Franke, "Consecration of the 'White Stūpa 'in 1279," *Asia Major* 7, no. 1 (Third Series 1994): 161-65, 181-83; Michael Henss, "Is there any 'Anige Style' in Nepalo-Tibetan and Tibeto-Chinese Metal Sculpture of the Sa Skya Yuan period? 萨迦—元时期尼藏与藏汉金属造像存在阿尼哥风格吗," trans. Wen Ming, *Palace Museum Journal* 133, no. 5 (2007): 61-66; Michael Henss, "Thirteenth or Eighteenth Century? A response to David Weldon's 'On Recent Attributions to Aniko'." (published Oct 21, 2010) http://www.asianart.com/articles/henss2/index.html (accessed Jan 23, 2020).

[11] James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardwell (including paper by Morris Rossabi), *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 95-103; Shao Yan 邵彦, "Yuandai gongting kesi tangka juzhi: Daduhui yishu bowuguan cang kesi Daweide jingang mantuoluo 元代宫廷缂丝唐卡巨制—大都会艺术博物馆藏缂丝大威德金刚曼陀罗 A Masterpiece of Silk Tapestry Thang-ka of Yuan Court: the Mandala of Vajrabhairava in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Journal of National Museum of China* 166, no. 5 (2017): 110-123; Shang Gang 尚刚, "Mengyuan yurong 蒙、元御容 'Official Imperial Paintings' (yurong) of the Mongols and the Yuan Dynasty," *Palace Museum Journal* 113, no. 3 (2004): 31-59; Also, Yong Min Cho, "The Mongol Impact: Rebuilding the Arts System in Yuan China (1271-1368)," (PhD diss., Yale University, 2020).

[12] A concise book on the sculptures is Xie Jisheng et al. 谢继胜等著, *Jiangnan zangchuan fojiao yishu: Hangzhou Feilaifeng shike zaoxiang yanjiu* 江南藏传佛教艺术：杭州飞来峰石刻造像研究 *Tibetan Buddhist Art in Jiangnan: Studies on the Stone Sculptures at Feilai Hill in Hangzhou* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2014), which includes Xiong Wenbin and Xie Jisheng 熊文彬，谢继胜," Feilaifeng shikezaoxiang de ticai, fengge yu lishiyuyuan 飞来峰石刻造像的题材、风格与历史渊源 The Topic, Style and Historical Source for the Stone Sculptures at Feilai Hill" (3-49); Liao Yang 廖旸, "Feilaifeng Yuandai shike zaoxiang neirong xulu 飞来峰元代石刻造像内容叙录 Introduction on the Contents of the Yuan Stone Sculptures at Feilai Hill" (65-177); and a detailed description on each sculpture written by Xie, Xiong, Liao, Lai Tianbing 赖天兵 and Rob Linrothe. A special paper dedicated to the Juyong Pass relief is Xie Jisheng 谢继胜, "Juyongguan guojieta zaoxiang yiyunkao – shiyi zhi shisi shiji zhongguo fojiaoyishu tuxiangpeizhidechonggou 居庸关过街塔造像意蕴考 ——

studies tried to argue the development of the style and iconography of these art works placed within the framework of Tibetan Buddhist art, laying a solid foundation for the present research to examine them again from the 'cultural translation' under the Yuan, with a special attention to their embodied interaction with art production in northern China. This chapter does not aim to challenge any established conclusions on these works, but dedicates to turn the attention to the local art production and its potential effect on these Tibetan Buddhist works in shaping the cultural identity. It is acknowledged that some Yuan works commissioned by the Tibetan and Tangut monks, such as sutra prints produced in Hangzhou, are not used for study here due to the above focus and the scope of this research.[13]

3.1 Hangzhou Feilai Hill sculptures and private donors

Opposite the Lingyin Temple 靈隱寺 by the side of the West Lake in Hangzhou, many Buddhist sculptures are carved along the slope of Feilai Hill. These sculptures cover the period from the Five Dynasties (the earliest being made in 951) to the Yuan, scattered in the niches along the Lengquan Stream 冷泉溪.[14] Among them there are 68 niches comprising 117 figures made during the Yuan, with some

十一至十四世纪中国佛教艺术图像配置的重构 The Iconography of Crossing Road Pagoda Images of Juyongguan Pass - Reconstruction of Chinese Buddhist Art Images and Compositions from 11th to 14th Century," *Palace Museum Journal* 175, no. 5 (2014): 49-80. English scholarships include Rob Linrothe, "The Commissioner's Commissions: Late-Thirteenth-Century Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist Art in Hangzhou under the Mongols," in *Buddhism between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 73-96; Linrothe, "Peripheral Visions: on Recent Finds of Tangut Buddhist Art," *Monumenta Serica* 43 (1995): 235-62; Antonia Mezcua López, "Cursed Sculptures, Forgotten Rocks: The History of Hangzhou's Feilaifeng Hill," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscape* 37, no. 1 (2017): 46-61.

[13] For the study on the Tangut prints in the sutra produced in Hangzhou, see Susan Shih-shan Huang, "Reassessing Printed Buddhist Frontispieces from Xi Xia," *Zhejiang University Journal of Art Archaeology*, no. 1 (2014): 129-82; Lai Tianbing, "Jiangnan or Xixi: Jingang shangshi Danba yu Baiyun zongzhu Dao'an tikuan 'Puningzang' feihua de niandai, neirong yu tuben 江南抑或西夏——金刚上师胆八与白云宗主道安题款《普宁藏》扉画的年代内容与图本 Date, Content and Images of the Frontispiece in the Puning Canon by Danba and Dao'an," *Xixia xue* 西夏学 9 (2013): 234-42.

[14] Xiong and Xie, "Feilaifeng shikezaoxiang," 3.

deities in their Tibetan forms.[15] The appearance of the Tibetan-form sculptures in Hangzhou was prompted by the monks sent to the newly conquered Song area from the Yuan court. In the fourteenth year of Zhiyuan (1277), Khubilai invested three monks following the Tibetan school as the directors of Jiangnan Buddhist affairs; among them, Yang Lianzhenjia was most closely related to the Feilai Hill sculptures.[16]

These sculptures have been numbered in two different ways by Chinese scholars. This thesis will adopt the numbering of 102 niches used by the Archaeology Institute of Hangzhou.[17] Although most of the sculptures with identifiable esoteric iconographies are taken as the Tibetan form, some scholars argue that they have combined features of Tibetan, Tangut and Han (Chinese) Buddhist images, an opinion leading to a reconsideration of the artistic language used by these sculptures produced in the early Yuan period.[18] The Feilai Hill group has provided enough examples for a comparison, and the major differences can be detected with the use of multiple arms, depiction of the bodies, the type of crown, the *ushnisa*, and the form of the lotus seat.

One of the Song period examples at this site is a relief carving of the 'gathering of the Locana Buddha' (fig. 3.1) made in 1022. The bodhisattvas and attendants have

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[15] Lai Tianbing, "Hangzhou Feilaifeng Yuandai shike zaoxiangyishu 杭州飞来峰元代石刻造像艺术 The Art of Yuan Sculptures at Feilai Hill in Hangzhou," *Zhongguo zangxue* 中国藏学, no. 4 (1998): 96. A different number was adopted in Hong Huizhen 洪惠镇, "Hangzhou Feilaifeng 'Fanshi' zaoxiang chutan 杭州飞来峰 '梵式' 造像初探 An Initial Study on the 'Indian' Style Sculptures at Feilai Hill in Hangzhou," *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1986): 50.

[16] These three monks were Kangjixiang, Lianzhenjia, and Jiawa. This chapter will discuss Lianzhenjia in more details later, but there is little information on the other two. *Yuanshi*, 9: 188. 詔以僧亢吉祥、憐真加、加瓦並為江南總攝，掌釋教。

[17] Liao, "Feilaifeng Yuandai shike," 65-177.

[18] Yury Khokhlov proposed that the Mongols had employed mostly the Tangut Buddhist culture. Yury Khokhlov, "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art of the Yuan Dynasty," (published Sep 15, 2016) http://www.asianart.com/articles/xi-xia/ (accessed Jan 23, 2020), esp. note 109. Xie Jisheng 谢继胜 and Gao Hefu 高贺福, "Hangzhou Feilaifeng zangchuan shikezaoxiang de fenggeyuanyuan yu lishiwenhua jiazhi 杭州飞来峰藏传石刻造像的风格渊源与历史文化价值 The Style Origin and Historical Culture Value of the Tibetan Sculptures at Feilai Hill in Hangzhou," *Tibetan Studies* 西藏研究, no. 2 (2003): 41-49. Here I will follow the norm taken in the Chinese scholarship: using 'Tibetan' and 'Han' to refer to the features in these sculptures.

round, fleshy faces with slim eyes. The Heavenly Kings are highlighted by their chubby cheeks and almond-shaped, wide-open eyes. The draperies of the robes on the Buddha cling to the body in parallel folds and the long sleeves hang down softly, implying lightness. The lotus seat is placed on a stepped pedestal. Some of these features continued to be used on sculptures produced during the Yuan period, such as the niche 46-48 depicting a group of monks seeking Buddha's teaching. A monk is shown in cross-collared, layered robes and has the same chubby cheeks and slim eyes (fig. 3.2). The same attention is given to the draperies and the softness of the robe clinging to the body although the folds are looser and more naturalistic. A further example is the Skanda in niche 35 (fig. 3.3). He is wearing the same soft armour as the Heavenly King to the left of the Buddha in the 'gathering of Locana' and holds his hands together in a praying pose. The fleshy cheek and the almond eyes are almost the same as the Song example.

Conversely, sculptures in the new form introduced by the Tibetan and Tangut monks pay more attention to the naked bodies (fig. 3.4-3.6). They are twisted at the waist and have elaborate necklaces and arm rings. The dress of the lower body is tightly wrapped around the legs, lacking the softness and lightness of the Song type. They wear large earrings, and five-leaf crowns with tied ribbon flowing upward behind the ears (as if against gravity). Their lotus seats have straight upward leaves, contrary to those of Han style covered by draperies.[19] Most of the lotus seats in this type have beaded borders indicating a mat on top, as depicted in the Tibetan thangkas.[20]

[19] Xie Jisheng pointed out that this type of lotus seat could be the Liao type, from his lecture at the China Academy of Fine Art on Nov 12th, 2022. Similar types of lotus seat also appear in thangkas discovered in the Tangut city Khara Khoto, for example, "Buddha in Vajrisana" and "Marici" in The State Hermitage Museum, *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (10-13th century)* (Milano: Electa, 1993), 106-08, entry 2; 150-51, entry 23.

[20] Kossak and Singer, *Sacred Visions,* 64-66, entry 6; 70-71, entry 8.

Several of the esoteric sculptures feature Tibetan iconography and this is especially prominent in the Indian-influenced deities such as the Jambhala (fig. 3.6) and the Vajrapani in wrathful form. These two have bodies with a large belly and short legs, also large, expanded nostrils along with round, protruding eyes. The 'Ushnisha Vijaya in Stupa' of niche 84 (fig. 3.7) carried foreignness to its height with a mandala recreated in the sculptural form. Its iconography and composition can be safely linked to similar thangka images produced in both Tibet and Tangut.[21]

Apart from those figures that can be differentiated into Han and Tibetan forms, there are a few with mixed features. Some bodhisattvas in their esoteric depiction keep the Han facial features of the slim eyes and fleshy cheeks, while some depicted in the Han form include the Tibetan esoteric elements. The Manjushri of niche 67 (fig. 3.8) and the Avalokitesvara of niche 93 (fig. 3.9a) are both depicted with the flowing long robes, but the Manjushiri wears the five-leaf crown with the upward tied ribbons, with a sword and a sutra on top of the lotus flowers, identifying it with the Tibetan iconography.[22] The Avalokitesvara, with the body-clinging robe and the large crown, has multiple arms and is sitting on a Tibetan lotus seat with both upward and downward leaves (fig. 3.9b).[23] Some sculptures following a pure Han form also contain a high and protruding *ushnisha* (protuberance) as used in the Tibetan ones.[24]

Lai proposed that the combination of Tibetan and Han features, as reflected in certain Tangut works, appears on two levels: using different styles on separate figures

[21] Xiong and Xie, "Feilaifeng shikezaoxiang," 317-18.

[22] This sculpture is identified as the White Manjushri in Xie's book. Its iconography relating to the Tibetan and Indian form has been described in detail by Liao Yang in Xie et al., *Jiangnan Zangchuan fojiao yishu*, 270-71.

[23] For similar forms of the lotus seat, see Kossak and Singer, *Sacred Visions,* 67, entry 7; 72, entry 9.

[24] The examples are niche 63 and niche 92. Xie Jisheng also mentioned that even the Han style in this sculpture would be regarded as mediated by the Tanguts since this is different from the Buddhist art tradition in the Jiangnan area. Xie and Gao, "Hangzhou Feilaifeng zangchuan shikezaoxiang," 43. Xie et al., *Jiangnan Zangchuan fojiao yishu* , 338.

in one group; and merging both Han and Tibetan characteristics in one figure.[25] In the sense of a juxtaposition of the two forms, the groups in niches 98 and 99 (fig. 3.10) are an example at Feilai Hill since these two niches have close proximity.

Niche 98 includes Amitabha with Avalokitesvara and Maha Sthamaprapta, who formed the Pure Land triad.[26] The sculptures all adopt the Song depiction of fleshy faces, long, soft robes with draperies that cover the lotus seat. The triad for niche 99 contains Amitabha, accompanied by Manjushri and Prjnaparamita, all with their esoteric features. Amitabha Buddha is covered by a *kasaya* (monk's robe) crossed from the left shoulder to the right with a corner on the right shoulder. Although there are the same folded draperies as the one in niche 98, the robe is tight over the arms and the body. The two companions both have bare upper bodies, and wear five-leaf crowns and long necklaces. The Tibetan beaded lotus seats are placed on the Sumeru throne of Indian Pala style with the middle section recessed.[27] These two niches not only share a similar triad theme centred on the Pure Land Amitabha and occupy neighbouring locations, but they were also constructed at the same time in the seventh month in the twenty-ninth year of Zhiyuan (1292) based on the inscriptions, whose main contents are almost the same.[28]

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[25] Lai Tianbing, "Cong zanghan jiaoliu de fenggexingtai kan feilaifeng yuandaizaoxiang yu xixayishu de guanxi 从藏汉交流的风格形态看飞来峰元代造像与西夏艺术的关系 The Relation between Yuan Sculptures at Feilai Hill and the Tangut Art through the Interchange Styles of Tibet and Han," *Dunhuang Research* 敦煌研究 117, no. 5 (2009): 75.

[26] Linrothe's translation in Xie et al., *Jiangnan Zangchuan fojiao yishu*, 352.

[27] This style is called 'pancaratha', Xie et al., 354-55.

[28] "[The donors] solemnly generated a sincere heart, donated pure offerings, and commissioned craftsmen to carve…[for] the benefit of and longevity of the *Emperor* to whom is wished perfect peace. To Consort Kökojin is wished continuous, everlasting longevity. As for the Imperial Princes, Kammala and Temür, may their longevity be calculated at a thousand autumns. *May all the officials enjoy their ranks and stipends.* May the donor himself have everlasting longevity and benefits, prosperity for the offspring and all content to his heart with auspiciousness." 端為祝延（皇帝）聖壽萬安，闊闊真妃壽齡綿遠，甘木羅太子，帖木厄太子壽算千秋，（文武百官常居祿位）祈保自身世壽延長，福基永固，子孫昌盛，吉祥如意者。Translation of the inscriptions is taken from Linrothe, "The Commissioner's Commissions," 75-76. The italic part in the English translation is the difference between the two inscriptions. The full Chinese content of the inscriptions is in Liao, "Feilaifeng yuandai shike," 166-68.

This mixed visual form in the Feilai Hill sculptures has stimulated scholars to question whether there was truly a so-called 'Tibetan' style in such sculptures, and some directed this to the art in the Tangut Xia.[29] Buddhist art produced in Tangut areas absorbed and intermixed forms both from the Chinese and Tibetan cultures.[30] Ever since the eleventh century, Tibetan Buddhists were active in the Tangut kingdom, and they introduced art from the Himalayan area into Tangut, where the Tangut artists tried to mould the new forms into a synthesis with those they already learnt from the Chinese cultural area.[31] With this in view, scholars turned to Tangut to find models for the mixed features of these Hangzhou sculptures.

Yury Khokhlov, an independent scholar devoted to art in the Hexi 河西 area (west to the bend of the Yellow River, mainly occupied by the Tanguts from the twelfth to the thirteenth century), has offered several comparisons of the iconography both of the Feilai Hill sculptures and the images in the Dunhuang and Yulin caves of the Tangut period. He affirmed a Tangut origin for the 'Tibetan Buddhist art' of the Hangzhou sculptures based on the similarity of the iconography of Usnisavijaya, Jambhala, and Aksobhya.[32] He further argued that the monks from Tangut Xia had a larger influence over the early Yuan culture than those from Tibet.[33] The mixed features of the Feilai Hill sculptures and their direct connection with the Tangut

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[29] Yury Khokhlov states that Yuan 'Tibetan' art was developed from Tangut art, see Khokhlov, "Conclusion," under "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art of the Yuan Dynasty," Xie Jisheng also proposed that this mature mixture of Han and Tibetan style could not appear just with the Tibetan monks coming in early Yuan. The formation of this style would take quite a long time, and Yuan evidence has shown a distinct Tangut influence. See Xie and Gao, "Hangzhou Feilaifeng zangchuan shikezaoxiang," 43.

[30] Linrothe, "Peripheral Visions," 246-47.

[31] Xie Jisheng, "Tubo Xi Xia lishiwenhua yuanyuan yu Xi Xia zangchuan huihua 吐蕃西夏历史文化渊源与西夏藏传绘画 The Historical and Cultural Relation between Tibet and Xixia and Tibetan Paintings in Xixia," *Xizang yanjiu* 西藏研究, no. 3 (2001): 37-39, 43-44; Linrothe, "Peripheral Visions," 258-259; For Tangut Buddhist art, the most important catalogue in English is *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (10-13th century)*.

[32] Khokhlov, "Yuan Monuments and Works in the Tibetan Tradition (2) Feilaifeng Sculptures – Last Two Decades of the 13th Century," under "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art."

[33] Khokhlov, "Xi Xia After the Conquest and the Mongol Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism," under "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art."

monk, Yang Lianzhenjia, the chief of the Directorate of Jiangnan Buddhist Affairs, enhanced this opinion.[34]

Yang's powerful position in Hangzhou Buddhist circles in the early Yuan period is testified by the inscriptions attached to several niches. The most widely used inscription is the one next to niche 89 dated to 1289 (fig. 3.11a).[35] It mentions at the beginning that Yang, as the director with great fame over the Jianghuai area, commissioned this image with gold gilded over the surface. The ministers and provincial officials all came to appreciate the sculpture and this one was dedicated to the emperor for his longevity. The writer of the inscription was Jingfu 净伏, the 45th abbot of Lingyin Temple, a Chan monk who was close to Yang. His name was listed in a debate organised by Yang in 1288 and frequently appeared on the printed sutras under Yang's patronage.[36] That the Chan abbot wrote the inscription himself to praise Yang's merit further reflects Yang's power in Jiangnan over other Buddhist schools.

The inscription outside niche 45 (fig. 3.11b) dated to 1288, one year earlier than the previous one, states that the "Director Yongfu of Buddhist Affairs of Jianghuai Circuits" had commissioned workers to make a sculpture to praise the rule of the

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[34] Yang's name is composed of a Chinese surname and a Tibetan forename, a popular practice in Xi Xia, Lai Tianbing, "Yang Lianzhenjia yu Yuandai Feilaifeng zaoxiang xiangguan wenti de tantao 杨琏真伽与元代飞来峰造像相关问题的探讨 A Study on Relevant Questions about Yang Lian Zhen Jia and Feilaifeng Statues," *Zangxue xuekan* 藏学学刊 1 (2004): 185. This is also recorded by a contemporary of Yang: "…during Zhiyuan period, Yang Yongfu, the Director of the Jiangnan, from Zhufa family in Hexi…" 至元間河西祝發氏楊永福攝江南僧政 Guan Yunshi 貫雲石, "Daolong guan ji" 道隆觀記 Record for Daolong Shrine, in *Yanyou Siming zhi* 延祐四明志, vol. 18, Wenyuange edition. Chen Gaohua also used this record to prove that Yang was from Hexi, the Xi Xia area. Chen Gaohua 陈高华, "Luolun Yang Lianzhenjia he Yang Anpu fuzi 略论杨琏真伽和杨暗普父子 Short Discussion on Yang Lianzhenjia and Yang Anpu," *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究 (1986): 55. The name "Hexi" was used especially for the Tangut area, while "Xifan" 西番 was referring to Tibet. Also see Xiangmai 祥邁, *Da Yuan Zhiyuan bianweilu* 大元至元辨偽錄, vol. 3, Yuan edition. 即有那摩國師、拔合斯八國師、西蕃國師、河西國僧，外五路僧，大理國僧……

[35] The inscription has the name "An Ode to the Stone Sculpture of the Buddhist Kingdom Mountain in Hangzhou, Dayuan".The translation will follow the inscription deciphered both by Liao and Lai. Liao, "Feilaifeng Yuandai shike," 153-54; Lai, "Yang Lianzhenjia yu Yuandai Feilaifeng," 188.

[36] Liao, "Feilaifeng Yuandai shike," 154-55.

emperor.[37] 'Yongfu' 永福 has been confirmed as a title for Yang, possibly derived from the temple where he resided in Hangzhou.[38] These inscriptions confirm that Yang commissioned several sculptures with dedications to the Mongol emperor.

Similar commissions continued at Feilai Hill. The three groups made at nearly the same time in 1292, niches 75, 98 and 99, also have inscriptions attached. The one at niche 98 says the patronage came from the "Director of Buddhist Affairs of Jianghuai Ciruits Yongfu Master Yang", referring to Yang Lianzhenjia. The donor of the other two had the title "Grand Minister for Assisting Good Governance"(Zhizheng dafu 資政大夫) and the Commissioner of the Branch Bureau for Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs, with the same surname Yang. This has been proposed to be Yang's son, Yang Anpu 楊暗普.[39] Among these niches, the two with Yang Anpu's name feature esoteric characteristics while the one with Yang's own name takes the Han form. By 1292 when these sculptures were made, Yang was accused of multiple crimes committed during his time in Hangzhou.[40] It is very possible that his son commissioned all the three groups, adding the father's name for one of them.[41] If all the three groups were commissioned by Yang Anpu, it shows that the purpose of the closeness between niches 98 and 99 possibly was to establish an image of the Yang

[37] However, it is not certain which sculpture is referred to in the inscription. Liao, 100-01.

[38] Lai Tianbing, "Hangzhou Feilaifeng Yuandai Yang Lianzhenjia sanseng xiang 杭州飞来峰元代杨琏真伽三僧像 The Group Sculptures of Yang Lianzhenjia at Feilai Hill in Hangzhou," conference proceeding "*Bainian dunhuangwenxian zhengliyanjiu guojixueshu taolunhui lunwenji* " 百年敦煌文献整理研究国际学术讨论会论文集, Hangzhou, 2010, 632. The Yongfu temple was also mentioned in Tian Rucheng 田汝成, *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志 *Travel Notes on the West Lake*, vol. 25, Wenyuange edition.

[39] Zhu Chen 朱晨, "You Hangzhou Feilaifeng Yuandai zaoxiang tiji lai tuiduan qi zhuzaozhe 由杭州飞来峰元代造像题记来推断其铸造者 Inference on the Maker based on the Inscriptions of the Yuan Sculptures at Feilai Hill in Hangzhou," *Journal of the National Academy of Art* 中国美术学院学报, no. 3 (2017): 49-50. Anpu was given the title the Duke of Qin in the year 1311, see *Yuanshi*, 24: 548.

[40] The accusation for Yang's crime is recorded in *Yuanshi*, 202: 4521. The accusation came with the fall of his close connection at court, the prime minister Sangha.

[41] Zhu, "You Hangzhou Feilaifeng Yuandai zaoxiang," 50.

family as one not only following the Tibetan Buddhist school, but also extending to embrace the Han (Chinese) one.

The evidence on site confirms a Tangut influence instead of a direct Tibetan one on these sculptures in the former Song capital.[42] However, some of the esoteric features raise doubts about who actually made them. The Vaisravana Lokapala of niche 75 (fig. 3.12) has been used to show a link in iconography between Hangzhou and Khara Khoto, the Tangut city where many objects and documents were discovered in the early twentieth century.[43] However, the deity at Feilai Hill has a stiff body and face, lacking the dynamics in the Khara Khoto painting. Particularly, the lion's turning head is not as forceful as the Khara Khoto counterpart. The short legs of the Vaisravana and his smiling face also reduce the powerfulness of the character while giving him a tender appearance. The intended wrathful expression is softened into a cartoon-like effect, a treatment also applied to other wrathful figures (i.e. the Heavenly Kings in fig. 3.7).

Further, these esoteric sculptures on Feilai Hill have different bodies from the broad shoulders and slender waists depicted in the thangkas from Tangut. Sculptures discovered in Khara Khoto are limited, but those recovered from the ruins have slim bodies in proper dimensions, while some of the sculptures in Hangzhou look unnatural, with unbalanced proportions between the limbs and the belly.[44] Xie Jisheng believes these sculptures are of a transitional period when the Tangut and Sa-skya styles were being integrated.[45] However, the treatment of facial expression and

[42] Xie has proposed that in fact there are few Tibetan Buddhist theories embodied in these sculptures since most of them focus on the Pure Land and the blessing function of the esoteric Buddhism, from Xie's lecture in China Academy of Fine Art on Nov 12th, 2022. However, the Tibetan forms of the sculptures and the mandala of niche 84 certainly prove that these monks were familiar with the Tibetan school of Buddhism too.

[43] Xie et al., *Jiangnan zangchuan fojiao shike yishu*, 295.

[44] Xie et al., 201. State Hermitage Museum, *Lost Empire of the Silk Road,* 43, 104 and 105.

[45] Xie Jishen believes that the Feilaifeng sculptures are works of a combined Tangut Tibetan Buddhist style and the Sa-skya style in a transmission period. Xie and Gao, "Hangzhou Feilaifeng zangchuan," 42.

proportion do not seem to be works of the Tangut artisans when compared with the mature features of the Khara Khoto works. The political role of Tangut monks and officials such as Yang Lianzhenjia and his son would certainly have influenced the introduction of the models from the Hexi area, but it is also necessary to consider the function that local artisans played in the process.[46]

There is little information about the artisans involved in the Feilai Hill sculptures. From the contents in available inscriptions, it emerges that most sculptures on this hill were ordered by individual donors and the inscriptions tend to follow a fixed format.[47] Nearly all state that it was the donor who gave money to have the sculptures made and this action was returning the emperor's favour with wishes for his longevity.[48] It can be inferred then that it was also the donors who employed the artisans and these commissions had nothing to do with the Dadu court.

Therefore these sculptures with exotic features were made in the name of the emperor but actually originated from personal will. Taking Yang as an example is helpful to clarify the point. In the Yuan, the Bureau for Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs in Dadu was an important office monopolising Buddhist-related management over the empire, including Tibet, and the Bureau included several branch directorates in the provincial circuits, one being in Hangzhou.[49] Yang was appointed to the Hangzhou position directly by Khubilai, and his survival after the political accusations proved his particular personal relationship with Khubilai himself.[50] Thus Yang was powerful

[46] Xie in his analysis proposed that the style of Feilaifeng shows a mature dealing with both Tibetan and Han traditions and this could only be achieved through the Tanguts. He concludes that the Tangut Xia style had great influence on the Tibetan Buddhist art during the Yuan period. Xie and Gao, 43.

[47] Zhu, "You Hangzhou Feilaifeng," 46.

[48] For example, the niche 45 inscription that Yang "donated money to have the artisans make Buddhist images" 宣授江淮諸路釋教都總統永福大師施財命工鐫造佛像.

[49] Lai Tianbing, "Guanyu yuandai sheyujianghui/jiangzhe de shijiao duzongtongsuo 关于元代设于江淮/江浙的释教都总统所 About the Directorate of Buddhist Affairs Set up in Jianghui/jiangzhe during the Yuan," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 1 (2010): 65-66.

[50] Khubilai had forgiven Yang and returned his property to him, although officials were asking for his punishment. *Yuanshi*, 17: 362.

enough to mobilise resources for his Buddhist activities, such as temple building and sutra printing.[51]

However, contrary to the imperial sponsored sutra printing, where there was a prominent official decree, only individual donor names being put for the sculptures carved at Feilai Hill indicates that these sculptures were commissioned by Yang and his fellow Buddhist believers to show their gratitude to their royal patrons.[52] As private commissions, the artisans who were chosen to make the sculptures were probably from the local Hangzhou area, copying the Tibetan forms requested by the donors. The printed sutra made by the Tangut monks in the same city provides a parallel reference. The illustrations in the *Tripitaka* show clear influence of Tangut models, but the images on the final blocks were adapted by the Hangzhou print-makers with inclusion of many Chinese elements.[53] The sculptures on the Feilai Hill were also adjusted by local artisans who were learning the new models but undoubtedly also used their own knowledge of Buddhist sculptures. The mediation resulted in a misunderstanding of both the naked body proportions and the semi-comical wrathful expressions, along with a continued preference for Chinese facial features. The private nature of these sculptures makes it more significant that the Feilai Hill sculptures are the result of an early attempt by artisans in a Chinese cultural centre to adapt the newly encountered Tibetan/Tangut esoteric forms into their own visual languages.

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[51] Yang built five temples and one pagoda on the foundation of the Song palace. 江淮總攝楊璉真加言以宋宮室為塔一，為寺五，已成。 *Yuanshi,* 15: 309. Yang's name also appeared on some sutras as the chief sponsor, see Liao, "Yuandai Feilaifeng shike," 155.

[52] In monk Dao'an's preface to 'Puning zang' (Puning Temple Tripitaka), he mentioned that there was an imperial decree related to the printing of this sutra. The preface especially mentioned "by the order of the emperor" 皇帝頒降聖旨, see Lai, "Guanyu yuandai de shijiao duzongtongsuo," 56.

[53] Lai has offered some information on the Tangut monks participating in the sutra printing in Hangzhou. The sutra printed during 1302-1306 has included images drawn by the Chinese artisans in Hangzhou. Lai, "Cong zanghan jiaoliu ," 78 and notes 1-3. For the images used in the Hangzhou printed sutras, see Huang, "Reassessing Printed Buddhist Frontispieces," 161-62.

3.2 The Nepalese Anige and the court production

As Khubilai himself favoured Tibetan Buddhism, it is no surprise that Tibetan Buddhist art permeated the court at Dadu. If Tangut monks dominated the scene at Hangzhou, in the court workshop, there was a more direct Tibetan connection under the National Preceptor, Phags-pa, who introduced the Nepalese artist Anige to the Mongol court.[54]

Anige attracted Phags-pa's attention by building the golden stupa in Tibet for the Sa-skya school from 1260-1261.[55] He had a glorious career at Dadu, being promoted first as director of the Directorate-General for Artisans of Various Classes (DGAVC) and then of the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture, making him a rare example of a foreign artist who not only had a biography in the official *Yuanshi*, but also had his epitaph written by a Chinese scholar, Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫. The latter states that Anige supervised the construction of three pagodas, nine temples, two shrines, and one Daoist temple.[56] Two of the pagodas still exist and some other works are regarded as made (or supervised) by him. It is through some of these works that this section will examine the influence he brought to the Dadu court.

Bronze sculptures

According to his epitaph, Anige was famous for making 'lifelike' Buddhist sculptures, but in bronze, a different medium from the stone ones at Feilai Hill.[57] Although nothing can be safely attributed to him, a few small bronze sculptures have initiated discussions on the 'Anige style' at the Yuan court.[58]

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[54] Cheng Jufu, "Liangguo minhuigong shendaobei 涼國敏惠公神道碑 Spirit Way Stele for the Lord Minhui of Liang," in *Xuelou ji* 雪樓集, vol. 7, 15b, *Yutang leigao* edition.

[55] Cheng, "Liangguo minhuigong," vol. 7, 13a, b.

[56] Cheng, "Liangguo Minhuigong," vol. 7, 16b.

[57] Cheng, "Liangguo Minhuigong," vol. 7, 14b.

[58] Henss has discussed several bronze sculptures to identify the style of Anige. See Henss, "Is there any 'Anige Style'," 56-62. However, this dissertation will focus only on the Palace Museum example.

Nepalese artisans were definitely working for the Tibetans during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.[59] When Phags-pa needed to build a pagoda in Tibet, he required artisans from Nepal, testifying to the Tibetans' reliance on the Nepalese for Buddhist art and architecture.[60] Considering the large scale of some Buddhist works to be undertaken, such as pagoda building, when Anige was taken to Dadu by Phags-pa, he might have brought other Nepalese artisans with him.

Many researchers have mentioned a bronze sculpture of Manjushri (fig. 3.13) now in the Palace Museum in Beijing. Being in the imperial collection, it tempts a spontaneous (although mostly a supposed) link to the court workshop. There is no doubt that this sculpture draws on the iconography of Tibetan Buddhist art for features of the bare body, the upward-extended lotus flowers from the arms and the specific type of lotus seat. However, a comparison with contemporary Tibetan and Nepalese sculptures can reveal a more complicated picture of foreign influence.

Two bronze sculptures (fig. 3.14 a and b) of the thirteenth century show that by this time, the bronze sculptures produced in Nepal had reached a high level of both technical and aesthetic features. Bodhisattvas usually wear a dhoti, decorative necklaces and armlets. The body has balanced proportions with a natural twist at the waist and limbs. The empty holes were originally filled with precious stones.[61] The two bodhisattvas wear elaborate crowns with high buns in the middle. The ribbons fastening the crown flow behind the ears while large earrings are attached. The expressions of the bodhisattvas are calm and serene, with raised eyebrows,

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[59] Amy Heller, "Tracing the Reception and Adaptation of Foreign Aesthetic Elements in Tibetan Sculpture," (published Sep 20, 2006) https://www.asianart.com/articles/aesthetics/index.html (accessed on Jun 11th, 2020).

[60] Phags-pa, when intending to build the golden pagoda in Tibet, turned to Nepal to ask for skilful artisans and the king of Nepal sent 80 people to Tibet. 建黃金浮圖於吐蕃，以天竺泥波羅國良工之萃也，發詔徵之，國王奉詔徵羅得八十人 Cheng, "Liangguo Minhuigong," vol. 7, 13a.

[61] These stones could be rubies, rock crystal, and turquoise inlaid on the sculpture. Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal* (New York: The Asia Society, 1964), 131, entry 16.

downward-looking eyes, relatively high and large nose bridges and closed lips. A fourteenth century Avalokiteshvara (fig. 3.14 c) shows the same style was continued although the body proportions seem to be modified into an unnatural slimness with the crown and head being too heavy on the top.

The Palace Museum Manjushri shares some similarities with Nepalese ones. Its main characteristics can be defined from three aspects: the numerous inlaid stones, the use of the beaded lines, and the facial features.

Setting gems in the sculptures was a method largely adopted by Nepalese and Tibetan artisans, and the stones used on the Palace Museum sculpture are diverse in colour, sticking to the Nepalese preference for transparent and glassy stones.[62] Khokhlov, on the other hand, proposed that the Palace Museum sculpture is different from Nepalese products in Tibet.[63] For comparison, he provided a Manjushri (fig. 3.15) of the fourteenth century from Tibet. It has a round face and a strong body, slightly twisted at the waist, and sits on a lotus seat. The body is more robust than the Palace Museum Manjushri, with broad shoulders and chest, and the twist at the waist is more distinctive. The stones used are mainly turquoise, a norm mostly adopted in Tibet.

Secondly, the Palace Museum Manjushri uses bronze beads to define the belt, the hem of the dhoti, and the border of the lotus seat. The same application of beaded borders is used heavily on the Tibetan examples (fig. 3.15, 3.16b) offered by Khokhlov, but mostly for the necklaces and armlets with little traces on the clothing. The Nepalese and Yuan examples (fig. 3.16c, 3.16d), on the contrary, use the beads

[62] The Nepalese preferred to use glass or semi-precious stones, while the Tibetans used more turquoise. Heller, "Tracing the Reception and Adaptation".

[63] Yury Khokhlov, "Yuan Monuments and Works in the Tibetan Tradition (4) A Statue of Mañjuśrī, Palace Museum, Beijing-dated 1305," under "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art."

mainly on the borders of the robes, and they are also applied to the borders of the lotus seat, a feature shared by the Palace Museum Manjushri.

The third feature is the facial expression. Khokhlov proposed that the lowered eyelids and the subtle smile of the Palace Museum Manjushri are more similar to Tangut examples.[64] However, the facial features of the Manjushri are more Chinese, with the balance formed between the eyes, nose and mouth. The slightly open, downcast eyes have a straight upper lid. These expressions are different from the elongated eyes and brows, and especially the curved eyelids on the Tangut and Tibetan sculptures.[65]

Based on the above comparison, this Palace Museum Manjushri follows Nepalese fashion in the choice of decorative glassy stones and the use of beads on the robes, combined with a Chinese type of face. Further, Michael Henss, while discussing the bronze sculptures, offered two Avalokiteshvara sculptures, now respectively in the Palace Museum in Beijing and the Newark Museum in New Jersey (fig. 3.17).[66] They serve as evidence that modelling on Nepalese examples was happening at the Yuan court. These two share the same pose and decorations in mirror-image. The difference is that the Palace Museum example has hair depicted in the linear style instead of the curly, relief-like hair on the Newark one. It also has a better proportioned face with a stronger modelling of the eyes and mouth that hints at a Chinese hand.

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[64] Khokhlov believes the facial features of the Yuan products are similar to those discovered in Khara-khorum. However, the Tanguts were absorbing both Tibetan and Chinese influence in their Buddhist art. Depending on the artisans who created such works, it is possible that there are products with similar features in both Han Chinese and Tangut areas. Khokhlov, "Yuan Monuments and Works in the Tibetan Tradition (4)," under "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art."

[65] As Khokhlov said, "(Nepalese work in Tibet) The face is rounder; the eyelids are not heavy; the eyes themselves are much wider; and the mouth is much smaller." Khokhlov, "Yuan Monuments and Works in the Tibetan Tradition (4) A Statue of Mañjuśrī, Palace Museum, Beijing-dated 1305," under "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art."

[66] Henss, "Thirteenth or Eighteenth Century?" fig. 1 and fig. 3.

