RELATIONS OF A CHINESE EMBROIDERY DESIGN: EASTERN EUROPE AND WESTERN ASIA, SOUTHEAST ASIA (THE DONG-SON CULTURE) AND MELANESIA

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A few words of personal history may be the best way of introducing this rather complicated presentation. In the summer of 1932, at the end of three years' sinological study in Peking as a fellow of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, I joined two European companions on a long walking tour through western China. It was on this trip that I first noticed and began to collect specimens of cotton embroidery of a remarkably interesting type apparently quite unknown in eastern China. The most striking examples of this work are bed-valances of homespun cotton cloth averaging about six feet (2 m.) in length and one loom-width (something over one foot) in breadth, decorated with a dense embroidery in cross-stitch of heavy indigo-blue cotton thread. The most common scheme of decoration is that of a frieze of five medallions of uniform size but often of diverse design, surrounded on the bottom and both sides by a densely worked border, the top being left plain for attachment to a bedsheet. This a true 'folk art' which was practiced generally by the women of villages and towns in western China until about the end of the 19th century. Though it was in the Han-shui 漢水 Valley of southern Shensi that such embroideries first came to my attention and though I later found that the tradition, in a somewhat attenuated form, extends southward as far as northeastern Yünnan and central Kweichow, the area of the greatest concentration and highest perfection of this traditional craft was undoubtedly the great Ch'eng-tu 成都 plain of Szechwan Province. Though there is no way of determining the antiquity of the tradition, there are reasons for believing that it has been flourishing in western China for many centuries. As it was a folk art, practiced by women of the common people, apparently no attention was paid to it by Chinese scholars.

At the time of my visit, the younger generation was already ashamed of this work and it was only some of the older women who sentimentally cherished an occasional specimen as a memento.[1]

After a sojourn in Vienna in 1933-4 where the art-historian Josef Strzygowski encouraged me to write my doctor's dissertation on 'Chinese Peasant Embroideries', I returned to China in 1935 with the object of rounding out the collection of this material, the historical importance of which had been brought home to me by my comparative study of the material under Strzygowski.

In the course of those studies, one of the many medallions in these embroideries—that here reproduced in Figure 1—especially intrigued me because of the apparently un-Chinese motif in its centre: this is the motif isolated in Figure 1. Quite by accident during work on my dissertation in Vienna I came across published illustrations of some metal brooches, traditionally made and worn by mountain peasants of the Polish-Slovakian border region in the western Carpathians, which seemed to show considerable similarity to this Chinese motif. This was the first of many surprises to which I was led by comparative study of the Chinese motif—all of which will be duly recounted in the following discussion. Stimulated by my 'discovery' of the Carpathian brooches I managed, during the Vienna University's summer vacation of 1934, to visit the village of Zakopane in the High Tatra where in a small regional museum the curator, Juliusz Zborowski, had brought together a large collection of the brass brooches (*spinki*) of the local mountaineers (*Górals*). There I found, to my amazement, that the correspondence with the Chinese design was even closer than the published illustrations had led me to expect.

The reader can judge the matter for himself by comparing the excerpted Chinese design of Figure 1 with examples of the two most

1. The entire assemblage of some 900 western Chinese embroideries is now incorporated in the permanent collections of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (formerly the Chicago Natural History Museum) under the numbers 233,925 to 234,908. (A few of these numbers represent objects of metal which were collected at the same time with the embroideries and in some cases have close relation to them: see the third paragraph of note 8 below). Except for one special study and some brief notices (see the first five entries under my name in the bibliography) these embroideries remain essentially unpublished.

common types of the Carpathian brooches, as reproduced in Figures 2 and 3. The first comparison is best made with the *spinka* of Figure 2. Here it is at once obvious that the metal form comprises an assemblage of birds' heads with hooked beaks, one pair of beaks pointing upwards at the sides and another pair pointing downward from a common head at the top. (I had been reluctant to regard the corresponding elements of the Chinese design as birds' heads, because such motifs seemed entirely out of place in China; but this correspondence, together with others now to be enumerated, placed the identification beyond doubt). Despite obvious differences in technique and material, there seemed to be a general correspondence between the Chinese design and this Carpathian brooch also in the appearance and arrangement of the rosettes forming the eyes of the lower birds' heads, as well as in the rosette evidently serving as the common eye of the two coalescent birds' heads at the top. Besides this rosette, the Chinese design retains individual eyes for the two upper heads which are lost in the *spinka* of Figure 2. That the birds' heads of the embroidery are exactly equivalent to those in the brooch is confirmed by the peculiar marking of their beaks—little chevrons in the *spinki* obviously corresponding to little voided crosses in the embroidery.

Once these correspondences are established, it is impossible not to recognize a further one between the large central *hole* in the Carpathian brooch and an 'opening' or voided area in the centre of the Chinese design—even though in the embroidery this void is almost wholly filled by an elaborate rosette. At least tentatively, moreover, we may equate the pointed metal pendant hanging by a chain from the *spinka* of Figure 2 (which serves the Carpathian peasant as a pipe-cleaner) with one of the three pointed tabs attached to the bottom of the Chinese device. Though it is difficult to reconcile the triplication of this element in the Chinese design with the (invariably) single pendant of the *spinka*, it nevertheless seems that the metal and the embroidered forms must be somehow related, for the rosettes decorating the Chinese tabs clearly have their

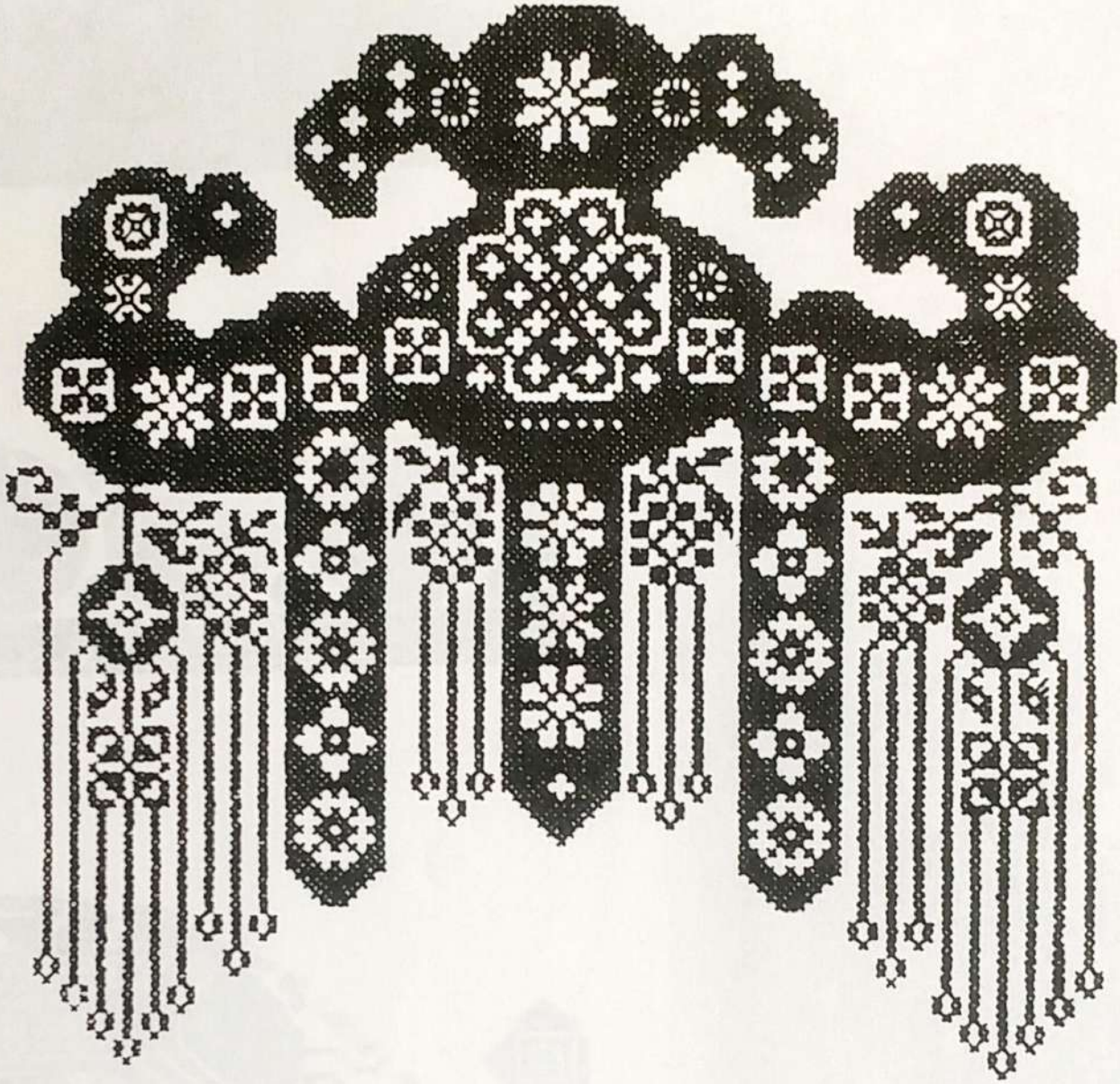
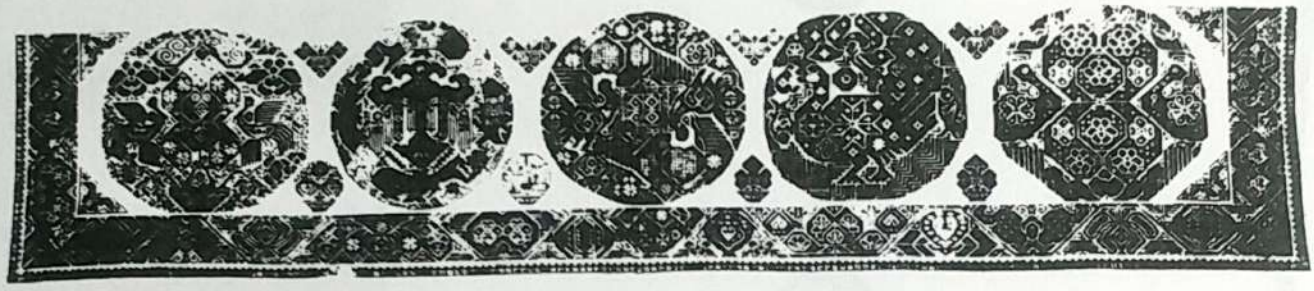


FIGURE 1 (above.) Detail of the motif in the centre of the Chinese embroidered medallion, opposite page. A slight distortion in the drawing is due to its having been made on graphpaper with equally spaced coordinates, whereas the warp and weft of the cloth on which the design is embroidered do not have exactly the same density. The drawing is, however, an accurate rendering of the embroidered design, cross by cross.

Opposite: (above): Cotton bed-valance with cross-stitch embroidery in blue cotton thread, presumably 19th century, collected by the writer in Mien-yang, Szechwan, western China in 1932 and now in the permanent collections of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, No. 234,203, Size, 17" x 80½" = 43 x 204.5 cm. (below): Detail of the second medallion from the left in the above embroidery. Diameter of the medallion, 11 5/8" x 12 1/4" = 29.5 x 31 cm.



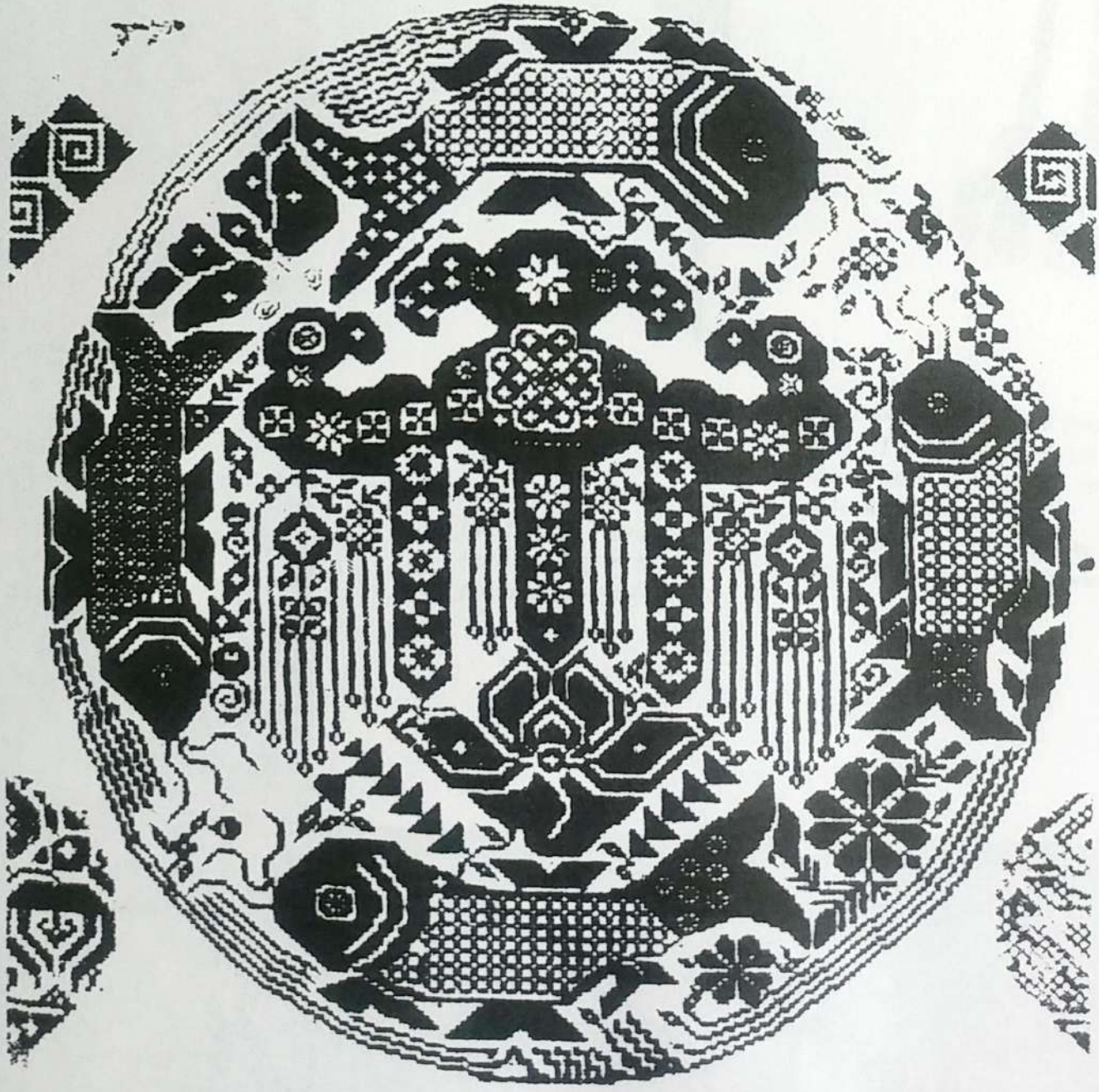


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*FIGURE 2. Brass brooch (*spinka*) worn by Górals (mountain peasants) of the High Tatra in the western Carpathians (Polish Galicia), 19th century. After the original in Zakopane, Poland, Muzeum Tatrzańskie, 2995. Height of the brooch alone, 7.1 cm. Total height, including the pipe-cleaner suspended from the brooch by a chain, 17.8 cm.*

*FIGURE 3. Brass brooch (*spinka*) worn by Górals of the High Tatra in the western Carpathians, 19th century. After the original in Zakopane, Poland, Muzeum Tatrzańskie, 2756. Height of the brooch (without tassels), 8.3 cm.*

counterpart in the roundels engraved on many of the Góral pipe-cleaners.[2]

It may be said at this point that there are, to be sure, discrepancies as well as correspondences in this system of comparison: some of these will be explained in the light of evidence to be considered later but others seem to necessitate the assumption that there were, at an earlier period in the history of the brooches, variant types of which we have no record. In any event, I think that the correspondences between the Chinese embroidered motif and the Carpathian brooches far outweigh the discrepancies, leaving little room for doubt that they are at least basically related.

