

## SWORDS AND DAGGERS ON THE WALLPAINTINGS OF KUCHA IN THE 1ST AND 2ND INDO-IRANIAN STYLE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR DATING

When studying the late-antique and early medieval material culture of the Northern Silk Roads (6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century CE) it becomes especially necessary to investigate the Buddhist murals of Kucha in China's Northwest, nowadays the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. As yet we have large gaps in our archaeological knowledge of the material culture through archaeological finds for the oasis-state of Kucha. Therefore, we need to study the murals to get a better insight into the material culture of those Kuchaean peoples who once sponsored the paintings.

As a matter of fact, early scholars visiting and investigating the caves of Kucha, primarily the leaders of the four German Turfan expeditions (Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq), were more interested in Kucha's Buddhist art and its development than in the material culture. Usually the caves were cleaned by local workers before studying the murals was possible, and archaeological finds were not really recorded the way archaeologists would today. Neither in the documentations of the Turfan expeditions by Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq, nor in the lists of war losses after World War II of the then *Museum für Asiatische Kunst*, Berlin, does one encounter any mention of finds of weapons or armament in general.<sup>1)</sup>

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<sup>1)</sup> Cf. Dreyer/Sander/Weis 2002.

Until recently, to the best knowledge of the present author, no relevant finds of weapons or armour of the early medieval material culture of Kucha have been found either. Consequently we do not have one piece of armament, neither weapons nor armour, from the region of Kucha from the early medieval periods of ca. the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Until further archaeological research provides us with more information, we must study the murals of Kucha to learn about the material culture, including arms and armour, of the Kuchaeen peoples who sponsored, donated and financed the Buddhist murals in the caves of the Kucha region, as it can be expected to find the contemporary material culture represented, even if it is not necessarily and always depicted on all murals.

We must look carefully at Kucha murals showing local donors to find arms and armament of the Kuchean culture of the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> c. CE. Studying the weapons of the Kucha donors not only satisfies a general interest in antiquities, but helps date the murals, making it possible to more accurately place the Kuchaeen culture in the international network of connections on the Silk Roads. As in western medieval religious paintings,<sup>2)</sup> we see the donors wearing clothes that tell us that horse-riding held a preeminent position in their culture: Men wear long coats, or kaftans with triangular lapels, belts, wide-cut trousers, and leather boots; swords and daggers hang at the belts using several suspension systems, to be described later.

So far, efforts to date the Kucha cave murals has relied on stylistic criteria, clearly described by Satomi Hiyama<sup>3)</sup>, who agrees with the widely accepted dating by Enst Waldschmidt.<sup>4)</sup> Waldschmidt dates the *First Indo-Iranian Style* to circa 500 CE; and the *Second Indo-Iranian Style* between ca. 600 CE and 650 CE; and followed by a style dominated by Chinese elements. Until recently only two attempts to date the murals of Kucha by dating depicted weapons and armament have been made; once by Etsuko Kageyama<sup>5)</sup> who studied the suspension systems of daggers and swords, and another time by Adam Lech

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<sup>2)</sup> Cf. Sellmann (2005: 82) with an image on the same page, where King Salomon is depicted in a 15<sup>th</sup> century painting, pointing to his temple while standing on the balcony of his palace. King Salomon is dressed in the typical aristocratic contemporary clothes, while the architecture is shown as late-gothic.

<sup>3)</sup> Hiyama (2013: 16–132).

<sup>4)</sup> Waldschmidt (1925: 49–77; *ibid.*: 24–33).

<sup>5)</sup> Kageyama (2015).

Kubik<sup>6)</sup> who studied helmets. The following pages will expand these studies to include the swords and daggers of donors in the murals of Kucha.

Albert von Le Coq<sup>7)</sup> first dealt with this topic in his 'Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens',<sup>8)</sup> suggesting that both swords and daggers may have their origin in the Iranian cultural world, based on Achaemenid or Sasanian prototypes. Then in 1928 W. Ginters looked at Kuchaeen donors' swords, especially those from the Kizil and Kumtura caves, and proposed that the origin of Kuchaean longswords lies in Sarmatian longswords of the southern Russian steppes.<sup>9)</sup> Helmut Nickel<sup>10)</sup> followed Ginter's line of thinking, proposing that 5<sup>th</sup> century CE Hunnic longswords are closely connected to Sarmatian longswords. The same western Asian and Sarmatian origin was held for possible by John M. Rosenfield for the sword of the Kushan<sup>11)</sup>. Later the same Sarmatian origin was held for true for the Kushan sword by Sylvia Winkelmann<sup>12)</sup>, who, like others, also agreed with Otto Maenchen-Helfen<sup>13)</sup> and William Trousdale<sup>14)</sup>. That both, the Kushan sword as well as the later Kuchaean sword, were traced back to Sarmatian origins may partly also have its reasons in the great length of Kuchaean swords with their overlong handles, which they share in shape with the chronologically older Sarmatian longswords. It must be admitted here that not all Sarmatian longswords have overlong handles, but such handles occur to a great extent in the Sarmatian graves as far as the Volga region and, as we shall see, in the Caucasus.

In our study of the Kucha murals, two main groups of men carrying weapons are important.<sup>15)</sup> The first are donors who are kneeling, standing, or

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<sup>6)</sup> Kubik (2018).

<sup>7)</sup> Le Coq (1925, pp. 15–18).

<sup>8)</sup> Von LeCoq (1925: 15–18).

<sup>9)</sup> Ginters (1928: 85–88).

<sup>10)</sup> Nickel (1973).

<sup>11)</sup> Rosenfield (1967: 178–179).

<sup>12)</sup> Winkelmann (2003: 93).

<sup>13)</sup> Maenchen-Helfen (1957: 85–135).

<sup>14)</sup> Trousdale (1975); Trousdale (1988: 25–30).

<sup>15)</sup> Occasionally weapons appear in several stories of the Buddha's life and other narratives depicted in Kucha. The most important is the *māravijaya*, i.e. when Māra and his demons try to prevent the Bodhisattva to achieve Buddhahood cf. Schlingloff 2000, vol. I: 453–471, with references to Kucha p. 461 [1], [2], [108]–[112]; For further representations

walking, often accompanied by monks and their entourage (cf. Pls. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11),<sup>16)</sup> while the second are a group of warriors on horseback clad in heavy armour in murals depicting the approach of kings demanding their share of the Buddha's relics which followed his cremation (Pls. 2 (Fn. 18),<sup>17)</sup> 4 (Fn. 17)<sup>18)</sup> 7 (Fn.19)<sup>19)</sup>). While within the first group it is likely to accept contemporary fashion of the time of the donors, in the second group it is more problematic to state whether the depictions depend on the material culture of the time or on borrowings dependant on older templates; this cannot be checked better at this time. We urgently need a better archaeological understanding of 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century CE Kuchaean armaments via archaeological finds of weapons, and armaments.; unfortunately such research is impossible in modern Kucha/Xinjiang-Uyghur, PR China.

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cf. i.a. Yaldiz (1987: 49, 51), no 27 *kṣāmtivādinjātaka*, p. 55 no. 33 *sujātaavadāna*, p. 60 *ṛkṣapatijātaka*, etc.

