

# Masters of the Steppe: the Impact of the Scythians and Later Nomad Societies of Eurasia

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# Finds from the Noin-Ula kurgans at an exhibition in Berlin in 1929 (based on materials from the archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of the History of Material Culture)

Natalia A. Sutiagina,<sup>1</sup> Daria A. Kukina<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

The discovery in 1924/25 of Xiongnu burials in the mountains of Noin-Ula in northern Mongolia caused a revolution in the knowledge of Russian and foreign researchers about the art, diplomacy and politics of ancient China. The exhibition of ancient Chinese art in Berlin was the first time that the Noin-Ula collection had been shown in Europe. For the first time European scholars were able to read the inscriptions on the Chinese cup which determined the dating of the kurgans. Photographs of the artefacts taken during the preparations for the exhibition enable us to reconstruct some of the archaeological complexes. The material in this article provides information about the initial stage of international museum collaboration in the Soviet state.<sup>3</sup>

**Keywords:** Noin-Ula; ancient Chinese art; lacquered cup; foreign exhibition; archaeological complexes

## Introduction

Among the most outstanding archaeological discoveries in the first half of the 20th century were the rich burials of the nobility of the Xiongnu in the mountains of Noin-Ula in northern Mongolia. The burials were excavated by the Mongolia-Tibetan Expedition led by Pyotr Kozlov in 1924–1925. Several thousand artefacts were found in the ancient tombs, including those made by Chinese masters. The materials discovered in northern Mongolia immediately attracted the attention of Russian and foreign archaeologists, orientalists and art historians. Pyotr Kozlov, a brilliant orator and popularist, gave a great deal of information about the excavations in reports to various scientific gatherings and in print.<sup>4</sup> However, contrary to established tradition, he did not write a final account at the end of the expedition. Instead ‘Short Accounts of the Expedition for the Exploration of Northern Mongolia in Connection with the Mongolia-Tibetan Expedition of P.K. Kozlov’ were published: a short summary of the explorations and a few photographs of the most attractive finds.<sup>5</sup> The absence of a full scientific account of the discoveries made, which completely changed scholars’ concepts of the ancient history of central Asia, caused a certain tension in scientific circles. Information about the

kurgans excavated at Noin-Ula appeared in European publications in the form of translations and rehashes of Kozlov’s articles and short analytical articles.<sup>6</sup> Letters with requests to inspect the archaeological materials from Mongolia, requests for photographs of the artefacts and for the publication of the finds arrived from various European countries. However, permissions were granted reluctantly; the matter of the future storage of the artefacts was being decided, it was necessary to fulfil the obligations to the Mongolian side, and a catalogue of the finds was in preparation.

The great scientific importance of the archaeological monuments discovered in the mountains of Noin-Ula and the desire to see materials from the excavations led German specialists from the Society of East Asian Art to submit an official proposal to the USSR government to take part in an exhibition of Ancient Chinese art in Berlin in 1929. There is virtually no mention of this exhibition in Soviet scientific literature,<sup>7</sup> though it was a unique opportunity to show the artefacts from the Noin-Ula kurgans in Europe before they became part of the permanent collection of the State Hermitage Museum. There are documents in the Manuscript Department of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Science (henceforth IHMC RAS) which fully reflect the preparations for the exhibition: correspondence between scientific institutions and government bodies, lists of exhibits with their numbers in the Book of Acquisitions of the State Academy of the History of Material Culture, papers concerning the restoration of artefacts and their transportation to Germany. There are photographs of

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<sup>4</sup> Kozlov 1925: 7–11; 1926: 51–56; 1928: 1–4; Yusupova 2011: 24–41.

<sup>5</sup> *Kratkiye Otchyoty* 1925.

<sup>6</sup> Yetts 1926a; 1926b.

<sup>7</sup> Bernshtam 1951: 33; Sutiagina and Kukina 2017.

objects taken during the mounting of the exhibition in Berlin in the Photographic Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS.<sup>8</sup>

The main purpose of this paper is to bring these archival documents into the academic domain. The inventories and photographs of the artefacts make it possible to imagine the original appearance of the finds and to amend and reconstruct the archaeological complexes that have been partly confused in the course of the subsequent treatment of the collection. Some objects featured in the 1929 photographs are little known as they were not included in the general publications of materials from the Noin-Ula excavations,<sup>9</sup> are not tied to any particular kurgan or have been erroneously attributed. The information we have obtained broadens our knowledge of the history of the study, storage and display of the Noin-Ula collection, the composition of the complexes and the external appearance of the finds. In addition, these materials are interesting for a study of how international exhibitions were organised in the Soviet Union in the 1920s.

