The Silk Road

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Editor: Daniel C. Waugh
dwaugh@u.washington.edu

All mailings concerning the journal (this includes books for review) should be sent to the editor at his postal address: Daniel Waugh, Department of History, Box 333560, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 USA. It is advisable to send him an e-mail as well, informing him of any postings to that address.

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XiongNews: Fourscore Years Since the First Excavations at Noyon Uul

Even though the beginnings of Xiongnu archaeology date to the end of the 19th century with the work of Iu. D. Tal’ko-Gryntsevich, it was the excavations at Noyon uul in north central Mongolia in the 1920s which really put the Xiongnu on the map. As the recent international conference on Xiongnu archaeology and publication of its papers highlighted, huge advances have been made especially in recent decades. The first book reviewed here celebrates the opening of a new era of excavation at Noyon uul, and the second book is the catalogue for the most important exhibition mounted to date of Xiongnu artifacts.

— Daniel C. Waugh
Professor Emeritus of History
University of Washington


This large-format, lavishly illustrated volume is the most extensive report to date on the results of the remarkable single-season complete excavation of Tomb No. 20 in the Sutszukte Valley of Noyon uul in Mongolia in 2006. One can be thankful that Nataliia Polos’mak, of “Siberian Ice Princess” fame, has found a new focus for her energies, after Altai nationalists succeeded in preventing her from continuing her work in the frozen tombs of the Ukok Plateau. She was the co-director of the joint Russian–Mongolian expedition at Noyon uul and has since excavated another of the major Xiongnu burials there.

The cemeteries at Noyon uul were what first really brought Xiongnu archaeology to world attention. Discovered in 1912 by a mining engineer Andrei Ballod, who undertook an amateurish dig in one of the largest tombs, the cemeteries were then mapped and more serious excavation undertaken by members of the expedition headed by the well-known Russian explorer Petr Kozlov in 1924–5. The spectacular discoveries of the 1920s formed the basis of an important Noyon uul collection better known from the portion deposited in the Hermitage Museum than from that in the National Museum of Mongolia. The most complete discussion and analysis of those early excavations and their artifacts is still the monograph by Sergei I. Rudenko, published in 1962 and subsequently translated into German.1

Since there has been substantial criticism in recent times regarding the methodologies of the Kozlov expedition (the blame being directed at Kozlov himself), one of the important contributions of the book under review here is the opening essay by T. I. Isusupova, which attempts to set the record straight. She draws on Russian archival materials to show how Ballod’s initial attempt to draw serious attention to Noyon uul largely fell on deaf ears, and how Kozlov’s decision to undertake excavations was in effect unplanned, made at the moment when his expedition had officially been recalled due to accusations made against him for supposed White (anti-Bolshevik) leanings. He did not have a trained archaeologist on his staff, but when the first discoveries became known, he readily accepted the assignment of archaeologists for the second season of digging. Academic rivalries affected support for the excavations and continued once conservation work was underway in Leningrad, with the Russian Museum and the Hermitage vying to see which would house the artifacts. Presumably there will be further information forthcoming soon on this early history of the Hermitage collection, whose re-mounted exhibit is about to re-open and is the subject of what should finally be a properly detailed catalogue, compiled by Sergei Miniaev and Iuliia Elikhina.

Iusupova’s essay is nicely illustrated with archival photos, though it is perhaps telling that so many of them are formally posed portraits of expedition members and so few actually show any of the excavation work. Nonetheless, we can enjoy the lovely portrait of Kozlov and his wife that was taken in 1912 and a photo of Roy Chapman Andrews and Kozlov from September 1924. To promote news of what was being accomplished, Kozlov had invited the American to visit the excavation. Back row center in another of these photos, depicting the Scientific Committee of Mongolia in 1926, is a young Nicholas Poppe, who would become a famous if somewhat controversial specialist on Mongolian philology. While he managed to continue his career in the United States after World War II, some of the Russian specialists who worked on
The description of the new excavation begins then only some 50 pages into the book, the essay of Ch. 2 devoted to a formal description of the tomb structure and illustrated with an extensive set of photographs and drawings showing details of the various levels and the complex stone and wooden structures. This was the first tomb at Noyon uul to have been completely excavated with modern methods. The bottom of the tomb was some 18 meters down, the deepest of all the Noyon uul burials excavated to date. The tomb structure is quite similar to that of a number of other Xiongnu square ramped tombs, ones which, as this essay emphasizes, seem clearly to follow models of Han Chinese elite burials. The date of the tomb would seem to be early first century CE (a dated lacquer cup of 9 CE provides a terminus a quo). At a number of places in the discussion, the authors here indicate some disagreement with analysis by Sergei Miniaev based on his excavations in Buriaatia — for example, they (and, one might note, other scholars) do not accept his idea about Xiongnu satellite burials being sacrificial ones. This, however, is a minor point made in passing (no satellite burials were involved here); in general the results of the excavations both by Miniaev and by Prokopii Konovalov provide important analogues to what was uncovered in Tomb 20.