<sup>16)</sup> Donors equipped with weapons are represented in Kizil Xin 1 (unpublished); 8, site corridors cf. Fns. 25, 27 (Pls. 6, 10); 17 Cella, site walls of the entrance, formerly in Berlin now St. Petersburg: BД 821: ZXBY vol. II, p. 67; 67 cf. Fn. 54, 69 cf. Fn. 55 (Pl. 8); 77 left side corridor, outer wall (?), formerly Berlin: IB 9044, now St. Petersburg: BД-эс 695, Dreyer/Sander/Weis (2002: 181; 110; 184), formerly Berlin: IB 8372, now St. Petersburg: BД: 870, Le Coq 1925, fig. 21, Dreyer/Sander/(Weis 2002: 134; 198; 199) left corridor (?) in Berlin partly war loss; no. III 9020a and b, cf.: Dreyer/Sander/Weis (2002, p. 179; 205) cf. Fn. 58 Pl. 3); 207 cf. Fn. 86 (Pl. 1); 224 Grünwedel (1920, pls. XLVIII–XLIX); Kumtura GK17 in Berlin: III 9067 (unpublished); 23: Le Coq (1925: 40, fig. 9); Kizilgaha 11, 14, 30. I kindly would like to thank Astrid Klein, from the research group “Buddhist Murals of Kucha on the Northern Silk Road, Leipzig” for providing me with her list of donors in Kucha.

<sup>17)</sup> Distribution of the Buddhas relics by Droṇā and approaching soldiers, (=Maya Höhle, 2. Anlage / Maya-Cave 2<sup>nd</sup> site) Kizil 224, right corridor, inner wall; war loss, formerly: Berlin IB 8438; Grünwedel (1920:46–47); Dreyer/Sander/Weis (2002: 144).

<sup>18)</sup> Distribution of the Buddhas relics by Droṇā and approaching soldiers (=Malerhöhle / Painter Cave), Kizil 207, right corridor, outer wall; drawing by Grünwedel, no. TA 6630: cf. Grünwedel (1912: 157, fig. 356); Le Coq (1925: 54, Fig. 50); Zin (2020, fig. 64).

<sup>19)</sup> Distribution of the Buddhas relics (=Höhle mit dem Kamin / Cave with the chimney) Kizil 4, right corridor, inner wall; drawing by Grünwedel, no. TA 6601; photograph Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin cf. Grünwedel (1912: 47, fig. 90); Le Coq (1925: 55, fig. 53); Zin (2020: fig. 34. For the Droṇā episode in the *nirvāṇa-cycle* and further references: Zin (2020: 107–117).

## LONGSWORDS

The longswords worn by these donors and riding warriors as well as the standing or walking donors are quite long. The cross-piece<sup>20)</sup> is well-shaped but not oversized, so neither too long nor too short. The blades of these longswords are always covered by a sheath. The sheaths can be decorated in various ways, often with simple dotted or with geometrical motifs. Complex decorations do not appear. Because the blades are straight, without the slightest curve, these blades probably had two sharpened edges. The blade points are rectangular, rounded, or slightly rounded.

The grip or handle on Kuchaean longswords are also extremely long, a fact first mentioned by Albert von Le Coq.<sup>21)</sup> Pommels are not uniform but take a variety of forms including mushroom, ring, and disc-shapes.<sup>22)</sup> Obviously there is no scheme or regularity for pommel-shapes in Kucha. Points are shaped rectangular, rounded or slightly rounded. The suspension of the longswords is difficult to ascertain, and whether or not two leather strips always fastened the sword to the belt is difficult to ascertain. It is clear, however, that these long-handled longswords do not have single or double P-shaped suspension loops; and thus far no such P-shaped suspension loops for Kuchaean longswords could be found on the murals. If such P-shaped suspension-loops are extraordinarily depicted on any mural, then those are extreme exceptions form the rule.

Waldemar Ginters<sup>23)</sup> found a close connection between Kuchaean longswords and Sarmatian longswords from the Eurasian steppes because of their similar suspension-systems. From photos and reconstructions, it seems that scabbard slides, usually attached to the front of the sword's sheath, were not the used suspensions systems in Kucha. Scabbard slides must have been invented on China's northern steppes in the centuries before the Common Era, and were then taken west by nomadic tribes. Scabbard slides are seen among the Kushans, ruling Central Asia, and down to the South in North-western and Northern India<sup>24)</sup> until the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

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<sup>20)</sup> German "Kreuzstück", is part of swords or daggers, attached horizontal over the handle in order to protect the hand.

<sup>21)</sup> Von LeCoq (1925: 15).

<sup>22)</sup> Cf. Pls. 2, 6, 10, 11.

<sup>23)</sup> Ginters (1928: 85–88).

<sup>24)</sup> Cf. Pls. 14 and 15; for discussion: Fn. 25. For discussion cf.: Maenchen-Helfen (1957:

It is unclear if the extremely long handles of Kuchaean longswords gave any practical advantage. Such swords are called ‘Zweihänder’ in German. Two hands grasped the handle for man-to-man combat on foot. In Western Europe, such swords were developed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century CE when warriors began to wear plate armour and shields were no longer used, freeing the second hand.<sup>25)</sup> A similar development may have taken place hundreds of years before in Central Asia, but we must admit that with our current knowledge, we are far away from answering why the handles were that very long; we simply do not know.

Albert von Le Coq<sup>26)</sup> connected Kuchaean longswords to those of the Sasanians, but it is more likely that Kushan swords, which, as stated above, might also have a sarmatian connection, were the prototypes for the Kuchaean ones. John M. Rosenfield<sup>27)</sup> also connected Kushan swords with Sasanian and Parthian ones, as well as with swords of Hatra, but never suggested or realised that Kushan swords originated among nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppes. Rosenfield simply assumed that a “western asian” background is most likely. Studies by William Trousdale<sup>28)</sup> and Sylvia Winkelmann<sup>29)</sup> followed. Typical Kushan longswords are depicted in a Gandharan relief, probably from Swat (northwest Pakistan) in the Toronto Museum of Art, Canada, published by David Jongeward (Pl. 14).<sup>30)</sup> The Kushan warriors shown in their 3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE attire hold a typical Kushan sword without long handles, and with scabbard slides on the front of the sheath attached to a belt around the waist.

We have evidence of long handled swords used in the Kushan period. Such a sword appears on a now headless statue of Kanishka I from his dynastic shrine at Mat, at Mathura in northern India (Pl. 15)<sup>31)</sup> but the majority of scholars have not discussed this sword at length: Only Markus Mode<sup>32)</sup> made

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85–138); Trousdale (1975; *ibid.* 1988: 25–30).

<sup>25)</sup> Seitz (1965: 87–95).

<sup>26)</sup> Von LeCoq (1925: 16).

<sup>27)</sup> Rosenfield (1967: 178–179).

<sup>28)</sup> Trousdale (1975); and Trousdale (1988).

<sup>29)</sup> Winkelmann (2003).

<sup>30)</sup> Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 939.17.19, 23,6cm height, 50,5 cm wide, 5,1 cm deep, published after: Jongeward (2003: 111, no.35 discussion and further references *ibid.*, 111–112).

<sup>31)</sup> Published after: Rosenfield 1967 pl. 2. For discussion cf.: Vogel 1913; Mode 1997.

<sup>32)</sup> Mode (1997).

a detailed study of this sword, focusing on its eagle or bird-shaped pommel, a feature only once to be seen in Kucha,<sup>33)</sup> but did not discuss the fact that the handle is long enough to have been held with two hands – i.e., that the handle of Kanishka I's swords predates the Kuchaean sword-handles. Such very long handles appear again among the Alkhon and Hephthalites, rulers who succeeded the Kushans. Hunting nobleman with long-handled longswords are depicted on a silver bowl, dated to the time of the Alkhon ruler Khingila, to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. CE., said to be found at the Swat River in today's Pakistan (Pl. 17).<sup>34)</sup>

We find another fine example of such a long handled longsword in a mural in the niche above the Eastern, 35 meter high Buddha of Bamiyan, now destroyed, showing a celestial god possibly the Sun god (Pl. 12).<sup>35)</sup> The god's sword is attached to his belt by two straps, but without scabbard slides or P-shaped suspension loops. This mural dates to 544 – 595 CE, with a likelihood of 95,4% according to C-14-dating.<sup>36)</sup>

Another long-handled longsword of the late 5<sup>th</sup> c. CE appears in the murals of Ajanta cave I, in Maharashtra, India. Two preserved panels show groups of so-called 'northern foreigners'. The central figure is sitting, dressed in the style of the slightly later Hephthalites and Alkhons. He is depicted drinking while surrounded by servants and holding a sword like those from Kucha (Pl. 13).<sup>37)</sup>

<sup>33)</sup> In Kizil cave 8 (Sechzehnschwertträger-Höhle), second donor left. Cf. Pl. 10. The head seems to imitate a Garuḍa. Robert Schulz, Halle and Leipzig, recently saw this very mural and confirmed this view.