2. For the engraved decoration of the Góral pipe-cleaners see Antoniewicz, 1928, fig. 58, where numbers 1-5 show various types of rosettes. It may be mentioned that in the same illustration the pipe-cleaners of numbers 7 and 10 show not rosettes but zigzags; and these, to me at least, suggest an ophidian symbolism. Similar zigzags adorn certain Swedish bodkins which are evidently related, morphologically, to the Carpathian pipe-cleaners. (Specimens in Nordiska Museet, Stockholm).

On the symbolism of the central hole in the *spinki* and the corresponding void in the Chinese embroidered design, see the second paragraph in note 5.

As for the discrepancy between the single pipe-cleaner of the Carpathian brooches (e.g. Figure 2) and the triple 'tabs' of the Chinese design, the interested reader may be referred to two Sasanian textile designs, as reproduced in Schuster, 1936b: Figs. 283 and 284, apparently representing military or royal standards. Each consists of a pair of birds' heads (i.e. a double-headed bird) on a kind of horizontal bar, from which are suspended, in one instance, five rectangular 'tabs' of graduated lengths, decorated with small roundels (perhaps representing studs or jewels of some sort?) and in the other instance eight tabs having the pointed shape of those in our Chinese embroidery but variously coloured and perhaps representing textile streamers (presumably corresponding to the 'tail' of the double-headed bird). The first of these two Sasanian designs also shows, mounted on a trident rising from between the birds' heads, three oval elements evidently corresponding to the 'bubbles' on the periphery of both the Carpathian brooches (our Figures 2 and 3) and the Gothic fibulae. But in the Sasanian design these ovals obviously play a more significant rôle, being evidently lunar symbols. (*Cf.* also Herzfeld, 1927: Fig. 47 and Sarre, 1903: p. 356 f; and for the Sasanian origin of the textile motifs here described, Pfister, 1929-30).

One might be tempted to see in these Sasanian textile motifs something like prototypes for both the Chinese embroidered design and the Carpathian brooches. I think, however, that this would be a misinterpretation of their relationship which is far more likely collateral; that is to say that the Sasanian military standards were elaborated out of pre-existing popular forms—probably amulets and presumably of metal which were current among some contemporary and perhaps peripheral (conquered?) populations. It is from such a lost prototype, rather than from the Sasanian standards themselves, that we may suppose the modern forms to be descended.

Certain features of the Chinese design which do not find their explanation in terms of our first Carpathian brooch do find it in terms of the second one, here reproduced as Figure 3. To begin with, the 'rosettes' of various shapes and sizes engraved all over the surface of this brooch evidently have their counterpart in the various 'rosettes' on the 'body' of the Chinese device. But best of all: the actual *tassels* hanging from chains attached to holes in the bottom of this *spinka* clearly have their counterpart in the simulated tassels attached to the bottom of the Chinese embroidered device. (That 'tassels' are indeed intended in the Chinese design cannot be doubted, for it is in this way that tassels are commonly represented in these embroideries). I was told in Zakopane that the ending of the chains in tassels is relatively rare in the Carpathian brooches: more commonly they end in little leaden pellets (in the 19th century sometimes replaced by shoe-buttons!) which evidently functioned as tinklers. Just how closely the Chinese embroided design follows a metal original resembling this brooch may be inferred from the row of seven tiny voids near the bottom of the oval 'body' of the Chinese device: these can only represent the holes from which the tassels were suspended in the metal prototype. Though I know of only two other *spinki* with tassels like the specimen reproduced in Figure 3, the fact that each of the other two also has a pipe-cleaner hanging in the midst of its tassels obviously brings the correspondence with our Chinese design even closer.[3]

3. The two other tassel-bearing *spinki* known to me are Muzeum Tatrzánskie no. 1040 and a specimen in Paris, Musée de l'Homme, no. 37.62.3-5. As stated in the text each of these has a pendent pipe-cleaner as well as tassels. Since Antoniewicz does not illustrate any *spinki* with tassels (nor, for that matter, are such examples illustrated in any of the literature on the Carpathian brooches which has come to my attention) I assume that the two specimens with tassels in the Muzeum Tatrzánskie (the other one being that illustrated in our Figure 3) probably entered the museum's collections between 1928, when Antoniewicz' monograph was published and 1934, when I visited the museum. It may be added that the chains of many *spinki*, if not actually missing, are mutilated in various ways, often lacking their terminals or having as terminals little wire spirals like those which bind the tassels in our Figure 3 (see for example Antoniewicz, 1928: Figs. 33, 60, 62, 78)– a circumstance which leads me to believe that tassels must have been originally very common appendages of the *spinki*.

A correspondence so extensive between designs surviving in the folk art of two very different peoples in widely separated regions of Eurasia of course implies an urgent historical problem. In trying to account for the forms of the Carpathian brooches, various European archaeologists have called attention to certain resemblances between these brooches and Gothic fibulae of the Germanic Migration Period in Western Europe (roughly 4th to 7th centuries A.D.);[4] but it is

4. Probably the first to show an interest in the 'prehistory' of the Carpathian brooches was van Scheltema in 1914; and the topic was taken up again by Antoniewicz in the fourth section of his monograph of 1928 (which remains the most extensive publication devoted exclusively to this interesting class of metal work). Antoniewicz' monograph was reviewed in German by Richtofen and in Russian by Schmidt, both in 1929.

It may be appropriate to state here briefly our position in regard to the views of van Scheltema, Antoniewicz, and Schmidt in so far as these treat of the relation between the modern Góral brooches and the Gothic (i.e. Germanic) fibulae of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Both Scheltema and Antoniewicz were struck by the similarity of two features common to the *spinki* and the fibulae: namely their birds' heads and their peripheral decoration by means of little 'balls' (called *bulki* or 'bubbles' by the Carpathian mountaineers: there are two of these in our Figure 2 and six of them in our Figure 3). Van Scheltema, intuitively recognizing the *spinki* as representations of a bird (in which, as we shall see, he was undoubtedly right) suggested that the ancient fibulae were also derived from the image of a bird (a supposition which I find quite plausible) but he then proposes that the similarities between the two forms, such as they are, represent the result of convergence: in other words that the modern forms are of recent origin and that they merely repeat, quite independently, the evolution of the ancient fibulae. With this proposal I am, needless to say, in hearty disagreement.

Antoniewicz, on the other hand, does not recognize a bird in the *spinki* (in which he was undoubtedly wrong) but he does think, unlike van Scheltema, that the forms of the *spinki* are descended from ancient times (a view in which I concur) and he proposes that the *spinki* are descended from the fibulae—a proposal which, on the contrary, I think extremely unlikely.

Schmidt objects to Antoniewicz' derivation of the *spinki* from the fibulae (in which I think he was right) and he makes the interesting observation that the basic form and function of the *spinki* is that of a buckle, of a type which was in use among peoples of Finnish stock on the Oka, Kama, and Vistula Rivers as early as the beginning of the Christian era and which has persisted in the Baltic area until modern times. With this observation, however, Schmidt seems to feel that the origin of the *spinki* is settled. He takes no stock in the birds' heads and little balls which interest van Scheltema and Antoniewicz: for him the overriding consideration is function. The similarities which he grudgingly admits between the *spinki* and the fibulae are mere ornamental details which he dismisses as the effect of convergence due to a similarity of technique—a palpable absurdity.

We shall see in the course of our discussion that the *spinki* do undoubtedly represent a bird and that this bird-motif is probably a good deal older than the Germanic Migration Period when the fibulae were made. Even though the *spinki* may be, as Schmidt says, functionally related to buckles rather than to the fibulae with which they are often

quite obvious that the relation of the *spinki* to our Chinese design is far closer than that between the *spinki* and any known types of such Gothic fibulae. Without attempting to account for this anomaly here (I shall have something to say about it later) I propose to align both the Carpathian brooches and the Chinese embroidered design with a third element of comparison—a motif in another textile tradition, flourishing in an area intermediate between the geographical extremes of Poland and China—namely in the knotted carpets of Western Asia. In Figure 4 is reproduced an element commonly found in the borders of so-called Herat carpets from eastern Iran. (Though these carpets are now made by sedentary Iranians, it should be kept in mind that the making of carpets and their use represents a custom primarily associated with a nomadic way of life more characteristic of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, from whom the Iranians

compared, what is to prevent us from assuming that a bird-form was grafted upon a buckle? As for the fibulae, even though they are undeniably similar to the *spinki* in the form and, to some extent, the arrangement of their birds' heads, and in the attachment of little balls to their periphery, must such similarities be explained either in the sense that the *spinki* are directly descended from the fibulae (Antoniewicz), or that they result from a mystical 'convergence' (van Scheltema)? Is it not more likely that both the *spinki* and the fibulae reflect, in different ways, their derivation from a common prototype? After all, birds' heads belong to birds and it is the image of a bird in which we may hope to find meaning where otherwise none seems to exist.

The significance of these observations is, I think, that attempts to account for the Carpathian brooches have heretofore been founded upon and indeed have foundered upon far too narrow a basis of comparison. Forms related to the *spinki* do exist, even if we do not encounter them among the chance finds of archaeology, where hitherto they have been sought. If the prehistory of the Carpathian brooches can be reconstructed at all, it may, and indeed must be, inferred from a whole series of obviously related forms perpetuated in *modern popular traditions*, most of which happen to flourish in regions far from the Carpathians.

Though it is not possible, or perhaps necessary, to attempt here an exhaustive bibliography of the Carpathian brooches, a few indications of pertinent literature may be welcome. The chief treatise on the subject apparently remains that of Antoniewicz, *Metalowe spinki góralskie* (1928, with French resumé published in the same year by the Polish Academy; and a slightly fuller French version, with bibliography, which appeared in 1931). Selected Góral brooches were all illustrated also by Levetus, 1911: Figs. 415-29. Among Polish authors who have written on the subject since Antoniewicz may be mentioned Krukowski (1929), Zborowski (1932), Frankowski (1933), Estreicher (1942), and Grzegorczyk (1950); there is also a German article by Plügel (1941). (I do not cite these works in my bibliography). Preliminary studies for the present essay can be seen in Schuster, 1936b, 1955b.

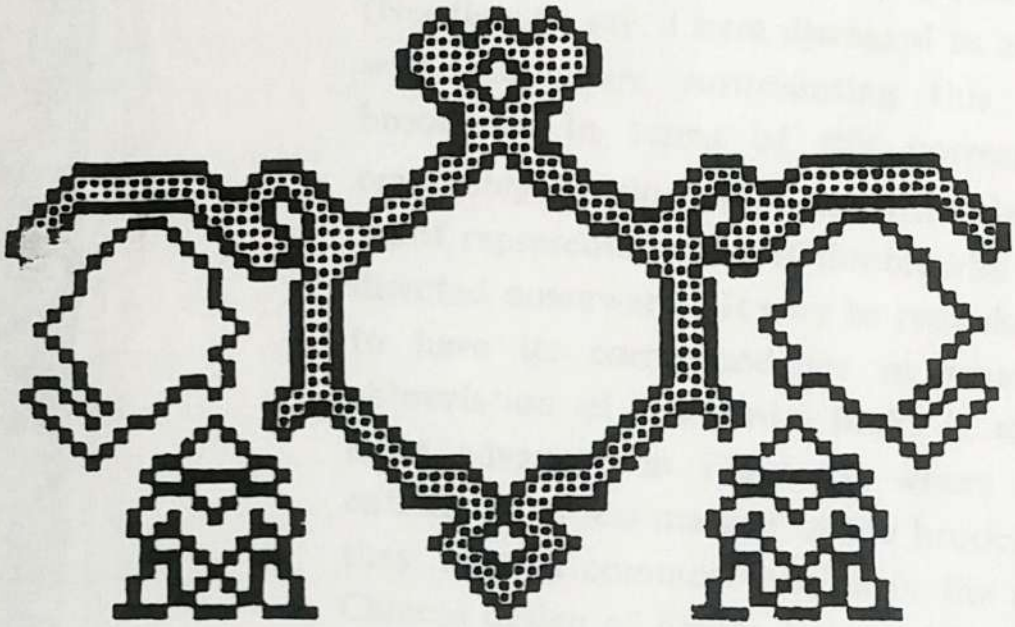

FIGURE 4. Motif from the border of a Persian knotted carpet (so-called 'Herat' carpet, presumably from eastern Iran). After the original in private possession, Vienna, 1934. Borders of the type in question are extremely common and may be found among the illustrations of most manuals on oriental carpets. This drawing is accurate, knot for knot, but I have simplified it in the interest of clarity by omitting a 'rosette' which occupies the central space, as well as the 'filling' of the four independent elements at the sides of the main feature.

presumably took over many of the motifs, as well as the technique of knotting itself).

In order to understand the relationship between the carpet design of Figure 4 and the Polish and Chinese designs, it will be best to consider the two relationships separately, that with the brooches first; and it will also be best to include among the brooches a third type or variant: that represented in our Figure 5 in which the lateral birds' beaks are directed downward rather than upward as in Figure 2–for we shall see that various features of the carpet design show relationship to various types of brooches.