While the tomb had been robbed in antiquity, a looter’s hole having been dug directly down into the center of the burial chamber, and then the double wooden chamber having collapsed, a great many artefacts remained. Of the corpse itself only some teeth survived, on the basis of which it was determined the deceased had probably been a young woman of an anthropological type found in the Caucasus and northwestern India. The hypothesis here is that she may have been a wife of a Xiongnu ruler.

The focus in the description of the artefacts is on the metal plaques which decorated horse harness that presumably had been hung on the walls of the outer burial chamber and on the lacquered objects. The former include gilded iron browband decorations for bridles and a good many silver breast band and crouper decorations with depictions of fantastic animals (notably unicorns). The lengthy, and I think persuasive, analysis of these silver objects (which are similar to ones found in other Xiongnu burials) concludes that they are all the work of Chinese craftsmen and must have been imports, likely gifts to the Xiongnu ruler.

The unique metal objects found in the tomb are two round silver phalars (that is, breast plates attached to horse harness), one without decoration but of a type known from the Roman world, the other and more interesting one with relief imagery derived ultimately from Hellenistic art. It seems likely that the latter plaque originally may have served another decorative purpose and then was re-cycled as a phalar. The discussion here situates its depiction on a broad canvas of Hellenistic imagery that then was copied and often re-worked in the Roman period. While the style can be related to the school of Pergamon, such objects were being made in Parthia and Bactria. The essay here argues that the depiction is that of Artemis, warding off the attentions of a satyr, with a curious herm (pillar decorated with a human head but also an erect phallus) off to one side. The imagery then is a kind of composite, for which no exact parallel is currently known. The essay on this remarkable piece concludes with some rather imaginative speculation about how the object might have been carried by the Roman soldiers who were supposedly part of a Xiongnu force defeated on the Talas River and taken off as captives to China. Homer Hasenpflug Dub’s vividly imagined lost Roman legion marches on. In this argument then, the relief silver disk might have come to the Xiongnu in Mongolia as part of a gift of rare objects sent by the Chinese emperor. At very least the possible Parthian (Bactrian?) connections would seem to fit with what is known about the textiles in some of the Xiongnu elite tombs (see, inter alia, the article by Sergey Yatsenko elsewhere in this volume of The Silk Road).

Among the lacquered objects in the tomb, the most striking is the remains of a light chariot, from which the ribs of its parasol, a part of its basket, and parts of its wheels have been preserved. Of course this is not a unique find, as dismantled Chinese chariots have been uncovered in other Xiongnu elite burials, and we know from the Chinese annals that they were among the gifts sent to the Xiongnu from the Chinese court. The extent of preservation of the parasol here and parts of the chariot basket is impressive. Fragments of leather and cloth remain from where the covering of the parasol was attached to its frame. A sizeable section of one side of the chariot basket shows the cross-hatched decorative appearance created by scoring the lacquer.

Not surprisingly, the other lacquered objects in the tomb included eared cups, two of which have inscriptions indicating they had been made in one of the Imperial workshops in Chang’ an. One of the inscriptions has the date 9 CE. Unique in this burial are a lacquered case made to enclose a long lock of human hair, and a wooden fish, decorated with actual fish skin under the lacquer. Fish-shaped “envelopes” for messages written on silk scrolls are known from
Han burials, though whether there was any real functionality of the object in the Xiongnu tomb is not clear.

