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VIII

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN, JOURNEY, AND RESULTS OF THE FIRST ROYAL PRUSSIAN (SECOND GERMAN) EXPEDITION TO TURFAN IN CHINESE TURKISTAN

By A. v. LE COQ

THE first modern traveller to enter the oasis of Turfan was a German botanist in the service of Russia, Dr. A. Regel. His account of the ancient sites he had visited in 1879 appeared in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*,[1] but, owing to the description of the obstacles encountered, the expedition failed to produce any practical results beyond furnishing the proof that substantial and most remarkable ruins and other remains were still existent in that distant land.

After Regel two Russians, the brothers G. and N. Grum-Grżimailo, explored parts of Chinese Turkistān, and particularly the Turfan oasis; the voluminous description of their travels[2] appeared in 1896–1907, but as it was written in Russian only, its contents escaped, more or less, the well-merited attention of European scholars.

The expedition of Messrs. Donner and Baron Munck,[3] of Helsingfors, Finland, undertaken in 1898 to Turkistān and Western China, next deserves mention, because it added materially to our knowledge of these regions.

Of still greater importance was the journey of the Russian Academician D. Klementz, in the year 1898. He

[1] *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, 1879, Heft x, xi; 1880, Heft vi; 1881, Heft x. Gotha, J. Perthes.

[2] G. & N. Grum-Grżimailo, *Description of a Journey to Western China*: St. Petersburg, 1896–1907; 3 vols.

[3] Donner, *Resa i Central-Asien*, 1898; Helsingfors, 1901.

worked in the old capital of the Turkish Uighurs, Idiqut-Shahrī (ایدیقوت شهری), Dāqiānūs (داقیانوس) Khōchō, or Kao-čang, lying some 17 miles east of modern Turfan (in Turki: Turpan, طورفان), and contiguous to the modern settlements of Āstāna (آستانه) and Qara Khōja (قرا خواجه), as well as at Toyoq (تویوق), at Murtuq (مورتوق), and other ancient sites. His report appeared in the publications of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg,[1] and although the archæological objects brought to Russia were but few, they sufficed to direct the attention of many scholars towards Turfan and its antiquities.

Thus, at Berlin, steps were almost immediately taken to prepare an expedition to Turfan, and when in 1902 Dr. M. A. Stein read his admirable paper on his successful excavations in the south of Chinese Turkistān at the Hamburg Congress of Orientalists the Royal Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, proposed to send out Professor Grünwedel, Dr. G. Huth, and Mr. Bartus to the Turfan oasis.

This scheme, although based upon the palpable results of Klementz and corroborated by the more brilliant success of Stein, shared the usual fate of new departures from the ruts of old-established research, in being most violently opposed, on theoretical grounds, by men who ought to have been better informed. This obstacle, dangerous through the eminent position in their own branch of learning of the opponents, was with much difficulty overcome, and the first German expedition to Turkistān, with Grünwedel as leader, proceeded to Turfan, where they worked several months during the winter of 1902–3. Grünwedel also examined the old settlements of Ming Öi (مینگ اوی), near Qum Tūrā (قوم تورا), north-west of the city of Kuchā (کوچا).

[1] D. Klementz, *Turfan und seine Alterthümer*: Publicationen der Kaiserl. Acad. d. Wiss.; St. Petersburg, 1898.

The importance of the archæological discoveries and the literary results obtained by this expedition—amongst which the recognition by F. W. K. Müller of certain MSS. written in a variety of the Estrangelo character as remains of the long-lost literature of the Manichæans,[1] and the discovery by Professor Pischel of portions of the Sanskrit-Canon of the Buddhists,[2] deserve particular attention—at once brought the Orientalists to the front: a committee was formed at Berlin by Professor Pischel, consisting of such scholars as Sachau, Harnack, Müller, Hartmann, Foy, Grünwedel, and others. Through Pischel's most generous and persistent exertions another expedition was decided upon, and, Grünwedel's health being impaired, I had the honour of having the leadership of this expedition conferred upon me.

The necessary funds were placed at my disposal by Government, with a most liberal contribution from

[1] F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chin. Turkistän," I: Sitzber. k. p. A. d. W., 1904, ix. "Handschriften-Reste," II: Anhang zu den Abh. d. k. p. A. W., 1904.

Other publications concerning the results of the first German expedition to Turfan are—

K. F. Geldner, "Bruchstück eines Pehlevi-Glossars aus Turfan": Sitzber., 28 Juli, 1904.

F. W. K. Müller, "Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichaeischer Version": Sitzber., 1905, li. "Die 'persischen' Kalenderausdrücke im chines. Tripiṭaka": Sitzber., 1907, xxv.

H. Stönner, "Zentralasiat. Sanskrit-Texte in Brāhmī-Schrift, aus Idiqutšahri," I. Anhang, "Uigurische Fragmente in Brāhmischrift"; II: Sitzber., 1904, xliv u. xlix.

