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Tang Elite Women and Hufu Clothing: Persian Garments and the Artistic Rendering of Power

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TANG ELITE WOMEN AND HUFU CLOTHING: PERSIAN GARMENTS AND THE
ARTISTIC RENDERING OF POWER

by

Gabrielle Berman

A Thesis Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

TANG ELITE WOMEN AND HUFU CLOTHING: PERSIAN GARMENTS AND THE ARTISTIC RENDERING OF POWER

by

Gabrielle Berman

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2020
Under the Supervision of Professor Ying Wang

During the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), elite women wore *hufu* dress to subdue the Tang court's conventional representations of women. In contrast to the women's classical dress styles, the *hufu* dress, or male foreign clothing, typically included a long robe with decorative patterns, a leather belt, long trousers and boots. This paper analyzes elite women and female elite attendants dressed in *hufu* dress, which established their visual personas of independence, as displayed in paintings and pottery figurines. The *hufu* dress connects to the foreigners' dress traveling from the Silk Road, a period when the Tang court fostered tolerance towards foreigners. I compare the Silk Road foreign influence of the Sasanian Persians as a prominent culture that elite women incorporated into their quintessential images of independence, comprising *hufu* dress and the polo sport, a Persian import. The Tang elite women's adoption of this persona coordinated as part of the women's experimentation to create new fashion trends in the empire to fulfill the women's pursuit of visual power through textiles.

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To
my family

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Introduction

The Tang dynasty (618 to 907 A.D.) is characterized as a golden age in terms of economy, culture and art; however, the dynasty's prosperity is more complicated towards Tang women. Upon examination of artifacts excavated from elite burials and in collection and texts of that time, Tang elite women encountered an ambiguous treatment of their gender from the Tang court. While the Tang court dispensed new gender rights that increased the political and social freedoms for women, these gender rights did not completely erase the court's traditional concepts of gender, that upheld the male reception of women as dependents. This assessment of the court's unreliability in maintaining gender equality pushed women to produce their own independence. The Tang women's efforts in creating powerful statuses was rendered in their personas crafted in fashions that the Tang court could not exert their traditional viewpoints on. In this thesis, I argue that *hufu* fashion, worn by elite women on horseback, produced a persona of power that removed the Tang court's traditional gender class restrictions. The background of the women seeking visual and realistic independence emerged from the unique political and social spheres that the Tang dynasty made available towards them.

The dynasty's thriving gender rights propelled women into a number of spheres that had been exclusive to men. The Tang dynasty, compared to earlier and later dynasties, improved the equality of the Tang women's lives in education, marriage, inheritance, and their involvement with politics. Education was more accessible towards women, as evident by many Tang women able to read such works like the *Confucian Analects for Women*, from the female writers, Song Juoxin and Song Juozhao. In regard to the women's social freedom, and many women had received formal classical education the same as man since young age; women were free to divorce

and remarry as they chose, and they secured the right to their marriages' dowries. In addition, women could also receive property from their parent's inheritance if the women had no male siblings.¹ Compared to these rights, the most profound changes towards the Tang women's lifestyle was their participation in politics.

Besides Empress Wu's involvement in Tang politics, women were able to enter into influential government positions. Women obtained positions as officials in the government, with examples including Shangguan Wan'er, a prime minister, who worked for Empress Wu.² Shangguan Wan'er worked as an official during Empress Wu's reign and Emperor Zhongzong in 705 A.D, where Shangguan Wan'er was in charge of writing the royal edicts, illustrating how Empress Wu, as the first and only female emperor in Chinese history, instructed and invested in promoting women in the male oriented Tang court and the court's affairs. After Empress Wu's reign, women, especially from royal and elite backgrounds, continued to fight for political power, through the impact of Empress Wu's achievement in becoming emperor. Other than Empress Wu's impact in inspiring women into politics, the empress enforced friendlier gender laws for women. For example, Empress Wu ordered that deceased mothers receive an extended amount of mourning time, three years instead of one, as their male counterparts. The extended mourning period of three years for deceased mothers was later dismissed in the Northern Song period, demonstrating that the later dynasties' policies were not as open as the Tang dynasty towards women. The gender equality targeted towards women was ongoing through other powerful Tang women, which Empress Wei (c. 664 to 710 A.D.)'s achieved through Emperor Zhongzong

¹ Ya-chen Chen ed., *New Modern Chinese Women and Gender Politics: The Centennial of the End of the Qing Dynasty* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 4-6.

² Chen, *New Modern Chinese Women and Gender Politics*, 7.

(656-710 A.D.), by allowing any women with an elite title that was not provided by their male relatives, to continue that status through their children. Traditionally the women's status was tied to their male relatives, but in the Tang dynasty, women had the ability to receive their own elite status bestowed on them individually. Empress Wei's purpose in enforcing women with their own status was to implement women with more equivalence with male elites. Even though, women accumulated progress in the dynasty, those rights were not guaranteed, as with Emperor Zhongzong's creation of offices for certain princess that were meant to place the women as equals with the princes in politics, however, these offices were later pulled away.³ The caveat in these freedoms, was the traditional values placed in Tang society, that affected the ideas of an independent women. As Tang women, the crucial expectations for them were fulfilling three obligations in society, first as faithful children to their parents; second, marriage; and third, becoming mothers, with each category requiring the women's commitment to their husbands and families. Other than acting as a caregiver in the household to their families, women had household responsibilities.⁴ However, the Tang elite women overcame these traditional values through their privileged background.

Elite and royal women avoided these obligations of the active caregiver due to their wealthy lifestyle. The royal Tang woman lived a rich lifestyle where the royal Tang princesses were financially support from taxes and government sponsored mansions.⁵ Also financially secured were the elite women, who instead of securing an occupation or observing the female role

³ Jo-Shui Chen, "Empress Wu and Proto-Feminist Sentiments in T'ang China" in *Imperial Rulership and Cultrual Chng in Traditional China*, ed. Frederick P. Brandauer and Chun-Chieh Huang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 92-99. <http://site.ebrary.com/id/11064455>.

⁴ Bret Hinsch, *Women in Tang China* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), 8-9.

⁵ Hinsch, *Women in Tang China*, 42-43.

in the household, passed their leisure time and wealth at Chang'an, where they bought clothing and other goods.⁶ Both royal and elite women avoided the assignment in physically raising their children because of the servants and wet nurses available for their families.⁷ Although the upper classed women's prospects were ensured in the new gender rights through their status and resources, nevertheless their lifestyles faced criticism.

The women's partaking in their gender rights was imbued with condemnation from Tang elite men. The upper-class women in the Tang dynasty, who strove for increased political, social, economic power, and independence stirred the criticism and wrath from elite men in the preserved historical writings.⁸ The scrutinizing of women in the Tang literature, follows a negative reception mainly with women with political power. Assembled from the viewpoint of a male elite, Liu Su's *Da Tang xinyu*, or the *New Words from the Great Tang*, discusses the previous Tang women who wielded political power in this later review by judging them as illegitimate.⁹ This male criticism of independent women replicates the women's social lives, that provided them independence, but instilled them with certain gender expectations towards their male relatives. For example, upper class women received wealth and education, but were instructed with obligations as women in society to become virtuous wives and mothers in the household.¹⁰ The negative perception of the women's social activities existed in the male elites' disapproval in the

⁶ Hinsch, *Women in Tang China*, 62.

⁷ Ibid., 42.

⁸ Mark Edward Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire: The Tang Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 182-6.

⁹ Rebecca Doran, *Transgressive Typologies: Constructions of Gender and Power in Early Tang China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), 17-19.

¹⁰ Hinsch, *Women in Tang China*, 92-93.

women's fashion. For example, the famous poet, Bo Juyi wrote in the “Styles of the Times,” about his distaste with women becoming immersed in foreign styles from the West instead of Chinese styles.¹¹ Therefore, while women were able to achieve physical authority in politics and were free to spend their pass times as they wanted, the Tang court's male orientated perception remained in the dynasty. These issues of contempt from the Tang court with the women's expression of freedom, propelled women to showcase their physical authority in their personas through fashion.

The portrayal of *hufu* fashion in art advances the Tang women’s perception of their recreated personas. The Tang women’s persona in *hufu* dress contrasts with the traditional elite setting found in Tang court art that depicted women in a male perspective; such as portrayed by two flourishing male artists, Yan Liben and Zhou Fang, from early to late period of this dynasty. The court art demonstrates the normalcy of male artists staging the images and perspectives on women.¹² As a court artist, Zhou Fang remained in a close relationship with the emperor and the court, where artists like him painted the prestige lives of the elites.¹³

I propose that the recorded images of women in *hufu* allowed them to artistically depict their personas in art mediums, whether in paintings, tomb art, or murals, as opposed to the Tang court’s passive subject matters on the Tang women's visual characteristics in court art. I contribute that elite women visually corresponded their personas of independence with art depictions

¹¹ Suzanne Cahill, “Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners’ Wives! Western Influences on Tang Dynasty Women’s Fashion,” in *China Chic: East Meets West*, ed. Valerie Steele and John S. Major (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 110.

¹² Jeannette Shambaugh Elliott and David Shambaugh, *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 14.

¹³ Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China* (California: University of California Press, 1999), 138.

of elite women in *hufu* on horseback playing polo. The Tang women's enthusiasm for *hufu* fashion, a dress style with distinctive designs, contrasts with the frequent images of them in glamorous classical Tang fashions, demonstrating the alternate fashion route women recreated to fit into their independent personas.

The *hufu* dress differed in style from the Tangs' classical dress but illustrates the broad choice of styles in Tang fashion. The history of first time *hufu* dress styles became fashion in China date to the Warring States period, with *hufu* dress defined as clothing worn by the non-Chinese population and Chinese warriors.¹⁴ In the Tang dynasty, the *hufu* dress came from the West through the Silk Road with the *hu* terminology implying a link towards the foreigners from the West and Northwest of China. However, specifying the main cultural origin of *hufu* dress is complicated, since the style combined different possible foreign dress styles. In the Tang scholarship, the *hufu* dress style derives from the Tangs' imitation of the dress styles they observed from West Asian foreigners such as the Sogdians and Sasanian Persians.¹⁵ The elite woman's encounter with foreign cultures stemmed from the dynasty's proximity to the Silk Road. The study of foreigners coming from the Silk Road or residing in Chang'an, showcases the close encounters elite women witnessed outside their households. Since elite women could escape the household as rich women, the foreign lifestyle offered women another escape from the larger enclosure of the Tang dynasty's societal gender restriction, which placed importance on the Tang women's

¹⁴Cho-yun Hsu, *China: A New Cultural History*, trans. Timothy D. Baker, Jr. and Michael S. Duke (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 219, *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uwm/detail.action?docID=932177>.

¹⁵ BuYun Chen, *Empire of Style: Silk and Fashion in Tang China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 92.

role as a mother and daughter in the household.¹⁶ In contrast, close to the Tang territory was the Steppe culture, a land which stretched into China's North border, where the nomadic foreigners lived.¹⁷ Steppe women received more opportunities outside the household, with women alongside/in tandem with men and acting as leaders regarding issues involving their families members.¹⁸ Therefore, this thesis analyzes the landscape of Chang'an and the Persian foreigners in order to showcase the outlook of a bigger world that elite women welcomed in their *hufu* dress, which visually allowed them further access outside the patriarchy household. The Tang capital, Chang'an, a city with a foreign presence and traders, is crucial for its insight into how elite women experienced the wealth of the Tang dynasty's intercultural economy. In addition, elite women in Chang'an become known for buying expensive items, demonstrating their enjoyment and experience in the city.¹⁹ The elite women's value in wearing *hufu* corresponds as a technique to change their personas in art, where women pushed themselves into the sphere of foreign cultures that Tang men experienced.

This thesis elaborates on the factors of *hufu* dress that set elite women apart from the expectations of Tang society. The *hufu* dress, termed as a Western dress style, became popular among the upper-class men and women living in cosmopolitan cities like Chang'an.²⁰ The general components for *hufu* dress style included a robe or jacket, trousers and boots. The simple *hufu*

¹⁶ Hinsch, *Women in Tang China*, 9.

¹⁷ Iver B. Neumann and Einar Wigen, *The Steppe Traditions in International Relations: Russians, Turks and European State-Building 4000 BCE-2018 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2-3.

¹⁸ Hinsch, *Women in Tang China*, 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁰ Suzanne Cahill, "Ominous Dress: *Hufu* ('Barbarian Clothing') during the Tang Dynasty (618-907)," in *China and Beyond in the Mediaeval Period: Cultural Crossings and Inter-Regional Connections*, ed. Dorothy C. Wong and Gustav Heldt (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2014), 219.

attire fared well for outdoor activities like horse riding, thereby attracting the Tangs' to this style.²¹ However, *hufu* was worn by people of both the elite and non-elite classes, in part because the foreign aspects of *hufu* dress was not classical Tang dress, therefore, *hufu* relieved both social groups of the societal Tang hierarchy placed on clothing in regards to the person's social status and gender.²² In the Tang scholarship, the definition of "*hufu*" itself is problematic and can vary among prominent scholars in the field. Therefore, this thesis explores that Persian fashioned clothes attracted women, especially the male Persian dress, in order to continue the political power persona of women in art.

This thesis analyzes the elite women's interest in Persian dress styles, which I contribute to the actual origin of *hufu*, as a chance for women to loosen the control of the male dominated perspectives on women in art. The *hufu* dress shows women were able to change their personas against the standards of the Tang societal dress, since *hufu* was a foreign and male dress style, it defied the standards of the Tang dress styles expected of women.²³ The women's choice in *hufu* dress is crucial since the Tang dynasty itself was riveted in textiles, as the dynasty was renowned for its silk, satin, and gauze and its expertise in weaving and embroidery on textiles.²⁴ The connection of the Persian influence with Tang dress styles is not unreasonable since Persian textile designs can be viewed in Tang feminine fashion as well.²⁵ The influence from Persia to Tang, in art and cultures, were large. The Persian presence in the Tang dynasty is exemplified by the ob-

²¹ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 93-94.

²² *Ibid.*, 96.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Hsu, *China*, 229.

²⁵ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 104-105.

jects purchased from the Silk Road, such as Persian textile decorations.²⁶ In addition, the Tang dynasty welcomed visiting Persian merchants and royalty from the Persian Sasanian dynasty, establishing how the Tangs revered the Persian foreigners as an affluent group.²⁷ This perception of Persians as an affluent group requires attention as I find that elite women sought to specifically mimic Persian dress styles because of the Persian foreigners' praiseworthy image within the Tang dynasty. The key factors that permitted elite women to gain mainstream acceptance of their adoption of male clothing included the Tang dynasty's openness to importation of foreign cultures, such as the Sasanians and Sogdians goods.²⁸ The unique economic conditions and willingness of the Tang dynasty to connect with foreign cultures through the Silk Road trade, positioned elite women to revise the limitations associated with them based on gender. Tang women incorporated power symbols, namely depictions of themselves in *hufu* dress, as a means to insert their representation in the dynasty's cosmopolitan society. The elite Tang woman's desire to wear *hufu* dress based off the Persian male dress styles influence, was an attempt to embody the cultural freedom, wealth, and strength they associated with the Sasanian Persians into their personas of independence.

