ARS ORIENTALIS 38

ARS ORIENTALIS VOLUME 38

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ARS ORIENTALIS 38

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THEORIZING CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION AMONG THE ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN, NEAR EAST AND ASIA

The theme of this volume develops that of a panel convened at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the College Art Association (CAA).

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FOREIGN VESTURE AND NOMADIC IDENTITY ON THE BLACK SEA LITTORAL IN THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Costume from the Chungul Kurgan

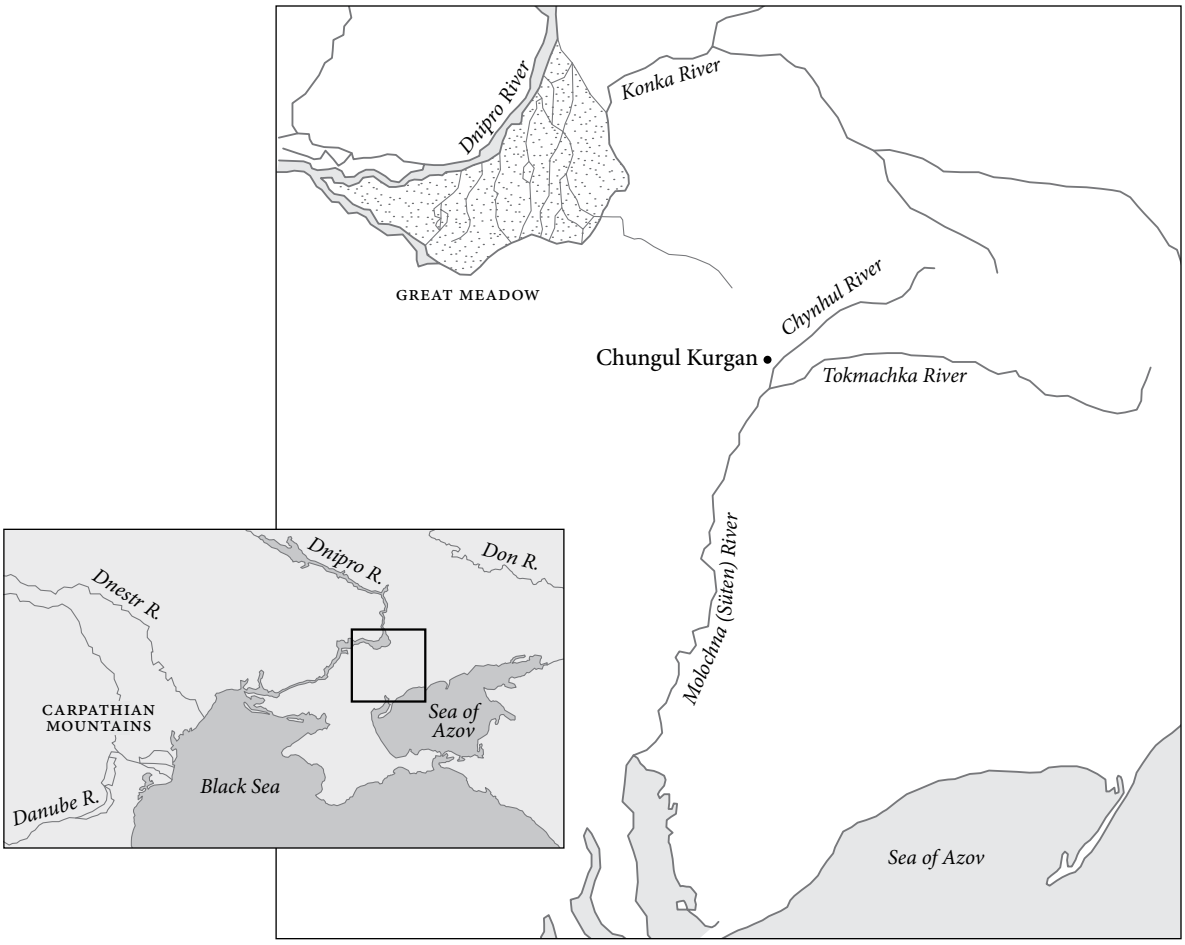
Abstract

The medieval Ḳipčaḳ burial at the Chungul Kurgan in the southern Ukrainian steppe presents a seemingly paradoxical situation. On the one hand, the burial — here dated to the opening decades of the thirteenth century — is inserted into a previously extant tumulus of Bronze Age date, and the evidence of funerary ritual points towards the continuation of shamanist practices. On the other hand, the grave goods are largely composed of luxury objects associated with elite patronage among the sedentary societies of Western Europe, Rus', and the Mediterranean zone. This juxtaposition is carried through in the partially preserved costumes excavated from the burial. These present features that recall elements of official court dress in Byzantium and in the neighboring Christian and Islamic polities. While several of the garments take the essentially Turkic form of the caftan, they incorporate in their applied decoration elements not normally associated with this particular garment.

Close examination of the textiles from the Chungul Kurgan has revealed that they almost certainly represent the reuse of imported silks, gold-woven bands, and gold embroideries that came into the possession of the nomadic Ḳipčaḳs as gifts, trade items, or spoils of their raids on their sedentary neighbors. These include a panel of figural embroidery likely cut from a liturgical textile. Another group of embroideries and appliqués once formed a *loros*, the ceremonial scarf of Byzantine emperors, which was widely imitated in the dress and portraiture of other rulers in the region. A range of possible degrees of intentionality can govern the use of textile *spolia* — from strictly utilitarian reuse to the deliberately imitative, or victorious, appropriation of the insignia of another culture. The authors conclude that the way in which the textile elements were redeployed on the preserved garments represents at least a partial understanding of their meaning within their original contexts. Their reuse for the decoration of riding caftans incorporates the symbolic language of power and prestige that these insignia conveyed among the neighboring courtly cultures while preserving a distinctive, nomadic sartorial identity.

Introduction: The Chungul Kurgan

IN THE SUMMER OF 1981, an archaeological team headed by Vitaliy Otroshchenko from the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the (then) Ukrainian S.S.R., based in Kyiv, opened a burial mound in the southern Ukrainian steppe. The mound was located near the village of Zamozhne, a few kilometers from the town of Tokmak in the Zaporiz'ka oblast'.[1] The site lies to the south of the great bend in the Dnipro (Dnieper) River, on its left bank. This part of the steppe is drained by the Molochna river system, which flows southward into the



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1
Map of the Black Sea region, with enlarged detail showing Dnipro and Azov watersheds.

Sea of Azov (Fig. 1). The expedition of 1981 targeted a group of four mounds on a plateau above the right bank of the Chynhul River, a few hundred meters upstream from its confluence with the Molochna. This group of kurgans was slated for excavation and removal in a salvage archaeology project in order to make way for a planned program of large-scale agricultural irrigation.[2] Kurgan 5, the largest of the group, was dubbed the "Chynhul Kurgan" (or "Chingul Kurgan" in Russian) by the excavators. Early nineteenth-century Russian maps of the region, however, label the river as "Chungul," more faithfully preserving its probable Turkic name, "Çöngül."[3] The name has the meaning of "marshy ground" or "quagmire" in Ottoman Turkish, probably in reference to the wetlands abutting its confluence with the Tokmak River to form the Molochna.[4] The name also reflects the fact that the area lay within Turkic nomadic territory well into the modern era. Reverting to the earlier name, then, we will henceforth refer to the mound as the Chungul Kurgan.

Prior to its excavation, the Chungul Kurgan still maintained its native steppe flora, having never been ploughed for cultivation. The mound stood some 5.8 meters above the modern ground level and extended to a maximum diameter of 68 meters.[5] By the end of the 1981 excavation season, the entire volume of earth from the kurgan had been removed and the field leveled.[6] In the process of excavation, the archaeologists uncovered nine prehistoric burials, with dates spanning the Eneolithic period to the Late Bronze Age.[7] Such reuse of extant grave sites over the *longue durée* seems to have been relatively common in the ancient history of the

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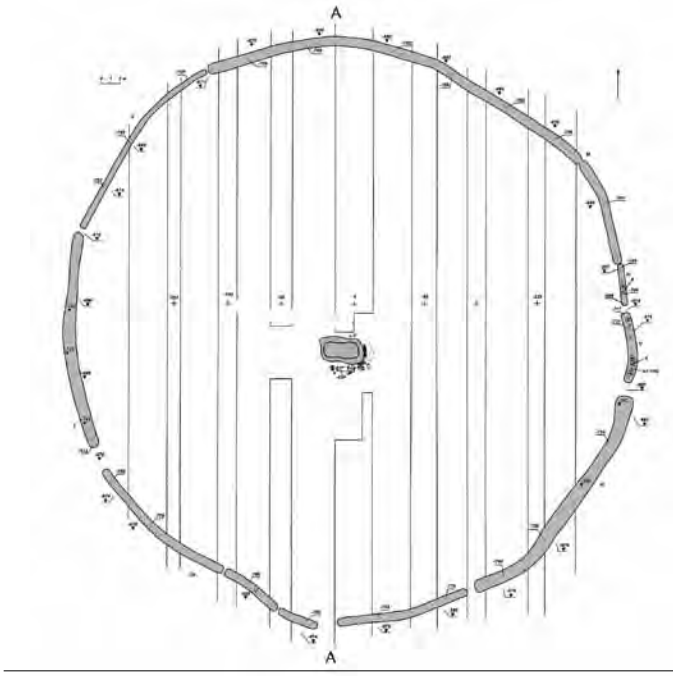

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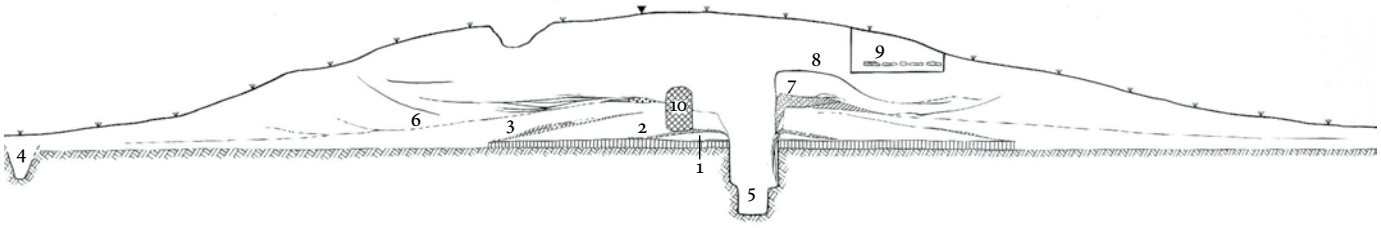


