

SVEN HEDIN'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS FROM KHOTAN

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TERRA-COTTAS FROM YOTKAN AND DANDAN-UILIQ.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KHOTAN OASIS.

This is not the place for an attempt at giving a detailed account of the history of the oasis of Khotan. Several symposia based upon documentary material have already seen the light, but in spite of a relative abundance of data in Chinese and Tibetan chronicles no very clear picture has so far been produced.¹ Here I propose merely to touch very summarily upon its outstanding events. Its prehistoric periods I pass over altogether.

Even at a very early date extremely great importance must have attached to the oases south of the Takla Makan desert in their character of halting-places for the recurrent migrations between east and west. It is, however, only from the time of the Emperor Wu Ti (140—87 B.C.) that Khotan makes its first appearance in the Chinese records. In these are found names of kings and princes, as well as brief references to political conditions. It is not easy to say when Khotan first began to experience influence from India, but it is hardly probable that legendary lore is correct when it dates the first Indian penetration to the time of Aśoka. According to the famous work *Hsi Yü Chi* by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang, a number of chieftains of the north Indian city of Taxila (Taksasilā), in the extreme north of the Panjāb, were forced to emigrate to the country north of the snow mountains in order to escape the vengeance of the king.² In course of time they founded a kingdom in the district now known as Khotan, and introduced the religion of Buddhism, which here found one of its principal bases of support. The legend then goes on to relate how the god Vaiśravaṇa bestowed upon the country a dynasty whose first ancestor sprang from the head of the god's image.

From the archaeological point of view there is nothing to oppose the theory that at least a part of the Khotan population actually came from Taxila; on the contrary, there is strong evidence in support of it.

The Archaeological Survey of India have had very extensive excavations carried out at Taxila, and most valuable results have been obtained which are also of

¹ Rémusat 1820. Stein 1907.

² Beal, p. 309.

very great importance as contributing to our knowledge of the history of Khotan. A number of ancient cities and monasteries have been excavated. This region evidently was devastated by the Epthalites in the latter half of the 5th century A.D.¹

To a certain degree the Taxila excavations admitted of some readjustment of the Gandharan chronology. Evidence was found here that the art of ancient Gandhara survived a couple of centuries longer than had hitherto been supposed, and that any appreciable decay can hardly be said to have set in before its sudden destruction. From these researches it also became apparent that in India, too, stucco figures played an important part in decorative art. Only the heads of the reliefs have been given individual treatment. This places the Buddhist art of East Turkestan in still closer relationship to the Graeco-Indian school. A comparison between the figures on the Jauliān stupa of Taxila and those of the Rawak stupa of Khotan will suffice to verify their close correspondence. As to details I shall revert thereto later.

From the adjacent site of Charsadda Gordon has recently published some interesting material relating to small figures, etc. recovered from mounds. So far as can be judged from his illustrations, these present parallels to and prototypes of the Yotkan animal figures. In Gordon's opinion they date from the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era.²

In the Khotan oasis, as well as in Niya, Stein and other explorers have recovered fragments of documents, etc., written in a dialect closely related to the Prakrits of north-western India. These finds date from the middle of the 2nd century of our era, and show that the script used, Kharoshthi, is identical with that which was typical of Taxila and its neighbours.³ As late as the 7th century Hsüan Tsang had occasion to write of the Khotanese: »Their written characters and their mode of forming their sentences resemble the Indian model; the forms of the letters differ somewhat; the differences, however, are slight. The spoken language also differs from that of other countries. They greatly esteem the law of Buddha».⁴

On Khotan history during the opening centuries of the Christian era new light has been thrown by Professor Sten Konow's researches. By collating data found in Indian, Chinese and Tibetan sources he has arrived at exceedingly interesting results, and propounded well-founded theories which in many respects differ from those hitherto accepted.⁵

Konow has studied the entire collected material of Kharoshthi inscriptions, and coordinately therewith also aimed at establishing all available data concerning the political history of the various peoples of north-western India and

¹ Cf. Marshall 1920, 1921. Foucher 1921.

² Cf. Gordon 1932.

³ Stein 1907, vol. I, p. 163.

⁴ Beal, p. 309.

⁵ Konow 1929.

East Turkestan in so far as they had anything to do with the literary language just referred to. Kharoshthi he confirms to be a form of script which, derived from Aramaic, and developed on Indian soil, at an early period was officially used in the north-west of India. Kharoshthi script appears in its fully developed form about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., and may be supposed to have originated in Taxila. At that time no advanced form of civilization appears to have existed within the region of East Turkestan. In that area the earliest finds of Kharoshthi date from the 2nd century A.D., and are written in an Indian dialect properly belonging to western Panjāb.