It seems that Anige brought a Nepalese influence through these bronze sculptures. However, artisans working in Yuan China were also sticking to their own understanding of making sculptures. The Palace Museum Manjushri does not have a clear twist at the waist, and it has a face based on Chinese aesthetic taste. Another sculpture of Shakyamuni (fig. 3.18) also in the Palace Museum, dated to the second year of Zhiyuan (1336), shows a further adaptation. Although it wears a tight robe and has a high *ushnisha* — both features from the Nepal examples (fig. 3.16c) — the robe now has drapery folds on the leg and arm to indicate the body volume, a characteristic not much emphasised by the Nepalese and Tibetan products. The face of the Buddha is fleshy and balanced as in the other Chinese works. A bronze sculpture of Marici (fig. 3.19), now regarded possibly of the Ming period, shares the features of transparent stone decoration and the beaded lines on the dhoti. It also has a face similar to the Palace Museum Manjushri and the linear depiction of hair in the Capital Museum Avalokitesvara. The decorative patterns on the dhoti, by this time, include both hexagon patterns from the Chinese textiles and vine-scroll patterns from the thangkas. The Chinese elements on these three examples were used mostly on the parts without strict requirement by Buddhist iconography, such as the face, the hair, the drapery, and even textile patterns. These features show that although a Nepalese model probably was the origin, Chinese characteristics were preserved and developed all through the Yuan period on these bronze sculptures in the parts less important for iconography, right into the Ming period. It seems that artisans retained some Chinese features even when they accepted the new Nepalese influence.

Inscriptions on the two Palace Museum sculptures shed a light on their users. The one on the Manjushri confirms it was made in the ninth year of Dade (1305), and says, “The family of Gao Quanxin who were Buddhist believers, commissioned this Manjushri sculpture to give gratitude for the love from their parents, and to let all

creatures attain Buddha-hood."[67] The inscription on the 1336 Shakyamuni marks a similar devotion by a family with the surname of Zhong.[68] The patrons' names, Gao Quanxin on the first sculpture and Zhong Rengui (with his brothers Renzhi and Renshou) on the second, seem to be neither Mongolian nor Tibetan. The reference to family members proves that these sculptures were not related to any royal or state rituals, but only private commissions. However, the Nepalese features embodied in these sculptures indicates they were made under some influence that Anige brought to the court in Dadu.

It is not a surprise that such influence is reflected in a private work. The Yuan legal decree allowed court artisans to take other business after they finished their officially allocated work.[69] Therefore, they had time to work on private commissions. On rare occasions, the artisans might even get left-over materials.[70] It is very possible that artisans who made the sculptures for the Gao and Zhong families were also working in the court workshops with knowledge of the new Nepalese fashion while also applying their own Chinese taste.

The White Stupa

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[67] 奉佛高全信一家，捨財造文殊師利一尊，報答父母養育之恩，一切眾生共成佛道，大德九年五月十五日記耳。

[68] The inscription on this sculpture says that the family of Zhong, the father, a monk named Zhiweilaiding, had made this sculpture to seek the protection of the Buddha and hope to gain merits in the coming life. 出家釋子智威睐丁男仲仁貴、仲仁智、仲仁壽、信眷楊氏單奇一家善眷等，發心鑄釋迦佛，一家南無諸佛加被星天，護持此世來生福報無盡，歲次丙子，至元二年八月望日謹題。It is not known whether the father's name was a Buddhist name taken after ordination.

[69] "Huling: Saorao gongjiang 戶令：騷擾工匠 Civil Law: Harassment of Artisans," in *Tongzhi tiaoge*, vol. 2, 104. 各局院裡合造的額數造了呵，放還教做他每的勾當，養喉素吃呵。

[70] In *Zhizheng zhiji*, it is recorded that the kilns in Raozhou that provided the earth for the Jingdezhen kilns were closed after mining each year so that the white earth would not be taken for private use. However, people could still get some leftovers to make good porcelains privately. 饒州御土，其色白如粉垩，每歲差官監造器皿以貢，謂之御土窯。燒罷即封土，不敢私也。或有貢余土，造盤、盂、碗、碟、壺、注、杯、盞之類，白而瑩，色可愛。 Kong Qi 孔齊, "Raozhou yutu 饒州御土 The Earth for Court in Yaozhou," in *Zhizheng Zhiji* 至正直記 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol. 2, 80.

To the west of the Palace Museum within 'the second ring' of modern Beijing, the White Stupa (fig. 3.20) stands in the Miaoying Temple 妙應寺. In the Yuan period, this temple had the name of 'Great Temple of Sacred Longevity and Myriad Peace' (later referred to as 'Wan'an Temple' following the Chinese name 'dashengshou wan'an si'大聖壽萬安寺). According to *The Record for the Debate over False Belief in Zhiyuan* (*Dayuan Zhiyuan Bianwei lu* 大元至元辨偽錄, later referred to as *Bianweilu*) written by the monk Xiangmai 祥邁 in 1291, construction of the stupa was ordered in the eighth year of Zhiyuan (1271).[71]

It is now commonly agreed that this pagoda was designed by Anige. However, Xiangmai's record does not mention Anige's name: it traces instead the origin of the stupa. There was a Liao pagoda of unknown style on the original site, built in the year 1096 by the monk Daochen 道殷 (dates unknown), an expert in both exoteric and esoteric doctrines.[72] Xiangmai then gave a good description of the Yuan pagoda:

> (The stupa) copied the image of the kundika, and had a solidness fit for the relics. It was a wonderful work with both the upper and lower parts constructed of 'jade' stones. The stupa follows the model listed in the dharma, with birds and animals carved at the foundation, 'jade' sticks on the corners and stone railings covering the steps; flowery hangings droop from the canopy while the body is covered by pearl nets. When there is a breeze, the small metal bells produce a ringing sound and the gold disc shines with bright light under the sun; the pagoda echoes the

[71] The book *Da Yuan Zhiyuan bianweilu* is mainly about the debate between the Buddhists and Daoists that was an important event during Khubilai's reign. It records the conflict between members of the two religions and also includes some information about the development of Buddhism in the early period of the dynasty. Xiangmai was a monk in the Yunfeng Temple located near Dadu and he made this record by the order of Khubilai. Franke, 'Consecration of the 'White Stupa'," 163-65. The inscription of the pagoda mentioned later is recorded in the fifth volume of the *Bianweilu*.

[72] Xiangmai, *Bianweilu*, vol. 5; the following quotes from this book are all from this volume. It is believed that the Liao pagoda would have been the *miyan* (dense-piled eaves) style. Yu Ke 于柯, "Guanyu Beijing Miaoyingsi Baita de chuangjian niandai 关于北京妙应寺白塔的创建年代 About the Construction Date of the White Stupa in Beijing Miaoying Temple," *Kaogu*, no. 5 (1962): 270. For Liao pagodas and their ritual function, see Wei-cheng Lin, "Performing Center in a Vertical Rise: Multilevel Pagodas in China's Middle Period," *Ars Orientalis* 46 (2016): 113-18.

imperial palace and it alone reaches almost to the sky. The refined technique is unsurpassed by anything created before or at present.

取軍持之像，標馱都之儀，妙罄奇功，深窮剞劂，瓊瑤上釦，碱砆下成，表法設模，座鏤禽獸，角垂玉杵，階布石欄，檐掛華鬘，身絡珠網，珍鐸迎風而韻響，金盤向日而光輝，亭亭高聳，遥映於紫宮，岌岌孤危，上陵於碧落，制度之巧，古今罕有。[73]

The description reveals some features of the White Stupa: the bottle-shaped body of the stupa, the white body made by jade-like white stones, and the bronze canopy over the top of the pagoda with metal bells hanging over the eaves. Some features have disappeared such as the birds and animals on the foundations and the pearl nets covering the body. Yet Xiangmai mentioned no specific technical details of the architecture. He continued with a description of the esoteric consecration hosted by the Imperial Preceptor Irinjin 益鄰真 (Ye-ses Rin-chen, fl. 1274-1279), the younger brother of Phags-pa who took over the title.[74]

It is pointed out in Xiangmai's record that Khubilai ordered that a pagoda to be built there in 1271, but Anige's epitaph states that he built the stupa in the Wan'an Temple in the sixteenth year of Zhiyuan (1279), a possible year for the completion of the pagoda.[75] Since Anige was appointed Director of the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture in 1278, the project was probably executed by this imperial office, confirming its close connection with the emperor.[76]

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[73] The translation of this part has referred to the notes provided by Su Bai 宿白, "Yuan Dadu Shengzhi tejian shijia sheli lingtong zhita beiwen 元大都圣旨特建释迦舍利灵通之塔碑文 Stele Inscription for the Stupa with Spiritual Influence of the Sakya Relics Built Especially on Imperial Command," *Kaogu*, no. 1(1963): 42. Franke, "Consecration of the 'White Stupa'," 172-73. The full-text translation is in ibid., 169-181.

[74] About Irinjin's position, see *Yuanshi*, 202: 4518 and 10: 218; also see Franke, "Consecration of the 'White Stupa'," 168. Translation of the consecration is in ibid., 174-81.

[75] Cheng, "Liangguo minhuigong," vol. 7, 15b. About the debate over the date of construction, see Su, "Yuan Dadu Shengzhi," 43, and Yu, "Guanyu Beijing Miaoyingsi Baita," 270-71. *Yuanshi* also mentions that the Wan'an Temple was finished by the end of the year 1279, *Yuanshi*, 10: 218.

[76] Cheng, "Liangguo minguigong," vol. 7, 16a.

Arguments have arisen around the style of the stupa. Khokhlov believes that the style came from Tangut Xia and he offered several examples of pagodas in the Hexi area that he felt were similar to the White Stupa.[77] Su Bai, an archaeologist and expert on Buddhist architecture, proposed a categorisation for the Tangut pagodas, and argued that in their later development, the form of an overturned bowl or bell became popular in the Hexi area under the influence of Tibetan monks who promoted Buddhism in Tangut in the twelfth century.[78] Su concluded that the White Stupa in Dadu was a typical representative of this later development of the bell-shaped pagoda.[79]

Su's conclusion is persuasive, backed by his multiple examples and proof of written materials. There is no doubt that high-level Tibetan monks, Irinjin and his followers, were active in pagoda constructions, especially for those such as the White Stupa that were directly commissioned by the Mongol rulers. It should be remembered also that Anige built his first pagoda in Tibet under the supervision of Phags-pa.[80] The evidence speaks strongly for the role of the Sa-skya masters (Phags-pa and Irinjin) in these activities.

The Tibetan influence can be further backed up by comparisons with stupa-shaped reliquaries. A silver stupa (fig. 3.21) of the thirteenth century has a bell-shape body with two ridges, sitting on a lotus base. A short neck is raised from the body to hold the platform supporting the wheels. It has a large parasol, with symbols of moon and sun resting on a lotus flower tied with ribbons, and a pagoda-shaped top, a typical

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[77] Khokhlov, "Yuan Monuments and Works in the Tibetan Tradition (1) Anige Stūpas, 1279 and 1301," under "The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art." The comparative examples he used include the pagoda in Wutai Mountain, the pagoda in Weizhou, the Hundred and Eight Pagoda of Xiakoushan, and the Hongfo Pagoda, Khokhlov, fig. 3-6.

[78] Su, "Xi Xia guta," 312-13, also quoting Tibetan sources from *Xizang fojiao shilue* 西藏佛教史略 *A Brief Buddhism History in Tibet , Hongshi jiaozhu* 红史校注 *Annotations to The Red Annual* and *Sajia shixishi* 萨迦世系史 *History of Sa-skya*, ibid., 319, notes 87, 88 and 89.

[79] Su Bai, "Xi Xia guda,", 313.

[80] Cheng, "Liangguo minhuigong," vol. 7, 13a, b.

Tibetan adaptation of the Indian stupa concept attested by the other bronze relics discovered in the Sa-skya Temple in Tibet.[81] The basic elements on this silver pagoda, the lotus base, the wheels, the canopy, and the short neck, can all be found on the White Stupa. For comparison, another copper reliquary pagoda (fig. 3.22) in Tibet, dated to around 1400 but following the Nepalese artistic influence, shows other features, including an arched chapel on its rounder belly with complicated decorations around the chapel and on the neck.[82] An extra base is added below the belly. The proportions of the belly and the top are different from the silver one.[83]

Xiangmai's record also implies a Tibetan form for the White Stupa by using the phrase "golden disc" (jinpan 金盤) for the top. The meaning is different from the horizontal canopy (yan 檐) since they are two different words.[84] Comparing it with the Tibetan silver reliquary above, the "golden disc" possibly refers to the round disc on top, a vertical part that "shines with bright light under the sun", a further proof that this stupa was following a Tibetan model.[85]

Yet it is assumed that in the larger site plan, small shrines were set in the corners and a hall was to the south in front of the White Stupa.[86] As the temple has been renovated in later dynasties, the original layout may have been changed.[87]

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[81] Robert A. F. Thurman and David Weldon, *Sacred Symbols: The Ritual Art of Tibet* (London: Rossi & Rossi, 1999), 18. Zhang Yuhan and Luo Zhewen 张驭寰、罗哲文, *Zhongguo guta jicui* 中国古塔集萃 *The Collection of Ancient Pagodas in China* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1988), 216.

[82] Thurman and Weldon, Sacred Symbols, 16.

[83] Nepalese pagoda reliquaries have a shorter and rounder belly for the 'bell-shaped' pagoda body than the Tibetan type. Other Nepalese examples are the one in the MET (Acce no. 1983.67), and one in the Penn Museum (Acce no. A1233). The wheels on top also look narrower compared with the body.

[84] Su Bai, "Yuan Dadu Shengzhi," 42.

[85] The top of the stupa could have been renovated in later time since donations by the Qianlong emperor were discovered in the top. Zhang and Luo, *Zhongguo guta jicui*, 15.

[86] Anning Jing seems to believe that this layout with shrines at the corner was a derivation from Indian forms. Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 51.

[87] In the fourth year of Chenghua (1468), a temple was built on this site and the name 'Miaoying si' was given to it. Huang Chunhe 黄春和, *Baitasi* 白塔寺 *The Temple of the White Stupa* (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 2002), 275.

Although there is no record for the design of the Wan'an Temple, another one called Puqing Temple 普慶寺, built during the reign of Wuzong, used a similar but smaller plan.[88] The whole temple compound followed the north-south axis and was mostly symmetrical, including paired pagodas and pavilions.[89] Further, the Wan'an temple, as stated in *Yuanshi*, " (its) halls, stairs, railings and balustrade all follow the style of the palace", whose features include red pillars with gold decoration, painted coffered ceilings, roofs with glazed tiles, and stairs and floor made of white 'jade' stones.[90] This shows that the Tibetan-form pagoda was placed in a Chinese style temple.[91] The combination, on one hand, emphasises Tibetan Buddhist domination over the temple complex with the stupa being the highest architecture. On the other hand, it admits an essential Han Chinese context by placing the Tibetan stupa in a Buddhist complex with a layout and decorations executed in the Chinese way.

Portraits of the Yuan royalties

The Palace Museum in Taipei preserves two albums of portraits of Yuan emperors and empresses that were remounted in 1748.[92] Among them, the two of Khubilai and his principal wife, Chabi (figs. 3.23) have been regarded as created by Anige himself according to his epitaph that states he made portraits of the royal

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[88] Yao Sui 姚燧, "Puqingsi bei 普慶寺碑 The Stele of Puqing Temple," in *Mu'an ji* 牧庵集, vol. 11, Qing Wuyingdian edition; also quoted in Huang, *Baitasi*, 20-25.

[89] Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, "Dayuan Dapuqingsi beiming" 大元普慶寺碑銘 Inscription for the Stele of the Great Puqing Si of Dayuan, in *Beijing Fojiao shike* 北京佛教石刻 *Buddhist Stone Carvings in Beijing*, eds. Sun Meng 孙勐 and Tong Xun 佟洵 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2012): 185.

[90] *Yuanshi*, 51: 1101. Tao, *Nancun chuogenglu*, vol. 21, 245-52.

[91] This has been very briefly mentioned in Ge Wan-zhang 葛婉章, "Fushe yu huixiang: MengYuanshiqi de zangchuanfojiaoyishu 輻射與回向：蒙元時期的藏傳佛教藝術 Radiation and Rotation: Tibetan Buddhist Art in Mongol Yuan Period," in *Dahan de shiji* 大汗的世紀 *The Century of the Great Khan*, eds. Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 and Ge Wan-zhang (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001), 254.

[92] 元代帝半身像冊 https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Painting/Content?pid=1886&Dept=P; 元代后半身像冊 https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Painting/Content?pid=1887&Dept=P (accessed Jan 14th, 2023).

couple.[93] It has been pointed out that the highlighting technique used on the jewels in Chabi's portrait is similar to the technique used on thangkas produced in the contemporary Himalayan area: changing the colour hue to achieve a highlight effect.[94] It has also been claimed that the paint used on these two portraits was mixed following those used on thangkas, and was applied in multiple layers.[95]

However, this does not seem enough to prove the Nepalese artist's hand. The highlighting technique is only applied to limited areas, and the pigments found in thangkas appeared in the material lists for many painting commissions, showing they were not necessarily monopolised by specific artists.[96] Further, as these portraits were created in Dadu, portrait production in northern China should also be examined for the influence of pre-existing styles.

It is said that the two portraits made by Anige were later transferred onto textiles, and used for veneration in a similar fashion to Buddhist images.[97] To understand the different types of portraits used in the Yuan, the fragmentary record, *The Record of Paintings and Sculptures of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuandai huasuji* 元代畫塑記, later referred to as *Huasuji*), provides detailed information. There are several terms referring to portraits of various sizes:[98]

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[93] Anige created portraits for Khubilai and Chabi that were made into textiles and hung in an attached hall in the 'Renwang Wan'an' temple in Dadu. "追寫世祖、順聖二御容，織幀奉安于仁王萬安之別殿。" Cheng, "Liangguo Minhuigong", vol. 7, 16b; Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 53 and 74.

[94] Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 74.

[95] Ge, "Fushe yu huixiang," 254.

[96] It has been listed in the records that Tibetan (xifan) paints were used on almost all royal portraits, and they were even provided when the painter in charge was Chinese. *Yuandai huasuji* 元代画塑记 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964), 1-7, especially those two columns with Li Xiaoyan who will be mentioned later.

[97] Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 75.

[98] The information for the list is all taken from *Huasuji*. For the royal images, the word 'zhi' is used, as the original text says "(for making) the royal images of the Emperor Chengzong and his Empress, please follow the royal portraits in Tianshou Wanning Temple to weave (the images)" 成宗皇帝、貞慈靜懿皇后御影依大天壽萬寧寺內御容織之; For the Buddhist altar images, the word 'hua' is used, as the original text says "For the altar on the left and the right, all painted in full images" 其左右佛壇咸令全畫之. Comparison of materials used also shows that for the "royal image", there were more

List 3.1 Terms for Portraits in *Huasuji*

Type	Chinese name	Size	Medium
royal portrait	*yu rong* 御容	half-length portrait	paper or silk (painted, *hua* 畫)
royal image	*yu ying* 御影		textile (woven, *zhi* 織)
small image	*xiao ying* 小影		paper or silk (painted, *hua* 畫)
Buddhist altar image	*fo tan* 佛壇	full-length portrait	paper or silk (painted, *hua* 畫)

Anige's epitaph used 'royal portrait' to describe these portraits he made, and they fit with the description in *Huasuji* in that they are only of the face. However, is this enough to prove these two portraits were painted by Anige himself?

In the two portraits, Khubilai wears a white robe and a round white hat with black brim and red lining.[99] Chabi wears the high *kuku* crown typical for Mongol women. It is red with white pearl beads arranged in floral patterns and is fixed on the head by a black ribbon with pearl strings. Floral decorations on her inner robe and the collars of her outer robe echo those on the crown. The golden, bird head patterns on the outer trim of the collar indicate *nasij*, a type of luxury textile that will be discussed in the next chapter.[100]

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textiles in the allocated materials than those used for 'royal portrait', *Yuandai huasuji*, 1-5. For further comparison of the materials for different types, see Shang, "Mengyuan yurong," 53-54, list 2. The mounting materials for each type were more or less the same, while for the royal image, there were an extra 38 *pi* white silk, and 1 *pi* silver brown silk (1 *pi* equals around 13 meters).

[99] Jing believed that the hat was made of snow weasel fur, based on Shen Congwen's book. However, Shen meant the heavy fur coat worn by Khubilai in Liu Guandao's painting, very different from the one in the portrait. This robe could be the white leather *zhisun* usually worn together with a white hat. Jing, "The Portrait of Khubilai Khan," 71, note 161; Shen Congwen 沈从文, *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu* 中国古代服饰研究 *Studies on Ancient Chinese Costumes* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2005), 527. *Yuanshi*, 79: 1938. "For the fur robe of snow weasel, the hat used is also made of the same fur and a cape of the same textile over the robe." 服銀鼠，則冠銀鼠暖帽，其上並加銀鼠比肩。"For the robe of white leather removed of fur, the hat used is a white hat decorated with golden roundels." 服白粉皮，則冠白金答子暖帽。

[100] Shang Gang, "Nashishi zai zhongguo 纳石失在中国 Nasij in China," *Wenwu yanjiu*, no. 8 (2003): 57.

Khubilai's face in this portrait is not only defined by lines but also with transitional colour washes to express changing shades, especially the red in the areas around eyes and cheekbones, creating a three-dimensional effect of flesh and bone. Facial hair, including the eyebrows, moustache and beard, was done in delicate strokes with light ink shading. Attention was given even to the newly shaved hair above the ears. Two darker hair locks hang behind the ears, in the typical fashion for Mongol men. The portrait suggests a wish to capture the true image of the emperor. The depiction of Chabi's face, lighter in tone than that of Khubilai, also used pale changing colours to show the transition between highlights and shades. The lines are also delicate and extremely fine, faintly defining the nose and the chin.

At almost the same period, there was a Tibetan school called *Bal ris* ('Newari style') under Nepalese artistic influence, highlighting intricate details, controlled lines, and textile patterns, being directly linked with the gTsang area under the Sa-skya monasteries.[101] Tibetan art scholar Heather Stoddard has used three works to show the chronological development of this school. These examples (Figs. 3.24) show that the type of even and delicate lines appearing in the two royal portraits were used on the thangkas produced by this school. The lines are consistent in defining the facial features and the body volume. The application of colour blocks for the patterns of the costumes are nearly the same as those used in Chabi's portrait: there is no heavy black outline separating the various colours for the patterns on the collar and the hat. However, for the faces in the thangkas, white pigment is applied to the nose and lips to achieve highlights instead of the colour wash used on the royal portraits.

The effect of the colour wash also contrasts with Chinese style '*baimiao*' 白描 (ink outline painting) defined by fluent and rhythmic lines. In most figural works

[101] Heather Stoddard, "Early Tibetan Paintings: Sources and Styles (Eleventh-Fourteenth Century A.D.)," *Archives of Asian Art* 49 (1996): 40-41.

created in the Song, lines are the most important element to define shape, boundary, and volume through modulation, most noticeably in the depiction of draperies.[102] Such lines are applied to Khubilai's robes but none are on the face.

The Tibetologist Giuseppe Tucci has studied the use of colour shading related to the 'Khotanese'.[103] This Central Asian colour wash technique was also known to the Chinese before the Yuan. Not only are examples preserved in the famous Buddhist caves at Dunhuang, a city on the road to Turfan and Khotan, but the technique also appears in the *Five Horses* attributed to the Song painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049-1106, fig. 3.25).[104] If this is a genuine work by Li's hand, it shows he knew perfectly well how to use the colour wash method to create a faithful and naturalistic image. In the section of the tribute horse Phoenix-head Piebald (Fengtou cong 鳳頭驄) from Khotan, the face of the groom is washed with a light and pale red colour to indicate the muscles around his recessed eyes and protruding nose.[105]

The same technique was used in mural paintings in the North during Liao and Jin, especially in the Liao portraits. In the tenth century tomb discovered at Baoshan 寶山, Inner Mongolia, the two portraits of male servants are depicted with great

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[102] Shih Shou-chien, "Shengtang baihua zhi chengli yu bimiao nengli zhi kuozhan 盛唐白畫之成立與筆描能力之拓展 The Setting Up of *Baihua* in the High Tang and the Development of Ink Outline," *National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (1985): 26. For a comparison of the Song and Yuan emperors' portraits by the use of lines, see https://theme.npm.edu.tw/khan/Article.aspx?sNo=03009130 (accessed Jan 14th, 2023).

[103] Stoddard, "Early Tibetan Paintings," 35-36, also note 64, quoting from Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 563, 572. Stoddard also listed several hypotheses about the possible Central Asian influences on Tibet, including influence from the Tanguts while the Tibetan empire was occupying the "bends of the Yellow River". Ibid., 30-35.

[104] In Dunhuang cave no. 304 there is a monk's head made in different colour shades to show a three-dimensional effect, a typical style imported from Central Asia. There is also the Vimalakirti in cave no. 220, under the adaptation by the Chinese artisans. Shih, "Shengtang baihua," 33, fig. 18 and fig. 20.

[105] The inscription for this section: "This one on the right is the tribute horse Phoenix-head Piebald received by the Left Horse Stable from the Kingdom of Khotan on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month in the first year of Yuanyou (1086). The horse is eight years old, with a height of five feet and four inches." 右一匹元祐元年十二月十六日左騏驥院收于闐國進到鳳頭驄八歲五尺四寸 This method could be traced to the 'baihua' 白畫 (painting without strong colour) in the earlier Tang that used 'light colour wash' 輕成色 showing the anatomical structure and the change of lights. Shih, "Shengtang baihua," 25-26 and fig. 3.

attention to the details of their facial features, along with the use of pale red colour wash achieving the shape of the bone structure and the highlight changes (fig.3.26).[106] The same effect is also seen in figures painted in Liao tombs in Hebei and Jin tombs in Shanxi.[107]

On the contrary, in the Southern Song emperor portraits, there is little use of the colour wash, and the muscles are indicated by lines, such as the circular ones under the eyes. Although there is ink shading on the face, it is limited only to parts of the eye and mouth. The general approach tends to shape the face in a flat way.[108]

It seems therefore that the two portraits of Khubilai and Chabi have combined techniques and features from both the Himalayan and northern Chinese practices. They have adopted the fine lines and colour blocks used on the thangkas, but also the colour wash method preserved through the Liao and Jin portraits.

Again, documents in the Yuan court reveal more information. *Huasuji* says that during the reign of Renzong, artisans were chosen for the task of making portraits,

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[106] Li Qingquan 李清泉, "Baoshan liaomu: qidan muzang yishuzhong de guosu yu shenfenjiangou 宝山辽墓：契丹墓葬艺术中的国俗与身份建构 The Liao Tomb at Baoshan: The Construction of National Customs and Identity in the Burial Art of Khitan ," in *Baoshan liaomu*, eds. Wu and Li, 72-73, colour plate 9-12.

[107] See both mural paintings from tomb M10 (c. 1093), Xuanhua, Liao dynasty, from Institute of Archaeology of Hebei Province, *Xuanhua liaomu bihua* 宣化辽墓壁画 *Liao Mural Paintings at Xuanhua*, (Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 27-29, plate 3-5; Also paintings in tomb in Lingchuan, Shanxi, Jin dynasty (c. 1169), from Shang Tongliu 商彤流 and Zheng Linyou 郑林有, "Shanxi Lingchuan Yuquan jindaibihuamu fajuejianbao 山西陵川玉泉金代壁画墓发掘简报 Excavation Report on the Jin Tomb at Yuquan, Lingchuan in Shanxi," *Wenwu*, no. 9 (2018): 29, fig. 11. More Liao examples are in Li, "Baoshan liaomu," 77-79.

[108] The portraits of the Southern Song emperors can be accessed on the website of the Palace Museum in Taipei, for example, Gaozong https://theme.npm.edu.tw/opendata/DigitImageSets.aspx?sNo=04024195 and Duzong https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Painting/Content?pid=1845&Dept=P (accessed Jun 19th, 2023). Also see catalogue https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Painting/Content?pid=1884&Dept=P (accessed Jun 18th, 2023). It has been pointed out that the full-length portraits (hanging scrolls) of the Southern Song emperors might be made contemporaneously with the dynasty, while the half-length portraits in the albums were made later in the Ming period, based on their facial features, see Li Sheng 黎晟, "Qingchao nanxundian tuxiang kaoshu 清宫南薰殿图像考述 Study on the Portraits in Nanxun Hall from the Qing Palace," *Fine Arts and Design*, no. 6 (2017): 72-73. As a result, the album of the half-length portraits of the Song emperor are not used here for comparison.

among whom was a master Li Xiaoyan 李肖巖 (fl. 1319-30).[109] This means Chinese artisans also participated in the painting tasks, especially those who excelled in portraits. The same Li Xiaoyan was also mentioned in the *Record of the Rare Book Library* (*Mishujian zhi* 秘書監志).[110] In 1319, he was asked to copy portraits of the officials who once served under Khubilai, specifically from the large portraits, 'da shen' 大神 kept in their families. His copies were later mounted into an album, 'kan ce' 看册 for the emperor. It is thus likely that the two portraits of Khubilai and Chabi also belonged to a 'kan ce' that included copies of portraits from their larger (or full-body) format counterparts.[111] The appointment of Li to take this task again implies that Chinese artists might be relied on for these artistic activities.

There was also a specialised division of labour in art production, reflected in records in both *Huasuji* and *Mishujian zhi.* For painting preservation, the mounting was given to artisans called from Hangzhou (perhaps more experienced than northern artisans); the caskets for storage were made by the Dadu Construction and Protection Office; and the silk used for the mounting was provided by the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture.[112] The detailed division shows that each part of the painting, including

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[109] *Yuandai huasuji,* 2. "On the seventeenth day of the twelfth month in the seventh year of Yanyou (1320), the minister of government affairs Botiemuer was ordered to make the portraits for the emperor and his empress. He took the order together with Asengge (Anige's son) and a person named Xiao Du'er, and the master excelled in portraits, Li Xiaoyan. They created the portraits for Renzong and his wife based on the model of Khubilai's portrait." 仁宗皇帝延祐七年十二月十七日，勅平章伯帖木兒，道與阿僧哥、小杜二，選巧工及傳神李肖巖，依世祖皇帝御容之制，畫仁宗皇帝及莊懿茲聖皇后御容。

[110] *Mishujian zhi*, vol. 5, Qing Wenyuange siku quanshu edition. "On the sixteenth day of the fourth month in the sixth year of Yanyou (1319), Zhang Yangqing brought the order from the emperor: 'Starting with the Grand Guardian Master Liu (Liu Bingzhong), ask Li Xiaoyan to make portraits for each of the ministers serving Secen Khan (Khubilai) following their large portraits preserved in their families. Ask Xiao He to mount these portraits into an album so that I can take a look." 延祐六年四月十六日，張彥清特奉聖旨：在前劉太保為頭，薛禪皇帝舊行來的官人每的畫像，教李肖巖依著他每各家的大神，對模傳寫了呵，教小何裱褙成看冊，我看過呵。

[111] The albums we see today are editions remounted during the Qing dynasty.

[112] *Yuandai huasuji*, 27. 移文中書，依張參政所言，馳驛杭州，取巧工裱褙。所用綾命將作院官給以御用者矣。完教留守司官，用江南佳木作不油木匣。A similar record is also in *Mishujian zhi*, vol. 6. It seems both records refer to the same task in the year 1300.

the silk and casket, was a separate commission. Therefore it is no surprise if the painting itself was also divided among several experts who were skilled in different techniques and styles.

In fact, it is possible that Chinese artisans also learnt Himalayan techniques at the court workshops as shown by the case of Anige's disciple, Liu Yuan 刘元. According to Tao Zongyi, Liu, who originated from the area around Dadu, excelled in making sculptures, especially using the dry-lacquer technique. He later learnt how to make esoteric Buddhist sculptures in the Tibetan form from Anige and became famous for making lifelike sculptures.[113] Liu was also appointed to a position in the Rare Book Library in 1320 and thus was able to consult the imperial collection for his work.[114] The great achievement of Liu Yuan demonstrates that various artistic techniques, styles, and resources were available and exchangeable for artists and artisans working in the Yuan court.

Considering the mixed characteristics of these portraits and the working environment for artisans at the court, it is proposed here that the two portraits of Khubilai and Chabi were produced by artisans from the workshops directed by Anige instead of by himself alone.[115] That the two portraits were later turned into textiles also suggests that this was a co-ordinated group work.

Lastly, the format of the portraits reflects northern tradition. Although many Chinese emperors' portraits are in full-length (such as those of the Song), the half-length portrait for emperors did exist as recorded by *Jinshi*, the official history for the

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[113] Tao, *Nancun chuogenglu*, 24: 285.

[114] *Yuanshi*, 203: 4546; *Mishujian zhi*, vol. 9.

[115] Shang has offered his guess on the workshops producing these portraits. Shang, 'Mengyuan yurong," 42-44. It is mentioned specifically in one column in *Huasuji* that the Superintendence for Buddhist Images and Sculptures did the painting for a couple of portraits and it seems most of the portrait works were sent to the Directorate-General for Artisans from Various Offices from the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture. *Yuandai huasuji*, 4; Also see Appendix IV for the titles and duties of the offices.

Jurchen dynasty. There were two half-length portraits for Jin Taizu (Aguda, r. 1115-1123).[116] *Liaoshi*, the official history for the Khitan dynasty, also records the use of 'royal portraits' (*yu rong*) in the palace halls.[117] The size of the Liao portraits is unknown, but considering the consistent use of the word 'royal portrait' by the Yuan editors for both *Liaoshi* and *Yuanshi*, it can be assumed they were also half-length portraits.

Both Liao and Jin courts sometimes venerated royal portraits in Buddhist or Daoist temples for various ritual purposes, and they also built portrait halls.[118] This probably was connected with the Chan Buddhist fashion of making memorial portraits of the abbots as holy icons, produced in multiple copies both for the monasteries and for the disciples.[119] For example, a set of half-length portraits of the Chan patriarchs brought to Japan by the Zen monk Hakuun Egyo 白雲惠曉 (1223-1297) was symmetrically arranged in the memorial hall, and the images on the left and the right turned towards a central point where it is assumed there was a central Buddhist figure.[120] The ritual meaning of these abbot images was to show the lineage of a monastery, thus establishing a spiritual link between generations of monks.[121]

These two Mongol royal portraits share aspects of the abbot portraits. The faces are presented slightly turned to the centre, and the images were also reproducible in

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[116] Tuotuo ed., *Jinshi* 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 33:788 "The Yanqing Palace has twelve portraits of Taizu…two of them are half-length…衍慶宮藏太祖御容十有二：……半身容二……"

[117] Li, "Baoshan liaomu," 79-82. *Liaoshi*, 37:440.

[118] Li, "Baoshan liaomu," 82. The use of the royal portraits has been discussed in Wang Yanyun 王艷云, "Jindai yurong ji feng'an zhidu 金代御容及奉安制度 Jin Dynasty Emperor Portraits and the Feng'an System," *Palace Museum Journal* 139, no. 5 (2008): 85-87.

[119] T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7, Numéro spécial sur le Zen (1993-1994): 186. Li, "Baoshan liaomu," 82.

[120] This set of rubbing portraits was taken by Hakuun from Song China back to Japan and was kept in Rikkyoku-an before being taken into the collection of the Kyoto National Museum. A set of patriarch portraits in Rokuo-in in Kyoto also preserve this format that the abbots are shown turning toward the centre. Foulk and Sharf, "On the Ritual Use," 187-90, and note 68.

[121] Foulk and Sharf, 190.

multiple copies in different media.[122] As ancestors of the Yuan emperors, portraits of Khubilai and Chabi could be venerated as the head of the royal lineage. The act of placing royal portraits in a Buddhist temple also enhanced the link between Buddhist rites and the ancestor rituals.[123]

There is no doubt that Anige, as the prominent artist at the Yuan court, brought influences from the Himalayan area, especially the Nepalese and Tibetan styles, highlighted by the bronze works and the stupa that he was famous for. However, works produced directly or indirectly under his supervision demonstrate the adaptation of the new Tibetan elements in the Dadu court and an undergoing integration. In the bronze works, Tibetan/Nepal features are highlighted in the forms and major iconographies while faces and minor decorations follow Chinese taste. For the White Stupa, the emphasis on Tibetan Buddhism is explicit but it is incorporated into a Chinese-style Buddhist temple. Chinese influence permeates deeper when the medium and theme were expertise of local artisans, as is shown in the royal portraits. These paintings combine various techniques, but still follow an overall Chinese style, attentive to volume and light through the modelling of body and face by lines and colour washes. An artistic heritage from northern China embedded in Liao and Jin art was taken up by the Yuan court painters. This integration became fully matured in the late Yuan court projects.

3.3 Tibetan Buddhist art in late Yuan China

By the mid-fourteenth century, the bloody wars between the Mongol princes for

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[122] These two portraits in Taipei could have served as drafts, as there are modified traces left on them. They could be models for later reproductions either as painting or textile, such as Renzong's portrait modelling on the one of Khubilai mentioned above. Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 75, 53 and footnote 96.

[123] There were two portrait halls in the Wan'an temple set up by Chengzong, Temur, one for Khubilai, one for Temur's father. 成宗時，置世祖影堂于殿之西，裕宗影堂于殿之東，月遣大臣致祭。 Wenzong once went to the hall with Khubilai's portrait in Wan'an temple to perform Buddhist rituals. 幸大聖壽萬安寺，作佛事于世祖神御殿。*Yuanshi*, 51: 1101, 33: 834. For further discussion on the function of these portraits in Buddhist halls, see Cho, "The Mongol Impact," 91-99.

the throne had planted the seed for the dynasty's end. Although the political situation was in turbulence, large artistic projects were still under way. Two works, representing the achievement of late Yuan court artisans, demonstrate a further development of Buddhist art in which Tibetan and Tangut esoteric motifs merged with Chinese styles and decorative elements.