3B

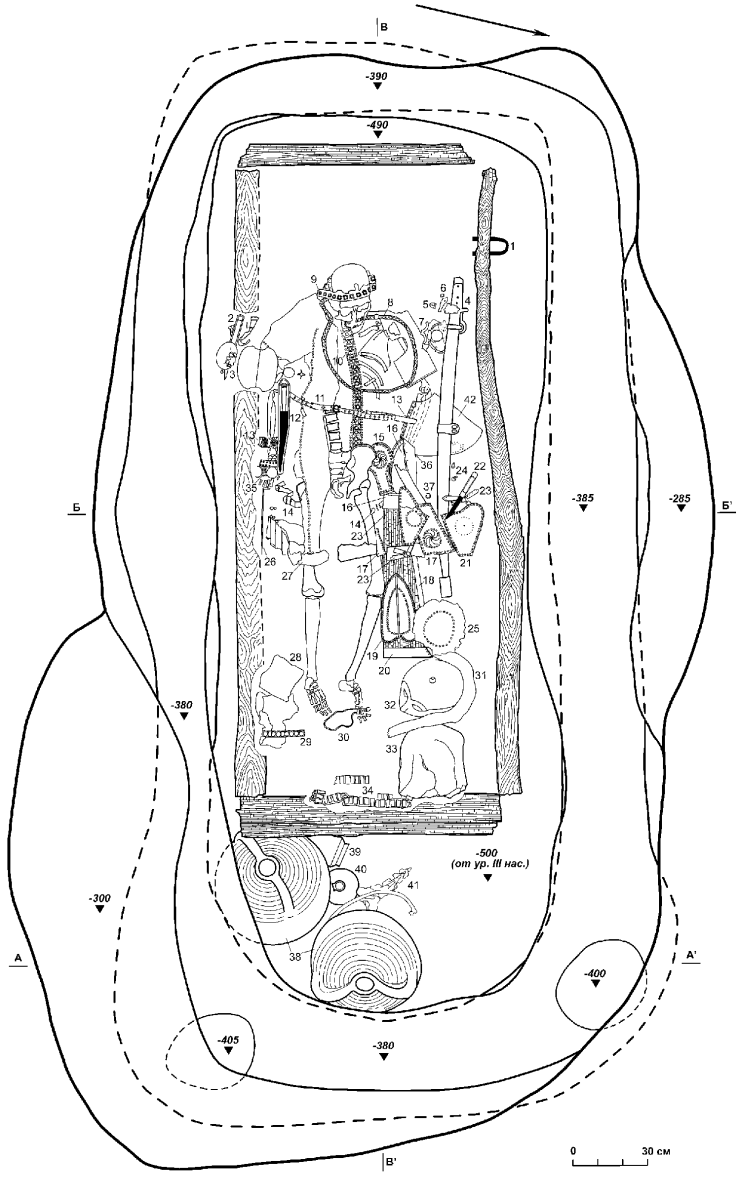
2
Chungul Kurgan trench, 1981. Photograph Y. Rassamakin

3A
Plan of Chungul Kurgan with medieval burial shaded at center. Drawing Y. Rassamakin

3B
Section (A-A) of Chungul Kurgan showing prehistoric mound profiles (1–3), medieval perimeter ditch (4), burial pit (5), profile of first phase of medieval mound (6), fill layer covering horse burials (7), first ritual platform (8), stone foundations of ritual structures (9), and modern robber's tunnel (10). Drawing Y. Rassamakin

steppe. Kurgans, being prominent features in an otherwise open landscape, often attracted multiple subsequent burials over centuries or even millennia.[8] A completely unexpected discovery, however, was the medieval burial found sunk into the earth near the center of the mound, disturbing three of the earlier burials (Fig. 3A). The contour of the last Bronze Age phase of the mound was clearly visible in the excavation thanks to a layer of compacted vegetation; it measured approximately 1.5 meters high with a diameter approximately 55 to 56 meters. The cross section makes clear that the medieval burial used the earlier kurgan as a platform for a massively enlarged mound, nearly quadrupling its height (Figs. 2, 3A and 3B).

The excavation also clarified that the medieval burial was carried out in stages over a period of months or even years, likely connected to various funeral rituals.[9] The first stage was the digging of a surrounding ditch beyond the perimeter of the Bronze Age mound, marking the territory of the burial as a Turkic sacral space (*qoruq*). The tumulus was enlarged by building up layers of carefully laid blocks of cut sod in five ramparts around the sides of the mound, leaving five ramp-like passages for access to the center of the kurgan. The burial pit itself was inserted into the older mound and extended into the native earth below it. The pit had a stepped profile, with an upper part measuring 2.1 meters wide by 4.35 meters long by 3.8 meters deep, while the lower part, which contained the wooden coffin, extended another



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4
Plan of burial pit showing deceased and grave goods. Drawing Y. Rassamakin and T. Y. Hoshko

1.25 meters deep. Examination of the skeleton by a paleopathologist indicated that the deceased was a tall and muscular male of about 55–60 years of age.[10] Based on the arrangement of the burial goods in the wooden coffin, the body must have been placed in the coffin before being lowered into the pit. The grave goods were packed tight around the body, including a suite of arms and armor, multiple sets of clothing, two silver cups, and ornaments in gold and silver (Fig. 4). After the covering of the coffin, ritual offerings of mutton were added to the pit, as well as ceramic vessels: amphorae for wine or possibly kumiss (fermented mare's milk), and a bottle and albarello most likely containing aromatic or pharmacological substances.

The subsequent covering of the pit at its intermediate level and again at its top would have been followed by a ritual feast, on which occasion five horses were sacrificed. Their fully caparisoned remains were laid out alongside the grave pit. Shattered fragments of amphorae at this level testify to the ritual drinking. The entire

area of the burial was subsequently covered with a half-meter-thick layer of soil and clay to form a platform about 6 meters square. Here a small, light structure was erected. The horse skull found here in the excavations suggests a "scarecrow" consisting of a diagonally planted pole with a horse's head at its upper end, draped in the skin of a horse. Such a temporary construction atop a burial is attested in historical and ethnographic sources.[11] At this time, the filling of the access paths would have begun. The excavation of one of these filled passages — the one leading to the eastern opening — uncovered a human skeleton, possibly an indication of a sacrifice sealing this phase of the ritual. The horse skull found in the ditch at the eastern opening of the passage could have belonged to a second "scarecrow." After an indefinite period in the open, this phase would have been covered with another layer of earth that filled the entire interior area defined by the sod ramparts, about 30 meters in diameter. One or two structures with stone foundations were erected at this level, which also revealed the remains of a fire pit connected to the commemorative rituals. At the conclusion of these ceremonies, the fire was extinguished. Afterwards, the structures on the upper platform appear to have been intentionally dismantled, and the platform was covered by almost two meters of earth. The tumulus was topped off to form a truncated cone some 60 meters in diameter by 6–7 meters high.

The archaeological evidence for the funerary rituals is clearly of major interest, and will serve to help refine the interpretation of the burial as a whole. Here, however, our focus will be on the dress of the deceased. Despite its uneven state of preservation, the surviving fragments of costume buried with the medieval "prince"[12] suggest ways of understanding his nomadic culture both in terms of its native elements and in terms of cross-cultural interaction.[13] Just as the archaeology of the mound presents a dramatic picture of nomadic religious ritual on the edge of the Orthodox Christian and Islamic worlds, so the textiles from the Chungul Kurgan bring to light a particular set of negotiations between the sartorial heritage of the steppe and the iconography of rulership among the nomads' sedentary neighbors.

The Ḳipčaḳ Nomads

The datable artifacts from the excavation range from the mid-twelfth century or even earlier to just after the turn of the thirteenth century.[14] Based on the *terminus post quem* provided by the grave goods, the nature of the burial rites, and the geographic location of the burial, the deceased can be linked with confidence to the Ḳipčaḳ nomads. The Ḳipčaḳs (also spelled Qıpčaqs), known in the Slavic languages as *Polovtsy* and in Latin and Greek as *Cumani* / Κομάνοι were a confederation of Turkic nomads. Their origins are obscure, but they possibly emerged from a sub-confederation of the Kimäk (Kimek) tribal union in Siberia.[15] By the later

part of the eleventh century, they had made their appearance in Western histories as a menace to the Pečeneg tribes of the northern Black Sea steppe. At the battle of Levounion in Thrace in 1091, the combined forces of the Byzantines under Alexios I Komnenos and a mercenary army of Ḳipčaḳ warriors effectively destroyed the military capacity of the Pečenegs.[16] The Ḳipčaḳs subsequently dominated the steppe zone of present-day southern Russia, Ukraine, and Romania until their confederation was, in its turn, crushed by the invading Mongols in 1237–38.[17] They appear frequently in the chronicles of the cities of Kyivan Rus' as raiders who loot towns, monasteries, and churches.[18] Under the year 1147, the Hypatian Chronicle describes the pillaging of the Church of the Holy Ascension at Putivl' by the Ḳipčaḳ allies of Sviatoslav Ol'govich, who took silver vessels, altar cloths, and gold-embroidered liturgical vestments.[19]

Despite their reputation as marauders, the Ḳipčaḳs were widely recruited by their sedentary neighbors as mercenaries and palace guards. Their leaders intermarried with the ruling houses of the kingdoms bordering Ḳipčaḳ nomadic territory. Marital ties with the Riurikids of Kyivan Rus' were widespread, often as a seal to truce arrangements. Among examples of such alliances, the son of Ihor Sviatoslavych, Volodymyr, married a daughter of the Ḳipčaḳ leader Končak, and Yurii Dolgorukii, son of Volodymyr Monomakh, took as wife the daughter of the head of the Aepa/Ay-oba clan.[20] Mstyslav Mstyslavych of Halych was son-in-law of the Ḳipčaḳ leader Kotian, who would later lead a remnant of the Ḳipčaḳs into exile in Hungary.[21] Marriage alliances existed not only with the Orthodox Christian ruling families of Kyivan Rus', Georgia,[22] and Bulgaria,[23] but also with the Muslim Turkic Khwarāzmshāhs.[24] The Georgian state was thus available as a refuge to Ḳipčaḳ tribes fleeing the steppe campaigns of Volodymyr Monomakh in the early years of the twelfth century.[25] Only a few decades later, the alliance with the Rus' princes had been restored to sufficient strength that the Rus' refused to allow the Mongol vanguard to impose suzerainty on the Ḳipčaḳs. This refusal to comply with the *divide et impera* tactics of the Mongols led to the disastrous confrontation at Kalka in 1223, where the allied Rus' and Ḳipčaḳ forces were crushed by the Mongol army.[26] So despite their identification as barbarous pagan outsiders in most historical texts of the period, the Ḳipčaḳs could, when needed, draw on their status as elite members of a number of ruling dynasties. The insider/outsider identity of the Ḳipčaḳs will prove important in attempting to read the intention behind the medieval burial complex of the Chungul Kurgan and the selection of its contents.

Several aspects of the interment are familiar from excavation of other Ḳipčaḳ burials: the presence of horses and their equipment, the binding of the feet, the inclusion of a straightened metal torque (known as a *grivna/hryvnia*, from the medieval unit of exchange, in current Russian and Ukrainian archaeological pub-

lications), and the enclosure of the body and armor in a wooden coffin. Horses and horse equipment seem to be a recurring feature of Ḳipčaḳ graves.[27] The thirteenth-century Cistercian chronicler Aubry of Trois-Fontaines reports the burial of a Ḳipčaḳ leader in a tumulus outside the walls of Constantinople, accompanied into the afterlife by eight human warriors and no fewer than twenty-six horses.[28] Even allowing for substantial exaggeration in Aubry's account, no corresponding tumulus has yet come to light in modern excavations at Istanbul. Another Ḳipčaḳ grave from the Molochna river system of southern Ukraine, excavated in 1985, was accompanied by the deposition of a wooden cart as well as a saddle, stirrups, and bridle hardware.[29] The binding of the feet is attested in a few other Turkic burial contexts, including an unpublished Ḳipčaḳ burial; at the Chungul Kurgan, the feet were bound with a gold chain.[30] The spiral-twisted gold *grivna*, or torque, found in the right hand of the deceased, is paralleled in other Ḳipčaḳ burial contexts in both silver and iron, although no other gold example is known from the steppe region.[31] Despite the very rich inventory of the Chungul burial, it lacks the kinds of utilitarian vessels, particularly cooking vessels of bronze, that are typical of other excavated Ḳipčaḳ graves.[32] Although one must allow for the fact that most other high-status graves have been robbed, these aspects of the grave inventory are, at present, unique, and establish the elite status of the deceased.