C. Foy, "Die Sprache der türkischen Turfanfragmente in manichaeischer Schrift": Sitzber., 1904, lxxx.

A. Grünwedel, "Bericht über archaeolog. Arbeiten in Idikutschari im Winter, 1902-3": Abh. der k. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Kl. I, Bd. xxiv, Abth. i. München: G. Franz'scher Verlag (T. Roth), 1906.

O. Franke (Berlin), "Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idiqutšahri": Anhang zu den Abh. d. k. p. A. d. W., 1907; Berlin, G. Reimer.

[2] R. Pischel, "Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons der Buddhisten aus Idiqutšary, Chines. Turkistan": Sitzber. d. k. preuss. Akad. d. W., 1904, xxv. "Neue Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons": ibid., 1904, xxxix.

H.M. the Emperor, and Pischel having smoothed the way in a manner ever gratefully to be remembered, the second German, or first Royal Prussian, Expedition left Berlin for Turfan on September 12, 1904. It consisted of myself and the former technical assistant of the first expedition, Mr. Bartus.

After paying a visit to some members of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, the expedition arrived at Omsk on the Irtish after five days travel on the Siberian railroad, and, succeeding in catching the up-river boat on the day of arrival at Omsk, Semipalatinsk was reached in another five days.

From Semipalatinsk the route lies through the steppe. Here we made the acquaintance of the Russian vehicles *tarantass* and *telega*, of which the former is rather well adapted for the roads of this rude region; the telega is a bad apology for a vehicle, and spare wheels and axle-trees must be provided by those contemplating a journey with them. We used our own carriages, but the horses were furnished by the Russian post-service established between Semipalatinsk, Sergiopol, and Bakhty. The stations are very primitive, and as nothing but tea and sugar can be had at these rest-houses travellers must carry bread and tinned provisions along with them. Tubs and insect-powder will also be found useful.

We came from Semipalatinsk to Bakhty in eight days, travelling mostly day and night in our tarantass; thence we crossed over into Chinese territory, and reached the flourishing border town of Chuguchak [1] in a few hours.

Here began our intercourse with the Chinese officials, which has been friendly and, to us, most satisfactory throughout our sojourn in the country. We organized our caravan, and hurrying over the detestable roads

[1] Thus the Russians call it. My Turki munshi wrote and spoke "Chörchäk" (چورچاك), which means a tale, but also a pan or flat basin. The word, may, however, have its etymology in Mongolian.

through a very rough country, we reached the capital of Chinese Turkistān, Ūrumchī (ارمچی , اورمچی , اورومچی or اورومچی), in sixteen days of hard riding and great discomfort, passing through the oases of Shī-Khō (شی خو) and Mānās (ماناس).

We stopped a few days in Ūrumchī, paying our respects to the Fu-tai and the other Chinese officials, and being most hospitably entertained at the Russian Consulate by the Acting-Consul, Mr. Bobrownikow, and the physician, Dr. Kokhanowskij. When the new caravan had been hired we crossed the Thien-shan and reached Turfan *viâ* Dāban-ching (دابان چینگ) in six days. Here we were received by a number of officers of Amīn Khōjam, Wang of Luk-chun (لوک چون), whose presents of delicious melons, pomegranates, grapes, and pears we welcomed as a sign of his undiminished good-will. He is the lord of the land between Turfan, Murtuq, Luk-chun, and the Lop-nor, and his friendship proved as valuable to us as it had been valuable to Professor Grünwedel on his first journey.

Next morning we left for Qara Khōja, and having again met an *istiqbāl* of officers of the Wang at the ancient *dā-dong* or square tower of sun-dried bricks now marking the limit of the Wang's dominion towards Turfan, I reached Qara Khōja late in the afternoon. Quarters were taken up in the *dan* (دان) or sarai of the peasant Saut (ثابت), where the former expedition had already resided. The sarai consisted of a number of small, vaulted (modern) rooms, built up directly against the enormous wall of ancient Kao-čang and flanked by one of its towers, while a high modern wall, with a very large gateway, formed a sort of compound in front of the buildings.

We were immediately visited by numbers of the natives, mostly cultivators, and were able to buy a few coins, manuscript fragments, some pieces of very remarkable

brown pottery, with Buddhistic saints *in relievo*, and a few of the beautiful clay heads of statues, modelled in accordance with the canon of Gāndhāran art, which must have been amongst the most common fittings of the ancient temples.

We at once began to inspect the ruins in the city, and Mr. Bartus, who, as a member of the first expedition, knew these remains well, complained about the many changes the old city had undergone. The cultivators had pulled down some ruins, and had turned their sites into fields for cotton, sorghum, and wheat; new canals for irrigation had been traced, and the destructive element thus been admitted in new places and in greater quantity. Worst of all, this increased agricultural activity had produced a greater demand for the accumulations of loess formed in the old buildings in the course of centuries. In consequence most of the MSS. and other antiquities contained in these accumulations had either been carelessly lost, wantonly destroyed, or sold to Russian Muhammadan traders from the West, or others, during or after the work of obtaining this soil. This is supposed to be better than any other manure for exhausted fields.