The distribution of Kharoshthi script no doubt largely coincides with that of the Indo-Scythians, by whom it, above all, was used in their political administration. From Konow's investigations it appears that many of the tribes that at the beginning of the Christian era were mutually contending for supremacy in East Turkestan and north-western India were closely interrelated. Thus the Sakas, the Yüeh-chih, and the Kushans must have been Iranians and speaking some languages akin to that which was then current in the oases of southern East Turkestan. The latter language, which so far has been known as East Iranian, North Aryan, or Khotani, ought, in the opinion of Lüders and Konow, more properly be referred to as Sakish. It thus appears that the Khotan people were closely related to the bearers of the Indo-Scythian culture and it is evident that lively intercourse with north-western India was carried on. One of the most important results of this was the introduction of Buddhism.

From Konow's researches it appears that Khotan should be credited with having played a considerably more important part in history than hitherto has been supposed. Thus the great king Kanishka seems to have belonged to the ruling dynasty of Khotan, whence, in one of the years following A.D. 125, he set out on an expedition of conquest, in the course of which he founded his kingdom in north-western India. Towards the end of his reign he returned to Khotan, where he probably was murdered in the year 152.

Through Kanishka's land conquests, Indian influence was naturally strengthened in Khotan, besides which Buddhism was there firmly established. From that time Sanscrit was adopted as the literary language of religion, while Kharoshthi was retained for the purposes of public administration.

During the reign of the Han dynasty the first great expansion period of the Chinese Empire occurred. In A.D. 73 the celebrated general Pan Ch'ao conquered Khotan, and the oasis was brought under Chinese rule. It is, however, probable that its political position was a fairly independent one, and it became still more so in proportion as the imperial authority in the suzerain country gradually weakened.

On the basis of Stein's anthropometrical records Joyce has analyzed the present population of Khotan.¹ He establishes the fact that Mongolian features are absent,

¹ Joyce 1903.

but that there is a close affinity to the Aryan Tajiks (Galchas). That there is some admixture of Tibetan and Turkish blood he considers obvious. The first mentioned element no doubt originates from an early Tibetan invasion of Khotan, and it is not impossible that the legendary accounts of battles between the earliest immigrants from India and certain invaders from China are founded on this earliest Tibetan occupation. The Turks' contribution to this intermingling of blood must be dated at the period following the Mohammedan conquest. It is interesting to observe that the Khotanese of our days exactly correspond to the descriptions that Chinese writers of the T'ang period give of their ancestors.

From the prosperous era of Khotan we possess a number of exceedingly interesting accounts, of which pious Buddhist pilgrims from China are the authors. In the initial years of the 5th century the monk Fa Hsien, accompanied by some brethren in the Faith, made a journey on foot from China by way of the deserts to East Turkestan, and from there to India. I am here giving an excerpt of his narrative, because it supplies a vivid background to archaeological finds that I shall describe later.

»This country is prosperous and happy; its people are well-to-do; they have all received the Faith, and find their amusement in religious music. The priests number several tens of thousands, most of them belonging to the Greater Vehicle. The people live scattered about; and before the door of every house they build small pagodas, the smallest of which would be about twenty feet in height. They prepare rooms for travelling priests, and place them at the disposal of priests who are their guests, together with anything else they may want. The ruler of the country lodged Fa Hsien and his companions comfortably in a monastery, called Gomati, which belonged to the Greater Vehicle. At the sound of a gong, three thousand priests assemble to eat. When they enter the refectory, their demeanour is grave and ceremonious; they sit down in regular order; they all keep silence; they make no clatter with their bowls, etc.; and for the attendants to serve more food they do not call out to them, but only make signs with their hands.

In this country there are fourteen large monasteries, without counting the smaller ones. Beginning on the first day of the fourth moon, the main thoroughfares inside the city are swept and watered, and the side-streets are decorated. Over the city gate they stretch a large awning with all kinds of ornamentation, under which the king and queen and Court ladies take their places. The priests of the Gomati monastery belong to the Greater Vehicle, which is deeply venerated by the king; and they take the first place in the procession. At a distance of three or four *li* from the city, a four-wheeled image-car is made, over thirty feet in height, looking like a movable »Hall of Buddha«, and adorned with the seven preciousities, with streaming pennants and embroidered canopies. The image of Buddha is placed in the middle of the car, with two attendant Bôdhisatvas and dêvas (Brahman demigods) following behind. These are all beautifully carved in gold and silver and are suspended in the air. When the images are one hundred paces from

the city gate, the king takes off his cap of State and puts on new clothes; walking barefoot and holding flowers and incense in his hands, with attendants on each side, he proceeds out of the gate. On meeting the images, he bows his head down to the ground, scatters flowers and burns the incense. When the images enter the city, the queen and Court ladies who are on the top of the gate scatter far and wide all kinds of flowers which flutter down, and thus the splendour of decoration is offered up complete. The cars are all different; each monastery has a day for its own procession, beginning on the first of the fourth moon and lasting until the fourteenth when the processions end and the king and queen go back to the palace.