This thesis on elite women envisioning themselves in power through dress is organized into five sections. The first section analyzes the literature review of the existing scholarship on *hufu* dress, which scholars have defined as cross-dressing, which elite women wore as foreign fashion. The second section introduces the definition of *hufu* dress by comparing *hufu* dress with

²⁶ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 104-5.

²⁷ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 220.

²⁸ Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (San Francisco: Hau-raki Publishing, 2014), ProQuest Ebook Central, 26, 35-36.

the classical female Tang dress styles in order to demonstrate how *hufu* dress steered women away from the constricted gender perceptions of the classical female dress. The third section examines the Tang art depictions of foreigners in the court and tomb art, establishing the elite women's personal witness of different foreign fashions. Since both elite and lower elite women wore *hufu* dress, the fourth section studies both social groups' environments, which emphasized the elite women spending their time in *hufu* dress in ease, while lower elite women were positioned working in their *hufu* dress. The fifth section connects *hufu* dress with the Persian male dress styles from the Sasanian Persian and Iranian Sogdian art, to emphasize that the Persian's dress influenced the West Asian foreigners' dress as it did with the Tangs' dress. I analyze the Persian fashion rendered in art outside the Tang territory to compile the symbolic meaning of power behind Persian fashion, which the Persian visitors from the Silk Road introduced to the elite women in Chang'an.

Chapter 1: Literature Review on *Hufu* Dress

The scholarship on *hufu* dress encompasses the dress style's transformation from foreign attire into a common Tang fashion. This broad approach in analyzing *hufu* dress requires more in-depth research into the Tang's social structure and the Silk Road's foreign fashion. Specifically, scholars Suzanne Cahill, Kate Lingley, and BuYun Chen, provide the main research about the Tang *hufu* dress. Although, these three scholars analyze *hufu* dress through Tang art and literature, their research centers on the social, political, culture and gender spheres that women entered when wearing *hufu* dress.

The type of spheres that *hufu* represents in Cahill's research surrounds the Tang women's approach with the gender and foreign spheres. Cahill's scholarship on the Tang literature informs the Tang measures on *hufu* dress, a topic that compiled positive and negative reactions towards Tang women. Cahill organizes the literature such as the *Old Tang History*, the *New Tang History*, and Tang poetry, to comment on the male's viewpoint of the women's foreign dress.²⁹ Cahill expands her methodology to include artifacts as well, to write how Tang women interacted with *hufu*, which appealed to them as foreign dress as part of the latest Tang fashion styles, in addition to providing them independence from the Tang's gendered rules. For example, women wore male dress, tunics and trousers, which became suitable attire for performing male labor. Later, the women wore male dress styles to defy the demands placed on their gender.³⁰ Cahill notes that the Tang male writers were not troubled by the foreign male dress styles on women, even though the classical dress styles signified gender clearly. The main critique of women in foreign male dress

²⁹ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 219.

³⁰ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 103, 114.

was that they were displacing the Tangs' classical dress styles, thereby visually severing their exclusive links to the dynasty.³¹ However, Cahill's approach to *hufu* as foreign and male dress, departs from Lingley's analysis on *hufu* dress.

In contrast to Cahill's research on *hufu*, Lingley argues that women in *hufu* dress were dressing in male clothing. Lingley states that the Tangs' perceived the dress style called *hufu* as really male attire and not foreign. This male dress style on women derived from an earlier foreign dress style in China but due to the style's extended time in China, departed from its foreign origin and was revised as Tang male attire.³² Lingley concludes that women in *hufu* attire were not attempting to dress as foreigners, for if the Tangs were, their foreign dress styles would have included more explicit foreign items such as fur or Central Asian hats.³³ Lingley challenges the scholarship that women sought *hufu* dress to wear foreign and male dress by discussing the scholarship's incorrect approach in stating women in *hufu* dress as cultivating a foreign dress style. Lingley re-examines Cahill's problematic research of women in *hufu* dress as foreign wear, to Cahill's incorrect dating of *hufu* dress. Lingley asserts that Cahill should have placed the current foreign dress styles in the Tang dynasty as foreign dress, but not the earlier foreign wear that was revised to what Lingley assigns as women wearing male attire. Lingley explains that Cahill's misinterpretation comes from her sources, which comment on women wearing foreign dress more than male dress, leading to Cahill's conclusion that women in *hufu* dress carried a male and foreign appearance, but that the Tangs found the women's *hufu* dress problematic only because

³¹ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 225.

³² Kate A. Lingley, "Naturalizing the Exotic: On the Changing Meanings of Ethnic Dress in Medieval China," *Ars Orientalis* 38 (2010): 56, Accessed November 26, 2020, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29550020>.

³³ Lingley, "Naturalizing the Exotic," 72.

of the dress's foreign appearance and not the male components of the style. Lingley agrees that the small number of sources focusing on women dressed in men's wear shows the normalcy of women wearing male dress. However, Lingley notes that Cahill mistakenly analyzed from her sources *hufu* dress as one type of dress style, instead of two different types of dress styles, foreign dress and male dress.³⁴

Lingley critiques Cahill's reading of the *hufu* dress's origin from the *New Tang History*, a source from around 1060 A.D. In the *New Tang History*, the source comments on the palace women's attire combining the male dress and foreign dress elements from either the Khitan or Xi foreigners. The Khitan and Xi foreigners were part of the Northern Song, discrediting this observation of showcasing the Tang women's *hufu* wear. Lingley examines the source that influenced the *New Tang History*, called the *Old Tang History* from 945 A.D, which shared this observation of women in *hufu* dress. In the *Old Tang History*, the literature explains that the women's male dress is equivalent to the foreigners' dress, but not actually foreign attire.³⁵ While Lingley fixes the misinterpretation of Cahill's study of *hufu*, Cahill's research on *hufu* dress and Tang fashion delivers crucial information of the Tangs dress rules' purpose in maintaining the social hierarchy structure, where dress styles that turned away from these organized dress rules, broke the perceived social structure of the dynasty, as expressed by Tang writers.³⁶ Cahill's research on the Tang court's perception of dress styles align with Chen's research on the broad subject of the women's interaction with Tang fashion depicted in art.

³⁴ Lingley, "Naturalizing the Exotic," 71- 73.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁶ Cahill, "Ominous Dress" 219.

Chen states that Tang fashion faced opposing opinions from the Tang court, leading to the Tang dress rules to limit certain dress styles. These dress rules, or the “Tang sumptuary legislation,” imposed restrictions on costly fabrics like silk, to prevent the Tang elites from wearing dress styles outside their set statuses. The Tang dress was part of a hierarchy system that expressed the visual information of the wearer’s status, which the dress rules distinguished among the Tangs’ higher and lower statuses. However, the intention of the Tang dress rules failed to stop elites from wearing garments representing a different visual social status. Since the Tang dress rules signaled rank, Chen argues that the upper elite classed dress styles and fabrics meant any Tang women could imitate the style, as a form of power in creating the impression of a higher status. This conveyed that women of a lower status could style themselves in silk, a fabric correlated with a high social status, in order to present themselves in that higher status, visually.³⁷ This benefitted wealthy merchants, who could afford luxurious dress styles, which matched or outdid the elites’ dress styles.³⁸ Chen discusses the *hufu* dress’s place in the Tang’s social rules, articulating the style’s unique identity. While both the Tang classical dress and foreign dress styles expressed identity, the Tang court’s modulated dress rules did not affect the *hufu* dress’s identity, as the style was not an authentic Tang fashion. Chen finds that the elite tombs images of women in *hufu* dress show their interest with *hufu* dress as male foreign dress, that masked their gender and Tang nationality. Here, the power of *hufu* dress allows Tang women, by utilizing fashion, to cre-

³⁷ BuYun Chen, “Material Girls: Silk and Self-Fashioning in Tang China (618-907),” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 21, no.1 (January 2017): 8-9, Accessed November 26, 2020, doi: 10.1080/1362704X.2016.1138679.

³⁸ Chen, “Material Girls,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 21, no.1 (January 2017): 10.

ate an identity against the set dress styles connected with the Tang social status.³⁹ Wearing *hufu* dress provided Tang women the opportunity to not only flaunt their captivating styles, but present themselves, even with no actual ties, closer to the Tang court.⁴⁰

The information of *hufu* dress is exhibited in the Tang art and literature, which the scholars Chen, Cahill, and Lingley analyze throughout their research. Chen's methodology utilizes a detailed discussion of Tang art involving court art, tomb murals and tomb statuettes, with the tombs highlighting an array of Tang dress styles.⁴¹ Chen analyzes fashion in an artistic approach, where she prescribes the Tang women's interaction with fashion as an activity to create visual appealing styles for themselves.⁴² The three scholars' research of the *hufu* presented in fashion and art, are two subjects that Chen comments on, where the Tang women fostered their image based on these two subjects. In fashion, women who could afford *hufu* dress, visually asserted their link to the elite Tang court.⁴³ The attraction of *hufu* fashion for Tang women was the "image-making." Chen terms "image-making," for when Tang women embraced an unfamiliar style outside the women's own identity and environment.⁴⁴ Chen builds on the discussing of Tang women in foreign attire, concluding *hufu* as a response to the cosmopolitan nature of the dynasty, that interested the Tang court with foreign dress styles.⁴⁵ Cahill also details the Tang court's in-

³⁹ Chen, "Material Girls," 15.

⁴⁰ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 95-6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 82-3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 83-84.

⁴³ Chen, "Material Girls," 16.

⁴⁴ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 10.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

terest in fashion from the Silk Road.⁴⁶ While Cahill provides insight into the Tang women's experience with foreign dress through the Tang literature, Chen's approach on the artistic study of *hufu* dress secures the research of *hufu* dress as male and foreign wear.

Chen offers the most straightforward information pinpointing the Tang's *hufu* cultural influence than Lingley and Cahill. Chen states that multiple cultures influenced the Tang *hufu*. "During the early Tang dynasty, the *hu* sartorial influence can be best described as a pastiche of Turkic, Uyghur, Sogdian, and by extension Sasanid Persian (*bosi*) dress."⁴⁷ While Chen's research on *hufu* dress on women exposes the *hufu* dress style shifting the gender, nationality, and status spheres of women, Chen provides little information of the specific foreign cultures in the Tang *hufu* dress, leading to the uncertainty of how exact or different Tang *hufu* dress compares with the cultures that Chen mentions. Lacking in the scholarship of these three scholars is a visual comparison of the Tang women's *hufu* dress with a specific foreign fashion. Foreign fashion, according to Lingley, was absorbed into the Tang culture. Lingley notes that foreign dress, through an extended length of time, drew the foreign dress style closer towards a Chinese identity than the style's foreign identity.⁴⁸ Lingley demonstrates the difficulty of analyzing the foreign dress culture, by emphasizes her approach in separating the mixed cultures of an object in order to research the object's original culture. Lingley breaks apart the mixed components of a foreign object in China, in order to distinguish the object's original elements since each culture contains different art styles. The foreign elements of an object benefits from analysis of the art style of the

⁴⁶ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 104.

⁴⁷ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 92.

⁴⁸ Lingley, "Naturalizing the Exotic," 58.

cultural that created those foreign elements.⁴⁹ Lingley's point of distinguishing the object's foreign elements, stresses the importance of my research in incorporating the scholarship on Sasanian art for this thesis. In my research, I push further into Chen's summary of *hufu* dress combining different foreign cultures by focusing on the singular influence of foreign culture that influenced Tang *hufu* dress, which I contribute to the Persian male dress styles. Cahill also recounts that the foreign goods at Chang'an, exhibited the Tangs' immersing themselves in foreign dress, Persian precious stones and the Persian polo sport, but she does not further this Persian presence in Chang'an to the *hufu* dress, instead she states *hufu* dress as a Western dress style.⁵⁰ I compare the Tang scholarship with the Sasanian scholarship to provide insight into the comprehensive relationship of the Sasanians' with the Tang's court to understand the wider art exposure witnessed by Tang women. While the Tang scholars detail the setting of Tang women's fashion in the dynasty, my research shifts towards the Sasanian scholarship on Persian *hufu* and art to highlight the missing discussion of an important foreign culture in the Tang's cosmopolitan dynasty.

Research of the Sasanian Persian art revolves around the Sasanian rulers' crafting art to instill influential messages of the Persian culture. G. Hermann states that the Sasanians' sought to portray themselves with an ancestry to the Achaemenian dynasty in order to extend their image of a longer history in the region.⁵¹ The Sasanian rulers were earnest in bringing forth their ties with the Achaemenian dynasty. For example, the Sasanian King Khusrau II set out to gain back

⁴⁹ Ibid., 53.

⁵⁰ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 104-106.

⁵¹ G. Hermann, "The Art of the Sasanians," in *The Arts of Persia*, ed. Ronald W. Ferrier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 61.

lost territory from the Achaemenian dynasty.⁵² Boris I. Marshak's research studies the Sasanians artistic style, which encompasses their renowned rock reliefs. The prestigious art form of the Sasanians composes the connection of their art to the Achaemenid's art styles. Instead, the Sasanians created art that publicized the agenda of the Sasanians leaders.⁵³ Matthew P. Canepa's research incorporates the Sasanians forged relationship with the Achaemenid dynasty to promote their legitimacy. The Sasanian rulers asserted false evidence in Iranian history that featured the Achaemenid dynasty in order to create their long lineage with the ancestral kings. Another technique of the Sasanian rulers expressing legitimacy was through the inclusion of spiritual approval from deities.⁵⁴

The visual elements of kingly power emit from the Taq-i Bustan rock reliefs. Marshak states that the Taq-i Bustan shows the traditional and latest influences in Sasanian art. The traditional art styles in the rock reliefs are found with the deities bestowing spiritual approval for the king. In addition to the scenes of the king's rule, the rock reliefs illustrate Sasanian fashion. At the Taq-i Bustan, the Sasanian fashion displays armor, kaftans and silk.⁵⁵ Canepa analyzes the construction of the rock reliefs which contextualize the court's visual goals.

⁵² Hermann, "The Art of the Sasanians," 73.

⁵³ Boris I. Marshak, "Pre-Islamic Painting of the Iranian Peoples and Its Sources in Sculpture and the Decorative Arts," in *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources*, ed. Eleanor Sims (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 9.