The occupation history of this area of the Pontic steppe leaves little doubt that the burial should be associated with the Ḳipčaḳ nomads. The spectacular finds from the Chungul Kurgan also highlight the range of contacts of the Ḳipčaḳs in general and of the deceased in particular. The burial contained metalwork of Western European origin, textiles and enameled metalwork from Byzantium, arms and armor from Rus', ceramics from Syria, Anatolia, and Tauric Chersonesos, as well as works likely to have been made in the local Turkic milieu. As noted above, the objects with datable comparative material indicate that the burial itself can be no earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century, while the consolidation of Mongol control in the region after 1237 makes the construction of such an impressive tomb by the conquered Ḳipčaḳs intrinsically unlikely. The plausible window for the burial is thus roughly a quarter century, beginning circa 1210 and ending in 1238, the date of Batu Khan's final conquest of the Pontic steppe (*Dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ*).[33]

Textiles from the Chungul Kurgan

Among the burial goods, the textiles are of prime importance, not only for their richness but also because of their rarity for this period. We have the partial remains of at least four ensembles.[34] One set of robes, consisting of a silk caftan and a light inner tunic, was worn by the deceased in his burial (Figs. 5A, B). Another group of at least two separate caftans, possibly also including lighter inner tunics, was found

5A

5B

6

7

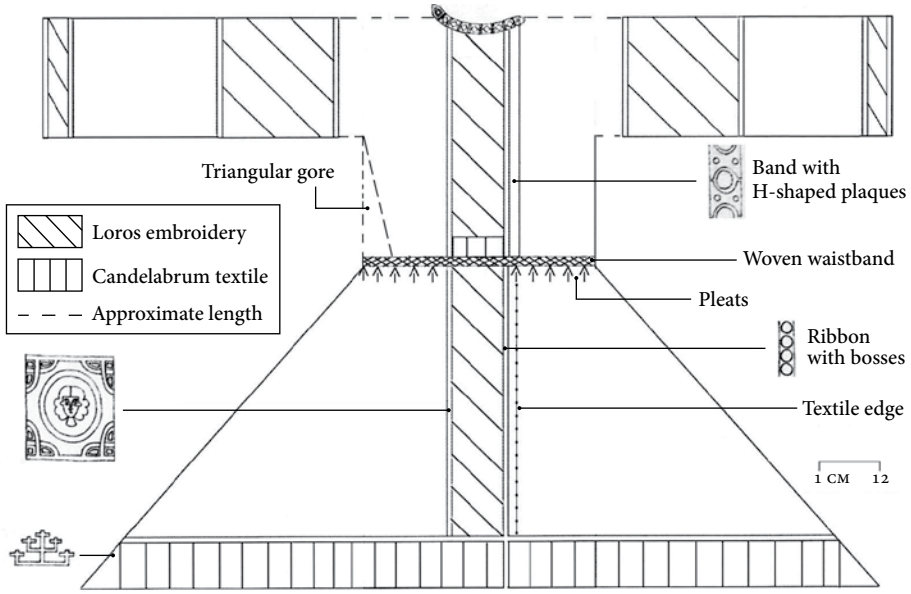
5A
Burial caftan in situ, detail showing embroidery on torso. Photograph V. I. Klochko

5B
Burial caftan in situ, detail showing lower part of caftan on body. Photograph V. I. Klochko

folded up in a bundle under the armor at his side (Fig. 6). Still another set of garments was folded near the warrior's feet (Fig. 7). Of the last, we have only the silver-gilt appliqués that were once sewn onto the collar and waist of the light under-tunic, and remains of the heavy silk-and-gold fabric ribbon that once trimmed the hem of a caftan.

The Burial Caftan

The first impression of the costumes from the Chungul Kurgan is one of astonishing luxury. All the preserved textiles from the garments are of silk, lavishly trimmed with gold embroidery, pearls, gilt appliqués, and applied bands woven of silk and gold. The caftan buried on the body was made from heavy silk compound twill (i.e.,



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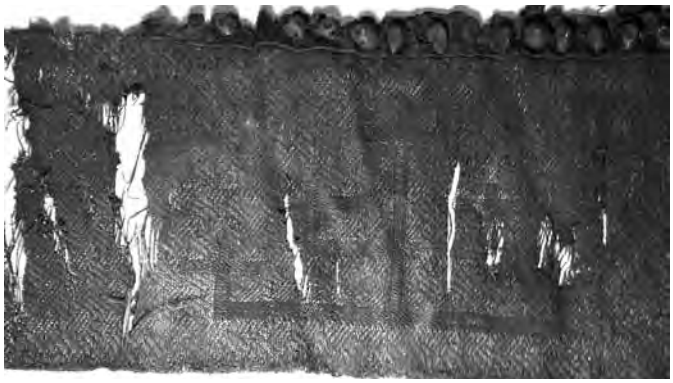

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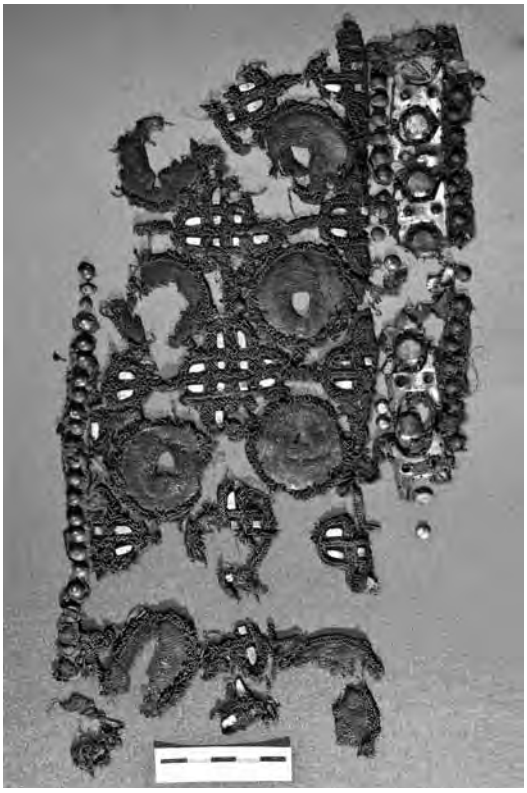
6
Caftan fragments from garment bundle under armor in situ. Photograph V. I. Klochko

7
Remains of garments folded at feet. Photograph V. I. Klochko

8
Reconstruction of burial caftan. Drawing M. G. Stepan and C. Weller

9
"Candelabrum" ribbon. Photograph D. V. Klochko

samite), of which relatively little survived the ravages of seven centuries of burial in a steppe climate. As the garment is in such fragmentary condition, it may be best understood with the help of a diagram (Fig. 8). It was trimmed at the waist and at the circumference of the hem with elaborate woven bands of gold and silk. The band at the waist was ornamented with a diagonal basket-weave pattern, while that at the hem bears a pattern of repeating candelabra or stylized trees of life against a basket-weave background of gold thread (Fig. 9). A short section of the latter ribbon is also set into the waistband of the caftan at its center.[35] Further pieces of the same metallic ribbon made up a triangular gore under the proper right arm, although this did not survive the process of excavation. Another metallic ribbon 4 centimeters wide, which did not survive excavation, ran down the spine of the caftan from the collar to the waist. Similar gold-and-silk bands are familiar from the trimmings of both medieval liturgical vestments and robes of state preserved in Western Europe. Sometimes mistakenly classed as tablet-weaving, these are based on a compound twill structure with supplementary metallic wefts. Numerous European examples of the twelfth century have technical as well as stylistic characteristics that suggest they share a common origin with the Chungul fragments.[36]



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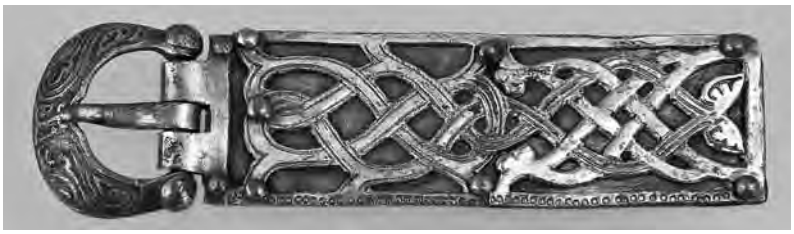
The front of the burial caftan and its sleeves are decorated with bands of figural embroidery. A band of indigo-dyed silk samite 12 centimeters wide runs from the collar to the waist of the caftan and serves as the ground for the embroidered decoration of silk, gold, and pearls. This band was interrupted at the waist by an inset panel of metallic ribbon in the "candelabra" pattern mentioned above, as well as by the waistband of basket-weave-patterned metallic twill. The embroideries resumed below the waist and continued as far as the hem of the skirt. Further panels of embroidery, measuring 24 by 24 centimeters, ornamented the sleeves near the shoulders, and narrower bands of 6 by 24 centimeters width decorated the cuffs. The embroidered decoration of all these pieces consists of roundels, about 4 centimeters in diameter, with human faces depicted in the center (Fig. 10). The silk faces are surrounded by a background of couched gold thread, in turn surrounded by elaborate braids of twisted gold thread with pearl stringing. The braids and pearls are shaped into interlaced strapwork knots between the roundels, which appear in a band down the front of the garment and in other bands on the sleeves and at the cuffs. In the interstices of these knots are raised, silver-gilt plaques in two shapes: squares measuring 2 millimeters across and half-arch forms measuring 2 by 6 millimeters. The latter shape had to be manufactured in complementary pairs, left-facing and right-facing, a fact which strongly suggests that they were made expressly for employment in this embroidered decor. Each plaque is in turn surrounded by pearl stringing. The estimated total count of pearls on the garment is over 35,000 pearls of just over a millimeter diameter each (Fig. 11).[37]

The form of the embroidered decoration on the burial caftan agrees well with representations (for such are all we have recourse to) of the Byzantine *loros*, the jeweled scarf that was among the most prominent insignia of the imperial ward-



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10
"Loros" embroidery. Photograph D. V. Klochko

11
Detail of "loros" embroidery showing gold wire knot with pearl stringing and silver-gilt plaques. Photograph D. V. Klochko

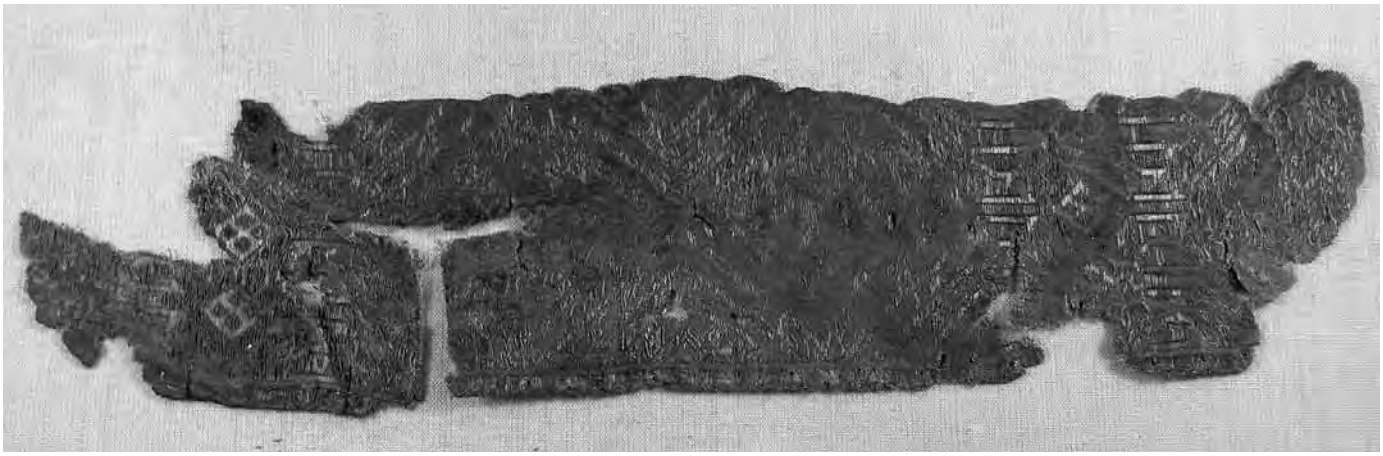
12
The Emperor Alexander (r. 912–13). Mosaic. Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. Photograph Dumbarton Oaks, Photographic and Fieldwork Archive

13
Belt buckles from the Chungul Kurgan. Photographs D. V. Klochko

robe (Fig. 12). Like later forms of the *loros,* the embroidered band is permanently attached to the underlying garment, and includes discrete patches at the shoulders and cuffs coordinated to the decoration of the vertical element.[38] It also maintains the typical division of the design into square compartments. On the other hand, no part of the excavated garment seems to correspond to the free-hanging portion that should pass over the left arm from behind the back. Furthermore, we have no other depiction of an imperial *loros* with figural embroidery.[39] The closest one may come to such a *loros* with embroidered faces in surviving Byzantine iconography is the depiction of Saint Kyriakē (literally, "Saint Sunday") in imperial dress, wearing a *loros* decorated with personifications of the other days of the week.[40] The correspondence to Byzantine imperial dress, then, is close, but not absolute.