As it is unfortunately impossible to give a description of each of the buildings now about to be mentioned within the narrow limits of so short a paper, I am obliged to refer to Professor Grünwedel's publication, particularly to the plan of Kao-čang or Idiqut-Shahrī given therein.

After executing some excavations in the ruin *a* of this plan, which we had been specially invited to undertake, but which unfortunately were absolutely fruitless, we decided to examine those ruins in which the old accumulations were still extant.

Our attention was invited to the large and centrally situated complex of ruins, marked K on the plan, by the fact that some natives had pulled down a wall in the northernmost of the three large hall-like edifices we found

in the centre of this complex. It then appeared that this wall had anciently been erected with a view of obliterating the paintings on the face of the original wall, on which we found the picture, in water-colours, of a Manichæan high-priest in his pontifical robes, surrounded by a number of his clergy, all dressed in the white sacerdotal robes, which we know from their recurrence on Manichæan miniatures to be the costume of a certain class of ecclesiastics of that faith. The portrait of the high-priest—for the whole group of painted faces impresses one as being meant for portraits—is done larger than life. His dress is white, but shows a rectangular piece of embroidery attached to the part covering the bosom, while a broad band of embroidery passes over the left—and probably also over the right (destroyed)—shoulder. His tall white cap is embroidered with gold, and held on the head by a black band which passes under the chin. The face is oval, the nose aquiline, but the eyes, small and rather slanting in their position, recall the manner of Chinese artists when painting the portrait of a European. The nimbus is composed of moon-crescent and sun, the disc of the sun being painted a whitish-carmine colour, while the moon is represented as golden-yellow. The peculiar signification of this extraordinary nimbus has caused the impression that perhaps we have here a picture of Manes himself before us.

The priests shown to the left of this figure are all painted much under life-size; they wear the same peculiar cap, but of white stuff only; on the breast of each person his name is inscribed in Uighur and, in one instance, in Manichæan characters. Farther to the left a double row of white-robed Manichæan nuns is represented, while a few persons in the ordinary coat (*chapan*) of the country are shown on the extreme left of the picture. The faces of the priests belong unmistakably to Western Asia; those of the laymen are unfortunately much damaged.

The whole painting recalls Byzantine art more than anything else; it resembles the style of the miniatures strikingly, without, however, approaching them in that excellence of execution which is a particular feature of those precious relics. This is the only Manichæan wall-painting we found.

The reason for this picture having been concealed from view we cannot guess; yet, as in other newly excavated parts of the same system of buildings the walls showed remains of Buddhistic paintings, one is led to believe that Buddhism having gained the ascendant, the Manichæan houses of worship were changed, in the considerate manner indicated, into temples or holy places of the conquering faith.

It must, however, be mentioned that we frequently found temples of the latter faith simply renovated by the same expedient; thus in the large temple before the city-walls, marked as "Russian Z" on the plan, we found in the northern room, still containing the very large statue of a sitting Buddha, very inferior Buddhistic paintings on the walls. The thickness of these walls having awakened our interest, it soon became evident that a second wall had been erected in front of the original one, thus diminishing the inside room of the apartment by the thickness of the new walls, upon the removal of which we found the old wall-paintings still intact.

Again, in the small temple (Russian B) north of the Luk-chun road, we discovered a beautiful, though headless, Buddhistic statue, modelled in clay in the style of Gandhāra, carefully walled up on the right side of the door (when one enters the temple). The remains of Buddhistic statues still lying on the floor, etc., of this building when inspected by Professor Grünwedel in 1902–3, prove that it had remained a Buddhist place of worship.

Thus we must assume that either piety or, perhaps, mere convenience caused the early builders to employ

this expedient when the renovation of buildings became a necessity.

Of the large, square, formerly domed buildings, on the east of these halls, one contained a number of skeletons, some of them still recognizable by their tattered garments as the remains of Buddhist monks. These unfortunates had evidently been slain and piled up in this vault by some ruthless intruder, the same, no doubt, to whom the wholesale destruction of the ancient MSS. must be ascribed. There are other indications that the city was at one time, probably in the ninth century, overwhelmed by a tremendous catastrophe. In the stūpa-cells beyond the city wall near the Luk-chun road, for instance, we found some caps (such as young girls still wear, but embroidered with Buddha-figures) completely drenched in blood, and the fearful devastation everywhere noticeable, and assuredly dating back to an early epoch, eloquently speaks of the violent overthrow of the city. Who the destroyers may have been we are as yet unable to tell; as a mere hypothesis, we may pronounce a belief that these events may have occurred in connection with an attempt of the Chinese Government to get rid of obnoxious alien faiths.