⁵⁴ Matthew P. Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia: Competing Cosmologies and Topographies of Power," in *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250-750*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Michael Maas (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 57.

⁵⁵ Marshak, "Pre-Islamic Painting of the Iranian Peoples and Its Sources in Sculpture and the Decorative Arts," 10.

Canepa discusses how the Sasanian rulers' enforced their political power through their interaction with foreign cultures. The Sasanians sought to control a wider landscape through the intercultural trading system, between them and the major dynasties of the Tangs and Romans. The upper classed elites from the three major dynasties' capitals such as the Sasanian's Ctesiphon and the Tang's Chang'an, were areas influenced by the intercultural trading system. The three dynasties shared the same goal in portraying themselves as strong dynasties exerting authority over the trade system to show their dominance. This rivalry is exhibited in the Sasanians' buildings and environment to showcase their ruling power. Canepa states that the dynasties' fought for authority by portraying the powerful elements of their courts, which the Sasanians publicized in and outside their region.⁵⁶ Canepa's analysis of the Sasanian court's ambitious plans to depict themselves as strong rulers, matches Tonia Eckfeld's research of the Tang court's portrayal of their dynasty.

Tonia Eckfeld documents the vibrant Tang court's authority displayed in the Tang tombs and their relationship to the deceased rulers. The Tang rulers buried at Qianling mausoleum enforced their links to Chang'an by matching the mausoleum's landscape to the city. The deceased rulers' main tomb was placed in the northern area of the complex, a similar alignment to the northern location of the Daming palace in Chang'an, showing the rulers links to their residence when alive.⁵⁷ The Qianling artists painted scenes of fashion, palaces structures and the environment as exhibited in the attendant tombs. The realistic and idealistic scenes of the Qianling murals is based off the artists, who worked on different art projects that influenced the direction of

⁵⁶ Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia," 54-55.

⁵⁷ Tonia Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907: The Politics of Paradise* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 21, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uwm/detail.action?docID=1098937>.

the murals. For instance, Li Xian's tomb represents the naturalist images of the Tang court and their privileged lifestyle.⁵⁸ Eckfeld contributes the polo tomb mural scenes in connection to the court and Tang elites, where Li Xian's mural shows elites partaking in polo, a sport and fun activity that was welcomed in Chang'an.⁵⁹ The visual element of the court, rendered in the tomb art expose the difficulty in the intercultural relationship with the Sasanians.

Combining the research of the Tangs and Sasanians art, informs how these two major dynasties influenced one another despite their difference in art styles. Scholars broadly note the regions or cultures that inspired the Tangs' *hufu* fashion. This helps guide the influence of *hufu* to the Sasanians' dress, since the Sasanian rulers cultivated their presence in their own region and in the trade routes. As the Sasanian's rock reliefs and the Tang's tombs highlighted their male rulers, the scholars' research deviates attention away from the women's place in elite art. Incorporating the Tang artworks of foreigners with the Tang female polo players enlists the connotations women strove to portray in their personas.

⁵⁸ Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907*, 65-66.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 118-120.

Chapter 2: Two Fashions: *Hufu* and the Classical Versions of Elite Tang Women

The Tang dynasty's rulers cultivated a society open to foreign cultures from the Silk Road, while simultaneously preserving their Chinese culture. The rulers involved themselves with the Chinese custom of restoring the Han dynasty's (206 B.C to 221 A.D) goals of unity and accumulative territory,⁶⁰ but in addition to these goals, the Tang court sought to further their wealth from the Silk Road. The goals of the Tang court to portray their Chinese culture; a Han identity and Confucius values, aligned with their new goals of benefiting further from the wealthy Silk Road trade by incorporating foreign cultures into Tang society. The Tang court's friendly outreach towards foreign influences is exhibited in the Tang capital, Chang'an. Chang'an, the home and government of the Tang rulers, was a location appointed with visible symbols of Tang power, to the Silk Road landmarks,⁶¹ which showcased the traditional visible symbols of the Tangs and the new symbols of foreign influences. While the dynasty encouraged the presence of foreigners, the Tang court discouraged Tang women from elevating their status, pushing to maintain the court's fixed traditional gender status on Tang women.

The Tang court's openness towards foreigners, but not Tang women demonstrates the court's unwillingness to change the traditional perspective on women. However, fashion reflects the Tang women's urge for change in their traditional social status through art, a form that could diverge from the reality of society. The court's monitoring of the extravagant classical dress styles expressed by Tang women, shows the women seeking visual representation, which suited their personal taste and not the court's. The elite women's wealthy resources helped alter their

⁶⁰ Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 145.

⁶¹ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 103.

traditional art depictions through their embracement of expensive and foreign dress styles. While any women could possess or copy the style by the means available to her, the ability to engrave everlasting depictions in the Tang's court and tomb art was available with elite women. Although Tang fashion consisted of numerous ever-changing dress styles, this thesis analyzes the Tang women's relationship with two types of dress styles: first, the dress styles associated with the Chinese culture termed here as classical female dress and second, the *hufu* attire, a foreign dress style. The elite women's interaction with these two dress styles, demonstrates the elite women's ambitions in controlling their own visual personas.

Section 2.1 Key Works of Classical Tang Female Garments

The Tang court considered the classical Tang female garments as visual characteristics of the Tang Chinese identity, rendered by gender and social class. The woman's social status, however, was determined by her male's relative, husband or son, social status, where the matching of woman's dress to her male relatives, through specific colors and fabrics, showcased her shared visual status.⁶² While the Tang elite women's status was dependent on their males relatives' rank, the exposure of Tang fashion altered the elite classical female dress styles to include extravagant styles, which Tang women harnessed to create their own independent status that absented the male's presence.

The prosperity of Tang fashion for Tang elite women is illustrated in the variety of classical dress styles available for them. The women's outfits primary consisted of robes, jackets, skirts and shawls, which were positioned on the women's bodies in similar designs. The common classical dress style women modeled included the robe (*shan*) and jacket (*ru*), both cut short,

⁶² Chen, *Empire of Style*, 51.

along with a skirt(*qun*) and shawl(*pibo*). The design of the skirt was positioned above the women's waist, with a belt beneath their chests. Completing this style was a shawl, worn wrapped around the women's shoulders or arms. While the four primary dress component outfit appears simple, the fashion of the classical dress styles contained additional items such as the *banbi*, a type of short jacket with short sleeves, a coat (*ao*) or cloak (*pao*). Besides, the amount of dress components, the quality of the women's attire contained expensive fabrics such as the thin silk robe (*shan*).⁶³ Women also wore colorful striped or silk striped skirts.⁶⁴ Color wise, red skirts were popular along with green and purple.⁶⁵ Altogether, the numerous and expensive qualities of the women's classical dress styles such as the shorter upper garments of the robe and jacket; and the skirt placed beneath the women's chests, accentuates the female's body to create a feminine silhouette. This common classical dress style is depicted in the Tang tomb of Princess Yongtai (684 to 701 A.D). Princess Yongtai's tomb is located at the imperial Qianling mausoleum situated in the Chinese city, Xi'an, which during the Tang dynasty, the Tangs' established the city, Chang'an.⁶⁶ Princess Yongtai, along with three other attendant tombs including Li Xian's tomb, were built concurrently from 705 to 706 A.D.⁶⁷ The rendering of the classical female garments in Princess Yongtai's tomb is found in the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) mural.

⁶³ Ibid., 84.

⁶⁴ Angela Sheng, "Determining the Value of Textiles in the Tang Dynasty: In Memory of Professor Denis Twitchett (1925-2006)." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, 23, no. 2 (2013): 192, accessed November 26, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/43307663.

⁶⁵ Shaorong Yang, *Traditional Chinese Clothing: Costumes, Adornments & Culture* (Sand Francisco: Long River Press, 2004), 5.

⁶⁶ Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907*, 1-2.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 50.

The tomb art representations of the classical dress styles provides insight to the degree the Tangs accepted, in a sacred setting, Tang female fashion. The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1), dated to 706 A.D., hails from Princess Yongtai tomb's antechamber on the Eastern mural wall.⁶⁸ The antechamber displays three additional murals of female figures as palace attendants along with the *Group of Attendants* (figure1) mural. One of the additional murals is adjacent to the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) on the same East wall. The West wall contains two other murals of female figures. The murals depicting the palace attendants is to showcase the women serving Princess Yongtai in her afterlife.⁶⁹ A common feature of the royal murals contained female palace attendants rendered in elite garments, with styles including the jacket, shawl, skirt, and cuspidated shoes.⁷⁰ Princess Yongtai's mural figures show elegant dressed women with a jacket (*ru*), long skirts, and shawl (*pibo*). The women dress styles follow a strategic pattern in highlighting the women's bodies. The classical dress's emphasis of the women's bodies is traced to the jackets, which are opened to reveal the women's chests.⁷¹ Even though the rest of the women's dress covers their bodies, in long jacket sleeves and trailing skirts, the excess fabrics showcases the elite's wealthy resources to expansive fabrics. The women's dress styles express the privilege of the elites in obtaining not only multiple dress items but the excess amount of the material. As with the strategic planning of revealing the women's body through the opened jacket, the excess material ties into the women's femininity.

⁶⁸ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 103.

⁶⁹ Jonathan Hay, "Seeing through Dead Eyes: How Early Tang Tombs Staged the Afterlife," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 57/58 (2010): 38, Accessed November 26, 2020, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25769971>.

⁷⁰ Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907*, 127.

⁷¹ BuYun Chen, "Dressing for the Times: Fashion in Tang Dynasty China (618–907)" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013), 106-107.

The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) figures' dress styles overemphasizes the female bodies, through excess materials. Despite the surplus amount of material, the Tang created a delicate and thin material from the fabrics highlighting, not only the Tang's ingenuity in dress, but how the Tang's feminized elite dress through the expansive thin material's ability to reveal the contours of the women's slim bodies. The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) female figures' expresses the emphasis of the material with shawls and skirts. The women trailing skirts, positioned high up on their waists, asserts the women with a long lower body proportion, however the skirt's billowy form fulfills the purpose of illuminating the expansive material. The design of the shawls, placed behind the women's jackets with the edges hanging freely over their shoulders and arms,⁷² demonstrate how the Tang's layered dress. The dress layers is expertly done to almost conceal the layers on top of one another. For example, while the women's skirts appear as one layer because of their thin material, the skirts actually consist of two skirts, as evident by the side slit.⁷³ The structure of the classical Tang dress underscores how the dress moves with the body, and was not a style to stay in a flaccid manner, as exhibited with the women poses showing their waists pulled forward, and their torsos pulled slightly back to portray themselves as refined women. The curve of the women's bodies shows the smooth transition of the dress, where the thin material blends with another from the upper jackets and shawls to the women's skirts, which either cover or stay behind the women's high cuspidated shoes.

The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) depiction of dress was not the universal form in Tang fashion. Instead, in the ninth or tenth century silk court painting, *Court Ladies Adorning Their*

⁷² Chen, "Dressing for the Times," 106.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 107.

Hair with Flowers (figure 2) attributed to the artist Zhou Fang,⁷⁴ presents the similar mode of beautiful women in Tang art, these classical dress styles bring out the lavish quality of Tang fashion portrayed on higher classed female elites. The scene portrays a single female attendant serving five elite court women set in a relaxed atmosphere, with the six female figures wearing elaborate dress styles.⁷⁵ *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2) and the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) enlist an emphasis on the women's dress appearances. For example, women's bodies hold and pull at their attire to show the effect of the style's design, such as the floral pattern and silk material. The women in the painting appear to intentionally call the viewer's eye to their dressing process and clothing items, as they display their skirt by pulling on the fabric.⁷⁶ These two artworks contrast with each other over the context of the main female figures' duties. The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) enforces attention on the ladies in waiting, whose bodies are tasked in their position to physically serve Princess Yongtai. The grouped women moving in the same direction, but the women's bodies present different postures in their movement. Most of the women's bodies face the front or the side, their heads positioned straight ahead or turned to the side, and with one woman positioned with her back turned. The women's different profiles stage their interactions based within the group to fulfill their duty. While the *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2) shows elite court women at rest in simple standing positions when served upon by their attendant, leaving the audience more clarity in viewing their high fashion.

⁷⁴ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 105.

⁷⁵ Chen, "Material Girls," 20.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 21.

The *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2) and the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) demonstrate that the Tang classical dress on the women held different inspirations. Previous Chinese dynasties created pronounced influences in Tang classical female dress styles such as the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D). The Sui dynasty exemplified their female dress styles with décolletages and skirts placed high above the women's waists. In the beginning of the Tang dynasty, these Sui dress styles continued and were expressed with figures from the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1). However, Tang fashion was not fixed, and changes occurred, with the decreased popularity of décolletage during the mid-eighth century, while more voguish women incorporated shawls into their dress fashion.⁷⁷ The female figures in the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) exhibits both shawls and décolletages together, cementing the Sui dress styles with the classical Tang female garments.

In the *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2), the higher classed female elites convey the complex designs of the classical Tang female dress styles. The artistic details rendered in the women's fashion is fluent throughout the painting, from the elaborate hairstyles, makeup to the long shawls, decorated gowns and gossamer cloak.⁷⁸ The classical dress styles represent the usage of silk in fashion. Specifically, fashion in the Tang dynasty faced demands from the elites for expansive dress materials like silk. The production of silk influences the elite's dress designs. Elite women in the seventh century, wore the classical dress styles, of a *banbi*, top and either a striped or monochrome close fitted skirt, which hugged her waist, but flared out at the end.⁷⁹ In addition to this fashion, elite women replaced the silk Sui garments'

⁷⁷ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 25.

⁷⁸ Chen, "Material Girls," 21.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

silhouette shape with the Tangs, which featured large, long sleeves cloaks and billowy skirts made from very fine, light, and delicate silk.⁸⁰ The *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2) show the ninth century female figures' dress styles, such as the cloaks and shawls, made out of intricate silk turned into a netted thin and light material.⁸¹ The development process of the classical dress styles evolved quickly throughout the dynasty, with older styles aging out or combining with Tang attire to form creative styles.

However, the earlier Chinese dynasties styles found in the classical Tang female garments was not confined to the Sui dynasty, but also included foreign styles. For example, the *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers*, detail (figure 2.1) shows an elite woman's dress containing Persian motifs embroidered on her silk gown.⁸² While the *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers*, detail (figure 2.1) brings forth the foreign styles influence from the Silk Road, the elite woman's dress contains the feminine silhouette and expansive silk material connected to the Tang classical female garments. In Tang fashion, more explicit foreign styles than the *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers*, detail (figure 2.1) classical dress style with Persian attracted elite women. The *hufu* garments were a type of Tang fashion, which inspired women to push the boundaries of the Tang female identity formed in the classical Tang dress in order to create their own visual persona.