Appendices to the book detail technical analysis of the metal artefacts, the lacquer and the textiles, although for the last of these the book otherwise provides only rather scanty information and somewhat unsatisfactory images. The technical details derived from microphotography and various kinds of spectral analysis include chemical composition and, for the textiles at least the names of the dyes. The work on the lacquer is of particular interest, since it explores the structure and the exact techniques of its creation and reveals that composition of its raw materials is not that most commonly found in Chinese lacquerware. The appendices are illustrated with graphs of the spectral analysis and a good many microphotographs. As the authors emphasize, the challenges posed by conservation and technical analysis of the objects provided the stimulus to bring together a multi-disciplinary team of specialists, who worked to develop new techniques that may be applied in the future.

An informative two-page English abstract of the book emphasizes the conclusion that “virtually the entire rich content of these [royal Xiongnu] burials was borrowed from other peoples and cultures. The graves of high-born Xiongnu are filled with things mainly made in the Han China and Parthia, as well as in Roman provinces” (p. 181). This includes the horse harness, jade objects (hardly discussed otherwise in the book), and lacquerware (including the apparent lacquering of the exterior walls of the coffin). The fabrics also all seem to have been imported. The authors leave open the question of how we might interpret the role of borrowing and borrowed objects, beyond the obvious fact that they formed such a significant component in burial rituals.

Reports of any substance on excavations often have taken decades to appear in print or languish unpublished in the archives. While what we have here, published with admirable speed, makes no pretense to be a full report on the excavation of this tomb, it nonetheless provides an immense amount of valuable detail. To a degree one will want to supplement the book with some of the material that has appeared in separate publications: for example, a good many of the finds are depicted (sometimes with different detail) in the Treasures of the Xiongnu exhibition book described below. For those who do not read Russian, an article in English by Polos’mak et al. provides a good summary of the decorative details, the basic construction technique, and the inscriptions on the lacquer cups. Various articles by Iusupova anticipate her essay here about the early history of the Noyon uul excavations. Details of the analysis of the teeth from the deceased are to be found in a separate article. References may be found in this book’s bibliography.

This exhibition catalogue for the commemoration of the 2220th anniversary of the establishment of the Xiongnu Empire is valuable above all for its rich and high-quality photographic documentation of excavations and objects. While there are illustrations of familiar material from the early excavations at Noyon uul back in the 1920s, much of interest here comes from work of recent years, some of it as yet otherwise not published or properly analyzed in print. Among the more spectacular recent finds are embroidered textiles from Noyon uul, shown in their restored form for the first time at this exhibition in 2011. (Some of them are analyzed by Sergey Yatsenko in the current issue of this journal.) There are short essays by leading Mongolian archaeologists introducing the various sections. After a brief introduction on history and territory, the material is grouped under headings that include tombs, settlements, rock art, and various objects of material culture such as clothing, pottery, textiles.... Essays and all the captions are in both Mongolian and English. Rich as this collection is, one might regret that the organizers of the event confined themselves to displaying only that which was excavated within the boundaries of today’s Mongolia. It would have been of some interest to compare finds made on the other side of current international borders, especially since the wider territory would have better represented that which was occupied by the “first nomadic empire” (whose theoretical extent is shown on the nice color map on p. 25).

Notes


2. Oddly, missing from the bibliography here is the article by Michele Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, “Chinese Lacquerware from Noyon uul: Some Problems of Manufacturing and Distribution,” The Silk Road 7 (2009): 31-41, even though the immediately preceding article by Miniaev and Elikhina on the chronology of the Noyon uul barrows is cited.
3. Anticipating this multidisciplinary work in Novosibirsk was the project focusing on the analysis of textiles from the Altai burials which produced the important volume by Polos’mak and many collaborators, *Tekstil’ iz ‘zamerzshikh’ mogil Gornoego Altaia IV-III vv. do n.e. (opyt mezhdistsiplinarnogo issledovaniia)* (Novosibirsk: Izd-vo. Sibirskogo otdeleniia RAN, 2006):


5. Among the excavations from which material is illustrated are ones co-sponsored by the Silkroad Foundation at Tamiryn Ulaan Khoshuu in 2005, Tahlilt-hotgor in 2007, and Shombuuziin-belchir in 2008, reported in *The Silk Road* 4/1 (2006), 5/2 (2008) and 7 (2009), and concerning whose finds several additional articles have been published in this journal.

6. See, for example, the articles by Sergei Miniaev and Lidia Sakharovskaia on the Tsaram excavation in Buriatiia in *The Silk Road* 4/1 (2006) and 5/1 (2007).