### The 1929 Berlin exhibition

A letter of 16th July 1928 informed the People's Commissariat for Education of the RSFSR that an exhibition of Ancient Chinese art was being planned for January to April 1929 in the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin. The organisers requested artefacts from the kurgans in the mountains of Noin-Ula to be included in the display:

'The Society of East Asian Art is planning to organise a large-scale exhibition of Ancient Chinese art in the winter of 1929, approximately from 15/I to 15/IV. Leading collectors from Germany and other European and non-European countries will be taking part. The exhibition is intended to provide a review of new discoveries in Chinese art in the past 25 years. To a known degree it will represent instructive coverage of what has been achieved in this field all over the world in that time.

The exhibition will be organised jointly with the State Academy of Arts in the Academy's exhibition halls in Pariser Platz, not far from the USSR Embassy. The venue is totally safe from fire risk, is guarded around the clock as a state building and provides a reliable fortress for the appropriate display of valuable items. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art and Public Education is providing financial support for the exhibition. Our exhibition would, unfortunately, be

incomplete and suffer from gaps if we were to be unable to give an idea of the exceptional research work in this field in the USSR.

Above all, it is the excavations of Kozlov and his colleagues in Mongolia which interest us in this regard. They have aroused enormous interest throughout the world and have proved a historical and economic link between the West and the Far East of which we previously had no idea. The finds are currently being processed in the Academy of the History of Material Culture in Leningrad. Those that would be most appropriate for our exhibition are purely Chinese objects which reveal hitherto unknown aspects of Chinese material culture.

Above all, we are interested in the report of the exploration of Mongolia arising from Pyotr Kozlov's expedition.

Figures 12, 13, 15<sup>10</sup>

Table 1 below. Tables 2, 3, 6, 7

These items are easily transported and are not liable to breakage. We would cover all the expenses of a Soviet representative nominated by you to accompany these items to Berlin. We would particularly welcome either the Academy's Secretary Mr. Oldenburg, who is our Corresponding Member, or Mr. Borovka, who is a Fellow of our Society.

Apart from that, of course, the artefacts will be fully insured during transportation and at the exhibition. The return transportation could be accompanied by a courier from the Russian Embassy or a member of staff of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We therefore apply to you with a formal request to agree to the provision of the abovementioned items for the exhibition.

Please accept, most respected President, the expression of our profound respect ...'<sup>11</sup>

At that time the materials from Noin-Ula brought from Mongolia by Pyotr Kozlov's expedition were kept in the Repository of Antiquities at the State Academy of the History of Material Culture: they had been accepted for storage there by 1925 and were in the Repository

<sup>8</sup> Photographic Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS O.759.

<sup>9</sup> Trever 1932; Umehara 1960; Lubo-Lesnichenko 1961; Rudenko 1962a.

<sup>10</sup> These numbers of plates and figures are noted according to *Kratkiye Otchyoty* 1925. The German scientists could operate only this information during the preparation of the exhibition so they wrote the numbers of all objects they wanted to exhibit in official letter published here entirely.

<sup>11</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the study of the collections of the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition of 1928/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 76/1928/p. 15 and reverse.

of Antiquities until 1930, when the Repository of Antiquities was liquidated and the artefacts from the Noin-Ula collection were temporarily transferred to the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum.<sup>12</sup> From 1931 the collection and accompanying documentation began to be relocated to the State Hermitage Museum.<sup>13</sup>

Grigory Borovka, who had been sent on the expedition by the Academy of Sciences in 1925, was at that time a member of the Institute's staff and, at the same time, curator of the Hermitage's Section of Hellenic-Scythian Antiquities. A request from the Kremlin (No. 1255) to the Academy dated 9th August 1928 was addressed to him:

'The Department of Scientific Institutions of the USSR Council of People's Commissars encloses a copy of a letter received from the Society of East Asian Art in Berlin on the matter of the organisation of an exhibition of Ancient Chinese art in Berlin in winter 1929 and requests you to communicate your decision in this matter...'.<sup>14</sup>