Section 2.2 Visual Analysis of the Key Works of *Hufu* Garments

Tang elite women invoked the *hufu* dress style to modify their portrayal in art. During the Tang dynasty, the *hufu* dress style was categorized as non-Chinese dress, instead deriving from

⁸⁰ Ibid., 20.

⁸¹ Ibid., 22.

⁸² Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 105.

different ethnic groups such as the Sogdians and Sassanians.⁸³ Women in *hufu* dress appeared as wearing a visible foreign and male dress. The *hufu* dress's male foreign style was in sharp contrast to the classical Tang female dress styles, with *hufu* composed of robes, such as the kaftan or tunic, a belt, trousers, boots and hats.⁸⁴ The art depictions of the *hufu* dress style were found in the Tang elite tombs. The *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3), is a 706 A.D mural painting from Li Xian's tomb in the Shaanxi province, representing three women in classical dress styles and *hufu* dress.⁸⁵ The *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) female figure in *hufu*, demonstrates the simplicity of the unadorned dress style, where she wears a long kaftan laped robe and trousers.

Hufu, like classical dress, contained different components for women to choose from to create their style. While classical dress styles were diverse and feminine with their choice in skirts, gowns, jackets, tops and robes, *hufu* commonly ranged from opened jackets, slim sleeves, and trousers rendered with stripes and accessorized with boots.⁸⁶ Hats could also be part of the *hufu* style such as the *weimao*, which was a hat with a broad brim and a veil.⁸⁷ In addition, there was the *kuapao*, which was a kaftan robe with slim sleeves and big lapels with one overlapping the over. Designs like floral patterns could be added to these kind of robes.⁸⁸ Furthermore, clothes were not the only components of *hufu*, with the Western style including shoes, makeup

⁸³ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 219.

⁸⁴ Chen, "Material Girls," 14-15.

⁸⁵ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 115.

⁸⁶ Chen, "Material Girls," 14-15.

⁸⁷ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 92.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

and stylized hair.⁸⁹ A common hairstyle women wore in association with *hufu* was topknots.⁹⁰ In the *Aristocratic Women and Attendants* (figure 3), the female attendants wear the common form of the *hufu* dress style along with two women in classical female dress styles. These two women's classical dress styles match the female figures' dress styles in the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1), where both artworks depict women in long skirts and shawls. The *Aristocratic Women and Attendants* (figure 3), *hufu* figure's long robe almost reaches her ankles with large lapels. The robe contained excess fabric on the woman's body, which is emphasized by the belt that shows her slimmer figure. While the Tang woman's *hufu* dress is without decoration, the simplicity is expressed with prominent line work, establishing the dress's almost symmetrical structure.

The *hufu* dress in the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) mural shares a similar design with the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), a tomb pottery figurine. The *Female Attendant* (figure 4) is a 664 A.D. pottery figurine in Zheng Rentai's tomb (601 to 663) from the Zhaoling mausoleum. While the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) figure's *hufu* dress contained a simple design, the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) exemplifies *hufu* fashion in a highly decorated style.⁹¹ The female figurine shows how the Tang artists rendered naturalistic elements of the woman in *hufu* in art, which displays the attire tailored to her body with detailed lined work to recreate the impression of soft folds. The female figure's once blue robe,⁹² is decorated with tiny details of floral patterns, which are grouped into three half circular shapes with now faded

⁸⁹ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 219.

⁹⁰ Chen, "Material Girls," 15.

⁹¹ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 95.

⁹² James C. Y. Watt et al., *China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 293.

tones of red and blue colors. The bottom of the woman's cuffed pants are lined with a red border on her trousers and a leather belt around her waist.⁹³ The woman wears a *potou*, a black cloth placed over her hair.⁹⁴ These components add to the visual appealing quality of *hufu*, where the simple construction of *hufu* allowed for more notice of the tiny details of the dress.

Although the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) and the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) represent the different decorative forms of *hufu* expressed on the tunic and trousers outfit, the *Female Figure* (figure 5) illustrates another *hufu* style outfit. The *Female Figure* (figure 5) is a 714 A.D painted pottery figurine from Yang Jianchen's tomb. Here, the figurine (figure 5) wears a *kuapao* robe with decorated lapels, trousers and a belt. The *kuapao* was a type of robe well liked during the seventh to eighth century. The *kuapao* is similar to the kaftan robe with lapels and slim sleeves.⁹⁵ The kaftan was a popular dress that was worn by different cultures, such as the Persians, and Chinese.⁹⁶ The *Female Figure* (figure 5) is depicted with a style that masks the woman's gender. The woman's long robe and hat, hides the feminine body of the *Female Figure* (figure 5). In this way, the appearance of the *Female Figure* (figure 5) follows the design motive of the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) in hiding their gender, but capitalizing on the outward design pattern of their dress styles. While the *hufu* dress contained simple components like the robe and trousers, the simple style allowed for fluidity in its construction. Where women could show large contrasts in dress, with women in plain or adorned styles, fitted or loose, and

⁹³ Watt, *China*, 293.

⁹⁴ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 95.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁹⁶ Doreen Yarwood, *Illustrated Encyclopedia of World Costume* (New York, Dover Publications, Inc, 2011), 62.

feminine or masculine, by choice of covering one's total body and hair or neither. In these choices, the factor that stays is *hufu* dress, robe, belt, trousers, and boots connected to the persona of Western foreigners. Besides, the broad style of *hufu*, elites favored the dress style because of the dress's purpose as outdoor wear in activities such as riding horses and sports.⁹⁷ Therefore, analyzing *hufu* dress requires more than studying the style's visual elements, but the style's design for horse riding. A topic that further explores not only foreign dress, but the embracement of foreign sports in the Tang dynasty.

⁹⁷ Chen, "Material Girls," 15.

Chapter 3: Iranian Foreigners in the Tang Dynasty through Art

This thesis seeks to redirect the general statement of elites/royalty enjoying the benefits of the foreign cultures in Chang'an and the Silk Road, and provide the elite women's perspective of the foreign culture/influence in the city. The Tang Emperor Taizong, pursued creating relationships with foreigner nations through cordial means.⁹⁸ The Tang dynasty's embracement of foreign cultures is formatted as a phenomena, in which these cultures benefited the Tang elites and royal family, where the upper class immersed themselves in foreign cultural entertainment and goods brought from the Silk Road. The interaction of the Tang elite women in *hufu* reveals women were heavily involved in absorbing the foreign cultures from the Silk Road, specifically, the women's involvement with the Iranian and Persian cultures. The Tang written accounts and art, are the sources that showcase the elite women's close interaction with foreigners' culture and foreign dress. In art, composed of the court paintings, tomb figures and murals, document the numerous visual records of foreigners in Chang'an, while the written accounts of the foreigner traders and elite women exploring the city life in Chang'an mark the physically close interaction with women and the foreigner's trade goods.

Section 3.1 Foreigners in Chang'an

The experience of foreigners integrating into Chang'an is recounted in Tang art and literature. In Chang'an, the Tang elite women were known as wealthy shoppers at the markets, where they bought foreign items such as attire and surveyed the foreigners' lifestyle in the city.⁹⁹ While the Chang'an markets carried Persian trade goods such as precious stones and the polo

⁹⁸ Rachel Lung, *Interpreters in Early Imperial China* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011), 61, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uwm/detail.action?docID=765841>.

⁹⁹ Hinsch, *Women in Tang China*, 62.

sport, a Persian cultural activity, both men and women of different social classes were drawn to participate in this sport.¹⁰⁰ In the Tang literature, the Tangs' perception of Persian foreigners was connected to the various occupations of Persians viewed at the Tang court and markets. Essentially, the Persians of royal lineage or merchants contributed to the positive Tang viewpoint of Persians as wealthy foreigners. The Tangs' strong belief in this matter was illustrated in a written source by Li Shangyin in the *Scattered Compilations from Mount Yi*, where the author states the perception of the Persians being wealthy.¹⁰¹ The Tang's court and tomb art specific inclusion of Persians along with different foreigners, recounts the Tang court's perception of the important foreign cultures that benefited their dynasty.

The intercultural analysis of the economic contributions of Chang'an to the Tang court and foreigners from the Silk Road trade, dismisses the social gains of the Tang women involved in the city's profitable markets. The two main markets at Chang'an were called the Eastern and Western markets.¹⁰² The Silk Road's close distance to Chang'an was significant for the merchants who settled in the city. The merchants concentrated at the Western market included the Turks, Sogdians, and the Sassanian Persians.¹⁰³ Chang'an also contained different religious centers for foreigners of the Zoroastrianism, Daoism and Buddhism faith.¹⁰⁴ Since the Sassanian Persians traded by seafaring with the Chinese, the Persians were exaggerated as rich traders.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 104.

¹⁰¹ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 220.

¹⁰² Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 96.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 169-170.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

As the Sogdian and Sasanian merchants highlight the Iranian and Persian presence in the city, the capital contained a broader Western culture influence that was prevalent with men and women throughout the Tang social classes.¹⁰⁶ The Western Market held the majority of merchants, including Persians, with the amount of Iranian foreigners led the Tang court to create a department to provide for them.¹⁰⁷ Around ten thousand foreigners were settled in Chang'an with one million people living in the city.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the wealthy Tang court artistically produced deeper ties with foreign cultures than non-elites, where the court rendered the everlasting image of the intercultural in Chang'an through the Tang's court and tomb art.

Section 3.2 Early Female Persian Influence in Tang Art

The Tang court art relays the court's perspective of foreigners, in addition to the display of the court women's art persona. The inclusion of women in the court art exposes their interaction with foreigners and foreign influenced dress styles. The court artist, Yan Liben produced the *Emperor in a Sedan Chair Receiving a Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6), a silk painting documenting the influence of Persian female dress styles. This twelfth century painting's artistic technique is considered to have been produced in a less skillful manner of the original painting, which is authored to Yan Liben. The painting relays the Tang Emperor Taizong's achievement in creating secured ties with the Tibetans. This affair occurred in 641 A.D. in Chang'an, where a Tibetan envoy, named Ludongzan visited the emperor to highlight the important marriage between the Tang Princess Wencheng and the Tibetan king, cementing the two dynasties' relationship with one an-

¹⁰⁶ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 105.

¹⁰⁷ Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 170.

¹⁰⁸ Chen, "Material Girls," 7.

other.¹⁰⁹ The emperor is grouped together with his female attendants with the emperor sitting on the palanquin while his attendants hold fans and a canopy towards him, symbolizing the emperor's high rank. Across from the emperor, stand three male individuals, a Tibetan envoy in between a Tang courtier and attendant. The envoy is modeled as a respectful man with his hands pressed together, in front of him. The courtier is in a red dress, with the attendant in a white colored attire. The courtier and the attendant show respect by bowing, carrying their tablets in front of their bodies, to the emperor. The female attendants' close appearance and smaller scale shows their lower rank as compared to the courtier, the attendant and the envoy. The female attendants' image of decreased relevance shows the gender divide in the painting, as the male figures have a greater scale and detailed appearance, with the emperor dominating the most space to illustrate his high rank. The significance of the painting relates to the casting of the Tang court's dominance over foreigners, which in this case represents the envoy, who has come in a respectful posture to the Tang court.¹¹⁰

The intercultural of Persian influenced textiles is evident in the *Emperor in a Sedan Chair Receiving a Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6) female attendants' dresses. The women wear a classical Chinese dress style including jackets with tight sleeves and skirts, which are situated on their waist called a *Jian-qun* or paneled skirt. The *jian-qun* contained Persian influence from the feminine Persian skirt that was designed with stripes.¹¹¹ Specifically, a *jian-qun*, was constructed

¹⁰⁹ Julia K. Murray, *Mirror of Morality: Chinese Narrative Illustration and Confucian Ideology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 52-53.

¹¹⁰ Murray, *Mirror of Morality*, 53.

¹¹¹ Hung Chih Lo, "A New Model for T'ang Dress: Modernizing and Reconceptualizing Historical Chinese Costume" (PhD diss., Nottingham Trent University, 2005), 46-47.

out of a range of colored fabric strips stitched to one another.¹¹² While the female attendants are similar in appearance and dress, their larger number makes their dress stand out. Here, the female attendants (figure 6) model their dress in similar fashion as the women in the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) in order to show their dress styles. In both artworks, the female attendants are positioned in different postures, either on their side, back or front, to provide the full view of their dresses.

The Tibetan envoy depicted among the Tang emperor and his Tang subjects demonstrates that the Tang court individuals personally witnessed such important foreigners in Chang'an. While this painting shows a Tibetan foreigners instead of a Persian, his tunic and trousers matches the woman's dress in the *Female Attendant* (figure 4). These two seventh-century artworks were produced roughly at the same time, showing the early Tang influence of foreign dress styles. The foreign and foreign influenced dress styles illustrated in later court paintings represents the ongoing popularity of these styles.

Tang women wearing Persian inspired female dress styles showcase the prestige persona of the Persian dress designs. Zhou Fang's *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2), portrays women in elegant fashion from their expansive silk dresses, makeup and hairstyles with hairpins during the late Tang. In addition, a woman wears a Chinese silk dress depicting Persian influenced designs. One common Persian motif portrayed on silk dresses was the circular medallion with pearls around the border, and a type of animal placed inside the medallion.¹¹³ The *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers*, detail (figure 2.1), shows a

¹¹² Lo, "A New Model for T'ang Dress," 47n98.

¹¹³ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners's Wives!," 104-105.

close up of the woman's dress decorated with Persian roundels.¹¹⁴ While this design bares no animal, the floral designed roundels are patterned throughout the woman's dress. As a court art painting, the dresses here represent the hallmarks of the dynasty's dress silks, modeled by youthful elite women highlighting the style's qualities as a highly designed and expensive fashion.

Although the hierarchy among the women is evident in the painting (figure 2), the modeling of the woman in the Persian influenced dress draws the attention of the audience. The elite women are positioned as the central subjects of this scene, modeling their silk dress styles. The hierarchy situates the larger four women in front against the two smaller women in the background. The attendant spotted with the fan, is in between the two women, who both have their backs turned away from her. Furthering the hierarchy among the women is the empty space and animals placed between them, enacting clearer views of the women in front. One of the four women in the front is the woman in the Persian inspired dress (figure 2.1). The woman wears a thin gauze over her dress, but unlike the other women, she positions her arms and the gauze away from her dress, to present a clearer view of her dress's designs for the audience. In contrast, the exact designs of the other five women's garments are more hidden with the extra material in light to solid colors, covering their dresses. The five women dressed in the classical Tang dress styles wear multiple layers of silk that, while illustrates the versatile allure of the silk, blocks the detailed designs of their main dress, but asserts the wealth of their resources. The single woman in the Persian inspired dress style is more simple compared to the five women, with her gauze and shawl barely covering the dress's view, the main part of her intercultural fashion.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 105.