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**ARCHAEOLOGY AND LANDSCAPE IN THE ALTAI MOUNTAINS OF MONGOLIA: CELEBRATING TWO DECADES OF ACHIEVEMENT**


Archaeology and Landscape in the Altai Mountains of Mongolia <http://mongolianaltai.uoregon.edu/index.php>

Mongolian Altai Inventory Image Collection <http://boundless.uoregon.edu/digcol/maic/>

Readers of *The Silk Road* may first have read about this important project several years ago, before the publication of the *Atlas* and creation of the website. Known as the “Joint Mongolian-American-Russian Project, Altay,” the project’s initial focus in 1994 was the rock art sites in Bayan-Olgii Aimag, the western tip of Mongolia. As the work developed, its scope expanded to include intensive and extensive archaeological survey of all kinds of monuments, documenting them photographically and with GPS measurements that would enable them to be plotted cartographically. This is one of the most extensive and earliest major archaeological survey projects in Mongolia to use modern methods. As with any such undertaking, to a considerable degree analysis of the data collected still lies in the future. However, it has been possible to begin serious exploration of cultural landscapes, that is to determine the relationship between human remains and their surrounding geography and thus try to gain insights into the possible ways people thought about and interacted with their surroundings. The book and the website, which complement each other and should be used together, provide, as Esther Jacobson-Tepfer puts it, “only part of the full story.” Underlying them is a massive database, which these publications but introduce. Other, more detailed publications document petroglyphs. But much remains to be done, not least being to undertake serious archaeological excavation in a region where to date there has been little.

The initiative to organize the project was that of Prof. Jacobson-Tepfer, with financial support from American sources (including a major NEH grant for the publications reviewed here). Logistical and other support was provided by the Mongolian and Russian partners. Credit for the photographic documentation belongs to Gary Tepfer, and the sophisticated cartography based on GIS was the responsibility of James Meacham.

The *Atlas* introduces the physical and human geography and provides a brief overview of early efforts to map and explore the region, notably the extensive travels through it by V. V. Sapozhnikov at the beginning of the 20th century. There is a general discussion of cultural landscapes and a helpful reference chronology of ancient cultures. The problem of the chronology of rock art and memorial structures still defies precise solutions, but the *Atlas* groups the materials by type and in some rough chronological sequence from early Bronze Age through the Turkic period. There are some very suggestive correlations of photographs with maps to show the “view shed” from particular monuments across landscape. After this introductory material, the book proceeds by watershed: the Oigor Gol, especially its huge rock art
complex of the Tsagaan Salaa-Baga Oigor; the Sogoo Gol; Tsagaan Gol; Khoton and Khurgan Nuur; Dayan Nuur; Sagsay Gol; Khovd Gol. Within each section is an overview of the geography and the archaeological monuments, and then a chronologically arranged treatment of them. A concluding section discusses various aspects of the cultural significance of the region, among other things emphasizing its connections with adjoining areas of the Altai that are on the other side of the international borders separating Mongolia from Russia and China.

The reference materials include maps, a gazetteer, and a selection of photographs illustrating the various kinds of monuments. The laboriously developed list of place names and their relationship to the archaeology of the region represents the most complete such mapping for any region in Mongolia to date. In large format, the book has superb photographs, in color but for the selective illustrations of the different types of monuments at the end. There are numerous exquisitely drawn topographic maps, with point indications of the locations of the surveyed objects. All in all, the book well deserves the recognition it has received.2

While the website covers the same territory geographically, its descriptive pages condense substantially what one finds in the book. The main rubrics cover Altai geography, Archaeology (under which one can find separate sections on the types of monuments, e.g., khirigsuurs, Turkic monuments, petroglyphs), and Cultural Landscapes (whose subsections are: Confluences, Rivers Downstream, Mountains and Ridges, Orientation, Period Overlay, Stone Re-use). For each page under these various rubrics, there is a small selection of illustrative images, which can be enlarged.

All this might seem unexceptional. What is not is the way in which the technology has been harnessed (through Flash animation) to offer interactive versions of the beautifully drawn topographic maps. One can zoom in to fine detail, select various overlays to show locations of particular kinds of monuments, and, where there is a linked photograph, click to bring up the image. Thus, one can, for example, choose the Tsagaan Gol basin, locate in it khirigsuurs (mounds with a surrounding stone perimeter, which date from the Bronze Age), select a sub-type of khirigsuur, and view the locations set clearly on a shaded topographic map. One should remember that the images linked to the maps are only a small selection of the total number available in the picture gallery database.