Shortly afterwards, on 18th August 1928, similar letters were sent to the State Academy of the History of Material Culture and to the Russian Museum. A response to the request was required before 22nd August 1928.<sup>15</sup> The decision of the Academy was prepared and despatched to the Department of Scientific Institutions on 20th August 1928:

'The State Academy of the History of Material Culture notifies that it finds it desirable to comply with the request of the Society of East Asian Art to provide antiquities discovered by Kozlov's expedition to Mongolia for the exhibition of Ancient Chinese art which the Society is organising in Berlin. The Academy will take the necessary measures to ensure the safe passage of the aforesaid materials to Germany. N. Marr, President of the Academy'.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the fact that Pyotr Kozlov's expedition was organised by the Russian Geographical Society,

information about the planned exhibition was received in that institution only at the end of 1928. Members of the Mongolian Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences were officially notified at the same time as the Russian Geographical Society.

'The State Academy of the History of Material Culture has received a request from the Society of East Asian Art to provide antiquities discovered during excavations in Mongolia for the exhibition of Ancient Chinese art which the Society is organizing in Berlin. The Academy, in agreement with the Department of Scientific Institutions of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, recognizes the desirability of acceding to the aforesaid request and asks you not to decline to notify whether there are any obstacles from your standpoint to the despatch of these items to Berlin for the exhibition to be held approximately from 15.I to 15.IV 1929'.<sup>17</sup>

Although it expressed some doubts regarding the unfinished scientific processing of the collection, the Russian Geographical Society nevertheless approved the display of the finds from Noin-Ula at the exhibition in Berlin, 'where they will provide evidence of the results of our extensive scientific work'.<sup>18</sup>

When organisational matters had been agreed among the scientific institutions a positive reply was sent to Germany. At the very beginning of 1929 all the items were ready for despatch to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow and further transportation to Berlin.<sup>19</sup> Grigory Borovka was sent to Germany to accompany the items and to take part in scientific events devoted to the opening of the exhibition.<sup>20</sup>

A hundred of the most interesting and well-preserved artefacts, primarily of Chinese manufacture, were selected for the exhibition. The list of exhibits was drawn up in Russian and German.<sup>21</sup> It indicated the titles and dimensions of the artefacts, from which kurgan they came and their inventory numbers in

<sup>12</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: Commission for the Liquidation of the Repository of Antiquities (Transfer according to deeds)/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 750/1931/pp 19–20, 30 and reverse of p. 20

<sup>13</sup> Archive of the State Hermitage Museum, Direction and Scientific Section: Lists and deeds of transfer to the Hermitage of museum items with noting in the inventory from institutions and private individuals/ Vol. 1/Fonds I/Inventory V/File 1191 (1)/1931/pp. 209–23.

<sup>14</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the Study of the Collection from the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition of 1928/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 76/1928/p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the Study of the Collection from the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition of 1928/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 76/1928/p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the Study of the Collection from the Mongolian-Tibetan Expedition of 1928/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 76/1928/p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the despatch of artefacts from the collection of Pyotr Kozlov's Mongolian-Tibetan expedition for the exhibition in Berlin/Correspondence/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 86/1928–1929/p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the despatch of items from the collection of Pyotr Kozlov's Mongolian-Tibetan expedition for the exhibition in Berlin: Correspondence/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 86/1928–1929/p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the despatch of items from the collection of Pyotr Kozlov's Mongolian-Tibetan expedition for the exhibition in Berlin/Correspondence/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 86/1928–1929/p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Archive of the State Hermitage Museum: Official file of G.I. Borovko/19th September 1917–26th November 1930/Fonds I/Inventory 13/File 103/pp. 87, 88, 95.

<sup>21</sup> Manuscript Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS: On the despatch of items from the collection of Pyotr Kozlov's Mongolian-Tibetan expedition for the exhibition in Berlin/Correspondence/Fonds 2/Inventory 1/File 86/1928–1929/reverse of pp. 4–5, 22–23.



the Repository of Antiquities where they were kept that time. Most of the items, primarily textiles, were restored before their despatch to Germany.

The exhibition of ancient Chinese art was held in the Prussian Academy of Arts. The organisers provided one of the largest rooms in the building for the display of ancient artefacts from Mongolia. Articles, photographs and short annotations were published in a small catalogue entitled 'Ausstellung Chinesischer Kunst'.<sup>22</sup> This event in the cultural life of Germany and Europe was a huge success and received numerous positive reviews. Special attention was devoted to the finds of Pyotr Kozlov's expedition at the exhibition.<sup>23</sup> It was actually from this year that the materials became generally accessible for inspection and study and entered the European and world scientific domain.