The court paintings demonstrate their roles as visible documents of Tang women either witnessing the presence of foreigners or in foreign inspired attire. Despite the social class differences of the women, in regards to Yan Liben's female attendants (figure 6) and Zhou Fang's prominent court woman (figure 2), both women showcase the Silk Road's exposure in their intercultural dress in a court environment in Chang'an. While Zhou Fang's female figure (figure 2) represents the decorative patterns of Persian influence, Yan Liben's female attendants' (figure 6) skirts show the Persian culture influencing the silhouette shape. Together, these specific Persian influenced dress styles show the elite women's attraction to the international prestige of the Persian cultural rendered in Tang fashion. The Tang women's earlier exposure with Persian inspired dress styles in the Tang dynasty, provides evidence in stimulating women to explore more robust foreign dress styles such as the *hufu* dress. These robust foreign dress styles are found in the elite tombs, which shared similar art depictions of the court's reception of foreigners.

Section 3.3 Persian Foreigners in the Elite Tomb Art

The mural paintings from the elite tombs format the landscape and royal families's ties to foreign influence. There are two royal tombs belonging to Princess Yongtai and Li Xian (also known as Prince Zhanghuai) at the Qianling mausoleum. The mausoleum is situated in Shaanxi province, which is a significant area in Tang dynasty history because the modern capital city, Xi'an is in Shaanxi, which was the past Tang capital city of Chang'an.¹¹⁵ The following list of mural paintings featuring Princess Yongtai's *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) and Li Xian's (or Prince Zhanghuai) *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) and *Chinese Officials and For-*

¹¹⁵ Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907*, 1.

eign Emissaries (figure 7)¹¹⁶ are important since they show the integration of different styles: classical and foreign dress.

Empress Wu (625 to 705 A.D.), and her husband, the Tang emperor Gaozong (628 to 683 A.D.), had the Qianling mausoleum serve as their final resting place. Princess Yongtai (684 to 701 A.D) was the seventeen year old Tang princess and granddaughter of Empress Wu,¹¹⁷ while Li Xian (654 to 684 A.D.), the crown prince to the throne at the time, was the son of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu.¹¹⁸ Politics are evidently still involved even among deceased royal members as both Li Xian and Princess Yongtai were only transferred to the Qianling in 706 A.D from their original burial locations.¹¹⁹ Princess Yongtai's burial in the elite tomb in Qianling was done by the new Tang emperor, Yongtai's father.¹²⁰ Li Xian had died in 684 A.D, with his burial moved to the Qianling in 706 A.D. and opened again in 711 A.D. to place his consort, Lady Fang, into his tomb.¹²¹ Symbolically, it is significant being buried in the attendant tombs as this demonstrates the closeness of that person's relationship with the ruler.¹²² The city Chang'an holds a connection to the royal family as generally, the royal family had lived in Chang'an, with elite tombs often including symbolic references to the lifestyle of the royals.¹²³ In regards to this thesis, Princess Yongtai and Li Xian's mural paintings demonstrate the recording of the fashion

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 1.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 1-2.

¹¹⁸ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 101-2.

¹¹⁹ Hay, "Seeing through Dead Eyes," 34.

¹²⁰ Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907*, 2.

¹²¹ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 101-2.

¹²² Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907*, 26.

¹²³ Ibid., 2.

of the early Tang dynasty. For this thesis, the mural paintings relate to four subjects: the location of Chang'an, the royal family, and classical and *hufu* dress with the context of the city informing the connection between the life styles of the elite Tangs and their fashion.

While the tomb figures of elite and lower elite women dressed in *hufu* dress triggers a sense of equality amongst all women despite the Tang hierarchy system, the social class divisions are expressed in the environment placed on the female pottery figures. For example, the environment for elite women displays them enjoying playing polo, while lower elite women are displayed as working female attendants. Shaanxi, the location of the tomb pottery figures' burial, symbolically illustrates the Tang dynasty's history of class divisions separating higher and lower classed women.

The perception of the Persian cultural in the Tang court and city is reflected further in the elite tombs. At the Zhaoling and Qianling mausoleums, the tomb art illustrates the positive features of the intercultural aspects of the Tang court and Chang'an. The purpose of the elite tombs not only provided a place of burial for the esteemed elites, but conveyed the dynasty's symbolic authority. Early on, the Tang tombs were part of the Tang rulers attempts to show their dominant force and rightful rule in the dynasty.¹²⁴ In this case, the construction of the Qianling mausoleum was for Emperor Gaozong and his wife, Empress Wu.¹²⁵ Inside the Qianling, is the burial of Li Xian. In Li Xian's burial, his tomb art portrays painted images of the activities he would enjoy in his afterlife.¹²⁶ The realism of Li Xian's mural scenes, such as rendered *Polo Player* scene from 706 A.D, displaying a game of polo, illustrates the male elites involvement in the intercultural

¹²⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 21.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 131.

presence of Chang'an in the Tang court.¹²⁷ Besides, the visual evidence of the elites' playing an intercultural sport, Li Xian's tomb provides the artistic portrayal of the foreigners' garments.

The mural paintings in Li Xian's tomb demonstrate the image of foreigners in a private setting. While the context of the *Emperor in a Sedan Chair Receiving a Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6) is rendered for a public space, the paintings shares similar characteristics with the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) where both compose the Tang court's political interaction with foreigners. The *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) displays six individuals all together, with three Chinese officials and three foreigners of different cultures. The mural purposely positions the foreigners in a lower status compared to the Tang officials. The foreigners are placed in a subordinate bowed pose, with their hands together. In contrast, the Tangs are posed in independent movements, interacting among themselves with their backs presented towards the envoys, creating a hierarchy divide with the higher classed Tangs and the subordinate foreigners. The intention of the foreigners in Li Xian's mural is to connect him to the intercultural nature of the court, which perceived the foreigners' profession as envoys, as a valuable group for the Tang court.¹²⁸ The similarity of the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) with the *Emperor in a Sedan Chair Receiving A Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6), demonstrates the ways the Tangs' constructed the foreigners' personas. The envoys in the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) and the *Emperor in a Sedan Chair Receiving A Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6) showcase the foreigners in identical restrained postures. Unlike the *Emperor in a Sedan Chair Receiving A Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6), with the portrayal of the single Tibetan for-

¹²⁷ Ibid., 119.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 111, 113.

eigner, the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) shows the wider reach of foreigners entering into the Tang court's presence. The three foreigners in the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) contributes to the context of the origin of *hufu*, since the painting contains visual representations of the West Asian Persian foreigner.

Li Xian's mural depictions of foreigners indicates the court's visual perception of them. In the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7), the foreigners' garments are rendered differently from one another, disclosing the Tangs' knowledge of the foreign cultures outside their dynasty. The three foreigners' attire designates the cultures the men are visiting from in this scene, portraying a Korean, Persian, and a man from the Steppes region.¹²⁹ The Korean and Steppe envoys signify the Tang court's desire to form relationships with cultures in close proximity to their territory. At the same time, the depiction of the two men's restrained postures communicate the court's ambition in expanding their authority outside their borders. The Persian man's inclusion in this scene, represents the Tang court's aspiration to spread their influence further West. The Tangs' artists characterized the different traits of the three men's attire in the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7), instructing the notable traits of the Persian foreigners. The Persian man's simple dress style stands out among the Tang officials. Dress is important in this scene, for the foreigners' attire informs the men's culture. The Persian man's attire consists of a tunic with lapels, trousers and boots. The dress styles of the Tang officials, the Korean and Steppe envoys, contain a variety of hats, layered garments, and stylized shoes. The comparison of the Persian man next to the attire of the Korean and Steppe envoys, illustrates the Tang's viewpoint of the Persian man wearing more simple, unadorned attire. Besides the Persian

¹²⁹ Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, *Court Art of the Tang* (Lanham, MD.: University Press of America, 1996), 53.

foreigner, Li Xian's tomb shows images of a polo game, which enforces the court's acceptance of the widespread Persian and Western culture.¹³⁰ Li Xian's murals of the Persian man and the polo sport, communicate the idea that only the male elites immersed themselves in the Persian culture, however, the tomb art also exhibited women partaking in Persian attire and playing the polo sport.

¹³⁰ Karetzky, *Court Art of the Tang*, 53.

Chapter 4: *Hufu* Garments on the Elite Female Bodies

The *hufu* garments created the opportunity for Tang elite women to forge independent personas against the standard persona the Tang court enforced on them. Although, the Tang culture was based off previous Chinese traditions, the Tang court was open to foreign cultures in tandem among their traditional values. Evidence of the Tang court's inclusion of foreigners is found in the metropolis areas, where many foreigners were situated.¹³¹ The tolerance of foreigners in these cities, was part of the dynasty's characteristics that Tang women pursued in their *hufu* dress styles. The need for Tang elite women to change the court's physical and visual regulations on their independence inspired the embrace of *hufu*, where women were in charge of choosing their personas. The reason for the mischaracterization of Tang women gaining major political freedom is linked to the only female ruler, Empress Wu, who overcame the gender political restrictions.¹³² Instead, Tang women remained subjected by the Tang dynasty's traditional Confucius values, where women were taught to become virtuous wives and mothers in the household.¹³³ While the Tang women's independence was limited, *hufu* fashion became the Tang women's device in casting themselves in independent scenes, beyond their dependent roles as mothers and daughters to their male family members. While, the classical garments referenced the women's status to her male relatives, in contrast the *hufu* fashion redirected the Tang women's status from their male relatives towards the foreigners, to partake in the symbolic tolerance the foreigners physically received.

¹³¹ Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 163-4.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 180.

¹³³ Hinsch, *Women in Tang China*, 92-93.

In the Tang art, the feature of Tang women in *hufu* was a diverse visual construction that influenced women regardless of their social class. Analyzing the *hufu* dress on women in different periods of the dynasty illustrates the dress's persona was subject to change. An important period of *hufu* art is based in the early part of the dynasty, which hosts the most images of Tang women in foreign dress styles.¹³⁴ In the seventh century, women in *hufu* dress were depicted on horses, to show the women's activities as a connection to the court's privileged lifestyles. Through different periods in the Tang dynasty, two theories surround the role of *hufu* dress, which brought different social classed women together or separated them. Tang women were either associated together through wearing the same dress materials or in other cases, the Tang art shows elite court women in *hufu* dress depicted in an international environment, as represented in the polo sport, which symbolized their link to the Tang court, and excluded lower classed women.¹³⁵ The history of *hufu* dress derives from the court's lifestyle during the seventh century. The Tang women responsible for the vogue appearance of *hufu* dress stemmed from the Tang women sensitive to upholding their social class personas, where elite women or attendants became the two groups leading the vogue movement for the *hufu* dress style.¹³⁶ Instead of completely erasing status, *hufu* dress offered higher and lower classed elite women the authority to willingly create friendlier personas beyond the court's visual parameters.

Section 4.1 Tang Women in Similar *Hufu* Dress Styles

The major visual power of *hufu* dress, was the styles's ability to form a persona of commonality among Tang women. The classical dress styles routinely separated elites from non-

¹³⁴ Chen, "Material Girls," 16.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

elites. For example, the elites' attire incorporated the wealthy silk fabrics, while non-elites, unable to own the rich silk, used hemp, a cheaper fabric.¹³⁷ The ability of *hufu* dress to overcome the visual social class on attire, is important, given the *hufu* fashion's tie to the court, which placed strict social divisions among the women. The hierarchy system implemented at the Tang palace, exemplifies the close proximally among women of varying statuses.

Annually, from households of auspicious clans to those of simple folks, girls in their early teens were selected to join the already large collection of women in the royal harem. Only the luckiest handful would enjoy imperial patronage and join the body of *neiguan* (inner officials) composed of over one hundred royal consorts divided into hierarchical ranks, with the empress sitting at the top.¹³⁸

Although, the palace's system gathered women of diverse statuses, the women's path in claiming higher palace positions was narrow. The seriousness of the Tang's fixed status in the palace is reflected in the Tang dress system. Emperor Gaozu directed the dress rules of the Tangs' social class through specific fabrics and colors, dictating that higher classed women could wear the same attire of a lower classed women, but immobilizing lower classed women from wearing the higher classed women's attire.¹³⁹ These rules were necessary to stop any Tang women from dressing in the wrong social class, a frequent problem in the dynasty, as elite and wealthy non-

¹³⁷ Hsu, *China*, 111.

¹³⁸ Jowen R. Tung, *Fables for the Patriarchs: Gender Politics in Tang Discourse* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 73.

¹³⁹ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 51-2.

elite women dressed in attire against the Tang dress rules.¹⁴⁰ In order to demonstrate how *hufu* attire changed the visual divisions of social class in Tang society, I present images of *hufu* dressed figurines from elite tombs. I organize the artworks of *hufu* figures into two groups, representing female elites of higher to lower statuses.

While the dress rules placed distance between the Tang palace women, through their work, the palace women were in close contact with one another.

Among those of respectable background, the capable and talented would be assigned posts as *gongguan* (palace officials), who were divided into the Six Bureaus overseeing the Twenty-four Divisions in charge of duties in various spheres including food, clothes, medicine, books, music, bed chambers, adornments, treasures, gardening, accounting, banquet, chariot, lamp, and so on. The more cultivated ones took up posts in the Inner Literature Bureau and were responsible for educating consorts and other palace women.¹⁴¹

The palace setting showcases the highest classed women with the privilege to relax in their environment, while being served upon by the palace officials. The Six Bureaus demonstrates the heavy work load of the palace officials. These two social groups, the women who were waited upon and the women who served them, is the focus of study with how *hufu* dress united the women visually. The *hufu* dress style already worked in visually erasing a Tang identity, since *hufu* was a foreign male style, the dress style did not correspond to the original Tang identity.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 51-2.

¹⁴¹ Tung, *Fables for the Patriarchs*, 75.

The Tang identity through classical dress styles presented the Tang national and gender identity of an individual. The Tang classical dress styles separated upper classed women from lower classed women and males from females through dress, thereby, the Tang women who chose *hufu* dress over the classical dress styles, threw away the classical styles' limitations.¹⁴² This shows how the palace officials in *hufu* dress, represented in the tomb art, could visually hide their real titles and responsibilities in their *hufu* personas.