The Vajrabhairava mandala

The Vajrabhairava mandala (fig. 3.27) now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art has been a popular topic for discussion of Tibetan Buddhist art in the Yuan. Moreover, it has attracted scholars' attention because it contains the portraits of two emperors and and their wives.[124] The iconography of this mandala, especially the portraits, will not be elaborated here as it has been given detailed study.[125] Taking the whole work, its Tibetan iconographies are most eye-catching with the central tantric deity Vajrabhairava — also called Yamantaka, the conqueror of death — in dark blue, the male-female embracing deities at the four corners and a row of Tibetan Buddhist masters on top. Nepalese elements are also prominent, represented by the four levelled gates of the central palace in the Indian form supported by goats standing on elephants and flanked by two large markara heads. Apart from the iconographical aspects, there are other rudimentary decorative components also taken from Nepalese paintings, including the scrolling patterns on the background, the thin yellow dividing

[124] The four portraits here are Khoshila, Tugh Temur and their respective wives. It is proposed that this mandala was commissioned in 1330 before the death of Babusha, Khoshila's wife, who performed Buddhist rituals for her last husband. There are also other opinions on the production time, suggesting it was during the first reign period of Tugh Temur (between 1328-1329). However, this would not explain the title here for Babusha as empress. At present, the suggestion of 1330 seems to be the most reasonable time. See Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 98; Shao, "Yuandai gongting kesi," 117; *Yuanshi*, 33: 744.

[125] Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 95-100; Cho, "The Mongol Impact", 77-79, 149-51, 174-81. Shao, "Yuandai gongting kesi," 114-16.

stripes between different sections, the dark blue background, and the smoothed edges of the flames behind the wrathful deities.[126]

Yet the portraits of the donors below and the masters above follow Chinese portrait forms. Their heads are nearly all in the three-quarter view with linear depiction on the robes and faces. Facial features of the Mongol royals on this woven textile can even be compared with their painted portraits without loss of their special biological characteristics.[127] Even some esoteric figures, such as the four Dakini, also wear long, loose skirts contrary to the tight dhoti in the Himalayan fashion, even though they keep the same twisted and bare bodies as in the Tibetan thangkas. This depiction for the Dakini seems to be mediated by the relief carvings of the Bodhisattvas on Liao and Jin pagodas where they wear the same loose skirts tied by a belt with floating ribbons surrounding their bared upper bodies (fig. 3.28).

There is no doubt that the mandala has combined elements from multiple areas. However, what has been achieved is harmony and balance, unified by the major colour palates of yellow and blue, and a smooth transition between each part with the use of the geometric and floral patterns.[128] If compared with works discussed in previous sections, this large and complicated work suggests a higher level of artistic translation: it is not merely a juxtaposition of different styles or elements, or preferring one over the other, but a careful calculation of the composition, the placement of various motifs, and the manipulation of colours and lines to render components for specific purposes. For a work like this, it is difficult to define it with a geographical boundary, either Nepal, Tibet, or northern China, but it is definitely a representative work from the Yuan court workshop.

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[126] The Nepalese features are summarised in David Jackson, *The Nepalese Legacy in Tibetan Painting* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2010), 86-97.

[127] This has been compared in Shao, "Yuandai gongting kesi," 117.

[128] On this it is contrary to the Nepalese fashion of featuring red as the main palette. Jackson, *The Nepalese Legacy in Tibetan Painting*, 86.

Some Chinese scholars tend to regard the production place of this mandala as Hangzhou based on its technique, while the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture was also proposed as in charge of this project.[129] Some scholars also believe that the use of gilded gold on a paper substrate shows a typical Chinese characteristic.[130] The catalogue of the exhibition *When Silk was Gold* listed the technical elements of this mandala. A comparison of its features with other textile examples from previous periods is listed below:[131]

List 3.2 Comparison of the Techniques for Textiles around the Mongol Period

Period	Warp	Weft	Weave	Reverse
Song	cream silk	polychrome silk, gilded strips of paper	silt joins; much eccentric weaving, both with soumak and flying shuttle	not available
Southern Song	pale yellow silk	polychrome silk, gilded flat strips of paper	slit joins and tabby binding; minimum eccentric weaving	short cut end of wefts; knotted or secured warp ends
Liao/Jin	polychrome silk	polychrome silk, (Jin) gilded flat strips of animal substrate	slit joins; eccentric weaving around the contours of motifs, with flying shuttle	short cut end of wefts; (Liao) loose or broken warps occasionally secured; (Jin) gold wefts unbound, forming loops or broken

[129] Su Bai, "Yuandai Hangzhou Zangchuan mijiao jiqi youguan yiji 元代杭州藏传密教及其有关遗迹 Traces of the Esoteric Buddhism in Hangzhou during the Yuan Dynasty," *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1990): 63. Cho, "The Mongol Impact," 72, 172-76. The BIM option is very likely because this is a work directly related to the Mongol rulers.

[130] Shao Yan quoting Shang Gang's opinion that the gilded gold on paper is a typical Han Chinese technique, and they seem to believe that in the north, only animal substrate is used. However, the base for gilded threads could be paper or animal substrate in the Jin and Yuan period. Although paper substrate is always associated with the Chinese products, exceptions do exist. See Shao, "Yuandai gongting kesi," 120 and note 55; and Shea, *Mongol Court Dress*, 31.

[131] The data in the list is taken from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold,* 82-84, 86, 89-90, 94, 99, 112-15.

Tangut Xia	ecru silk	polychrome silk	slit joins and tabby binding, eccentric weaving for curves	long, loose wefts tangled, new warp overlapping with broken ones
Mongol Central Asia	white silk	polychrome silk, stripes of parchment around a silk core	slit joins, certain amount of eccentric weaving, some use of flying shuttle	short loose weft ends, knotted warps or secured
Vajrabhairava Mandala	white silk	polychrome silk, gilded paper around pale yellow silk core or gilded paper woven flat	slit joins, with soumak and flat gold wefts, eccentric weaving only for gradual curves	short cut weft ends, tangles occurring for different colours, broken warps replaced or knotted

It seems that the Vajrabhairava mandala includes technical traits from both northern and southern China. It has the soumak and the eccentric weaving for curves used during the northern dynasties. The appearance of the tangles on the reverse also points to Tangut works that have tangled wefts.[132] Further, the reverse side of the mandala has many broken warps, indicating that the final product was perhaps combined from several sections.[133] I will discuss textile production in northern China in more detail in the next chapter. Yet here it is possible to make an initial estimation from the northern features embodied in the work: although large woven mandalas like this one made for the imperial members were produced through cooperation, weavers from northern China were possibly essential participants with important roles in the production.

The relief at Juyong Pass

This integration of various elements into Buddhist art reached its height on the

[132] Shao, "Yuandai gongting kesi," 119, quoting from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 60 and 99.

[133] Shao, 119-20, also quoting Watt and Wardwell, 99.

relief carvings of the 'cloud terrace' 雲台 at the Juyong Pass, a crucial entrance from the northern steppe into the capital Dadu. The whole terrace was designed as a monument, with three pagodas originally on top of it, and relief mandalas on the walls and the ceiling (fig. 3.29).[134] The terrace is renowned for its inscriptions in six languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Phags-pa, Uighur, Tangut and Chinese. All six languages record contents from the Buddhist sutras and five of them include information about people who participated in the construction of the terrace.[135] The use of multiple languages fully reflects Yuan China's cultural diversities, and this is also embodied in the decoration of this terrace.

Major studies on the relief carvings have been carried out by Asian scholars, including the book published by Murata Jirō and Fujieda Akira, along with Su Bai's detailed analysis.[136] The content can be summarised as this: on the inner side, five mandalas on the ceiling of the terrace; the Buddhas of Ten Directions on the slopes from the ceilings with a thousand Buddhas between them; two sutras at the centre of the two walls with the four Heavenly Kings on either side; and on the outer side both on north and south, the motif of boys sitting on mystical animals along with the symbol of the five-pointed dorje (fig. 3.30), and Garuda with two dragon kings on top.

Xie Jisheng discussed the pictorial motifs in detail, especially on the formation of the mandalas, and proposed that the arrangement of the five mandalas followed the rituals recorded in the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhana tantra* 惡趣清淨怛特羅經, a sutra

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[134] Su Bai quoted *Xijin zhi* 析津志 by the late Yuan scholar Xiong Mengxiang 熊夢祥, saying "three pagodas over the street" 过街三塔 in Su Bai, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao 居庸关过街塔考 Study on the Cross-street Pagoda at Juyong Pass," in *Zangchuan fojiao siyuan kaogu*, 350, also see 338-43.

[135] The two lists of people mentioned in the inscriptions are in Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 345-46. Some previous research has been carried out on the inscriptions in Tangut and Tibetan. M. V. Sofronov, "The Tangut Text of the Chu-Yung-Kuan Polyglot Inscription," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23, no. 3 (1970): 297-326 and Yael Bentor, "In Praise of 'Stupas': the Tibetan Eulogy at Chu-Yung-Kuan Reconsidered," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 38, no. 1 (January 1995): 31-54.

[136] Murata Jirō 村田治郎, Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, *Kyoyōkan* 居庸關 (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Kōgakubu, 1955-1957). Su, "Juyongguan guojieta," 351-52, also endnote 50. The following summary is based on Su Bai's description.

popular in the western part of Tibet and Tangut.[137] The Akshobhya at the centre among the five signifies a focus on the Eastern Buddhist world — the Abhirati — a popular focus not just in Tibet but also in the Liao kingdom by the end of the eleventh century.[138] This point is worthy of attention since the location of Juyong Pass is in the former Liao territory. Further, complicated substitution used between the Buddhas of Ten Directions to represent the 'Trikaya of the Buddha' is also an adaptation based on *Lotus sutra* and *Avatamsaka sutra* concepts that thrived in northern China.[139]

Yong Cho, a scholar on Mongol art, in a recent paper proposed that decorations on Juyong Pass shared with designs on the woven mandalas, and perhaps that even the intended viewing experience was also aimed to evoke hanging textiles.[140] Motifs and patterns used on these relief carvings do highlight prominent Tibetan and Tangut elements. The mandorla of the Buddha figures (fig. 3.31) uses the same Nepalese scroll patterns as the Vajrabhairava mandala, along with the same smoothed flames. The lotus leaves on the seat are depicted as in Tibetan thangkas, with petal tips rolled-up. The base under the lotus seat, as Xie pointed out, follows an Indian form with interlaced lions and elephants.[141] The Indian style gate with makara and the goat on elephant motifs used on the Vajrabhairava mandala are also carved in the mandalas here, not to mention the eye-catching Garuda on top of the entrance both on the northern and southern façades (fig. 3.30, 3.34-3.35).

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[137] From the south to the north, the five mandalas on the ceiling feature Vairocana, Vajrapani, Akshobhya, Amitabha, and Sakyamuni at the centre. Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 59-69.

[138] Xie mentioned that the reference to the Buddhist classics such as the *Lotus Sutra* (Fahua 法华经) and the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (Huayan 华严经) in the eleventh century was related to the focus on the Abhirati, and this belief was not only popular in Tibet but also thrived in Liao since Liao temples in the Beijing area are nearly all facing the east. Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 64-66.

[139] Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 69-71.

[140] Yong Cho, "Juyong Gate: Wall Hangings in Stone," *Archives of Asian Art* 72, no. 2 (2022): 237-41. He used mainly the flower patterns as a comparison for ornaments.

[141] Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 72.

However, Chinese elements and carving style are infused in these reliefs even if Tibetan and Tangut iconography seems to dominate.[142] Although the Buddhas are with high *ushnisha* like the Feilai Hill sculptures, the facial features are balanced and calm, and the draped robes shape the body volume. The carvers' great skill is shown on the four Heavenly Kings. On them, the Tangut elements step back while the Chinese style of modelling the muscles and use of rhythmic lines stands out.[143] For example, on Dhrtarastra 東方持國天王 holding a lute (fig. 3.32) accompanied by his attendants, one can sense the bones and muscles on their faces and bodies. The ribbons surrounding the deity turn in an intricate way with an implication of volume, indicated by the modulating lines, while the armour and robes neatly shape a solid body beneath. This attention to the naturalistic human features appears too on Liao portraits and sculptures, such as the life-size ceramic Arhat discovered in Hebei (fig. 3.33).[144] The treatment of the brow ridge, the cheek, and the chin on the Arhat is almost the same as the Dhrtarastra, along with the identical attention to the quality of the clothing and the shaping of the body. Moreover, the four Heavenly Kings all have large heads and short necks, in a formatted sitting pose usually adopted in northern China during the Liao, Song and Jin dynasties.[145] The muscle-shaping is also used on the Dragon Kings who adopt a similar pose to the Heavenly Kings with one leg folded (fig. 3.34). A northern Chinese artistic expression undoubtedly manifests here on these reliefs. Additionally, certain supplementary elements were also taken from a

[142] The Chinese elements are briefly mentioned in Ge, "Fushe yu huixiang," 255-56. The present research will offer more detailed comparisons with an emphasis on the northern China influence.

[143] For Xie's analysis on the Tangut element, see Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 72-76.

[144] Japanese scholar Murata Jirō in his early work already proposed a possible similarity between the Liao relief carvings and the Juyong Pass carvings. He emphasised more the connection between the Mongols and the Khitans as nomad people sharing a similar culture. Murata and Fujieda, *Kyoyōkan*, 114-16, quoted in Cho, "Juyong Gate," 233, and endnotes 51 and 52.

[145] Susan Shih-shan Huang 黃士珊, "Cong Yonglegong bihua tan yuandai jinnan zhiyehuafangde bihuazhizuo 從永樂宮壁畫談元代晉南職業畫坊的壁畫製作 Discussion on the Yuan Professional Mural Painting Workshops in Southern Shanxi based on the Works in Yongle Temple," (Master diss., National Taiwan University, 1995), 35.

Chinese pool of motifs, such as the ubiquitous cloud pattern used on the Liao/Jin pagodas, and Daoist features such as the *yin-yang* symbol. Although they are not prominent, they nonetheless meet a local aesthetic taste.

For the form of the terrace, Su Bai believed that the three pagodas originally on the top were similar to the small Tibetan one held by the attendant of Vaisravana 北方多聞天王 in the relief.[146] Further, Xie proposed that the three pagodas followed those in the three-pagoda niche in Mati Temple 馬蹄寺 in southern Gansu.[147] Yet, it is possible to infer the form from similar ones still existing, such as the Shaoguan 韶關 terrace in Zhenjiang (fig. 3.36a).

The Shaoguan terrace is set across a street, with a Tibetan stupa on top of it. The form of the stupa is similar to the White Stupa in Beijing, but with a rounder belly. In fact, the two may have a connection, since the artisan-in-charge of the Shaoguan project, Liu Gao 劉高 (dates unknown) once also worked at the Wan'an temple.[148] The terrace is of a simple square form with many later renovations. It has Sanskrit 'seed syllables' and the title 'Huayan' (*Avatamsaka*) carved on the stones, both essential elements of esoteric Buddhist practice under the Liao and Jin (fig. 3.36b and c).[149] Considering the similarity of structural features on the Juyong Pass and Shaoguan terrace, and their shared Buddhist concepts from the *Avatamsaka Sutra*, it seems that behind them lies a Buddhist thinking that was consistently in use for these Yuan Buddhist constructions.

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[146] Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 353-54 and fig. 17-3, 17-4.

[147] Xie has discussed in detail how the motif of three pagodas is used to represent the three saints in the Fahua (Lotus sutra) system. Xie, "Juyongguo guojieta," 52-56.

[148] This record about the Jinshan Temple is in *(Zhishun) Zhenjiang zhi*, vol. 9, Qing edition.

[149] Henrik H. Sørensen, "Esoteric Buddhism under the Liao," in *Esoteric Buddhism*, eds. Orzech et al, 459-61. Matsunaga Yuken 松永有見, "So-Ryo jidai no mikkyo 宋遼時代の密教 Esoteric Buddhism of Song and Liao," *Journal of Esoteric Buddhism* 38 (1930): 8. Song Wang, "the Prevalence of Huayan-Chan Buddhism in the Regions of Northern China during the 11th Century," *Journal of Chan Buddhism*, no. 1 (2019): 147-53.

A detailed record about the 'cloud terrace' also survives. According to a text written by Ouyang Xuan 歐陽玄 (1283-1357), the imperial academy scholar, the decree of the project was given to the ministers in the court.[150] However, the execution was left mostly with staff recorded on the terrace: Rin-Chen-rdorje 亦恰朵兒 (dates unknown), a follower of a lama named Namka-sin 南里/南加悝 (fl. 1336-37); Taiping 太平 (1301-63), Censor-in-chief; Saihan 賽罕 (Saikhan, dates unknown), the Chief Director of the Dadu Construction and Protection Office; Rdo-rjebkra-cia 金剛吉(dates unknown), a minister from the Bureau for the Empress (*Zizhengyuan* 資政院); and officials from the Department of Cashier (*Taifujian* 太府監), all being listed in the inscription carved on the terrace.[151] It can be inferred that the Buddhist cleric Rin-Chen-rdorje was in charge of the content of the mandalas while Taiping and Saihan managed the construction.[152] The other officials from the Empress and the Cashier might provide financial assistance. The involvement of the Dadu Construction and Protection Office also highlights the importance of the terrace as this department controlled the pass to the capital.[153]

The inscription also mentioned the name of the Tibetan Imperial Preceptor Kundghrgyal-mtshandp-albzanpo 喜幢吉祥賢 (1310-1358), who could have provided guidance on the Buddhist content, but it is not certain how much he really got

[150] I will focus on the people recorded on the terrace in the discussion. For the officials mentioned in Ouyang's text, see Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 344-48.

[151] Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 344-48, esp. endnotes 19, 23, 24, 25 and 27. Su had offered detailed information about major officials and high clerics involved in this project. The full text of Ouyang Xuan's inscription is in note 1 in Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 50. The Zizhengyuan was originally the Huizhengyuan, the bureau belonging to the Heir-apparent. However, during the time of Shundi, this office was transferred to the Koryo empress Ji, and changed title to Zizhengyuan. *Yuanshi*, 114: 2880.

[152] Taiping possibly was the main supervisor of the project. See Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 347 and endnote 27. Also see Cho, "Juyong Gate," 224, and endnote 28.

[153] *Yuanshi*, 90: 2277.

involved.[154] There is limited information on the lama Namka-sin, who came to the court from the western area, 'xiyu' 西域, possibly Central Asia, in the second year of Zhiyuan (1336) and was given the title National Preceptor of Initiation 灌頂國師. There is even less information for his follower Rin-Chen-rdorje, but from their names, it is possible to infer that they all belonged to the Tibetan Buddhist sect.[155]

The emphasis on these Buddhist clerics shows the monks of the Tibetan school were the dominating power in the project since they occupied higher positions and controlled the Buddhist contents.[156] However, analysis based on both the Buddhist concepts for the terrace and the visual motifs used for reliefs indicates that there was a potential channel for the integration of Tibetan Buddhism on this project. Buddhist art of the Liao/Jin period must have played a role in the reception of new Tibetan esoteric concepts and forms. There were the same practices of creating relief mandalas, a belief in esoteric rituals, and more importantly, the shared understanding taken from the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*Huayan*) and *Lotus Sutra* (*Fahua*) echoing from the Liao/Jin era all through the Yuan.[157] With its established skilful rendition of naturalistic

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[154] Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 51. Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 346-47. Records about this Imperial Preceptor are summarised in Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 358, endnote 24. The monk was born in Tibet and died in Sa-skya.

[155] *Yuanshi*, 39: 837 and 843. Su, "Juyongguan guojieta kaogao," 347 and endnote 25.

[156] Xie Jisheng has argued that this project was mainly directed under the Tanguts. The evidence he offered is the Tangut minister Nalin mentioned in Ouyang Xuan's inscription. However, Nalin was listed in the people who recommended Ouyang to write the inscription. It cannot prove that he also participated in the project. Xie also mentioned two monks copying the sutra in Tangut, but this doesn't mean the Tangut monks are in charge. From both texts of Ouyang Xuan and the terrace, it could only be certain the monk in charge is Rin-Chen-rdorje whose ethnicity has no record so far. Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 51.

[157] Liao Buddhist art could be a large topic, but for its specific features of using relief for mandalas on pagodas. Lin, "Multilevel Pagodas in China's Middle Period," 121-25; Yu Bo 于博, "Liaota mijiao tuxiang yiyunkao - Jianji duituxiangpeizhi de tantao 辽塔密教图像意蕴考 —兼及对图像配置的探讨 The Meaning of the Esoteric Images in Liao Pagoda, with Discussion on the Visual Configuration," *Fine Arts & Design* 美术与设计, no. 5 (2015): 112-17. Kim, "The Hidden Link," 122-30. Wang Shan 王珊 et al., "Liaodai Qingzhou baita fojingyongzhi yu yinshuade chubuyanjiu 辽代庆州白塔佛经用纸与印刷的初步研究 Initial Study on the Paper and Printing of Buddhist Sutra in the Liao White Pagoda at Qingzhou," *Wenwu*, no. 2 (2019): 81. For the Liao Buddhist thoughts and its core ideas, see Kirill Solonin, "The 'Perfect Teaching' and Liao Sources of Tangut Chan Buddhism: A Study of 'Jiexing zhaoxin tu'," *Asia Major* 26, no. 1 (Third Series 2013): 84-90.

Buddhist images, highlighting the strong modelling of faces and bodies, northern artistic influence helped to locate Tibetan esoteric iconographies in artistic forms accessible to local viewers.

The origin of the artisans involved in the project further enhances the conclusion of a strong northern influence. For a national project, one naturally looks for artisans from official workshops. According to *Yuanshi*, an Office of Stone was set up under the Ministry of Works, and names of leading artisans of this office appear on several steles, indicating that this office was also in charge of stone carvings.[158] It is also known that there was another Office of Stone under the Dadu Construction and Protection Office, based on a carver's title on a stele dated to 1331, and most of the known official stone carvers in the local area outside the capital were from mainly northern provinces.[159] Artisans working in Dadu were from Heibei, Shanxi and Henan, all in the North.[160] It is then safe to say that the relief carvings of the terrace were executed by stone carvers familiar with styles and motifs from northern China, who, being in the official workshops, also had excellent skills to render Tibetan Buddhist images required by the *semu* monks.

Like the Vajrabhairava mandala, the 'cloud terrace' formed a contrast with other works discussed here. Through the shared esoteric ideas and the combination of motifs and styles, the Tibetan Buddhist elements on the terrace were incorporated with local images on a calculated visual balance. The relief at the Juyong Pass together with the Vajrabhairava mandala demonstrate that by the end of the Yuan period, the Dadu court workshops had mature skills and a variety of motifs to create a type of Buddhist art emphasising Tibetan Buddhist iconographies and ritual concepts

[158] *Yuanshi*, 85: 2145; Cheng, *Shike kegong yanjiu*, 170-71.

[159] Cheng, 172, 174-76.

[160] Xie, "Juyongguan guojieta," 66 and footnote 3.

while also equally employing styles and forms already used in northern China since the tenth century, an achievement that shaped Buddhist art of this period.[161]

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed various works made during the Yuan period, related to Tibetan Buddhism, and produced for the court or eminent monks. These works have demonstrated a process of reception and integration of Buddhist art from the Himalayan area. In an early stage, the Feilai Hill sculptures show an immature juxtaposition of the new iconographies with local image-making practice. With Anige being summoned to Dadu, the Nepalese and Tibetan influence was introduced into the court workshops. This new influence was mediated by a Chinese interpretation in execution, with a weight on the Tibetan Buddhist iconographies. At the later period of the dynasty, through a long-lasting esoteric Buddhist influence in northern China, artisans at the Dadu court were able to integrate artistic styles and elements together in a more balanced way with the Chinese style on a par with the Tibetan iconography, resulting in works like the Vajrabhairava mandala and the Juyong Pass relief.

The integration process, if observed from the paratextual perspective, targets more the navigational function. The shared Buddhist root allows the new forms and iconographies introduced from Tibet and Tangut to be accepted through a Buddhist interpretation, but also to be mediated visually through the Chinese art, especially that of the North, such as the extensive use of Chinese facial features, modulated lines, colour washes, and a naturalistic modelling of muscles and bodies, along with secondary Chinese decorative elements. The level of local influence depends on the skills of the artisans. While the Hangzhou artisans rendered the Feilai Hill sculptures for the Tangut monks still under an unfamiliar acquaintance with the Tibetan/Tangut

[161] Although it is said that this form of Buddhist art existed throughout Yuan China, not just in the North, the aim here is to explain that the features are largely developed based on the northern art. Ge, "Fushe yu huixiang," 256.

features, the Dadu artisans were later able to accomplish national or private commissions with a mature balance between Himalayan and Chinese forms. For art that had a deep root in China, such as the portraits, the Tibetan/Nepalese influence was reduced to the minimum.

While the role of Liao/Jin Buddhist practices and art should not be overlooked in this process, there is also another important link. The importance of the Tangut in this integration process has long been noticed. What makes the Tangut a perfect mediator is that Buddhism in Tangut was initially developed based on a strong Liao influence, especially its esoteric part.[162] This early direct connection could have foreshadowed a connection when Tangut and Tibetan monks flourished under Yuan China and this close relationship between the two northern kingdoms deserves further study.

Lastly, the examples presented in this chapter have emphasised the cultural identity of the monks who followed Tibetan Buddhism, with prominent Tibetan Buddhist iconographies and features. Leaving the monks' names or portraits on these works stressed their high status and close relation to the Mongol rulers. There was a large body of Buddhist art in Yuan China that Tibetans and Tanguts could have manipulated to show their power, but the promotion of Nepalese artists like Anige suggests their wish to maintain a difference by highlighting Tangut, Tibetan, Indian and Nepalese esoteric Buddhist art. They never abandoned the Himalayan models that were new and exotic to the Chinese eyes and took strong control in important projects such as stupa construction and making mandalas. Apart from the case of the royal portraits, Tibetan Buddhist elements possessed the most important position in the Yuan works discussed in this chapter.

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[162] K.J. Solonin, "Buddhist Connections between the Liao and Xixia: Preliminary Considerations," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 213-19; "The 'Perfect Teaching'," 88, 90-93; "Sinitic Buddhism in the Tangut State," *Central Asiatic Journal* 57 (Special Tangut Edition 2014): 160-64.

Chapter 4

A *Semu* Taste: Luxurious Textiles with Paired-Animal Medallions

Introduction

For the Mongols and other nomadic people living in Northern and Central Asia, textiles were highly valued commodities. Since the early period of the empire, the Mongols had attached a great importance to textiles and these became popular and desirable objects in the Mongol conquests.[1] The production of textiles in the empire can be regarded as the most prosperous industry, as attested by the quantity of textile gifts from the Mongol khans to their subjects and commercial transactions noted by the merchants.[2] The value of textiles is further corroborated in the huge number of workshops devoted to textile production in the Yuan court, reflecting the keen demand and the labour force devoted to manufacturing.

From the perspective of art history, textiles represent a unique source to look at artistic interaction during the Yuan. The patterns used on the textiles were shared across various media.[3] Further, due to the mobility and popularity of textiles under Mongol rule, they represented a critical nexus of the adaptation and exchange of art between different cultures.

Medallions on Mongol period textiles and dresses have been popular topics for experts in textile studies. A study published in 2020 examined concrete examples from the eighth (Tang) to the fourteenth century (Yuan), demonstrating a continuing

[1] Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 27-29.

[2] The distribution of robes and cloth to their subjects by the Mongol khans is summarised in Allsen, 19-25, also quoting sources from European and Muslim travellers and the Chinese documents. Commercial transaction of silk and textile products is summarised in Anne E. Wardwell, "Flight of the Phoenix: Crosscurrents in Late Thirteenth- to Fourteenth-Century Silk Patterns and Motifs," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 74, no. 1 (January 1987): 4.

[3] Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 4.

use of medallions in textiles across Eurasia by various groups of people.[4] Mysterious animal motifs on textiles produced across the Persian, Islamic, Turkic, and Chinese territories under the Mongols have also been discussed from a cross-cultural perspective.[5] Two exhibitions offered comprehensive compilations of the materials and techniques, including the thirteenth-century textiles of various origins: "When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles" (1997-1998) and "Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7th–21st Century" (2015). The former focused on the exchange of motifs and techniques in the eastern part of Asia, especially during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, while the latter targets the development of textiles in West Asia with a particular attention to the motifs used. Both exhibitions offered insights on the mobility of textiles and it being a medium for the interchange of motifs. Studies further dedicated to Mongol dress have looked into the forms of the robes and the changing fashion both in decoration and technique.[6] Archaeological reports published in China also offered precious materials with more definite dating, complementing the textiles purchased by the Western collections.[7]

These previous studies have either covered a long-term connection between products from various dynasties and areas, or have focused only on specific types of

[4] The book is Mariachiara Gasparini, *Transcending Patterns: Silk Road Cultural and Artistic Interactions Through Central Asian Textile Images* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020).

[5] Mariachiara Gasparini, "Woven Mythology: The Textile Encounter of Makara, Semurw and Phoenix," in *Global Textile Encounters*, eds. Marie-Louise Nosch, Zhao Feng, and Lotika Varadarajan (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2014), 119-26.

[6] Recent English publication on Mongol costumes is Eiren L. Shea, *Mongol Court Dress, Identity Formation and Global Exchange* (New York and London: Routledge, 2020). The Chinese scholarship features Zhao, *Jincheng,* 2016, and Shang Gang 尚刚, "Mengyuan zhijin 蒙元织锦 Mongol textiles" in *Guwu xinzhi* 古物新志 *A New Record on Old Objects* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012), 132-45.

[7] Xia Hexiu and Zhao Feng 夏荷秀、赵丰, "Damaoqi Dasujixiang Mingshui mudi chutudesizhipin 达茂旗大苏吉乡明水墓地出土的丝织品 The Textile discovered in Burials at Mingshui, Dasuji, Damao Banner," *Neimenggu wenwukaogu* 内蒙古文物考古 (now published as Steppe Cultural Relics), No. Z1 (1992): 113-20; Zhaofeng and Xue Yan 赵丰、薛燕, "Mingshui chutu de Mengyuan sizhipin 明水出土的蒙元丝织品 Yuan Textiles Discovered at Mingshui," *Neimenggu wenwukaogu* 内蒙古文物考古 24, no. 1 (2001): 127-32. Li Yiyou 李逸友, "Tan Yuanjininglu yizhi chutudesizhiwu 谈元集宁路遗址出土的丝织物 Textiles Excavated at the Site of Jining Circuit of the Yuan Dynasty ," *Wenwu*, no. 8 (1979): 37-39.

motifs or costumes set in the particular field of textile study. The perspective focusing on the transition across time, especially the Chinese dynasties, or the special attention to the fashion of the Mongol rulers adopted in the previous research obscures the reason for the resurgence of medallions on the luxury textiles of the Yuan period made with foreign techniques, such as *nasij* 納石失 (the gold-thread silk tapestry) and *zandaniji* 撒答剌期 (a silk-fur-cotton mixed textile). In fact, the role played by the *semu* people in the production and consumption of these textiles with medallion motifs requires more attention. To further investigate this aspect, this chapter will concentrate on one type of patterns on these textiles: the paired-animal medallion.[8] By looking deeper into the foreign influence on the motif and the structure of textile workshops under the Yuan government, this chapter aims to show that the source for the motif and its carrier — the luxurious textiles — were choices made through *semu* people's influence, both in patterns and in production.

The main argument is that the appearance of the paired-animal medallions on Yuan textiles should be regarded as a second wave of influence through Tukic peoples in the Mongol empire, rather than a continuation of earlier Tang Persian transmission. These textiles were also consumed by a wide range of *semu* people, including Christians, Muslims, and Buddhists. To prove the argument, this chapter will make case studies to examine the medallion motif's visual connection immediately before the Mongol Yuan period. It will also give a detailed differentiation of the products from the textile workshops under different branches of the Yuan government. The analysis emphasises the paired-animal medallion's close

[8] It is acknowledged here that the medallion was not the only decoration used in this period. On the contrary, each area conquered by the Mongols also continued their own weaving technique and seemed to maintain their own sets of motifs. This is testified by the different textile examples with various patterns and techniques listed in the catalogue edited by Watt and Wardwell. Some of the examples will be discussed below. Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 127-40.

connection with the Seljuk Turk culture, and the importance of textile production in northern China.

Preferences and skills applied to weaving products in Liao and Jin also formed a channel for the introduction of the medallions and gold-thread textiles in the Mongol time. Further, the management of the majority of textile workshops under the Ministry of Works, one of the six principal branches in the central government, provided the conditions for immigrated artisans and *semu* officials to exchange motifs and techniques with local weavers. The evidence will confirm that Mongol Yuan period exotic textiles with the paired-animal medallions, such as *nasij* or *zandaniji*, were a luxury consumption for the new *semu* elites to highlight their distinctive cultural identity.

4.1 Paired-animal medallions on Yuan textiles

Medallions and roundels have been broadly used on textiles produced in China since the Tang period. The medallion is composed of a circular outer border and a central pattern; the roundel is formed by a self-contained circular-shaped pattern.[9] To examine changes in medallions and roundels on textiles, this section will start with examples of luxury textiles dated to the Mongol period to show the basic features of the paired-animal medallion.

Several textiles regarded as *nasij* (gold-thread silk tapestry) in the Cleveland Museum of Art possess designs combining both Western motifs, such as double-headed eagles and griffins, and Eastern motifs such as lotuses and clouds. One piece (fig. 4.1) features double-headed eagles that have round heads, protruding beaks, two small ears and lappets from the eyes. On the wings, there is the lotus flower, a popular

[9] The Chinese use two different characters for the medallion 团窠 and the roundel 团花. The definitions for both patterns are offered in Zhao Feng 赵丰 and Qi Xiaoguang 齐晓光, "Yelu Yuzhi mu sichouzhongde tuanke he tuanhua tu'an 耶律羽之墓丝绸中的团窠和团花图案 The Medallions and Roundels on the Silk from the Yelu Yuzhi Tomb," *Wenwu*, no. 1 (1996): 33.

Yuan period motif.[10] The outside end of the eagle's tail is turned into a dragon with a curled snout.[11] The background of the textile is filled with floral swirls.[12]

The double-headed eagles appear on a second Cleveland Museum textile (fig. 4.2) that features large medallions filled with pairs of felines. The eagle motif fills up the interstices. The tail end again forms into a dragon head, but is much simplified.[13] The head of the feline, almost identical with the eagle head in the two Cleveland Museum pieces, has two small ears and lappets under the eyes. The motif of the griffins on a third piece in Cleveland (fig. 4.3) further proves the shared features on these animals as they also have the lappets under their eyes. The eagle model was even taken up in Chabi's portrait, seen in the previous chapter, where the round bird head on the *nasij* collar of the robe has a similar protruding beak.[14] These examples show that characteristics of the double-headed eagle, especially the ears and eye lappets, are used consistently on other animal patterns. Although it cannot be regarded as paired animals, the eagle pattern offers a basic visual vocabulary that spreads across the paired-animal medallions of this period.

Apart from what is derived from the eagle, another element further proves that exotic taste was applied for these medallions. In the feline piece, the animals are looking back towards each other, but connected together at their lower bodies and the hind legs. There is a heart-shaped flower pattern between the two animals, and a floral vine growing out of it fills up the background within the medallion. A similar

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[10] Similar lotus motifs appear on examples in Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 172-73 (entry 50), 186-87 (entry 55) and 64, fig. 19.

[11] Wardwell talked about this dragon motif and regarded it as having an eastern Central Asian root, Watt and Wardwell, 64-65, entry 13. A detailed discussion on the dragon with curled snout is Guo Wu 郭物, "Fanchun shenshou: Dongfang de 'gelifen' 翻唇神兽：东方的'格里芬' The Animal with Curled Snout: Eastern 'Griffin'," *Ouya xuekan* (2007): 215-38.

[12] The floral pattern is similar to the one on the Vajrabhairava mandala discussed in the previous chapter.

[13] It is regarded that the dragon head on this piece is of the West Asian type, but nonetheless, it still has the curled snout. Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 133.

[14] This is also mentioned in Watt and Wardwell, 131.

treatment is seen on the textile of griffins in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4.4), where the animals also take the symmetrical, looking-back position and the upper part of the connected wings grows up into a flower between the two creatures. It is also noted that in all the first three examples, the tail ends of the major animals are turned into a dragon's head.

The three Cleveland examples above were all preserved in Tibet before going into the American collection, and may have been gifts to the Tibetan monks.[15] Yet, pieces discovered in northern China confirm that similar paired-animal patterns also appear on textiles used there. At the Jining Circuit 集寧路 excavation in Inner Mongolia, a textile has pairs of griffins in a lobed roundel (fig. 4.5). The griffins are depicted like goats with hoofed 'paws', with more floral and scrolling lines of a strong Chinese taste. However, they preserve the same small ears, bird-like beaks, and the looking-back pose. Like the griffin piece above (fig. 4.4), there is a central floral pattern growing out from the connected wings, but the tails of these griffins are adapted into flowers instead of animal heads. Chinese influence is suggested by the cloud and floral patterns on the wings and bodies. The medallions are arranged on a background of hexagons with six-petal flowers inside, a pattern also used on other textiles produced in China, and borrowed also by the Muslim tomb marker decorations.[16] An almost identical griffin motif to the Jining one appears as well on a piece of fragmented textile of the thirteenth century (under the Mongols, but pre-Yuan) discovered at the Salt Lake in modern Xinjiang (eastern Central Asia).[17] These

[15] Watt and Wardwell, 129-35.

[16] Similar hexagon backgrounds are used on several pieces of silk, including one with flower-shaped medallions, one with a medallion containing four lions, and a vest with the same flower-medallions, all in the collection of the China National Silk Museum. I mentioned the Muslim tomb markers with scarf decorations in chapter two.

[17] Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, fig. 67, 137. The Salt Lake textile is believed to be before the Yuan period, but it testifies a use of this medallion motif during the Mongol period along with the one at Jining Circuit. Eiren Shea, "The Spread of Gold Thread Production in the Mongol Period: A Study of Gold Textiles in the China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, no. 50 (2021): 398.

examples show that the paired-animal medallions were a popular decoration for textiles and that these products were consumed over broad areas in the Mongol period.

Two textiles in the China National Silk Museum also reveal similar foreign tastes. On both textiles (fig. 4.6, 4.7), the paired animals (griffins and oxen) adopt the looking-back pose with a central division between them and the lower bodies connected. The tails seem to be circling over the hind legs, and the animals are surrounded by a circle of pseudo-letters. The oxen in the latter one have muscled and forceful bodies with large eyes, distinctive when compared with oxen depicted in Chinese paintings with fleshy and heavy bodies.[18] Further the interstices of these medallions are filled by stylised four-direction floral patterns. On both fragments, the use of pseudo-letters and the simplified but forceful treatment of the animals' bodies and legs suggest that these medallions, like the one of the griffin piece in Jining Circuit, were also motifs adapted from a foreign origin.