In this comparison, the similarity which first strikes us is that in what may be called the system of voids. Thus the large irregular central void of the carpet motif, Figure 4, may be likened to the round or heart-shaped opening in the centre of the Carpathian brooches, while the smaller void at the top of the carpet design has its apparent correspondence in the perforation representing the

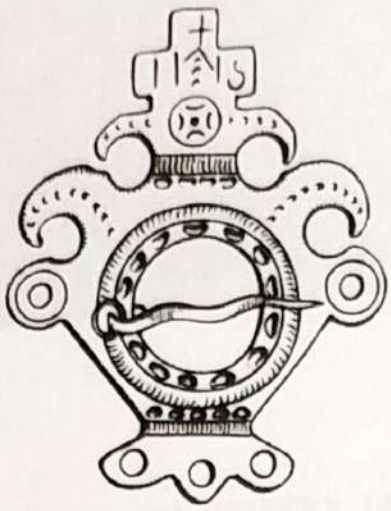

FIGURE 5. Brass brooch (spinka) worn by the Goráls of the High Tatra in the western Carpathians, 19th century. After the original in Vienna, Museum für Volkskunde, 26,514. Size 4 x 5.5 cm.

common eye of the double bird's head at the top of each brooch. (Needless to say, I here disregard as adventitious the Christian cross with monogram surmounting this and most other Carpathian brooches). In terms of this correspondence we may, I think, reasonably conclude that the trifid element at the top of the carpet motif represents a debased double bird's head with abbreviated beaks directed downward. (It may be remarked that this debasement seems to have its correspondence in what is evidently a progressive abbreviation of the birds' beaks in the brooches: the tendency is most advanced in Figure 3, where the beaks have disappeared entirely; it is less marked in the brooches of Figures 2 and 5 where they share a common eye, as in the carpet motif; whereas in the Chinese design of Figure 1 the tendency seems less advanced than in any of the brooches, being perhaps only incipient, in so far as each beak has its own proper eye, besides an eye common to both beaks as in the brooches). The small void in the protrusion at the bottom of the carpet design may then be equated with the perforations in the 'tails' of the Carpathian brooches and with the seven tiny voids at the bottom of the Chinese design.

These comparisons suggest that what we have in the carpet design (as well as in the brooches and, of course, also in the Chinese design) is not simply a haphazard accumulation of birds' heads but rather the representation of *a bird*, more or less highly conventionalized, with

certain peculiar and distinctive characteristics.[5] Once this is understood, it follows that the long lateral projections from the upper part of the central framework of the carpet motif can only represent the outstretched wings of this bird. But if these are indeed its wings, how are we to explain the peculiar voided expansion at the base of each wing? The answer to this question can, I think, be clearly read in the Carpathian brooches of Figures 2, 3, and 5; or perhaps the matter should be stated in the sense that the carpet design and the brooches explain each other. What we have in all of these manifestations is the image of a double-headed bird with a large void on its body, *whose original heads tend to be recessive, while its*

5. In view of this conclusion, it may be appropriate to quote here the contrary opinion of Antoniewicz (1928: 42) as follows: 'The view of van Scheltema (1914: 75), who regards the *spinki* as a deliberate imitation of a double-headed eagle, with its tail terminating the figure at the bottom, is absolutely wrong and groundless. [For] one can easily see that there are extra birds' beaks at the two sides, each of which has a distinct eye, almost invariably with a central perforation. These beaks point upward.....' But it is precisely these lateral birds' beaks which, contrary to the view of Antoniewicz, establish the derivation of the *spinki* from the image of a bird!

Another 'anomaly' of this bird is the presence of a large round hole in the centre of its body. The functional explanation of Schmidt (see note 3 above) to the effect that the Carpathian brooches are really buckles, is hardly adequate to account for this feature, for it appears again and again in bird-motifs in other cultural traditions which have nothing whatever to do with buckles, or for that matter with brooches either. In another place (Schuster, unpublished manuscript tentatively entitled 'The Sunbird') I have assembled a considerable body of material showing that the motif of a bird with a hole or void in its body is in fact an important symbolic entity which persists in many different artistic traditions. To state the matter briefly, I would regard the large central perforation of the *spinka*, Figure 2, as symbolic of the sun or sky. This interpretation is, I think, supported in the case of the *spinki* by the motifs engraved in the metal around the hole which are designated 'suns', 'stars'' and 'moon' by the Carpathian peasants. (Most of these elements are visible in our Figure 3; see also Antoniewicz, 1928: Figs. 85, 86, and page 34).

As for the heart-shaped opening in *spinki* of the type of our Figure 3, this is a somewhat different matter. In the first place, it should be said that the heart-shape seems to be traditional for the body of the 'double-headed eagle' throughout the folk-art of Europe in recent centuries and it is conceivable that this circumstance accounts for the shape of the central perforation in this type of Carpathian brooches. On the other hand, it must be noted that cardiform brooches constitute in themselves a class which has wide ramifications (and many variations) throughout northern and western Europe–from the East Baltic countries to Scandinavia and Scotland, the mouth of the Elbe, the Vendée in France, and Switzerland. Not all of these brooches are as distinctly ornithomorphic as the Carpathian ones. In fact, though the history of this diffusion remains obscure, it seems clear that the most archaic of these forms is that of the Carpathian *spinki*.

wings are conceived and represented as supernumerary bird's heads, the eye of each head serving simultaneously as a joint-mark at the base of the wing.

Now at last we can understand the peculiar stubs at the sides of the Carpathian brooch of Figure 3: these are the rudimentary wings of the bird, with an eye or oculus at the base of each, serving to mark the point of its attachment to the body. It is possible to see a reflection of this arrangement also in the Chinese design of Figure 1, if we regard the lateral extensions here as wings with birds' heads superimposed at their extremities (a feature for which we shall later cite analogies in the carpets); for in the Chinese design the small round rosette on each 'shoulder' of the bird's oval 'body' might very well represent the ocellation at the base of each wing—an interpretation apparently supported by the formal identity between these rosettes and the slightly larger ones serving for the eyes of the two birds' heads at the top. However this may be, it is important for us to recognize that in the carpet design and in the Carpathian brooches, if not also in the Chinese embroidery, we are undoubtedly dealing with a bird-motif whose most distinguishing characteristic is, besides the central void on its body, a deliberately ambiguous treatment of its wings as extra birds' heads, the eye of each head serving also as a joint-mark at the base of the wing. We shall see that this motif of the *ocellated wing* or *wing-head* is, in fact, the tell-tale of a tradition which has a still wider diffusion than that here indicated, extending not only to western China but also, evidently long ago, to Indo-China, from where it finally penetrated deep into the Western Pacific.

But let us finish our examination of the carpet-motif, for a better understanding of this motif will help us to a better comprehension of both the Chinese embroidered design and the Carpathian brooches, as well as of the remoter analogies to follow. Under the 'wing-heads' of the bird in Figure 4 we see two shapes rendered in outline, each ending in a kind of upturned hook. I was told by two separate Persian informants that such shapes are called *mahi* or 'fish' in

Persian and (despite my skepticism of such popular nomenclature generally) I have no doubt that this designation reflects the true origin of these elements—these 'fishes' having been most probably conceived in the first place as prey of the bird. (Unfortunately, from what I have been able to learn, the main element of the composition, with which the fish are associated, is not recognized in modern Persia for what it undoubtedly is—a bird). Apparently attached to stumps on the body of the bird, or perhaps hanging from a projection on each 'fish', is another pair of forms, inexplicable in themselves but in this context representing, I think beyond question, some kind of tassels or tinkling pendants. The idea that the carpet design as a unit reflects a metal original with free-hanging pendants in the form of fishes and tinklers is, I think, supported by the system of voids on the bird's body, corresponding to a system of *perforations* in a metal original—an original which cannot have been very far removed in appearance, or at any rate in its essential structure, from the modern Carpathian brooches. The thesis of a metal origin for this carpet design will find support in certain considerations at a later stage of our discussion and it may be said that it is supported also by certain other analogies between carpet-designs and Gothic metal work of the Migration Period, which cannot be given consideration here.

In aligning the carpet design of Figure 4 with the Chinese embroidered design of Figure 1 and the Carpathian brooches, we may find ourselves puzzled by certain residual anomalies; our main problem being, perhaps, to account for the *mahi*-fishes under the wings of the carpet-bird in terms of corresponding elements in the Chinese and Carpathian designs. It seems to me that the hooked shapes representing fishes in the carpet design have their most plausible correspondence in the hooked pipe-cleaner attached to the Carpathian brooch of Figure 2—in which I would see the embodiment of a zoomorphic principle opposed to the avian principle represented by the brooch from which it is suspended—perhaps in this instance a snake or dragon rather than a fish. The counterpart of the carpet-fish in the Chinese design is less easy to determine,

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for besides the three 'tabs' attached to the bottom of the Chinese bird-motif (which I have proposed to equate in principle with the Carpathian pipe-cleaner) there are two pairs of naturalistic fish swimming around the periphery of the Chinese medallion (Plate I). On this subject, again, there is more to be said but as it would involve a long (and still inconclusive) digression, it will be better to leave this question open and to proceed with other aspects of our investigation.

Before tracing the migration of these traditional forms to Southeast Asia and eventually to Oceania, it may be appropriate to pause here in order to consider how the peculiar bird-motif with ambiguous wing-heads might have arisen in the first place. The use of conventional eye-motifs or ocellations to mark the body-joints of quadruped animals is known from Scythian metal work beginning in about the fifth century B.C. and persisting into the subsequent Sarmatian period, as can be seen from the example illustrated in Figure 6. Here the joint-marks on the flanks of the animals are

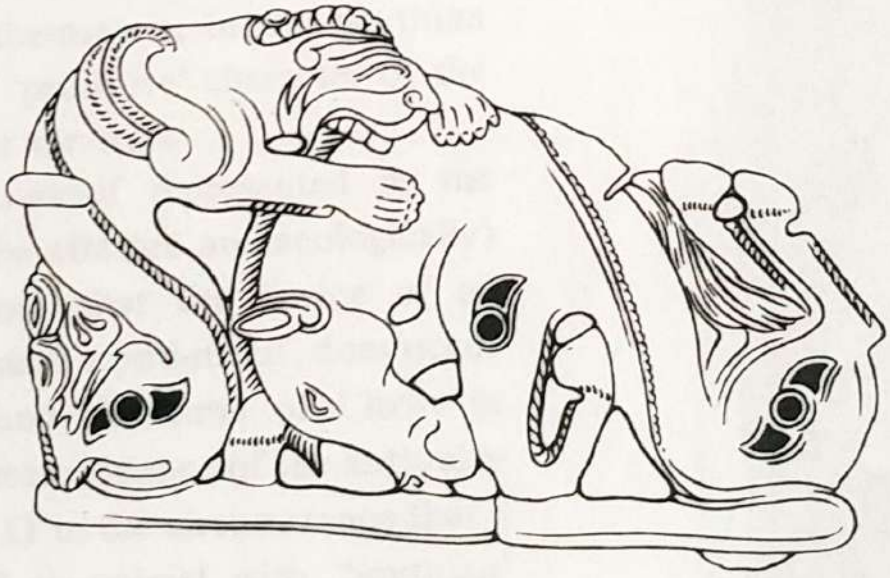

FIGURE 6. Sarmatian gold plaque, Siberia, fifth-fourth centuries B.C. Re-drawn after Kondakov, Tolstoi, and Reinach, 1891: Fig. 351 (subsequently illustrated by Minns, Rostovtsev, Borovka, and others; perhaps most recently by Salmony, 1948: Fig. 1).

clearly intended to represent eyes—the triangle at each side of the disk or ring evidently the canthus at each side of the iris. Though I do not know of any such ocellations on images of *birds* in Scythian

art, I suspect that the idea of applying such markings to bird-motifs must have developed somewhere within the same cultural *ambiance* as the joint-marked Scythian animals and that, in fact, such bird-motifs might have preceded and even inspired, the joint-marking of the Scytho-Sarmatian quadrupeds. An argument in favour of this interpretation would be, in my opinion, the relative naturalism of the ocellations, as well as of the animals themselves, in the Scythian representations, as opposed to the more 'primitive' character of the highly conventionalized bird-motifs in our survivals.

A pre-Christian origin of the bird-motif represented in the Carpathian brooches (even if it cannot be attested archaeologically) is, I think, implicit in the circumstance that the device of an ocellated wing, obviously derived from such a bird-motif, does occur archaeologically as we shall see, around the time of Christ in Indo-China. Moreover, we may see indirect evidence of the antiquity of our west Chinese bird-motif (Figure 1) in the circumstance that a relatively naturalistic representation of an animal with 'Scythian' ocellations on its flanks occurs in these same embroideries, as shown in Figure 7. And as a pendant to this 'Scythian' beast in the Chinese embroideries, we find in a comparable tradition at the opposite side of Eurasia, namely in a Russian embroidery, the relatively naturalistic representation of a bird with ocellated wings, Figure 8. The naturalism of these embroidered representations suggests to me that they are the sporadic survivals, in modern popular traditions, of relatively naturalistic 'Scythian' forms, in distinction to—but nevertheless somehow historically related to—the similarly surviving but more highly conventionalized bird-motifs with which we are primarily concerned. However difficult it is to speculate about the remote origins of all these motifs, the fact that the 'Scythian' animal of Figure 7 survives in the same traditional class of Chinese embroideries as the bird-motif of Figure 1 suggests to me, at least, a comparable antiquity for both but, as already indicated, I suspect that the history of the bird-motif of Figure 1 is in all probability even older than that of the 'Scythian' animal reflected in the

7

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FIGURE 7. Detail of a cross-stitch embroidered bed-valance collected by the writer in 1935 in Tsun-yi, Kweichow, southwest China, now in Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 233,976. It may be mentioned that the embroidered decoration of this bed-valance shows throughout a curious combination of two styles—a crude or 'rural' style, evidently representing the taste and capability of the woman who executed the embroidery, and a sophisticated or 'urban' style, reflected in the choice of several compositions evidently borrowed from the standard repertory of Chinese painting and apparently supplied to the embroiderer in the form of tracings. The curiously 'Scythian' animal here reproduced clearly represents this second category though I do not know its like among Chinese paintings. The drawing, and especially the sense of movement in this animal, set it apart from the usual clumsy representations of animals in these embroideries.

FIGURE 8. Detail of a modern Russian embroidery, after Stasov, 1872, Pl. 53 b, Fig. 160: 'Broderie blanche a fil tiré (quelquefois ce dessin est executé en coton rouge). Bordure d'un drap de lit, gouv. de St. Pétersbourg, distr. de Gdoff, village de Riassinzy'. For the composition as a whole, see Dintses, 1948. A remarkable feature of this embroidery is that it shows, next to the bird of our Figure 8, two ocellated wings exactly like those of the bird here reproduced but isolated as motifs in themselves (op. cit., Pl. 53 a). The motif of an ocellated wing as a separate entity is, as we shall see, a hallmark of the tradition in which we are interested.

embroidered design of Figure 7. It is, then, this early, pre-Scythian tradition of which we see survivals in the conservative amber of modern folk art on both sides of the Eurasian continent: that is to say, in the Carpathian brooches, in the 'Herati' bird of the West Asiatic knotted carpets, and in our bird-motif of the west Chinese embroideries.