The upper elite women's envious position, is not only in regard to the court, but in their ownership of fashion and art. The image of *hufu* is owned by the Tang court, which cements the wear and activity used with *hufu* such as how the Tangs' artistically produced *hufu* dress on women playing polo. The polo scene presenting the *hufu* dress on women strategically links the women to the court insisting on the intercultural of their dynasty.¹⁴³ While elite palace women wore *hufu* dress, the style attracted a field of non-palace and non-elite women, since *hufu* dress held a solid persona as a popular and court fashion.¹⁴⁴ The Tang women in *hufu* dress for this thesis are divided by higher to lower classed elites, where their higher status is determined visually. The higher status women in *hufu* among the artwork contain the two symbols of court status, the *hufu* wear and the polo sport, while the lower classed women are presented as working attendants in their *hufu* wear. The artworks of female attendants, are the working women of a lower elite status, as represented in the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), *Female Figure* (figure 5), and the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3). The privileged higher classed elites are depicted in the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), the *Tomb Figures of Four Ladies of the Court*

¹⁴² Chen, *Empire of Style*, 95-96.

¹⁴³ Chen, "Material Girls," 16-17.

¹⁴⁴ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 96.

Playing Polo (figure 9) and the *Ceramic Female Polo Player* (figure 10). All six figures connect with one another through their *hufu* dress, coupled with their youthful stylized appearance, which highlights the resemblance of the women's fashion.

Analyzing *hufu* fashion from pottery and mural art shows how *hufu* fashion extended the women's persona outside their dress and onto their physical bodies. This extension includes stylizing the women's outer appearance, with gender, as a particular focus. The classical Tang dress highlights the women's persona in connection to the dynasty's gender political rules, while *hufu* dress illustrates Tang women setting their own outward appearance to change their visual persona. This outward appearance connected to the Western style, which included dress, along with Western makeup and hairstyles.¹⁴⁵ The art depictions of elite and lower elite women in *hufu*, is analyzed through the similarities of the physical styling of their dresses, where the similarities of their dresses works as a tool to reimagine where their gender should be seen, such as on their physical bodies, instead of on their dress. This allows women to derail the gender associations with dress, and to create a genderless dress to participate in their own environment with no Tang gender rules.

The *hufu* dress rendered in images of elite and lower elite women, creates a uniting visual pattern among them. The women's dress include the standard robes, trousers, belt, and boots, which are fluent across the art representations. The *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) and the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) are similar in their four components of *hufu* dress: a long robe, trousers, belt and boots. The *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3), is a mural from Li Xian's tomb (706 A.D.), showcasing one elite women with her two attendants, where one

¹⁴⁵ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 219.

wears the *hufu* dress.¹⁴⁶ The *Terra-cotta Statuette of a Female "Polo" Player* (figure 11), an eighth century figurine depicts a women playing polo.¹⁴⁷ The *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), is a late seventh to eighth century pottery figurine, excavated from Chang'an.¹⁴⁸ Although, the female figures are of different art mediums, the women's close dress styles are evident in their long robes with lapels and trousers. While the backdrop differs from the female attendants shown working and the higher elite women playing polo, their dress shows a conformity in erasing even the original purpose of *hufu* dress as active work wear. For example, male suited labor was easier performed when Tang women wore male dress styles. Also, the *hufu* dress made horseback and the polo game, easier for women to ride and play in.¹⁴⁹ This is evident in the side slits in the *hufu* dress's robe, in order for women to move around on horseback.¹⁵⁰ The *hufu* dress with slits acts as a practical component for the attire, as it corresponds to the activity of playing polo. However, both the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) and the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) female figures' *hufu* are rendered with slits, meaning the *hufu* fashion was an established style with a distinct look outside the style's intended purpose for horseback. The *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) and the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) correlate how *hufu* fashion shares similar wear no matter the women's setting. Whether the woman's setting portrays her serving or on horseback, the *hufu* dress was cloned between them in close detail such as the slits, with no

¹⁴⁶ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!" 115.

¹⁴⁷ Nigel B. Crowther, *Sports in Ancient Times* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2007), 7-8.

¹⁴⁸ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!" 104.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁵⁰ Susan Whitfield, *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith* (Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc. 2004,) 243.

further signifying visual markers to show a woman higher over another woman through her dress.

This pattern of similar stylized attire is depicted outside of the women's attire, and onto their bodies. Bodies are an important part of fashion, and with *hufu* fashion, two non-dress aspects stand out in a similar pattern among the female figures in *hufu*: gender and youthfulness. Fashion is not a style confined only to one's attire, instead, fashion reaches out towards the individual's additional factors such as makeup, jewelry or shoes, to match the person's overall dress style. Since *hufu* is originally male wear, the dress transforms the persona of the women's bodies into one. In the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3), are two figures in classical feminine Tang dress and one woman in *hufu*. The two women in female classical dress showcase the prominent signifiers of the womanly dress, from the shawl over their shoulders to the curving lines of their lingering skirts. The signifier of the woman's body in *hufu* comes mainly from the belt, which separates the upper and lower parts of her body, whereas with the feminine classical attire, the line break in the dress showcases the two women's gender with the lining of their skirt higher up on their waist to signify their chest. The skirts fall down providing the elegant feminine presence in their dresses as well. In addition, there are no signifiers referring to the feminine elegance in the *hufu* dress. For instance, the classical dress styles such as the skirts and the elegant *pibo* emphasize the women's curving forms and the material's lightness, while the *hufu* attire is more simple. The *hufu* dress demonstrates the ease of fashion, where women could form a relaxing visual appearance, in contrast to the women's classical dress styles' effort in heightening their female allure in an extravagant style.

While the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3), female figure in *hufu* dress, contains stylized hair and makeup that illustrate her femininity, the tomb art of the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), shows a complete example of a woman concealing her gender in *hufu* attire along with her outward appearance. For instance, with the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), the figure illuminates how *hufu* fashion extends outside her dress, with the woman wearing a *potou* over her head, masking her gender further than what the *hufu* dress had already done to her body. As the aristocratic figures' classical dress emphasizes their chest and curves, the *hufu* dress in the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) also emphasizes these aspects of the female body. The *Female Attendant* (figure 4), and the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), depict women in the sexual styles of *hufu* dress. The sexual wear in the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1), with the female figures' tight dress styles and opened tops, match the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), and the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), display of women in sexual wear with the *hufu* dress tight on their bodies. Furthermore, in the *Female Figure* (figure 5), the woman's *hufu* dress has a robe with opened lapels, highlighting her chest. The sexual appeal of *hufu* dress rests in the dress style's ability to be showcased even in male clothing, where the women are still visible as women through their beautiful, youthful appearance and tight dress styles that emphasized their female bodies.

The visual links between the *hufu* fashion and the body are represented through the portrayal of youthful women. In this case, the idea of youthfulness is expressed more noticeably in the outward appearance of the women, and the symbolic youthfulness expressed from their bodies' capability in physical activities like polo. Across the visual material for this thesis, including the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3), the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), and the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), the female figures are rendered in a similar youthful appearance.

The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) provides greater context to this ideal youthfulness on women, however, this thesis analyzes the *hufu* association with youthfulness further than connecting the youthful women with beauty. Instead, the factor of youthfulness connects with the *hufu* fashion in attracting the youthful beauties of the powerful Tang dynasty. Therefore, these three figures, in the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3), the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), and the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) present the women's similar outward appearance to the females in the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1), which establishes that the youthful, beautiful women of the Tang dynasty were wearing *hufu* attire. The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1), shows the women's youthfulness and beauty, with their graceful figures, long eyebrows, well-defined lips, and hair-styles, which are close in appearance to the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) and the sculptured women in the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) and the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8). The *Group of Attendants* (figure 1), female figures' resemblance to the three artworks in *hufu*, expresses how these three female figures reflect the positive aspects of their dress styles, a fashion that appealed to desirable women, and that these desirable women, in terms of youth and beauty, were the dynasty's visual models, since the pottery figurines are from the elite mausoleums, showing these women as ideal models.

Youthfulness is not only a physical component expressed by women wearing *hufu*, but a concept expressed through the functionality of the attire. While the earlier section discussed the youthful outward appearance of the women displayed in *hufu* dress, another one of the attributes for *hufu* attire went beyond the style's youthful appearance and instead highlighted the style's function. For example, the style's comfortable fit, which women of the dynasty found comfort-

able to work in.¹⁵¹ When viewing *hufu* attire from the visual material, the artistic approach reveals that the dress fits into the idea of comfort and practicality for the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), which depicts a working woman. The original practical purpose of the male dress's comfortable wear for labor, changes in this context. Where the style glorifies, not the hard visible male work, but the clean and elegant woman fulfilling her job, such as in the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) and the *Female Attendant* (figure 4). The *Female Attendant* (figure 4) figure's position as a working women in *hufu* dress establishes the same persona as the *Group of Attendants* (figure 1) attire, where both working women are dressed in the right kind of wear to serve, which complements their prestigiousness as beautiful, youthful and dignified workers.

Women playing polo, as depicted in the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), relates to the physical ease women displayed playing the sport. In the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), the *hufu* attire, is more than a comfortable dress for the woman to wear, as she is not performing male labor. Instead, the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) figure's *hufu* dress and polo sport emphasize the woman's youthfulness, as she is in her prime managing a tough sport. The *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), shows a physically strong women riding a moving horse, in mid-air with her hands airborne. Additionally, the higher and lower classed elite women in *hufu*, with their similar youthful physical appearance and bodies connects them together in overcoming their social classed backgrounds to participate in a youthful style, showing the positive aspects of the popular fashion.

Section 4.2 The Differences of *Hufu* Dressed Women

¹⁵¹ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 114.

Although the artwork of higher and lower classed elite women in *hufu* dress show them in similar dress styles, their background environment in the tomb art eliminates the sense of equality among the different classed women. The outside environment of these art forms is not expressed in the background of the art form, but specifically the women's functionality and poses. The position of the poses of the Tang women's bodies portray the distinction of social class. While, in the foreground *hufu* attire provides a sense of equality among the female figures in *hufu*, demonstrating a form of unity.¹⁵² However, the *hufu* dress does not hinder the women's status completely. Therefore, *hufu* attire functioned as a neutral force in art on gender, but social class was still an important subject that could not escape the women's persona in society. Instead, social class is constructed outside of *hufu*, where the outside nature of social class applies to the control of the women's bodies, or their bodies' postures, and engagement with their settings.

The women's functionality is connected to the portrayal of their bodies in their environment, showing a division of the functionality of *hufu* wear in terms of social class. The environment acts as the contributing factor into the function of *hufu*, which demonstrates more of a privilege towards the higher elite women's body, where their bodies are at ease enjoying the fun activity of polo in their dress, while the lower elite women are not at ease with their bodies constrained in servitude. This implies that lower elite women worked in their *hufu* dress, while higher elite women in *hufu* dress could relish in fun activities, which mirrors the positive aspects of elite society, where only the lower classed women worked.

The *hufu* dress not only enforced the women's visual relationship to the ruling dynasty, but with their ability to change their own personal environment, a visual concept higher elite

¹⁵² Chen, "Material Girls," 16-17.

women, but not the lower elite women, could achieve. The notions of gaining independence through *hufu* wear, relates to the women appearing in similar looking *hufu* dress, which enabled them the visual power to set themselves against the dynasty's dress rules on gender and class. While the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) figure's *hufu* dress displays beauty and youthfulness corresponding to the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3) figure's body is positioned in a state of servitude. The female figure is stoic, with her arms bent in front of body and her hands linked together as she stands behind the other women. The female attendant emits a structured pose, ready to do her job description in serving. In the *Female Figure* (figure 5) and the *Female Attendant* (figure 4), the female figures matches the woman's posture in the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants* (figure 3). These women are meant to be workers, however, higher elite women in *hufu* are allowed to change the main functionality of *hufu*, as a style that is fun to wear and play in instead of working in, as was the main purpose of male dress, which applies only to the attendant women keeping that functionality in their dress.

In the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendant* (figure 3), the female attendant is behind the upper classed women on the left. The serious of the attendant's job is expressed by her posture. Her eyes trail on the leading women, emphasizing the purpose of her role. Any admiration of her *hufu* dress style gets lost with the two women in classical dress styles. The smaller woman placed in front of the attendant, holds up her shawl (*pibo*), showing off and playing with her dress, which emphasizes the dress item as an important textile. The female attendant does not touch her clothes in her stoic posture, but instead focuses on the task at hand. The *Female Attendant* (figure 4), is similar in this way to the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendant* (figure 3) figure,

where the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) is trained to be reserved. Her posture is stoic, through her bent arms and linked hands. In contrast, the playful factor is represented in the polo female figures. The social class of the female polo players, such as the eighth century *Tomb Figures of Four ladies of the Court Polo Players* (figure 9), represents four elite women playing polo together, found in Xi'an, Shaanxi.¹⁵³ The difference of this setting compared to the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) and the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendant* (figure 3), are their postures, which show the women with little restraint in their movements. The women's bodies are in extreme contrast to the female attendants, where the four women ride on the moving horses in daring poses, with the women's upper torsos leaning towards a downwards angle, with only their legs fastening themselves to their horses. The four women's attention on the game, emphasized through their downward glances, singles their engagement with the game, and highlights their playful space, which is different from the female attendants' attention on their work duties such as in the *Aristocratic Woman and Attendant* figure (figure 3), whose gaze is fixed on the aristocratic woman.

The elite court women, in contrast to lower elite women, were able to change the functionality of their dress. The lower elite women's dress is still attached to labor, while the higher elite women's change in portraying *hufu* dress as a fun and stylish marks the independent visual persona. The *Ceramic Female Polo Player* (figure 10), a piece from the beginning of the eighth century, North China, depicts a Tang women playing the polo sport.¹⁵⁴ She wears a kaftan, tailored to her body, a belt and boots. The figure's youthful appearance is emphasized through her

¹⁵³ Zoe Song-Yi Kwok, "An Intimate View of the Inner Quarters: A Study of Court Women and Architecture in Palace Banquet" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2013), 374.

¹⁵⁴ Zong-qi Cai, *How to Read Chinese Poetry in Context: Poetic Culture from Antiquity Through the Tang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 198-199.

full cheeks, makeup, and tidy hairstyle. In addition to the elegance of her body, is the horse, with crucial attention to the detailed saddle, and the horse's tied up tail. Captured here, is a woman with the resources to represent her sportiness, and elegant style, tied to her background of being an upper classed woman. Similar to this figure's position is the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), another youthful woman. She is caught in a game of polo, her horse galloping, with her arms in motion for the game. This piece is important, as the artwork offers a closer view of the athleticism of the player's body. Her body is heavily involved in the polo game, showing the daring moves of the woman, presenting no hands on the horse as she plays in her *hufu* attire. In addition to the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) figure's horse, is the detailed saddle and short tail connecting her available resources to a higher elite status. Both figurines share aspects with the detail of the *Tomb Figures of Four ladies of the Court Polo Players* (figure 9.1), where the woman is youthful, with her tidy hairstyle, and kaftan visible by the lapels found in both female polo players figurines. While *hufu* dress blurs the social status amongst the women's dress, nevertheless, the elite women's social status is present in their bodies' postures and environment. The elite women's ability to lead their independence in a self-constructed persona through dress and environment are signs of their independence in changing the functionality of their dress and their own environment, with their gender no longer obvious on their dress.