<sup>34)</sup> Picture: British Museum, London: Inventory no. BM 1963, 1210.1, height: 5.7cm, weight: 819.3g, diametre: 15.7cm, volume: 630ml. Dalton (1964: 53–55 no 201, pls. XXIX–XXXI); Göbl (1967, Vol. III, pls. 94, 95); Marschak (1986: 29–34, pl. 14). Bakker (2020:43–47) recently read a *brāhmī* inscription above one of the rider: kh(i)ṅg(i), i.e. Khingila. It is, however, uncertain, if the famous Alkhon king Khingila is meant. further discussions concerning the reading: Göbl (1967, Vol.II, 263); Mitterwallner (1987); Falk (2014: 120–121).

<sup>35)</sup> Rowland (1975: 84, fig. 36); Klimburg-Salter (1989, pl XLIII, figs. 50 and 51).

<sup>36)</sup> Blänsdorf et al (2009: 235, table 4).

<sup>37)</sup> Photograph © Ajanta Archives of the Saxon Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Research Centre "Buddhist Murals of Kucha on the Northern Silk Road"/ Andreas Stellmacher. Cf. Zin (2003, vol. I: p. 292) drawing nos.31.2 and 31.12. Further references *ibid.*, p. 286 fn. 1. Most likely the scenes represent the *yakṣa* king Kubera shown in the dress of the northern regions, for discussion: *ibid.*: 286–291.

Heavily armoured warriors on horseback holding long-handled longswords also take part in a narrative scene on a bone belt plaque from Orlat, near Samarkand (Pl. 16).<sup>38)</sup> The discussion for dating this belt plaque is not finally resolved. Two main strands can be distinguish; the first position states that the plaque with the riding combat must stem from the time of the nomadic invasion of Central Asia before the Kushan came into power in the first decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE<sup>39)</sup>. However, the author of this article thinks that the second strand, arguing for a later date related to the Huns in Central Asia, vaguely in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE., is much more likely.<sup>40)</sup>

However, it is remarkable to compare the Orlat warriors with the approaching kings in Kucha, likewise armed for war – non of them is carrying daggers or knives. The full set consisting of longsword, dagger and knife is just to be found in depictions of donors, but not in representations of war. The only possible exception appears on a later Sogdian painting on a shield found on Mount Mugh, from the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century CE Pl. 18).<sup>41)</sup> Here, a warrior is shown on a horse back, caring a long-handled longsword in combination with a dagger. The suspension of the longsword, however, is P-shaped, a detail never to be found in the murals of Kucha.

The actual existence of this swords has also been proven archaeologically. A possible forerunner, thought to have been found in the Caucasus, dates back to the Sarmatian period. Its fairly long handle still does not reach the length of the models represented in Kucha (Pl. 21).<sup>42)</sup> The opposite is true for a long-handled sword richly decorated in gold, from Kurgan 3 in Brut, North Ossetia/Caucasus, Russia, certainly dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup>–early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. (Pl. 20).<sup>43)</sup> In our context it is remarkable to note that this very sword was

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<sup>38)</sup> Bone carving, 13,5 x 11cm, Tashkent National Museum, after: Ilyasov (2003: pl. VII. cf. Fn. 40).

<sup>39)</sup> Ilyasov and Rusanov (1997–1998: 107–159).

<sup>40)</sup> Marschak (1987: 235), 3<sup>rd</sup> / 4<sup>th</sup> century; Mode (2006: 423–424) argued for the 3<sup>rd</sup>/first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century but admitted himself that some details find their only comparison in material of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Despite all problems dating the material culture of nomads, the closest corresponds are given in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.

<sup>41)</sup> Found at Mount Mugh, Tadjikistan Height: 23 cm, wide: 61cm after Belenizki (1980: fig. 3); Rickenbach (ed.) (1989: 132, no. 80).

<sup>42)</sup> British Museum, London: BM 1910,7–12,15. Published after: Sulimirsky (1970: 174–175); Jäger (2006: 111 fn. 812).

<sup>43)</sup> Longsword with overlong handle from Brut, Northern Ossetia, Russia published after: Wiczorek/Perin (eds.) (2000: 45, Cat. No. 3.1.2.1–2; 124–127).

found together with a comparable rich decorated dagger recalling the set of weapons carried by the donors in Kucha.

Dating Kucha longswords through an analysis of their handle and sheath decoration, as in Kizil Cave 207 the decoration of their handles and sheaths, (Pl. 2), is problematic. Adam Lech Kubik<sup>44)</sup> used this approach, comparing Albert Grünwedel's drawing of such a long handle with cloisonne-decorated Hunnic sword finds from the 'Volnikova Treasure'. We have to remember that Grünwedel's drawing was based on a mural so damaged that it could not be preserved and transported to Berlin. This drawing is all we have from this 'Painter's Cave' mural, and interpreting its details is difficult.

Although all Kucha longswords look quite similar, each is a unique object, the product of a blacksmith's craftsmanship for a specific client of the upper stratum of the Kuchaean society. All Kucha long-handled longswords are closely related to similar 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century CE Hephthalite period longswords from western Central Asia, as mentioned above. Our Kucha longswords date from 500 to 600 CE, and possibly only to 550 CE. We will now see if dating depictions of daggers and shortswords can help us more accurately date the Kucha murals.

### DAGGERS, SHORTSWORDS AND KNIVES

As mentioned above, we do not see knives or daggers worn by the warriors on horseback on the few surviving Kuchaean murals. One could argue that these weapons, worn on the left, were not visible because the warriors are seen from the right side. However, the riders enter from the right and left, and we see no such weapons. In regard of the depiction on the Orlat plaque, it seems likely that heavily armoured Kuchaean warriors on horseback did not wear daggers or knives in battle or in direct combat (Pls. 2, 3, 7).<sup>45)</sup> So shortswords and daggers belong to the sphere of donors and not of war. It might be added here that among depictions of Kushan warriors we also never find one wearing longsword and, or plus daggers. The opposite is the case: Kushan warriors without exception are only shown with a sword.

There are two main dagger types in Kucha, worn always on the left side, presumably to be drawn with the right hand. One, depicted less often, is

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<sup>44)</sup> Kubik (2018: 146, fig. 4).

<sup>45)</sup> Cf. Fn. 19.

a simple dagger with two p-shaped suspension loops on the top and bottom sides of the dagger's sheath. The second more popular dagger type often has a mushroom-shaped pommel, a relatively short handle, a cross-piece, and a sheath with bulging sides and rich geometric decorations (Pl. 21). A certain number of these daggers most often feature no decoration (Pls. 6 (Fn. 46, 10)<sup>46)</sup> (48, 11)<sup>47)</sup> (Fn.. 47)).<sup>48)</sup>

The second, and more important dagger-type is often shown with rich geometrical decorations on the sheaths (Pl. 21).<sup>49)</sup> This type often has a mushroom-shaped pommel, a relative short or normal handle, a short cross-piece, and a sheath with two convex, outstretching lower sides. These can be found on depictions of donors in Kumtura 23,<sup>50)</sup> ... (Pl. 9),<sup>51)</sup> GK 17,<sup>52)</sup> Kizil 17,<sup>53)</sup> 67 (Pl. 5)<sup>54)</sup>, and from Kizil 69 (Pl. 8 (Fn. 55), Pl. 19.1<sup>55)</sup>), where a king is shown carrying such a dagger on his belt; as well as in Kizil 199,<sup>56)</sup> 224<sup>57)</sup> and 205

<sup>46)</sup> Donors, (=Sechzehn Schwerträger-Höhle / Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearer) Kizil 8, left corridor, inner wall (?); Berlin: III 8426abc, TA 6603; Grünwedel (1912: 116).