More pleasing than these grisly discoveries was the recovery, from a vaulted building in the immediate vicinity of this charnel-house, of a large bundle of fairly well preserved Manichæan MSS. They were written in Uighur and Manichæan characters, and in the Turkish and Soghdian languages. A very interesting fragment of a Manichæan miniature with a few lines of Turkish text was amongst these papers.[1]

Another illuminated MS. in Persian, written in Manichæan letters, found in this vicinity, gives the names of a number of persons of the Khan's court; the

[1] This miniature has recently been published at the Reichsdruckerei, Berlin.

miniatures are, however, so badly damaged as to show only the dim outlines of the forms of men in armour.

In this complex of ruins we further found a number of Manichæan and Buddhistic temple or votive flags, strips of cotton cloth about 40 cm. long and 20 cm. broad; the top is triangular, and shows a loop for attachment; at the sides two narrow ornamental bands depend, while a broad streamer hangs down from the foot of the flag.

That part of the flag which shows painting is peculiar by having been covered with a thin layer of stucco, on which the pictures are painted in water-colours. The subjects of these paintings vary according to the faith to which each individual flag belongs. The Manichæan flags show, on one side, a white-robed priest similar to those represented in the wall-painting described; the other side repeats the picture and adds, on each side of the figure of the priest, the kneeling and worshipping figures, painted small, of a man and his wife. The triangular top part of one flag (the one in the best state of preservation) shows a sitting figure strangely resembling a sitting Buddha.

Of greater interest is another Manichæan flag of this description, showing on one side a lady in the costume we believe to be that of the Uighur ladies; the other side shows the same person in the white robes of the religious order.

The Buddhist flags of this category are exactly alike in shape and material, but differ in the subjects represented. They show Buddhist monks in their robes of green or red, striped cross-wise, with broad bands of a colour differing from that of the robes; Bodhisattvas, Lokapālas, and in a few instances male and female persons in the ordinary, or perhaps princely, costume of the period.

Such flags, as well as the objects I am about to give a cursory account of in this connection, were found not only at Idiqut-Shahrī, but also at Toyoq, in the ruined

temples and monasteries of Sängim-āghiz (سنكيم آغز),[1] at Murtuq, and at the old settlement of Yār-Khōtō or Yār-gholī (يارغولى , يارخوطو), west of Turfan. Indeed, an excavation executed in a temple at the latter place yielded a remarkable painting on cotton cloth of a woman, apparently a lady of rank, seated on an ornamented bench and giving the breast to a young infant in its swaddling-clothes. The dress of the woman is red, covered with small yellow lozenge-shaped ornaments. The head is covered by a cap of the same material, and surrounded by a nimbus formed by concentric circles of various colours. As mostly Chinese and Soghdian, as well as Uighur, Buddhistic texts were found alongside, the impression, at once suggesting itself, of a Christian painting cannot well be entertained.

Superior in execution are the paintings on silk, fragments of which were found together with these flags and with remains of textiles and of MSS. All these delicate objects had evidently been savagely snatched down from their places, had been torn to shreds, and violently trampled under-foot, until the winds had collected them in the corners of the desecrated buildings and had covered them with the layers of dust and sand to which we owe their preservation.

Amongst these paintings on silk the two categories, Manichæan and Buddhist, are again to be observed. I mention, as amongst the former class, small fragments showing persons being conveyed, as in a boat, in the crescent moon, portions of the figures of warriors in full armour, wielding long, straight, cross-guarded swords, remains of white-robed priests sitting on lotus-thrones, one holding a curious cross. The details of the ornamentation are of particular interest and resemble those of the Manichæan miniatures.

Amongst the Buddhist pictures the large and very finely

[1] The "Sengim-A'uz" of the Russians.

painted head of a Bodhisattva claims particular attention; other fragments show the head of an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, the figures of worshipping Bodhisattvas, parts of large Buddha-figures, Kinnaras, scenes from Buddhist hells, and flower ornaments. Many of these fragments are exquisitely painted and most harmonious in the choice of the colours employed.

The Manichæan style of painting originates, without a doubt, in a lost, late antique, school of painting; its productions appeal to our feelings, and often recall early Christian or Byzantine pictures. It very likely was the forerunner of the famous Neo-Persian art of miniature painting.

The Buddhist style of painting, on the other hand, while owing its existence to Græco-Roman art as developed in Gandhāra, has never—no matter how much it may have been influenced by Manichæan or other Persian art in Central Asia — lost its distinctive Indian impress; it remains foreign to us of the West, however much we may admire both its execution and its sentiment. From it the whole of the Buddhistic art of China, Corea, and Japan is derived.