While the Persian dress in the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) is simple, the Sasanian Persians and Iranian Sogdians illustrate dress styles with embellished designs, which attracted the Tang elites, including elite women to wear. Whether, the women's *hufu* incorporated the embellished or unadorned *hufu* dress styles, the dress style went further than simply representing the Persian fashion's persona, but exhibited a link to the cultural activity of

the Sasanian dynasty. Where elite women could dress in *hufu* as embellished as the royal/elite Sasanians dress styles or participate in the cultural setting of the Persian sports like polo, allowing the women's persona to expand into the multiple purposes of the dress.

Chapter 5: The Sasanian's Influence of Tang *Hufu* Dress and Cultural Activity

The Tang court's art portrayal of foreigners establishes the Tang's outlook of the Persian culture's integration throughout their society, from dress styles to the polo game, as dominant influences. The pottery figures of elite women playing polo relates to the representations of power displayed in Iranian clothing from Iranian artworks. The two Iranian groups, the Sassanian dynasty (226 to 651 A.D.), a Persian empire¹⁵⁵ and the Sogdians, a Central Asian/Iranian ethnic group,¹⁵⁶ are the locations of Iranian art that exemplify images of power and wealth. The Sasanian Persian dynasty outside the Tang territory demonstrates the authoritative power of Persian art, which elite women showed in their own recreated *hufu* style. Understanding how the Sasanian Persians and Iranian Sogdians viewed their dress styles' symbolic meaning in their original context provides the noticeable patterns the Tang women kept or changed when transforming *hufu* to their taste, as portrayed in the Tang pottery figurines. In Tang dynasty, *hufu* arrived from the people of West Asia by means of trade along the Silk Road.¹⁵⁷ The Tang dynasty cultivated influences in the Western regions in the first part of the seventh century, where they reached the Sasanians and Sogdians.¹⁵⁸ In addition, identifying the foreign objects entering into the Tang dynasty were not always clear.

¹⁵⁵ Ardi Kia, *Central Asian Cultures, Arts, and Architecture* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 37.

¹⁵⁶ Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia," 84.

¹⁵⁷ Chen, *Empire of Style*, 92.

¹⁵⁸ Matthew P. Canepa, "Distant Displays of Power: Understanding Cross-Cultural Interaction Among the Elites of Rome, Sasanian Iran, and Sui-Tang China," *Ars Orientalis* 38 (2010): 124, Accessed November 26, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/29550022.

From the point of view of China, much of this 'Persian' material was produced and imported by the Sogdians. It is interesting to contemplate which - if any - culture the consumers attributed to the material or the motifs, or whether, like the many other luxury items imported in the early Tang dynasty, they were simply understood as 'Persian' no matter whether of Roman, Persian, or Sogdian origin.¹⁵⁹

This discrepancy in pinpointing a foreign object applies to the *hufu* dress. The broader definition of *hufu* dress is determined as a male and foreign dress origin.¹⁶⁰ Several ethnic groups, the Turkic's people, Sogdians, Persians, and the Uyghurs, are considered the likely cultures of origins, which inspired *hufu* attire.¹⁶¹ The difficulty in pinpointing the culture of origin for the Tang women's *hufu* dress is based on the different foreigners that wore similar visual attire. While the visual resemblance of the Tang women's *hufu*, presented in the *Female Figure* (figure 5) matches the *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries* (figure 7) Persian figure's dress style, the Persian style contains a similar appearance with the *Emperor Taizong in Sedan Chair Receiving a Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6) Tibetan envoy, where all three figures wear a long robe, trousers, and boots.

The dilemma in analyzing the origin of *hufu* dress, requires further study of the intercultural aspects between the Tangs and Sasanians. Approaching the intercultural dress's purpose in the Tang dynasty involves researching the dress culture's natural setting.¹⁶² In terms of foreign

¹⁵⁹ Canepa, "Distant Displays of Power," 140.

¹⁶⁰ Cahill, "Ominous Dress," 20.

¹⁶¹ Chen, "Dressing for the Times," 85.

¹⁶² Lingley, "Naturalizing the Exotic," 53.

dress, when the object was first brought into another cultural, the dress contains links to its original origin, but the longer the object settles in the new cultural, the dress departs from its foreign origin and absorbs into the culture's new traditional dress.¹⁶³ This analysis of *hufu* dress focuses only on the visual similarities between attire and not on the exact origin of the culture which inspired the exact type of *hufu* dress viewed on elite Tang women, as many foreign cultures share similar visual components with *hufu* attire. Instead, study on the foreign culture's own *hufu* persona rendered in its art, shows the main culture that the elite Tang women constructed their *hufu* persona in terms of visual representation. The Sasanians's persona in their art presents themselves as a dominating and wealthy dynasty. The Tang women's pottery figures reinforced these visual images of the Sasanians' authoritative art themes in order to illustrate themselves in their own terms of power.

Section 5.1 The Iranian Dress Discovered in the Tang Dynasty

The Kizil caves' mural paintings of Iranian figures highlights the foreign and Tang art styles near the Tang dynasty. The Kizil caves were in Xinjiang, which the Tang dynasty held control over, at different points of the dynasty.¹⁶⁴ Comparing the cave mural's Iranian figures' and their dress to farther away art sites situated in Sogdia and the Sasanian dynasty, points to the long travel of the Iranian and Persian art techniques and their characteristics reaching the Tang dynasty. The Sixteen Sword-Bearer's caves contains the seventh to mid-seventh century mural

¹⁶³ Ibid., 56.

¹⁶⁴ James A. Millward and Peter C. Perdue, "Political and Cultural History of the Xinjiang Region through the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), accessed November 26, 2020, ProQuest Ebook Central, 39.

painting, *Group of Donors* (figure 12), and illustrates four Central Asian caucasian knights.¹⁶⁵ All four men wear coats with lapels, trousers, and boots, but their dress differ in color and design such as the round motifs. The men's belt, made up of disks, closes the men's robes and holds their swords. Viewed together, the men's attire is the type of design made for horseback. Notably, the knights' dress styles resemble the Taq-i Bustan rock reliefs, located in present day Kerman-shah, Iran, depicting the Sasanian figures' coats. However, disputes of the origin of the knights' dress, lead to the theory that the Taq-i Bustan figure's dress is not connected to the Sasanian wear, but to the wear of the Steppe and Turkish dress, where they wore laped robes and disk belts.¹⁶⁶ The other theory is that the knights are in Iranian attire, wearing elite Sasanian-like coats with lapels, but with Parthian-like taut trousers.¹⁶⁷ The Parthian dynasty (247 B.C.-226 A.D.) was the dynasty previous to the Sasanian dynasty. While there is discrepancy to the main origin of what constitutes as Sasanian dress, studying the Taq-i Bustan scenes show the dominance in how the Sasanian dynasty claimed leadership and elite power with its visual repertoire in West Asia.

Section 5.2 The Sasanians' Art Persona

The rendering of the Sasanians' art persona in rock reliefs situates the ownership of their landscape. The Sasanian dynasty's Taq-i Bustan rock reliefs depict glorifying images of King Khusrau II. The rock reliefs provide context to the elite Sasanian fashion as worn by the king, along with information to the construction of the king's persona as a powerful force of his dy-

¹⁶⁵ Herbert Hartel, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 168.

¹⁶⁶ Marshak, "Pre-Islamic Painting of the Iranian Peoples and Its Sources in Sculpture and the Decorative Arts," 129-130.

¹⁶⁷ Hartel, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes*, 168.

nasty.¹⁶⁸ Rock reliefs existed as an art form from the Parthian dynasty and continued with the Sasanians.¹⁶⁹ As a later ruler, King Khusrau II inherited a strong dynasty, with an ambitious goal to gain back Western territory that was lost from the previous Achaemenian dynasty (550-330 BC).¹⁷⁰ Taq-i Bustan is known as the “The Great Grotto” with the rock reliefs carved into an *Ivan*.¹⁷¹ An *Ivan* is a rectangular walled-in hall shaped into a barrel-vault, with walls on all three sides except for the front.¹⁷² Three rock reliefs scenes, the *Taq-i Bustan III* (figure 13), *Taq-i Bustan IV* (figure 14), and *The King in the Boar Hunt Scene* (figure 15), show different scenes, but unite in their persona of the king’s mythical and physical displays of power.

Although the Sasanians produced many rock reliefs, two main themes sum up the elites’ message from the reliefs. First, an inauguration scene casts the Sasanian ruler receiving his legitimacy to his reign through the acknowledgment of a deity, like Ahura Mazda and second, the Sasanian ruler is set in a scene defeating his adversaries.¹⁷³ The rock relief scene referred to as the *Taq-i Bustan III* (figure 13) depicts King Khusrau II (r. 590-628 A.D.) with two deities on either side of him.¹⁷⁴ The two deities are named Ahura Mazda and Anahita, as part of the king’s inauguration ceremony.¹⁷⁵ Under the *Taq-i Bustan III* (figure 13), is a scene featuring a warrior

¹⁶⁸ Prudence Oliver Harper, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981), 47-48.

¹⁶⁹ Hermann, “The Art of the Sasanians,” 63.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 63

¹⁷⁴ Matteo Compareti, “The Late Sasanian Figurative Capitals at Taq-i Bustan: Proposals Regarding Identification and Origins,” in *Persian Art: Image-Making in Eurasia*, ed. Yuka Kadoi (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 20, 24.

¹⁷⁵ Hermann, “The Art of the Sasanians,” 76.

labelled the *Taq-i Bustan IV* (figure 14).¹⁷⁶ The warrior is in his battle wear with armor and a weapon, which is a reference to the strength of the dynasty's army.¹⁷⁷ The Sasanian dynasty's portrayal of the king's power through his army and territory share qualities with the Tang dynasty's goal of dominance in their region. In the *Emperor Taizong in Sedan Chair Receiving a Tibetan Envoy* (figure 6), the emperor and his court immerse themselves in a luxurious lifestyle with attendants who cater to the emperor, and at the same time showcase his court's ties with the Tibetans. The Sasanians exhibit their dynasty's power and wealth, gathered by the king's high taxes to his court, at the Taq-i Bustan rock reliefs.¹⁷⁸ The compiled scenes at the Taq-i Bustan rock reliefs, contain the ideal images of elite authority, through the king's interaction with his surroundings. The Taq-i Bustan rock reliefs contain the persona of elite wear situated in their ideal persona of power.

The Sasanian elite dress styles are close in persona to the Tang's classical silk dress styles that displayed the wealth of the highest rank elites, who were able to accumulate the dynasty's richest dress materials. The Sasanian elite dress styles are exhibited at Taq-i Bustan, which was known as an important site in the knowledge of the Sasanians' fashion. In the *Taq-i Bustan III* (figure 13), the king is positioned forward, revealing the full extent of his dress. The king's dress for the inauguration scene, encompasses a range of details, where the king's dress, designed with appliqués and sewn patterns, is also jeweled. The jewels highlight the king's fashion as he wears earrings and rings with more precious stones.¹⁷⁹ The king's jeweled dress and additional precious

¹⁷⁶ Compareti, "The Late Sasanian Figurative Capitals at Taq-i Bustan," 25.

¹⁷⁷ Hermann, "The Art of the Sasanians," 76.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

stones, points to his dress as expansive luxurious elite wear, in the same way that the Tang court emphasized the privileged of the elite class, such as the women in the *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2), who wore the expansive silk material. The Tang figures' dress in the *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers* (figure 2) display different dress designs, pointing to the women's wealthy resources. Similarly, *The King in the Boar Hunt Scene* (figure 15) portrays the Sasanian elite dress in different styles, which contained nature and animal designs, showing a contrast to the expansive jeweled dress viewed in the *Taq-i Bustan III* (figure 13). In *The King in the Boar Hunt Scene* (figure 15), shows the king participating in his ceremonial hunt on a boat.¹⁸⁰ The king's expertise is rendered in this hunting scene, where he shoots with precise aim at the boars.¹⁸¹ King Khusrau II appears twice in two different action positions: shooting the animals or rendered tranquil. The king's dominating height towers over the other individuals made up of music harp players and attendants. The figures use elephants in order to move the boars for the king to shoot at, with another group of figures collecting the killed targets.¹⁸² In *The King in the Boar Hunt Scene* (figure 15), the king wears a coat with a *senmury*, which is a fabled animal, made up with the elements of a dog, lion and bird. The other individuals in this scene, wear floral and bird designed attire.¹⁸³ More specifically, the king wears a kaftan with a belt.¹⁸⁴ The king's garments correlate to the different activities that show his leader-

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 76.

¹⁸¹ Joel Thomas Walker, *The Legend of Mar Qardagh: Narrative and Christian Heroism in Late Antique Iraq* (California: University of California Press, 2006), 136.

¹⁸² Hermann, "The Art of the Sasanians," 76-78.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 79.

¹⁸⁴ Elfriede R. Knauer, "A Man's Kaftan and Leggings from the North Caucasus of the Eighth to Tenth Century: A Genealogical Study," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 36 (2001): 151n65, Accessed November 26, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1513059>.

ship, in sustaining and venturing West for territory. Therefore, the *Group of Donors* (figure 12), exhibits the visual persona tied to the Sasanian elite environment, as the Taq-i Bustan illustrates the amount of resources that the Sasanian court had in spreading the Sasanian's dominating image of dynastic power through dress and its increase presence in the West.

While the Taq-i Bustan show an artistic depiction of kaftan robes, the Sogdian artworks provide crucial insight of the colorful decorations of the Iranian dress styles. The Sasanian and Sogdian artworks are important as they demonstrate how foreigners like the Iranian groups impacted the Tang dynasty. Since Iranians were regarded as wealthy merchants who received special treatment from the Tang government in handling their goods in cities like Chang'an,¹⁸⁵ *The Feast of the Sogdian Merchants* (figure 16) provides insight into the visual depiction of the Sogdian merchants, a group of Iranians who traveled along the Silk Road. In this frieze, the male merchants wear kaftan garments.¹⁸⁶ *The Feast of the Sogdian Merchants* (figure 16), is a frieze from a house in Panjikent from around 740 A.D., showing over thirty men set in a scene of a banquet, positioned cross-legged. The merchants wear kaftan dress styles varying from person to person, but together their attire shows their light material and roundel designs, with the exclusive silk material found in their lapels, collars, and cuffs.¹⁸⁷ The Sogdian men are shown interacting with one another and eating in their exquisite dress styles during their meal. *The Feast of the Sogdian Merchants* (figure 16) and the *Group of Donors* (figure 12) display figures dressed in different intricate designs and colors, but their dress styles' shaped silhouettes show the con-

¹⁸⁵ Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 169-170.