Belts

The caftan with its *loros*-like decoration was worn over a lighter, long-sleeved garment of uncertain cut, presumably a tunic. Its applied ornament of silver-gilt plaques survives at the collar and cuffs, while the underlying silk fabric is almost entirely lost. The inner and outer garments were secured with belts bearing parcel-gilt silver buckles (Fig. 13). The inner tunic was secured with the more elaborate of the two belts, its buckle plate decorated with a siren cast in high relief. The work strongly recalls elements of the yet more elaborate silver buckle from the Dune Treasure found in Gotland, Sweden, probably dating to the first decades of the thirteenth century.[41] The buckle securing the outer caftan is more difficult to date. Similar belt buckles appear through much of the thirteenth century both in the archaeological record and in sculptural representations such as tomb effigies.[42] Among the handful of surviving silver buckles of early thirteenth-century date is the belt buckle of Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, still preserved as a relic together with its woven belt of silk and gold.[43] Elizabeth's ownership of the belt is attested as early as the fifteenth century, so it is quite likely that it indeed belonged to her before her death in 1231.[44] A third buckle, bearing traces of enamel, was found on a belt with an attached knife near the right shoulder of the deceased, unconnected to the surviving garments. It can be compared to a buckle of Limoges production in Vienna, dating to the end of the twelfth century.[45] Together, the collection of three



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Band with pseudo-Kufic inscription from armor. Photograph Y. Rassamakin

buckles tends to confirm the supposed date of burial in the early part of the thirteenth century. The simple, outer buckle has provided the thorniest issues in terms of its dating. The specialized monograph on Western medieval belt buckles by Ilse Fingerlin in fact re-dates the similar Saint Elizabeth belt to the mid-thirteenth century on the basis of the earliest depictions of buckles of this type in sculpture, which date to circa 1240.[46] Not only should logic dictate that the manufacture of actual objects precede their representation in other media, but one may in fact posit a delay of about two decades between the rise of a new fashion and its first depiction in art.[47] Furthermore, as a rule, medieval fashions originate at the elite level in precious material and are subsequently imitated in media of lesser value, rather than the other way around.[48] The fact that all three buckles are of heavy silver, and that one of the three is linked by its form to a relic of a sainted royal, again confirms the elite rank of the burial and argues for a date early in the thirteenth century.

Shield and Bowcase

Adjacent to the body were fragments of straps for the wearing of the round shield and the bowcase, these decorated with gold and silk woven bands bearing pseudo-Kufic inscriptions (Fig. 14). These inscribed bands of course recall the use of *ṭirāz* textile bands adorned with the name of an Islamic ruler or, later, pious inscriptions in Arabic that were given as gifts by various Muslim courts. The patterns were widely imitated in textiles and costume of the Mediterranean world, including Byzantium, in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.[49] The ribbons with pseudo-Kufic inscriptions are technically similar to the silk-and-gold bands trimming the garments,[50] and they may share a common regional origin, likely in the central or eastern Mediterranean.

Folded Caftans

A bundle consisting of at least two further silk caftans was found folded up beneath elements of the armor. Gold and pearl embroidery was also a feature of these garments. Unfortunately, in the earliest phases of conservation carried out in the early 1980s, the layers of this textile bundle were separated one from another without the direct supervision of the excavator. In the process, much evidence for the original relationships among the various parts was lost.[51] One of the larger fragments bears figural embroidery, including the lower half of the figure of an archangel with pearl-

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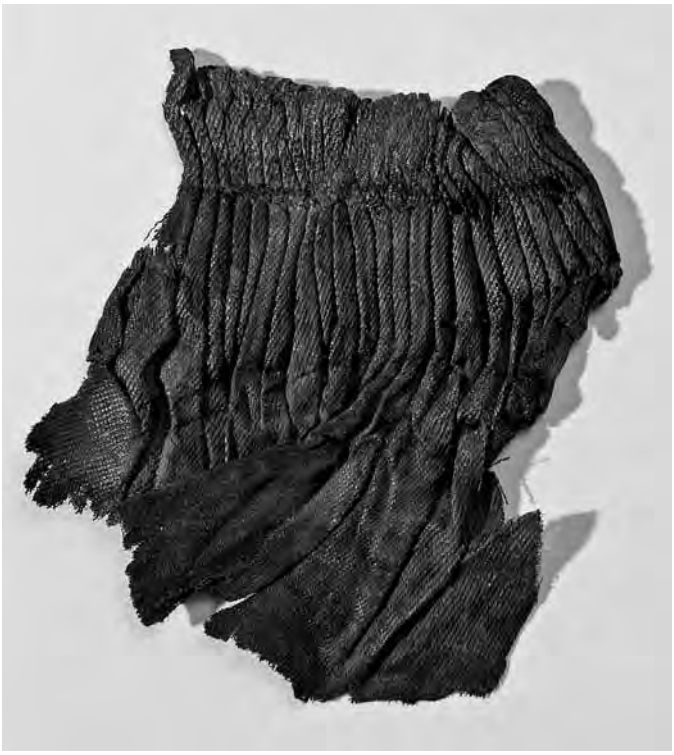
Archangel and donor embroideries from caftan fragment under armor. Photograph D. V. Klochko

16
G. G. Gagarin drawing of destroyed fresco of Manuel I Megas Komnenos from the Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond. After *Sobranie vizantiiskikh, gruzinskikh i drevnerusskikh ornamentov i pamiatnikov arkhitektury / Receuil d'ornements et d'architecture byzantines, géorgiens et russes* (St. Petersburg, 1897–1903), Pl. 25

ornamented wings (Fig. 15), possibly forming part of the back of the caftan to which it was attached. Embroidery of sacred figures on liturgical veils and priestly vestments is attested in Byzantium from the twelfth century.[52] We also have at least one piece of evidence for the use of sacred images on Byzantine court costume.[53] A fresco of the emperor of the Byzantine principality of Trebizond, Manuel I Megas Komnenos (r. 1238–63), showed him wearing a garment with a large medallion image of Saint Eugenios on the chest. Now lost, the fresco was recorded in descriptions and in a drawing of the nineteenth century (Fig. 16).[54] So, just as the caftan on the body of the deceased can be paralleled with the Byzantine *loros*, the caftan with the large archangel can also be connected with Byzantine traditions of court dress. Both caftans, moreover, are constructed of silk samite, the complex, compound weave widely found among documented Byzantine textiles exported to the West in the Middle Ages.[55] At first glance, then, one might take the caftans for imports or direct imitations of Byzantine court dress of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Foreign Parallels and Native Adaptation

The first impression of the deceased from the Chungul Kurgan is that he was buried with the sartorial trappings of power traditional among the great surrounding cultures: Byzantium and its Slavic and Caucasian satellites, the polities of the Islamic world, and the Latin West. Among the elements of his dress and accoutrements are echoes of the *ṭirāz* of Islamic courts, the belts that were significant emblems of rank in the medieval West as well as in the Islamic world, and figural



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Burial caftan, detail showing pleating at waist of skirt. Photograph D. V. Klochko

embroidery associated with Byzantine liturgical and court dress. On the one hand, the pattern of the embroideries on the burial caftan recalls the *loros* worn as part of the costume of the Byzantine emperors; on the other hand, we have the constituent elements of the traditional Islamic *khila,* or robes of honor.[56] With a closer look, however, one sees more clearly the way these various elements are adapted and reshaped to nomadic usage.

Most saliently, there is the caftan form itself, with full pleated skirts reaching to the knees. Both of the reconstructable fragments from the burial are gathered at the waist into hundreds of tiny pleats that would have made for a very roomy skirt well adapted to straddling a saddle on horseback (Fig. 17). Although Byzantium adapted a form of the caftan under the Hellenized name of *kabbadion*, it was a long, close-fitting garment reaching to mid-calf. It appears as early as the later twelfth century in the frescoes of the church of the Holy Anargyroi at Kastoria, in Greece. There the donor portrait of John, son of Theodore Lemniotes, painted circa 1180, shows him clad in a caftan-like garment with elbow-length sleeves, fastening in the middle of the front and secured with a buckled belt. It is worn over a tight-fitting, long-sleeved garment.[57] The silver repoussé frame of an icon in the Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow, from around the turn of the fourteenth century, shows the donor Constantine Akropolites clad in such a garment, in this case with its hem reaching to the ankles. The buttoning of the caftan up the front opening is clearly shown as a series of prominent bosses on the gilded silver image, while the pleats at the waist are represented by incised lines (Fig. 18).[58] Such garments clearly represent borrowings from Turkic, Persian, and Central Asian fashions in Byzantine dress, which was traditionally based on various sorts of tunics (i.e., garments pulled on over the head) and mantles.[59] The very name *kabbadion* (from the Persian *qabā*) betrays its foreign origin, which was also acknowledged by Byzantine authors on court pro-

18
Constantine Akropolites, detail from icon frame, ca. 1300. Silver. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow, inv. no. 22722, OS 118. After A. V. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad: Aurora, 1977), fig. 245

tocol.[60] It likely entered Byzantine fashion through the medium of nomadic mercenaries and palace guards, eventually being adopted by the Greek population.[61] In the context of Islamic robes of honor, the *qabā*, or caftan, was distinctly the garment of military officials. Civilians, even of the highest rank, wore the *ḳamīṣ*, or tunic, rather than the caftan.[62]

Furthermore, both partially preserved caftans from the Chungul Kurgan are lined with fur of the marten (*Martes* species). The Ḳipčaḳs of the steppe were a link in the trade networks for furs from the tribal peoples of what is now northern Russia and western Siberia to the Mediterranean and Western Europe.[63] Luxury fur linings — marten generally and especially its most prized variety, sable — were themselves signs of rank. The Mamluk rulers of Syria and Egypt, themselves former Ḳipčaḳ slaves captured in this very region and sold into servitude in the Mediterranean, continued to wear — and be depicted wearing — fur-lined caftans in their new, Middle Eastern territories.[64]

In this respect they followed the widespread iconography of Turkic rulers and military leaders of this era, who are universally depicted in caftans regardless of the location in which they held rank or power. By contrast, civil officials are depicted wearing tunics. This sartorial coding of representations of civil versus military status and authority is present throughout the visual record of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries in the central Islamic lands. The distinction is illustrated in manuscript copies of al-Hariri's *Maqamat* of the first part of the thirteenth century, for example in the two closely related copies, now in Istanbul and St. Petersburg, where the amir or military personage is inevitably shown wearing a tailored coat or caftan, while the judge — being a civil official — wears a tunic.[65] Likewise, the double-page painting showing a mosque scene in a *Maqamat* copy of 1237 juxtaposes a preacher in a tunic on the right with an amir wearing a caftan on the left.[66] The court scenes represented in a copy of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq*, probably painted in the Jazira, make the same distinction, while the famous representations of Badr al-Din Lu'lu', the Kurdish *atabeg* of Mosul in the early thirteenth century, show him in a caftan.[67] The ubiquitous depictions of rulers and courtiers in tailored coats are a feature of Kashan-produced ceramics.[68] This visual record shows coats closing variously to the left, to the right, and at the center, in contrast to the significance accorded to the direction of the closure in the accounts of Western travelers. John of Plano Carpini refers to the habit among the nomadic Türks of wearing caftans cut with the opening on the left, and William of Rubruck notes that the opening to the left or to the right differentiates "Tartars" (i.e., Mongols) from the Türks (i.e., Ḳipčaḳs).[69] Regardless of these details, it is clear that, rather than being imitations of the robes of state of sedentary empires, the caftans from the Chungul Kurgan burial reflect a nomadic and Turkic military identity through their cut and materials.[70]

While the caftan was a form of garment shared by the Ḳipčaḳs and the Byzantines by the period of the Chungul Kurgan burial, the decoration of the two caftans described above complicates the correspondence. The Byzantine *loros*, which seems to have inspired the decoration of the burial caftan, was an accessory not of any sort of caftan but of a tunic, that is, a garment pulled on over the head. Details of the construction of the garments that have emerged from recent scientific investigation shed further light on the question of native traditions versus foreign imitation. The analysis by our textile conservator in Kyiv, Maria Stepan, reveals that the partially preserved caftans were assembled out of a virtual patchwork of textiles of differing weaves and weights. Dye analysis performed in a forensic laboratory in Kyiv has indicated differing colorants among the textiles from various parts of the garments. The collar and placket of the burial caftan, both of which were faced with an almost continuous row of silver-gilt plaques, yielded the chemical signature for bromide from the fragments of purple silk supporting the appliqués. The presence of this ion may indicate that this silk was dyed with true, murex purple, a rare commodity at any period.[71] In the construction of their robes of state, the Palermo workshops of the Normans and Hohenstaufens seem to have conserved textiles dyed with murex purple almost obsessively, confining their use to the most visible areas of the garment.[72] Given that the purple fabric is, in this case, obscured by the silver ornaments, it is almost certain that these fragments were reused from an earlier garment or hanging.