Of very great beauty and refined workmanship are the textiles. The variety of modes of manufacture is surprising, and includes methods, such as the *batik* or wax treatment and the *ikat* or tying process, for dying silk cotton, or other fabrics in various colours, now all but obsolete in India, but still practised in the borderland of Indian culture, the Archipelago. The tying process is still employed in the Panjāb, where it is called *chunarī*. It is executed by tying up firmly with thread those parts of the cloth that are to retain the original colour. After immersion in the dying vat the threads are untied, and the portions tied up during immersion show as circles, lozenges, squares, or as more complicated ornaments, according to the art employed in the process of tying.

Other and frequently very tastefully ornamented cloths are simple block-prints, similar though superior in workmanship to those produced to this day in Kashmīr and in Turkistān.

Conspicuous amongst the specimens of *batik* is a large fragment of silk of a sea-green colour, showing groups of two long-necked animals standing opposed to each other in a lying oval, formed by a chain of pearls, these animal figures and their encircling pearls showing the soft, brownish-yellow colour of the original silk. This piece is evidently an imitation of a Sassanian original.

Other and remarkable fragments show a most superior technique in the way of gobelin manufacture, the objects represented being mostly scroll-work, but also, occasionally, the forms of animals and of human beings. The finest specimens of this series of antiquities, however, are products of the embroiderers' needle, cleverly representing groups of human beings, conventional flowers, and even writing in the Uighur character.

The group of a Manichæan goddess, attended by two white-robed priests, and bordered by a row of flowers artistically arranged, which was found in the ruins of the complex K, seems to give the palm for this kind of needlework to these strange religionists; a strict classification of these objects has, however, as yet not been effected.

Of coins there are any number of Chinese bronze coins belonging to the T'ang dynasty; a few Sassanian or Indo-Sassanian silver coins were also secured, and some of the cultivators brought us a number of silver coins with early Muhammadan inscriptions belonging about to the early thirteenth century; we did not find ourselves a single specimen of this kind in the whole course of our excavations. These coins are also found, in quantity, in Kuchā (كوچا)[1] and at Kashghar (كاشغر).

[1] Kuchā is the correct form, not Kuchar; for the origin of the *r* see Professor M. Hartmann's "Chinesisch-Turkistān", Gebauer-Schwetschke Verlag, Halle a/S., 1908, S. 87, note 46.

The sculptures (more correctly human figures modelled in clay and painted in many colours) were mostly of a pronounced Gāndhāra type, but Eastern Asia had influenced the faces of the heads we secured in an unmistakable manner. The eyes are nearly always put slantingly, and they are not placed into a cavity under the orbital bone, but are on the same level almost with the superciliary ridge; the body and drapery again follow strictly their prototypes in Gāndhāran art.

A few specimens of original Gāndhāran art were also found: for instance, a small lion wrought in the black slate of the Swāt valley, and part of a small but delicately-carved group of gracefully draped human beings, carved in wood and painted; the left-hand corner, perhaps, of such a scene as that shown in plate 62 of Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*.

There are many other small sculptures in wood, some recalling even Hindoo originals, beautifully sculptured hands, small heads, and other objects it would take too long to enumerate here.

A small number of bronzes was also secured, some being in very good style, while a few are of inferior merit.

Some objects of glass were found, such as broken bottles, pearls, and many-coloured beads. The pottery remains are manifold, and include purely Chinese specimens, as well as at yet unclassified fragments of a ruder description. Fragments of finely ornamented and carefully-made vessels were also met with. The remains of some very interesting specimens of pottery are decorated with painted ornaments.

The architecture of the ancient city, as well as that of the monasteries and temples in the defile of Sängim-āghiz, at Murtuq, and at Toyoq, comprises Indian as well as Persian elements. The origin of the former will have to be looked for in Gandhāra, and perhaps also in Kashmīr, but it is as yet too early to enter upon a discussion of this difficult matter.

The Persian element is conspicuous in the square buildings surmounted by semicircular or perhaps ovoid cupolas,[1] which are very common amongst the ruins.

These peculiar edifices very accurately resemble the ruin of a building at Ferāsh-Ābād in Fārs, as shown in Perrot & Chipiez's *History of Art in Persia*, pp. 168, 169, figs. 81, 82. There we find the same arched doorway, the same square halls, roofed in by cupolas, and the same manner of vaulting up the corners of the square left open by the circle of the dome. This mode of building survives to this day amongst the natives of Chinese Turkistān as well as of Persia.

The barrel-vaulted buildings abounding amongst these ruins are remarkable by being constructed of bricks not rectangular but trapezoidal in shape, and placed not perpendicularly, but at an inclination to the horizon. These vaults are exceedingly strong and well-made, and although the material of these, as of all other buildings, is merely sun-dried brick (albeit of excellent make), they have withstood the terrific storms and not infrequent earthquakes that visit these regions. The origin of these remarkable vaults will also have to be looked for in Western Asia and in Persia, in some parts of which later country the art is still unforgotten. A somewhat similar manner of vaulting is described in Perrot & Chipiez's *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, vol. i, fig. 92, where a drain at Khorsābād is shown. The arch in our constructions, however, is not incomplete like that of this drain, but complete and semicircular in shape.