<sup>47)</sup> Donors, Kumtura 23 (= Kumtura 19 after German designation), left corridor, outer wall; Drawing by Grünwedel; war loss once Berlin no. IB 8631 cf. Grünwedel (1912: 24–26, fig. 50–52); Dreyer/Sander/Weis (2002: 156).

<sup>48)</sup> Donors, (=Sechzehn Schwerträger-Höhle / Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearer) Kizil 8, right corridor, outer wall; Berlin: III 8691, Grünwedel (1912: 56); Yaldiz (1987: 95, pl. XII); Yaldiz, Marianne, *et al.* (ed.) (2000: 226, cat.no. 328). The inner wall of the same corridor is also in Berlin: III 8425 (not published?). Further Donors with the simple dagger typ are depicted in Kizil Xin 1, 99, cf. Fn 3.

<sup>49)</sup> Drowning after: Koch (1999: 417, fig. 9; no. 1) Kizil 69 Pl. 8, no. 2 Kyerim-no (South Korea), no. 3 Borovoe (Kazakhstan).

<sup>50)</sup> Cf. Le Coq (1925: 40 fig. 9).

<sup>51)</sup> Donors, (German Designation Kumtura 15) Le Coq (1925: 42, figs. 16; and 17).

<sup>52)</sup> Cf. Fn. 16.

<sup>53)</sup> ZXY vol. II, p. 67 and Fn. 16.

<sup>54)</sup> Donors (=Rotkuppelhöhle / Red Cupola Cave) Kizil 67, cella, entrance right site; drawing Albert Grünwedel: Berlin III 8403, TA 6646; photograph Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Cf.: Grünwedel (1912: 84, fig. 191a); Waldschmidt (1933: 27); Yaldiz (1987: 38–39, fig. 20).

<sup>55)</sup> King Tottika and Queen Svayamprabhā worshipping the *First Sermon of the Buddha*, Kizil 69 Lunette above entrance; Tan /An (1981, Vol. I, pl. 153).

<sup>56)</sup> Cf. Fn. 16.

<sup>57)</sup> Cf. Fn. 16.

(Pl. 3),<sup>58)</sup> where the Kuchaeen King Tottika is shown together with his wife Svayamprabhā.<sup>59)</sup> So far, we do not understand why the lower part of the dagger's sheath has such an extraordinary design. It was not to accommodate the blade, which, shaped differently, would have been difficult for the user to easily remove. We see something similar in traditional Jemenit daggers which are sharply curved at their ends and are not the shape of their sheaths.<sup>60)</sup>

We have at least two archaeological finds which confirm the existence of daggers of the type just described above and are often seen on the Kucha murals. The best example was found in a rich tomb of the ancient Korean riding elite of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, Tomb 14 in Kyerim-no, Kyongju, in South Korea (Pl. 19.3).<sup>61)</sup> Alexander Koch makes the best argument for dating this dagger, concluding that it was made during the first half to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, but before 528–535 CE, when the state of Shilla (Silla) united Korea and introduced Buddhism<sup>62)</sup>. With the introduction of Buddhism, the burial rites of the local elites and upper classes of Korea ended, and such objects would no longer have found their way into a tomb after this.

A second find of this type was found in another rich tomb in Borovoe in Kazakhstan (Pl. 19.2).<sup>63)</sup> The dagger find from Borovoe in Kazakhstan (Zaseckaja 1983, p. 439) was dated to the last phase of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, but not later than the early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, close to the date of the Kyerim-no dagger. The two daggers are also related in both type and decoration, both embellished with gold and cloisonné work with garnet inlays. Most scholars who studied daggers of this type found them closely connected to the daggers depicted in Kucha murals.<sup>64)</sup> Following A. K. Ambroz (1986), A. Koch (1999, pp. 418–419) thought of an origin of the Kyerim-no-dagger in a region between ancient Sogdiana (mainly modern Uzbekistan and Tadshikistan) and Eastern Turkestan (modern Xinjiang, PR China) of the first half of the

<sup>58)</sup> Donors, (Maya Höhle, 2. Anlage / Maya-Cave 2<sup>nd</sup> site) Kizil 205, Cella, entrance, right wall, 2<sup>nd</sup> register; war loss, once: Berlin IB8440a; Grünwedel (1920: pl. 48); Dreyer/Sander/Weis (2002: 145).

<sup>59)</sup> Le Coq (1925: 43, fig. 20).

<sup>60)</sup> Cf.: Heinze (2014).

<sup>61)</sup> Anazawa/Manome (1980: 245–278); Ambroz (1986); Zaseckaja (1993: 437–443); Koch (1999: 407–423); Koch (2000: 189–193; Kageyama (2015).

<sup>62)</sup> Koch (1999: 418–419)

<sup>63)</sup> Koch (1999: 409, fig. 2.2); Jäger (2006: pl. 58).

<sup>64)</sup> The most elaborated study was provided by Alexander Koch (1999: 418–419).

6<sup>th</sup> century CE. However, it is astonishing not to find any depictions of this dagger-type among the large number of preserved murals in Sogdiane and Bactria.

That Korea's connections with the West, especially Central Asia are very old, and were well established in the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century CE has been established by Wong-yong Kim<sup>65</sup>. Liu Mau-Tsai<sup>66</sup> emphasises the idea that Kucha in its most prosperous time – i.e., the period of the murals (6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century CE) – had enough iron and other metals to produce weapons not solely for the state of Kucha and its army, but also for export to other oasis states of the Tarim-basin and beyond. Unfortunately no finds or depictions from other sites in Xinjiang have been recorded as of 2021.

Among scholars dealing with the Kyerim-no dagger, as well as the Borovoe dagger there is a common sense agreement that such precious weapons must have reached their recipients as diplomatic gifts<sup>67</sup>. The value and meaning of such diplomatic gifts in ancient times was much greater than we might assume today.<sup>68</sup>

If one accepts a Hephthalite domination of the oasis state of Kucha for a period in between 509–557 CE, as shared by Satomi Hiyama<sup>69</sup>, corresponding exactly to the time when the dagger found in tomb 14 of Kyerim-no was placed there. Similarly, if A. K. Ambroz dates the dagger found in Borovoe in Kazakhstan as late as the 5<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, we can say that all murals in the Buddhist caves in the Kucha region depicting daggers of this type must be dated not later than the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Additionally, E. Kageyama<sup>70</sup> dates the dagger type we call 'Kyerim-no/Borovoe', with the two p-shaped suspension fittings at its sheath, to the late 5<sup>th</sup> to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, again supporting the assertion that the daggers depicted in the Kucha Caves belong to the period of Hephthalite domination over Kucha.

It is likely that the long-handled longswords in Kucha came directly from Hephthalite and Alkhon military equipment. The Alkhon and Hephthalites ruled Greater Gandhara, a region which included modern Afghanistan, north-

<sup>65</sup>) Kim (1984: 1–26).

<sup>66</sup>) Mau-Tsai (1967: vol. 1, 17–19).

<sup>67</sup>) Koch (1999: 422–423).

<sup>68</sup>) The social dimension of gifts has been analysed by Marcel Mauss (1968).

<sup>69</sup>) Hiyama (2015: 82).

<sup>70</sup>) Kageyama (2015 and 2016).

western Pakistan, North India to Kashmir, as well as modern Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan. Till yet it is unclear what real political and military connection and or control the Hephthalites had over states like Kucha.