Another pair of examples show more clearly an encounter of different cultures. Returning to the Cleveland piece with lions and griffins (fig. 4.3), the major lions adopt the same compositional pose as the other examples, with a central axis in the middle, and they are connected at the wings and lower bodies, having tails turning around the legs and ending in dragon heads. The lions' faces, however, are represented in full, rather than in profile as used for the other griffins and falcons. It seems they are turning around to show the face in the frontal view. Also noticeable are the Chinese features of cloud-like patterns on the lions' wings, and their curly manes.

[18] One example for comparison is the "Return from Herding in the Wind and Rain" 風雨歸牧 by Li Di 李迪 in the collection of the Palace Museum, Taipei (acce. no. 故畫 00008700000). A detailed introduction and reproduction is on https://theme.npm.edu.tw/exh111/Spotlight11107/ (accessed Jan 2nd, 2023). The motif can also be compared with other paintings featuring the ox, such as the "Five Oxen" attributed to Han Huang also in the Palace Museum.

On a *nasij* robe discovered at Mingshui 明水, Inner Mongolia, a pattern similar to these lions is used (fig. 4.8).[19] The pattern has a square outside a roundel that contains a pair of lions or sphinxes. Both creatures are connected at the wings and the bottoms, with a flower growing up from the wings to form the central axis. The two creatures also turn their full face back to the viewer, with tails around hind legs. The background of the medallion is filled with loose floral vines as in the Cleveland feline and eagle piece (fig. 4.2). A Chinese influence is expressed through the diamond floral patterns replacing the Kufic band on top of the Cleveland piece, and the lotus flowers in the background at the four corners.

All these examples reveal that there was an extensive use of paired-animal motifs during the Mongol period and that these motifs share basic formats and elements: these animals are in the looking-back pose, connected through a central axis or at the lower bodies, most with the tails circling around hind legs that sometimes turn into animal heads. Animals share the feature of lappets under the eyes, some with protruding beaks. These animal motifs highlight fierce, strong types such as lions, falcons and griffins from the West, but are combined with subsidiary Eastern Asian elements.

Scholars have long been interested in these motifs, and they often turn to those composed by beaded roundels (also called 'pearl roundels') surrounding symmetrical figural, zoomorphic, or floral patterns. To further understand the treatment of these medallions in the Mongol period, the following section will give a brief summary of the textile patterns in the period immediately before the Mongol Yuan time.

4.2 The medallions and animal roundels before the Yuan period

The earlier Tang textile examples of 'pearl roundels' are preserved either in

[19] The discussion on materials of this piece is Xia and Zhao, "Damaoqi Dasujixiang Mingshui mudi," 113-14.

museum collections or from archaeological discoveries, represented by a few pieces now in Hōryūji and Shōsō-in in Japan, dated to the seventh and the eighth centuries.[20] These 'pearl roundels' have several varieties. Apart from the beaded shape (fig. 4.9), they also evolved into forms of double-layered circles or a combined flower-scroll and beaded circle, even into a form purely composed of flower scrolls or small rosettes.[21] The central motif of the medallions often feature flowers, but also include animals such as deers or phoenixes.[22] As the beaded roundel motif is mostly used on textiles with the central patterns related to the Sogdians under the influence of Sassanian culture, it is thought that this motif was transmitted to China through the Sogdian merchants and travellers who settled in China during the Tang period.[23]

The flower roundel pattern, in contrast, is a self-contained flower of a circular form as a single-unit decoration. There is no clear separation between the outer circle and central motif as there is with the medallion. When they are arranged in rows, the

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[20] The source and production of textiles with beaded roundels have been discussed extensively in Sakamoto Kazuko 坂本和子, "Olimono ni miru jirukuro-do na bunkakourū Tōrufuan jutsudo yanjoku shilō nishiki aya wo chūshin ni 織物に見るシルクロードの文化交流 トゥルファン出土染織資料—錦綾を中心に Silk Road Cultural Exchanges through Textiles — On the Textiles Discovered in Turfan," (Ph.D diss., Osaka University, 2007), 39-63. Textiles in Shōsō-in are listed in Matsumoto Kaneo 松本包夫, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan from the Shōsō-in and Hōryū-ji* 正倉院裂と飛鳥天平の染織 (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1984), 50-69.

[21] See the piece with "patterns of floral scroll roundels enclosing paired-dragons", Matsumoto, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan*, 63 and 229, entry 48.

[22] For an example of the flower medallions, see Matsumoto, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japa*n, 1 and 222, entry 1. Matsumoto regarded certain pieces of the textiles as copies from Tang examples, and these two examples with animals imply that similar patterns were also used on textiles from Tang China, see Matsumoto, 38-40 and 225-26, entry 27 and 28.

[23] An early discussion on the 'pearl roundel' in Chinese decorative motif is by Michael Meister, who believed that the pattern had its own development in China, but under a stronger foreign influence in the Tang period, Michael Meister, "The Pearl Roundel in Chinese Textile Design," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 266-67. The pattern on the lion hunter textile in Shōsō-in has been regarded as taken from a Sassanian model, but it is doubtful where it was produced. Matsumoto, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan*, 227; Sakamoto has divided the Persian patterns on the textiles into several groups and believes that some of the textiles were produced in China, Sakamoto, "Olimono ni miru," 40, 57-60; Wardwell also mentioned that the patterns are taking after the Persian and Sogdian models, but by the eighth century, Central Asian settlers in China and their Sinicised posterities began to produce such textiles in China, Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 21, 23-24.

roundels are spaced away from other sub-motifs.[24] The interstices between them are sometimes filled with patterns of vines, animals, or rosettes.[25] The basic flower roundel was developed into a variety of derivations composed by floral, zoomorphic, and geometrical forms in the later periods, as will be seen on the Jin examples later.

The inheritance of Tang models can be found in Liao silks. One piece (fig. 4.10) features a large flower medallion surrounded by clouds and cranes.[26] Although the central flowers maintain the regularity and stability of the Tang form, the clouds and cranes in the interstices begin to show a fluidity and rhythm, a lively change among the immobilised flower medallions.

Animal-centred roundels also gained popularity in the Liao and Jin period.[27] Although zoomorphic patterns were familiar to the Chinese, roundels composed by a single animal motif along with complementary floral or cloud patterns seemed to be a new fashion during this time.[28] A Liao robe (fig. 4.11) with embroidered phoenixes now in the Cleveland collection has small roundels on the shoulders composed of a single phoenix and cloud patterns. This roundel motif has escaped from the geometrical and symmetrical composition of the earlier Tang models, and is different from the stiff, regular Sassanian influenced images. The phoenix is depicted with free, flowing lines that produce a loose lightness and flexibility as also seen in the cranes on the Liao textile above.[29] In order to form a circular shape, the tail of the phoenix is coiled over its head while the cloud pattern complements the tail to form a full circle.

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[24] Wardwell has given some examples on how Chinese roundels and animal motifs could be combined with Western Asian motifs during the Mongol period. Each patterns could be regarded as a single unit on a decorated background, see Watt and Wardwell, 138.

[25] An example from Japan can show how such sub-patterns are arranged on the textile. See Matsumoto, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japa*n, 46 and 227, entry 34.

[26] This example is from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 44-45, entry 9. The catalogue also mentions that the Tang decorations were partially passed down to the Liao period, ibid., 3.

[27] Watt and Wardwell, 27 and 107.

[28] Paired-animal patterns will be discussed below.

[29] It is also mentioned that the Liao saw an increase in naturalistic depiction in Watt and Wardwell, 26.

This example shows that in the Liao period, the rhythmic expression of the Chinese rendition began to be integrated into the geometrical designs on the textiles.[30]

By the Jin time, this kind of roundel was adopted in round or tear-shaped forms featuring one single animal of diverse types, such as a phoenix or a dragon, and even with new motifs of a swan or a djeiran (Central Asian antelope). An example of a dragon (fig. 4.12) continues the circular Liao form in which the dragon's long body is coiled up as the Liao phoenix's tail while the other half of the circle is filled by a flaming pearl and the dragon's claw. However, the phoenix (fig. 4.13) on the Jin textile doesn't have a curled tail, but is flying upward with both wings spread. The space under the wings is complemented by cloud patterns to form a round bottom. As the head of the phoenix is smaller than the tail, this kind of roundel now has a tear shape, one that is also used for the swan flying among the flowers and leaves.[31] A further adaptation is the trapezoidal pattern for 'the djeiran gazing at the moon', in which the antelope lies under floral branches looking up at the moon in the clouds.

This brief summary shows that in northern China, during the Liao period, the Tang medallions were still being used but changes began to emerge. By the time of the Jin period, the Sassanian symmetrical and regular 'pearl roundels' (in fact a medallion) had been replaced by the Chinese-influenced dynamic depictions, and the

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[30] For a discussion on the use of lines and brush strokes in the Chinese painting tradition, see Mary H. Fong, "The Technique of 'Chiaroscuro' in Chinese Painting from Han through T'ang," *Artibus Asiae* 38, no. 2/3 (1976): 94, 111.

[31] Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 112-13, entry 28. The pattern might be taken from the hunting activity of the Khitans and Jurchens, who had spring hunts by the water land. Similar patterns might have been taken from the jade decorations in the Jin period. Also see Watt and Wardwell, 107 and Zhang Runping 张润平, "A Preliminary Study of Spring Water/Autumn Mountain Jades from Liao, Jin and Yuan Dynasties in the National Museum of China Collection 中国国家博物馆藏辽金元春水、秋山玉器初探," *Journal of National Museum of China* 中国国家博物馆馆刊 111, no. 10 (2012): 69-74.

flower medallions dominating the Tang products had been taken over by the new fashion of animal-centred roundels.[32]

Paired-animal motifs

Symmetrical arrangement of animals already appeared in the 'pearl roundels' on Tang textiles and they have a strong Sogdian or Persian form, such as the lion hunter piece (fig. 4.9) now preserved in Japan.[33] The medallion contains two pairs of riding archers in the 'Parthian shot' pose with the lions behind. The whole motif maintains the mirror-reflection between the left and right, and this has been applied to other textiles also featuring 'pearl roundels' in the same period.[34] The arrangement of the animals highlights the central axis, a stylised tree or flower possibly derived from the Sogdian motif of the 'tree of life'.[35] Adaptations of this central axis can be found on the Mongol period examples (fig. 4.2, 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6) listed at the beginning of this chapter. Further, the Iranian medallions were complemented by the four-directional flower patterns that were much modified on Mongol textiles but somehow still retained the stiffness of the Iranian style.[36] These similarities with the early textiles indicate the foreign origin of the paired-animal motif.

However, the symmetrical arrangement of paired animals was not unfamiliar to the Chinese, since from Tang time animal motifs without frames were used on official

[32] It seems that certain Liao pieces still preserve the 'pearl roundels', for examples, see Sakamoto, "Olimono ni miru," 130 and Zhao and Qi, "Yelu yuzhi mu," 34. There is also one example from Qingzhou of Liao period listed in Zhao, *Jincheng*, 263, fig. 8.

[33] Matsumoto, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan*, 56, entry 45, also see page 229.

[34] The examples are listed in Matsumoto's catalogue, entry 44 (the rhinos and lions) and 45. The piece of 45 is regarded as a Japanese imitation of the Chinese product. The entry 43 also features the same symmetrical composition but with typical Chinese patterns of phoenixes and lions. Matsumoto, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan*, 55-57, 228-29. The comparison of this lion hunter pattern with similar patterns of Byzantine influence is in Gasparini, *Transcending Patterns,* 58-60.

[35] About the meaning of the tree in Sassanian representations, see George Lechler, "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures," *Ars Islamic* 4 (1937): 391, 395-96.

[36] Wardwell concludes that the griffin piece (fig. 4.4) with this four-direction flower pattern was an Eastern Iranian production based on the technical elements. Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 127, 135-37. The same motif also appears on the oxen piece from the China National Silk Museum (fig. 4.7).

costumes and metalwares such as bronze mirrors.[37] Some Liao textiles continued the Tang symmetrical form.[38] Yet in contrast, a central symmetrical composition began to be used on the Liao textiles, as shown by the facing cranes on the Liao flower medallion silk mentioned above (fig. 4.10). The animals are balanced in pairs through an invisible middle point, a form used by many paired-animal decorative patterns listed in the Song construction manual *Treatise on Architectural Methods* (*Yingzao fashi* 營造法式). A further developed roundel form in Liao shows pairs of phoenix and dragons centred on a flaming pearl.[39] This composition seems to remain over time, as shown by later phoenix motifs during the Yuan period.[40]

Paired-animal motifs were also popular on textiles produced during the Song period.[41] Song textiles, especially the famous *kesi* 緙絲, a type of silk tapestry featuring lively animal and floral patterns in colourful threads, started a flexible

[37] The record in *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要 (Collected Official Papers of Tang Dynasty) has shown that paired animal patterns were used for the robes of both civil and military officials. The original text is quoted in Sakamoto, "Olimono ni miru," 125 (from the edition published by Zhonghua shuju). A bronze mirror with paired birds confronting each other of the Tang period is in Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 174, fig. 76.

[38] Watt and Wardwell, 46, entry 10. The ducks with branch in beaks may origin from Central Asia, but the pattern of "birds with fairy grass in mouth" (鶻銜瑞草，雁銜綬帶) used on Tang official robes has been recorded in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (The New History of Tang), quoted in Feng Zhao and Le Wang, "Glossary of Textile Terminology (Based on the Documents from Dunhuang and Tufan)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23, no. 2 (Third Series, April 2013): 358.

[39] Zhao, *Jincheng*, 249-50, fig. 1 and 2. China National Silk Museum also has one piece of textile of Liao period featuring four pairs of phoenixes in the central symmetrical composition within a medallion.

[40] Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, entry 60 on pages 196-97. It is also used on stone carvings and lacquer wares. See Watt and Wardwell, 196, fig. 82 and Watt ed., *The World of Khubilai Khan*, 270, fig. 290 and 291.

[41] Song textiles seem to favour the 'flower and bird' patterns. Many of the Song textiles are preserved as the mounting materials for paintings. One major archaeological discovery on Song textiles is the Huang Sheng tomb in Fujian. The major study on the Song textile is Angela Sheng, "Textile Use, Technology, and Change in Rural Textile Production in Song, China (960-1279)," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990). Her review on Watt and Wardwell's exhibition catalogue also mentions some problems regarding the *kesi* tapestry. See Angela Sheng, "Why Ancient Silk is Still Gold: Issues in Chinese Textile History," review of *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*, by James Watt and Anne Wardwell, *Arts Orientalis* 29 (1999): 152-55. For discussions on *kesi*, see Schuyler Cammann, "Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssu Tapestry," *Artibus Asiae* 11, no. 1/2 (1984): 90-110. The archaeological discoveries of Huang Sheng's tomb are published in Fujian Provincial Museum ed. 福建省博物馆编, *Fujian Nansong Huangsheng mu* 福建南宋黃昇墓 *The Tomb of Huang Sheng of Southern Song in Fujian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982).

arrangement of animal motifs on a floral background.[42] Although symmetrical patterns still exist on these *kesi* examples, the layout of the patterns becomes more scattered. Some even adopt an alternative distribution of animal, bird, and figural patterns among the floral and leafy scrolls, not necessarily in pairs (fig. 4.14).[43] The patterns on other types of Song textiles, such as silk and embroidery, also adopt the same free style as shown by the textiles from the Southern Song period Huang Sheng tomb in Fujian.[44] However, as this section focuses mainly on the motif of paired animals of a symmetrical composition, the discussion of Song textiles will not go further as they deserve separate research due to the large quantity of materials. It should be mentioned, however, that the depiction of lively and naturalistic animals was also inherited by the Yuan textiles.[45]

The above discussion tries to show a clear line of development from the Tang to the Liao/Jin/Song periods for the medallions and the roundels used on textiles. As mentioned above, before the Mongols' immediate rise, most of the Jin period robes discovered from the burials show that a common decoration of the textiles was animal patterns as small roundels arranged in rows, mostly on a blank background (some with a geometric or hexagon background).[46] Textiles discovered at 'Pigeon Cave' (*Gezidong* 鴿子洞) in modern Hebei province show continued use of such patterns and arrangements during the Yuan period. For example, a short robe (fig. 4.15) is decorated with small dragon roundels in rows on a diamond background same as the

[42] For a description of *kesi* textile, see Cammann, "Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssu Tapestry," 90-91.

[43] For these Song examples mentioned here, see Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 72-74 (entry 16), 82-84 (entry 20, 21) and 56, fig. 13.

[44] Fujian Museum, *Fujian Nansong Huang Sheng mu*, 106-33.

[45] For example, Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 196-97, entry 60, the canopy with a pair of phoenixes.

[46] The Jin costume examples are listed in Zhu, "Royal Costumes of the Jin Dynasty," 106-10.

Jin fashion.[47] During the Jin period, most of these small roundels on textiles were made in gold, giving the name 'jin dazi' 金搭子 in the Yuan documents, in which 'jin' means 'gold', and 'dazi' means 'small pieces'.[48] It can be concluded that in the Chinese cultural area, medallions with animals, especially that of the Sassanian form of the Tang period, were not a major motif used on textiles by the thirteenth century.

The roundels and patterns in other Asian areas before the Mongol time

Since the paired-animal medallions were not popularly used in the Chinese area by the Jin/Song time, it is necessary to look further west to find the possible channel for transmission in the later period. Medallions with symmetrical patterns were popular in Central Asian and Iranian areas around the ninth century.[49] However, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, the popularity of medallion patterns seemed to have been replaced by new fashions in Uighur-occupied areas. Tapestry fragments dated to this period are composed of bands with patterns of chasing animals as the major decoration (fig. 4.16).[50] Each animal band is separated by beads or small flower roundels. The whole design shows a taste that is closer to Song textiles featuring animal-among-flower motifs, although the Song pieces do not include the separations.

Depicted images on mural paintings in Central Asia from the ninth to the twelfth centuries also back up another trend in the textile decoration. In the mural paintings discovered in the early twentieth century, most of the Uighurs in Khocho

[47] Longhua Ethnic Museum ed. 隆化民族博物馆编, *Cave-Hidden Splendid Textiles of 600 Years: Yuan Dynastic Cultural Relics from Gezidong Cave, Longhua, Hebei* 洞藏锦绣六百年：河北隆化鸽子洞洞藏元代文物 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2015), 82-84, entry 3.

[48] Zhao Feng has explained that the structure of such a textile is woven by adding metal silks on a piece already having a woven structure. The most used patterns are flowers and birds made into small roundels. Zhao, *Jincheng*, 285. The technique of using gold on textiles is in list 4.3.

[49] Apart from the Shōsō-in examples, there are also textiles in European collections that possibly came from Central Asia. Some are listed in Louise W. Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7th-21st Century* (New Haven and London: Cleveland Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2015), 60-69.

[50] Other examples are listed in Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 66-71, entry 14 and 15; 68, fig. 22.

(Gaochang) and Turfan wear robes with roundels or small, scattered floral or geometric patterns, all a type of 'dazi'. In one of the donor paintings from Bezeklik (fig. 4.17), the Uighur males all wear round collared robes with decorative bands on the upper sleeves and a long band along the opening rim of the robe to the lower hem. All wear single coloured robes, apart from the second person at top right in a robe with cloud patterns and the third on the lower left in one with diamonds. Another painting from Khocho (fig. 4.18) shows donors with the Mongol hairstyle wearing robes decorated by small, round or tear-shaped roundels ('dazi' again). Going eastward, a mural painting (fig. 4.19) in Mogao cave 409 of the eleventh century also shows a Tangut noble person wearing robes with large roundels formed by curling animals (possibly dragons) while his attendants wear robes decorated with small flower patterns.[51] The evidence demonstrates that from the Uighur to the Tangut lands, and possibly even among the Mongols living in those areas, the roundel was a popular decoration on elite textiles, similar to the fashion of the Jin time.

Although the roundel stands out as the major fashion, the use of decorative bands on the sleeves by the Uighurs may indicate that a western decoration also permeated into the East.[52] The use of woven banded decoration in Arabic or Persian inscriptions started in Fatimid Egypt and Abbasid Iran and Iraq; these are identified now with the name 'tiraz'.[53] These inscription bands could be combined with other elements such as roundels or medallions with animals, but a large number of such

[51] For the identification of this figure, see Ren Huaisheng 任怀晟, "Mogaoku 409 ku 237 ku nan gongyangrenxiang kao 莫高窟 409 窟、237 窟男供养人像考 Study on the Donor Image in Cave 409 and 237 at Maogao Cave," *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊, no. 3 (2019): 96-103 and Tang Xiaofang 汤晓芳, "Dui Dunhuang 409 ku bihuarenwu 'huihuguowang' de zhiyi 对敦煌 409 窟壁画人物'回鹘国王'的质疑 Questions on the Image of 'Uighur King' in Dunhuang Cave 409," *Tangut Research* 西夏研究, no. 3 (2018): 54-61.

[52] This fashion might have also been accepted by the Jurchens, as the robe worn by the King of Qi discovered in Acheng also has pseudo-inscription bands along the sleeves and the lower hem. It is not sure if this was an imported textile or made in the Jin territory as this is so far the only example with such patterns. Zhu, "Royal Costume of the Jin Dynasty," 106, fig.1.

[53] For the definition of 'tiraz', Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 85 and Shea, *Mongol Court Dress*, 99. Shea also briefly mentioned Western Asian costumes before the Mongol invasion, ibid., 99-101.

decorations are bands across a blank or patterned background or on the upper half of the sleeves.[54] Other evidence comes from the manuscripts, such as *The Short Stories of Hariri (Les Makamat de Hariri)*, produced in the early thirteenth century near the area of Baghdad.[55] These manuscripts, featuring travels, stories, or fables, contain illustrated depictions of people wearing various kinds of robes with 'tiraz' bands, showing that the 'tiraz' band on the sleeves was a ubiquitous decoration on robes (fig. 4.20). The small roundels used in the East also seemed to appear in this area too, as shown in at least one example. However, none seems to feature the large 'pearl roundels' in the earlier Persian fashion.

4.3 The foreign connection of the Yuan paired-animal medallions

The rarity of paired-animal medallions on the early thirteenth century textiles in Central and East Asia does not mean they disappeared completely. Extant textile fragments show that by the first half of the eleventh century, paired animals set within diamond or star-shaped frames were used on textiles produced in Buyid Iraq or Iran, which might be a precedent for the Seljuk textile patterns.[56] A continuation of the earlier medallions is shown on a robe (fig. 4.21) from the Seljuk area dated to the eleventh to the twelfth century. It contains medallions with paired ducks flanking a tree, a pattern in the Sogdian format, but the animals now are surrounded with Kufic Arabic letters following a fashion of the Buyid period.[57]

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[54] These examples are Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 86-123, fig. 3.2, 3.5, 3.6, 3.12, 3.14, 3.40 and 3.41.

[55] The digitised copies can be accessed from Bibliothèque nationale de France: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422965p.r=Les%20Makamat%20de%20Hariri?rk=214593;2 (Arabe 5847) and https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422967h.r=Les%20Makamat%20de%20Hariri?rk=64378;0 (Arabe 6094).

[56] The fragments of textiles are illustrated in Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 136-39, fig. 4.5 (camels and birds) and 4.7 (paired confronted birds). A brief summary of the Seljuk origin and the Great Seljuk empire is in Sheila R. Canby and Deniz Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Sejuqs* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 4-15.

[57] A detailed introduction of this robe is in Canby and Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos*, 95-96, entry 24. Buyid examples with Kufic letters are in Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 148-49, fig. 4.18, 4.20.

The Seljuk patterns

Paired-animal medallions, especially those featuring beasts, used on the Seljuk (including the Seljuk of Rum) textiles share greater similarity with the above-mentioned Mongol period examples. A piece dated to (at the latest) the twelfth century shows paired, winged lions in a large roundel, above a pair of confronted deer or sheep.[58] Between them, there is a simplified tree pattern, and they have tails ending in dragon heads. Another piece from Anatolia, dated to the thirteenth century, has the paired lions surrounded by flower roundels.[59] The lions are in the looking-back pose, connected through the central flower growing out from their tongues, and also connected on the lower bodies. The ends of their tails turn into fiery dragons with leafy shaped scrolling bodies. Similar lions paired with a floral axis, along with the familiar double-headed eagles on the piece in Cleveland, also appear in medallions on a third piece (fig. 4.22) possibly from Anatolia, dated to the thirteenth century.

One prominent feature among the Seljuk animal motifs is for the tail or wing to end in another animal's head, a treatment also used on the Mongol period medallions.[60] This preference appears in either single or double animals on stone reliefs, door knockers, and stone-paste figurines.[61] An example (fig. 4.23) from a Syrian site dated to the late eleventh or the twelfth centuries shows a cock's tail turned into a parrot head, and the two animals are connected by the ear of the parrot.[62] The sphinx discovered at the same site has wings and tails ending in dragon or snake

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[58] This piece is in the Cleveland Museum of Art collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mallon, access no. 1975.45. A clear picture is in Mackie, *Symbols of Power,* 141, fig. 4.11.

[59] Canby and Beyazit, *Court and Cosmos*, 55, entry 5.

[60] Katharine Otto-Dorn, "Figural Stone Reliefs on Seljuk Sacred Architecture in Anatolia," *Kunst des Orients* 12, H. 1/2 (1978/1979): 111 and 121.

[61] The stone carving and door knockers are in Otto-Dorn, "Figural Stone Reliefs," 120, fig. 18, and Persis Berlekamp, "Symmetry, Sympathy, and Sensation," *Representations*, no. 133 (Winter 2016): 74, fig. 22.

[62] Canby and Beyazit, *Court and Cosmos*, 214-15, entry 132.

heads.[63] The famous door knocker at the Great Mosque of Jazirat Ibn 'Umar is a good example with their twisted bodies connected through the forepaws and tails that end as two birds' heads.[64]

Apart from similar compositions and the animal-head tails, the Seljuk choice of animals also paralleled those for the Mongol textiles, including lions, eagles, and horses, and even griffins and sphinxes.[65] Not only used on textiles, they also appear on bronze mirrors, metal lamp-stands, ceramic tiles, and jugs, as well as reliefs for architecture.[66] Further, as shown by the Syrian cock-parrot, the textile with double-headed eagles, and a tile with a griffin (twelfth century), these Seljuk eagles and griffins have lappets under the eyes, an element commonly adopted on the Mongol textiles.[67]

If the sharing of the looking-back pose, the tails with animal heads, the choice of major motifs, and the eye lappets connect the Seljuk motifs with the Mongol medallions discussed at the beginning, another example enhances this close copying of the motifs. A bronze mirror (fig. 4.24), possibly produced in Anatolia, is decorated with a pair of sphinxes that adopt almost the same pose, composition, and even the floral decoration as the motif on the Mingshui robe.[68] The Arabic inscription circling

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[63] Canby and Beyazit, 243, fig.98.

[64] The object is in the collection of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul. Canby and Beyazit, 221, fig.87.

[65] Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 141-150, fig. 4.11 (addorsed, winged lions), 4.15 (harpies), 4.16 (falcons and winged lions), 4.20 (strips with winged lions), 4.21 (birds), and 4.22 (sphinxes).

[66] These examples are all from Canby and Beyazit, *Court and Cosmos,* 247 (entry 157b), 242-43 (entry 155), 236 (entry 148 a and b), 229 (entry 143) and 241 (entry 152). The architectural reliefs are illustrated in the catalogue, 221 and 233, fig. 88, and fig. 91. For other examples, see Berlekamp, "Symmetry, Sympathy, and Sensation," 74, fig. 22; Eva Baer, "A Group of Seljuk Figural Bas Reliefs," *Oriens* 20 (1967): Plate IV, no. 1 and Plate VIII, no. 2.

[67] The tile with the griffin and the textile with the double-headed eagle are in Canby and Beyazit, *Court and Cosmos*, 238, entry 149; 241, entry 152.

[68] The mirror shown here is from the National Gallery of Victoria, but it is almost exactly the same as the one from the Metropolitan Museum of Art that is regarded as from Iran or Anatolia. Canby and Beyazit, *Court and Cosmos*, 247 (entry 157b). This visual similarity has been noticed by Chinese scholars already. Zhao, *Jincheng*, 322-23 and Shang Gang, *Yuandai gongyi meishu* 元代工艺美术 *Decorative Art of Yuan Dynasty* (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 96-97.

the rim specifies its blessing function for the owner.[69] In fact, the seeking of spiritual protection associated with animal motifs was ubiquitous among the Seljuks, and appears on objects in multiple media. Not only do these symbols represent the power of the ruler, they are also full of cosmic and talismanic meanings, denoting magical and purifying powers.[70]

Considering the Seljuks' Turkic roots, it is no wonder that this faith in magical power was popular among them, since shamanic belief was widespread across Eurasia among the nomads. Patterns showing connected animals with tails turning into animal's heads were on leather or plaques discovered in Mongolia and dated as early as the fifth century BCE.[71] Apart from this, the Seljuk use of animals on textiles may also have a Byzantine influence because it was a Byzantine fashion to put talismanic animal patterns on garments to avert evil from the wearers.[72] The same practice might have further inspired Seljuk art in the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries to adopt those 'mysterious' animals such as griffins and sphinxes for their magical functions.[73]

Returning to the textile examples from the beginning of this chapter, the Mongol period medallions' visual and temporal closeness with the Seljuk motifs suggests a transmission from the West to the East and this transmission was possibly initiated through a common preference for seeking blessing and averting evil. It is known that Tibetan monks were asked by the Yuan rulers to perform magic to avert natural disasters.[74] William of Rubruck also mentioned that priests of the Christians,

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[69] The inscription of the NGV mirror is the same as the one translated in Canby and Beyazit, *Court and Cosmos*, 247. I thank Tayebeh Namayeshi for double-checking the inscription.

[70] The eagle is regarded as the sun, centre of the universe; the sphinxes as apotropaic animals and guardians to the ruler; the pairing lion and dragon averting the effect of bad spirits; the griffins with other animals representing the course of the sun. See Canby and Beyazit, *Court and Cosmos*, 57, 110, 222, and 241.

[71] Otto-Dorn, "Figural Stone Reliefs," 130 and 126, fig. 21.

[72] Otto-Dorn, 119. Henry Maguire, "Profane Icons: The Significance of Animal Violence in Byzantine Art," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 38 (Autumn 2000): 19, 24 and footnote 29.

[73] Maguire, "Profane Icons," 28.

[74] Zhu, "Science, Miracles and Magic," 310.

of the Muslims, and the Buddhist monks all gave blessings to the Mongol Khan.[75] He even mentioned that the 'Nestorian' priests tolerated the 'sorcery' that the Mongols preferred, and moreover, seemed to have taken 'sorcery' elements into their own religious teachings.[76] In this context, it seems likely that talismanic patterns from the West could have a market in East Asia although the original Seljuk cosmological meaning of these mysterious animals may possibly be ignored by the people living under the Mongols.

The textile consumption by the semu people

Since there is little information regarding the exact sources of the textiles now in Western collections, discoveries within China reveal important connections about the users of these products. The few sites where textiles with the paired-animal medallions were excavated, including the Mingshui tomb and the Jining Circuit storage, are in the area between the present Darhan Muming'an United Banner 达尔罕茂明安联合旗 and the Dorbod Banner 四子王旗, an area then belonging to the Jingjiao Christian Ongut tribe (Map 2).[77] Certain burial compounds in the same area are even related to the Ongut nobles, such as the one at Wangmuliang 王墓梁 belonging to the Yelu brothers, a Uighur family connected with the Ongut prince Gorigis whose family intermarried with Mongol royalties.[78]

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[75] Rubruck, *Journey of William of Rubruck*, 182.

[76] Rubruck, 195.

[77] Gai, *Yinshan wanggu*, 190-91.

[78] Gai mentioned that this family were not Khitan royalty but Uighurs, see Gai, 276. The relationship of the family with Gorigis' family is implied by the mentioning of 'Prince of Gaotang' in the tomb inscription. This prince could be the brother of Gorigis, Johanna, from the writing of Yuan scholars Yan Fu and Liu Minzhong, see Gai, 275-76. About the distribution of Uighur 'Nestorians' in Yuan period, see Liu Yingsheng 刘迎胜, *Chahetai hanguoshi yanjiu* 察合台汗国史研究 *Research on the Chagatai Khanate* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 513-15. For the biography of Gorigis, see *Yuanshi*, 118: 2925-26, Yan Fu 閻復, "Fuma gaotang zhongxianwang bei 駙馬高唐忠獻王碑 Stele for the Imperial Son-in-law, Prince Gaotang Zhongxian," in *Yuanwenlei* 元文類, vol. 23, Sibucongkan Zhizheng edition, and Liu Minzhong 劉敏中, "Shechi fuma zhaowang guangde jiafengbeiming 赦賜駙馬趙王光德加封碑銘 Stele of Prince Zhao for His Achievement and Promoted Title," in *Zhong'an ji* 中庵集, vol. 4, Qing edition.

Documentary evidence also shows that Jingjiao nobles were involved in diplomacy with the Ilkhanate and even further west. Grand councillors of respective courts, such as Bolad (1246?-1313) and Rashid al-Din, promoted higher level communication and exchange, especially through embassies.[79] Accompanying Bolad's embassy was a Jingjiao Christian interpreter named Isa 愛薛 (d. 1308) whose family originated from *Fulin* 拂菻, a place in Asia minor near the Great Seljuk state. He later came back to the Yuan court even though Bolad chose to stay in Persia.[80] After Isa came back to Yuan China, he was appointed the head of two offices related to the *semu* people, *Guanghui si* 廣惠司, office for Western astrology and medicine, and *Congfu si* 崇福司, office managing all the Christians.[81] It can be assumed that for *semu* officials like Isa who originated from West Asia and travelled between the two khanates, the paired-animal motif used in the Seljuk culture had a strong appeal and these patterns were likely to be continuously appreciated as textile decorations.

Isa's Christian identity and the textiles excavated from Ongut sites imply that Jingjiao Christians were possible consumers of these textiles with exotic decorations. Likewise, the textile with the paired griffins in Jining Circuit, used as a quilt cover,

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[79] About Bolad, see Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*, 63-82; Berlekamp, Lo, and Wang, "Administering Art," 56-61. Wang Yidan 王一丹, "Boluo chengxiang yilihanguo shiji tanze - jiyu bosiyu wenxian de zaikaoca 孛罗丞相伊利汗国事迹探赜——基于波斯语文献的再考察 On Boluo Chengxiang in the Il-khanid Dynasty: A Restudy based on Persian Sources," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究, no. 4 (2015): 69-79. Sheila Blair has illustrated artistic exchanges between Ilkhan and Yuan shown in Rashid al-Din's book. She also pointed out that embassies from China arrived in Ilkhanate continually from 1304 to 1314. Blair, "Illustrating History," 4. A specific study on the embassy sent by the Ilkhan ruler Ghazan to Yuan is in Qiu, "Background and Aftermath of Fakhr al-Dīn Ṭīb'īs Voyage," 80-95.

[80] About Isa, see *Yuanshi*, 134: 3249; Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫, "Fulin Zhongxianwang shendaobei 拂林忠獻王神道碑 Spirit Way Stele for Lord Fulin Zhongxian," in *Xuelou ji* 雪樓集, vol. 5, *Yutang leigao* edition; Paul Pelliot, "Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," *T'oung Pao* 15, no. 5 (1914): 639-40. The location of *Fulin* is based on what is recorded in the *Songshi.* It says "The country of *Fulin* reaches to *Mielisha* on the southeast, and to the sea in the north, and it takes about forty postal stations to each border. It takes about thirty postal stations to the sea in the west. To the east, passing through the *Western Dashi (West Sarasen Empire)*, *Yutian (Khotan)*, *Huihu (Uighur),* and *Qingtang (Tsongkha)*, (the delegates) finally arrived in China." 拂菻國東南至滅力沙，北至海，皆四十程。西至海三十程。東自西大食及于闐、回紇、青唐，乃抵中國。 'Mielisha' here refers to Malik Shah of the Great Seljuk. *Songshi*, 490: 14124; also Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhongxi jiaotong shi* 中西交通史 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1983), 307.

[81] *Yuanshi*, 88: 2221 (Guanghui si), and 89: 2273 (Congfu si).

along with other gold decorated textiles discovered at this site, was probably owned by the governors of the circuit, whose *darugachi* would be a Mongol or a *semu*.[82] The fact that some textiles in Western collections came from the Tibetan temples also implies that they were possibly gifts for high-level officials or Tibetan monks. The two pieces from the National Silk Museum have no definite origin, but the pseudo-Arabic or Persian letters in the outer circle of the medallions imply that they were meant to appeal to users familiar with the patterns and the scripts.[83] The adoption of the two sphinxes on the Mingshui robe from the bronze mirror with Arabic inscriptions further shows there were Muslims mediating the transmission and choice of motifs. Despite the lack of documentary records, these potential connections formed through visual links and archaeological information suggest that *semu* people had a strong association with the paired-animal medallions.

4.4 The production of exotic textiles in Yuan China

The visual analysis above has shown that the paired-animal medallions on the Mongol period textiles are not a direct resemblance of the Sogdian 'pearl roundels' of the eighth century. They were developed from the earlier Persian forms, but further integrated the features and preference for exotic animals in Seljuk decoration, the adding of Islamic scripts, the rhythmic Chinese rendition, and use of subsidiary Chinese floral and geometrical backgrounds. These medallions are also distinctly different from the major textile decorations in the large area from Eastern Central

[82] Li, "Tan Yuanjininglu yizhi," 38-39. About the appointment of the governors, it is said in Khubilai's annual records that the Mongols will be appointed as *darugachi*, and *han ren* (northern Chinese) as the director-general with 'Huihui' as the assistant administrator, *Yuanshi*, 6: 106. For a specific example of a Jingjiao Christian as *darugachi*, see the discussion on Altan Buqa in Ma, "Yuandai jingjiao renmingxue," 137-38.

[83] Thanks to Dr. Matthew Martin's help in identifying the illegible letters. He suggested it is possibly an adaptation from Syriac used by the Church of the East (personal contact, May 19th, 2021). Compared with the Seljuk mirror with Arabic inscription, I think it is more likely pseudo-Arabic or Persian. Another guess is that these textiles were made by Uighurs who only had superficial knowledge of the language, thus making mistakes in copying. That some of these textiles were made by the Uighurs was proposed in Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold,* 134.

Asia to the Chinese coast immediately prior to the Mongol conquest where the 'jin dazi' was the most popular preference. The visual evidence, along with the archaeological data, provides a link to the *semu* people as consumers of these textiles. To develop this link, it is necessary to turn to textile production activity in the Yuan government.