The pointed arch occurs only once, as far as I know, in the corridors of a very remarkable Buddhist temple near Lapchuq (spell لاڤچوق), south-west of Tōghuchī (توغوچی), on the Qōmul (spell قمول) road.

Columns were employed by the ancient builders, for in the complex K we found a wooden base, beautifully

[1] Cf. Grünwedel, *Idikutschari*, figs. 72 and 141.

sculptured in the style we have recognized as Manichæan, while a number of ruder column-bases were also recovered. No column has been found; the disappearance of almost all larger pieces of wood is most probably due to the fact that owing to the scarcity of wood the inhabitants are in the habit of searching for it amongst the ruins.

We continued our work of excavation in Idiqut-Shahrī until the end of February, but as often no results were obtained, it was decided to examine the ruins in the *défilé* of Sängim-āghiz, at Murtuq, and at Chiqqan Köl (چیققان کول — one of the Turks, however, spelt the word چیکّکان کول), all lying in the foot-hills of the Thien-shan, north of Qara Khōja.[1]

The narrow and forbidding-looking gorge (the Turks call it *āghiz* or mouth) of Sängim is remarkable for the great number of monasteries, cave-temples, and stûpas it contains. We worked in all these buildings, and found a large number of MSS., mostly in the Brāhmī and Uighur characters, some Chinese Buddhistic book-rolls, and in one of the stûpas a fairly good Manichæan book-leaf. Some wall-paintings and clay-heads were likewise obtained, but on the whole these ruins were not very productive, for the abundant moisture caused by the snowfall common in these hills had penetrated everywhere. At Chiqqan Köl we were more fortunate, being able to secure some very interesting wall-paintings, showing the archaic Indian style of the oldest temple at Toyoq, and, as we learned later on, of the settlements at Shōrchuq (شورچوق) near Qara Shahr (قرا شهر) and other more westerly colonies. This style is also found at Turfan, and it appears to be everywhere in all these oases the second oldest stratum, the oldest being pure, or more or less pure, Gāndhāran

[1] A map of this district is given in Mr. Ellsworth Huntington's book *The Pulse of Asia* (London, A. Constable & Co., 1907), p. 297. Chiqqan Köl lies in the triangle formed by the confluence of the Murtuq and Sängim streams.

art. Of MSS. we found very little at Chiqqan Köl, for moisture in the soil here had destroyed most of what the libraries must have contained. From the northern opening of the défilé of Sängim a low pass leads up to the steep cliffs bordering the Murtuq stream, over which a narrow road leads to the hamlet of Murtuq. In a bend of the stream there lies on a terrace the old Buddhist monastery Bäzäklik (بزاكليك, "place where there are ornaments"). It consists of a considerable number of caves cut in the soft rock, and of some brick-built temples occupying the central and northern part of the terrace. Three of these buildings we opened, but only one was found to be in a good state of preservation. The cella of this temple was only partially filled up with sand and loess, and the wall-paintings had been protected, consequently, in a height of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.[1]

The wall opposite the door showed the remains of an enormous lotus-throne, supported by two dragons curiously intertwined and rising from the ocean. They are flanked in each corner by a monstrous demon, surrounded by flames of fire, each demon threatening a smaller, elephant- or boar-headed, goblin kneeling at his feet.

The wall on the right hand bore a picture showing in the centre a battle of demons, men and dogs against two garuḍas. One of these birds, having been wounded by an arrow, is seen dropping a child, while the other bird, more in the foreground, has been caught in a lasso and is being attacked by a dog and a hideous-looking demon. (This scene also forms the subject of a painting, in a very different style, which we cut out from the ruined cella of a very small temple in the Sängim defile.) The corners are occupied by Lokapālas, represented as men of ferocious aspect in armour, attended by servants, both human and demoniacal.

[1] Fig. 128 in Grünwedel's *Idikutschari* gives the plan of a temple very similar to the one whose paintings are here described.

Similar figures were shown on the left-hand wall, the central figure here being a horseman on a cleverly painted white steed, surrounded by his huntsmen and dogs. On both walls the painter has inserted his small-sized effigy into one of the corners.

The narrower surfaces of the front wall, on either side of the door, were decorated with rows of human figures about 70 cm. high, each row showing three figures, and two rows being still extant on each side. On the right of the door these figures were those of ladies, on the left those of men dressed in long, flowered coats, and wearing the curious golden tiara (somewhat resembling the ancient crown of Lower Egypt) which we know from the Manichæan miniatures.