The other feature the website offers is its link to picture galleries which to date contain more than 2600 images (accessible either by the Gallery Search link or separately through the URL listed above for the Mongolian Altai Inventory). Various kinds of search terms can be entered to narrow down the selection. As with any such search mechanism on the Internet, the user needs to practice a bit for best results. There is a detailed list of the terms for “monument type” (click on the “More” button on the left); for the box labeled “Petroglyph Subject Search” one can also bring up a list of the terms that are used (e.g., “carts,” but not “chariots”; “archers,” but not “bows” or “arrows.”). For the advanced search boxes, there is no equivalent list for the drainages, where it would have been nice to have a nested tabulation of the main ones and under each the secondary ones contained within it. However, if one were to do a very basic search (say, all images of “altars”), by clicking on the headers to the tabulated descriptive data, one can order the result by drainage and/or chronology. As is the case nowadays with many many art museum collections, one can select particular images into a “my favorites” collection. While the images are copyrighted, it is possible to copy and save them, should one wish to use them, say, for personal study or teaching purposes.

As we would expect, the quality of Gary Tepfer’s photographs is excellent. (I have seen a stunning exhibition of his enlarged prints which capture the rich textures and colors of the Mongolian landscapes like no others.) That said, the photoshopping of some of the images for the website is rather mixed (in particular, some need brightening and shadow adjustment), though easily adjusted if one wished to use them in a lecture. Similarly, with the maps, while the deliberately washed rendering of the shaded topography on the website works perfectly well for highlighting the site location points, my old eyes have found that darkening by adjusting brightness/contrast levels makes it a lot easier to appreciate details. Of course a lot depends on the calibration of individual computer monitors—what I see on my PC may not replicate that on other machines.

If we place the website alongside other Internet resources for learning about the cultures of Eurasia, it stands out for the beauty of its design, the accessibility of its information, and its innovative use of a GIS database. This is not (at least yet) a project of the scope of, say, the International Dunhuang Project, with its ultimate goal to put the entire documentation for the Chinese end of the Silk Road on line. That said, the Internet-accessible photographic archive of the Altai project is being expanded and presumably may eventually encompass the full collection. It could serve as the nucleus for a much more comprehensive database of rock art in Eurasia. Apart from having the photos, it would be nice to add as well the tracings of the images, which can often clarify details difficult to discern.
in photos. True, as Prof. Jacobson-Tepfer reminds us in her studies of this material, tracings by themselves are not enough. They frequently are inaccurate, and they do not capture the details of context — patina, nature of pecking, and so on — which may be important in determining date and distinguishing layering of imagery from different periods.

Would there be other kinds of data which might be added for the online records? Some might wish for GPS coordinates, but here it is important to recognize that the Altai materials are in an unprotected environment (unlike, say, Dunhuang manuscripts safely deposited in the British Library). Providing GPS coordinates on an openly accessible website is not desirable. They can always be made available on request to serious researchers. Given the fact that some of what the Altai project has documented has already disappeared over the years, to publish the detailed data would merely facilitate more depredation.

As I know from having been in some of these areas but briefly, part of the pleasure of seeing the material in situ is the excitement of discovery, even if it can sometimes be frustrating to search for a particular image in a large boulder field and not locate it. The Atlas and the website provide access points and the encouragement for users to follow up with more detailed study. Anyone viewing the website might well then be encouraged to visit the Altai to see these cultural landscapes, armed, one would hope, with a sense of respect for the material and its preservation. I wish I had had these resources to consult back in 2005, since they would have considerably enhanced my appreciation of what I saw.

For more serious study, at least for the petroglyphs there are some obvious starting points. The gold standard for scholarly publication of Inner Asian petroglyphs is the series Répertoire des petroglyphes d’Asie Centrale (part of the Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française en Asie Centrale, Vol. V), edited by Jakov Sher and Henri-Paul Francfort. Fascicules 6 and 7 of the series contain the publication of two of the largest and most important petroglyph sites in all Asia, those in the Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor drainages of the Oigor Gol and the area of the upper Tsagaan Gol. Each volume (in two parts) contains analytical essays, followed by drawings of the petroglyphs and a generous selection of high-quality photos.