Also among the surviving textiles are several fragments found lining the hem of a garment that was folded up near the feet of the deceased. Most of the garment was lost to decay, but narrow strips remain of a once-splendid textile with a woven pattern of elephants surrounded by a border of fantastical creatures within pearled roundels (Fig. 19). It appears to be a type of lampas[73] — a technique which developed in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[74] The textile must therefore date somewhat later in the chronology of Byzantine silk weaving than the famous elephant silk from the tomb of Charlemagne, datable to the tenth or early eleventh century, which is of compound twill weave.[75] One can compare the spectacular brocaded silk lampas with griffins from the cathedral of Sens, a work surely to be attributed to a Byzantine court workshop around the turn of the twelfth century, or, closer to the design of the Chungul fragment, a poorly preserved silk with elephants, senmurvs, and winged horses from the grave of Archbishop Arnold of Trier (d. 1183). Despite the twelfth-century date of the grave in which it was found, the Trier textile probably dates to the eleventh century.[76] At the Chungul Kurgan, we are again likely looking at a case of a textile at least a century older than the burial it was found in, used as a reinforcing lining in a place where it would have been completely hidden.

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19
Elephant-patterned silk from lining of caftan at feet of deceased. Photograph Y. Rassamakin

20
Manuel I Komnenos and Maria of Antioch, dated 1166. Vat. gr. 1176, fol. IIr. Photograph Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

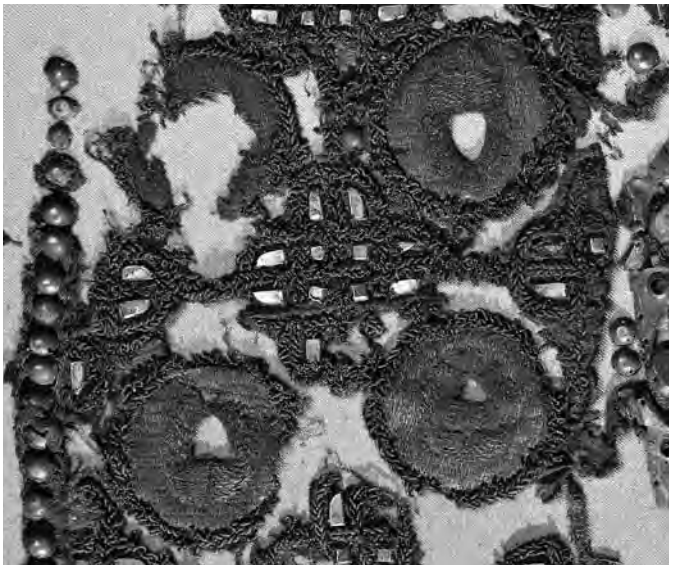
As has already been pointed out, the disposition and decorative scheme of the embroideries on the caftan worn by the deceased strongly recall aspects of the *loros*, the ceremonial scarf of the Byzantine emperors. No *loros* survives from Byzantium, but its evolution can be traced in pictorial sources. Its origins lie in the ornamental border of the consular *toga picta* of the late Roman empire. By the seventh century, it had become an independent ornament consisting of a scarf (the literal translation of *loros*) some 6 meters in length, wrapped around the body in imitation of the earlier wrapping of the toga.[77] Like the *toga picta*, the *loros* was worn over a tunic. It was draped over the shoulders in a Y-shape, with a long trailing end that was worn hanging over the wearer's left arm. By the middle of the tenth century, a simplified form of the *loros* was introduced, which, having an opening at the neck, could be pulled on over the tunic rather than painstakingly wrapped.[78] This latter form of the *loros* must have been rather longer in back than in the front (about 180–190 centimeters in back compared to 120–130 centimeters in front) to allow for the tail to be brought around and draped over the left forearm. Over the course of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, the *loros* came to be not only coordinated with the decoration of the tunic worn with it, but actually attached to the underlying garment. Thus in its final form, it would have consisted of areas of embroidered appliqués on the front, back, and shoulders of the garment, with only the portion reaching from the back over the left arm remaining as a free-hanging element (Fig. 20). Assuming that it was connected to the imperial garments somewhere near the small of the back, this free-hanging length of the *loros* can be estimated at 130 centimeters. Until the Palaiologan period (1261–1453), the characteristic decoration of the *loros* consisted of a grid or diaper pattern of squares, often with pearled out-

lines, with round or square gems in their centres.[79] Often the borders of the *loros* are shown supporting further pendant gems or pearls.

One very puzzling aspect of the embroidered medallions on the burial caftan is that the embroidered faces in the fifth row down from the collar are upside down, with the resumption of upright orientation in the following rows (Fig. 21). Another such reversal of direction can be detected in the fragmentary roundels cut off by the inset metallic ribbon at the waist. These changes in the orientation of the faces are difficult to explain away as an artist's error. If we consider the possibility, however, that the band of embroidery was reused from an earlier costume, there are potential explanations. If, as seems possible, the embroideries were once worn as an actual *loros*, there are several points at which the orientation of the decoration on the band would have to shift to appear consistently upright to the viewer. One notes, in particular, the draping of the *loros* over the left forearm, necessitating a brief shift in the orientation of decoration over the portion draped between the forearm and the chest. While we have not been able to reach any conclusion as to whom the embroidered portraits are meant to represent, they may be assumed to be sufficiently significant that the maintenance of an upright orientation would have been desirable. The reversal of direction of the embroidered faces strongly suggests an earlier and original use of the embroideries elsewhere on an actual *loros*. Furthermore the length of the embroidered band on the front of the caftan, at approximately 100 centimeters, could easily have come from the free-hanging portion of a *loros*, on which such reversals of orientation might be expected to occur.

It should be noted, in this connection, that the *loros* was widely adopted by the neighbors and successor states of Byzantium for the presentation of their rulers in art. That these images reflected the usage of actual costumes is attested by Theodore Metochites in the last decade of the thirteenth century: he reports being received by King Milutin of Serbia, who was dressed in garments studded with gold and gems in the imperial manner.[80] In fact, it has been demonstrated that the fourteenth-century *stola* of the Holy Roman Emperors, itself a remodeled piece of the Norman coronation regalia, was meant to be wrapped as a *loros.* When arranged this way, the seemingly haphazard orientation of the brocaded eagles on the *stola* is resolved, with all of the motifs appearing upright to the viewer.[81] If the embroideries of the Chungul Kurgan burial caftan indeed came from a *loros*, it need not necessarily have originated in Constantinople.

On the caftan found folded up beneath the armor, the embroidered image of an archangel and a small donor figure at first suggested to the investigators a fragment of a larger composition occupying an entire side of the torso of the caftan.[82] As with the embroidered medallions on the burial caftan, the embroidered faces do not align in the expected direction: the donor figure faces away from the arch-



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21
Detail of figure 10 showing inverted heads in embroidered "loros" band. Photograph D. V. Klochko

22
Detail of figure 15 showing cut through donor arm and inscription. Photograph D. V. Klochko

angel at whose feet he stands, contrary to iconographic norms. The accompanying inscription in Slavonic characters is too fragmentary to be readily deciphered.[83] The panel of embroidery is framed on both sides by narrow ribbons bearing a series of hemispherical, silver-gilt bosses. When this ribbon was lifted from the edge of the embroidery, it was discovered that the embroidery had been cut right across the hands of the donor figure as well as through a letter of the inscription (Fig. 22). Close examination revealed that the ornamental panel of vegetal ornament below the archangel's footstool was executed on a lighter-weight fabric than that supporting the embroidery of the figures. This textile was doubled-over to match the gauge of the much heavier silk underlying the archangel embroidery.[84] The joining of the two different weights of silk fabric — on the reverse by a carefully executed, turned-under seam — would have taken place at the time of the original execution of the embroidery. Based on the orientation of the donor figure, there must have been a further figure or figures in the center of the original embroidered panel, toward whom the donor's gaze was directed. Most likely, the composition took the form of a *deesis*, in which the image of Christ would have been flanked by one or more pairs of intercessors, such as the holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel.[85] The physical examination of the edge of the embroidery made clear, then, that these were not integral parts of a robe of state but rather reused fragments, probably from an ecclesiastical embroidery such as an altar cloth.

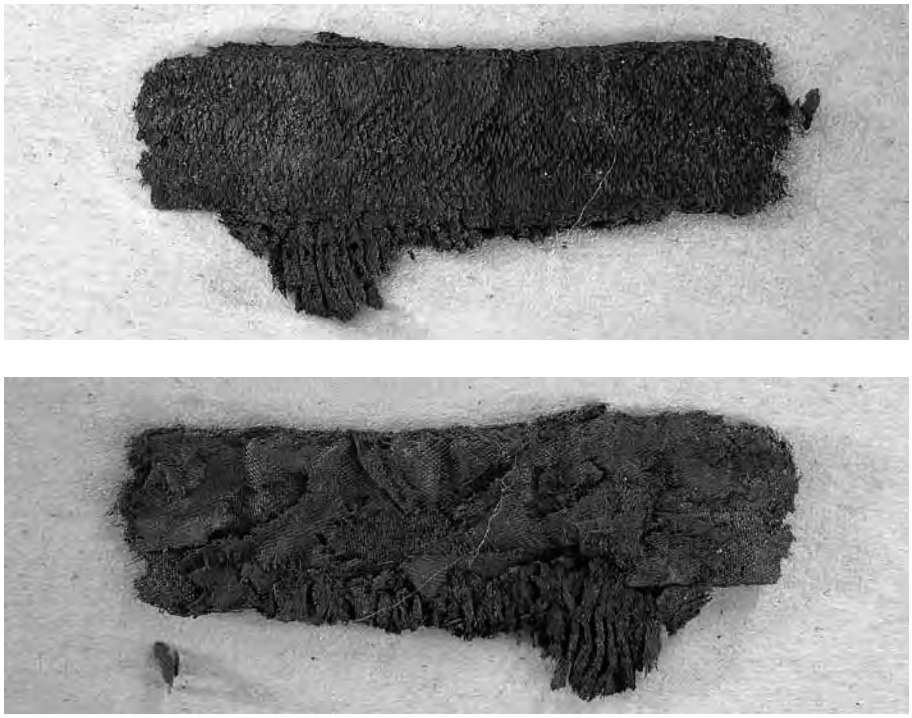
The silk and metallic ribbons used extensively to trim all the surviving Chungul caftans are technically and iconographically similar to examples known from the Mediterranean world, as has already been observed. Their disposition on the

23

23
Ḳipčaḳ statue, twelfth–thirteenth century. Stone. Kherson Regional Museum, Kherson. Drawing after Pletneva, *Polovetskie kamennye izvaianiia*, pl. 71, 12

caftans, however, mirrors the way decorative trimmings are indicated on Ḳipčaḳ stone statues found in the Pontic steppe (*balbal* or *bolvan*; popularly known by their Russian name as *kamennye baby*).[86] Although these statues are generally very weathered and lack fine detail, in many instances one can discern patterned bands of cloth trimming the opening of the caftan along the center line of the chest, as well as the waist, sides, and spine (Fig. 23). We cannot be sure of the exact nature of these bands, but the finds of woven silk and gold bands elsewhere in the region may indicate that they were prized among the Ḳipčaḳ elite.[87] Gold trimmings in similar positions also appear on the costumes of Georgian rulers in their official portraiture. In frescoes of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the members of the Bagrationi dynasty depicted themselves sometimes in the long Byzantine tunic and *loros*, sometimes in caftans trimmed at the openings and hems with gold-woven bands.[88] It is worth noting, however, that the two styles, while they appear side by side in Georgian fresco painting, are never blended in a single portrait: the *loros* and the caftan are never worn together. The caftan from the Chungul Kurgan is, therefore, exceptional. Furthermore, the opening of the caftan, which is perfectly centered whenever indicated on the stone figures, is in the case of the burial caftan offset several centimeters to the left in order to accommodate the reused *loros*.