Previous studies have identified the major textile workshops, especially those producing luxurious textiles like *nasij*.[84] However, we still lack a detailed structure of the Yuan offices in charge of textile production. The chronology and change of the offices have partly obscured the administrative relations between the workshops under different departments.[85] It is not only the individual workshop, but also the overall structure in which the workshops were managed that affect our understanding of Yuan textile production. This section will discuss major textile workshops under both the imperial court and the Ministry of Works. Through a differentiation of the managers and products of these workshops, it is possible to recognise both *semu* and northern Chinese influence on these luxury textiles with foreign motifs in the Yuan period.

Textile workshops under the imperial court

At the imperial court, a major office in charge of textile production was the Directorate-General of Special Patterns (DGSP).[86] The term 'special patterns' (yiyang 異樣) refers to patterns used solely by the imperial family.[87] Although detailed information was not given in *Yuanshi,* a stele discovered in Beijing helps to explain the nature of this term. This stele is for an official named Gao Xin 高信, who was

[84] For more information on the department and its position in the Yuan government, see Appendix IV.

[85] Shea, *Mongol Court Dress*, 46, Table 2.1.

[86] *Yuanshi*, 88: 2228-29.

[87] Chen Jie 陈洁, "Fuliang ciju yu yuandai guanci - jianlun zhizhengxing yuanqinghua de xingzhi 浮梁瓷局与元代官瓷——兼论至正型元青花的性质 Fuliang Office of Porcelain and the Official Ceramic Products of Yuan - A Discussion on the Essence of the 'Blue-and White' Porcelain of Zhizheng Period," *Journal of Palace Museum* 209, no. 9 (2019): 81, footnote 1.

from Wanping 宛平 county of Dadu (modern Fengtai, Beijing). The inscription records that he already held the post in the DGSP in the tenth year of Zhiyuan (1273) and was promoted director-general in the eighteenth year (1281).[88] It also mentions a few articles made (possibly under supervision) by Gao:

List 4.1 Products from the DGSP (from Gao Xin's Stele) ✪

Cloth made of thin threads of asbestos ('fire-wash cloth in dragon beard threads')	火浣龍鬚布
Robe of 'lotus root' fibre ('fairy robe of lotus root silk', maybe referring to extremely thin silks here)	仙裳藕絲羅
Marici Sutra in Uighur	畏兀摩利支天經
Two statues of the dharma gods with gold complexion	金相法神二尊
Heart Sutra written by Liu Bingzhong (the Chinese grand minister for Khubilai)	藏春居士太保書般若心經一卷
Seamless jacket	沒縫襖
A special textile made of furs ✣	撮毛幣
Golden letter sutra in Tibetan with eleven imperial seals	西番金字經上有御寶一十一顆
Buddhist temple mats made of gold silk inset with patterned brocades	旃檀殿鋪座四筵十樣錦嵌妝金素

[88] For the full text of the inscription, see Ma Xiaolin 马晓林, Qiu Zhirong 求芝荣, "Yuandai yiyangju, yuyongzhiwu yu zhongwaijiaoliu: yixinchu shike Gaoxin shendaobei wei zhongxin 元代异样局、御用织物与中外交流 — 以新出石刻《高信神道碑》为中心 The Office of Special Patterns in Yuan, the Textiles for the Court and Foreign Exchange - Centring on the Newly Discovered Stele of Gao Xin" in *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史, ed. Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒编, vol. XI (Beijing: Science Press, 2017), 291.

Embroidered banner in Renwang temple of a hundred *chi* in length and three *zhang* in width (about 33 meters in length and 10 meters in width)	仁王寺繡幡百尺三丈闊
Palindrome in letters used by the *yelikewen* (possibly in Turkic-Syriac) mounted as a scroll	上下連頭也里可溫字軸
'Eight Auspicious' Sutra made by inter-layered textiles	八吉祥經復段

✪ Ma and Qiu had talked in detail of each object, but here slight changes are made based on a different breaking up of the sentences. In the inscription each object has been given details to show their specialty, boasting the achievement of Gao. As a result, the name of each object should include the product's specialty. For the full text, see Ma and Qiu,"Yuandai yiyangju," 282-87.

✣ It is not quite clear what this refers to. It could be a kind of textile used as presents, thus a special product.

Chinese scholars believe that for the sutras, the description might refer to the wrappings for them.[89] However, compared with other rare works, it makes more sense if all these sutras were woven textiles to show the extraordinary skill in recreating Uighur, Chinese, Tibetan, and possibly Syriac (for the *yelikewen* Christians) calligraphy, as well as the imperial seals. In this sense, the two statues of dharma gods might also be made in textiles, possibly similar to the *Ongghod* (翁袞), felt figurines worshipped by the Mongols.[90] As textiles, these art works would have been rare and valuable treasures along with the extraordinary seamless jacket, the 'fire-wash robe', and the 'fairy robe of lotus root silk'.

Many of the items were related to religious texts in multiple languages, underlining the Mongol court's support of diverse religions and demonstrating that they owned vast lands with people speaking many languages. These items also refer

[89] Ma and Qiu, "Yuandai yiyangju,", 284-85.

[90] For more on the *Ongghod*, see Cho, "The Mongol Impact," 118-23. William of Rubruck also described the use of these felt images by the Mongols, "an image of felt, like a doll or statuette," see Rubruck, *Journey of William of Rubruck*, 58-60.

to advanced skills, such as making special fabrics of asbestos and of 'lotus root' fibre, the extraordinary width of the banner, and the inter-layered textiles, but there is no specific mention of the patterns.[91] It can be concluded that the artworks produced from the DGSP were related more to religious rituals and functions, and highlighted virtuosity of the artisans and their use of rare materials under royal patronage. There is no mention of *nasij* textiles with paired-animal medallions. Since the objects were provided for the imperial family, they seem to have few connections with the *semu* officials.

Both the Imperial Wardrobe Office (IWO) and the Imperial Clothing Office (ICO) are related to clothing, and thus indirectly to textiles. However, the IWO performed only a management role: "they prepare the daily clothing for the emperor, i.e. 'clothes for the daily court meeting'".[92] There is no Yuan record indicating this office also made clothing.

In contrast, it seems the ICO actually manufactured products. One rare piece of evidence for this claim is a stele discovered in the Ji county (薊, the *Jizhou* in the inscription below) in modern Tianjin. It records the setting up of a workshop under the ICO in the eighth year of Dade (1304).[93] Part of the inscription is translated here:

> In the year of Gengzi (1300), the *darugachi* of Jizhou, Niexie, gave the order to the army of Chahan to relocate 500 households of unmarried men and women who had submitted in Shouzhou to Jizhou's governors. They set up public housing and provided food to these people, and made them learn weaving from the masters. The next year of Xinchou (1301), these

[91] The Chinese description of the mats in the Buddhist hall only shows it being a combination of brocade with gold silk. The *shiyangjin*, literally 'ten-pattern brocade', could just be a general name for brocades with various patterns. Ma and Qiu, 286.

[92] *Jinshi*, 36: 843. As *Yuanshi* doesn't specify the function of this office, it can be assumed that the function of this office did not change greatly from the Jin period.

[93] The whole inscription of the stele is recorded in Li Jinghan 李经汉, "Jixian 'Yuyiju ji' bei 蓟县《御衣局记》碑 The Stele of the 'Imperial Clothing Office' in Ji County," in *Zhongguo kaogu jicheng: Huabei volume, Jinyuan 1* 中国考古集成：河北卷金元一, ed. Su Jinji 孙进己主编 (Harbin: Harbin Press, 1994), 444-45.

people had learnt the skill and were registered as artisans. As a result, it was planned to set up a workshop. In the discussion, the governors were worried the construction of the work houses would add extra corvée labor for the ordinary people. At this time, the Jing'an temple wanted to sell its northern storage in Yuyang and the abbot Yuantong (Ge Huideng) had set a price. The governors of Jizhou then bought this storage with a hundred *liang* of silver to make it into a workshop… After the work houses were renovated, (the artisans) began to produce embroidered textiles, such as curtains or panels, all for use in the imperial houses. The workshop then was given the title 'Imperial Clothing Office'…

庚子年，薊州達魯花赤涅斜諭旨察罕軍，前壽州拜降人數內童男女五百戶，付涅斜起移之薊及所在有司，創興公廨，構屋炊居，令童男女宗師效繡。明年辛丑，所習有業，匠戶籍成，肇創局院。議及有司，有司憚民力艱辛，不勝重役，會靜安寺將漁陽城中北庫欲售，其人圓通大師葛惠登定價立券，薊州有司以白銀百兩購靜安寺所貨北庫，是充工肆……工肆既完，刺繡製造咸皇閣帷幄御物，遂扁曰御衣局……

The other side of the stele records the exact transaction between the governors and the abbot of the temple. A few points can be summarised from this short inscription. This workshop was set up by the order of the *darugachi* of Jizhou, making use of unmarried people taken by the army. The workshop was only set up after all the people enlisted were registered under artisan households. The information confirms that the Mongol *darugachi* had the right to enlist captured local people, especially unmarried people who did not have household registration, to set up workshops.[94]

[94] Shouzhou, also in Herbei area, is not too far from Jizhou in Tianjin. Thus the people enlisted could be safely regarded as locals. For the wording of the unmarried people, although the Chinese used the wording of 'child' 童, it would indicate that these were young people rather than young children. However, considering the married age of the Yuan period, these people could be in their teenage years.

Another point is the use of the title 'Imperial Clothing Office'. This workshop in Jizhou was definitely not the same one directly under the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture, but must have been a sub-workshop under the central ICO if the title was allowed to be used. The fact that there were ICO workshops in northern China is confirmed in the biography (*Liezhuan*) part in *Yuanshi*. Shi Tianxiang 史天祥 (d. 1258), a high official who participated in the conquest of the Jin, was later given charge of artisans of the ICO in Bazhou 霸州 (in modern Hebei).[95] Yuchi Tianze 尉遲天澤, the grandfather of the Minister of Works Yuchi Decheng 尉遲德誠 (d.1315), was the director of the ICO in Yunzhou 雲州 (in modern Shanxi).[96] Although these appointments were before Khubilai adopted the Yuan dynastic title, they prove that in the early period of the Mongol empire, the ICO already had its own workshops in various places, and the directors could be officials not necessarily attached to the ICO at the central court. The Jizhou workshop reflects the same phenomenon in this aspect.

Another consideration is the products from these workshops. The inscription mentions that these were mainly finished products including curtains and panels for the imperial tents or palaces, and were mostly embroideries. The inscription is confirmed by Tao Zongyi's record that in the Xingsheng Palace 興聖宮, the curtains were all embroidered.[97] Again, there is no clear connection with the use of textiles with the paired-animal medallions.

Finally, a shared phenomenon among people who were related to these three imperial offices should be considered. Although *Yuanshi* has only a few records about

[95] He got this appointment when he was wounded and could not go to war again. *Yuanshi*, 147: 3488.

[96] *Yuanshi*, 176: 4115.

[97] Tao, *Nancun chuogeng lu*, 248. 正殿四面，朱懸瑣窗，文石甃地，籍以毳茵，中設扆屏榻，張白蓋簾帷，皆刺繡為之。

officials in these workshops, there are certain traces in scholars' writings. The grand scholar Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348) had mentioned a person named Zhang Jiusi 張九思 (d.1302), who was appointed successively as Minister of Works and the director for the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture.[98] Tang Renzu 唐仁祖 (d.1301), a Uighur descendant growing up in northern China, was also appointed to the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture from a Ministry of Works post.[99] Along with the other officials mentioned above, both Gao Xin and Zhang Jiusi came from Wanping county of Dadu. Shi Tianxiang came from Yongqing 永清 in modern Hebei and Yuchi Decheng was from Jiangzhou 絳州 in modern Shanxi.[100] All these officials were from northern China, and most were ethnically Chinese.

There were also two painters of the Yuan period appointed as officials in the ICO. One is Liu Guandao 劉貫道 (fl. 1279-?), who did the painting of *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, while the other is Han Shaoye 韓紹燁 (dates unknown) who excelled in landscape and ink bamboo.[101] Liu came from Zhongshan 中山 in modern Hebei and Han was from *Yan* 燕, the area around Dadu. A Ming period record also reveals a person named Hao Hou 郝侯 (dates unknown) whose grandfather was director of the DGSP, originally from Hejian 河間 also in modern Hebei.[102] Clearly mostly northern

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[98] *Yuanshi*, 169: 3980-81. Yu Ji 虞集, "Huizheng yuanshi Zhang zhongxiangong shendaobei 徽政院使張忠獻公神道碑 Spirit Way Stele for Lord Zhang Zhongxian Minister of the Bureau for Service to the Empress Dowager," in *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 道園學古錄, vol. 16, Jingtai Sibucongkan edition.

[99] *Yuanshi*, 134: 3253-54. Renzu's grandfather worked for Chinggis and was later taken by Khubilai's father, Tolui. Renzu's father was appointed as secretary for Jimgin, the son of Khubilai, and later as *darugachi*. As a result, Renzu could be regarded as the third generation under the Mongols, so it is doubtful how much Uighur influence he had when he grew up.

[100] About Shi Tianxiang and his uncle Shi Bingzhi 史秉直, see Feng Qi 馮琦 and Chen Bangzhan 陳邦瞻, "Menggu qinjin 蒙古侵進 Invasion of the Mongols," in *Songshi jishi benmo* 宋史紀事本末, vol. 23, Ming Wanli edition. About Yuchi Decheng, see *Yuanshi*, 176: 4115.

[101] Xia Wenyan 夏文彥, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑒 *Encyclopedia of Paintings*, vol. 5, Yuan Zhizheng edition.

[102] Zhang Yining 張以寧, "Tianchangxian xingxiu ruxue ji 天長縣興修儒學記 Memorial for the Confucius Study Revival in Tianchang County," in *Cuiping zhangxiansheng wenji* 翠屏張先生文集, vol.4, Ming Chenghua edition.

Chinese occupied the posts in the ICOs and there is little connection with the *semu* people.[103]

To summarise, there is no evidence showing textiles produced from these imperial offices featuring the paired-animal medallions. Officials associated with these offices mostly were from northern China and the weavers possibly were mostly local people. The textile examples in discussion in this chapter were not produced by these imperial workshops.

The official robes in nasij

To expand the research on the use of textiles with the paired-animal medallions, this section will turn to the robes worn by the Yuan officials and the Mongols since there were many records testifying to the distribution of robes from the Mongol court, especially the gold-thread robes.[104] It is likely that the exotic textiles were also used to make these robes. There are three major characteristics of Mongol dress for men: the robe with a braided waist (*bianxian* 編線), the robe with a central motif on the chest (*xiongbei* 胸背), and the robe with under-arm openings (fig. 4.25).[105] The banquet robe *zhisun* 質孫 was a typical Mongol dress in the Yuan.[106]

Apart from a few pieces in archaeological finds, most materials related to the royal robes are visual images, including the previously mentioned *Khubilai Khan Hunting* scroll attributed to Liu Guandao, the Vajrabhairava mandala with the

[103] In comparison, the Nepalese Anige seems to be the odd example of a foreign official recorded in *Yuanshi*.

[104] Allsen has discussed this extensively in his book both on the medieval records by Polo, Juvayni and Rashid and on the possible number of the distribution. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 19-21, 25-26. For discussions on the Mongol royal robes, see Ildikó Oka, "Mongol Clothing in the Yuan Period," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 68, no. 4 (December 2015): 385-414. Roslyn Lee Hammers, "'Khubilai Khan Hunting': Tribute to the Great Khan," *Artibus Asiae* 75, no. 1 (2015): 33-39. Shea, *Mongol Court Dress,* especially Chapter 2 to 4. Lin Dan 林丹, "元朝服饰与高丽服饰及相互影响研究 Study on the Costumes of Yuan China and Koryo and the Mutual Influence" (Master diss., Normal University of Inner Mongolia, 2019), 19-23.

[105] Shea, *Mongol Court Dress*, 49-55.

[106] Shea, 43.

portraits of Tugh Temur (Wenzong) and his brother with their wives in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Mongol emperor portraits now in the Palace Museum in Taipei.[107] All these images show Mongol rulers in China wearing robes with a large pattern (*xiongbei*) on the chest (mostly a dragon), or with patterns along the sleeves, or sometimes combined with a strip of decoration at the lower hem of the robe, a type called *baoli* 寶里 (fig. 4.26).[108] Archaeological discovery in Mongolia also presents robes with 'cloud collar' patterns, striped decorations along the upper sleeves and the robe opening, some with braided waists (*bianxian*).[109] None of these feature the decoration of paired-animal medallions.

Yuanshi offers more detailed information on the robes, especially the *zhisun* robes distributed in the Yuan court. It writes that *zhisun* means the costume for the court banquets and in Chinese it was called 'robe of one colour'.[110] There were summer and winter types, but no set forms. In the description of different *zhisun* robes for the emperor, the materials used include *nasij*, fur, *nasij* with pearls, and silk. Apart from mentioning the patterns of dragons and phoenixes, and a type of robe with *baoli*, the record has no further indication of decorations. The brief mention of materials shows that *nasij* was only one type of textiles used for *zhisun* robes. In other words,

[107] For discussions on these examples, see Shea, *Mongol Court Dress*, 52 and 60; Hammers, "'Khubilai Khan Hunting'," 35 and Oka, "Mongol Clothing," 387-91.

[108] What were worn by Khubilai in Liu's painting and by the empresses on the Yamantaka mandala are robes following the 'baoli' description since all have the band decoration on the lower hem.

[109] See examples in Oka, "Mongol Clothing," 387 and 401.

[110] Information on the *zhisun* robe (including those in the following list) is in *Yuanshi*, 78: 1938.

not all *zhisun* robes were made in *nasij*. More helpful, but often ignored, are the types of *zhisun* robes for the officials in the following list:

List 4.2 *Zhisun* Robes for the Officials （百官質孫）

Winter	Summer
red robe of *nasij* 大紅納石失	robe of *nasij* without patterns 素納石失
red robe of sheared animal skin 大紅怯綿里	robe of *nasij* with *baoli* and assembled threads (possibly *bianxian*) 聚線寶里納石失
red robe without patterns 大紅官素	mahogany robe of overall gold threads (*hunjin*) intersected with silk and pearls 棗褐渾金間絲蛤珠
pink, blue or green robes without patterns (one for each colour) 桃紅、藍、綠官素各一	red robe without patterns and with *baoli* 大紅官素帶寶里
purple, yellow and cyan robes (one for each colour) 紫、黃、鴉青各一	red robe with *dazi* and pearl decoration 大紅明珠答子
	pink, blue, green, and silver robes (one for each colour) 桃紅、藍、綠、銀褐各一
	cyan robe with ‘cloud sleeves ’of Koryo damask 高麗鴉青雲袖羅
	yellow brown, crimson, and white robes (one for each colour) 駝褐、茜紅、白毛子各一
	cyan robe without patterns and with *baoli* 鴉青官素帶寶里

The list shows that for the *zhisun* robes of the officials, again, *nasij* is only one type among the other materials such as silk, damask, or animal skin. Yu Ji, who had the opportunity to see the *nasij* robes, stated that “*nasij* is the textile with patterns made by stripped skin covered with gold”.[111] This confirms that *nasij* textiles were normally patterned, and thus it is necessary to differentiate ‘*nasij* without patterns’ 素納石失 as used in the above list. To facilitate the understanding of the use of gold on

[111] Yu Ji, “Caonan wang gongde bei 曹南王功德碑 Stele for the Prince Caonan,” in *Daoyuan xuegu lu*, vol. 24, Sibu congkan Jingtai edition. 納赤思者縷皮傅金為織文者也。

textiles, here is a list of different types of techniques, based on examples discovered at Jining Circuit:[112]

List 4.3 Technical Terms of Gold Decorations

Chinese terms	English translation	Technical meaning
浑金 *hunjin*	overall gold threads	textiles made all by gold threads
浑金花 *hunjinhua*	gold patterns overall	gold-thread textiles with patterns all over (including *nasij*)
拍金 *paijin*	pasted gold sheet	Paste gold sheet onto patterns printed on the textile.
销金 *xiaojin*	regulated gold powder	This includes four methods: 1. Scatter the gold powder onto patterns printed on the textile; when dried, shake off the extra powder; 2. Mix the adhesive with the gold powder and print the patterns directly on the textile; 3. Use gold powder mixed with adhesive to draw the patterns on the textile; 4. Scatter the powder directly onto the textile.
金答子 *jin dazi*	patched gold patterns	small roundels or clusters of patterns made mostly with pasted gold sheet
云袖带襴 *yunxiudailan*	'cloud sleeves' and cloud pattern on lower hem	The 'cloud sleeves' means clouds patterns are used to decorate the sleeves. The same patterns are also used for the decorative band on the lower hem.
金袖襴 *jin xiulan*	gold sleeves and decorative band	Use gold patterns on the sleeves and the decorative band on the lower hem.

In the textile examples in this chapter, some technical features fit with Yu's definition for *nasij*, such as being made with skin-based gold threads, but there are others made with paper-based gold threads, also belonging to the *hunjin* type.[113] It is possible that artisans in China were making imitations of *nasij* with materials and techniques that they were familiar with.[114]

[112] The technical terms are translated from Li, "Tan Yuanjininglu yizhi," 38.

[113] The type of *hunjinhua* could be textiles with patterns. Some scholars quoted from *Caomu zi*, a Ming period book, to show that the use of gold thread overall (not specific on patterns) could also be called *nasij*. However, this dissertation will take the definition from Yu Ji who possibly had owned or at least saw robes made by *nasij* distributed by the court at Dadu. Ye Ziqi 葉子奇, "Zazhi bian 雜制編 Collection on Miscellany," in *Caomu zi* 草木子, vol. 3, Qing Qianlong edition. For further discussion on the difference between *nasij* and the gold-decorated textiles produced in China, see Sakamoto, "Olimono ni miru," 133-36; Zhao, *Jincheng*, 283-86 and 312-13; Huiwei Mao, "Comparative Study of *Nasij* and *Jin Duan zi* of Mongol Period," *Asian Social Science* 16, no. 5 (2020): 13-18.

[114] I will make no discussion on the type of gold thread used since there is no conclusive evidence to divide the products only based on the thread. The base for gilded threads could be paper or animal

A surviving record helps to link these luxurious textiles with the *semu* officials. In *Tongzhi tiaoge*, the law book, it says that for Mongols and *semu* officials in the royal guard, there is no other limitation for their costume except that they are not allowed to wear robes with dragons and phoenixes; high officials of Level One and Level Two are allowed to wear *hunjin* robes with patterns (*hunjinhua*), which should also include the *nasij* robes with paired-animal medallions.[115] That existing examples of gold-thread textiles have the paired-animal medallions affirms that these exotic patterns occurred in the textiles made into luxurious robes distributed to the officials.

Textile workshops under the Ministry of Works

Another section of textile production in the Yuan government are the workshops under the Ministry of Works (Appendix IV). There are several divisions among them. The dyeing and weaving offices were scattered across both northern and southern China, with a larger number in the North.[116] These offices were largely local, and there was no mention of any precious materials such as gold being provided for them. Therefore, they are not related to the gold-thread textiles in discussion.[117] There is no secondary record about the Superintendence for Koryo and Dadu Artisans. Their product might be similar to what was produced by the Superintendence for Koryo Artisans under the Bureau for Imperial Manufacture, possibly the 'cloud-sleeves' of

substrate in the Jin and Yuan period. Although paper substrate is always associated with the Chinese products, exceptions exist. Shea, *Mongol Court Dress*, 31.

[115] "Fuse 服色 Regulation of the Robes," in *Tongzhi tiaoge*, vol. 9, 358. 蒙古人並不在禁限，及見當怯薛諸色人等，亦不在禁限，惟不許服龍鳳紋。職官除龍鳳紋外，壹品、貳品服渾金花。 Although there is no definite information on whether any Chinese officials enjoyed the same privilege, based on Yuan court's preference for non-Chinese officials, it can be assumed that the *semu* people would occupy most of the higher positions with the Mongols.

[116] Records of the Office for Dyeing and Weaving in the official history focuses mostly on those in the North. *Yuanshi*, 87: 2150-52. The record of this office in *Yongle dadian* shows some were also set up in the South while many offices in the South were in fact initiated during the early Ming period. See "Ju", *Yongle dadian*, vol. 19781, Cornell University Library collection, digitised version from https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%B0%B8%E6%A8%82%E5%A4%A7%E5%85%B8/%E5%8D%B719781 (accessed Jun 1st, 2021). All information from *Yongle dadian* is from this source.

[117] Information in *Yongle dadian* only mentions that they include places for sorting the rare silks, houses for the weaving machines, and houses for dyeing.

Koryo damask mentioned in *Yuanshi*.[118] The two Offices of Felt are eliminated from the candidates for *nasij* production since they presumably produced felt. The remaining are the offices and superintendences of Besh Balikh, Zandaniji, Xunmalin 蓂麻林 and Hongzhou 弘州. A brief history of these offices will be offered here to demonstrate their common features.

According to *Yongle dadian*, artisans from Besh Balikh were resettled in Dadu and were given the title Besh Balikh Office, and this office may have included East Iranian artisans settled in Besh Balikh in an earlier period.[119] The Chinese document does not explain in more detail, but it seems that this workshop only produced *nasij* used on collars and sleeves for imperial use, such as the collar with the bird-heads depicted in Chabi's portrait.[120]

The two superintendences in Xunmalin and Hongzhou had a close relationship and will be discussed together. The Hongzhou one was set up by the Kereit minister Zhenhai (鎮海 Činqqai, 1169-1252) during Ogodei's reign. This office was later given over 300 households of artisans from the 'western area' who could make 'gold-silk' textiles, and about 300 households of artisans from the Jin capital who could make textiles from furs.[121] Around the same time, another Kereit general named Hasanna (哈散納 possibly Hassan, dates unknown) took 3000 households of *Huihui*

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[118] *Yuanshi*, 88: 2229. Koryo also had its own way to make textiles with gold decoration. Examples of Koryo gold silk textiles are discussed in Hyung-eun Kim, "A Precious Secret," *Archaeology* 68, no. 4 (July/August 2015): 46-49. The Koryo textiles and their relation with the Yuan production needs further research based on archaeological materials.

[119] The Besh Balikh Office is discussed in Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold,* 127, 132-34; also see next footnote on the record in *Yongle dadian*.

[120] The Besh Balikh office is recorded to produce *nasij* used on the collar and sleeves. *Yuanshi*, 85: 2149. and Zhao, *Jincheng*, 313. It is also recorded in the section under the "Ju (Office)" section in *Yongle dadian* that artisans were relocated to the capital due to the military conflict. 至元十二年，為別失八里田地人匠，經值兵革，散漫居止，遷移京師，置局織造御用領袖納失失等段匹。十三年置別失八里諸色人匠局。 *Yongle dadian*, vol. 19781.

[121] *Yuanshi*, 120: 2964.

artisans to Xunmalin, initiating the Xunmalin workshop.[122] Most of the Kereit tribe were believing Jingjiao Christianity, the same as the Onguts.

Yongle dadian mentions that a Hongzhou Xunmalin Nasij Office was set up in the fifteenth year of Zhiyuan (1278) by the Director of Longxing Circuit, Beidu-luding (别都魯丁 possibly Badr al-Din, dates unknown) under the order of the Heir-apparent. This office was repeatedly broken up and united over the next fifteen years, but all the time managed by Husan-wuding (忽三烏丁 possibly Hussein al-Din, dates unknown).

Based on the above information, the Hongzhou Xunmalin Nasij Office under the Heir-apparent was from the beginning under the management of Muslim officials, while the respective Hongzhou and Xunmalin offices under the Ministry of Works included artisans from both China and Central Asia. It seems that the two offices under the Ministry of Works produced large quantities of textiles both of *nasij* and other types such as fur products, a fact that is backed up by a Second Office of Nasij and Fur Textiles listed also under the Ministry of Works in *Yuanshi.*[123]

Lastly the superintendence dedicated to *zandaniji* was set up by Zhama-lading (扎馬剌丁 Jamal al-Din, dates unknown) in the twenty-fourth year of Zhiyuan (1287), and this office also enlisted silk weavers.[124] Shang Gang, a specialist in textiles, believes that the *zandaniji* textile was mainly silk-based rather than cotton-based as in Central Asia, and that it was as soft as brocades.[125] Tao Zongyi, the Yuan scholar,

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[122] *Yuanshi*, 122: 3016.

[123] *Yuanshi*, 85: 2150. As the original Yuan period documents were lost and fragmented, it is not possible to know whether there were other similar offices under the Ministry of Works.

[124] *Yuanshi*, 85: 2149. Although the name is possibly the same as the astrologist Jamal al-Din working for Khubilai, it is not conclusive that they were the same person. Also because the Chinese used different characters for each name, a possibility is that these were two different persons. About the other Jamal al-Din, *Yuanshi,* 48: 998. *Yuanshi* records that the same office also made silk products 與絲紬同局造作, and it is based on this information that Shang Gang regards the product of *Zandaniji* as silk-based.

[125] Shang, "Mengyuan zhijin," 137, and Ma, *Yuandai Dongqian xiyuren*, 346.

described the textile as "soft and fluffy as carpet, but very light and thin, suitable for wearing in autumn".[126] Because the textile produced was fluffy and still called by its Central Asian name *zandaniji* (撒答剌欺/撒哈剌), it remained a foreign product to the Yuan Chinese, like *nasij*.

In the examples of this chapter, only one could possibly be regarded as *zandaniji*, and this is the Jining Circuit griffin textile.[127] Yet even this special piece adopts a structure called 'Special Samite' (*tejie jin* 特結錦), also used on some *nasij*.[128] The connection between *zandaniji* and *nasij* may not be arbitrary since the Superintendency of Zandaniji was set up based on a workshop located in Hongzhou, the place where *nasij* was produced.[129] The common structure and the similar medallion decorations between the *zandaniji* piece and the *nasij* examples reflect that *zandaniji* were produced by weavers with knowledge of *nasij*.

This summary shows that these four offices under the Ministry of Works were directly linked to the production of luxury textiles including the same type of gold-thread textiles as those with the paired-animal medallions. Workshops producing them had a strong Central Asian colour, either with non-Chinese artisans or managed by non-Chinese officials. Some had local Chinese weavers working together with the newcomers, such as the Hongzhou Office and the Superintendency of Zandaniji. It is also certain that these workshops produced textiles rather than finished costumes

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[126] Tao Zongyi, *Yuanshi yeting ji* 元氏掖庭記 *Record on the Women's Quarter in the Yuan Palace*, 9, Qing edition (1646), Harvard -Yenching Library. https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/chinese-rare-books/catalog/49-990067767660203941 瑣里，夷名，產撒哈剌，蒙茸如氈毯，但輕薄耳，宜于秋時著之，有紅綠二色。

[127] This piece has been taken as *zandaniji* by the Chinese scholars mainly based on the paired-animal motifs. Shang, "Mengyuan zhijin," 139.

[128] About the structure of the "Special Samite", see Luo Qun 罗群, "'Special Samite' in Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasty 元明清的'特结锦'," *Journal of Silk* 丝绸 50, no. 8 (2013): 70-71.

[129] This information is recorded in *Yuanshi*, and summarised by Ma Jianchun. The original Superintendence for Hongzhou Armour Artisans 弘州組練人匠提舉司 produced a product called 'Western Brocade' (西錦 xijin) and this office was later changed to the Superintendence of Zandaniji. There might be communication between this office with the Hongzhou *nasij* office. Ma, *Yuandai dongqian xiyuren*, 346.

because the word 'duanpi' 段匹 (uncut textiles) is used in *Yuanshi* for their products.[130]

Some technical aspects of the examples also seem to point to the Central Asian influence in these workshops. The Z twist (wrapping the gold thread in the Z direction over the core) has been applied to both the piece of the displayed falcons and the one with winged lions and griffins.[131] It is also used on the Cleveland piece of the feline and eagles, along with the griffin piece from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Further, the piece with paired sphinxes from Mingshui also has one group of wefts wrapped in the Z direction.[132] The share of the Z twist characteristic, along with the shared structure, and the use of similar paired-animal medallions indicate that a unified pool of patterns and skills was adopted by the weavers who made these textiles.

Therefore, it is now possible to sum up some characteristics of the production of textiles like the examples discussed in this chapter. There was a strong Central Asian influence through the involvement of immigrant weavers and *semu* officials (Christians and Muslims included), and there was an extensive use of the paired-animal medallions on textiles such as *nasij* and *zandaniji*; these textiles were originally untailored pieces since existing examples are made into different

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[130] *Yuanshi,* 85: 2147 and 89: 2262.

[131] The Z twist was used mostly for cottons and it was mostly adopted by Central Asian weavers. Anna Maria Muthesius, "Byzantine Influences along the Silk Route: Central Asian Silks Transformed," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* (1994: 1043), 182; René Batigne and Louisa Bellinger, "The Significance and Technical Analysis of Ancient Textiles as Historical Documents," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 97, no. 6 (December 1953): 671. Although the Z twist only can not confirm the production place because exceptions exist, most of the gold thread textiles now in China have this Z twist characteristic. Considering the immigrated weavers, it is a likely conclusion that this was the result of a Central Asian influence. Sheng, "Why Ancient Silk is Still Gold," 157; Shea, "The Spread of Gold Thread Production," 414-15; Shang, "Mengyuan zhijin," 142. For the technical data of the textiles listed here, see Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 142 (lion and griffin), 144 (displayed falcon), 154 (feline and eagle), 156 (griffin).

[132] Xia and Zhao, "Damaoqi Dasuxijixiang Mingshui mudi," 114-15.

products.[133] Considering that various types of the *nasij* robes were issued and the existing examples were once owned by people of multi-cultural backgrounds, the shared characteristics imply an overall management of production. The Ministry of Works, as part of the central government, is the most suitable candidate for this task. It is only under this court-level central administration that management of foreign staff, the forming of a unified pool of choice, and a consistent but broad distribution to officials could be guaranteed. The Ministry spoke directly to the *semu* officials who managed these workshops; and it had the power to enlist both local and foreign weavers for mass production on a national level; it had the status to ensure the quality and the channel for product distribution to *semu* officials. Small workshops such as the Hongzhou and Xunmalin Nasij Office under the Heir-apparent could not satisfy these requirements.[134]

The Northern Heritage

Apart from Central Asian influence, the dynamic and detailed rendering of certain Chinese patterns on some of the examples listed here should also be considered. The second part of this chapter discussed the decorations used on Liao and Jin textile examples that contain abundant and naturalistic depictions of Chinese motifs combined with animal motifs. On the Yuan examples, the shared lotus or peony shaped flowers between the paired animals, the cloud patterns on the wings of the lions and eagles, the skilful depiction of the turned heads of the lions and the griffins all continue an East Asian fluidity from earlier textile products.

Further, a taste for zoomorphic decoration on textiles in the northern dynasties should not be overlooked. The popularity of animal roundels across the Uighur land,

[133] The examples of these products are the three pieces sharing the hexagon backgrounds in China National Silk Museum mentioned above, and the one discovered in the Jining Circuit. They were very likely textiles produced from the same workshops, but later made into different clothing.

[134] The fact that the Hongzhou Xunmalin nasij office under the Heir-Apparent kept changing from one office to two, or vice versa, proves that it was unstable and may only have a limited number of artisans.

Tangut, and the Jin territory immediately before the rise of the Mongols formed the foundation for the introduction of new mystical animal patterns, such as the paired griffins both on the Salk Lake piece and the Jining Circuit example. The extensive use of gold for the 'dazi' on the Jin textiles reveals a common aesthetic in northern China that extended all the way into Yuan, encouraging the spread of gold-silk textiles like *nasij*. The superb quality of the 'jin dazi' textiles also prove that northern weavers were no less competent than those from the other parts of the empire.

Moreover, documentary records show that during the Song period, northern China also had famous textile production centres. Cities such as Dingzhou 定州 in modern Hebei, Shanzhou 單州 in modern Shandong, and Jingzhou 涇州 in modern Gansu were all famous for their textile products.[135] There might have already been an earlier link to the Uighurs when *kesi* textiles became a fashion in the Song.[136] That the Hongzhou Office recruited both *Huihui* weavers and those from the previous Jin capital, Bianjing 汴京, confirms that textile artisans in northern China were as competent in making high quality products as their foreign peers.

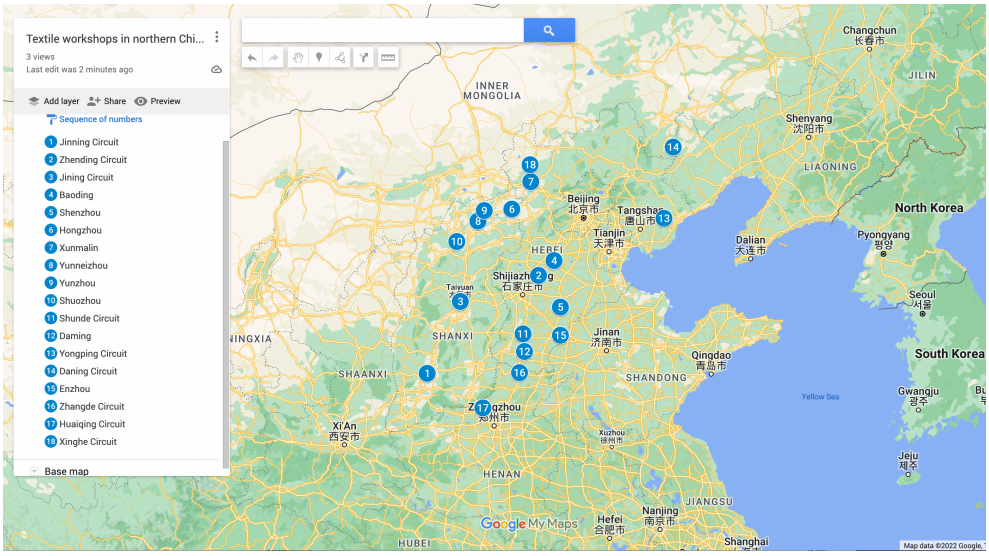
The fact that most textile workshops, including all those that produced *nasij* and *zandaniji*, were managed by the Ministry of Works located in Dadu is thus not a coincidence (Map 3). Statistically, the number of major textile offices and superintendencies under the Ministry of Works in northern China is much higher than those in the South under the Directorate-General for Levy from All Circuits of Jianghuai (thirty versus four).[137] Workshops producing *nasij* and *zandaniji* being located in the North reflects that the production of these luxurious textiles relied

[135] Zhuang Chuo 莊綽, *Jilei bian* 雞肋編, vol. 1, 46a, b, Qing Siku quanshu edition. Dingzhou could be the one in Hebei famous for producing *kesi* textiles. Cammann, "Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssu Tapestry," 91. Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 59.