### MISCELLANEOUS ARMS AND ARMAMENT

We must look at other arms and armaments which can be dated archaeologically to date the Kucha murals. A. L. Kubik,<sup>71)</sup> who studied the helmets in the murals in Cave Kizil 205 and 207, mentions that in both caves, the warriors on horseback do not use stirrups. The earliest literary mention of stirrups in China proper is the year 554 CE,<sup>72)</sup> the earliest archaeological find in China proper stems from Wan-pao T'ing in Manchuria, tomb 78, dating to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>73)</sup> More important is the find of the tomb of the cavalry-general named Feng Su-fu, from Hsi-kuan ying-tzu, banner of Pei Piao, Liaoning province PR China, dating to the year 415 CE., belonging to the small dynasty of North-Yen.<sup>74)</sup> We see that the earliest stirrup finds come from north-east China. Stirrups then came to Korea, and then to Japan, during the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE,<sup>75)</sup> the period of the Kucha murals. In regions to the west, stirrups did not appear until the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Joachim Werner<sup>76)</sup> stated that Turks of the Western Turkish Khaganat of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, and in following decades, must have introduced stirrups to the peoples of Central Asia, and that through these Turks, stirrups reached Sogdiana.

As our perspective is limited to the murals we just can state that stirrups do not appear in the *first* and *second Indo-Iranian Style*, which still can be related to the conservatism of the templates and not to the absence in the material culture of the period. Therefore stirrups alone cannot help further on with dating. However, the author of these lines still thinks it likely that the absence of stirrups on the Kucha murals shows that they had not reached Kucha when the murals were painted.

<sup>71)</sup> Kubik (2018: 147–148).

<sup>72)</sup> Jäger (2006: 71, and fns 474 and 475).

<sup>73)</sup> Cf.: Littauer (1981).

<sup>74)</sup> Discussion: Tern-Yaw (1974).

<sup>75)</sup> For Korea: Ito (1971: 82–86, 139–142, pls. 3, 5, 15, figs. 56, 91).

<sup>76)</sup> Werner (1973: 134).

Moving forward, we come to a rare kind of armour protecting the neck of riding warriors down to the breast in shape of a lamellar and chained neck-collar. Such a neck-collar we see on the mural with the riding warriors from the Painter's Cave (Kizil 207) protecting the neck of all 10 warriors depicted on that very mural (Pl. 2). We are lucky to have an archaeological find of exactly this type of iron neck-collar from tomb No. 11 in Bokchongdong near Pusan in South Korea (Pl. 22).<sup>77)</sup> The man buried there was a wealthy chieftain, with a lamellar-helmet and a lamellar body-armour; a lamellar helmet like those worn by the riding warriors depicted on the painting of Kizil 207. The tomb-owner of Bokchongdong also had many other items of great value for the time when he was buried. That very wealthy early Korean riding warrior must again, like at Kyerim-no, have been buried before Buddhism reached the area around 530/535 CE. Kul-cheong Shin (1982–1983), the excavator of the Bokchongdong-tomb was certain that the man in Bokchongdong was a riding warrior and chieftain buried around 510 to 525 CE.

Such neck-collars possibly had their ancestors in the armourment of the Kushans in Bactria and Gandhara, as can be seen on a schist-relief now in the Museum of Lahore, Pakistan, showing some Kushan warriors on foot, probably belonging to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.<sup>78)</sup> and on the reliefs of the early Kushan dynastic shrine of Khalchayan in Uzbekistan, dating to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.<sup>79)</sup> Similar neck-collars also appear on the Orlat battle-plaque (Pl. 16),<sup>80)</sup> which, so the author here, dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The closest analogy for the neck-collar depicted on the mural in Kizil 207 is the find from tomb 11 in Bokchongdong, buried before 530/535 CE. For our dating of the murals of Kizil 207 this means that we are again in the very first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Sandclock-shaped bow quivers are another frequently depicted item of warfare. It has been stated that they do not occur before the Western Turkish Khaganat in the latest 6<sup>th</sup>, early 7<sup>th</sup> century CE, but Burchard Brentjes<sup>81)</sup> shows that this is an error; the sand clock shaped bow quiver perplexingly coexisted in Central Asia with different other types of bow quivers of different other

<sup>77)</sup> Werner (1988: fig. 23; discussion: *ibid.*: 13–16).

<sup>78)</sup> Cf. Tissot (1986, fig. 268). Discussion: Jäger (2006: 91–92).

<sup>79)</sup> Brentjes (1990: 180), also cf.: Pugachenkova (1971: 61); Nehru (2017); Rowland (1971).

<sup>80)</sup> Brentjes (1990: 180 with fn.16); Ilyasov/Rusanov (1997–199: 146); Mode (2006).

<sup>81)</sup> Brentjes (1996: 36–37).

shapes. Such different types of bow quivers can be seen on the mural in Kizil 224 (Pl. 4) where several riding warriors carry them.

The depicted dragon-flags (Pls. 2, 7) cannot be used for dating either, as they go far back in history of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes, down to Parthian and Saka periods.<sup>82)</sup>

A better dating of the caves in Kucha cannot be accomplished either by analysing the belts of riding warriors depicted in Kizil 205 and 207; and the same is true for the donors standing or walking. The painters in Kizil 205 wear simple (leather-?) belts with simple buckles in squarish shapes, while the more noble men wear belts made of round metal(?) -plaques rowed up on a possibly leather strip.<sup>83)</sup>

In general, belts had a very clear and important meaning in steppe societies and in the cultural world of the Iranians in particular as has been described by Geo Widengren.<sup>84)</sup> Widengren states that it was important for a young warrior to get his belt from a high ranking person – i.e., a king or chieftain. By owning a belt, a man could carry a sword and dagger, defining his rank and membership in male warrior society. A young man with a belt and dagger was dependent on a chieftain or king, who, in a last step of initiation, would give a sword, making the young man a full warrior with all rights and duties.<sup>85)</sup> The greatest duty was to obey his chieftain or king; and after a successful battle he would receive his share of the spoil: precious, valuable objects from their booty.

The differences between the belts of the painters and those of the donors in Kucha certainly must have had a social implication for Kucheans, which may relate to status or origin. Unfortunately we can only guess in this regard.

## DISCUSSION

It is noticeable that the heavy armoured riding warriors never feature a combination of longsword and dagger, as it is the most common combination among male donors. Most likely this can be explained by assuming that

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<sup>82)</sup> Jäger (2006: 119–121).

<sup>83)</sup> Cf. Pl. 3 with Pls. 6 and 8.

<sup>84)</sup> Widengren (1969).

<sup>85)</sup> Jäger (2006: 34–48).

daggers and swords, worn alone or grouped together, indicated a certain age of the depicted man, connected with a special social rank, which are more relevant in the representation of donors or within a ‘self-portrait’ than in a narrative representation.

In Kizil 207 (Pl. 1)<sup>86</sup> we find three of the formerly four preserved self-portraits of painters. They lack longswords, and merely carry a kind of dagger or shortsword.<sup>87</sup> The painters were certainly not of the lowest class or rank in Kucha, but literate, because they signed their works with their names, depicted themselves in their best cloths while painting<sup>88</sup>. However, it is still unlikely that they represent the highest stratum of society because they are not carrying the longswords of the usual donors depicted in more prominent position approaching the Buddha.

A second possible interpretation might link the painters to wooden carvings discovered in Kafir-kala, near Samarkand (Uzbekistan) (Pl. 23).<sup>89</sup> The reliefs show several worshippers oriented to the Sogdian goddess Nana,<sup>90</sup> of whom many are carrying daggers or shortswords in the same fashion as the painters in Kizil 207; even the coiffures are very similar. In this context it is noticeable that such shortswords only appear on murals of Kizil 207 and on a very similar mural from Kizil 77, now lost,<sup>91</sup> but nowhere else in Kucha or Xinjiang. They once again recall some of the shortswords depicted in Kafir-kala. Might it be possible that the painters in Kizil 207 represent artists foreign to Kucha? It is very difficult to answer this question with any certainty.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Left site walls of cella in Kizil 207 (= Maler Höhle / Painters Cave). After drawings by Albert Grünwedel, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin: left part TA6495, right part TA 6580 and TA 6494; photograph Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. For discussion, Grünwedel (1912: 153, figs. 336–338); Le Coq (1925: 37, fig. 4, p. 38 fig. 5); Jäger (2008); Hiyama (2014: 36–37).