A feature of the tailoring of at least two of the Chungul caftans is the narrow ribbon with silver-gilt bosses that was used along all the seams of the embroidery and woven bands. Consisting of a strip of samite 12 millimeters wide and hemmed on its underside, it was evidently prepared with its silver ornament prior to being sewn onto the caftans. In places, the ribbon preserves fragments of its original decoration of tiny pearls ringing the individual bosses. Examination of the seams covered by this ribbon reveals that the edges of the two pieces of fabric are generally butted rather than turned under, and the sewing itself is carried out with a darning stitch. The extensive use of the ornamental ribbon, for all its richness, actually conceals



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Caftan under armor, detail showing attachment of pleated skirt to waist (obverse and reverse). Photograph Y. Rassamakin

hasty, even shoddy sewing. Perhaps the most astonishing discovery was the method of attachment of the skirt of the caftan with the embroidered archangel.[89] The skirt, as has been mentioned, was meticulously gathered into hundreds of pleats each about 3 millimeters wide. The upper part was then attached to the torso of the caftan by a single line of sewing through the selvedge of the woven gold and silk ribbon trimming the waist (Fig. 24). Although our first impression was that these costumes were adapted for life on horseback, the details of their construction present a very different picture. The wearer could hardly have mounted a horse, let alone ridden it, without the skirt ripping free of the body of the caftan. The likely conclusion, then, is that this garment, at least, was assembled for the express purpose of burial with the "prince."

Toward Some Conclusions on Dress, Ritual, and Identity

Having progressed from an initial impression of the caftans from the Chungul Kurgan burial and some of their visual references to a close look at some of the details of their manufacture and construction, we can begin to engage in some informed speculation about how this clothing relates to the nomadic polity of the Ḳipčaḳs and to its relationship with its sedentary neighbors. We know from Rus' sources that precious textiles were on occasion deliberately cut and distributed as largesse in lieu of coinage. In the year 1115, on the occasion of the translation of the relics of Saints Boris and Gleb, Volodymyr Monomakh dispersed the crowd blocking the progress of the procession by ordering gold embroideries and brocade to be cut up and passed out to the people along with silver coins.[90] Both earlier and later Eurasian cultures made garments that were similarly composed of disparate elements that arrived either as gifts, trade goods, booty or largesse. One can compare the caftans from the well-known Caucasian site of Moschevaia Balka, which combine various Persian, Byzantine, Chinese, and Central Asian textiles of the early medieval period

(Fig. 25). In many of these cases, the textiles were of both high intrinsic value and high value as signifiers of elite status, as, for example, in the case of the famous senmurv caftan now in the Hermitage.[91] A recently discovered Mongol-period burial in the north Caucasus, tentatively dated to the late thirteenth through fourteenth century, provides an important comparison.[92] Here, the trousers reuse a gold and silk embroidery of the Ascension of Christ, as is evident from the fragments of inscription and the postures of the apostles and angels. No attention is paid, however, to their orientation. The composition has been chopped up and used crazy-quilt fashion without regard to whether the figures are vertical, sideways, or inverted. On a spectrum of reuse running from a pole of pure opportunism, innocent of ideological content, to the other extreme of fully conscious imitation or subversion, we can place the application of the embroidery on the Mongol trousers at the opportunistic end of the spectrum.[93] The embroidery is simply ornament; its iconography is ignored. While anomalies in their deployment tip us off to the fact of their reuse, the embroidery fragments on the Chungul Kurgan caftans are placed in a much more deliberate fashion. The donor figure and inscription may be ignored, but the large figure of the archangel, whose military status as commander of the heavenly hosts was highlighted both in the arts of Byzantium and of Kyivan Rus', is given due prominence. The reused *loros* embroideries of the burial caftan are of course deployed on the wrong sort of garment by Byzantine standards. They nonetheless follow the disposition of the decorative elements of the *loros* costume as worn by Byzantine emperors. The garments thus demonstrate an understanding of the *lingua franca* of royal power in the Eastern Mediterranean zone. Elements are reused in ways that may or may not reflect their original purpose, but remain consistent with the way similar elements might have been deployed in their culture of origin. The garments do not, however, directly imitate any one sartorial source, thus avoiding the danger of being "pinned down" into another culture's hierarchy of dress.

The belts give us corroborating evidence for the kind of dynamic of reuse in the Chungul burial. Two of the three belts mentioned above were found on the body of the deceased, connected with the inner and outer garments. The belt furnishings, including the silver claddings for the tip of the belt and struts for stiffening the fabric webbing, are typical of thirteenth-century belts from Western Europe and the Crusader States.[94] What is unusual, however, is the positions in which they were found. In the process of excavation, the inner belt on the body was found upside down, lying open across the hips of the deceased. The outer belt around the caftan was likewise placed around the body upside down, such that the suspension rings attached to it pointed towards the head of the deceased. In this case, the belt was threaded through the buckle but not fastened.[95] Clearly, the belts could not have been employed in such a position in life. The very presence of the bulky cast

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Torso of caftan from Moshchevaia Balka, 19th century. Silk. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. KZ 6733. After Ierusalimskaia and Borkopp, *Von China nach Byzanz*, cat. no. 3

silver siren buckle on an inner garment is contrary to sartorial logic. Rather, the unusual situation of the belts appears to reflect Turkic ritual practices involving supplication to higher-ranked individuals and to deities.[96] In documents relating to the Türks and Mongols, the rite of supplication involved both the removal of the belt from the waist and its placement around the neck. Thus the *Secret History of the Mongols* describes both Genghis Khan's worship of Burqan Qaldun through such a rite and, *mutatis mutandis*, his brother Qasar's submission to Genghis Khan himself.[97] The open belts around the waist of the body from the Chungul Kurgan also help to make sense of the enormous round chain about the neck. Circular in form and made of electrum mesh, its dimensions are more than adequate for it to be regarded not as a necklace, but as a belt. Furthermore, the rings that clasp its ends together are soldered shut in what may be another ritual act of "sealing" the body in a state of supplication to Tangrı and the gods of the afterlife. One can compare it to the very similar belt worn by a seated figure in a Seljuk relief from Konya.[98] The two belts of Western European manufacture, and a third perhaps of Anatolian origin, are here also redeployed in the service of Turkic religious rites.

The evidence for reuse and haste that the detailed examination of the textiles has uncovered nuances, rather than negates, our initial impressions. The fact that at least one of the caftans from the burial was unlikely to have been worn in life freights them with even more symbolic significance. On the one hand, clothing that is "usable" only in death recalls the class of Chinese burial goods known as "spirit articles" (*ming qi*), which are differentiated from normal objects used in life by their non-durable construction.[99] It may also be the case that the deceased's own garments extant at the time of his death were reconfigured and enriched with the addition of material from the Ḳipčaḳ treasury of gifts and spolia, so that their splendor might befit the dignity of his burial. In such a scenario, artisans would have

had to work quickly to employ the embroideries and other materials they had at hand to create the garments that would accompany the "prince" into the afterlife. The intrinsic value of the gold- and pearl-incrusted textiles fits the larger pattern of collection observed among the other high-value grave goods from the Chungul Kurgan.

The caftans buried with the Ḳipčaḳ "prince" present a palimpsest of nomadic, Middle Eastern, and Mediterranean features, reflecting in their structure and decoration both the inherited polity of the Ḳipčaḳs and their extensive relations with their sedentary neighbors. On the other hand, the very associations with sedentary kingdoms that brought the Ḳipčaḳs military aid and status, and material prosperity, also threatened the continuity of their religious traditions.[100] Despite the advances of Christianity (in both its Greek and Latin forms) among the Ḳipčaḳs in the early thirteenth century, the funerary ritual in the Chungul Kurgan, with its sacrifices of horses, sheep, and a human victim slain and buried at the conclusion of the burial rite, was emphatically shamanist.[101] It was surely no accident that the Ḳipčaḳ warrior's burial was inserted into a pre-existing burial mound of prehistoric date, which was then enlarged to monumental scale.[102] Just as the Western European belts were buried inverted and unfastened to signify supplication to the shamanic gods of the afterlife, the caftans redeploy material from the Mediterranean world in a manner that fits the priorities of Turkic ceremonial and belief. Like the other aspects of the burial, the caftans reassert the ancient nomadic traditions of the Ḳipčaḳ confederation at a moment of crisis. They are a rare and precious testimony to nomadic self-definition in a world soon to be submerged by the rise of the Mongol empire.

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NOTES

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1 All transliterations of modern Ukrainian and Russian names follow the Library of Congress system. For historical proper names, we have relied on the system adopted in M. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, trans. M. Skorupsky (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1997–).

2 For the first notice of the excavation results, see V. Otroshchenko, "Raskopki kurganov v Zaporozhskoi oblasti" [Excavations of kurgans in the Zaporozh'e Oblast'], *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1981 goda* (1983), 300–302; a fuller report appeared in V. Otroshchenko and Y. Rassamakin, "Polovets'kyi kompleks Chynhul'skoho kurhanu" (The Polovtsian complex of the Chynhul Kurgan), *Arkheolohiia* 53 (1986): 14–36.

3 O. Halenko observed this on a detailed military map of the area along the border between Russia and Turkey as it stood at the end of the eighteenth century, drawn and engraved at the Imperial Depot of Maps in 1800: National Library of Ukraine, Department of Maps, No. 12610. The Slavic name of the Molochna River, meaning "milky," is a calque from its Turkish name of "Süten": O. Pritsak, "The Polovcians and Rus'," *Archivium Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982): 334.

4 J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople: Printed for the American Mission by A. H. Boyajian, 1890), 740, s.v. چونكول / *chungül*. In 1641 the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, who crossed this area, reported in his travelogue (the *Seyahat-name*), that the shores of the River Molochna (Süt nehri) were marshy, allegedly resulting in one hundred horses and fifty captives of the Tatars being drowned there: Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi* (Constantinople, AH 1314/1896), 2:485.

5 Otroshchenko and Rassamakin, "Polovets'kyi kompleks," 14.

6 On the excavation technique, see now Y. Rassamakin and R. Holod, "Turkic Burial: The Excavation of a Kurgan and the Reconstruction of its Construction Processes" (forthcoming).

7 Otroshchenko, "Raskopki kurganov," 300–301; V. V. Otroshchenko and S. Zh. Pustovalov, "Obriad modelirovaniia litsa po cherepu u plemen katakombnoi obshchnosti" [The ritual of modeling the face on the skull among a tribe of the Catacomb Culture polity], in *Dukhovnaia kul'tura drevnikh obshchestv na territorii Ukraini* [Religious culture of ancient polities in the territory of Ukraine], ed. V.