The narrow corridor leading around the sides and back of the square cella was completely filled with loose sand, and the pictures were, consequently, in an excellent state of preservation. At the right entrance of this corridor there were the life-size pictures of twelve Chinese Buddhistic monks, six on each side. Painted white tablets at their heads bear their names in Chinese characters and in their transcription into the Uighur alphabet, thus affording us, according to F. W. K. Müller, welcome reasons for fixing the date, from the pronunciation of the Chinese symbols, as belonging to the T'ang dynasty. These monks are dressed in dark-blue robes crossed by broad black bands. On the entrance to the left wing of the corridor twelve Indian monks are depicted, having their names inscribed in Brāhmī letters over their heads. They wear yellow robes. These twenty-four pictures are probably portraits, and may represent the ecclesiastics under whose rule or supervision the building had been erected.

The walls of the corridor itself showed fifteen Praṇidhi scenes, so disposed that each of the three outer walls of the corridor was covered with three Buddhas and their attendants. The inner walls, being shorter, showed only

two such scenes each. These pictures are remarkable through their style of painting, but still more so by the strange types and costumes shown by the Buddhas' human attendants. These differ materially from the conventional faces and Indian costumes of the Bodhisattvas, Brahmans, and other mythological figures, by the rugged strength of their aquiline features, by their blue or green eyes, their full beards, no less than by their fur-lined tunics, their high boots, their turbans, their curiously shaped hats and caps. There can be little doubt that these pictures also are portraits, and that they represent the types of face and costume of the race and epoch we have to deal with.

All these pictures were carefully cut out, a piece of most arduous work, for they were painted on a layer of simple mud mixed with cut straw, with which the walls had been smoothed off, and which proved an exceedingly brittle material.

This series of paintings is important, because it gives us accurate information as to the manner in which the temples of this epoch (ninth century) were decorated. The paintings in the cella, though partially destroyed, can be reconstructed, wholly or partially, by comparison with fragments of other temples in which the same pictures recur. The style of these paintings is what I would call the Uighur style; the drapery and composition are directly traceable to Græco-Indian art, but Eastern Asiatic influences are easily distinguished in the conventional faces of the Buddhas' attendants, etc.

I may mention that a few wall-paintings of an older type were secured from temple T in Idiqut-Shahrī; otherwise Murtuq, and not the capital, was the source of most of the wall-paintings I obtained.

From Murtuq I proceeded to Toyoq, a most charmingly beautiful valley east of Qara Khōja. It is a narrow cleft in a repulsively arid chain of the foot-hills of the Thien-shan, irrigated by the waters of a turbulent little stream.

Vines, and here and there groves of poplar, apricot, and mulberry trees, cover the whole of the arable land, the vines belonging, as elsewhere in Turkistān, to the Kishmish and Ṣāḥibi (صاحبی) varieties. Toyoq is popular as a place of pilgrimage; it possesses a "Cave of the Seven Sleepers" undoubtedly dating back to Buddhist times, but appropriated by Islam. In consequence of this appropriation the neighbouring ruined city of Idiqut-Shahrī is commonly known amongst the natives as "Apsūs" or Ephesus.

The heights encompassing this pretty vale of vineyards are studded with numerous cave-temples, and in the northern, very narrow, extremity of the valley they bear the ruins of two large monasteries, one on each of the steep cliffs hemming in the stream on either side.

From the extensive ruins on the eastern shore of the rivulet I obtained, after most arduous labours, a wonderful hoard of ancient MSS. Most plentiful were Chinese Buddhist texts, some of which are dated (eighth century).

The rest must be attributed, on epigraphic grounds, to the time of the T'ang dynasty. Most remarkable were some *poṭhi*-leaves (paper) covered with an Indian script, as yet undeciphered; it resembles Kharoṣṭhi more than anything else. There were also parts of a book-roll containing a text in an unknown character, apparently derived from a Semitic alphabet. Some fragments in Gupta writing and in the language termed by Leumann "Sprache II"[1], and which I suppose to be, in consequence of geographical and historical considerations, the lost language of the Saka, were also found here.

As it would take up too much room to give a historical description of the discovery of the various MSS., I shall give a general synopsis of our literary finds here, in the

[1] Leumann, "Ueber die einheimischen Sprachen von Ost-Turkestan im frühen Mittelalter": Ztschr. d. Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellsch., 1907, Bd. lxi, p. 641, and 1908, Bd. lxii, p. 83, etc. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1907 and 1908.

same manner in which I have previously treated the finds of votive flags, silk paintings, coins, and other small objects. The enumeration of MSS. will be arranged under the heads of the languages their texts are written in. They embrace—

(1) The MSS. in unknown tongues above referred to.

(2) Texts in Central-Asian Brāhmī, the language of which has been identified as the literary language of the Indo-Scythians[1] or Tokharian.

(3) Texts in the Manichæan alphabet, and in the Middle- and Neo-Persian languages (very few of the latter), (Idiqut-Shahrī, Sängim, and Toyoq).

(4) Soghdian texts in Manichæan and in proto-Uighur characters (identified by F. W. K. Müller), (Toyoq, Yār Khōtō, Idiqut-Shahrī); as well as in a peculiar adaptation of the Nestorian Syriac alphabet (Būlayiq), the latter being mainly fragments of Christian books.[2]

(5) A small book written in the alphabet of the Sassanian coins of the fifth century (Būlayiq).