[136] The *kesi* textile might also originate with the Uighurs. Cammann, "Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssu Tapestry," 90-110. The role played by the Uighurs in promoting gold-thread textile needs further research.

[137] The number of the workshops is calculated from those listed in *Yuanshi*.

deeply on northern resources, either material or human. As a result, it is possible to conclude that foundations already in northern China facilitated and opened the way for the flourishing of *nasij* and *zandaniji* textiles with paired-animal medallions in the Mongol time. When the *semu* people brought new demand, textile production bloomed into a success from the fertile soil where there was already a similar preference in both patterns and materials.



Map 3: Location of major textile offices and superintendences under the Ministry of Works in northern China, data collected from *Yuanshi*

Conclusion

This chapter focused on paired-animal medallions and the gold-thread textiles that carry these medallions. In iconography, the early Iranian root for these medallions cannot be denied, but the thirteenth-century Yuan motifs should not be regarded as a direct continuation of the eighth-century Sogdian ones. On the contrary, the emergence of these medallions during the late thirteenth to fourteenth century should be viewed as a new phase of cultural interaction across the Mongol empire, when

Western textile motifs and techniques again encounter Eastern weaving patterns and skills.

The use of subsidiary Chinese elements, such as lotus and cloud, in the medallions shows an effort to 'navigate' the major exotic animal patterns into an East Asian cultural context. However, nearly all the examples discussed in this chapter distinctly express their foreignness through the choice of fierce and mysterious animals, the particular feature of eye lappets, the looking-back pose, and the animal-head tails. Even on the two pieces discovered in Inner Mongolia with slightly stronger Chinese influence, the major motifs are sphinxes and griffins that were not native to the Chinese, being largely identical to Seljuk or Central Asian models. Therefore, these motifs proclaim an identity related to non-Chinese cultures that were represented by the *semu* people of Yuan China.

The discovery of textiles from Tibetan temples and Ongut tombs, the involvement of Christian and Muslim officials in the management of their production, the distribution of these textiles in robes or other final products, and the priority for high-level officials to use specific materials and patterns for their dresses, all enhance the connection of these paired-animal medallions with the *semu* officials or nobles. As the new elites of the Yuan society, they were likely the dominant consumers of the luxurious textiles. It then can be assumed that *semu* officials wearing robes with these patterns were also giving prominence to their non-Chinese origins to highlight their special social positions.

Further, the involvement of *semu* officials in diplomacy and the strong inclination at the Mongol court for magic and talismanic powers encouraged the transmission and acceptance of these paired-animal medallions through a common preference for blessing shared by the Turkic, Islamic, Christian and even Tibetan Buddhist members. Although there are no definite records that particularly mentioned

these patterns, the *semu* officials, familiar with the Turkic, Christian, and Islamic cultures where these patterns were used, remain the most suitable candidates for facilitating the new wave of encounter and interchange.

Lastly, the production of these textiles provided the platform to combine both Western and Eastern elements. In the textile workshops under the central management of the Ministry of Works, where non-Chinese weavers were working together with the local Chinese, artistic and skill exchanges were happening at a controlled but broad scale. The management of the central ministry allowed mass production, mobilisation of weavers from different places, and the formation of a shared pool of artistic motifs. This interaction at the production level is a necessary condition to accomplish the translation and adaptation of the foreign visual motif.

These textiles with exotic patterns were enjoyed by various groups of the *semu* people, but their flourishing under Mongol rule relied on foundations already set in northern China. The extensive use of animal roundels and gold on textiles across northern China into eastern Central Asia paved the way for the introduction of new types of motifs and gold-thread textiles. Superb weaving skills developed during the Song and Jin period also provided capable artisans in the North for the Yuan government's large-scale production. These textiles could not become so popular without the understructures already in northern China before the Yuan.

Conclusion

With the analysis in the above chapters, it is now able to review the research questions proposed at the introduction: How are the artistic elements manipulated in these motifs related to the *semu* people? What functions and meanings do they achieve? Are there any specific or common features concerning these motifs? The answer is that a general pattern is detectable from these motifs related to the *semu* people during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries in Yuan China, demonstrated by the analysis of the paratextual functions played both by the native and the foreign elements in shaping a 'hybrid' image. These motifs used by the *semu* people shared a common objective to shape a cultural identity through visual representation. Meanwhile, they also demonstrate the different attitudes to using Chinese art motifs among *semu* people, which broadens our perception of the *semu* people's interaction with Chinese art in the Yuan China cultural context and the indispensable role of the *semu* people in amalgamating Yuan China into the Mongol empire.

The research also raises the awareness that art developed in northern China, especially under Liao and Jin, opened a channel for foreign influence in Yuan art. The integrated forms examined here could not have emerged without developments in this area under Khitans and Jurchens, and this link initiates new questions for future research.

One shared feature for these objects related to the *semu* people — the stone carvings, the Buddhist reliefs and mandalas, and patterns on textiles — is the aim to use symbols or motifs to highlight the *semu* cultural identities, typically through their religious belief. The paired angels holding the cross on the lotus, the images of Latin saints, the 'moon-and-cloud' symbol, the esoteric forms of Buddhist representations from the Himalayan area, and even the paired-animal medallions, all announce a

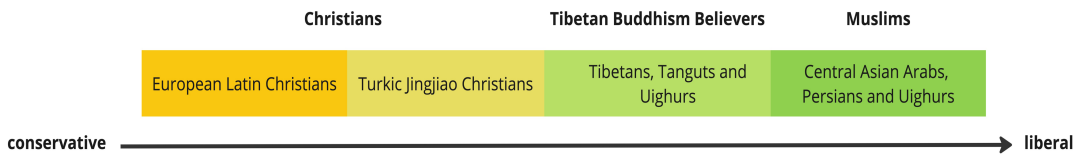
distinct foreignness among native Chinese art. These motifs occupied important and prominent places. The angels, cross, saints and the 'moon-and-cloud' took the top section on the tombstones; Tibetan Buddhist images are placed in the centre of the mandalas and reliefs; and the medallions feature as major patterns on the textiles. Not only did they provide an interpretation for the *semu* people themselves, they also spoke for the *semu* people to the Chinese audiences to show that these works distinctly belonged to the new social elites under the Mongols. In this way, these artistic motifs and symbols promoted and spread the social identities of the *semu* people living in the Chinese cultural area.

Another common characteristic in these *semu* art works is that they all adopted secondary Chinese elements, most noticeably the vegetal and cloud motifs, to complement the symbolic foreign ones, thus producing an integrated form. These supplementary Chinese elements locate the imported motifs in the recipient culture. Even for the Tibetan Buddhist art, despite its concepts having a shared Buddhist root, the application of Chinese faces to most of the stone and bronze sculptures, the modelling of lines and draperies, and the use of minor decorations such as the 'fungus-shape' clouds provide the local audiences with an accessible visual approach leading to the main interpretive symbols and images.

From these characteristics, it is possible to conclude that a hybrid image can be divided into elements that emphasise the meaning through interpretation, and those that provide the context through navigation. The lopsided visual stress given to the foreign components in the image further shapes an accentuation that could enhance the function of the hybrid image, such as a representation of a different identity from the locals.

Within this shared emphasis, each sub-group of the *semu* also demonstrated their different levels of interaction with the Chinese art. The most conservative was

the Latin Christians who made no new meaning out of the Chinese elements they adopted. They stuck to the Christian models and interpretations. The Jingjiao Christians allowed more flexibility in their adoption, taking in motifs from other cultures and religions, but furnished them with a unique, new Christian interpretation. Tibetan Buddhist art, and the paired-animal medallions, enjoyed further expanded flexibility and more integration due to their shared visual elements with the Chinese art. In these works, Chinese and foreign elements were incorporated in a broader sense in which it is not only a juxtaposition, but also a smoother combination without a clear-cut differentiation on the meanings of these motifs. The Muslim works embraced Chinese art, especially non-figural elements, such as vegetal scrolls, flowers, fruits, and geometrical patterns. They even tried to develop their own symbols from the Chinese elements they took, forming the 'moon-and-cloud' that was applied extensively on tombstones.



The different levels of interaction with Chinese elements across the *semu*

Following this axis, it is not difficult to find that the various interaction level also affected the continued existence of the foreign motifs in Chinese culture. Islam, being one of the influential religions even in modern China, has planted its root in the East. The preservation of a large quantity of Yuan Muslim tombstones in major mosques and graveyards in southeastern China, and the continuous use of the 'moon-and-cloud' testify to the strong integration of this group within the largely Chinese-based culture. It also needs no more word to emphasis the deep impact of Tibetan

Buddhism and its art form in the following dynasties after the Yuan and its lasting connection with the royalty in late imperial China.[1] The paired-animal medallions, a pattern that could be adapted, changed, and re-combined with the Chinese local forms, demonstrated two directions. While it became part of the long developed 'paired-animal' format in Chinese art, it also faced an evolution in cultural taste. The foreign and exotic animals such as griffins and sphinxes connected in pairs disappeared, contrasting with an increase in preference for the central symmetrical beasts and birds. This format remained as a popular costume decoration until the late imperial period, featuring on the official badges of the Ming and the imperial robes of the Qing (1644-1912).[2] The motifs that faded out of sight after the Yuan are those connected with the Christians, both Jingjiao and Latin believers. The reason is likely to be the great emphasis on the interpretation that asserted too much their 'foreignness', both in meanings and in forms. The more tolerable the foreign group was to the local Chinese art, the more durable for the existence of the motif. However, art is a constantly changing entity and the recipient cultural could also react to the imported, as in the evolution of the paired-animal medallion.

To sum up, these art works related to the *semu* people are significant because they reveal the *semu* people's status in the cultural integration formed under the Mongol rule. Through choices made at various levels on the use of artistic motifs, these *semu* people became an essential part of this society rooted in the soil of Chinese culture. Yet they also highlighted their unique cultural identities that they elevated through art, and remained as a social component with a stunning level of independence from local Chinese culture. This art historical study thus confirms the

[1] Berger, "Preserving the Nation," 107-18.

[2] For examples of the later dynasty costumes, see collections in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: medallion with two peacocks (acce. no. 42.74.4), section of robe (acce. no. 62.29.1), theatrical robe for a male role (acce. no. 32.30.10), and emperor's twelve-symbol festival robe (acce. no. 54.14.2). It should be noticed that the central symmetrical pattern of birds seems to be popular again in the later dynasties while the medallions slowly went out of fashion.

anthropological process of a foreign community's interaction with the recipient culture, a process in which they did not lose their own cultural identity, but, in a certain sense, even enhanced it.[3] With their unique cultural identities, the *semu* people then stand out as a prominent feature of Yuan China, being its essential bond to a cross-continental and multi-ethnic empire, while also enhancing the cultural diversity on an even broader level than their Mongol rulers.

The final point is that art developed in Liao and Jin in northern China laid a foundation for artistic integration during the Yuan period. This is particularly prominent in the Buddhist art works created in the Dadu area. Naturalistic rendition of human figures and the modulation of lines already matured in the Liao portraits became essential appliance even in newly imported Tibetan Buddhist art. The mass production of the *nasij* textiles in the Yuan also developed on the basis of resources in northern China, its previous accumulation of labour forces and techniques for weaving, and a shared taste for gold on textiles and animal roundels on clothing. The Christian and Muslim tombstones reveal a probable connection through the use of *fenben* with the decorations in northern Chinese burial art, which seems to be spread across Yuan China within the burial context. Even the Jingjiao Christian community of Quanzhou, who largely adopted Persian forms accessed through the sea route, still maintained the central motif, the cross-on-lotus, inherited from their homeland in Inner Mongolia. In Yuan art related to the *semu* people, there is a clear link to art developed in northern China, especially under non-Han Chinese dynasties.

[3] This view is taken as the constructive anthropological approach that regards the cultural boundary of a community as dynamic and changeable. The same idea that contact between cultural groups could lead to an emphasis of the difference is also raised in anthropological studies. Christoph Antweiler, "Ethnicity from an Anthropological Perspective," in *Ethnicity as a Political Source: Conceptualizations across Disciplines, Regions, and Periods,* ed. University of Cologne Forum "Ethnicity as a Political Resource" (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2015), 28, also quoting Gregory Bateson (1985): "Kulturberührung und Schismogenese," in *Ökologie des Geistes: Anthropologische, psychologische, biologische und epistemologische Perspektiven* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985), 99–113.

This dissertation, with its main focus on the *semu* people of Yuan China, could not go very deep into the northern roots of the art works and their development during the Liao and Jin time. It will require future research in this area to enhance this conclusion. Khitans and Jurchens were distinct from each other, but there is a reason for the Chinese historiography to list the three dynasties, Liao, Jin, and Yuan, together. The cultural connection between the three political regimes set up by the non-Han Chinese definitely goes beyond the modern perception of ethnicities. Further research areas include the mutual influence in Buddhist art between Liao, Jin and even part of Tangut Xia, an aspect that now has come to the attention of scholars on Buddhist scripts from these kingdoms.[4] There is also the research area of cultural exchanges between Liao, Jin, and other parts of Asia, especially with the Uighurs, an aspect almost unstudied in modern scholarship.[5] Moreover, new archaeological discoveries keep expanding the evidence for the current research. In 2021, two Jingjiao church sites in Xinjiang were excavated with large quantities of mural paintings and almost intact architectural foundations.[6] Future investigations of these new materials might provide more clues about cultural transmission: for example,

[4] Most of the research has been carried out by Kirill Solonin, see his works referenced in the dissertation.

[5] Several works by Michal Biran feature the interaction of Liao with Central and Western Asia. Michal Biran, "Unearthing the Liao Dynasty's Relations with the Muslim World: Migrations, Diplomacy, Commerce, and Mutual Perceptions," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 221-51; "The Qarakhanids' Eastern Exchange: Preliminary Notes on the Silk Roads in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the first millennium CE*, eds. Jan Bemman and Michael Schmauder (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universiät Bonn, 2015), 575–95; *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

[6] Liu Wensuo 刘文锁, Wang Zexiang 王泽祥, and Wang Long 王龙, "2021nian Xinjiang Tulufan Xipang jingjiaosiyuanyizhi kaogufajue de zhuyaoshouhuo yu chuburenshi 2021 年新疆吐鲁番西旁京郊寺院遗址考古发掘的主要收获与初步认识 Main Achievements and Preliminary Understanding of Archaeological Excavation of the Nestorian Church Site Xipang (Shüi-Pang) , Turfan, Xinjiang in 2021," *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究, no. 1 (2022): 74-80. Ren Guan 任冠 and Wei Jian 魏坚, "2021nian Xinjiang Qitai tangchaodun jingjiaosiyuanyizhi kaogufajue zhuyaoshouguo 2021 年新疆奇台唐朝墩景教寺院遗址考古发掘主要收获 Main Achievements of Archaeological Excavation of the Nestorian Church Site Tangchaodun, Qitai, Xinjiang in 2021," *Xiyu yanjiu*, no. 3 (2022): 106-13. Ren and Wei, "2022nian tangchaodun gucheng yizhi kaogugongzuo de zhuyaoshouhuo 2022 年唐朝墩古城遗址考古工作的主要收获 Main Achievements of Archaeological Excavation of the Site Tangchaodun in 2022," *Xiyu yanjiu*, no. 2 (2023): 1-7.

whether the angel motif was used by the Jingjiao Christians in Central or Northern Asia.

Finally, the social diversity of Yuan China is also echoed in a last effort to connect the Eurasian continent at the final stage of the Mongol empire. When Marignolli's diplomatic group arrived at Dadu during the reign of Toghon Temur, no one realised that this would be the last official communication with the Europeans under a Mongol ruler. The arrival of the foreign delegates and their special gifts, including a horse, generated a wave of praise on this good omen showing the 'Mandate of Heaven' at the Yuan court.[7] Poems and paintings were created under the emperor's order to commemorate this glory of the Mongol empire, most of which celebrated the benevolence of the emperor.[8] Interestingly, while the court commissioned works demonstrate little interest in the foreignness of the diplomatic mission, there were other visual depictions more attentive to their Christian identity, reflecting the general curiosity of the Yuan Chinese about these people from a far-away land.[9] To the Chinese eyes, these foreigners, whether short-term visitors or

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[7] Lauren Arnold, "The Heavenly Horse is Come from West of the West: Two Paintings Illuminating the Role of Latin Christians at the Mongol Court," *Orientations* (Oct 2014): 63; Eugene Y. Wang, "Why Was There No Chinese Painting of Marco Polo?" in *The Itineraries of Art: Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia*, eds. Karin Gludovatz, Joachim Rees, and Juliane Noth (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015), 91.

[8] For further discussion on the meaning and political significance of the painting, see Wang, "Why Was There," 95-99, 100-01; Ye Xinmin 叶新民, "Yuandai zhongguo yu ouzhou youhaowanglai de yiduanjiahua — Zhou Lang Tianmatu xiaokao 元代中国与欧洲友好往来的一段佳话——周朗《天马图》小考 A Friendly Exchange between China and Europe during the Yuan — Short Study on the Scroll of the Heavenly Horse by Zhou Lang," 内蒙古大学学报 *Journal of Inner Mongolia University*, no. 6 (2013): 5-7; Yu Hui 余辉, "Yuandai gongting huihuashi ji jiazuokaobian 元代宫廷绘画史及佳作考辨（二）The Painting History in the Yuan Palace and Studies on Representative Works (II)," *Palace Museum Journal* 90, no. 4 (2000): 54-55. The official record of the gift from Marignolli's mission is in *Yuanshi*, 40: 864. The major writings on the horse and the event have been translated into English by Stephen West, and accessible at https://www.academia.edu/21658566/_The_Gift_of_a_Horse_Texts (accessed on Oct 11th, 2022). Yuan literati Gu Ying has stated in his poem that the painting was done by Zhou Lang, and a poem was written by Jie Xisi under the imperial order, see Gu Ying 顾瑛, *Caotang yaji* 草堂雅集 *Collection of the Grass Hall*, vol. 9, Wenyuange siku quanshu edition; The most often quoted ode is written by the scholar minister Ouyang Xuan, see the full text in Ouyang Xuan 欧阳玄, *Guizhai wenji* 圭斋文集 *Writing by Guizhai*, vol. 1, sibu congkan edition.

[9] Wang has pointed out two other paintings by Ren Xianzuo and his son, Ren Bowen, on the diplomatic mission, works that highlight the appearances of the envoys and grooms rendered in polychrome ink.

long-term residents in China, composed the 'other' face of the Yuan society that was significantly outside, but was also partially admitted into, a Chinese frame. This view is expressed in a poem written by an official named Zhang Yu 張昱 (ca. 1289-1371), who was serving at Dadu a few years after the arrival of Marignolli's mission.[10] This poem provides us with a concrete literary description, comparable to the art historical analysis in this thesis, of the *semu* people thriving in the capital, and a faithful perception of the Yuan society through the eyes of a native Chinese who was surrounded by these foreign communities.[11] Nothing is more suitable than these verses to end the present discussion on the cultural diversity of the various people 'coming to Cathay'.

北方九眼大黑殺，	The Black Killer with nine eyes [on three heads] in the North
幻影梵名紇剌麻。	Is called Mahakala in Sanskrit, possessing a phantom image.
頭戴髑髏踏魔女，	He wears human skulls and treads upon female demons.
用人以祭惑中華。	Men are killed for his sacrifice, a rite making the Chinese perplexed.
高昌之神戴羖首，	The God of Khocho wears the mask of a black ram
仗劍騎羊氣猛烈。	Who sits on a goat holding a sword in a high spirit.
十月十三彼國人，	Every year on the thirteenth day of the tenth month
蘿蔔面餅賀神節。	People from this country make radish pancakes to celebrate the festival.
十字寺神呼韓王，	The deity in the cross temple [church] is called King George[12]

Wang, "Why Was There," 85-86. Arnold also directs attention to a painting attributed to Zhao Yong, son of the famous Yuan literati painter Zhao Mengfu. The painting not only shares with Zhou's work a similar module on the attendants, but also emphasises the Christian cross carried by the main figure. It is a painting worth further investigation on its connection with Zhou's work. Arnold, "The Heavenly Horse," 68-70.

[10] There is no definite record on when Zhang Yu was in the capital. One proposal that he was possibly in the capital around 1349, is listed in Yan Chuqiao 严楚乔, "Zhang Yu gongsi Jianzhu yu yanjiu 张昱宫词笺注与研究 The Annotation and Research of Zhang Yu's *Gongci*" (Master diss., Jiangsu Normal University, 2020), 12. Zhang Yu was serving at the Bureau for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs when he wrote the poem, a fact that he stated in the attached preface to this poem.

[11] The quote is only a small section of the long poem titled 'The Song under the Royal Cart '輦下曲, which is collected in Zhang Yu, *Zhang Guangbi shiji* 張光弼詩集 *Poem Collection of Zhang Guangbi*, vol. 3, sibu congkan edition. The parts in the square brackets [ ] are added by me who translated this part.

[12] It is not sure if the figure mentioned here is St George since the Chinese name in the poem seems not quite corresponded with George. However, the following two stanzas could be about the chorus and the

身騎白馬衣戎裝。	Who put on armour, riding on a white horse.
手彈箜篌仰天日，	[When people] playing the harp and looking up towards the sun
空中來儀百鳳凰。	Hundreds of phoenixes [angels] came down from the sky to pay respect.
旃檀佛像身丈六，	A sculpture made in sandalwood stands up to six *zhang* [sixty feet],
三十二相俱完全。	It contains all the thirty-two miracle features of the Buddha.
流傳釋家親受記，	This is the true image of Sakyamuni that has been passed down
止於大國來西天。	Which stays in our country when being taken away from the West.
西番燈盞重百斤，	The lamps of the Tibetans weigh over a hundred *jin* [50 kilos].
刻銘供佛題大臣。	Ministers' names were carved on them as offerings to the Buddha.
黃楢萬甕照無盡，	Woods and oil are collected to keep the lamps lighted forever,
上祝皇釐下己身。	While blessings are gained both for the emperor and for the donor.
花門齊候月生眉，	The Uighurs wait for the new moon together before the month of fast
白日不食夜飽之。	During which they do not eat in the day while feasting at night.
纏頭向西禮圈戶，	With covered heads, they bow to the West under the arched door [of mosque].
出浴升高叫阿彌。	After bathing themselves, they make praises in the high towers.
西天咒師首蜷發，	The doctors [curing with spells] from the West have curly hairs.
不澡不頮身亦殷。	They do not wash face or body, and of a colour mixed with black and red.
倒垂瓔珞披紅罽，	Pearl necklaces are held up-side down and red woollen capes cover their backs.
膜拜螭坳識聖顏。	Under the jade stairs they bowed to the emperor to be admitted to the audience.

angels depicted on the walls of a Latin church. There were also 'Nestorian' saints depicted as warriors, such as Mar Behnam (personal correspondence with Takahashi Hidemi, Feb 5th, 2023).

Illustrations

Chapter 1

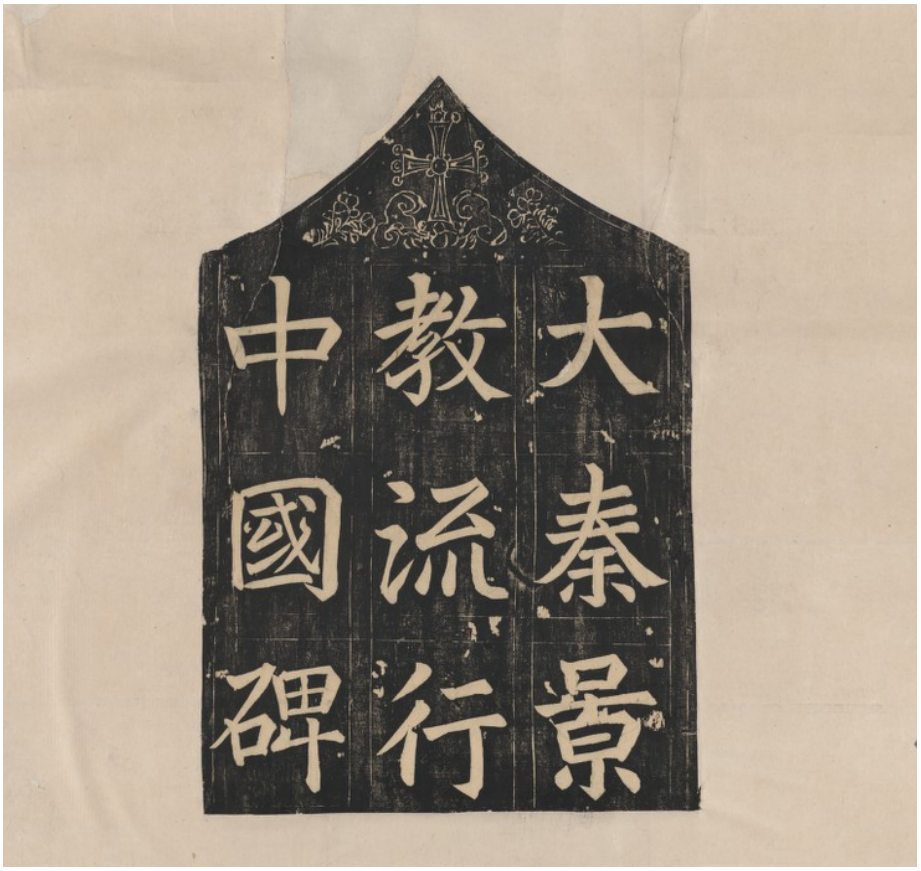


Fig. 1.1 Detail of the cross on ‘Daqin Jingjiao’ stele, 781, 47 × 32 cm (top), 186 × 86.5 cm (body), discovered at Xi’an, rubbing, Harvard-Yenching library (no. 9814961).

a b

Fig. 1.2 a. and b. Cross on the Fangshan stones, dates unconfirmed, 68.5 × 58.5 × 22 cm, marble, Nanjing Museum (C).

Fig. 1.3 Epitaph of a Jingjiao Christian, 1253, 46.5 × 39 × 6 cm, ceramic, Inner Mongolia Museum, photo taken by author in 2018.

Fig. 1.4 A carved slab discovered by Torii Ryūzō, possibly dated to Liao dynasty, (slab size) 102 × 85 × 18 cm, discovered at Anshan, rubbing, provided by Torii Ryūzō Memorial Museum, Tokushima, Japan.

Fig. 1.5 Jingjiao tomb marker, Yuan dynasty, 105 × 34 × 44 cm, granite, discovered at Darhan Muming'an United Banner, Baotou, Inner Mongolia, collection of Archaeology Institute of Inner Mongolia, photo from An Yongde ed., *Tianjiao yibao: Mengyuan jingpin wenwu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2011), 220.

a

b

c

Fig. 1.6 a. Angels flanking a cross, Yuan dynasty, length 75 cm, height 28cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum; b. Paired angels with cross on hats flanking a cross, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photo provided by Dr. Ken Parry; c. Paired angels holding a cross on lotus with Phags-pa inscriptions, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photo provided by Dr. Ken Parry.

Fig. 1.7 Angels flanking a cross, Yuan dynasty, length 56 cm, height 51 cm, discovered at Quanzhou, current location unclear, from Wu Wenliang and Wu Youxiong, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2005), B7, 368

a

b

Fig. 1.8 a. and b. Paired angels flanking the cross on lotus pedestal on the Jingjiao pillar, 829, length 60-85 cm, width 15 cm on each side, discovered at Luoyang, rubbings, from Ge Chengyong, "Jingjiao tianshi yu fojiao feitian bijiao bianshiyanjiu," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, no.4 (2014): Plate 1 and Plate 2.

Fig. 1.9 An ‘Enthronement’ scene, c. 1300, size unclear, colour on paper, Ilkhanate, from Jeo Jungeon Oh, “Islamicised Pseudo-Buddhist Iconography in Ilkhanid Royal Manuscripts,” *Persica* 20 (2004-2005): Fig. 24 (taken from M. Ipsiroglu, *Saray-Alben*, 1964).

Fig. 1.10 The Prophet Muhammad enthroned in Al-Varavini, *Marzubannama* (*Tales of the Margrave*), 698/1299, size unclear, colour on paper, made in Baghdad, Archaeology Museum, Istanbul, from https://newlinesmag.com/essays/islamic-art-is-pivotal-for-understanding-the-richness-of-the-muslim-world/, accessed Apr. 26th, 2023.

Fig. 1.11 ‘Enthronement’ scene in London Qazwīnī, fol.100r, c. 1300, 30 × 19.2 cm, colour on paper, British Library (Or 14140), digitised photo from Qatar National Library, https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023586788.0x000001, accessed Aug. 13, 2020.

Fig. 1.12 Detail of a folio from *Shahnama* (*Book of Kings*) by Firdawsi (d.1020); recto: A ruler enthroned, 1341, 35.6 × 29.3 cm, ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, Sackler Gallery (S1986.112).

Fig. 1.13 The crown patterns on the Quanzhou angels, detail of fig. 6a.

Fig. 1.14 Angel with a cross-crown holding a cross, Yuan dynasty, length 90 cm, width 18 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

Fig. 1.15 Angel with four wings, Yuan dynasty, length 53.5 cm, height 50 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

a

b

Fig. 1.16 a. An angel with believers, fol.106v; b. Cross on top of a king with some labourers, fol.163r, from *Evangelia*, 13th century, size unclear, Sachau 304, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.

a b

Fig. 1.17 The archangels in London Qazwīnī, fol. 12r (the two sitting angels) and 13r (the Angel of Death and King Solomon), c. 1300, 30 × 19.2 cm, colour on paper, British Library (Or 14140), digitised photo from Qatar Digital Library https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023630151.0x00001a, accessed August 18th, 2020.

Fig. 1.18 Jakata story: the praise to the pious crane, relief on the bottom of the Zhenguo Pagoda, Kaiyuan temple, Quanzhou.

Fig. 1.19 Jakata story: the boy seeking the truth in snow mountains, relief on the bottom of the Zhenguo pagoda, Kaiyuan temple, Quanzhou.

Fig. 1.20 Paired *apsaras* holding an offering, mid-late ninth century, wall painting, Mogao Cave 207, Dunhuang, from *Zhongguo shiku - Dunhuang Mogaoku*, vol.5 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), plate 136, photo provided by Wu Yiqiang.

Fig. 1.21 Mural painting fragment, mid-eighth to ninth century, from Albert von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1923), Tafel 8b.

Fig. 1.22 Two steles with the canopy over the cross, Yuan dynasty, (left) size unclear, (right) 39.2 × 31.6 cm, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photos provided by Dr. Ken Parry.

Fig. 1.23 The Almaliq stone with paired angels, c. 1301, length 38 cm, width 31 cm, State Hermitage Museum (CA-14296), photo from Ken Parry, “The Art of the Christian Remains in Quanzhou,” in *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Zayton (Quanzhou)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 243-44, fig. 11.5.

Fig. 1.24 Tomb stele for Elizabeth, c. 1317, 29.8 × 25.8 × 4 cm, bluestone, discovered at Yangzhou, rubbing, from Wang Qinjin, “Yuan Yanyousinian Yelishiba mubei kaoshi,” Kaogu, no.6 (1989): 554, Fig.2.

Chapter 2

a b

Fig. 2.1 a. Katerina's tomb stele, height 58 cm, width 48.8 cm; b. Antonio' tomb stele, height 59.7 cm, width 37.5 cm, rubbings, from Geng Jianting, "Yangzhou chenggenli de ladingwen mubei", *Kaogu*, no. 8 (1963): Fig. 2 and 1.

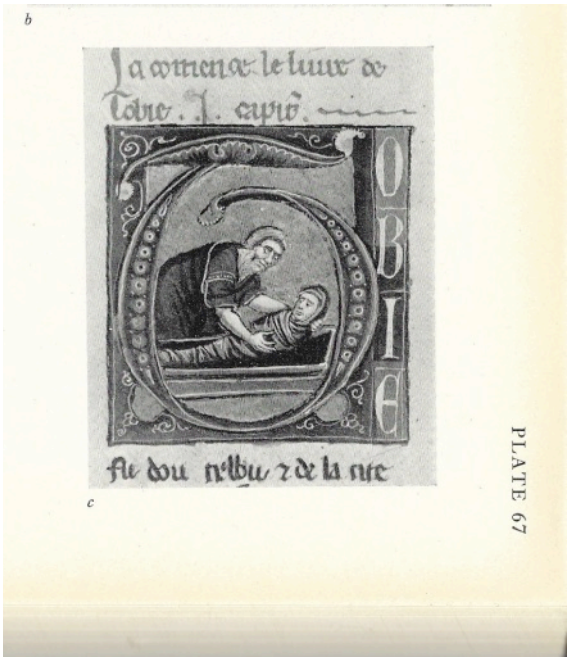
Fig. 2.2 *Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne*, c. 1260/1280, 82.4 × 50.1cm, tempera on linden panel, Byzantine, National Gallery of Art, U.S (1937.1.1).

Fig. 2.3 The last judgement in “London Psalter”, f. 030v, c. 1250-1260, (folios) 21 × 14.5 cm, colour on parchment, France, British Library (Add.17868).

Detail of a historiated initial 'K'(aterina) of the martyrdom of Catherine. British Library MS Royal 6 E VII f. 395v

Fig. 2.4 Initial "K" of the martyrdom of St Catherine in *Omne Bonum* (*All Good Things*) by James le Palmer (d. c. 1375), fol. 395v, c. 1360-1375, (folios) 44.5 × 30.8 cm, colour and gold on parchment, British Library (Royal 6E VII), photo from https://www.medievalists.net/2015/04/10-cool-facts-about-saint-catherine/, accessed October 8th, 2021.

Fig. 2.5 Survivals and reconstructions for the *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, 1310-1328, Frieze fragment, Cloister of Santa Chiara, Naples, photo provided by Prof. Anne Dunlop



a b

Fig. 2.6 a. Initial of a burial, from Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), Plate 67c; b. Resurrection of the dead in "Winchester Psalter", f.31r, c. Mid-12 to 13th century, (folios) 32 × 23 cm, colour on parchment, British Library (Cotton MS Nero C IV).

Fig. 2.7 A sacrifice scene in *Xinkan quanxiang pinghua: Qianhanshu, vol. III* 新刊全相平話：前漢書, f14, Yuan dynasty, Fujian jian'an yushi edition, National Archives of Japan (accessed through shuge.org). The figure on the far left is a woman.

Fig. 2.8 A banquet scene, from *Xinkan quanxiang pinghua: Sanguozhi* 新刊全相平話：三國志, f12, Yuan dynasty, Fujian jian'an yushi edition, National Archives of Japan (accessed through shuge.org).

Fig. 2.9 Plaque funéraire de Pariouz, 1224, size unclear, marble, le quartier des Charpennes (X532), Lyon, photo provided by Prof. Anne Dunlop.

Fig. 2.10 The Dormition scene in “Winchester Psalter”, fol. 29r, Mid-12 to 13th century, (folios) 32 × 23 cm, colour on parchment, British Library (Cotton MS Nero C IV).

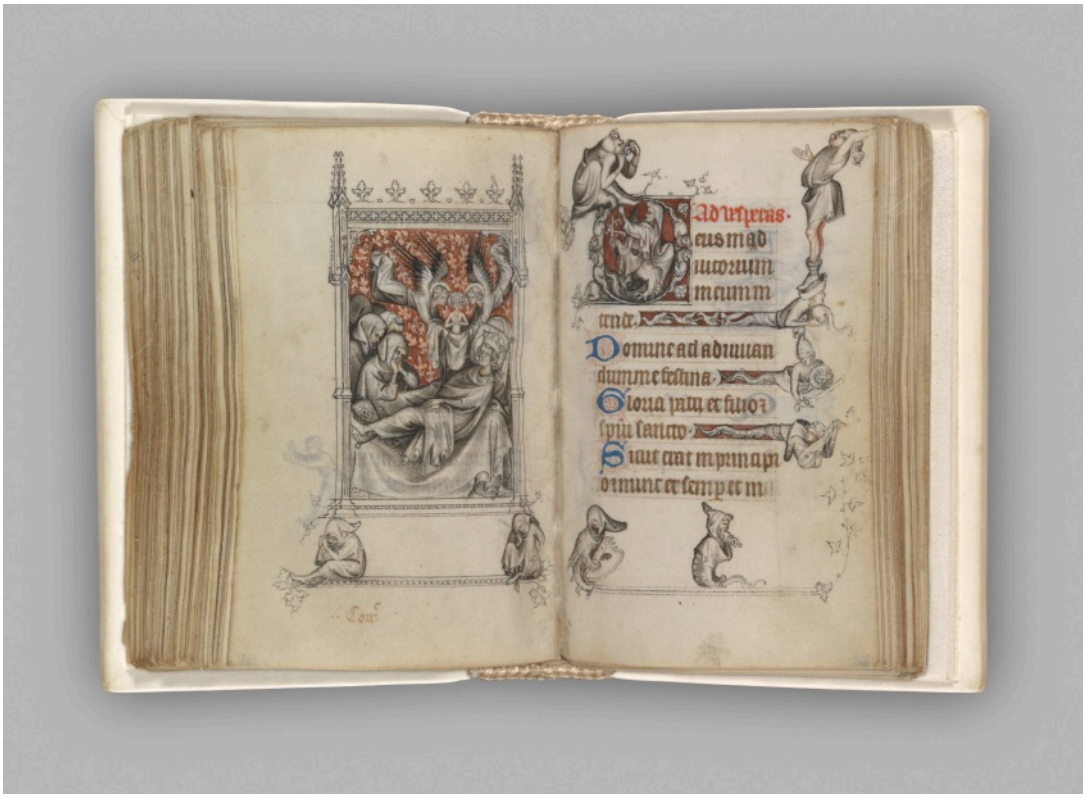


Fig. 2.11 Detail of "the Death of Saint Louis" in *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France*, Jean Pucelle (1319-1334), fol. 165v, ca. 1324-1328, (folios) 9.2 x 6.2 cm, grisaille, tempera, and ink on vellum, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (54.12).