But the most direct evidence we have of the antiquity of this peculiar bird-motif is from the archaeology of Indo-China, specifically from the decoration of the bronze drums of the so-called Dong-son Culture, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. In Figure 9 is reproduced the representation of one of the war

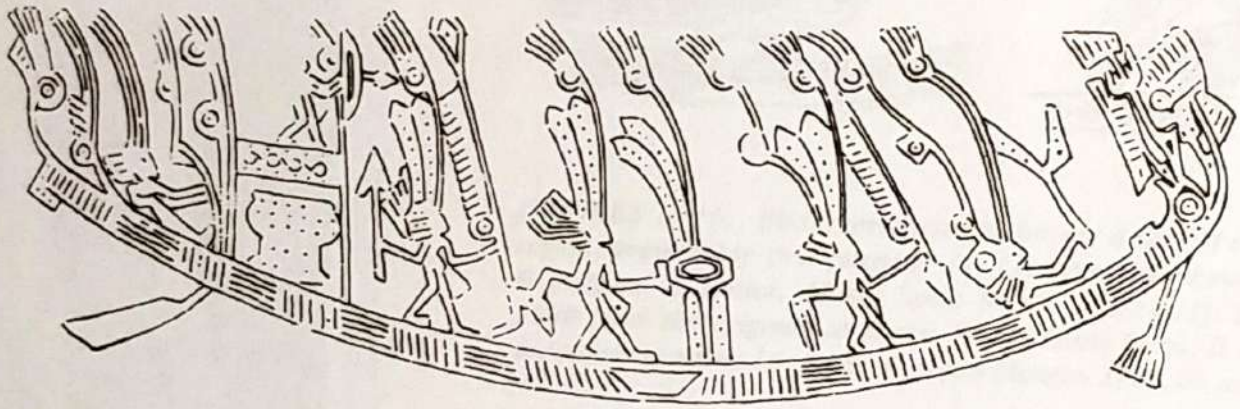
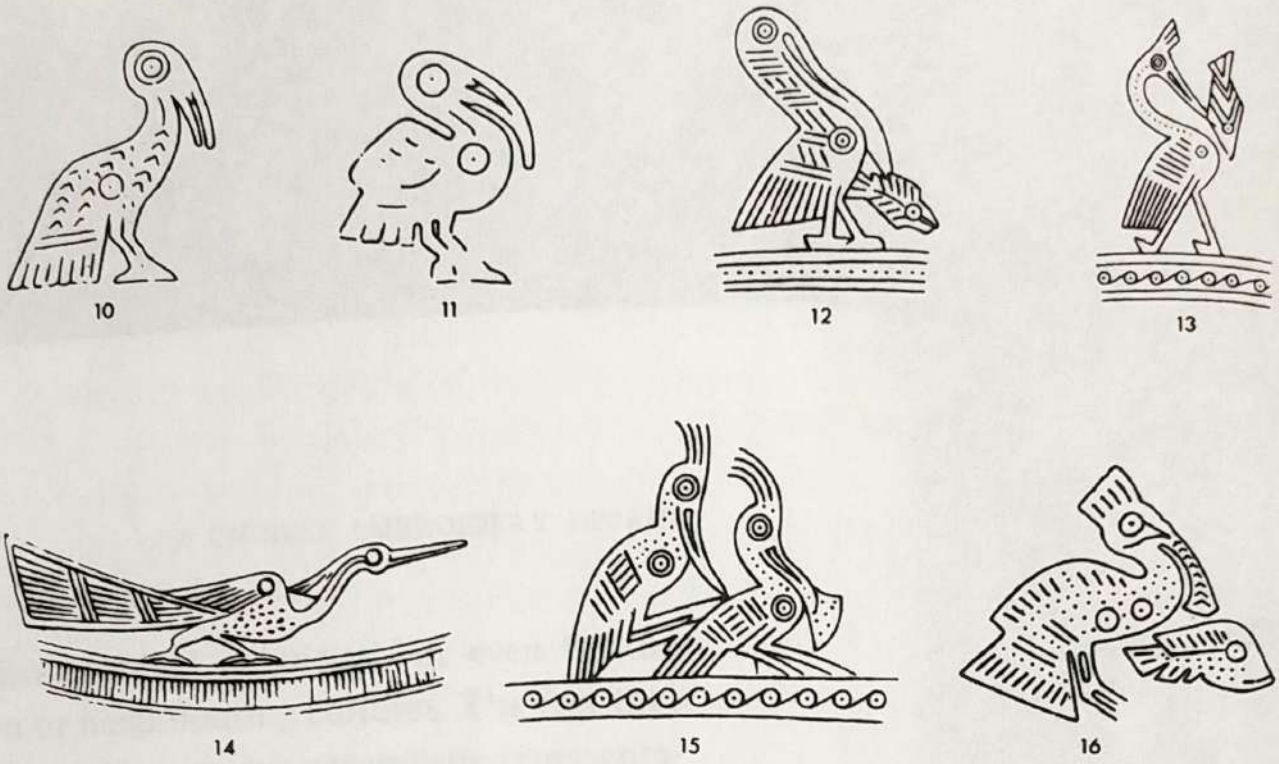


FIGURE 9. One of a flotilla or procession of 'spirit ships' carrying armed warriors, represented around the belly of a bronze drum of the Dong-son Culture, Tonkin-Annam border region. Presumably first century. After Goloubew, 1929, Pl. xxvii, B. Cf. *Heine-Geldern, 1933, Fig. 2.*

canoes from the famous Moulié drum, in which we recognize, besides armed warriors, a man beating time on a tambourine fixed amidships, another standing guard with bow and arrow on the roof of a cabin containing a drum, a navigator with stern-sweep, and other, somewhat more enigmatic features. There are fascinating analogies between this representation and modern Siamese state barges, Chinese dragon-boats, and Papuan or Melanesian head-hunters' canoes—none of which we shall explore here. Our interest centres solely in the *ocellated wings* forming the decorative termination of every structural feature of the vessel, every weapon, and every warrior's headdress. One cannot escape the impression that the ocellated wing is an *insigne*, evidently a sort of tribal distinction, by which the warriors and their vessel are identified.

That each plume in the Dong-son boating scene of Figure 9 is intended to represent a bird's wing with an ocellation at the base (what we have called a 'wing-head') may be inferred from the many representations of complete birds on the same Dong-son drums of which examples are illustrated in Figures 10–16. These birds are rendered with a degree of naturalism that readily permits their identification as pelicans or hornbills (Figures 10–12), storks (Figures 13–15), and a pheasant or partridge (Figure 16). Yet, except for some pheasants, none of these birds has ocellated plumes



FIGURES 10-16. Birds represented on bronze drums of the Dong-son Culture, Tonkin-Annam border region, presumably first century: 10, 11: after Goloubew, 1929, Fig. 22, A (original in Djakarta) and B (original in Hanoi, Musée Louis Finot, D 6214-21); 12-15: after rubbings made by the writer in 1938 from the originals in Hanoi, Musée Louis Finot, D 163-206, unknown number, D 163-178, and unknown number; 16: Re-drawn after Mauger, 1934, Pl. xxi.

in nature and the ocellation of those pheasants that have it is never found at the base of the wing as here represented. How are we to understand the entirely artifical and unnaturalistic ocellations on these naturalistic birds? The Dong-son artist was evidently in a position analogous to that of the Scythian artist: though a sophisticated craftsman, capable of a high degree of naturalism in his work, he was still heir to a more primitive tradition, the symbolism of which he incorporated in his naturalistic representations. The obvious importance of artifically ocellated plumes in the representations on the Dong-son drums seems to me to justify the inference that a highly conventionalized bird-motif of the type of the Carpathian brooches and the Chinese embroidered design, with wing-heads (that is to say ocellated wings) cannot have been far, in time and space, from the actual workshops of the drum-founders and such a motif may even have been known to them, perhaps in the

form of amulets worn by distinguished individuals or even by the common people of their own or neighbouring cultures. The fact that the artist inscribed artificial ocellations on his naturalistic representations of birds might be understood as an attempt to justify or display his knowledge of the origin of the ocellated plumes – as much as to say that these plumes were plucked from such imaginary or mythical birds.

That an amulet resembling the Carpathian brooches and the Chinese embroidered design actually existed in the Dong-son Culture is, of course, a speculation but it is one which seems to me dictated by considerations to be introduced in a moment. Even though no object at all similar to the Carpathian brooches or the Chinese embroidered design has, to my knowledge, turned up in any of the tombs of the Dong-son Culture so far excavated in Indo-China or in Yünnan Province of southwestern China, this absence could be explained in many ways: perishability of the material used, the use of such objects (presumably personal ornaments or amulets) by a stratum of contemporary society not represented in the tombs, or their use by alien groups of people not represented in the burials. Alternatively, it must be admitted that the ocellated wing could have been, so to speak, plucked from the bird and the bird itself discarded and forgotten before the device ever reached Indo-China. [6] Of these two possibilities, however, the former seems to me indicated by circumstance that a highly conventionalized bird-motif with ocellated wing-heads, exactly corresponding to the types now familiar to

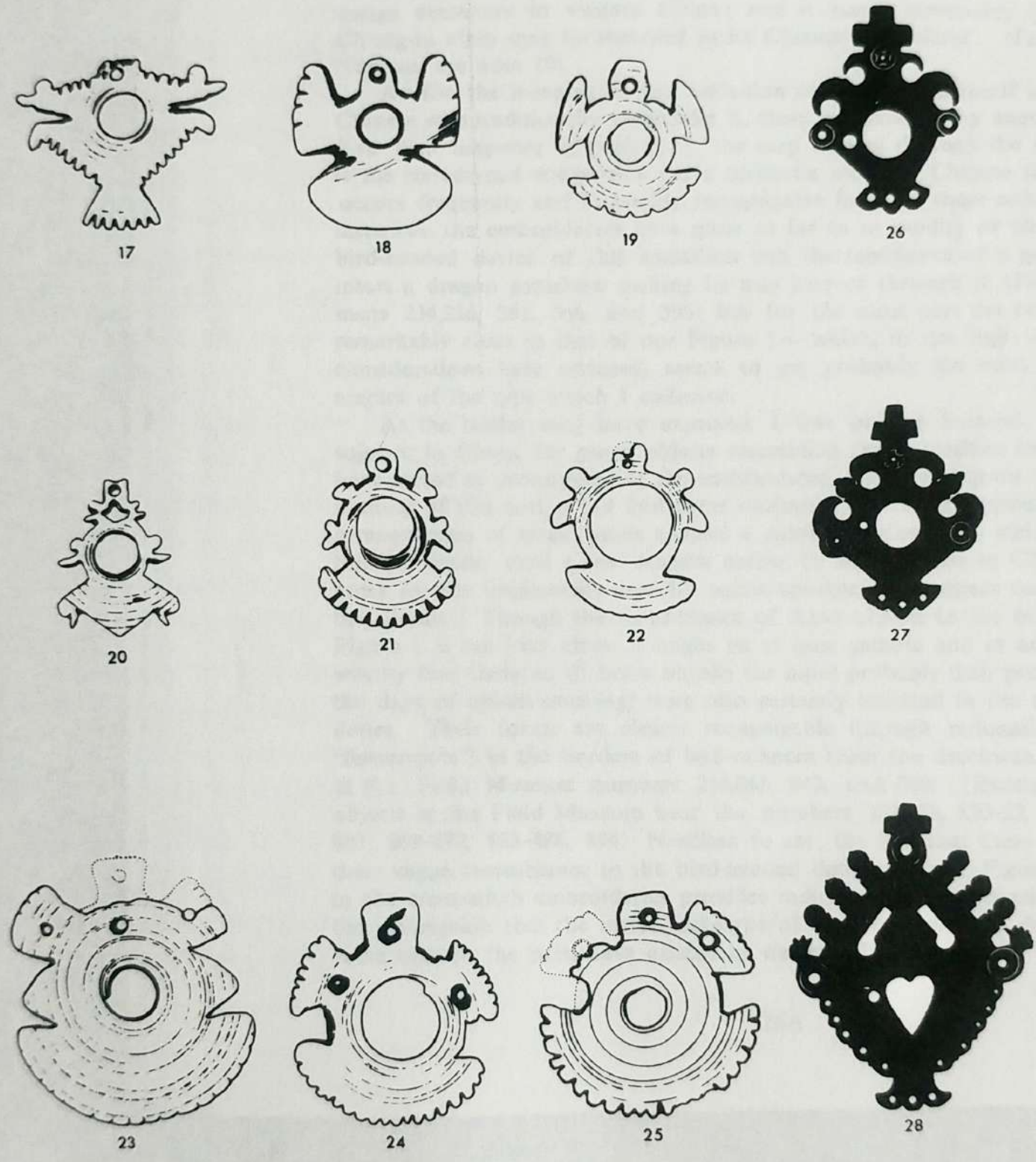
6. Thus we find ocellated wings as emblems of warlike distinction in the Balkan region of southeastern Europe, at the opposite side of the Danube basin from the Carpathians (Schuster, 1955a) where, however, I do not know of any traditional forms similar to the Carpathian *spinki*. In the same way, the idea of an ocellated wing seems to provide the explanation for certain artificial plumes worn as marks of rank or distinction on the turbans or other headdresses of various peoples from Iran to Nepal (the *tika* or *sarpesh* of the Mughals, etc,; Schuster, 1951a: note 14, second paragraph). Yet in these regions there is no evidence, so far as I know, of a complete bird-motif of the type which must ultimately have inspired these emblems– except perhaps for the 'Herati' bird of the knotted carpets in our Figure 4. It seems, thus, that the 'ocellated wing' can survive as an emblem by itself in the absence of the peculiarly conventionalized bird-motif with joint-marks on its wings. Yet the 'ocellated wing' is, at least to my mind, inconceivable without such a bird-motif as its antecedent.

us, occurs in the modern popular traditions of certain islands in the Western Pacific—where there is much other evidence of strong Bronze Age influence from mainland Southeast Asia.[7] It is hardly likely that this motif reached the Western Pacific islands without passing through Southeast Asia and the time of its passage is most likely to have been that of the apogee of the Dong-son Culture, around the beginning of the Christian era.

It may be appropriate to give at this point, again, some indication of the personal events which led to the discovery of the following Melanesian analogies. Having completed my dissertation and received my doctorate in art history in Vienna in 1934, I chanced to visit, on the very last day of my sojourn in that city, the Austrian State Ethnographical collection (then housed in the Natural History Museum of the capital). Since my head was, at that time, full of Carpathian *spinki* and related bird-motifs in Iran and China, my attention was arrested by a curiously similar bird-motif cut out of shell among objects from the Solomon Islands displayed in one of the exhibition cases of the museum. I remember at first dismissing from my mind the fleeting notion that this shell ornament could actually be related to the triple enigma of my dissertation: the idea was too grotesque. Then I reconsidered and decided that it might be a good idea, before leaving the city, to capture the bird from the Solomon Islands on film, for possible future reference and the museum authorities permitted me to do so. This object is here reproduced as Figure 17.

Less than a year later I was back in China, with the primary object of rounding out my collection of the west Chinese embroideries. In the course of this collecting activity I now made a point of acquiring every variant I found of the medallion here shown

7. Probably the first to point out evidence of Bronze Age influence from Eastern and Southeast Asia upon the artistic traditions of various regions in the Pacific was Heine-Geldern, in his article of 1937. For a specific instance of such influence in the Solomon Islands (in the form of a rare shell ornament from Buka, north of Bougainville) see Schuster, 1951a.