(6) A number of Christian books in the Syriac tongue and writing was found at Būlayiq; a small manuscript roll of this class we obtained in Idiqut-Shahrī, and lesser fragments were unearthed at Toyoq.

(7) A large number of MSS. in Central-Asian Brāhmī, as well as in other Indian scripts, and in the Sanskrit tongue.[3]

[1] F. W. K. Müller, "Beitrag zur genaueren Bestimmung der unbekannten Sprachen Mittelasiens": Sitzber., 1907, liii. Sieg & Siegling, "Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoskythen": Sitzber., 1908, xxxix.

[2] E. Sachau, "Litteraturbruchstücke aus Chin. Turkistan": Sitzber., 1905, xlvii.

[3] E. Sieg, "Bruchstück einer Sanskrit-Grammatik aus Sängim Aġïz, Chin. Turkistan": Sitzber., 1907, xxv. "Neue Bruchstücke der Sanskrit-Grammatik aus Chin. Turkistan": Sitzber., 1908, viii.

(8) Chinese texts abound everywhere; Tibetan texts were found in Idiqut-Shahrī, Toyoq, and Sängim-āghiz. They are both in the cursive and the ordinary character.

(9) Tangutan block-prints were found in a fragmentary condition at Idiqut-Shahrī and at Toyoq. There are but a few of these.

(10) MSS. in "Kök-Turkish runes" were found at Idiqut-Shahrī and at Toyoq; their contents appear to be both Manichæan and Buddhistic. Besides we excavated Turkish (Uighur) texts in the Manichæan, the proto-Uighur or Soghdian, the Uighur, the Tibetan, and the Brāhmī alphabets; our collections are richest in MSS. of this class. The contents are invariably religious, Manichæan,[1] Buddhist, and Christian,[2] excluding only the very numerous and comparatively unimportant documents of sale, hire, etc., which are traced with the writing-brush on ordinary paper. The religious texts are carefully written, apparently with the *qalam*, on paper of superior quality.

This plentiful material will prove of the utmost value in following up the studies of Ancient Turkish, initiated by the genius of Vilhelm Thomsen and brilliantly commented upon by Marquart and Bang.

(11) Four letters in the Mongol language and writing (fourteenth century) were found outside the walls of the ruin K, at Idiqut-Shahrī, and one was purchased from a peasant, who indicated a ruin in Sängim-āghiz as the place of discovery.

These remains serve to give us a good idea of the

[1] A. v. Le Coq, "Ein manichaeisch-uighurisches Fragment aus Idiqut-Schahri": Sitzber., 1908, xix.

[2] F. W. K. Müller, "Uigurica": Abh., 1908; Berlin, G. Reimer.

different ways in which books were made. There were four types of books in use, namely, the book-roll, the folding-book, the Indian *poṭhi*, and the Western book, made of leaves folded, sewn, and bound in leather or pasteboard covers. The pens used were made of a kind of reed or cane, and are like those used to this day in Morocco. The inkstand resembled the ordinary utensil used by the Muhammadan population of Western Asia. The Chinese writing brush was also used, as well as the little stone slab for rubbing up the ink to be used in writing.

To resume the enumeration of the places visited by me. After our success at Toyoq, the little ruin of Shüipang (شوی فانگ, mutilated Chinese) near Būlayiq (بولایق), north of Turfan, was visited. This was, I think, a Christian settlement, for all the MSS. discovered there are Christian. A line of Greek writing, on the margin of an Uighur fragment, was read and dated by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, who assigned it to the ninth century.

After an attempt to excavate Āsā-Shahrī (حصر شهری or آسا), a monastery situated in the waterless desert south of Lukchun, we proceeded to Qōmul (قمول), but in that outlying district we worked with scant success.

Barely had I finished some excavations at Ārā-tam (آرا تام), north-east of Qōmul, when I received news of Professor Grünwedel's impending arrival at Kashghar, and as my instructions were to meet the professor in that city, I had to give up a planned excursion to Tun-hwang in Kan-su, and rode to Kashghar *viâ* Turfan, Kutschā, Aqsū (آقسو), and Maralbashī (مارال باشی), reaching Kashghar in forty-four days.

Our further work belongs to the second Royal Prussian Expedition under Grünwedel, and I here close my recital.

Meanwhile we have received from Madras the melancholy news of the death, in that city, of Professor Pischel, who

succumbed on December 26 to an inflammation of the ear. With him we have lost not only our most unselfish and kind patron, the father of our last two expeditions into Turkistān, but also a man of the noblest humanity, mild, yet firm, admirable in every way, unequalled in the extent and scope of his learning and in his way of employing it. May the soil of his beloved India be light to him, who was a Christian follower, gentle in strength, of the gentle doctrines of the Tathāgata.