The exhibit that particularly attracted the attention of specialists was a Chinese lacquered cup from kurgan 6 ('Upper'), with a hieroglyphic inscription. Earlier, in 1925, Professor Otto Kümmel had read the inscription on the bottom of the cup and was the first to suggest a translation of it – this enabled the cup to be dated to 2 BC.<sup>24</sup> The opportunity to examine the find in Berlin enabled scholars to agree on the dating of the kurgans. Other finds that attracted attention were details of Chinese chariots (spokes of a canopy covered with dark Chinese lacquer and bronze terminals of various types) (Figure 1), silver and bronze harness details, the fragment of a bronze Chinese mirror, lacquered objects ('er bei' cups with handles (Chinese 耳杯), coffin decorations and wooden details), leather ribbons/belts, artistic objects of jade and amber, wooden sculptures, silk 'flags' and a panel with festoons, silk cases for plaits, fragments of the famous felt rug and fragments of a velvet saddle cover. Attention was drawn particularly to the numerous examples, totalling over 70 pieces, of woollen and silk textiles. The display featured items of clothing, details of footwear, woollen embroidery depicting horsemen and individual fragments of embroidery depicting men's faces. The diversity of Chinese silks found in the nomadic burials was reflected in the wide range of polychrome textiles, embroidery and gauze on display.

The photographs of artefacts in the Photographic Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC RAS not only show lists of exhibits but also provide important information regarding the state of preservation of the finds in the late 1920s and the excavated kurgans where they were found. One of the most famous examples of ancient Chinese art is a silk cloth depicting mountains, birds, a tree and mushrooms (MP-1330). There is a view in the literature that this textile was from the



Figure 1. Details from the canopy of a chariot from the Kondratiev kurgan in the Tzurumte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O.759-46)

'Upper' kurgan (kurgan 6).<sup>25</sup> However, the inventory entry on the photograph and the documentation of the collection shows that the fabric came from another burial. It was found during the excavation of kurgan 12/24 led by Sergey Teploukhov, along with other items (Figures 2–5).<sup>26</sup> The error in attribution probably occurred in the process of the transfer of artefacts to the State Hermitage Museum, as the correct kurgan is indicated in the catalogue of the collection compiled by Kamilla Trever and in the research of Sueji Umehara.<sup>27</sup> A photograph was also found of an amber artefact that came from the Ballod kurgan (Figure 6). This tomb was excavated by Alexander Ballod in 1913. All of the finds, including this amber piece, were despatched to the East Siberian Branch of the Russian Geographical Society in Irkutsk according to the inventory attached to the package. Alexander Ballod enclosed a drawing of this item in letters addressed to members of the

<sup>25</sup> Menshikova 2011: 30.

<sup>26</sup> Photographic Department of the Scientific Archive of the IHMC: RAS O.759/Borovka G.I./Exhibition of Chinese Art in Berlin. State Hermitage Archive: Transfer to the Hermitage of museum items from various institutions and private individuals and their recording in the Hermitage Museum's inventory/Fonds I/Inventory V/File 1789 (78)/1934/p. 112.

<sup>27</sup> Trever 1932: 35, pl. 15; Umehara 1960: 73, fig. 51.

<sup>22</sup> *Ausstellung Chinesischer Kunst* 1929.

<sup>23</sup> Yetts 1929a: 128, 133; 1929b: 337–39.

<sup>24</sup> Yetts 1929a: 128.