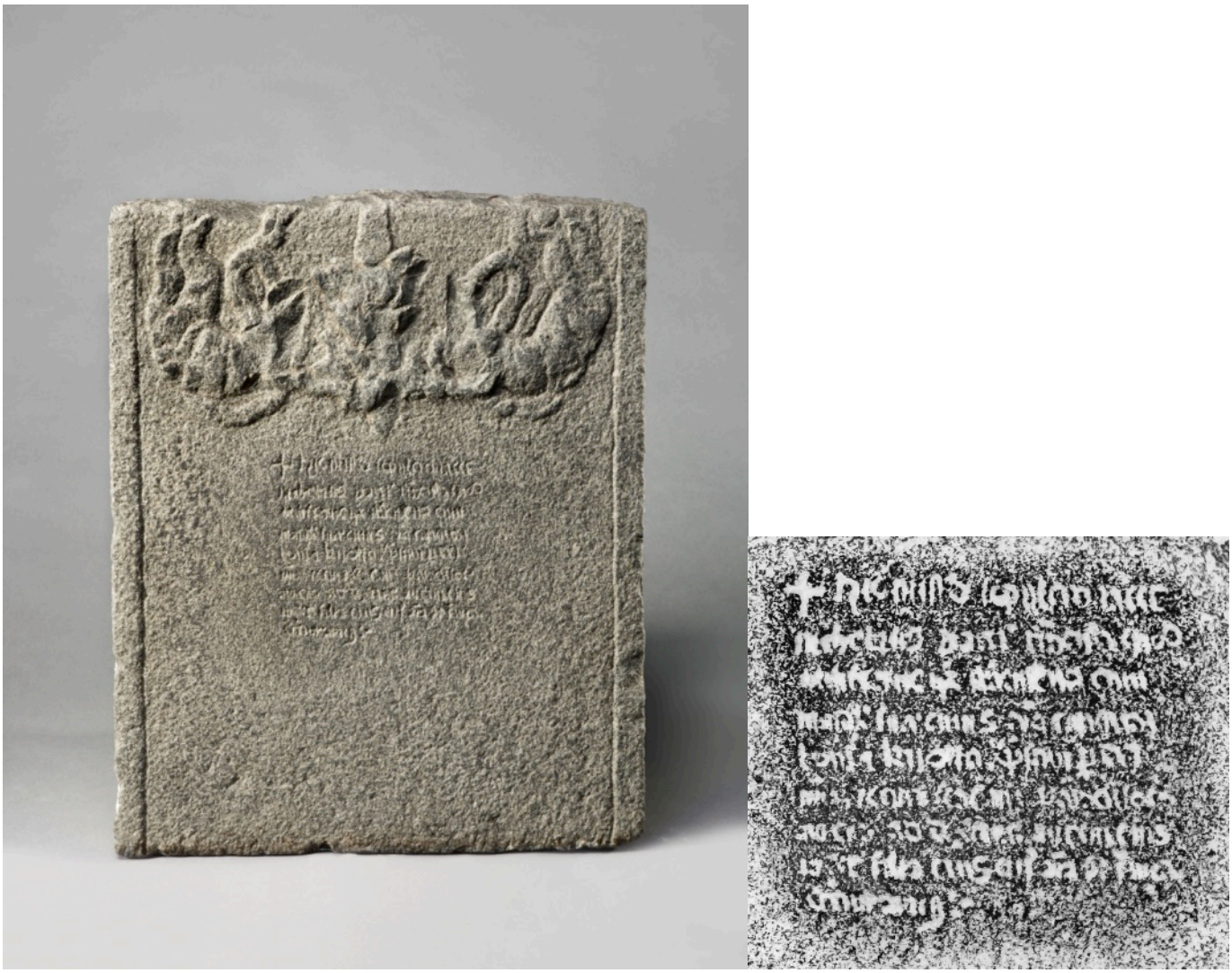


Fig. 2.12 Tombstone of Andrea da Perugia (with detail of the inscription rubbing), Yuan dynasty, 55 × 45 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

a1

a2

b

c

d

e1

e2

Fig. 2.13 a. Muslim tomb marker fragments and stele at Puhading Graveyard, Yuan dynasty, (the longest base) 121.2 × 34.6 × 35 cm, (stele) height 90 cm, Yangzhou (D); b. The scarf decorations on the tomb markers; c. The largest tomb marker at Bakhtiyari Graveyard, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, Hangzhou (D); d. Muslim tomb marker from Quanzhou with scarf decoration, Yuan dynasty, 171 × 63.5 × 53 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum; e. Flowers on the ends of the tomb markers at Yangzhou (D).

Fig. 2.14 A scene of a Muslim graveyard in *Les Maqâmât d'Aboû Moammad al-Qâsim ibn Alî al-arîrî* (*The Assemblies of Abu Mohammad al-Qasim ibn Ali al-ariri*), fol. 50, 13th century, (folios) 27.5 × 21 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Arabe 3929).

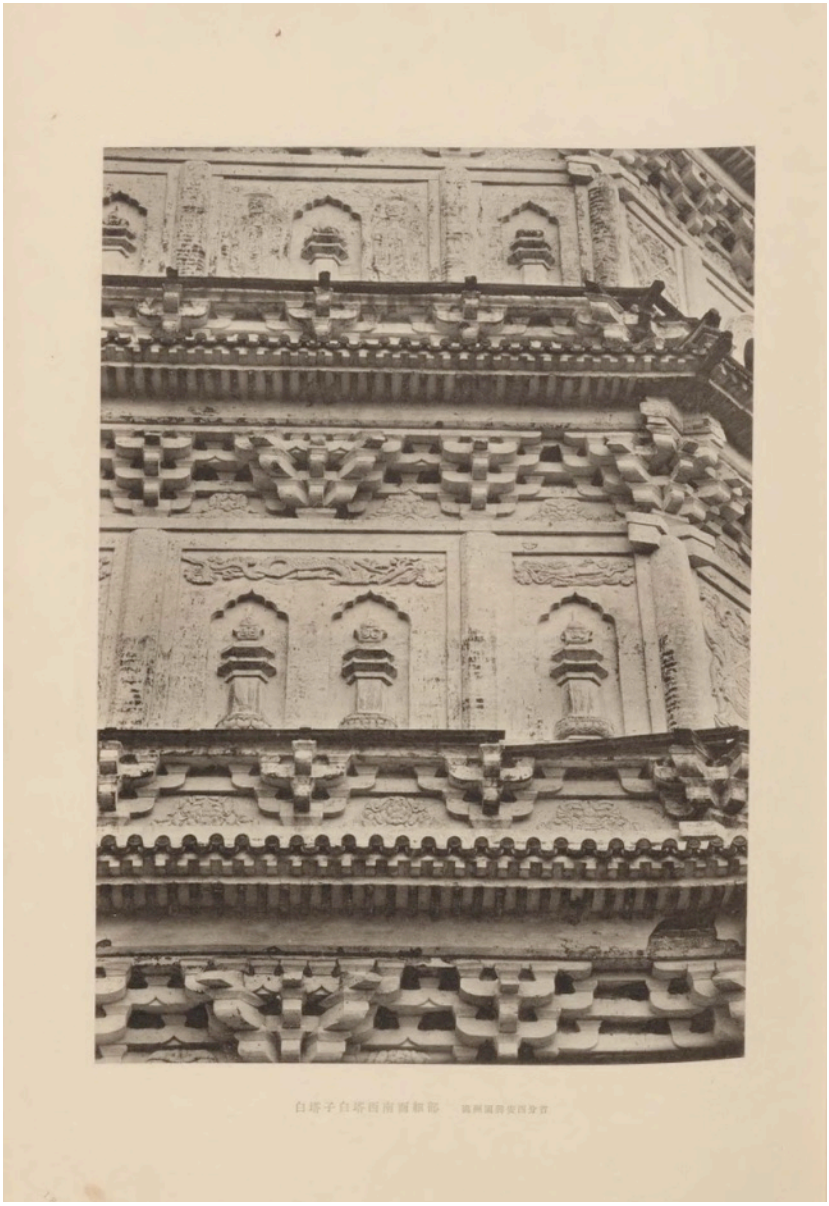


Fig. 2.15 White pagoda, Liao dynasty, Balin Right Banner, Inner Mongolia, photo from Sekino Tadashi and Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryō, Kin jidai no kenchiku to sono butsuzō,* (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tokyo Kenkyūjo, 1934-1944), plate 18.

Fig. 2.16 Patterns from the Muslim stones in Hangzhou, details taken from the photos from George Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, London: Gingko Library, 2018 and taken by Chen Xiao on site.

a b

Fig. 2.17 a. Stele for Shams al-Din, Yuan dynasty, height c. 120 cm, width c. 88 cm, Puhading graveyard, Yangzhou (D); b. Stele for Husam al-Din, d. 1307, in Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 108, plate no.1(C).

a

b

Fig. 2.18 a. Plate with gardenia flower and leaves, Zhang Cheng (date unknown), Yuan dynasty, D 16.5 cm, H 2.8cm, lacquer, Palace Museum, Beijing (故00108191); b. Carved lacquer tray depicting birds and flowers, 14th century, D 30.5cm, H 1.5cm, lacquer, Kyushu National Museum (H178), photo taken by the author.

a

b

c

d

Fig. 2.19 a. Detail of the stele base of Negubei, Yuan dynasty, (full size) height c. 120 cm, width c. 88 cm, Puhading Graveyard, Yangzhou (D); b. Stele for Taj al-Din Yahya, Yuan dynasty, photo from Lane, *The Phoenix Mosque*, 178, plate no.11; c. Lotus relief on the front side of the Negubei stele (D); d. Lotus on the back side of the base on the Negubei stele (D).

Fig. 2.20 Detail from one page in the first volume of *Tarikhnama* (*Book of History*) by Bal'ami (d. c. 992-997), Ilkhanate (early 14th century), 42.2 x 28.7 cm, ink, watercolour and gold on paper, Freer Gallery of Art (F1957.16).

Fig. 2.21 The reverse side of the stele of Bakhtiyari, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, Phoenix Mosque, Hangzhou (C).

Fig. 2.22 Stele for the renovation of the Juxian Guan in Zhiyuan Period, Yuan dynasty, size unclear, rubbing, photo provided by Niu Yongli.

Fig. 2.23 Scarf decoration on the tomb marker, detail of fig.13c.

a b

Fig. 2.24 a.Tomb marker of Mahmud, with the full moon, Yuan dynasty, 114 × 58 × 41 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum; b. Stele with the crescent moon pattern, Phoenix Mosque, Hangzhou (C).

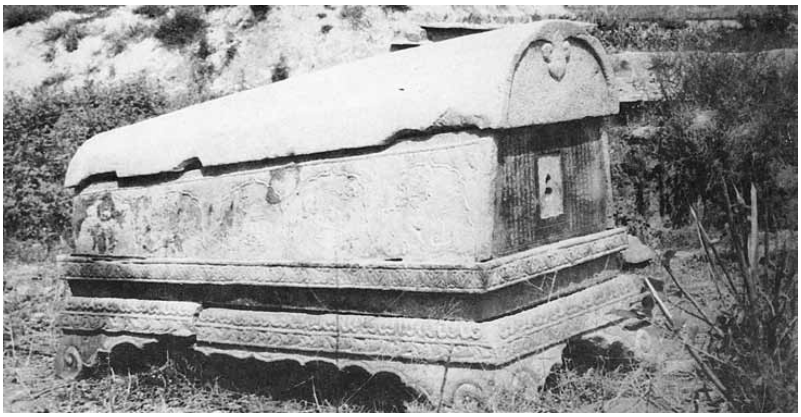
Fig. 2.25 The characters ‘sun’ and ‘moon’ in *Xinbian duixiang siyan*, printed time c. 1506-1620, (printed area) 26.7 x 17.3 cm, Columbia University Library (https://clio.columbia.edu/catalog/10820867), accessed through shuge.org.

a b c

Fig. 2.26 a. Pagoda, 1304, height 2.67 m, Fushan Village, Quanzhou (D); b. and c. Two portraits on the two pagodas at Fushan Village, Quanzhou (D).

a

b



c

Fig. 2.27 a. Adapted foliat-shell footed apron with lotus petals on the Muslim tomb marker, Yuan dynasty, length 193 cm, width 80.5 cm, igneous rock, Quanzhou Maritime Museum, photo taken by the author; b Tomb decoration of the Ji country Macun brick tomb chambers, with the foliate-shell footed apron along with lotus petals, Museum of the Jin Tombs (D); c Sarcophagus of Feng Rong, ca. 1212, size unclear, discovered in Yonghe, Shanxi, from Jeehee Hong, *Theatre of the Dead* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016), 122, Fig. 4.14A.

Fig. 2.28 Stele commissioned by the young lady Wang of the Dai family, 1346, 52.5 × 25.5 × 8.5 cm, igneous rock, photo provided by Quanzhou Maritime Museum.

A 30　碑石正面

Fig. 2.29 Stele of Ding Jiezhai, 1327, 84 × 60 × 12cm, igneous rock, from Wu, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, 42, A30.

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1 Gathering of the Locana Buddha, Song dynasty, niche 5, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.2 A monk, niche 48, Song dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.3 Skanda, niche 35, Song dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.4 Ushinisha Sita Tapatra, niche 52, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.5 Avalokitesvara in four arms (originally a triad), niche 40, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.6 Yellow Jambhala, niche 30, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.7 Ushnisha Vijaya in Stupa with retinue, niche 84, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.8 Manjushri, niche 67, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

a

b

Fig. 3.9 a. Avalokitesvara of four arms, niche 93, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou; b. Lotus seat of Avalokitesvara (D).

a

b

c

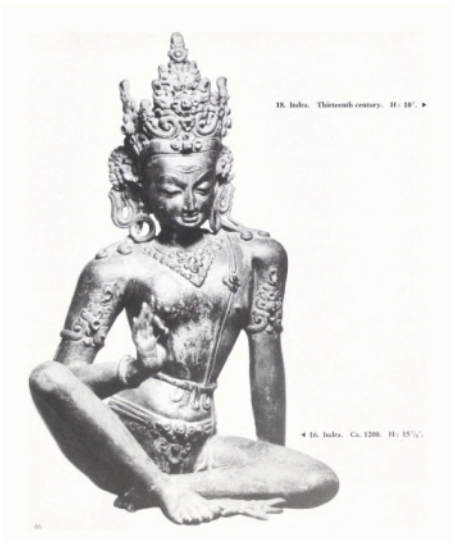
Fig. 3.10 a. The Amitabha triad in Han Chinese and Tibetan/Tangut forms, niche 98 and 99, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou; b. Triad of niche 98; c. Triad of niche 99 (D).

a b

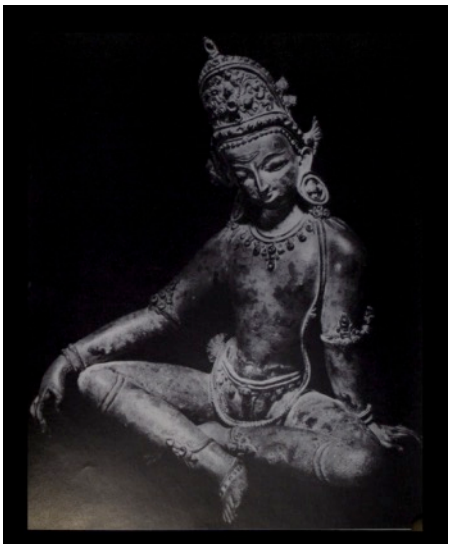
Fig. 3.11a. The inscription written by Jingfu (with the names of Jingfu and Yang highlighted); b. The inscription outside niche 45 (with Yang's name highlighted) (D).

Fig. 3.12 Vaisravana Lokapala on a lion, niche 75, Yuan dynasty, Feilaifeng, Hangzhou (D).

Fig. 3.13 Manjushri, Yuan dynasty, height 18 cm, gilt bronze, Palace Museum, Beijing (故00000156), photo from Shane McCausland, *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014), 113.



a



b

c

Fig. 3.14 a. Indra, 13th century, height 10 inches (25.4 cm), bronze, Seattle Art Museum; b. Indra, ca. 1200, height 15 7/8 inches (40.3 cm), private collection; gilded copper, Nepal c. Avalokiteshvara, 14th century (?), 62.9 × 17.5 × 10.8 cm, gilded bronze, Cincinnati Art Museum (1962.445), photos from Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal* (New York: The Asia Society, 1964), 66-68, entry 18, 16 and 19.

Fig. 3.15 Manjushri, 14th century, height 12.2 cm, gilded copper alloy, Nepalese work in Tibet, collection of Yuri Khokhlov, from Yuri Khokhlov “The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art of the Yuan Dynasty,” Fig.25.

a

b

c

d

Fig. 3.16 a. Bodhisattva, 12th-13th century, height 38 cm, gilded copper alloy, discovered at Khara Khoto, Inner Mongolia Museum; b. Vajrasattva, 13th-14th century, height 27.5 cm, brass, Jokhang temple, Lhasa; c. Buddha Akshobhya, 13th-14th century, height 17 cm, gilded copper, Nepal, collection of Yuri Khokhlov; d. Buddha, Yuan dynasty, height 20.5 cm, copper alloy, Robert Bigier collection, Switzerland, photos from Yuri Khokhlov, “The Xi Xia Legacy in Sino-Tibetan Art of the Yuan Dynasty,” Fig. 32, 28, 27 and 26.

a b

Fig. 3.17 a. Avalokiteshvara Padmapani, second half of the 13th century, Nepalese artist in Tibet, height 17 cm, copper with silver and gold inlay, The Newark Museum, USA; b. Avalokiteshvara Padmapani, second half of the 13th century, height 18 cm, gilded copper, Palace Museum, Beijing, after Yang Xin and Wang Jiapeng eds., *Zhongguo zangchuan fojiao diaosu quanji,* vol. II (Beijing: Beijing meishu sheying chubanshe, 2001), 76, entry 197, from Michael Henss, "Thirteenth or Eighteenth Century?", Fig.1 and 3.

Fig. 3.18 Shakyamuni, 1336, height 21 cm, width 15.8 cm, bronze, Palace Museum, Beijing (新00017059).

Fig. 3.19 Marici, Ming dynasty, height 25 cm, gilded bronze, Three Gorge Museum, Chongqing.

（明鎏金摩利支天铜像，高25cm，原件藏于重庆中国三峡博物馆）

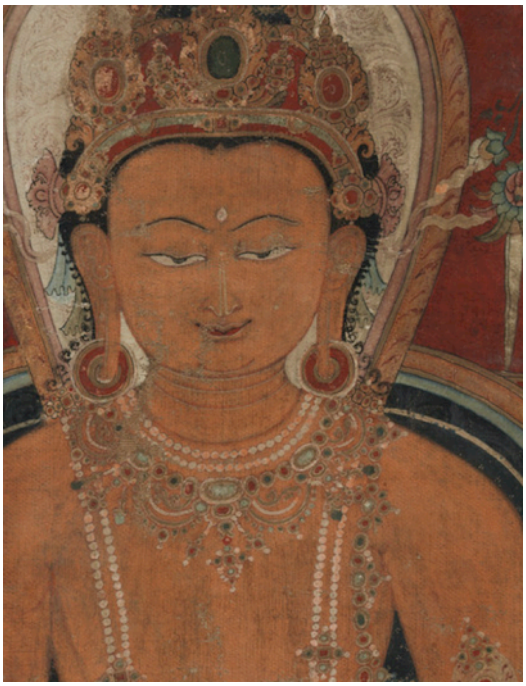
Fig. 3.20 White Pagoda, Beijing, photo from the display at the Miaoying Temple.

Fig. 3.21 Stupa, c. 13th century, height 46.5 cm, silver, coral, turquoise and glass, photo from Robert A. F. Thurman and David Weldon, *Sacred Symbols: The Ritual Art of Tibet* (London: Rossi+Rossi, 1999), 18-19, cat. no. 4.

Fig. 3.22 Stupa, c. 1400, height 42.5 cm, gilt copper and turquoise, photo from Robert Thurman and Weldon, *Sacred Symbols: The Ritual Art of Tibet*, 16-17, cat. no. 3.

a b

Fig. 3.23 a. Portrait of Khubilai, Yuan dynasty, 59.2 × 47.4 cm, colour on silk (one page of an album), Palace Museum, Taipei (中畫00032400003); b. Portrait of Chabi, Yuan dynasty, 61.2 × 47.6 cm, colour on silk (one page of an album), Palace Museum, Taipei (中畫00032500001).



a

b

c

Fig. 3.24 a. and b. The Jina Buddha Ratnasambhava (detail), c. 1100-1125, 40.96 × 33.02 cm, mineral pigments and gold on cotton, Central Tibet, LACMA (M.81.90.5); c. Green Tara (detail), c. 1260, 52.4 × 43.2 cm, watercolour and ink on cotton, Tibet, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1970.156).

Fig. 3.25 “Five Horses” (detail), attributed to Li Gonglin (1049-1106), Northern Song dynasty, 28 × 257.2 cm, colour and ink on paper, Tokyo National Museum, photo from the exhibition catalogue published by Hatori shoten, provided by Li Ziru.

图 10

图 12

169

Fig. 3.26 Portraits of two men servants, Liao dynasty, mural paintings, tomb no.1, Baoshan, Inner Mongolia, photo from Wu Hung and Li Qingquan eds., *Baoshan liaomu: cailiao yu shidu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2013), colour plate 10 and 12.

Fig. 3.27 Vajrabhairava mandala, c. 1330-1332, 245.5 × 209 cm, silk tapestry (kesi), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1992.54).

a

b

Fig. 3.28 a. Detail of the deity with the lute, Liao dynasty, relief carving, Chaoyang Northern Pagoda, photo from Daniel C. Waugh, "The Chaoyang Northern Pagoda, a Photo Essay," *The Silk Road* 9 (2011): 58; b. Celestial beings, Liao dynasty, relief carving, Chaoyang Northern Pagoda, photo from Youn-mi Kim, "Virtual Pilgrimage and Virtual Geography: Power of Liao Miniature Pagodas (907-1125)," *Religions* 8, 206 (2017): 5, Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.29 The ‘Cloud Terrace’ at the Juyongguan, seen from the South, Yuan dynasty (F).

Fig. 3.30 Goat on elephant with dorje, on the northern face, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.31 One of the Buddha of Ten Directions, on the slope inside, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.32 Dhrtarastra 東方持國天王 and his entourage, on the eastern wall inside, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.33 Arhat, Liao Dynasty, 104.8 × 91.4 × 83.8 cm, stoneware with three colour glaze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (21.76).

Fig. 3.34 Garuda and dragon kings on the southern face, relief carving, Juyongguan (F).

Fig. 3.35 Indian gate and makara in the mandala, relief carving, Juyongguan (F)

a

b

c

Fig. 3.36 a. Shaoguan terrace, Yuan dynasty, Zhenjiang (D); b. Bijakshara on the side of the Shaoguan terrace; c. Inscription of 'The Avatamsaka Sutra' 大方廣佛華嚴經 on the pillar of the Shaoguan terrace (D).

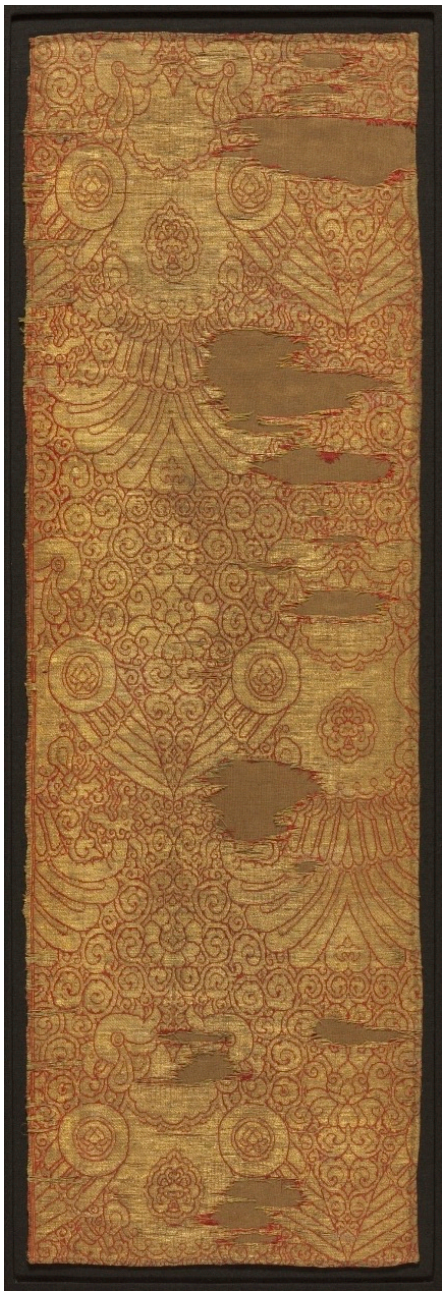


Fig. 4.1 Cloth of gold with displayed falcons, mid-13th century, (overall) 57.5 × 18.4 cm, silk and gold thread, lampas, Central Asia, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1996.297).

Fig. 4.2 Cloth of gold with felines and eagles, 1225-1275, (overall) 170.5 × 109 cm, silk and gold thread, lampas, Northeast Iran, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1990.2).

Fig. 4.3 Cloth of gold with winged lions and griffins, 1225-1275, (overall) 124 × 48.8 cm, silk and gold thread, lampas, Central Asia, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1989.50).

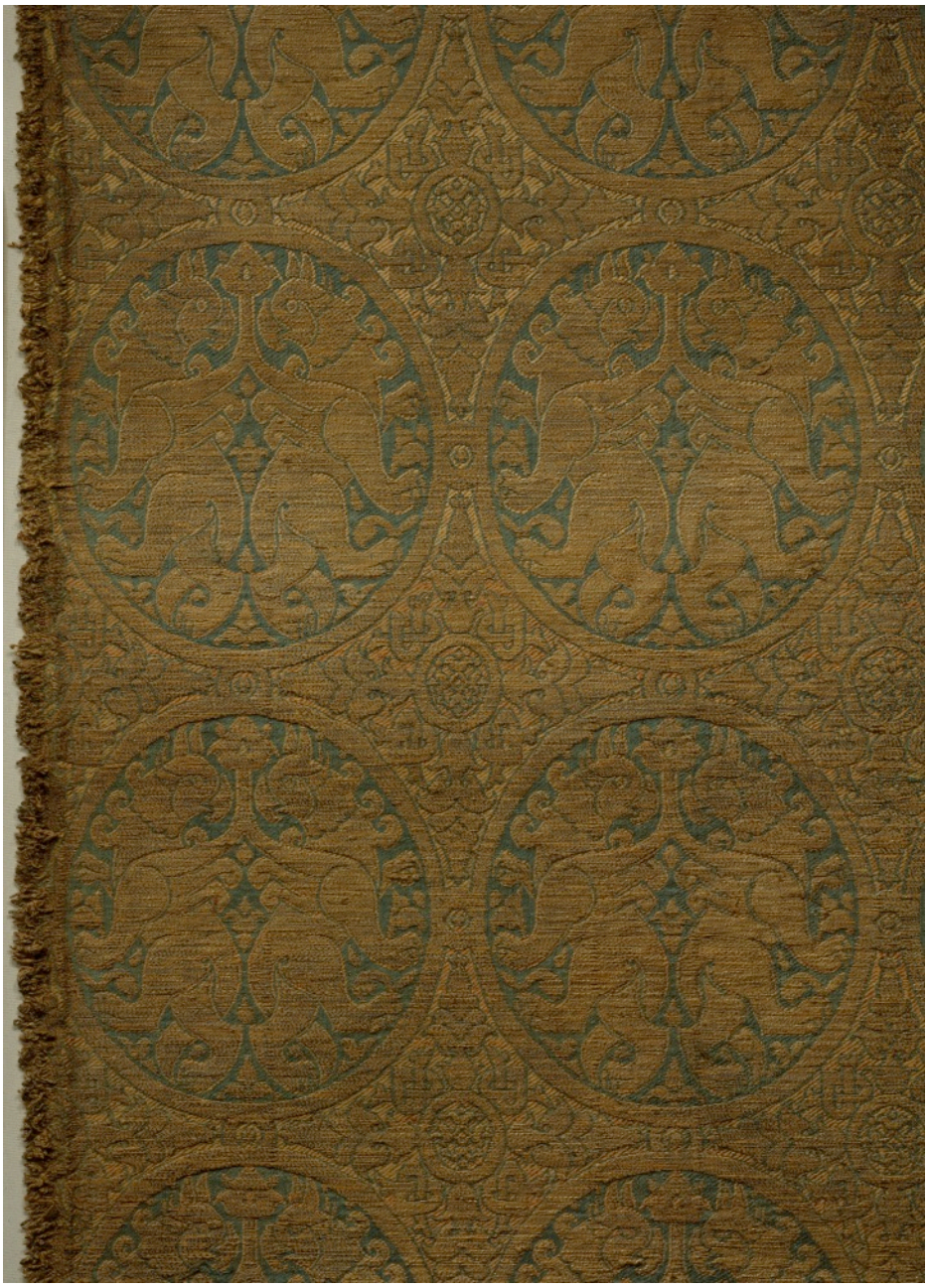


Fig. 4.4 Silk with griffins, first half of the 13th century, 175.9 × 97.2 cm, silk with silver-gilt metal on parchment over cotton, Central Asia, or Eastern Iran, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1984.344).

Fig. 4.5 Quilt cover with paired griffins in medallions, Yuan dynasty, (overall) 195 × 118 cm, silk, Jining, Inner Mongolia, photo from Shang Gang, "Mengyuan zhijin," in *Guwu xinzhi* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012), 138, fig.11.5 and 11.6.

Fig. 4.6 Fragment with paired griffins in medallions, Yuan dynasty, 46 × 46 cm, tapestry, China National Silk Museum (2544).

Fig. 4.7 Fragment with paired oxen in medallions, Yuan dynasty, 33 × 32 cm, tapestry, China National Silk Museum (2586).

图 9　内蒙古明水墓出土的辫线袍上的对狮纹纳石失

Fig. 4.8 Detail of the robe with paired sphinxes, Yuan dynasty, (body) length 142 cm, width 115 cm, (sleeves) length 246 cm, Mingshui, Inner Mongolia, silk and gold thread, from Zhao Feng, *Jincheng: Zhongguo sichou yu sichouzhilu* (Hefei: Shidai chuban and Huangshan shushe, 2016), 323, fig.9.

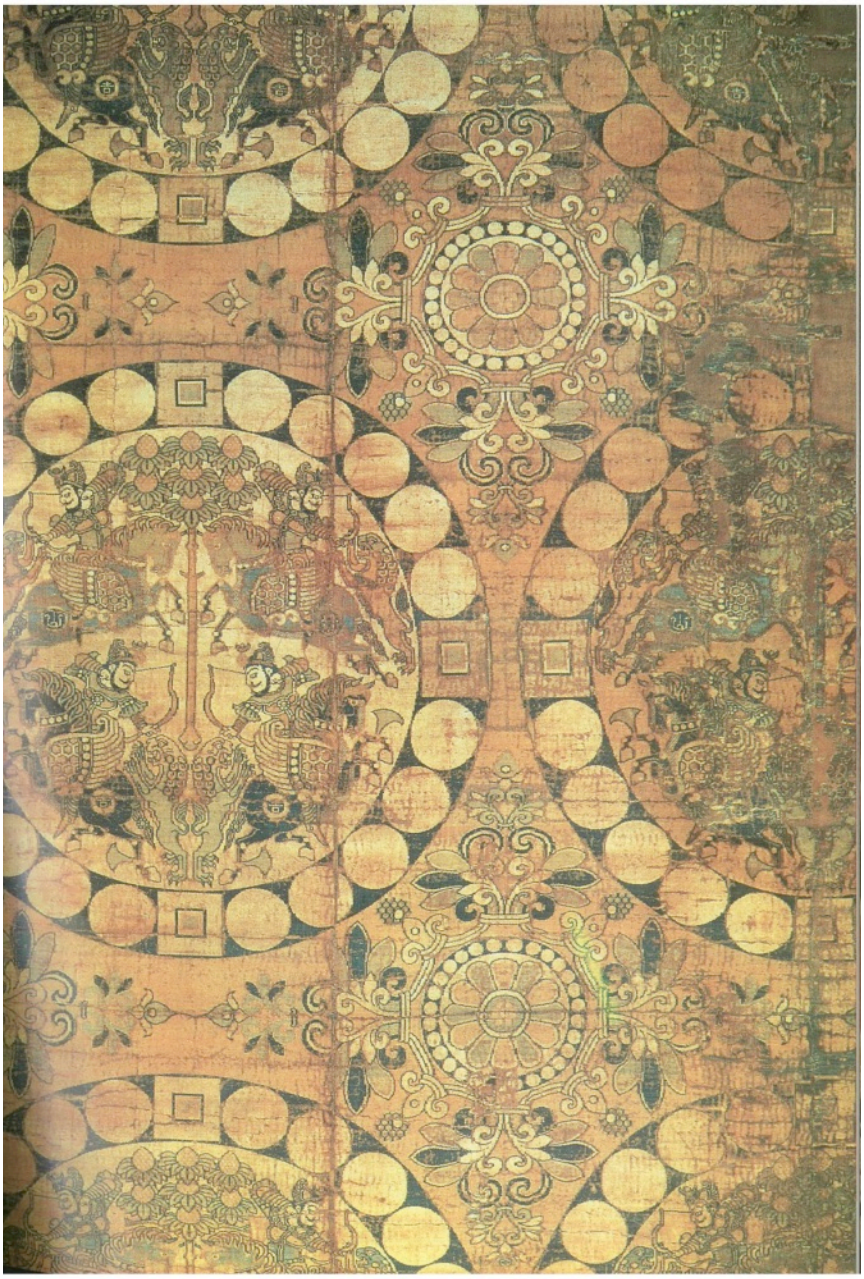


Fig. 4.9 Fragment with ‘pearl roundel’ featuring lion hunters, mid-8th century, tapestry, size unclear, photo from Matsumoto Kaneo, *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan from the Shōsō-in and Hōryū-ji* (Kyoto: Shikosha, 1984), 56, entry 45.

Fig. 4.10 Garment fragment with flowers, cranes and clouds, Liao dynasty, (overall) 138 × 133 cm, compound twill, silk, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1992.112), photo from James Watt and Anne Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 44-45, entry 9.

Fig. 4.11 Woman's robe, Liao dynasty, (overall) 130 × 177 cm, silk and gold thread, embroidery on silk gauze ground, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1995.20), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*, 176-79, entry 51.

Fig. 4.12 Textile with coiled dragons, Jin dynasty, (overall) 74 × 33 cm, plain-weave silk brocaded with metallic thread, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1989.205), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 116-17, entry 30.

Fig. 4.13 Fragment with phoenixes soaring amid clouds, Jin dynasty, (overall) 56.2 × 62.2 cm, silk and gold thread, tabby, brocaded, The Cleveland Museum of Art (1994.292), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 118-19, entry 31.

Fig. 4.14 Cover with animals, birds amid flowers, Song dynasty, (overall) 36.2 × 31.8 cm, silk tapestry (kesi), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1983.105), photo from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold*, 82-83, entry 20.

Fig. 4.15 Cotton padded jacket with dragons, Yuan dynasty, (body) length 66 cm, (sleeve) length 103 cm, brocaded, discovered from Longhua, Longhua County Ethnographic Museum, photo from Longhua Ethnographic Museum ed. *Cave-Hidden Splendid Textiles of 600 Years: Yuan Dynastic Cultural Relics from Gezidong Cave, Longhua, Hebei* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2015), 82-84, entry 3.

Fig. 4.16 Fragment with Flowering Plants, Birds, and Beasts (detail), Yuan dynasty, size irregular, silk tapestry with metallic threads, Tokyo National Museum (TI-553), photo taken by the author.

Fig. 4.17 Uighur donors, fragment of a mural painting, 9th -13th century, from from von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, vol.3, Tafel 14, photo from the Digital Archive of Toyo Bunko Rare Books, http://dsr.nii.ac.jp/cgi-bin/toyobunko/show_page.pl?lang=en&book=LFB-2/V-3&page=0089&keyword=bezeklik, accessed May 20th, 2021.

Fig. 4.18 Donors on the base of a Buddha statue, fragment of a mural painting, 9th-13th century, photo from Albert von Le Coq, *Chotscho: Facsimile-Wiedergaben der Wichtigeren Funde der Ersten Königlich Preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-Turkistan*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1913), plate 12.