F. Gening (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1991), 59–84.

8 B. Hanks, "Iron Age Nomadic Burials of the Eurasian Steppe: A Discussion Exploring Burial Ritual Complexity," in *Kurgans, Ritual Sites, and Settlements, Eurasian Bronze and Iron Age*, ed. J. Davis-Kimball et al., BAR International Series 890 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 24–25; A. I. Kubyshev, "Novye pogrebenie srednevekovykh kochevnikov XI–XIII vv. v stepom Prysyvashie" [New burials of medieval nomads of the eleventh–thirteenth centuries in the steppe coastlands of the Syvash], *Mezhdunarodnye sviazi v srednevekovoi Evrope* [International relations in medieval Europe] (Zaporizhzhia: Zaporizhzhia State University, 1988), 44–46. Also see O. Halenko and Y. Rassamakin, "On the Meaning of the Landscape in the Location of the Chungul Kurgan Burial" (forthcoming).

9 The following is a summary account of the reconstructed ritual; for a full discussion and reconstruction of the process, see Rassamakin and Holod, "Turkic Burial" (forthcoming). For an earlier summary of the burial rite, see Otroshchenko and Rassamakin, "Polovets'kyi kompleks," 15–18.

10 The 6 cm long fissure in the back of the skull, likely caused by the blow of a sword, may not have been the immediate cause of death. A reexamination of evidence from the skeleton will form part of the final publication of the burial. For now, see the preliminary examination of the remains by M. Schultz, "Archäologische Skelettfunde als Spiegel der Lebensbedingungen früher Viehzüchter und Nomaden in der Ukraine," in *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine*, ed. R. Rolle et al. (Schleswig: Archäologisches Landesmuseum, 1991), 41–42.

11 William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*, trans. P. Jackson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), 93; E. Tryjarski, *Bestattungsitten türkischer Völker auf dem Hintergrund ihrer Glaubensvorstellungen* (Berlin: Reinhold Schletzer, 2001), 199–205.

12 The terminology for leaders of the Ḳipčaḳ confederation is a vexed issue. We are following the usage introduced by Peter Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qıpčaqs in Georgia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984): 70, following the Rus' chronicles.

13 The conservation and analysis of the textile remains are ongoing as of the time of writing. Final results, including detailed information on weave structure, will be published in the book-length study of the burial.

14 The rationale for the dating of the individual artifacts, as well as the dating of the complex as a whole, will be discussed thoroughly in the forthcoming monograph on the burial.

15 On the ethnogenesis of the Ḳipčaḳs, see P. Golden, "The Qıpčaqs of Medieval Eurasia: An Example of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes," in *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, ed. G. Seaman and D. Marks (Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, 1991), 133. For an exploration of Ḳipčaḳ identity through Arab sources, see D. Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror: The Kipçak World of the Thirteenth Century," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, ed. F. Curta and R. Kovalev (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 329–412.

16 Pritsak, "Polovcians and Rus'," 373; A. Savvides, "Hoi Komanoi (Koumanoi) kai to Byzantio 11–13 ai. m. Chr." [The Comans (Cumans) and Byzantium in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries after Christ], *Byzantina* 13, no.2 (1985): 945–56; Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, VIII, iii–vi, ed. D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 240–51.

17 Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," 387–91. The primary sources are not consistent in the dating of the Mongol conquest over the Ḳipčaḳs. Rashid al-Din dates the final Mongol war with the Ḳipčaḳs to the summer of 1236. Rashid al-Din, *Sbornik letopisei* (Compendium of chronicles), vol. 2, trans. Iu. P. Verkhovskii, ed. I. P. Petrushevskii (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk S.S.S.R., 1960), 38. Cf. the varying chronology given in B. Spuler, *Die goldene Horde: Die Mongolen in Ruṭland* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), 11–17; E. V. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London: Kegan Paul, 1910), 1:300–301, 310–12. See also the reference by the Byzantine historian Nikephoros Gregoras to the flight of the Ḳipčaḳs across the Danube to escape the invading Mongols: *Historia* I, ii, 5, ed. L. Schopen, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 6 (Bonn: Weber, 1829), 1:36.

18 Pritsak, "Polovcians and Rus'," 374–78. The raids of the Ḳipčaḳs were noted in the Hypatian Chronicle beginning prior to a peace agreement of 1055 and continuing on a fairly regular basis. Often the Ḳipčaḳ forces appear as allies or mercenaries in the internecine battles of Rus' princes; thus a partial list of raids, pillage, and plunder: 1066, 1068, 1078, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1096 (plunder and burning of the Lavra in Kyiv), 1106 (Zarechesk), 1107, 1136 (Krasna, Trepol', Vasiliv, Bilhorod up to Kyiv), 1148 (Dristra), 1152 (Vlatich, Mtsensk, Hlukhiv, Chernihiv), 1154 (Pereyaslav), 1180 (Suzdal'), 1165, 1171 (Kyiv), 1172 (Korsun'), 1174 (Ros' River region), 1177 (Pereyaslav), 1185 (Pereyaslav area, Rimov, Putivl'), 1187, 1196 (Suzdal').

In 1206, they are the allies of Roman of Halych against the Hungarians, and then in 1217–19 of Mstyslav of Halych, again in the Hungarian conflict: *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* [Full compendium of Russian chronicles (hereafter, *PSRL*)], vol. 2, ed. A. A. Shakhmatov, 2nd edition (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Arkheograficheskaia kommissiia, 1908).

19 Hypatian Chronicle, *PSRL* 2: cols. 334.

20 Pritsak, "Polovcians and Rus'," 369, 377, 378.

21 Pritsak, "Polovcians and Rus'," 373, 375–76.

22 P. Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qipčaqs in Georgia," 45–87; A. Khazanov and A. Wink, *Nomads in the Sedentary World* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 49.

23 Savvides, "Komanoi kai to Byzantio," 947–48.

24 C. Halperin, "The Kipchak Connection: The Ilkhans, the Mamluks and Ayn Jalut," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63 (2000): 231–35; S. M. Akhinzhanov, "Kipčaks and Khwarazm," in *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, ed. G. Seaman and D. Marks (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1991), 126–31.

25 Monomakh's campaigns against the Ḳipčaḳs are documented sporadically from 1103 to 1116: Golden, "The Qipčaqs in Georgia," 70–71; *PSRL* 1, cols. 277–89; 2, cols. 250, 258–60, 264–68, 284.

26 J. Fennell, "The Tatar Invasion of 1223," *Forschungen zur Osteuropaischen Geschichte* 27 (1980): 18–31; *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, trans. R. Michell and N. Forbes (London: Camden Society, 1914), 64–66; *PSRL* 2, cols. 740–45; M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov, 1146–1246* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 292–98; C. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 45–46; Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, 12–13; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1:295. The Kalka is now generally identified with the Kal'mius River or, more precisely, its tributary the Kal'chyk (Pritsak, "Polovcians and Rus'," 357). Contrary to Spuler's indication, the Kal'mius debouches into the Sea of Azov at Mariupol', not Taganrog.

27 On this practice among the Turkic peoples in general, including the Ḳipčaḳs, see Tryjarski, *Bestattungsitten türkischer Völker*, 199–205.

28 Albericus Trium Fontium, *Chronicon*, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 23:950; I. Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 66.

29 Iu. Rassamakin, "Pogrebenie znatnogo kochevnika na reke Molochnoi: Opyt rekonstruktsii veshchevogo kompleksa" [The burial of a noble nomad on the Molochna River: an attempt at the reconstruction of the grave goods], in *Stepy Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia* (The European Steppes in the Middle Ages), ed. A. V. Evglevskii, vol. 3, *Polovetsko-zolotoordynskoe vremia* (The Polovets and Golden Horde Times) (Donetsk: Donetsk National University, 2003), 207–30. Compare also the Ḳipčaḳ burial with a horse and cart found at Bolshemikhailovka: V. N. Shalobudov and V. N. Iaremaka, "Kochevnicheskie zakhoroneniia X–XII vv. na r. Volch'ei" [Nomadic burials of the tenth–twelfth centuries on the River Volch'ia], *Problemy arkheologii Podneprov'ia* [Problems in the archaeology of the lower Dnepr basin) (Dnepropetrovsk: Dnepropetrovsk State University, 1985), 138–53.

30 Tryjarski, *Bestattungssitten türkischer Völker*, 45ff, 93, 127–28, 345. On the unpublished Ḳipčaḳ burial, see further Rassamakin and Holod, "Turkic Burial."

31 A. V. Evglevski, "Semantika raspriamlennykh griven v kontekste pogrebal'nogo obriada kochevnikov Vostochnoi Evropy XII–XIV vv." [The semantics of straightened *grivna* in the context of the burial rites of the nomads of Eastern Europe, twelfth–fourteenth centuries], *Arkheologicheskii al'manakh* 7 (1998), 141–56. The Museum of Historical Treasures in Kyiv preserves a bent gold torque found as part of a treasure trove (buried in two earthenware pots) at the village of Sakhnivka, Cherkas'ka oblast', dated by context to the eleventh to twelfth centuries. The site lies within the historic boundaries of Kyivan territory: G. F. Korzukhina, *Russkie klady IX–XIII vv.* [Rus' treasures, ninth–thirteenth centuries], (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk S.S.S.R., 1954), 46, 49, 131, cat. no. 127.

32 Tryjarski, *Bestattungsitten türkischer Völker*, 196; S. A. Pletneva, *Polovtsy* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990), 122–29.

33 Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," 391–93, has developed a careful reconstruction of the events after the 1238 defeat, including Mongol destruction of Kyiv of 1240, and their advance through Hungary and southwest to Split, whence they returned in 1242 via Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria again to the *Dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ*. He also proposes that a Mongol detachment or administration would have been left in this conquered area from 1239 to 1242, referring also to the Hypatian Chronicle which records that Batu sent troops from the *Dasht-i Ḳipčaḳ* in 1239–40 to take Pereyaslav. See also Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, 19.

34 As noted elsewhere, the post-excavation history of the textiles has resulted in difficult conditions for the reconstruction of the garments. Conservation and analysis is ongoing; final results will appear in the book-length publication of the burial.

35 The bottom part of this piece is covered by the narrower ribbon of the waistband, indicating that the latter was sewn on last, covering the seams of the caftan's construction.

36 This category of bands, traditionally known as "Palermitaner Borte," includes the twelfth-century belt of the *Reichsschwert* of the Holy Roman Empire (Vienna, Weltliche Schatzkammer, inv. no. XIII.9), published in *Nobiles Officinae: Perle, filigrane e trame di seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo*, vol. 1 (Catania: Giuseppe Maimone, 2006), 64–65, 95, cat. no. I.6; and M. Schulze-Dörlamm, *Das Reichsschwert* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), 30–34; the majority of the bands on the twelfth-century *sandalia* from the coronation regalia in Vienna (Weltliche Schatzkammer, inv. no. XIII.13), published in *Nobiles Officinae*, 62–63, cat. no. I.5; and N. Spies, *Ecclesiastical Pomp & Aristocratic Circumstance: A Thousand Years of Brocaded Tabletwoven Bands* (Jarrettsville, Md.: Arelate Studio, 2000), 32, 206; the orphreys of the alb of St. Bernulf in Utrecht (1028–1056, dated twelfth century; Utrecht, Reijksmuseum Het Catherijneconvent), published in M. Fleury-Lemberg, *Textile Conservation and Research* (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 1988), 190–95, where the gold bands are incorrectly classified as tablet weaving, cf. Spies, *Ecclesiastical Pomp & Aristocratic Circumstance*, 23, 257; eleventh–twelfth century gold bands found in the graves of Bamberg Cathedral (Diözesanmuseum, Munich, inv. nos. M53, M54), published in *Textile Grabfunde aus der Sepultur des Bamberger Domkapitels*, ed. Hannelore Herrmann and York Langenstein (Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1987), 182, 183; fragments of gold bands from Tongeren and Sint-Truiden, Belgium, published in D. De Jonghe, "De textieldocumenten uit Sint-Truiden: Technologische bevindingen" [Textile documents of Sint-Truiden: technological findings], in *Stof uit de kist: De middeleeuwse textielschat uit de abdij van Sint-Truiden* [Fabric from the chest: the medieval textile treasures from the Abbey of Sint-Truiden] (Sint-Truiden: Peeters, 1991), 71–75, 283–86); and a miter from Brixen (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 46.156.31), published in E. B. Sachs, "Some Notes on a Twelfth-Century Bishop's Mitre in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 61 (1978): 4–5. On medieval tablet-weaves in the strict sense of the term, see Spies, *Ecclesiastical Pomp & Aristocratic Circumstance*.