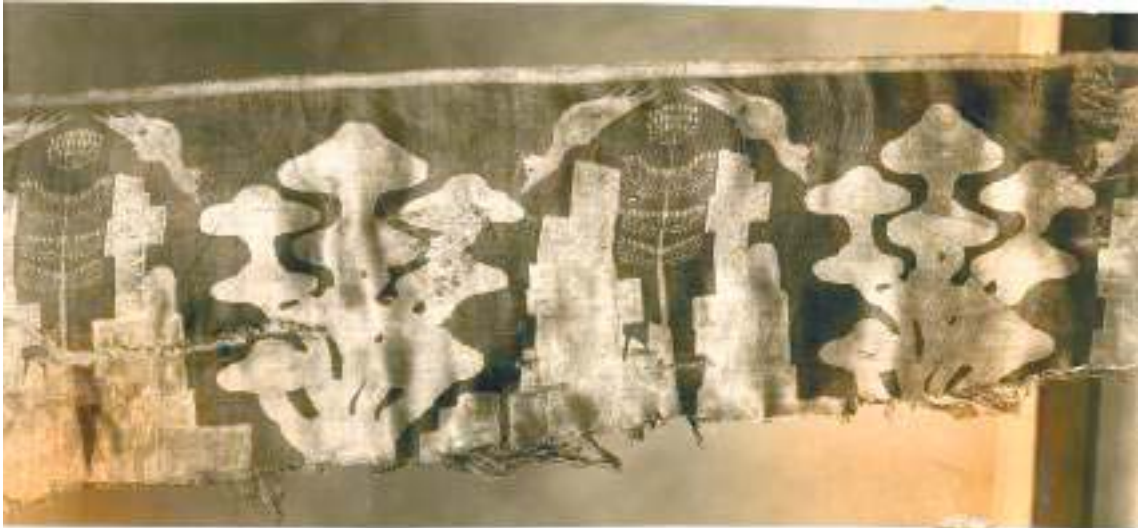


Figure 2. Fragment of silk fabric from kurgan 12/24 (Teploukhov's) in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-29)



Figure 3. Fragments of silk fabric with embroidery from kurgan 12/24 (Teploukhov's) in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-30)

Branch in Irkutsk and to the scientific institutions in St. Petersburg and Moscow.<sup>28</sup> However, in 1929 the piece was in Leningrad among Pyotr Kozlov's finds.

Besides these well-known objects, the archive photographs also feature leather belts, fragments of the famous felt rug before restoration and fragments of fabrics from kurgans 6 (Figures 7–16), 23 and 25 (Figures 17–21). Most of the fabrics were studied and published by Evgeny I. Lubo-Lesnichenko,<sup>29</sup> unfortunately with no indication of the kurgans from which they came. The photographs also show several finds from the

Figure 4. Fragment of silk fabric with embroidery from kurgan 12/24 (Teploukhov's) in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-31)



<sup>28</sup> Sutiagina 2014: fig. 2: 6.

<sup>29</sup> Lubo-Lesnichenko 1961.





Figure 5. Fragment of silk fabric with embroidery from kurgan 12/24 ('Teploukhov's') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-32)



Figure 6. Amber artefact from the Ballod kurgan in the Tzurumte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-47)



Figure 7. Fragments of ribbons from kurgan 6 ('Upper'), Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-16)

Figure 8. Fragment of felt rug with silk edging from kurgan 6 ('Upper'), Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-4)



Figure 9. Fragment of a silk sewn item with festoons from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-6)

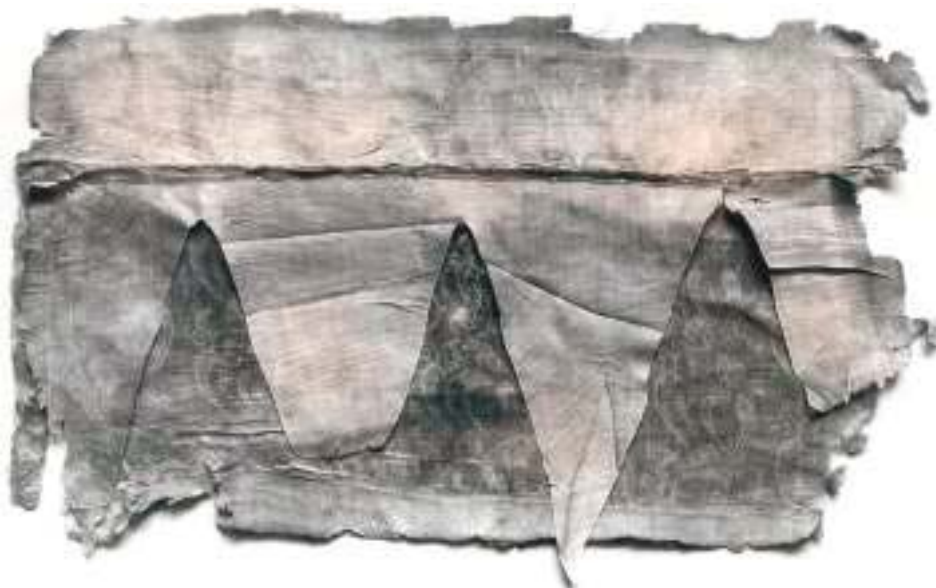


Figure 10. Fragment of a silk sewn item with festoons from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-20)