<sup>87</sup> It is very hard to judge whether the painters in Kizil 207 carry a dagger or a sword, as the definition in German and English is not precise. The author in this very case decides on ‘shortsword’. For discussion: Jäger 2008: 361–372.

<sup>88</sup> Jäger (2008).

<sup>89</sup> Drawing Marina A. Sultanova, published: Begmatov (et al.) (2020, 13 fig. 11).

<sup>90</sup> Discussion related to the identification of the Goddess Nana: Grenet (2020: 22–24).

<sup>91</sup> Formerly Berlin: IB 9044, now St. Petersburg: BД 695 for illustration: Dreyer/Sander/Weis (2002: 181).

<sup>92</sup> The Sanskrit inscription is read by Grünwedel (1912: 153) *citrakāra tutūkasya* / (picture) of the painter Tutūka. Unfortunately the author is not able to judge whether this name is proper Tokharian or related to any other language.

In Kizil 8 (Pl. 10) on the outer wall of the right corridor, a row of four donors is approaching the scene showing the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa*. The first donor carries an incense-burner, while only the first two are equipped with the full set of longsword, shortsword and dagger; the last two in the row are merely featured with daggers and shortswords. In Kizil 8 all four walls of the side corridor before the *nirvāṇa-scene* were decorated with donors; (cf. Pl. 6) the two afore mentioned are the only with no longswords. This is remarkable, as their position is the least prominent since it is oriented against *pradakṣiṇā* (the direction of circumambulation during worship). A comparable observation can be made in Kumtura 23 (Pl. 8) where a child is depicted just with a dagger while his father (?) is shown with both dagger and longsword.

As previously mentioned, a comparable set of shortsword and longsword with the same overlong handle were excavated in Northern Ossetia (Russian), dating from the late 5<sup>th</sup>, earliest 6<sup>th</sup> century CE (Pl. 20). Depictions of similar longswords can be found in Bamiyan (Pl. 12), Ajanta, Cave 1 (Pl. 13), and on a silver bowl from Swat (Pl. 17), all belonging to the Hephthalite-period.

In Kucha the majority of those longswords are depicted as worn together with daggers of a type we call 'Kyerim-no – Borovoe'. These daggers can be dated to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. This means that the longsword with the overlong handle and this type of daggers are contemporary.

It is worth mentioning that Kucha is the only place we find representations of this type of dagger – neither in Sogdiana nor in Bactria do we find any depiction among the comparable large number of preserved wall-paintings of the period. The reason for this might be that Central Asia or ancient Korea was not the homeland of those daggers, but Kucha itself. It is not unlikely that such daggers were an invention of the skilful Kuchaen blacksmiths of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps these daggers found their way to Borovoe, and to ancient Kyerim-no as diplomatic gifts.<sup>93)</sup> Therefore it can be justified to rename those objects 'Kucha-type daggers', which would be in better accordance with our present knowledge.

The material culture we have discussed belongs largely to the so-called Hephthalite period in Central Asia – i.e., the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century. That is very close to the classical dating proposed by Ernst Waldschmidt, who was the first

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<sup>93)</sup> For the ancient international contacts of Korea with countries to the West on the Silk Roads cf.: Kim (1984: 1–26).

scholar really dealing with the problem in general.<sup>94)</sup> However, he was not using weapons as markers for dating, but came to his solutions for stylistic reasons which are still valid.

Most recent scholars, like Satomi Hiyama have followed Ernst Waldschmidt due to his stylistic approach, but rightly tend to date several caves of Kizil individually, again not using any weapons as a marker of date.

Hiyama<sup>95)</sup> showed that the winged crowns worn by several gods in Kizil 205 originate from coins of the Sasanian King Peroz (reg. 457–484). Such winged crowns with their floating ribbons directly had been copied by the Alkhon and Hephthalites, from Peroz coins to be shown further on on their own emissions. If the author is right, then at least the murals in the Painter's cave (Kizil 207) must date to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Here Hiyama also agrees with Frantz Grenet,<sup>96)</sup> Jason Neelis,<sup>97)</sup> and Yutaka Yoshida<sup>98)</sup>. All three authors share the *communis opinio* that among the Hephthalites' rule over Central Asia Buddhism thrived from Bactria, over Gandhara to the Tarim Basin, as far as Kucha and Turfan, contradicting the older position that the Central Asian Huns persecuted Buddhists.<sup>99)</sup> This view was strengthened by the so-called Talangan Copper Scroll, today in the Schøyen collection in Oslo, Norway.<sup>100)</sup> The inscription of the scroll mentions four Alkhon ruler reign at the same time who donated a Buddhist *stūpa*, and thereby acted as promoters of Buddhism.

For Kizil 205, the Maya-cave, which shows the Kuchaeen King Tottika and his wife Svayamprabhā, Hiyama<sup>101)</sup> comes to a date into the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, still in the palaeographical style of the *Brahmi*-written, Tokharian inscription in that very cave, a date well fitting to the estimated dates of the daggers from Kyerim-no and Borovoe belonging to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE; one such dagger is carried by King Tottika (Pl. 8).

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<sup>94)</sup> Waldschmidt (1933: 24–31). Albert Grünwedel (1912: 5–6, 42–43) already described the characteristics of the stylistic groups, but remained very vague in matter of dating.

<sup>95)</sup> Hiyama (2013: 128–132).

<sup>96)</sup> Grenet (2002: 213).

<sup>97)</sup> Neelis (2011: 169).

<sup>98)</sup> Yoshida (2011: 25).

<sup>99)</sup> For this position cf. et al.: Marshall (1960: 380–381); Ghirshman (1948: 122).

<sup>100)</sup> Melzer (2006). For the debate on its origin: de la Vaissière (2007) and Bakker (2020: 56–58).

<sup>101)</sup> Hiyama (2013: 136).

However, we cannot rule out that daggers of the ‘Type Kucha’ were used after the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, maybe until the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. But as we have seen the longswords with overlong handle are closely related to the art of the Hephthalite period, which makes it rather likely that the depictions of the war for the relics of the Buddha represent the fashion of that very period (Pl. 2).

For Kizil 207, with limitations, the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE is most probable, as all riding warriors of the scene were the distribution of the Buddha’s ashes are depicted show no use of stirrups, which were simply unknown in Central Asia during the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. In this context we can not totally exclude the possibility that the artists followed a more conservative template, depicting older material culture. The panels from Kafir-kala contradict this. They are the closest analogy to the painters in Kizil 207 – dated safely to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>102)</sup>

Adam Lech Kubik in 2018 brought up the idea that this cave Kizil 207 should be dated to the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, due to a certain type of pear-shaped helmets he compares to ancient Korean helmets of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>103)</sup> Unfortunately he had mixed up Kizil 205 with Kizil 207. The pear-shaped helmet-type, which he compares with 5<sup>th</sup> century ancient Korea helmets is not depicted in Kizil 207. On the scene with the distribution of the ashes of the Buddha in Kizil 207 we see a number of very different types of helmets, ranging from so-called Assyrian helmet types of a simple conical shape, which would be the most archaic helmet shape on this mural, and helmets of the ‘Niederstotzingen-Bokchongdong’ type.<sup>104)</sup>

Again all six riding warriors (of 11 visible) in the scene mentioned in Kizil 207 carry a longsword with an overlong handle: Those longswords then date the painting to the Hephthalite period of Kucha – i.e., the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Accordingly all depictions of longswords with overlong handles, and daggers of the ‘Kucha type’ on Kuchaean murals in the Buddhist caves most likely date to the time when these types of weapons had found their most eastern distribution in the time between 480 and 550 CE – i.e., when Kucha was dependent on the power of the Hephthalites.