¹⁸⁶ Marshak, "Pre-Islamic Painting of the Iranian Peoples and its Sources in Sculpture and the Decorative Arts," 121.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

formity between them. *The Feast of the Sogdian Merchants* (figure 16) display men enjoying their meal, while the *Group of Donors* (figure 12) are knights in stylish dress, demonstrating the different suitable settings to wear *hufu*.

The Taq-i Bustan's scenes represent the Sasanian's culture. The art depictions of the Sasanians' and Sogdians' in a variety of activities from the serious settings expressed at the Tag-i Bustan rock reliefs to *The Feast of the Sogdian Merchants* (figure 16) scene of men enjoying a fun and relaxing meal time, point to the multiple cultural activities of the Iranian and Persian dress. Scenes like the *Taq-i Bustan IV* (figure 14) allude to the reality that the Sasanians had a strong army, while *The King in the Boar Hunt Scene* (figure 15) demonstrates the king's hunting as a theme to the power of the king and his own military skill,¹⁸⁸ even if the king is not shown in the protective wear as the warrior. The Taq-i Bustan scenes and *The Feast of the Sogdian Merchants* (figure 16) highlight how the Persians and Iranians created a persona of power as related to their associations as independent individuals participating in their cultural and ethnic ceremonial activities despite their dress silhouettes and designs containing similarities between the Sasanian king, Sogdian merchants and Central Asian knights.

Section 5.3 The Tang Elite Women's Construction of their Power Persona

Polo was a popular game during the Tang dynasty, which Tang elite women incorporated into the design of their personas. Apart from the Persian dress styles, the Tang court partook in the Persian game, polo. The Tang court and emperors adapted polo, spreading the demand for the game. The setting of the Tangs playing polo is captured in the tomb art.¹⁸⁹ *The Female Polo*

¹⁸⁸ Hermann, "The Art of the Sasanians," 76.

¹⁸⁹ Karetzky, *Court Art of the Tang*, 54-55.

Player (figure 8) is a Tang figurine from Chang'an, portraying a youthful lady playing polo, and wearing *hufu*.¹⁹⁰ The *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) figure's kaftan lapels are visible as she professionally plays polo. Unlike the *Female Attendant* (figure 4) figure's rigid and stoic posture, the *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) freely moves around in a pose with her arms swinging in motion as her body twists around in her saddle. The woman would have had a mallet in her hand for the polo game.¹⁹¹ The *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), figure's tidy hairstyle and relaxed posture even as her horse is galloping in mid-air, relate to the women's independent persona, where they are control of their environment.

In the depictions of Persian and Iranian men in army wear like the warrior in the *Taq-i Bustan IV* (figure 14) and the knights in the *Group of Donors* (figure 12), the men show physical strength, as the *Taq-i Bustan IV* (figure 14) warrior can ride his horse, wear heavy armor and carry his long weapon at the same time. The *Female Polo Player* (figure 8), figure's power rests in her ability to play effortlessly in the polo sport—a violent game. In the *Tomb Figures of Four Ladies of the Court Playing Polo* (figure 9), the four women play dangerously, as they lean downward, swinging their arms around, with only their legs securing themselves to their horses. The *Female Polo Player* (figure 8) and the *Tomb Figures of Four Ladies of the Court Playing Polo* (figure 9) connect to the Persian culture through the women's environment in playing polo, where the women tailored their dress and activity to match the Sasanian Persians, in order to invoke their personas as independent women.

¹⁹⁰ Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 114.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 104.

Conclusion

In my research of the Tang elite women in *hufu* dress, I found that the dress style was more than beautiful fashion. While scholars introduce a broad interpretation of the Tang *hufu* dress's origin from West Asia,¹⁹² by focusing on a singular foreign culture, I enact a more direct comparison of the Tang women's *hufu* dress with a foreign dress, thereby narrowing the broad scope of the *hufu* dress style's foreign influence. My comparison of the Persian fashion to the Tang elite women's *hufu* dress extends the research on the *hufu* scholarship. I note the prominence of the Persian culture in Chang'an that led elite women to incorporate the foreign style in their recreation of *hufu* dress. This thesis furthers the study of Persian and Iranian art in order to analyze the foreign characteristics of elite power that the art depictions of Tang elite women playing polo shared. These Persian and Iranian characteristics include portraying a persona of power through visual images of the elite's authority in the landscape and the elite's leisure activities, that the elites, but not lower elites or common people, could participate in.

Each section of this thesis relates to the Tang elite women in *hufu* dress playing polo as part of their personas of independent women. While the scholarship emphasizes the freedom of Tang women,¹⁹³ the sources are limited in how women were able to maintain their independence and power through the criticism they encountered in the Tang court and Tang literature. The Tang literature criticizing the women in politics,¹⁹⁴ demonstrates the importance of the art depictions of elite women in *hufu* dress, providing women with flattering portrayals of their persona of power. In this thesis, I organize the women's *hufu* dress style, rendered in Tang art, as evidence

¹⁹² Chen, *Empire of Style*, 92.

¹⁹³ Chen, *New Modern Chinese Women and Gender Politics*, 5-7.

¹⁹⁴ Doran, *Transgressive Typologies*, 19.

to their independence. The elite women's dilemma of portraying herself in images of independence contrasted with the appeasing images male viewers expected of women as displayed in the court art done by Zhou Fang.¹⁹⁵ Elite women wore *hufu* dress to represent themselves outside the gender expectations portrayed in the classical female dress styles. Instead, women chose to wear *hufu* dress influenced by Persian male dress styles, two spheres, male and foreign, that found respect in Tang society, in order for women to create a new identity of artistic power. The *hufu* dress adds more authenticity into art, because the Tang art captures a style elite women recreated for themselves. The array of art depictions of *hufu* in the Tang dynasty illustrates the dress style becoming normalized with other fashions in Tang art.

Although the *hufu* dress styles contained similar designs and shape, social class was still present among women of higher and lower status. In the Tang art, elite women in *hufu* dress playing polo are showcased enjoying their leisure time, while lower elite women in *hufu* dress worked as attendants. Therefore, elite women sought to differentiate their higher status. This follows with the Sasanian Persians emitting political power in the Western region.¹⁹⁶ Through the Persian and Sogdian art depictions of elite fashion, I find that these foreign dress styles are similar in style whether in West Asia or in the Tang art displaying the foreigners' dress. In addition, the Tangs considered foreign objects such as from the Sogdians as Persian, given the major impact of the Sasanian Persian dynasty.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, the Sasanian Persians political influence in the West region and in the Tang dynasty led them as one of the most recognized foreigners that the elite women sought to copy their *hufu* dress after.

¹⁹⁵ Shambaugh Elliott and Shambaugh, *The Odyssey of China's Imperial Art Treasures*, 14.

¹⁹⁶ Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia," 54-55.

¹⁹⁷ Canepa, "Distant Displays of Power," 140.

The intercultural research on fashion between the Tang and Sasanian dynasty informs the crucial future scholarship on this topic. The iconographic portrayal of elite women in *hufu* dress on horseback playing polo, emphasizes women going beyond politics, by utilizing fashion and art to represent themselves in a persona of independence. This intercultural study of the *hufu* dress benefits with more future research, of analyzing either the Persian or another direct foreign influence with this dress style. In narrowing the research of the making of *hufu* dress, clarification of the elite women's purpose in wearing the dress style becomes more in-depth to how the women sought or viewed their actual social positions in the Tang dynasty. Thus, elite women recreated compelling personas that secured their physical and visual power during and after the Tang dynasty through art.

FIGURES



Figure 1. *Group of Attendants*, 706 A.D. Painted mural, 176 cm x 196.5 cm, Princess Yongtai's tomb antechamber, East wall, Shaanxi History Museum, Shaanxi province. <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/wu-zhao-ruler-of-tang-dynasty-china/>



Figure 2. Attributed to Zhou Fang, *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers*, ca. ninth-tenth century, silk handscroll, ink and colors, 46 cm x 180 cm, Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang (Chen, *Empire of Style*, 100).



Figure 2.1 Attributed to Zhou Fang, *Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers*, detail, ca. ninth-tenth century, silk handscroll, ink and colors, 46 cm x 180 cm, Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang (Chen, *Empire of Style*, 100).



Figure 3. *Aristocratic Woman and Attendants*, 706 A. D., mural, Prince Zhanghuai's (or Li Xian) tomb, Qianling Museum, Shaanxi province, courtesy of Shaanxi Provincial Museum, Shaanxi province (Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!," 115).



Figure 4. *Female Attendant*, 664 A.D., painted pottery with glaze, Zheng Rentai's tomb, 31 cm in height, Zhaoling Museum, Shaanxi province (Chen, "Dressing for the Times," 94).

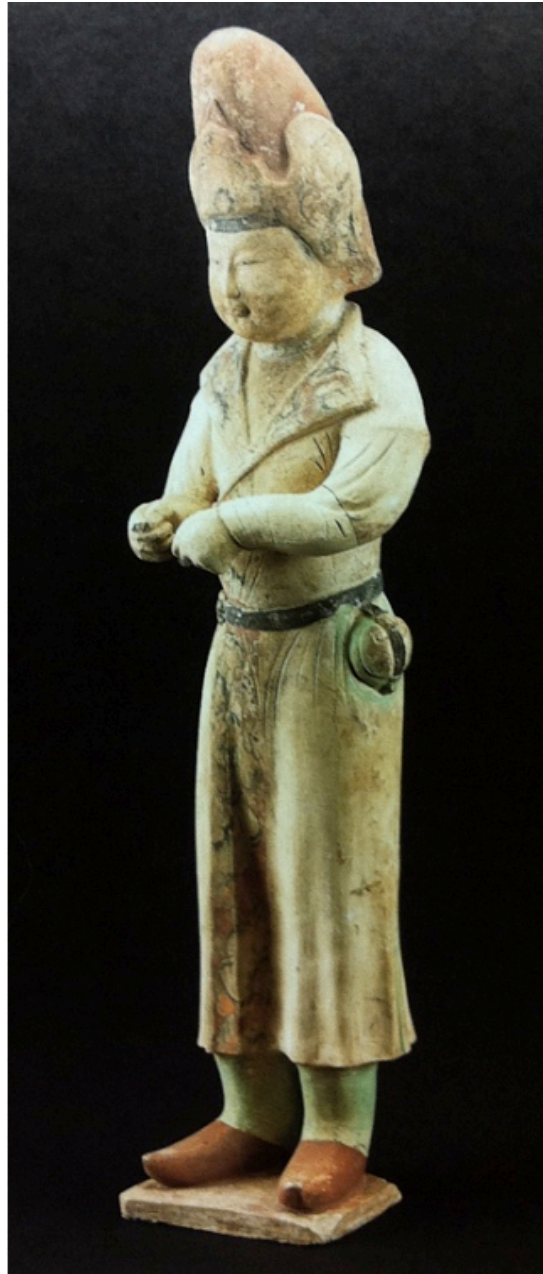


Figure 5. *Female Figure*, 714 A.D. painted pottery, Yang Jianchen's tomb, 52 cm in height, Shaanxi History Museum, Shaanxi province (Chen, "Dressing for the Times," 98).



Figure 6. Attributed to Yan Liben, *Emperor in a Sedan Chair Receiving a Tibetan Envoy*, twelfth century, silk handscroll, ink and color, 38.5 cm, Palace Museum, Beijing. <https://www.shine.cn/feature/art-culture/1710195163/>



Figure 7. *Chinese Officials and Foreign Emissaries*, 706 A.D., painted mural, Li Xian's tomb in the tunnel's East wall, Shaanxi History Museum, Shaanxi province (Eckfeld, *Imperial Tombs in Tang China, 618-907*, 84e).



Figure 8. *Female Polo Player*; ca. late seventh to early eighth century, painted pottery, Tang dynasty, Chang'an, Schloss Collection, New York (Cahill, "Our Women are Acting Like Foreigners' Wives!,"102).



Figure 9. *Tomb Figures of Four Ladies of the Court Playing Polo*, ca. seventh-eighth century, painted pottery, 10 in x 5.5 in x 13.5 in, Xi'an, Shaanxi province, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. <https://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/19795/four-ladies-of-the-court-playing-polo;jsessionid=D63181814A10F1B65E5A7CEA8B9ED641?ctx=44577f1c-2994-4b5a-be01-15b47b38c5a5&idx=4806>



Figure 9.1 *Tomb Figures of Four Ladies of the Court Playing Polo*, detail, ca. 650-700 A.D. painted pottery, 25.4 cm x 32.69 cm x 13.97 cm, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. [HTTPS://ART.NELSON-ATKINS.ORG/OBJECTS/24066/FOUR-LADIES-OF-THE-COURT-PLAYING-POLO](https://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/24066/four-ladies-of-the-court-playing-polo)



Figure 10. *Ceramic Female Polo Player*, early eighth century, Northern China, Tang dynasty, painted pottery, Musee Guimet, Paris. <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/wu-zhao-ruler-of-tang-dynasty-china/>



Figure 11. *Terra-cotta Statuette of a Female “Polo” Player*, eighth century, Tang dynasty, Musée des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris. https://art.rmngp.fr/fr/library/artworks/joueuse-de-polo_polychromie-technique_terre-cuite?force-download=91530



Figure 12. *Group of Donors*, 600-650 A.D. mural, 150.5 x 208.0 cm, Cave of the Sixteen Sword-Bearers, Kizil (Hartel, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes*, 168).



Figure 13. "Taq-i Bustan III," rock reliefs, Sasanian dynasty, in present day Kermanshah, Iran.
<https://www.livius.org/articles/place/taq-e-bostan/taq-e-bostan-large-cave/>



Figure 14. “Taq-i Bustan IV,” rock reliefs, Sasanian dynasty, in present day Kermanshah, Iran.
<https://www.livius.org/articles/place/taq-e-bostan/taq-e-bostan-large-cave/>



Figure 15. *The King in the Boar Hunt Scene*, rock reliefs, Sasanian dynasty, present day Kerman-shah, Iran. <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/photos/landscape-of-taq-e-bostan?>



Figure 16. *The Feast of the Sogdian Merchants*, ca. 740 A.D., mural, Panjikent, Sogdia, 136 cm x 364 cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. <https://sogdians.si.edu/sidebars/banqueting-in-sogdiana/>

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