37 Our thanks to Christine Weller for calculating this approximation.

38 M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 22.

39 The *toga picta* of the late Roman empire, however, could be represented as having embroidered images, as, for example, on the consular diptych of Areobindus. Cf. W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1976), nos. 10, 33.

40 Z. Gavrilović, "Observations on the Iconography of St. Kyriake, Principally in Cyprus," in *Lampēdōn: Aphierōma stē mnēmē tēs Doulas Mourikē* (Athens: University Presses, 2003), 1:255–64.

41 *L'Europe Gothique XII^e–XIV^e siècles* (Paris: RNM, 1968), no. 399, pl. 118; C. R. af Ugglas, *Gotländska silverskatter fran Valdermarstågets tid* [Gotland silver treasures from the time of Valdemarstaget] (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1936); idem, "Det stora bältespännet i Duneskatten jämte en omprövning av den gotländska Tingstäde-mästarens kronologi." [The large belt buckle in the Dune Treasure with a review of the chronology of the Gotland Tingstäde Master], *Fornvännen* 32 (1937): 257–74.

42 On these so-called "profilierte" buckles, see with caution I. Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1971), 58–77.

43 F. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters* (Bonn: Max Cohen & Sohn, 1866), 2:55. Our sincere thanks to the retreat house of La Cour Dieu at La Roche-en-Brenil for providing photographs of the belt.

44 R. Koch, "Der Glasbecher der heiligen Elisabeth in Coburg," in *Sankt Elisabeth: Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 281–82.

45 Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, inv. no. F 285; *Enamels of Limoges: 1100–1300* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 287, cat. no. 91.

46 Fingerlin regards the portal sculptures of the Wise and Foolish Virgins at Magdeburg Cathedral as the earliest examples of the type: Fingerlin, *Gürtel*, 65, 68. To this example may be added the famed statue of the founder Eckhart at Naumburg Cathedral, ca. 1245, and the funerary effigy of Jean d'Alluye (ca. 1248) in The Cloisters in New York. On the tomb effigy, see H. Nickel, "A Crusader's Sword: Concerning the Effigy of Jean d'Alluye," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991): 123–28.

47 As argued by Ortwin Gamber in "Die Bewaffnung der Stauferzeit," in *Die Zeit der Staufer* (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977), 3:114. We owe this reference to Dirk Breiding.

48 D. A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 196–99.

49 S. Blair, "Inscriptions on Medieval Islamic Textiles," in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, ed. M. 'Abbās Muḥammad Salīm, Riggisberger

Berichte 5 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1997), 97–100; J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress: Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 67–68; Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, 54.

50 See note 34, above.

51 The resulting reconstructions by the Russian textile conservator A. K. Ëlkina are incorrect in numerous significant respects: A. K. Ëlkina, "Redchaishie obraztsy vizantiiskogo shit'ia i tkachestva" [Unique examples of Byzantine embroidery and weaving], *Nauka i zhizn'* 7 (1983): 80–82; German translation "Seidene Kaftane und Goldstickereien aus Byzanz," in *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine*, ed. R. Rolle et al. (Schleswig: Wachholtz, 1991), 274–75.

52 G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantine*, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1939, 1947); W. Woodfin, "Liturgical Textiles," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. Evans (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), 295–96; idem, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). For gold embroidery from Kyivan Rus', see M. A. Novitskaia, "Zolotnaia vyshivka Kievskoi Rusi" [Gold embroidery of Kievan Rus'], *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972): 42–50.

53 There is somewhat more evidence for animal imagery as decoration on Byzantine imperial costume. See H. Maguire and L. Jones, "A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002): 108, 128–36.

54 On this image see most recently A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 139–51.

55 A. Muthesius, "Silk in the Medieval World," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. D. Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1:343; R. Schorta, *Monochrome Seidengewebe des hohen Mittelalters* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2001), 12–16, 30–33.

56 N. A. Stillman in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill), s.v. *khila*.

57 Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, 57–58; Ball, *Byzantine Dress*, 69–70; S. Pelekanides and M. Chatzedakes, *Kastoria* (Athens: Melissa, 1985), 39, 43, plate 23.

58 Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, 332, pl. 76; A. Bank, *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobraniiakh SSSR* [Art of Byzantium in the collections of the U.S.S.R.] (Moscow: Sovetskii Khudozhnik, 1977), 3:159, cat. no. 1010.

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62 E. I. Stillman, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill), s.v. "Libās."

63 J. Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 23–27, 117–18

64 Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 25.

65 Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 2961, and St. Petersburg, Library of the Oriental Institute, S. 23.

66 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. arabe 5847: O. Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 116–17.

67 Vienna , Nationalbibliothek, MS. A. F. 10, fols. 1r and 3a: O. Pancaroğlu, "Socializing Medicine: Illustrations of the *Kitāb al-Diryaq*," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 155–72. See the frontispieces of the multi-volume *Kitāb al-Aghānī* copy made for Badr al-Din Lu'lu', and specifically those of volumes 17 and 19 today found in Istanbul, Millet Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1565 and 1566. For a reproduction of the latter see *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, ed. D. Roxburgh (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 390–91, cat. no. 54. For further discussion of public representation of rulers and their "royal" iconography, see E. Whelan, *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia* (London: Melisende, 2006).

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M. Komroff, ed., *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York: Liveright, 1928), 5, 69.

70 On the history of the caftan form in Inner Eurasia, see E. R. Knauer, "A Man's Caftan and Leggings from the North Caucasus of the Eighth to Tenth Century: A Genealogical Study," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 36 (2001): 125–54.

71 A. Muthesius, "Essential Processes, Looms, and Technical Aspects of the Production of Silk Textiles," in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. A. Laiou (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 158–60.

72 J. Hofenk de Graaff and M. van Bommel, "Maestri tintori alla corte di Sicilia," in *Nobiles Officinae*, 2:159–161.

73 Lampas with ground in louisine (i.e., extended tabby with doubled main warps), two colors of supplementary weft bound in tabby by the single binding warp.

74 R. Schorta, "Zur Entwicklung der Lampastechnik," in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters*, 139–43; eadem, *Monochrome Seidengewebe*, 34–51; A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997), 85–87; L. von Wilckens, *Die textilen Künste von der Spätantike bis um 1500* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991), 67–74.

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76 A. Gonosová, in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, ed. H. Evans and W. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 226, cat. no. 150; Schorta, *Monochrome Seidengewebe*, 48, 137–38; cat. nos. 176, 194.

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79 Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, 22.

80 K. N. Sathas, ed., *Mesaiōnikē bibliothēkē* (Athens, Venice, Paris, 1872; repr. Athens: V. N. Gregoriades, 1972), 1:172–73; S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1979), 6. The authors thank Slobodan Ćurčić for this reference. See also C. Walter, "The Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica," in *Vizantijska umetnost početkom XIV veka (L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle)*, ed. S. Petković (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, Odeljenje za istoriju umetnosti, 1978), 183–200.

81 R. Bauer, in *Nobiles Officinae*, 1:77–78, cat. no. I.10; eadem, "Il manto di Ruggero II e le vesti regie," in *Nobiles Officinae*, 2:179–80, figs. 13–14.

82 The present opinion of the excavator, Y. Rassamakin, is that the fragment originally formed part of the back of the caftan, but the state of preservation makes it difficult to determine its original placement definitively.

83 The attempt by Nimchuk to read the epigraphy fails to consider that the inscription is a truncated fragment: V. Nimchuk, "Znakhidka z Chynhul's'koï Mohyly" [A find from the Chynhul Tumulus], *Nauka i Kul'tura* 23 (1989), 280–84.

84 The ground textile of the embroidered ornamental panel is samite, while the ground of the embroidered archangel and donor is most likely weft-faced compound tabby, or taqueté. The lack of a preserved selvedge makes the positive identification of the weave difficult.

85 On donors' incorporation into compositions involving holy persons, see N. P. Ševčenko, "Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as Represented in Byzantine Works of Art," in *Byzance et les images*, ed. A. Guillou (Paris: Musée du Louvre Editions, 1994), 257–85. On the theme of the *deesis*, see A. Cutler, "Under the Sign of the Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 145–54.

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89 It is thus far unclear whether the same method of attachment was followed for the burial caftan with the "*loros*" decoration.

90 Hypatian Chronicle, *PSRL* 2: col. 281.

91 State Hermitage, inv. no. Kz 6584: A. A. Ierusalimskaia and B. Borkopp, *Von China nach Byzanz: frühmittelalterliche Seiden aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Sankt Petersburg* (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1996), 19–21, cat. no. 1.

92 M. V. Vlaskin et al., *Pogrebeniia znati zolotoordynskogo vremeni v mezhdurech'e Dona i Sala* [The burial of a noble of the Golden Horde period in the region between the Don and Sal Rivers], Materialy po izucheniiu istoriko-kul'turnogo naslediia Severnogo Kavkaza

(Materials for the study of the historico-cultural heritage of the north Caucasus) 6 (Moscow: Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 2006). The embroidery itself is not yet published; our sincere thanks to Dr. Zvezdana Dode for sharing images of this important find.

93 R. Nelson, "Appropriation," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. R. Nelson and R. Shiff, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 160–72; A. Cutler, "Reuse or Use? Theoretical and Practical Attitudes towards Objects in the Early Middle Ages," in *Ideologie e Pratiche del Reimpiego nell'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 2 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1999), 1055–83. For medieval use of spolia in general, see D. Kinney, "The Concept of Spolia," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), 233–52; on textile reuse in particular, see M. J. Feliciano, "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. C. Robinson and L. Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 101–31.

94 Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, 14–21.

95 Rassamakin and Holod, "Turkic Burial," forthcoming.

96 J.-P. Roux, *Études d'iconographie islamique: Quelques objets numineux des Turcs et des Mongols* (Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 9–19. China, like ancient Rome, seems to have distributed belts to its "barbarian" allies as signs of office, with the accompanying idea of inserting them into the hierarchy of their own control: Roux, *Quelques objets numineux*, 9–11. On similar practices in the Roman empire, see I. M. Johannsen, "Rings, Fibulae and Buckles with Imperial Portraits and Inscriptions," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994): 229–31.

97 Roux, *Quelques objets*, 12–17.

98 Roux, *Quelques objets*, fig. 9. The stone relief is in the Konya Museum; it has not been studied in detail.

99 Wu Hung, "On Tomb Figurines," in Wu Hung and K. Tsiang, eds., *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 13–14 n. 5. Compare also the clothing made of paper found in tombs of the Turfan oasis: V. Hansen in *The Glory of the Silk Road: Art from Ancient China*, ed. J. Lee and V. Hansen (Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Art Institute, 2003), 35, cat. no. 47. Our thanks to Prof. Kate Lingley for both references.

100 We can assume that virtually every documented marriage of an Orthodox Christian to a Ḳipčaḳ was preceded by the baptism of the Ḳipčaḳ party. Whether such baptisms constituted religious "conversion" in a modern, interior sense is a very much more difficult question.

101 Rassamakin and Holod, "Turkic Burial," forthcoming. On the religion of the Ḳipčaḳs, see P. Golden, "Religion among the Qipčaqs of Medieval Eurasia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 42 (1998): 180–237; J. Baldick, *Animal and Shaman: Ancient Religions of Central Asia* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 52–54; V. Spinei, "The Cuman Bishopric: Genesis and Evolution," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, ed. F. Curta and R. Kovalev (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 413–56; D. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1994).

102 Halenko and Rassamakin, "On the Meaning of Landscape," forthcoming.