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<sup>102)</sup> Grenet (2020: 31).

<sup>103)</sup> Kubik (2018: 150, fig. 6, and p. 147).

<sup>104)</sup> Jäger (2006: 79–88, and pl. 42).

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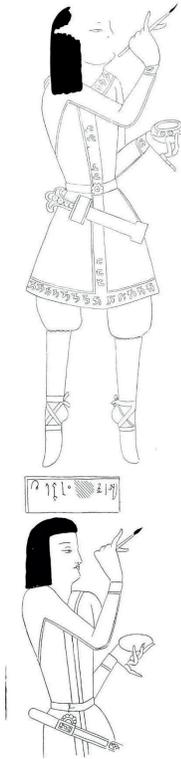
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1. Kizil cave 207 (= Maler Höhle / Painters Cave), Left site walls of cella. Painters with shortswords at their belts. After drawings by Albert Grünwedel, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin: left part TA6495, right part TA 6580 and TA 6494; photograph Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



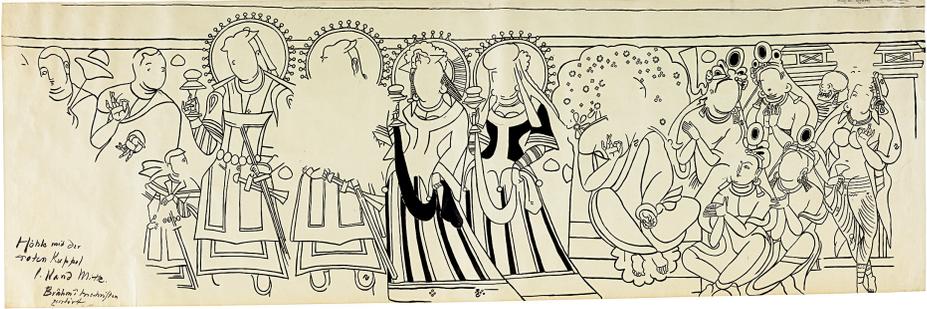
2. Kizil cave 207 (=Malerhöhle / Painter Cave), right corridor, outer wall. Distribution of the Buddhas relicts by Droṇā and approaching soldiers. drawing by Grünwedel, Berlin no. TA 6630.



3. Kizil cave 205, (=Maya Höhle, 2. Anlage / Maya-Cave, 2nd site). Cella, entrance, right wall, 2nd register. Donors with long swords in combination with daggers. War loss, once: Berlin IB8440a after: Grünwedel 1920, pl. 48.



4. Kizil cave 224 (=Maya Höhle, 2. Anlage / Maya-Cave 2nd site), right corridor, inner wall. Distribution of the Buddhas relics by Droṇā and approaching soldiers; war loss, formerly: Berlin IB 8438, after Grünwedel (1920:46-47).



5. Kizil cave 67 (=Rotkuppelhöhle / Red Cupola Cave), cella, entrance right site 1st register. Donors. Drawing Albert Grünwedel; photograph Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, III 8403, TA 6646.

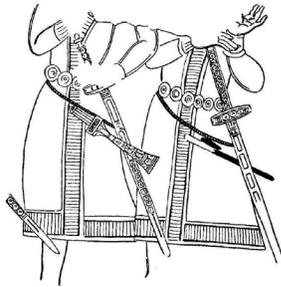


6. Kizil cave 8 (=Sechzehn Schwerträger-Höhle / Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearer), left corridor, inner wall (?) Donors with combination of longwords and daggers at their belts. Drawing Grünwedel (1912: 116).

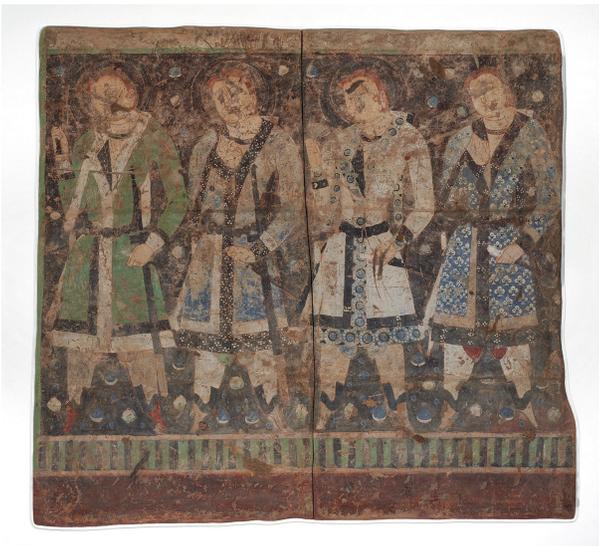


7. Kizil cave 4 (=Höhle mit dem Kamin / Cave with the chimney), right corridor, inner wall. Distribution of the Buddhas relicts; drawing by Grünwedel, photograph Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, no. TA 6601.

8. Kizil cave 69, Lunette above entrance. King Tottika and Queen Svayamprabhā worshipping the First Sermon of the Buddha. After Tan /An (1981, Vol. I, pl. 153).



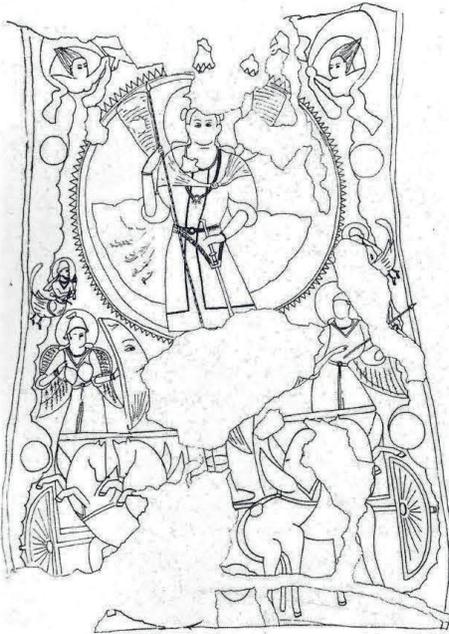
9. Kuntura (= Höhle in der kleinen Bachschlucht / Cave of the Small Gulch) Donors. After: Le Coq (1925: 42, figs. 16 and 17).



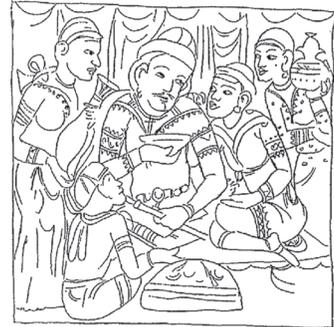
10. Kizil cave 8 (=Sechzehn Schwerträger-Höhle / Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearer), right corridor, outer wall. Donors. Berlin: III 8691; after Yaldiz (1987: 95, pl. XII).



11. Kumtura 23 (= Kumtura 19 after German designation), left corridor, outer wall. Donors. War loss, once Berlin. Drawing by Grünwedel, photograph Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, no. IB 8631.



12. Sun god (Mithra?) in the niche above the 35 metre high (Eastern Buddha), Bamiyan, Afghanistan; after Rowland (1975: 84, fig. 36).



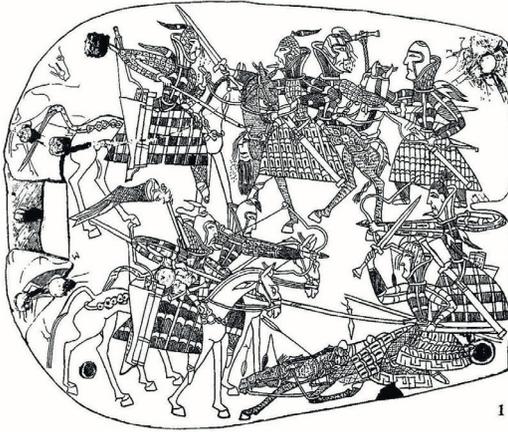
13. Ajanta, cave 1. "Banqueting Northern Foreigners" Drawings Zin (2003, vol. I: p. 292 drawing nos. 31.2 and 31.12).