*FIGURES 17-25. Shell ornaments (*kesi*) from southern Bougainville, Solomon Islands; 17: Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde, 52820; 18: Dunedin, N.Z., Otago Museum, D. 38.903. From Mukakuru village, Siwai; 20: Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, VI. 14133; 21: Otago Museum, D. 38.800. From Kuhinu village, Siwai; 22: Otago Museum, D. 38.817. From Matarasi village, Siwai; 23: Otago Museum, D. 38.803. From Kakamono village, Siwai; 24: New York, American Museum of Natural History, 80.1/562 (formerly Otago Museum, D. 38.904); 25: Auckland, N.Z., Trinity Theological College (1938).*

FIGURES 26-28 (right-hand side). Silhouettes of the Carpathian brooches, Figures 5, 2, and 3, for comparison with the Bougainville kesi *shown on the left.*

in Figure 1—for I was now well aware of the culture-historical importance of such medallions and especially of their central motif.[8] From China, through the mediation of Dr. H.D. Skinner of the Otago

8. During my second sojourn in China, from 1935 through 1938, I managed to find seventeen variants of the embroidery medallion here shown as Figure 1, which was until then the only example of the type known to me. As three of the new medallions are on one embroidery, the total number of pieces collected having this design is thus sixteen. The inventory numbers of these pieces in the Field Museum of Natural History (see note 1) are 234,198, 199, 203, 206, 207, 215, 274, 284, 292, 323, 344, 365, 366, 386, 396, 412. Of these sixteen specimens, four are from Mien-yang 綿陽 and two from a village north of Mien-yang in the same *hsien*, three are from P'eng-ch'i 蓬溪 one from She-hung 射洪, one from Sui-ning 遂寧 and five from T'ung-ch'uan 潼川 (San-t'ai 三台). All these places are within or at least around the periphery of the rich Ch'eng-tu plain. I never saw examples of this design elsewhere in western China; and it seems reasonably clear, thus, that the Ch'eng-tu plain may be regarded as its Chinese 'homeland'. (For the situation in Yünnan, see note 10).

As for the meaning of the medallion and its central motif in the minds of the Chinese who traditionally embroider it, their response to my enquiries was generally *li-yü t'iao lung-men* 鯉魚跳龍門 'the carp leaping through the dragon gate'. This is the stereotyped designation for a favourite motif of Chinese folk art, which also occurs frequently and in readily recognizable form, in these embroideries. In a few instances, the embroiderers have gone so far as to modify or transform the central bird-headed device of this medallion into the semblance of a gateway and even to insert a dragon somehow making its way into or through it (Field Museum specimens 234,284, 365, 366, and 396) but for the most part the central motif remains remarkably close to that of our Figure 1 — which, in the light of the comparative considerations here adduced, seems to me probably the most 'archaic' of all examples of the type which I collected.

As the reader may have expected, I was on the lookout, during my second sojourn in China, for metal objects resembling the Carpathian brooches which might have served as prototypes for the embroidered design of Figure 1. Though I found nothing of this sort, I did find some curiously un-Chinese looking brass objects with arrangements of birds' heads around a central perforation, which had been traditionally made, until a few decades earlier by brass-smiths in Ch'eng-tu, to serve as racks for the implements used by opium-smokers. (Compare the 'pipe-cleaners' of the Górals!) Though the resemblance of these objects to the bird-headed design of Figure 1 is not very close, it might be at least generic and in any event it is noteworthy that these small brass objects (or more probably their prototypes from before the days of opium-smoking) were also certainly imitated in the cross-stitch embroideries. Their forms are clearly recognizable (though rationalized as 'flowers' in 'flower-pots') in the borders of bed-valances from the Szechwan town of An-yüeh 安岳: Field Museum numbers 234,041, 043, and 060. (Examples of these metal objects in the Field Museum bear the numbers 234,828, 830-32, 835, 855-860, 865-867, 869-872, 883-886, 894. Needless to say, the fact that these metal objects, with their vague resemblance to the bird-headed design of our Figure 1, were imitated in the cross-stitch embroideries provides indirect, yet not inconsiderable, support for the assumption that the metal prototype of that embroidered design must also, at some time in the past, have existed in western China.

Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand, with whom I was then in correspondence about Melanesian matters, I got in touch with a New Zealand missionary, the Rev. A. H. Voyce, at that time stationed at Kihili on the southern tip of Bougainville in the Solomon Islands—the region from which the shell ornament in Vienna had come. Mr. Voyce, who had himself collected such objects, kindly sent to me in China drawings of a good many *kesi* or *keti* (as such shell ornaments are called in the Buin and Siwai dialects of southern Bougainville). Upon receiving these drawings, I was startled to realize that my 'hunch' about the specimen in the Vienna Museum was right after all, for I now saw that the Vienna specimen was but one of many variants, including some which were even closer to the Carpathian brooches, especially with respect to the placing of the lateral birds' heads. (See, for example, the *kesi* of Figures 17–22 in relation to the silhouettes of Carpathian brooches, Figures 26 and 27). But best of all, besides the *kesi* with recognizable birds' heads in the place of wings (and with more or less recessive birds' heads at the top, as we have noticed in the Polish, Persian, and Chinese motifs) Mr. Voyce's drawings included several specimens with true *ocellated wings*, that is to say wing-like appendages with serrated edges evidently intended to suggest feathers, each wing having an actual perforation at its base—exactly as such elements occur in our second type of Carpathian brooches. (See the silhouette of Figure 28 in comparison with three *kesi* of this type reproduced in Figures 23–25). An equally specific correspondence is that between the 'recessive' pair of original birds' heads at the top of most *kesi* and at the top of the corresponding *spinki*: in both traditions these heads have in fact completely vanished—presumably being displaced, or replaced, by the wing-heads which evidently came to be regarded as the true heads of the bird.

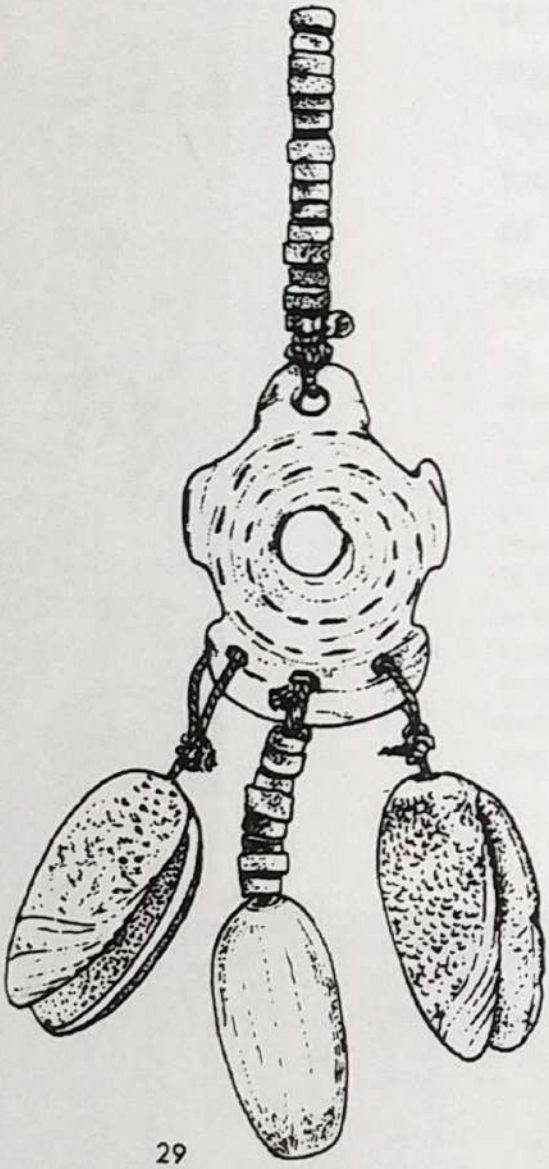
But this was not the end of the matter. Having completed four summers of collecting activity in China (1935 to 1938) I was enabled (by the generously flexible provisions of a Guggenheim fellowship) to include in the itinerary of my return to the United States in 1938

a visit to the Solomon Islands and there to call upon the Reverend Voyce in his mission station on southern Bougainville—which had by then become a focus of particular attention of my cultural map of the world (it became, a few years later, the southernmost outpost of the Japanese invaders and the precise location of their main air-base in the Solomons). It was here (on September 23, 1938) that I became aware of the final and most amazing of all correspondences between the shell *kesi* of southern Bougainville and the brass *spinki* of the western Carpathians (not to mention correspondences with our embroidered design from western China and the carpet-motif of Figure 4). For here I now saw for the first time a *kesi* with several holes perforated in the 'tail' at its bottom. At my request and in my presence Mr. Voyce questioned several native informants about the purpose of these holes and in each instance was told that they had served for the attachment of *dingding*, meaning tinklers made of oliva shells which had been suspended from these holes by means of strands of shell beads. *Kesi* with *dingding* in place were at that time already a rarity on Bougainville and shortly thereafter the ravages of war destroyed what little was still left of native material culture.

Though I have seen many *kesi* in my subsequent study of ethnographical material from the Solomon Islands in museum collections,[9] I have never come across one with *dingding* actually attached to it. However, Dr. Douglas Oliver of Harvard University, who was engaged in ethnographical research on southern Bougainville at the time of my visit, assured me that he had seen *kesi* with

9. Though many museum collections include a few examples of *kesi* from Bougainville, it may be useful to mention here the larger collections of such objects which have come to my attention. These are, first, the Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand (collection largely, but not entirely, made by the Rev. A. H. Voyce in the 1930's); the British Museum in London (including many specimens likewise collected by the Rev. Voyce, for the former Cranmore Ethnographic Museum in Chislehurst, Kent, from which they were transferred to the British Museum after the Second World War); Leiden, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Carl Ribbe Collection, purchased in 1897); Bremen, Übersee-Museum (Dr. Ludwig Cohn collection of 1908-1909); Paris, Musée de l'Homme (Collection of Father Patrick O'Reilly, made in the 1930's). Since Bougainville was a German possession until 1914, there may be extensive collections in German museums (Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden) about which I am not informed.

dingding attached and he had even photographed some native children who happened to be wearing such ornaments. Then finally, in 1954, Mr. Voyce somehow succeeded in obtaining for me an actual *kesi* with the original *dingding* of oliva shells still attached to it. The *kesi* itself is not one of the more obviously ornithormorphic types but it will serve to illustrate our thesis. This specimen is reproduced in Figure 29, with a silhouette of the Carpathian brooch of Figure 3 reproduced by its side for comparison as Figure 30.



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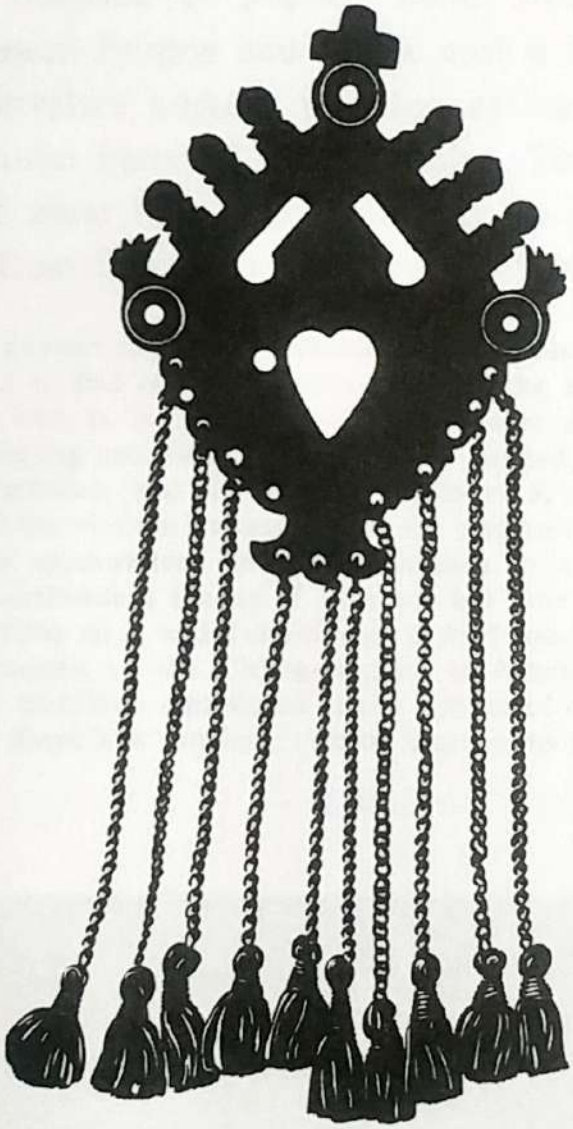

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FIGURE 29. Kesi *(amulet) of conus shell with attached clappers (*dingding*) of oliva shells, from Siwai or Buin sub-districts, southern Bougainville, Solomon Islands. Obtained for the writer in 1954 by the Rev. A.H. Voyce of Kihili, Buin.*

FIGURE 30. Silhouette of the Carpathian brooch, Figure 3.

Though it is true that the tassels hanging from this Carpathian brooch are not tinklers, still the chains attached to many such brooches did in fact end not in tassels but, as I have already indicated, in little leaden pellets which would have tinkled as the wearer moved and even the Chinese 'tassels' of our Figure 1 end in small expansions which might in the originals have served the same purpose. Making allowance for the considerable range of variation within the ornithomorphic shell ornaments from the Solomons, we can hardly hesitate to regard the attachment of such tinklers to them as conclusive evidence that the *kesi* are indeed somehow related to the *spinki*.

What are we to make of these correspondences? In my opinion, the Carpathian brooches and the Bougainville *kesi* can only be understood as survivals, each in a highly conservative popular tradition, of a form derived from a common prototype—from which, needless to say, the Chinese and Iranian designs are also descended. The exact locus of this prototype in time and place cannot at present be determined with certainty but it seems likely to have been in existence already before Scythian times, thus well before the fifth century B.C. and probably somewhere in the heart-land of Eurasia. To the west this motif then somehow became lodged in a conservative tradition of popular metal work in a mountainous region of Eastern Europe and to the east it found its way into an equally conservative popular tradition of embroidery in the land-locked Szechwan basin of western China. This eastward migration of the motif must have taken place at an early date, for it was presumably from Szechwan (via Yünnan)[10] that the motif reached

10. Because Yünnan lies in the presumed path of this ancient cultural movement, one might expect to find our bird-headed motif in the traditional embroideries of that region, as well as in Szechwan. This, however does not seem to be true. Though my collecting activities in Yünnan were limited to a line between Sui-fu (in southern Szechwan) and the Yünnan capital of K'un-ming 昆明 in 1932, even this sampling left me with the impression that the tradition of cross-stitch embroidery is feeble in this southwestern area, being limited to a few relatively prosperous towns in the northeastern tongue of Yünnan; but even in the two main towns of that area, Chao-t'ung 昭通 and Tung-ch'uan 東川, I found few of the dense medallions so characteristic of the Ch'eng-tu plain in Szechwan and in any event no examples of the medallion reproduced at the bottom of our Plate I. I later found the situation in Kweichow province, east of Yünnan, to be similar.

the coast of Indo-China in time for its most characteristic feature, the wing-head, to become a tribal emblem on the drums of the Dong-son Culture. The fact that the complete bird-motif, with its central perforation, its wing-heads, and the tinklers attached to its tail, turns up again in a modern popular tradition of the Solomon Islands is of prime importance for this reconstruction because, taken in conjunction with other evidence for the penetration of 'Dong-son' influence in the Western Pacific (see note 7) this circumstance indicates (to my mind) that a 'complete' amulet of the type in question must have played a rôle in the artistic traditions of Southeast Asia at least by the time of the apogee of the Dong-son Culture and in all probability already before the beginning of the Christian era.