Figure 11. Fragment of silk fabric with embroidery (tiger and dragon) from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-8)







Figure 12. Fragment of tulle with rhomboid ornament from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-9)



Figure 13. Sewn fragments of silk fabrics with embroidery from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-15)

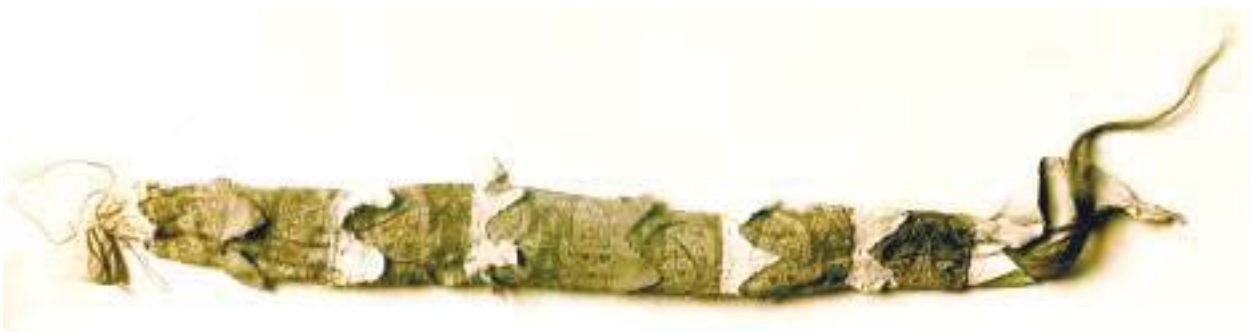


Figure 14. Plait in a silk case with a small pouch from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-13)



Figure 15. Artefact of patterned silk with a small pouch from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-26)



Figure 16. Fragment of silk fabric from a silk artefact with a small pouch from kurgan 6 ('Upper') in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-27)



Figure 17. Fragment of decorated silk fabric from kurgan 23 in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-33)

Figure 18. Fragment of silk fabric with embroidery from kurgan 23 in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-34)







Figure 19. Fragment of silk fabric with embroidered decoration from kurgan 23 in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-35)



Figure 20. Fragment of silk fabric from kurgan 25 in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-38)



Figure 21. Fragment of silk fabric from kurgan 25 in the Sudzunkte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-40)





Figure 22. Fragment of silk fabric from the Kondratiev kurgan in the Tzurumte Pass, Noin-Ula (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-44)



Figure 23. Pieces of harness from kurgan 49 in the Sudzunkte Pass. Excavations of Grigory Borovka in 1926 (SA IHMC RAS Photographic Department Imp. O. 759-42)

Kondratiev kurgan (Figures 1, 22). One shows a set of harness from a kurgan excavated by Grigory Borovka in 1926 (Figure 23). A sketch of one of the items was published by Sergey Rudenko,<sup>30</sup> but the other pieces remained unknown.

### Conclusion

These materials enable us to view and re-assess the initial stage of research of one of the most outstanding collections now kept in the reserves of the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum. The archival materials show how substantial and profound was the appreciation of the very high scientific value of the Xiongnu burials in the mountains of Noin-Ula. Soviet and European researchers realised the urgent necessity of bringing as many artefacts as possible from this collection into the scientific domain for a

thorough study of the history of central Asia in the light of the latest archaeological discoveries. Despite the difficult political situation of the time they succeeded in creating conditions of maximum access to the collection for scholars and visitors. The very process of the organisation of international exhibitions in the late 1920s is very apparent on the basis of this historical example: correspondence, lists of exhibits, conditions of storage and transportation – the initial stage of what is now the norm for mounting exhibitions in a modern museum. Thanks to the archival documents of the IHMC RAS it is possible to clarify and correct information about the provenance of the artefacts, their original appearance and completeness, and to see the enormous amount of work by several generations of curators and restorers to ensure that the finds from the ancient kurgans of Noin-Ula now grace the permanent display of the State Hermitage Museum.

<sup>30</sup> Rudenko 1962a: 64, fig. 53.

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