14. Gandhara-Relief with six Kushan warriors carrying swords, 23.6cm height, 50.5 cm width, 5.1 cm deep. Royal Ontario Museum Toronto, Canada, ROM 939.17.19; published after: Jongeward (2003: 111, no. 35).



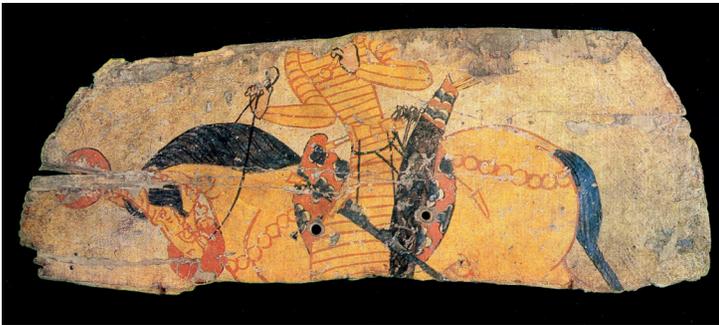
15. Headless statue of Kushan king Kanishka I. from Mathura, Mathura Museum, India; after: Rosenfield (1967, pl. 2).



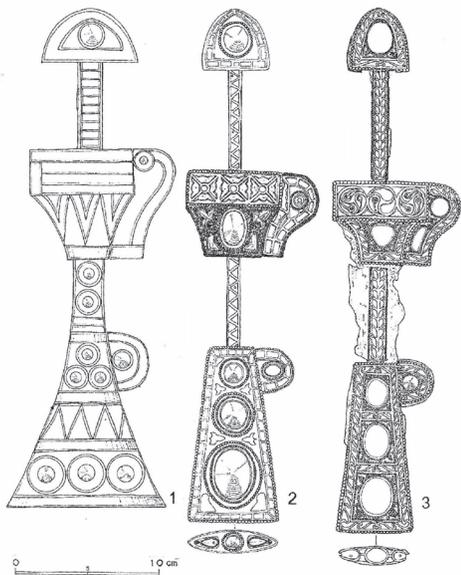
16. Orlat Battle-plaque, bone carving, 13.5cm width. Tashkent National Museum; after: Ilyasov (2003: pl. VII).



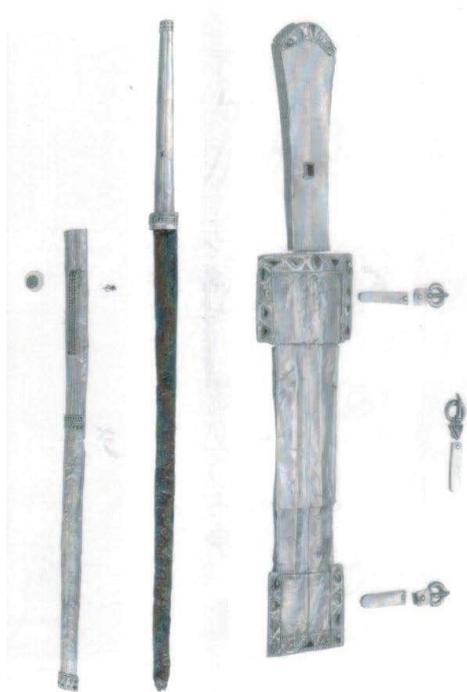
17. Silver bowl, Swat, Pakistan, height: 5.7cm, weight: 819.3g, diameter: 15.7cm. British Museum, London: Inventory no. 1963, 1210.1.



18. Fragment of Wooden shield, painted. Mount Mugh, Tadjikistan, height: 23cm, width: 61cm. State Hermitage, St. Petersburg; after Belenizki (1980: fig. 3).



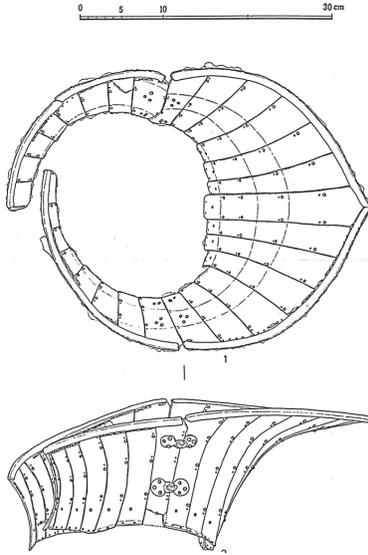
19. Daggers from 1) Kizil cave 69; 2) Kyerim-no, South Korea); 3) Borovoe, Kazakhstan. Drawing after Koch (1999: 417, fig. 9).



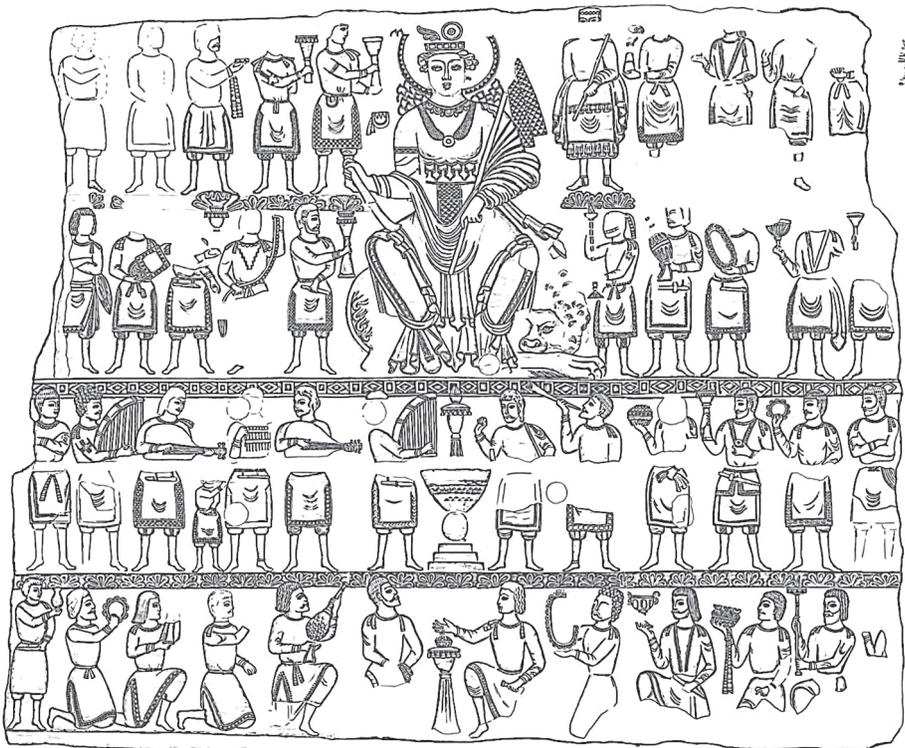
◀ 20. Longsword with overlong handle, and dagger. 2nd Kurgan Brut, Northern Ossetia, Russia. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow; after: Wiczorek/Perin (eds.) (2000: 45, Cat. No. 3.1.2.1-2; 124-127).

▶ 21. Longsword with overlong handle. Caucasus. British Museum, London: BM 1910,7-12,15; after: Sulimirsky (1970: 174-175).





22. Neckcollar from Bokchongdon near Pusan, South Korea. After: Werner (1988: fig. 23).



23. Wooden carvings, Kafir-kala, near Samarkand (Uzbekistan). Drawing Marina A. Sultanova; published after: Begmatov (et al.) (2020: 13 fig. 11).