This conclusion finds support in, and perhaps conversely lends support to, two theories of cultural migration first advanced by Heine-Geldern which together provide a framework for the understanding of these otherwise baffling phenomena.[11] According to the first of these theories, a certain artistic style (comprising elements which are in themselves not of direct interest to us here: notably the motif of rows of circles connected by parallel diagonal tangents, the Greek meander, the plaited band, the S-shaped double spiral, and the running spiral) which flourished among peoples dwelling between the Danube and the Caspian under Thraco-Cimmerian domination from about 1000 to 700 B.C. was replaced by an entirely different tradition, that of the so-called 'animal style' carried by Scythian hordes who invaded this area in the eighth century B.C. The traditional art style of the antecedent period was then evidently carried eastward by some elements of the fleeing Thraco-Cimmerian population across Central Asia, as far as western China, where motifs characteristic of the Thraco-Cimmerian artistic style penetrated two distinct styles of eastern Asia: that of the Late Chou period of China (the so-called Huai style or style of the 'Warring States') and that of the Dong-son Culture. From a

11. Heine-Geldern, 1951 (for the movement from eastern Europe across Central Asia to southeastern Asia) and Heine-Geldern, 1937 (for the subsequent Oceanic diffusion).

comparison of the different ways in which these Western (Hallstatt and Caucasian) elements are treated in these two Far Eastern styles, Heine-Geldern concludes that the art of the Dong-son Culture must be at least as early in its inception as that of the Late Chou or Huai style and that its beginning may thus be placed at the latest in the sixth but more probably in the seventh or eighth century B.C. The highly developed bronze art of Tonkin in the 1st century A.D. of which we have archaeological evidence, must have required a long period for its development during which these Western elements were welded with presumably local and native representational themes to form the characteristic repertory of the Dong-son drums.

An interesting aspect of this theory is that it provides for the passage of these early Occidental influences to Tonkin *via* western Szechwan and Yünnan Provinces—precisely the area in which the modern popular tradition of our embroideries survives. Heine-Geldern argues thus: 'Because of (1) the fact that the Occidental motifs of the period in question were not materially altered in Indo-China, while they were strongly modified, or, in the case of the Greek meander, were not even accepted in China, and (2) the fact that the purely Chinese elements and principles of the Late Chou or Huai style are completely lacking in the art of Dong-son, we may conclude that the impulses from the West to which the Dong-son civilization owes its origin did not pass through China, or, more correctly, through the domain of Chinese civilization of that period, but that after traversing Central Asia these influences must have found their way through western Szechwan and Yünnan.' (Heine-Geldern, 1937: 192ff).

We may well ask whether, in the light of these considerations, it is merely an accident that our bird-motif with all its distinctive features occurs in conservative popular traditions on the northern periphery of the Danube basin,[12] in Iran (thus in the general area of

12. That is to say in the brooches (and buckles) of the Carpathians on the north of the Danube basin and in the form of the most distinctive feature of such a bird motif, its wing-heads, in the *chelenkas* of Montenegro to the south of the Danube. (See note 6 above and Schuster, 1955a).

the Caucasus), and in the Ch'eng-tu plain of Szechwan Province in western China. For these places lie, at least approximately, along the route of Heine-Geldern's 'Pontic Migration' and it seems to me by no means improbable that our bird-motif participated in that migration. Heine-Geldern's second theory (1937) in which a number of the same Occidental elements which reached Indo-China in pre-Christian times subsequently found their way into the Western Pacific with a wave or waves of Dong-son influence, would similarly provide an explanation for the penetration of this same bird-motif into the Solomon Islands and would, in my opinion, necessitate the assumption that it had also existed, along with archaeologically identifiable elements of the Western or Thraco-Cimmerian art style, somewhere within the sphere of the Dong-son Culture—even though this bird-motif cannot be, or has not been, attested there archaeologically but is represented only by its most distinctive feature, the wing-head. [13]

13. Because of the importance of the 'wing-head' i.e. the motif of a bird's wing with an eye or ocellation marking its point of attachment to the bird's body as a telltale of the tradition here under consideration, something should perhaps be said about the possible relation of these marks to another class of 'joint-marks' which I investigated in an essay bearing this term as its title in 1951. The 'joint-marks' there considered were likewise oculiform (or even prosopomorphic, i.e. having the form of a complete human face) and they were all applied to the joints of *human figures*. The geographical distribution of such joint-marks was shown to be wide and their antiquity considerable. Could there be a relation between such joint-marks applied to the human figure and those on the wings of a bird?

It seems to me very unlikely that these two classes of phenomena are *not* related. Even though it may remain impossible to demonstrate such a relationship with certainty, I would postulate it in the sense that first the joints of the human figure were, so to speak, animated by such markings in order to indicate that they were the seats of ancestral spirits: in other words the eyes (or faces) at the joints were genealogical markers and, as such, eventually became emblems of tribal identity (Schuster, 1958). Insofar as kinship groups have been, in many cultures, associated with and symbolized by animals, it would then not be surprising if such genealogical markers, were, at least sometimes, transferred from the human body to the animals symbolizing social groups. It is in this sense that I would understand the joint-marked animals of the Scytho-Sarmatian 'animal style'—though we must assume that once the transfer had taken place, the original significance of the markings was easily forgotten and they persisted in that style as mere ornament.

Now, although we are perhaps most familiar with ocellations as they occur on the flanks of quadrupeds in the Scytho-Siberian 'animal style' the question arises whether such markings might not equally well have been transferred, by the mechanism just suggested, to the image of a bird. I do think that this is what happened and, as already suggested elsewhere in the text, I think that it happened at least as soon as the transfer of such markings to quadrupeds and probably even sooner, i.e. before the rise of the 'animal style'—if we date this around the middle of the first millennium B.C.

Having embarked upon the consideration of certain shell amulets of the Solomon Islands which have their closest counterparts in brass brooches of the Carpathians (and which have relations also in Western Asiatic knotted carpets and west Chinese cotton embroideries) I think it advisable to introduce here a second group of shell ornaments from the Solomons, obviously related to the first, and also having counterparts in Carpathian metal work and in carpet design. Even though I cannot point to analogies for these objects in China or Indo-China, these forms should, I think, be placed on record here because of the possibility that such analogies might eventually come to light.

On the island of New Georgia in the Central Solomons, some 150 nautical miles to the southeast of southern Bougainville where the *kesi* of Figures 17–25 were made, the natives around Marovo Lagoon used to make another type of shell ornament, locally called

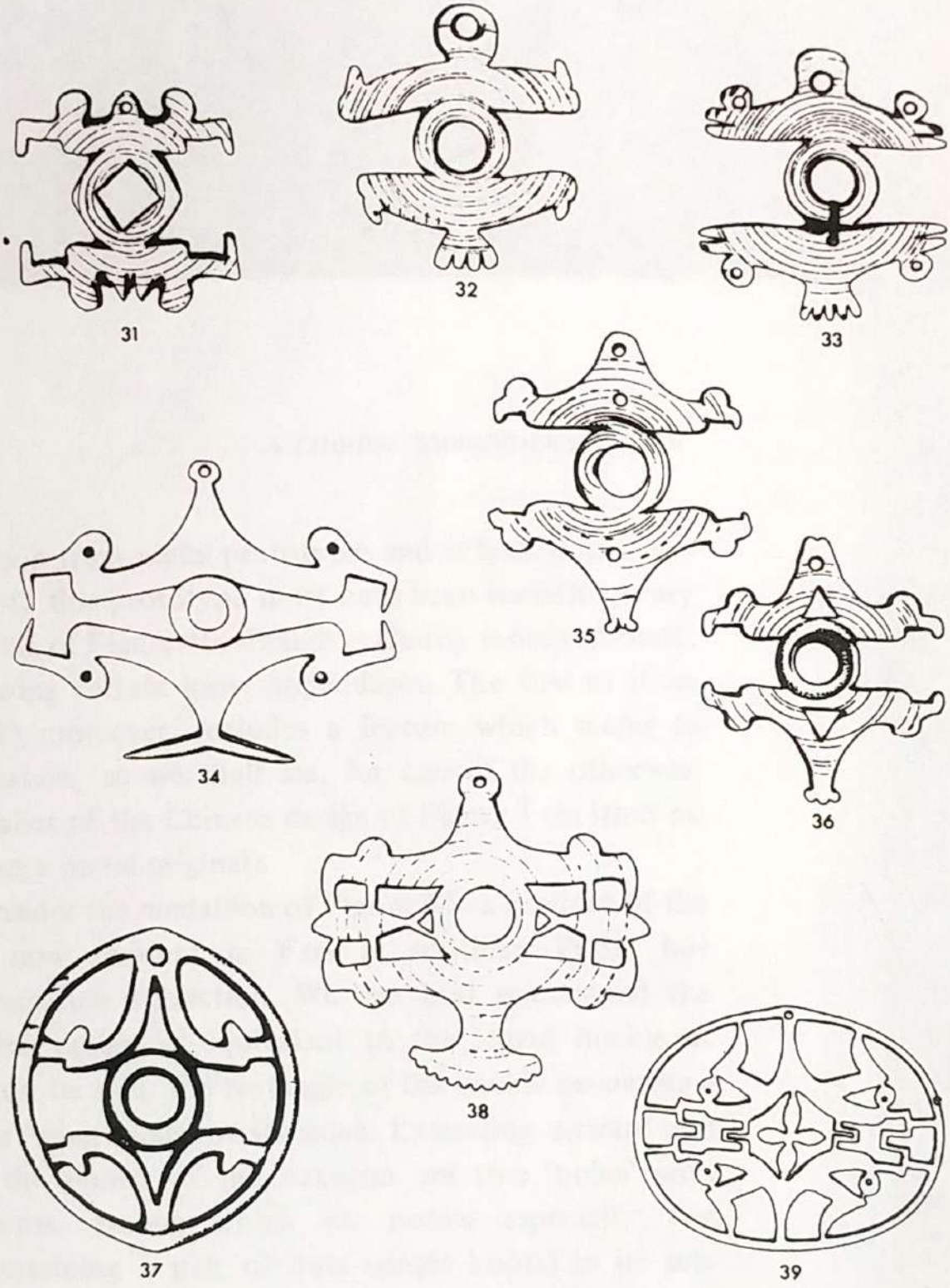
The reasons for this conclusion are various. In the first place, in point of style, it must be observed that there is a certain disharmony between the naturalistic quadrupeds of the 'animal style' and the highly schematic ocellations of their flanks (Figure 6). To me this means that they do not really belong together. The sophisticated artists who rendered the animals with consummate naturalism must have borrowed the ocellations from an entirely different tradition. What this tradition was may be inferred from the evidence adduced in our text. For it should be observed that in contrast to the Scytho-Sarmatian animals, all our modern bird-motifs are consistently 'primitive' and, moreover, they are structural units, in the sense that the ocellation at the base of the bird's wing is inseparably integrated into the image in a way which we never observe in the 'Scythian' quadrupeds. For in our bird-motifs the joint-mark, far from being a mere decoration, has a dual function, serving to convert the wing into a beak of which it is the eye. Of course, the effectiveness of this play upon forms (a kind of visual pun or conceptual acrostic which is typical of 'primitive' art everywhere) is not in itself proof of antiquity but it does show that we are dealing with something original rather than merely derivative.

One more point deserves to be mentioned in this connection. In all the far-flung representatives of our bird-motif, the central hole in the body is obviously of equal importance with the ocellations at the bases of the wings, which are, or seem to have been originally, likewise *perforated*. As already suggested (see note 5) I would regard this central perforation as a symbol of the sun or sky and the bird accordingly as a 'sun-bird'. This 'sun-bird' with ocellated wings may thus be regarded as representing the coalescence of two very important symbolisms: that of tribal identity (implicit in the joint-marks) and that of the sun which, like the bird of prey itself, is an obvious symbol of supremacy. Short of actual writing, such a device clearly conveys its own meanings: the supremacy of the tribal group. What group this was we can only guess but the circumstances of the modern distribution of the type leads me to infer, that it was a pre-Scythian group most probably identical with Heine-Geldern's 'Thraco-Cimmerians' who were, at least in part, dispersed by the Scythian invaders–whose tribal emblems were evidently beasts rather than birds of prey.

hinuili—of which nine typical examples are illustrated in Figures 31–39. The relation of these *hinuili* to the *kesi* of southern Bougainville can be understood by imagining a cut made horizontally across the middle of the central hole of the *kesi*, the lower half being discarded and the upper half with its wing-heads being duplicated on the opposite side of the cut as its mirror image. The result is a bilaterally symmetrical arrangement of four birds' heads (in reality 'wing-heads') surrounding a central ring. A 'tail', more or less like the 'tails' of many *kesi*, is sometimes added at the bottom of the *hinuili*—though it is hard to imagine this fantastic 'bird' making up its mind to fly in any one direction.

A few pages following these *hinuili* from the Central Solomons are reproduced in silhouette several Western analogies. There is, first, a brass belt-buckle (Figure 40) of a type made by the Huzuls, a community of Carpathian mountaineers dwelling some 200 miles to the east of the Górals who produced the *spinki* of Figures 2, 3, and 5. Just as we take the *hinuili* for a bilaterally symmetrical *kesi*, so this belt-buckle of the Huzuls may be understood as the upper half of a Góral *spinka* duplicated below the central opening—which is here greatly expanded to form a rectangular frame large enough to accommodate the broad Huzul leather belt. In terms of this interpretation, the four birds' heads are here, in fact, thus wing-heads and the original double heads of the bird, typically recessive, appear as two trefoils at the top and bottom of the buckle. The arcs engraved on the solid metal above and below the rectangular frame of the bucket must, I think, be regarded as reminiscent of the central round perforation of the *spinka* which, no longer functional, has here been simply filled in. Derivation of the Huzul buckles from the Góral *spinki* in the Carpathians thus appears to parallel precisely the derivation of the New Georgia *hinuili* from the Bougainville *kesi* in the Solomons.