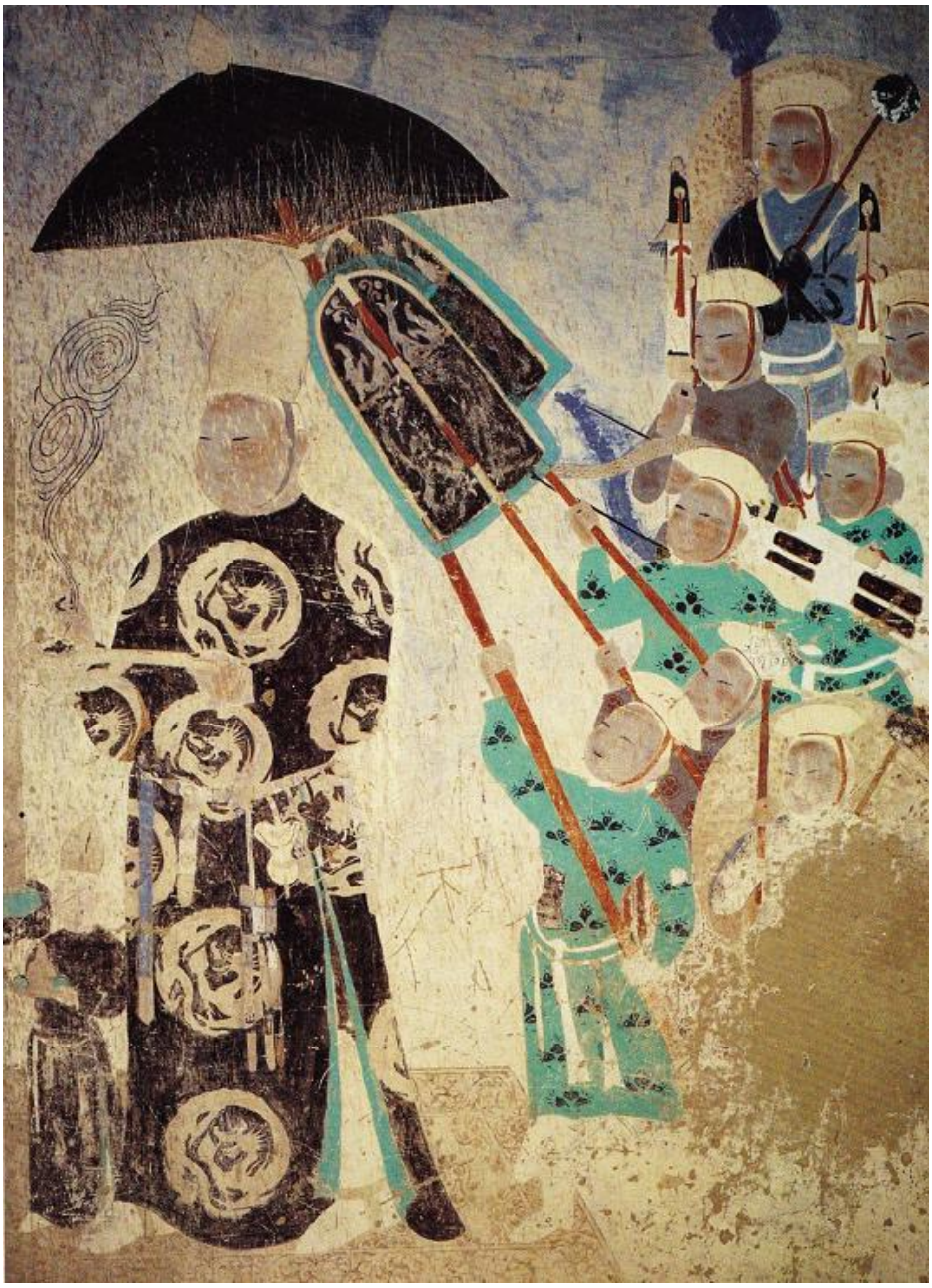


Fig. 4.19 A Tangut donor, detail of a mural painting in Mogao Cave 409, 11th-13th century, photo from Digital Dunhuang https://www.dha.ac.cn/info/1425/3567.htm, accessed May 3rd, 2021.

a b c

Fig. 4.20 Illustrations of travellers from a. *Les Makamat de Hariri* (*The Short Stories of Hariri*), fol. 102, 1236-1237, (folios) 37 × 28 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothéque Nationale France (Arabe 5847); b. *Kalla wa Dimna* (*Kalila and Dimna*), fol.60, early 13th century, (folios) 28 × 21.5 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothéque Nationale France (Arabe 3465); c. *Les Maqâmât d'Aboû Moammad al-Qâsim ibn Alî al-arîrî* (*The Assemblies of al-Hariri*), fol.40, 13th century, (folios) 27.5 × 21 cm, colour and ink on paper, Bibliothéque Nationale France (Arabe 3929).

Fig. 4.21 Robe with paired-duck medallions, 11th-12th Century, (overall) length 124 cm, silk and compound twill, Iran, Sarikhani Collection (I.TXT.1021), Oxfordshire, photo from Sheila R. Canby and Deniz Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Sejuqs* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 95, entry 24.

Fig. 4.22 Fragment with double-headed eagles and facing lions, 13th Century, (overall) 20 × 49.5 cm, silk, lampas, Anatolia, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2012.338), photo from Canby and Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Sejuqs*, 238, entry 149.

Fig. 4.23 Fountainhead in the form of a cockerel with a parrot for a tail, late 11th-12th Century, 38.6 × 26 cm, stonepaste in glaze, David Collection (ISL. 57), Copenhagen, photo from Canby and Beyazit et al., *Court and Cosmos*, 215, entry 132.

Fig. 4.24 Mirror, 12th-13th century, 1.1 × 10.3 cm, bronze, Iran or Anatolia, National Gallery of Victoria (52793), photo taken by the author.

a

b

Fig. 4.25 a. Robe with braids on the waist, Yuan dynasty, body length 122.2 cm, sleeve length 202.29 cm, waist 33.9 cm, silk, China National Silk Museum; b. Gold stamped jacket with short sleeves and xiongbei, Yuan dynasty, body length 53.4 cm, sleeve length 66.4 cm, silk and gold, China National Silk Museum, photos taken by the author.

Fig. 4.26 Robe with wide sleeves, with a baoli at the lower hem, Yuan dynasty, body length 203.9 cm, sleeve length 157.9 cm, silk, China National Silk Museum, photos taken by the author and Ding Yuwen.

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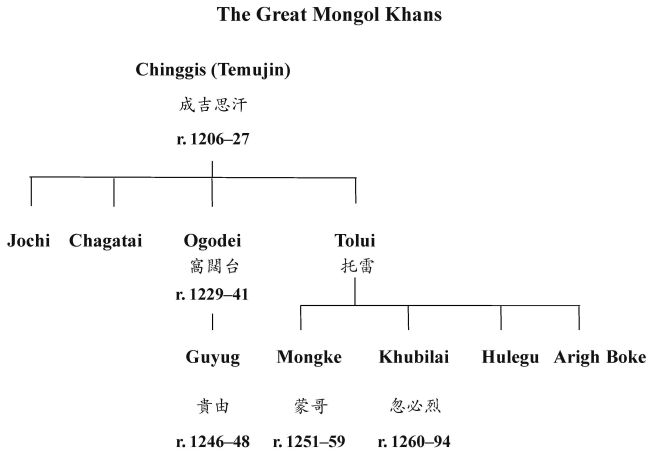
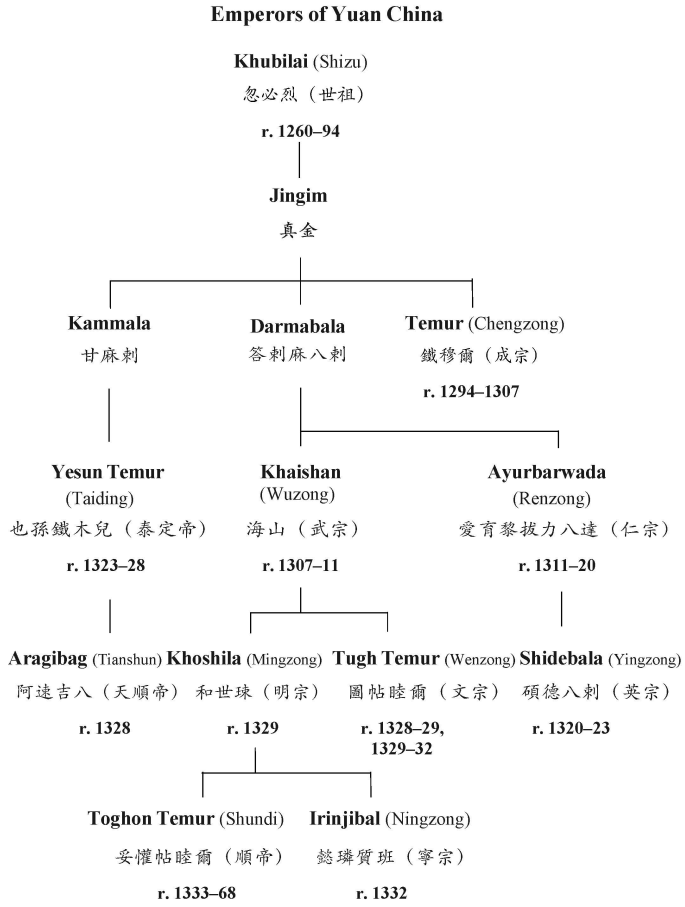
Appendix I Dynastic names and periods

Dynastic Name	Chinese name	Period	Relationship with later dyansty
Tang	唐	618-907	
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	五代十國	907-960	Part taken over by Liao, part by Northern Song
Liao	遼	916-1125	Taken over by Jin
Northern Song	北宋	960-1127	Taken over by Jin
Xia	西夏	1038-1227	Taken over by Mongol
Jin	金	1115-1234	Taken over by Mongol
Southern Song	南宋	1127-1279	Taken over by Yuan
Yuan	元	1271-1368	
Ming	明	1368-1644	

Appendix II The Mongol Khans and Yuan emperors and their reign periods

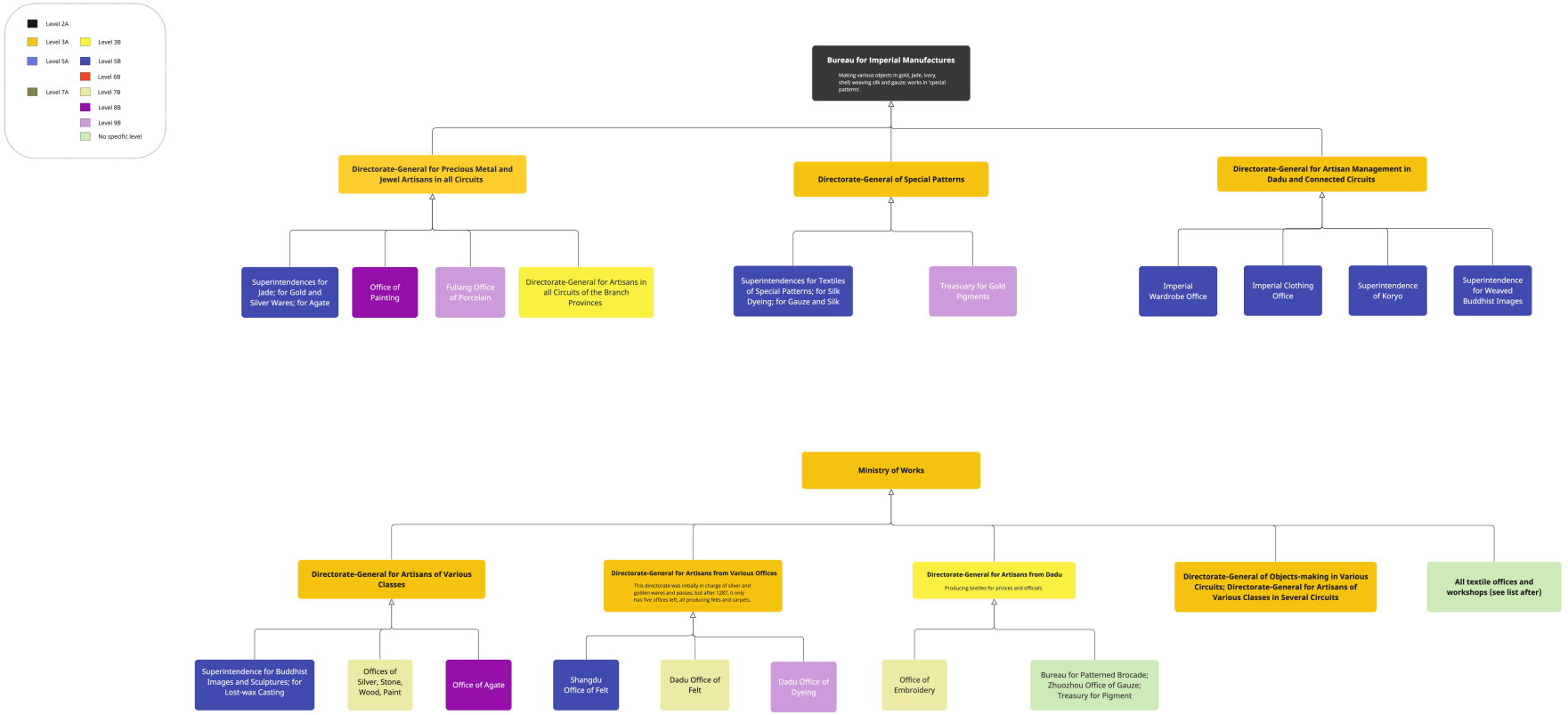


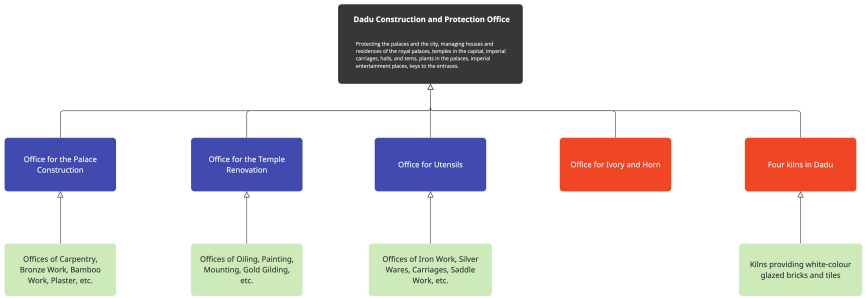


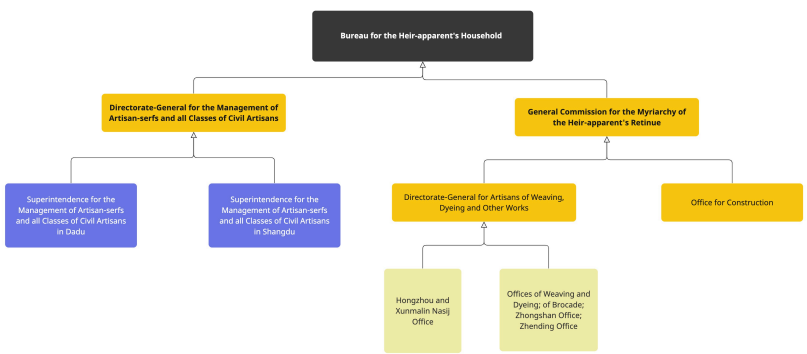
Appendix III The year title for the Yuan emperors

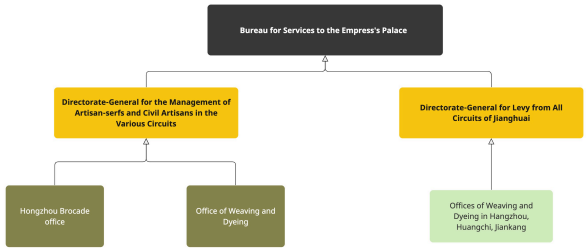
Emperor	Year title	Chinese year title	Common era
Khubilai	Zhongtong	中統	1260-1264
	Zhiyuan	至元	1264-1294
Temur	Yuanzhen	元貞	1295-1297
	Dade	大德	1297-1307
Khaishan	Zhida	至大	1308-1311
Ayurbarwada	Huangqing	皇慶	1312-1313
	Yanyou	延祐	1314-1320
Shidebala	Zhizhi	至治	1321-1323
Yesun Temur	Taiding	泰定	1324-1328
	Zhihe	致和	1328
Aragibag	Tianshun	天順	1328
Tugh Temur	Tianli	天歷	1328
Khoshila	Tianli	天歷	1329
Tugh Temur	Tianli	天歷	1329-1330
	Zhishun	至順	1330-1332
Irinjibal	Zhishun	至順	1332
Toghon Temur	Zhishun	至順	1333
	Yuantong	元統	1333-1335
	Zhiyuan	至元	1335-1340
	Zhizheng	至正	1341-1368

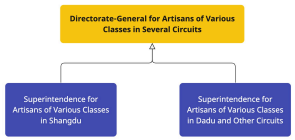
Appendix IV The major offices and workshops producing art objects and textiles in the Yuan court




Dadu Construction and Protection Office
Protecting the palaces and the city, managing houses and residences of the royal palaces, temples in the capital, imperial carriages, halls, and tents, plants in the palaces, imperial entertainment places, keys to the entrances.
Office for the Palace Construction
Office for the Temple Renovation
Office for Utensils
Office for Ivory and Horn
Four kilns in Dadu
Offices of Carpentry, Bronze Work, Bamboo Work, Plaster, etc.
Offices of Oiling, Painting, Mounting, Gold Gilding, etc.
Offices of Iron Work, Silver Wares, Carriages, Saddle Work, etc.
Kilns providing white-colour glazed bricks and tiles


Bureau for the Heir-apparent's Household
Directorate-General for the Management of Artisan-serfs and all Classes of Civil Artisans
General Commission for the Myriarchy of the Heir-apparent's Retinue
Superintendence for the Management of Artisan-serfs and all Classes of Civil Artisans in Dadu
Superintendence for the Management of Artisan-serfs and all Classes of Civil Artisans in Shangdu
Directorate-General for Artisans of Weaving, Dyeing and Other Works
Office for Construction
Hongzhou and Xunmalin Nasij Office
Offices of Weaving and Dyeing; of Brocade; Zhongshan Office; Zhending Office


Bureau for Services to the Empress's Palace
Directorate-General for the Management of Artisan-serfs and Civil Artisans in the Various Circuits
Directorate-General for Levy from All Circuits of Jianghuai
Hongzhou Brocade office
Office of Weaving and Dyeing
Offices of Weaving and Dyeing in Hangzhou, Huangchi, Jiankang


Directorate-General for Artisans of Various Classes in Several Circuits
Superintendence for Artisans of Various Classes in Shangdu
Superintendence for Artisans of Various Classes in Dadu and Other Circuits

Textile offices under the Ministry of Works, summed up from *Yuanshi*, *Yuan dianzhang* (*Regulations and Rules of the Yuan*) and *Yongle dadian* (*Yongle Encyclopaedia*).

Offices Producing Textiles Under the Ministry of Works	
Office / Workshop	**Parent office in *Yuanshi***
Office of Felts in Dadu 大都氈局	Directorate-General of Artisans of Various Offices (secondary office under the Ministry of Works)
Office of Felts in Shangdu 上都氈局	Ibid.
Besh Balikh Office 别失八里局	Ministry of Works
Superintendence for Zandaniji Artisan 撒答剌期人匠提舉司	Ibid.
Superintendence for Xunmalin Artisan (Xinghe circuit) 蕁麻林人匠提舉司（興和路）	Ibid.
Superintendence for Hongzhou Artisan 弘州人匠提舉司	Ibid.
Hongzhou Xunmalin Nasij Office 弘州、蕁麻林納石失局	General Commission for the Myriarchy of the Heir-apparent's Retinue (under the Heir-apparent)
Hongzhou Brocade Office 弘州錦局	Directorate-General for the Management of Artisan-serfs in Various Circuits
Superintendence for Koryo and Dadu Circuit Artisan 管领高麗大都等路人匠提舉司	n/a (from *Yuandianzhang*)
Offices of Weaving and Dyeing: Daming, Baoding, Zhending, Zhongshan, Nangong, Yunzhou, Huaiqing (Huaimeng), Enzhou, Yunneizhou, Shunde, Xuande etc. 織染局：大名、保定、真定、中山、南宮、雲州、懷慶（懷孟）、恩州、雲內州、順德、宣德等	Ministry of Works
Offices of Weaving and Dyeing: Jiankang, Huangchi, Hangzhou, Jianyang 織染人匠提舉司： 建康、黃池、杭州、建陽	Directorate-General for Levy from All Circuits of Jiangzhe (Jianghuai) (under the Empress)

Appendix V Two stele inscriptions

Translated by Shiqiu Liu

Notes: The translation below is not annotated since both texts have already been published in Chinese scholarship. The translation is offered here with the only purpose to provide the contexts for the quotes used in the main body. Words omitted in the Chinese texts are put in brackets. Notes by the translator are put in the square brackets.

Text A

御衣局記[1]

碑陽

庚子年，薊州達魯花赤涅斜諭旨察罕軍，前壽州拜降人數內童男女伍佰戶，付涅斜起移之薊及所在有司，創興公廨，構屋炊居，令童男女宗師效繡。明年辛丑，所習有業，匠戶籍成，肇創局院。議及有司，有司憚民力艱辛，不勝重役，會靜安寺將漁陽城中北庫欲售，其人圓通大師葛惠登定價立券，薊州有司以白銀百兩購靜安寺所貨北庫，是充工肆。觀其所置，門堂有序，磚墉四圍，老屋數間，無不質樸。內外井貳眼，其泉甘美，可見前輩作事多周詳矣。度其所用，仍舊不堪，復架高屋，次第而成。工肆既完，刺繡製造咸皇閣帷幄御物，遂扁曰御衣局。迄今大德甲辰，歷年貳庚子矣。守職者李得成等觀購局文券，類皆紙書，不能垂示永久，欲刻諸石，命予記之。予應曰：公當求於今代有筆力文章巨公，托其名而敘其事，庶可傳永久矣。再三牢辭不獲已，姑錄其事實本末耳。

大元大德八年歲次甲辰九月望日邵權記。

同立石人劉伯源、宋永成、馬資壽

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[1] The full text is in Li Jinghan 李经汉, "Jixian 'Yuyiju ji' bei 蓟县《御衣局记》碑 The Stele of the 'Imperial Clothing Office' in Ji County," in *Zhongguo kaogu jicheng: Huabei volume, Jinyuan 1* 中国考古集成：河北卷金元一, ed. Su Jinji 孙进己主编 (Harbin: Harbin Press, 1994), 444-45.

碑陰

薊州靜安寺僧宗主圓通大師葛惠登等，為自兵革以來，山賊反亂，將本寺殿宇內外大小房舍庫司燒殘數多，唯存塔位壹所，佛像堂殿廊房內有摧壞□漏。兼連年災傷，田禾不收，見闕道糧，無力修崇。今與本寺大眾同議定，將本州在城舊來本寺常住錢帛牆院北庫壹所，內除毀無外，止有正庫房壹座叁間肆椽，後接連歸頭壹間貳椽，門壹具，窗兩枝。東房壹座叁間肆椽。內外井貳眼。東至醬王、南至繩王地，西至呂直地，北至官街，四至分朗。兩和評議定准，得價銀壹佰兩，立契賣與薊州王節使、史同知等，充為所管民戶依奉上 文面合洎起蓋繡造御用官局庫房。據賣到價銀常住收貯，指擬修補本寺佛像堂殿廊房用度。□價並房院只當日對眾兩相交訖。如賣後但有諸般違礙，或上下爭佔，並□□買主之事，俱系賣主葛惠登等當管無詞，自願各不得番悔，如先悔者□□□倍。恐後不明，故立文據為信。

辛丑年二月二十四日立契。

賣房宗主圓通大師葛惠登押。

同賣房本寺主僧秦顯露押。見賣房人乞石烈押。見賣房人……。

Inscription for the Imperial Clothing Office

Front

In the year of Gengzi, the *darugachi* of Jizhou, Niexie, gave the order to the army of Chahan to relocate 500 households of unmarried men and women who had submitted in Shouzhou to Jizhou's governors. They set up public housing and provided food to these people, and made them learn weaving from the masters. The next year of Xinchou, these people had learnt the skill and were registered as artisans. As a result, it was planned to set up a workshop. In the discussion, the

governors were worried that the construction of the work houses would add extra corvée labor for the ordinary people. At this time, the Jing'an temple wanted to sell its northern storage in Yuyang and Grand Master Yuantong (Ge Huideng) had set a price. The governors of Jizhou then bought this storage with a hundred *liang* of silver to make it into a workshop. The layout of the storage was in order, with several dilapidated and simple houses surrounded by a brick wall. There were two wells in and outside the yard, filled with tasty water. What a truly good consideration of the previous generations! However, if using these houses for the workshop, they were still ramshackle. So it is decided to give them repairs. After the work houses were renovated, (the artisans) began to produce embroidered textiles, such as curtains or panels, all for use in the imperial houses. The workshop then was given the title 'Imperial Clothing Office'. Now it is in the year Jiachen of Dade, four years already from Gengzi, and the official Li Decheng and his colleagues noticed that the documents for this purchase were all in paper. They were afraid that these would not last long. As a result, they asked me to write an inscription to put on a stele. I replied: "Your Honour should ask someone who is famous for literary achievement so that the event could be passed down through the prominent writer." Although I declined several times, the officials still insisted (for my writing). So I humbly recorded what had happened here.

Shao Quan, written on the sixteenth day of the ninth month in the year Jiachen, the eighth year of Dade, Dayuan

People who erected the stele: Liu Boyuan, Song Yongcheng and Ma Zishou

Rear

The Grand Master Yuantong of Jing'an Temple in Jizhou, laity name Ge Huideng, decided after discussion with the other members of the temple (to sell) the northern storage in the city that was used to keep the income of the temple. The reason for this decision was that the halls, lodges,

storages of the temple were mostly damaged because of wars and rebels. At the time there was only one pagoda left and the halls dilapidated with leaks. Further, the continuous natural disasters affected the harvest of rice, resulting in lack of income to carry out repairs. (The storage that was intended to be sold,) apart from those damaged, included a principle storage house three bays long and four sets of rafters deep, with one door and two windows. Connected behind it was a portico one bay long and two sets of rafters deep. The storage also had an east-wing house three bays long and four sets of rafters deep. There were two wells in and outside the yard. The dimension of the land was clearly labelled from Jiangwang in the east to Lüzhidi in the west, from Guanjie in the north to Shengwangdi in the south. With agreement, this land was sold by a hundred *liang* silver to Commissioner Wang and Sub-prefect Shi of Jizhou. Following the order of His Highness [the emperor], the storage would be used as work houses for the imperial office of weaving and embroidery composed by the civil artisans under the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned officials. The silver received from the sale of the land would be used to repair the halls and houses in the temple. (The silver) and the storage (with its land) were exchanged today in public. Any impediment, or controversial claims, or [unclear in the text] matters concerning the buyers, should be the responsibility of Ge Huideng. The exchange was out of free will and should not be regretted. If any party regrets the exchange, [something about the compensation, unclear in the original text] In case of disputes, this document witnesses the agreement.

The agreement was signed on the twenty-fourth day of the second month in the year Xinchou.

The Seal of Grand Master Yuantong, Ge Huideng

The Seal of Abbot Qin Xianlu

The Seal of witness Qishilie (Heseri)

[The text below is unclear for another witness.]

Text B

大都路宛平縣永安鄉魏家莊故奉訓大夫高公神道碑[2]

前延安路儒學正並門貫庸貴撰並書

夫聖人出則天下之治體大而能自化者也，賢人生則天下之公用美而能自具者也。聖賢際遇非惟至治之道以及於世，而使復古之制皆出於時，若非以此，如璞玉不工，焉有連城之號，龍泉無士，誰知牛鬥之文。故聖人之政開物成務，必以天下之賢而為當世之用矣。時方大元世祖皇帝初定江淮，九夷八蠻，悉通其道，天下一家，罔非奄有，隆平之治臻，謳泰之音作，思古制，修禮定樂，考時務，耀古著今，立異樣局，擇天下之材能，任復□（陶）官，供內外之輸給，是以高公，岩野之士，好讀書，一旦用之，有出群助務之奇，而蓋當世之藝者。

公諱信，字誠之。中統二年，聖旨選擢。呈造火浣龍鬚布、仙裳藕絲羅、畏兀摩利支天經、金相法神二尊、藏春居士太保書般若心經一卷、沒縫襖、撮毛幣、西番金字經，上有御寶一十一顆，及栴檀殿鋪座四筵十樣錦嵌妝金素、仁王寺繡幡百尺三丈闊、上下連頭也里可溫字軸、八吉祥經復段，成其異樣，及出復古之制者，不可遍稱。其徒所習，皆起於門，公之材也。雖前昔之有規矩□革，金宋失其本旨而人不知，公獨知之。孰不知規矩出於公輸之巧也，而公輸奚在焉。孰不知音律出於師曠之聰也，而師曠奚在焉。今也至於人之形容妍媸，飛鳥之影，走獸之狀，方寸巨細之真，高公無不善於其間也，抑嘗喻書歷嬴秦，傳於伏生之口，樂淪五季，出於王樸之家。是知公之所出，能助其造物之公盛於此時者，可謂倫之

[2] The full text is taken from Ma Xiaolin, Qiu Zhirong 马晓林、求芝荣, "Yuandai yiyangju, yuyongzhiwu yu zhongwaijiaoliu: yixinchu shike Gaoxin shendaobei wei zhongxin 元代异样局、御用织物与中外交流 — 以新出石刻《高信神道碑》为中心 The Office of Special Patterns in Yuan, the Textiles for the Court and Foreign Exchange - Centring on the Newly Discovered Stele of Gao Xin" in *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史, ed. Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒编, vol. XI (Beijing: Science Press, 2017), 291. Ma and Qiu have offered a line-to-line copy of the original text with annotation, along with a reconstructed copy of the full text as on the stele. With reference to their research, here I put the texts in paragraphs to correspond with the English translation.

賢矣。是以上恩敕牒二道，至元十年忠翊校尉異樣局使，至元十四年忠顯校尉異樣局副總管，至元十八年，考其自歷歲月之遠，精勤之甚者，欽授宣命奉訓大夫同知異樣等局總管府事，累給金幣鈔定馬匹之物，及其宴食瓊林，簪花醉歸，足見公之所志赫然致有如是者也。誠荷之至，蓋由聖人垂創，治天下者，得人為務，高公宜其享一時之美名，而為後裔之所規。

公大都宛平縣永安鄉高家里，其先祖父高格，三舉殿試，父伯松，太保相公下招收人戶南宛平縣事，祖母王氏，年八十有五，母張氏，九十二，化及侍養姑姑高氏、姑父楊義、表弟楊振春，辛亥年間俱以亡歿，于本鄉魏家莊西北置墳葬之，仍令子孫祭祀焉。公娶劉氏，本縣黎園莊劉提領女，二子，長曰仲實，次曰仲讓。至元丁卯，劉氏卒，再娶大都春台坊于氏，素有淑德，事姑婉順，敬夫如賓，節儉理家，莫不法式：從媵一子，曰仲夫。公之為人，質直清白，在親孝友，在官忠節，臨財無污行，勞人而不怨，惸□之人□，而惠濟緇黃之侶，善以設施，樂天順道，春秋七十，乃卒於家，在至元二十五年戊子正月七日寅時也，與劉、于二氏祖塋祔葬焉。

仲實承□之道，亦充異樣局勾當，娶劉氏，二子，長曰秀，蚤年而逝，次曰元，見充異樣局大使勾當。仲讓至元二十三年十一月承奉中書省札付，充都功德使司令史，兩考告闕事親，娶張氏，二子，曰進，曰遂。延祐元年甲寅，仲讓以先君之葬自閟諸幽，嘗曰：「吾家奉事累朝。先父行實，未有志銘可彰，一念未嘗不泣，敢請。」余謂：「仁人孝子，禮曰，春露秋霜之感，悽（愴）怵惕之時，惻然不安，思其所自，故安其宅兆，封植潤色，必極力終身而後以止，內盡為子之心，外成親親之道。仲讓之心，皇皇於數年間，惟此是行，蓋昭先父軼倫之材，使後世不窮之望，高姓焜耀，超祖而昌，效振振列麟趾之公族，庇蟄蟄宜螽羽之子孫，豈不以孝思之心示子孫有所可考而為復起耶。」

餘故不辭，為之銘曰：公性天錫，乃生聖時。有道以□，有德以施。功用之妙，造物之奇。出乎其類，立之斯規。勤公業業，輔政孜孜。以爾之藝，捨吾則誰。公世垂芳，宛平所旨。永安郡雲，高家里寘。累業儒宗，三舉殿試。清白流風，英華粹地。昆弟賢質，田園利利。不□前人，述功繼志。公志既遇，當時之倫。如荊之玉，如溟之鵾。斯名益著，斯道彌存。資優恩渥，光大其門。孝慈彼美，嚴訓是敦。家傳青紫，應被子孫。公享年高，福緣善得。仕則告優，退歸田植。天處殆良，銘攸昭德。神像仍存，禰堂謹飭。敬祀以時，孝思維則。於萬斯年，示之罔極。

延祐元年歲次甲寅三月三日丁亥男高仲讓立石。

Spirit-Way Stele for the Late Lord Gao, Grand Master for Admonishment, from Weijiazhuang, Yong'an Village, Wanping County, Dadu Circuit

Drafted and written by Jia Yonggui from Bingzhou, Instructor of the Confucian School in Former Yan'an Circuit.

When the sage comes out, he will set an example for the governance of the land under Heaven; When the virtuous is born, he will demonstrate the rectitude for the public of the land under Heaven. The opportunity for the encounter between the sage and the virtuous does not only depend on the perfect governance in the world, but also on the revival of the ancient system based on current practice. Otherwise, it would be like the unpolished jade that would lose its high value of fifteen cities, and the ignored Longquan sword that would not emanate radiant towards Niu and Dou constellations. As a result, if the sage wants to govern following the universal principle, he must

make the virtuous as the pillar of the regime. It was at the time when Emperor Shizu of Dayuan [Khubilai] just pacified the southeast. All the barbarians were conquered and incorporated into one regime under Heaven. A peaceful rule started and a new dynasty was set up. The ancient system was examined through amendment of rituals and music. The current affairs were inspected by glorifying the past and epitomising the present. The Office of Special Patterns was established to recruit people with ability. The Futao official [managing the costumes] was designated to allocate the supplies. Lord Gao, a scholar in reclusion, once being appointed for the post, demonstrated extraordinary talent and marvellous skills.

Lord Gao was named Xin, courtesy name being Chengzhi. By the order of the emperor in the second year of Zhongtong, (he) presented cloth made of thin threads of asbestos, robe of 'lotus root' fibre, *Marici Sutra* in Uighur, two statues of the dharma gods with gold complexion, *Heart Sutra* written by Liu Bingzhong, seamless jacket, textile made of furs, golden letter sutra in Tibetan with eleven imperial seals, Buddhist temple mats made of gold silk inset with patterned brocades, embroidered banner in Renwang Temple of a hundred *chi* (33 meters) in length and three *zhang* (10 meters) in width, palindrome in letters used by the *yelikewen* mounted in a scroll, and 'Eight Auspicious' Sutra made by inter-layered textiles. The specialty of the products and the ancient format embodied in them were beyond compliment. With his great talent, Lord Gao also taught disciples by himself. In the past there were rules (for making the objects), but the objects produced during the time of Jin and Song deviated from these rules. No one realised this except Lord Gao. The rules were set by the skill of Gongshu [Pan, also called Lu Ban], but where is Gongshu now? The musical keys were fixed by the ears of Shikuang, but where is Shikuang now? For our present dynasty, Lord Gao excelled in nearly everything including the beauty of human, the shape of birds, the posture of animals, all down to the smallest details. He was once compared with Fusheng who passed down the books burnt by the Qin emperor and Wang Pu who revived the (ritual) music after barbarians invaded northern China. In this sense, the objects made by Lord Gao contributed to the

prosperity of the land and he should be regarded as the virtuous of our generation. Because of this, the emperor gave him two appointments: Commissioner of Office of Special Patterns / Commandant of Loyalty and Respect in the tenth year of Zhiyuan, and Deputy Director-General of Office of Special Patterns / Commandant of Exemplary Loyalty in the fourteenth year of Zhiyuan. In the eighteenth year of Zhiyuan, considering Lord Gao's long-term and diligent service, he was promoted as Director-General of Office of Special Patterns, Associate Commissioner, Grand Master of Admonishment. He was awarded several times with gold coins, paper money and horses, not to mention the banquets and drinking parties he was invited to. His perseverance and devotion could lead to such an accomplishment. To be sincere and honest, the model was set by the ancient sage. To govern the land, it is essential to choose the right person. The great fame of Lord Gao could be an exemplar for the future generations.

The origin of Lord Gao was Gaojiali of Yong'an Village in Wanping County of Dadu. His late grandfather, Gao Ge, participated in the national exam in the palace. His father, Bosong, worked under Grand Guardian Liu Bingzhong as Prefect of South Wanping. His grandmother, Madam Wang, lived to 85 years and his mother, Madam Zhang, to 92 years. His aunt, Madam Gao, uncle Yang Yi and cousin Yang Zhenchun all passed away in the year Xinhai. They were buried in the northwest burial compound to Weijiazhuang and the posterities still performed rituals for them. Lord Gao's wife, Madam Liu was the daughter of a Superintendent Liu from Liyuanzhuang in the county and they had two sons, the elder named Zhongshi and the younger named Zhongrang. In the year Dingmou of Zhiyuan, Madam Liu passed away and Lord Gao married Madam Yu from Chuntaifang in Dadu, who had great virtue, obedient to the mother-in-law and respectful to the husband. She managed the family very well. There was also another son, named Zhongfu, from a concubine. Lord Gao was an upright and decent person, considerate to family and friends and loyal to the official work. He was not greedy in front of benefit and gave no complains when working hard. He loved to give charity to [unclear in the text], along with Buddhist and Daoist monks.

Optimistic and following the principle of Nature, he passed away at home at the age of seventy at the third hour of the seventh day in the first month of Wuzi, the twenty-fifth year of Zhiyuan. He was buried along with Madam Liu and Yu in the family burial compound.

Zhongshi took (his father's) career, also working in the Office of Special Patterns. He married a Madam Liu and had two sons, the elder named Xiu who died quite young, and the younger named Yuan who became a commissioner in the Office of Special Patterns. By the order of the Central Secretariat issued in the eleventh month of the twenty-third year of Zhiyuan, Zhongrang was promoted as a secretary of Commission of Merit and Virtue. He retired from this post after serving for two terms. His wife was a Madam Zhang and they had two sons, one named Jin, another named Sui. In the first year of Yanyou, Jiayin, Zhongrang came to me for the matter of his father's burial, and said: "My family served the court for several generations and my late father was an honest man. Unfortunately there is no stele inscription to memorise his deeds and I cried every time when I thought of this. Please write one for him." I replied: "You are truly a benevolent and obedient son. It is written in the *Book of Ritual* that when the year passes from spring to autumn, when time flies by, (the son) will feel uneasy and think about his predecessors. As such, he will clean the tombs of his family and plant trees to beautify the environment. He will carry this out to the end of his life, to express his inner feeling as the heir and to demonstrate to the outsiders his filial piety. Zhongrang's consideration over these years is a worthy thought. It will make your father's talent known to the posterities so that they will always remember the family history and to surpass the achievement with more prosperity. This is like what is written in the *Book of Songs*, that they will become inspiring and promising people in a harmonious and amicable family. This is exactly using filial piety to give encouragement to posterities."

Then I took this commission and wrote the eulogy:

"A nature bequeathed by Heaven and born at a glorious time,

The Lord (followed) the principle and bestowed his virtue;

None could surpass his extraordinary talent and marvellous skills, and new standards formed;

His diligence and loyalty stood out among peers, promoting the fame of Wanping;

Gaojiali was the homeland, situated in Yong'an,

Learned in Confucian teachings, and excelled for the top level of national exams,

Decent and outstanding, the family formed a loving brotherhood and held prosperous lands;

(Memorising) the predecessors, be this (stele) as a testify of their achievement;

Shining as a smooth jade, glaring as a flying eagle,

The Lord was an exemplar of his time;

His virtue stays with his fame, raising the name of the family,

Sons and grandsons will hold high his integrity and convention;

Happy was the old Lord in retirement on his lands;

His image is maintained in the family shrine along with his noble nature and virtue;

Taking him as an example, performing rituals at proper times, contemplating filial obedience,

May this last for thousands of years with no end!"

The stele is erected by the son Gao Zhongrang on the third day, Dinghai, of the third month in the first year, Jiayin, of Yanyou.