Since the appearance of these volumes, in which most of the material is in English, other publications of that same material have been appearing in Russian and Mongolian. Unfortunately, the relationship between those and the publications of Répertoire is not always explicit and, it seems, in some cases credit is not given where it is due.

The quite impressive Russian version of the publication of the Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor site is in some ways quite different. While I have not done a minute comparison, Jacobson-Tepfer’s essays seem to be fairly close translations of hers from Répertoire. Kubarev, who assigned himself the credit here as the lead author, has expanded especially his discussion of image types and chronology and presumably was responsible for some re-writing in Tseveendorj’s contributions. Although there is no warning to the reader, a few dozen tracings have been added to those other-wise reproduced in their entirety from Répertoire, which then means that the image numbers in the two volumes do not correspond (and there is no correlation table to enable one to match them, nor is there the table of descriptive captions found in Répertoire). A feature not found in the French volume is illustrations that group tracings of different subjects, so that images with a single subject can be compared directly, rather than requiring the reader to search through the images in the main dataset. Of course, taken out of context, such image comparisons may be limited in their value. The Russian volume has a few dozen color photos, but the photo documentation it provides is much less extensive than that with Gary Tepfer’s images in Répertoire. Moreover, most of the careful topographic maps of the latter are not in the Russian volume.

The publication of the Tsagaan Gol petroglyphs (Répertoire, Fasc. No. 7), has to date spawned two other versions, one in Russian, and the other in Mongolian. The late Vladimir Kubarev’s Russian variant is certainly a step backwards compared to his republication of the Tsagaan Salaa/Baga-Oigor material, in that he takes sole authorial credit, gives no indication of how the project came about, who funded it, and so on. In his somewhat mechanical descriptive essay, he has rearranged the material first by drainage and then by subject groupings, drawing on, but not properly acknowledging the mapping done by the University of Oregon team. The elegant maps of Répertoire No. 7 have vanished, replaced by a satellite image and rough sketch map of the site, but with no marking of the sectional boundaries. Those seriously interested in trying to interpret the petroglyphs of the upper Tsagaan Gol, especially in reference to the inferred chronology of the different subjects, should not start with Kubarev. Rather, begin with Jacobson-Tepfer’s essays, which form the introduction to Répertoire No. 7 but have not been translated here for the Russian audience. Understandably Kubarev omits the correlation table of sections and sites in Répertoire. And his book further lacks the descriptive caption list for the illustrations. He reproduces all the drawings of Répertoire, with the same sequential numbering as in

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the original publication. There is but a relatively small selection of photographs though, including ones not in Répertoire showing members of the expedition at work.

For the Mongolian version, which seems to be for the most part a translation of Kubarev’s Russian publication, the principal authorial credit has been assigned to Tseveendorj, although at least the co-authors of the project make it onto the title page. While the introduction describes the Paris edition, there is no proper citation of the original title, which, curiously, has not even been included in the bibliography. Yet, both the Russian and Mongolian publications add titles to what had originally been a more select bibliography, the additions mainly publications in Russian and Mongolian, which can be useful if one wants a list of everything Kubarev and Tseveendorj have ever published on the subject. The Mongolian publication contains only a small and inferior selection of photographs.

Mongolia is home to some of the most extensive and important rock art sites in all of northern Asia, on landscapes crowded with monuments which invite serious archaeological investigation. Much is being accomplished, especially by international teams, but in a sense we are still in a very early stage of learning about the historical cultures. The Altai project surveyed here is an impressive example of how far we have come, and we can be thankful that its results are being made available both for serious academic study and for broader audiences.

— Daniel C. Waugh

Notes

1. Esther Jacobson-Tepfer, “The Rock Art of Mongolia,” The Silk Road 4/1 (2006): 5-13. The article is a broad introduction to the subject and does not just concentrate on the area and material which is the focus of the current review.

2. The Atlas has been honored by the Association of American Geographers’ Globe Book Prize for 2010 and the CaGIS Honorable Mention for the best published atlas in 2010 (beaten out by the new National Geographic world atlas...).


7. For a good overview of archaeology in Mongolia, see the proceedings of the first international conference devoted to the subject: Current Archaeological Research in Mongolia. Bonn Contributions to Asian Archaeology, 4. Ed. Jan Bemmann et al. (Bonn, 2009), briefly reviewed in The Silk Road 8 (2010): 125-27.