But the same process of reduplication can be observed in the knotted carpets of Western Asia. In Figures 41, 42, and 43 we see 'silhouettes' of three carpet designs which, though they were knotted in Iran, are evidently of Caucasian origin. All three designs show

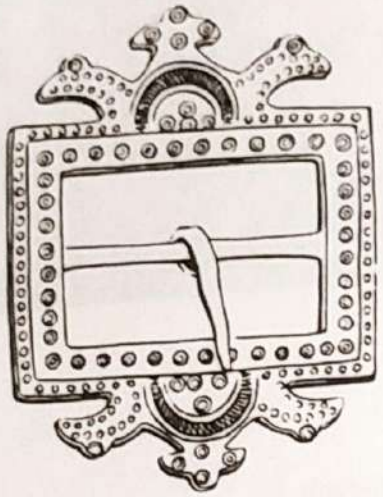


FIGURES 31-39. Hinuili *(amulets) of shell from Marovo Lagoon, New Georgia, Solomon Islands. After the originals, as follows: 31: conus. London, British Museum, 5982, H.O. Forbes, 28.XI, 92; 32: conus. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde, VI. 13883; 33: conus. London, British Museum, 16.2.72, C.F. Wood; 34: golden-lipped pearl shell. Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vb 7708; 35, 36: conus. Collection of Mr. Alan Campbell, Berande Planation, Guadalcanal, B.S.I. (1938). 37: tridacna. Collection of the Rev. Tom Dent, Brisbane, Australia (1938); 38: conus. Dunedin, N.Z., Otago Museum, D. 38.860; 39: pearl shell. Sydney, Australian Museum, E 32785.*

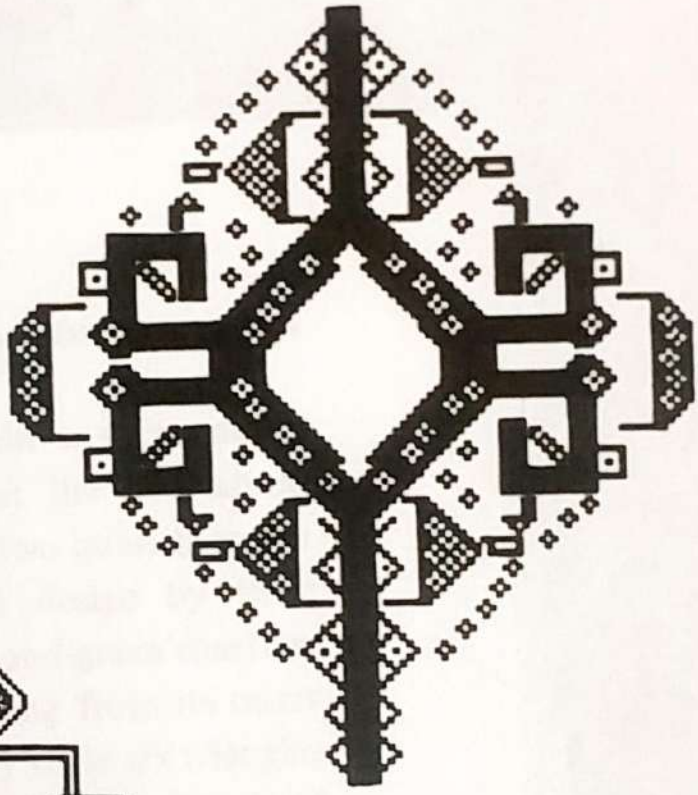
evidence of derivation from metal prototypes and at least in the case of Figures 41 and 42 this prototype must have been something very like the Huzul buckle of Figure 40, though evidently more elaborate, in the sense of having certain loose appendages. The first of these designs (Figure 41), moreover, includes a feature which seems to provide an explanation, as we shall see, for one of the otherwise inexplicable anomalies of the Chinese design of Figure 1 (in itself no doubt also reflecting a metal original).

Let us first consider the medallion of Figure 41—a product of the Qashqai nomads now resident in Fars in southern Persia but presumably of Caucasian extraction. We can best understand the black frame of this design as equivalent to the Huzul buckle of Figure 40 turned on its side, the rectangle of the buckle becoming a hexagon, with the 'wing-heads' at its sides. Extending upward and downward from the points of the hexagon are two 'poles' with certain attachments, among which we notice especially two lozenges, each containing a pair of dots (single knots) in its subdivisions. In the original, these dots are red on a yellow ground, as are also the 'eyes' in the four 'wing-heads' at the sides of the framework. It thus seems very probable that the lozenges at the top and bottom of the 'pole' represent the eyes of the original and recessive double heads of the birds, corresponding in principle to the 'trefoils' at the top and bottom of the Huzul buckle. Since the general background of the medallion is red, it may also be concluded, I think quite plausibly, that the red dots represents so many *perforations* in the metal original which inspired this design. On the other hand, the 'rosettes' on the hexagonal part of the frame, though in our drawing apparently identical with the rosettes forming the wing-eyes, are for the most part red and white and thus presumably do not represent perforations but have their counterpart rather in the engraved roundels occurring on the frame of the Huzul buckle (Figure 40)—which evidently correspond in turn to the 'rosettes' engraved on Góral brooches of the type of our Figure 3.

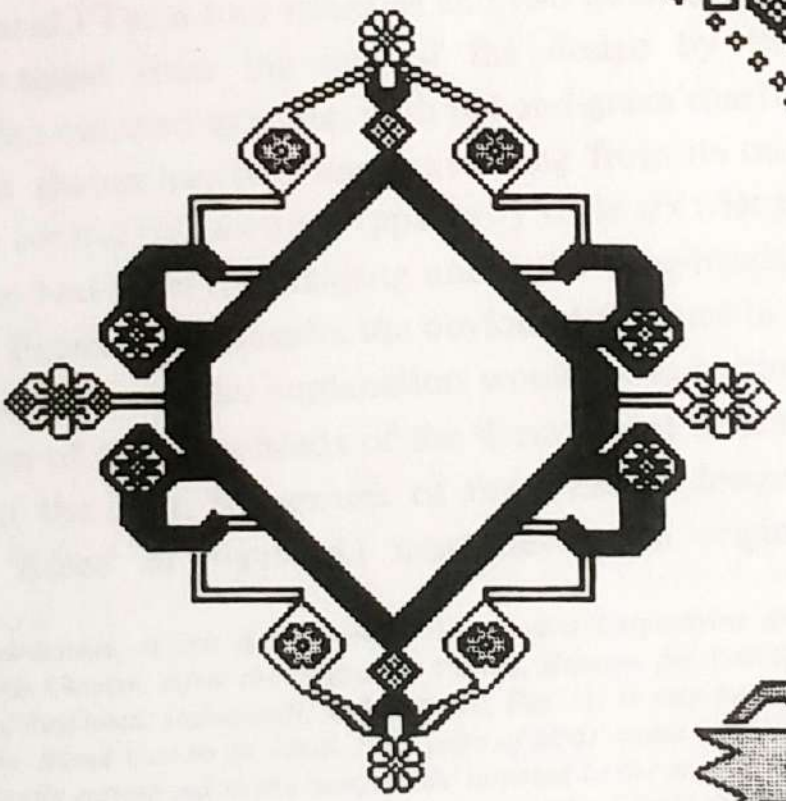
In the 'silhouette' of Figure 41 we next notice six shapes, four of them triangular and the other two apparently truncated triangles. (It



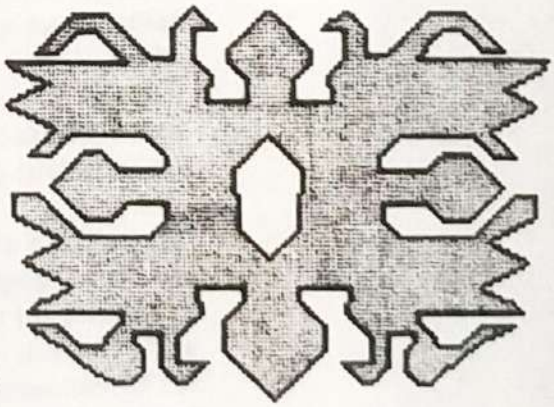
40



41



42



43

was evidently in order to make them fit within a surrounding hexagonal frame, not shown in our drawing that the two lateral triangles were truncated.) These four triangles and two quasi-triangles are clearly differentiated from the rest of the design by their colouring, all six being outlined in white, with red-and-green rosettes. Each of these black shapes has two lines extending from its outer corners towards the central framework. Apparently these six triangles are multiples of the two *mahi*-fish hanging under the wing-heads of the 'Herati' bird of Figure 4; for despite the obvious difference in the shapes of these elements, such an explanation would be in harmony with the duplication of the wing-heads of the 'Herati' bird which we have recognized in the main framework of the Qashqai design. It appears that the 'fishes' of Figure 41 must have been originally

FIGURE 40. Brass belt-buckle of the Huzuls, from the wooded Carpathians dividing Ruthenia from the Polish Ukraine. After the original in Vienna, Museum für Volkskunde, 27,564. Height, 8.6 cm. Published: Haberlandt, 1914: Pl. xii, Fig. 11. It may be said that there are variants of the Huzul buckles in which extra pairs of birds' heads appear at the four corners: these evidently correspond to the 'wing-heads' opposed to the central 'original' heads of the spinki. *And it may be noted, moreover, that some of the Góral buckles, which in general resemble those of the Huzuls, also retain the simulated metal balls* (bulki) *of the* spinki *(see note 2, third paragraph, and compare note 14).*

FIGURE 41. Central motif in a medallion of a so-called 'Mecca Shiraz' carpet, attributed to the Qashqai nomads of Fars in southern Persia, 19th century. After the original in private possession in Vienna (1934). In the interest of clarity, the enclosing frame of the medallion, as well as a floral 'rosette' in its very centre, are omitted from this drawing. Actually there are two completely identical medallions in this carpet connected by a continuation of the 'pole' which is cut off at the bottom of Figure 41. For the original colours of the design, see the text.

FIGURE 42. Central motif in a medallion in a so-called 'Mecca Shiraz' carpet, attributed to the Qashqai nomads of Fars in southern Persia, 19th century. After the original in dealer's stock in Vienna (1934). As in Figure 41, a kind of rosette, apparently irrelevant to the design, has been omitted from the centre of this drawing. However, unlike the design of Figure 41, this design is complete in itself.

FIGURE 43. One of five motifs arranged in vertical succession in the central field of a 'nomad' carpet of uncertain provenience (perhaps Caucasian) in the possession of Mr. Charles K. Wilkinson, Sharon, Connecticut. Of the four other motifs in the field of this carpet, two are closely similar to that here illustrated, while the other two are quite different, though also ornithomorphic. (Cf. note 17, second paragraph). The two types alternate in the vertical succession. The field of the carpet (which 'shows through' the central 'perforation' of the illustrated motif) is pale red. The mass of our motif is dark red, outlined in white, except for the central aperture which is outlined in pale blue. As in the two preceding carpet designs, I have omitted from this drawing a nondescript filling ornament which occupied the central aperture. Actual height of the motif, 23.8 cm.

attached to the ornithomorphic frame by means of *metal chains*, a reminiscence of which may be seen in the lines of rosettes (variously coloured) extending to the apices of the four complete triangles from the rudimentary 'original' birds' heads at the top and bottom of the 'pole' and also, it seems, from the outer angles of the wing-beaks. The small rectangles surmounting the four triangular fish could then represent metal loops by which they were attached to the chains, while the four small 'boxes' on the vertical parts of the wing-beaks might be construed as similar loops for the attachment of the two 'truncated' fish—serving at the same time to represent the hump or cere at the base of the beak of the bird of prey.

Of special interest to us in this same carpet design of Figure 41 are four inconspicuous hooked elements extending vertically from the horizontal parts of the four beaks. These 'hooks' all face inward toward the central framework. In terms of the design-language of 'nomad' carpets generally, there can be little doubt that these hooks, each with a one-knot 'eye' of contrasting colour represent, in fact, *birds' heads* which have here been superimposed upon the wing-beaks. At least tentatively, I would see in them a correspondence with the inward-facing birds' heads at the tips of the wing-heads in the Chinese embroidered design of Figure 1. If this interpretation is correct, it would mean that the metal original reflected by this Qashqai design had some features in common with the metal original underlying the Chinese design and that this metal prototype was in some respects different from the types of the Carpathian brooches which survive to us.

Our second Qashqai design (Figure 42) may be understood as a variant of Figure 41. Here again, attached to an expanded hexagonal framework (this time without superficial ornamentation) we see four wing-heads, easily recognizable by their hooked beaks and greatly expanded eyes. And here again in the original there is a precise colour-correspondence between the rosettes forming the eyes of these heads and the filling of the little lozenges at the top and

bottom of the hexagonal framework which, as before, presumably represent the rudimentary 'original' heads of the bird. The 'fishes' here appear to be four rather than six in number and they are evidently suspended, in asymmetrical pairs, by some kind of flexible attachment (probably again chains) from two crescentric elements above and below the little lozenges representing the rudimentary 'original' birds' heads at the top and bottom of the framework. But these 'fish' seem to have been stabilized by what I take for metal angle-bars extending to them from the tips of the wing-beaks—and these beaks are themselves also stabilized by similar, but straight, bars extending to them from the central frame. For the two 'poles' with expanded ends projecting to the right and left of the central framework, I have no sure explanation. Though the colouring of the expanded ends of these poles suggests that they are equivalent to the four 'fishes' at the top and bottom of the design and though this identification would agree with that of the two 'stabilized' fishes in corresponding position in the Qashqai design of Figure 41, still the shape of the expansion at the end of each 'pole' seems to preclude such an identification and I am tempted to see in these expansions a correspondence rather with the 'bubbles' of metal attached (originally, it would seem, through pins) to the periphery of metal brooches like those of our Figures 2 and 3.[14] Apparently these

14. On the possible history and meaning of these metal 'bubbles' see the third paragraph in note 2 above. It may be added that though such 'bubbles' do not occur, so far as I know, on the buckles of the Huzuls as represented in our Figure 40, they do occur on the more or less similar buckles made by the Górals (Antoniewicz, 1928: Figs. 81-3) thus confirming our impression that such buckles represent two upper halves of a Góral *spinka* opposed on a horizontal axis. This circumstance might be cited in support of the interpretation of the lateral extensions in the carpet design of Figure 42 here proposed—even though these elements do not correspond in their relative positions in the metal objects.

It may also be mentioned that groups of elements evidently corresponding to the 'bubbles' of the typical Góral brooches are represented on the outstretched wings of unmistakable bird-motifs in some knotted carpets, notably in the carpet of which a detail is reproduced in our Figure 43 (though not in Figure 43 itself, where the 'bubbles' are placed at the side of the reduplicated motif and not on the wings of a single bird).

Of course, the identification of certain elements in the carpet designs as 'bubbles' can only be established on the basis of a comparison of these designs *in their totality* with corresponding forms of metal work—in this instance with the Carpathian brooches and

'bubbles' do not have their correspondence in either the Chinese embroidered design or the shell ornaments of the Solomons. However, there does seem to be a correspondence between the multiple 'fishes' surrounding the reduplicated bird-motifs in both of these Qashqai medallions and the four naturalistic fishes swimming around the bird-motif on the periphery of the Chinese medallion of our Plate I. But despite the evident conceptual relation between the central bird and the peripheral fishes in all these designs, the relative naturalism of the fishes in the Chinese composition contrasts strangely with the extreme conventionalization of the bird-motif which they surround. Besides this discrepancy of style, another difficulty which confronts us in attempting to align the Chinese medallion with the Qashqai medallions is the circumstance that we have already, at least tentatively, equated the three 'tabs' suspended under the Chinese bird-motif with the single 'pipe-cleaner' of the Carpathian brooch (Figure 2) and this in turn with the two *mahi*-fishes of the 'Herati bird' (Figure 4). Though it might be possible to reconcile these anomalies eventually, it may be best to admit that we are probing in the dark, for there are too many missing links in the chains of evidence to permit an exact reconstruction of what took place during the transmission of these designs from one culture to another. Thus the equations here proposed are cogent only up to a certain point beyond which many questions remain to be answered. Some of these may be answered in the light of further evidence, others will perhaps never be answered, because the prototypes which hold the clues to them have vanished.

buckles. (Certain other correspondences between the carpet designs and metal work of the Migration Period, though confirmatory, cannot be entered upon here.) It should be added that though the 'bubbles' form an integral part of the Góral brooches and buckles, their globular appearance is only simulated in a shallow *repoussé*, while each is provided with a more or less clearly projecting point: I take this point for the reminiscence of a *pin* which originally served to attach the ball to the brooch or buckle. It is such pins, ending in bulbous expansions, which I would see represented at the sides of the carpet-motifs of Figures 42 and 43. The explanation of metal balls or 'bubbles' impaled on pins in terms of lunar symbolism is then provided, as I have already suggested, by the design of a certain 6th century Sasanian silk fabric. (see Schuster, 1936b: Fig. 283, reproducing Falke, 1913: Fig. 41; and see also note 2 of the present article.)

As for the basic correspondence between the Qashqai designs and the *hinuili* of New Georgia, this is perhaps self-evident. Yet it may be worth noting that the fishes which play such an important rôle in the carpet designs are also represented in at least one of our *hinuili*, that of Figure 38, as prey of the birds to whose heads they are attached not only through the birds' beaks but also by stabilizing bars left between cut-out areas of the shell in order to strengthen the delicate fretwork. Similar bars ingeniously incorporated in the design of the still more delicate *hinuili* of Figure 39 may, I think, be likened to the system of 'stabilizing' bars just observed in the carpet design of Figure 42 and this analogy might then be understood in the sense that the shell fretwork, like the carpet design, is based ultimately upon a metal original.

Support for these analogies is provided by another version of the reduplicated bird-image in the knotted carpets: that represented in Figure 43. Here the central opening is smaller, the 'body' more massive than in the two preceding designs. The 'poles' with bulbous ends extending to the left and right of the 'body' obviously correspond to the similarly situated elements of Figure 42 while the 'bulbs' at the top and bottom of this design presumably represent the original heads of the bird. But here the treatment of the wings is different than in Figures 41 and 42. On the one hand the joint-eyes which we would expect to find at the bases of the wings are here lacking and it seems that, as if to compensate for this omission, the birds' heads superimposed upon these wings (as we observed them in Figure 41 and as we have recognized them in our Chinese design, Figure 1) have been provided with avian bodies in side view, each complete with wing and tail. Though this design is rather different in effect from the two Qashqai medallions, it is, I think, nevertheless fundamentally related to them and it shows, in any event, an interesting resemblance to certain types of the *hinuili*, notably that of Figure 39—even though I would regard the four 'birds' of this *hinuili* as elaborations of *kesi*-like wing-heads rather than of heads superimposed upon the wings, as seems to be the case in the carpet design.

In view of all the Western analogies for the shell ornaments of the Solomon Islands which we have noted, it is, I think, hardly possible to suppose that these forms developed independently in the Solomon Islands. We can only conclude that a whole complex of peculiarly conventionalized bird-motifs reached the Solomons from the West and it seems to me very likely that the funnel through which the tradition carrying these motifs poured into the Pacific was Southeast Asia—more specifically the area dominated by the Dong-son Culture at the time around, or somewhat before, the beginning of the Christian era.

Though admittedly many problems are here left unsolved or merely indicated, and though each new bit of evidence not only helps to clarify the general picture but also raises new problems, I believe it may be useful to contemplate another Solomon Island design, of a somewhat more naturalistic type than those considered so far. The carved decoration of a wooden canoe paddle from the Central Solomons (Figure 44) shows a column of three frigate birds rising in flight. Upon the outstretched wings of the lowest bird are superimposed two birds' heads; upon the wings of the central bird, two anthropomorphic heads of *tindalo* (ghosts or spirits); and upon the wings of the upper bird, two complete smaller birds represented in side view. To me at least the juxtaposition of these three images in a single composition indicates that they were somehow equivalent in the mind of the designer who wished to emphasize, by means of these unnaturalistic additions upon the wings, the superabundant power of the frigate bird which, in the Solomons generally, symbolizes supremacy—especially supremacy in the head-hunt—and which is, at the same time, a sort of spirit-bird associated with dead ancestors. Even if indirectly, the ideas associated with such representations in the Solomons may help us to understand the conceptual prehistory of the analogous motifs which we have encountered (as empty forms devoid of meaning) in the modern folk-art of so many regions far to the west. It is not necessary to suppose that a specific association with the institution of head-

hunting, as we have it in the Solomons, underlies the entire history of these forms. Yet it is noteworthy that there evidently was such an association at least by the time of the Dong-son Culture in Southeast Asia;[15] and it may be significant that the idea of decapitation was evidently associated with a bird of prey in very much earlier times still farther to the west.[16]

Again at the risk of undue complication, I venture to include here, as Figure 45, another representation of a bird of prey with supernumerary heads upon its wings—this time in the form of a bronze plaque from a mediaeval culture of the Permian region in the Urals. Here the secondary heads are joined to the main head by bars, reminiscent of the bars which I proposed to see in a somewhat similar situation in the carpet designs of Figures 41 and 42 and as they occur in the *hinuili* of Figure 38—in each case apparently intended as a means of stabilizing the wing-heads. Such bronze plaques are generally regarded as having been accessories of shamans' costumes, in the same way as somewhat similar plaques of iron are attached to the costumes of Siberian shamans today. A cruder version of the same Permian design, engraved on a copper mirror (Figure 46) shows the birds' heads transformed into the heads of ghosts or spirits. I find it difficult to believe that there is not at least a basic kinship between these three-headed birds from the Permian highlands and those of the Solomon Islands (Figure 44) not only in their outward form but also in their inner meaning which can only have been that of superabundant spiritual power. Even if the Permian antiquities date from a relatively recent epoch (perhaps the 8th century of our era) it may be safely assumed that the tradition of which they are an expression is very much older. This tradition is, then probably linked in some way with the tradition which here

15. Thus Heine-Geldern has pointed out that certain objects held in the right hands of warriors on the Dong-son drums undoubtedly represent severed heads: one such 'head' is so held by the second warrior from the bow in the boat of our Figure 9. (See Heine-Geldern as cited in Schuster, 1955a: note 4).

16. See, for example, painted representations of birds of prey attacking decapitated human figures in the 'Vulture Shrine' of the VIIth level at Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia of the seventh millennium B.C. (Mellaart, 1964: illustrations *passim*, and text, p. 64).

primarily interests us, that of the more highly conventionalized ornithomorphic amulets, which presumably found their way eastward across Central Asia in pre-Scythian times. The geographical location of Perm makes such a linkage plausible, in so far as the Ural region is at least peripheral to the Eurasian heartland in which we presume our tradition to have its ultimate roots.

It will now perhaps be easier to realize that the supernumerary heads upon the wings of the birds in Figure 44 are, like the treatment of a bird's wings *as* birds' heads in the *kesi* and *hinuili*, almost certainly derived from continental regions far to the west. Presumably, then, the 'naturalistic' motifs of Figure 44 reached the Solomons at the same time and by the same route as the more highly conventionalized amuletic forms of the *kesi* and the *hinuili*. Indeed,

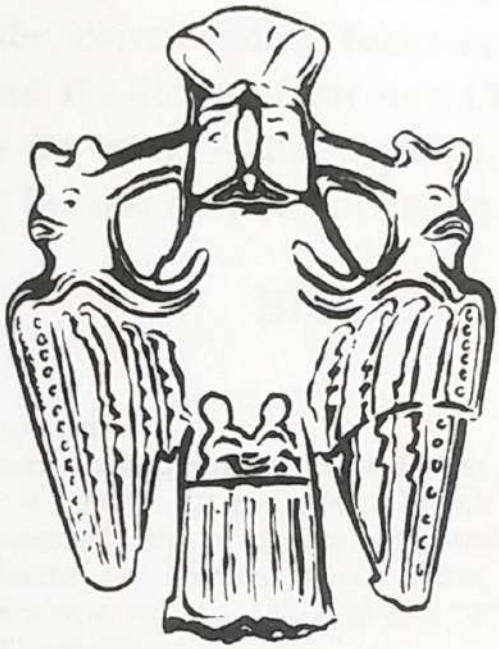
FIGURE 44. Detail of the decoration of a paddle from the Solomon Islands (presumably Central Solomons; possibly New Georgia) after the original in Washington, U.S. National Museum, 2653. From the Wilkes Exploring expedition, about 1830. The design was achieved by blackening the surface of the wood and then scraping away the background from the representation.

FIGURE 45. Bronze plaque found among Permian antiquities from the Urals in a hoard at Ishimka near Achinsk in the Yenissei valley, approximately 8th century A.D. After Ermolaev, 1914: Pl. vi, Fig. 2. Ermolaev (p. 11) describes the object as follows: 'Representation of a bird with three long-eared heads of a predator (tawny or eagle-owl?). The large central head resembles that of a man, and between its ears can be faintly seen the representation of the snout of an animal (or bird?). The lateral heads are smaller and shown in profile. The plumage is represented ornamentally. On the back is a transverse loop (for suspension). Height, 9.4 cm. Width, 7.1 cm. Weight, 82 grams'.

FIGURE 46. Design scratched on a copper mirror found in a hoard at Istietsk near Tobolsk in western Siberia in 1886, Permian Culture, about 8th century A.D. After Heikel, 1894: Pl. xviii, No. 12 (Text, p. 71). It may be added that the tricephalous winged sun-disk of Assyrian cylinder seals (e.g. Ward, 1910: 160, 396, illustration b) though surely related to the forms here under consideration, is hardly likely to have inspired them: rather I would regard the Assyrian motif as having been inspired by a motif of 'folk art' perhaps from the (roughly contemporary) 'Thraco-Cimmerian' tradition mentioned earlier in our text. Such an ancient three-headed bird-motif, which might have looked something like our Figures 45 and 46 (presumably with a 'sun-hole' in the middle of its body) was then adapted to Assyrian requirements by the identification of its three heads with three gods of the Assyrian pantheon (on their identity see Ward, p. 397). State religions are more likely (in my opinion) to be derivative than original and the folk traditions by which their symbolism is inspired not only precede them but generally continue in existence long after the state which arrogated them has passed away—as we see for example in the Permian bronzes.

FIGURE 47. 'Wing-heads' from a Carpathian brooch, a Dong-son drum, and a Bougainville kesi. Compare Figures 3, 9, and 25. The Carpathian 'wing-head' at the left is taken from another brooch than that of Figure 3 but similar to it; and I took the liberty of turning the head so as to align it with the other two motifs.

44



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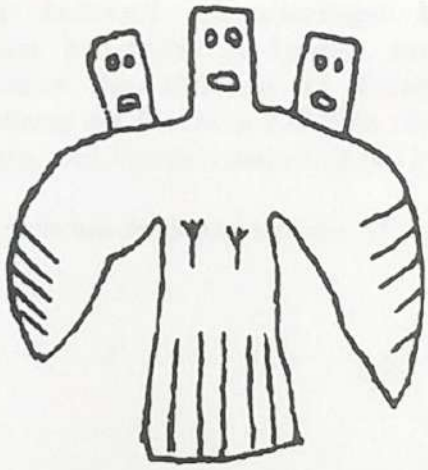

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we might liken the carved birds of the paddle (Figure 44) to the birds on the Dong-son drums (Figures 10-16) in so far as in both manifestations certain conventions are superimposed upon relatively naturalistic representations. These conventions, namely ocellations at the bases of the wings in Dong-son, and extra heads on the wings in the Solomons, are both clearly reminiscent of conventions in the amuletic forms with which we are here chiefly concerned. Indirectly, thus, the composition of Figure 44 encourages, in me at least, the belief that somewhere within the realm of the Dong-son Culture there must have existed actual amulets resembling the *kesi* and *hinuili* of the Solomon Islands—amulets which, by the same token, would have resembled also the Carpathian brooches and buckles, as well as the corresponding forms in the Western Asiatic knotted carpets and the design of our west Chinese embroidery (with birds' heads on its 'wings')—that motif which, having first aroused my curiosity, became the point of departure for this investigation.

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CARL SCHUSTER, 1904-1969

Scholar

It was with great regret that we learned of the passing of our friend and colleague Carl Schuster, July 3rd, 1969. His researches and published papers are well known to us all, in particular his valuable survey on "joint-marks". He and the late Robert Heine-Geldern were friends of long standing.

INTRODUCTION

1. General Considerations

In these volumes there is presented an assembly of 27 papers prepared by more than a score of specialists working in a variety of cultural areas and per medium of several markedly different disciplines – all are concerned with the subject of diffusion in the Pacific Basin and aspects of the thesis that numbers of art forms and artifacts extensively distributed in the area were, in all probability, anciently derived from China. As a starting point attention is focused upon the Chinese scene in the surveys by Chang Kwang-chih and William Watson which deal with the culture of the ancient State of Ch'u whence came the famous Silk Manuscript illustrated in the *Frontispiece*. This important archaeological document discussed in detail by Jean Mailey, Jao Tsung-yi, Hayashi Minao, and the present writer, was a major source of inspiration leading to the establishment of the Symposium. It has, by virtue of its contents and certain of the archaeological artifacts associated with the parent Ch'u culture, been instrumental in bringing to the fore new evidence datable in the closing centuries of the first millennium B.C. of possible Chinese influences upon Pacific cultures.

This is not the first occasion, of course, that the problem has been debated. Nearly two decades ago at the Congress of Americanists held in New York (1949) 'where 'diffusionism' spoke with renewed vigor in a disturbing exhibition entitled *Across the Pacific: Did the Ancient Civilizations of the Far East Contribute to American Indian Civilizations?* prepared for the occasion by the American Museum of Natural History ... an overwhelming mass of Asiatic-Pacific-American parallels"was presented, Miguel Covarrubias, from whose delightfully illustrated book *The Eagle, The Jaguar, & The Serpent* the preceding assessment is cited, had tackled the task apparently single-handed both to review and to illustrate the case as it appeared at that time. In the present volumes, however, we are