Seven or eight *li* to the west of this city, there is a monastery called the King's New Monastery. It took eighty years to build and the reigns of three kings before it was completed. It is about two hundred and fifty feet in height, ornamentally carved and overlaid with gold and silver, suitably finished with all the seven preciousities. Behind the pagoda there is a Hall of Buddha which is most splendidly decorated. Its beams, pillars, folding doors, and windows, are all gilt. Besides this, there are apartments for priests, also beautifully and fitly decorated, beyond expression in words. The kings of the six countries to the east of the Bolor-Tagh range make large offerings of whatsoever most valuable things they may have, keeping few for their personal use.»¹

The Khotan culture that was built up on Indian foundations no doubt continued to exist right up to the time of the Turkish conquest of the country. Politically speaking, the oasis has evidently passed through alternative periods of Tibetan and Chinese influence. Numerous scattered notices in the chronicles concerning Khotan have been compiled by Rémusat. From these it is apparent that at times there existed a lively intercourse with China, and an impression is conveyed of the wealth and importance of the place. Its cultivated area was of greater extent than it is at the present day, and Stein considers that it covered the whole region between Kara-kash and Yurung-kash in the northern part of the oasis.²

In the year 644 Hsüan Tsang stayed a considerable time in Khotan, and his account is extremely valuable for the identification of the many ruined sites, as has been fully proved by Stein's researches. Of the country and people he writes, *inter alia*; »This country is about 4 000 *li* in circuit; the greater part is nothing but sand and gravel (a sandy waste); the arable portion of the land is very contracted. What land there is, is suitable for regular cultivation and produces abundance of fruits. The manufactures are carpets, haircloth of a fine quality, and fine-woven silken fabrics. Moreover it produces white and green jade. — — They have a knowledge of politeness and justice. The men are naturally quiet and respectful. They love to study literature and the arts, in which they make considerable advance. The people live in easy circumstances, and are contented with their lot.

¹ Giles pp. 4—6.

² Stein 1921, vol. I. p. 93.

This country is renowned for its music; the men love the song and the dance. Few of them wear garments of skin (felt) and wool; most wear taffetas and white linen. Their external behaviour is full of urbanity; their customs are properly regulated.»¹

The final break with the ancient traditions was effected by the introduction of Mohammedanism, which devastated temples and monasteries and put an end to the intercourse that from time immemorial had existed with the great Buddhist states. When Marco Polo arrived in Khotan the change had been accomplished and all the inhabitants had become Mohammedans.

THE «CULTURE STRATUM» AT YOTKAN (BORAZAN)

On the 5th of January 1896 Sven Hedin's caravan, after a long march from Kashgar and Yarkand, filed into Khotan. It was here that equipment, servants, etc., for projected fresh journeys through the desert were to be procured, and a stay of a few days therefore became necessary.

In the home of the Russian Consul-General at Kashgar, Petrovskij, Dr Hedin had been shown the beautiful collection of archaeological objects from Khotan that his host had obtained through the agency of West Turkestan merchants. He therefore decided to visit the village of Borazan, some five kilometres to the west of the city of Khotan, where those objects had been found. On this subject his diary for January 9th says:

»Excursion to Borasan, via Shōrbāgh, the village most adjacent to Yangishahr, Gāsin and its canal (*östāng*) Kashe-östāng, whereupon one arrives at a deeply cut ravine sunk between 15 meters high, perpendicular loess walls, at the bottom of which even now a watercourse is flowing; this is the Korche river arm, here joining an exactly similar one from Khalche. A little farther on we strike the latter, and at its bottom, i.e. between two fairly widely separated ravine banks, we came upon the famous archaeological site. Here the loess banks have a height of 8 m, the water is gradually washing away the loess clay, and between these two banks stand a few small *yar*-horsts which will soon be obliterated by the action of the water; between these banks, where flows the stream — at this time of the year fed by springs but in winter also by river water — the loess clay has been washed away, and there lies bare a substratum which is rich in pebbles and stone fragments, and here — in spring-time and in summer — when the water year by year continues to carry away the super-imposed clay — the local inhabitants collect those remarkable objects of terra-cotta, bronze and precious stones, including now and again a Buddha image. In the winter-time, when very little water flows and the passage is nearly dry, no finds are recoverable, and we, too, searched to no purpose. In places the clay appeared to indicate the presence of ancient walls of buildings, and excavation revealed charcoal from old fireplaces. That these remains

¹ Beal, p. 309.

must be of great antiquity is evident from the fact that they are covered by a loess deposit 8 metres in depth, which must have required a considerable time to stratify. No doubt this area of archaeological remains extends very far below the loess, and only an insignificant portion of it has been laid bare by water erosion, although by this agency future discoveries may be expected».

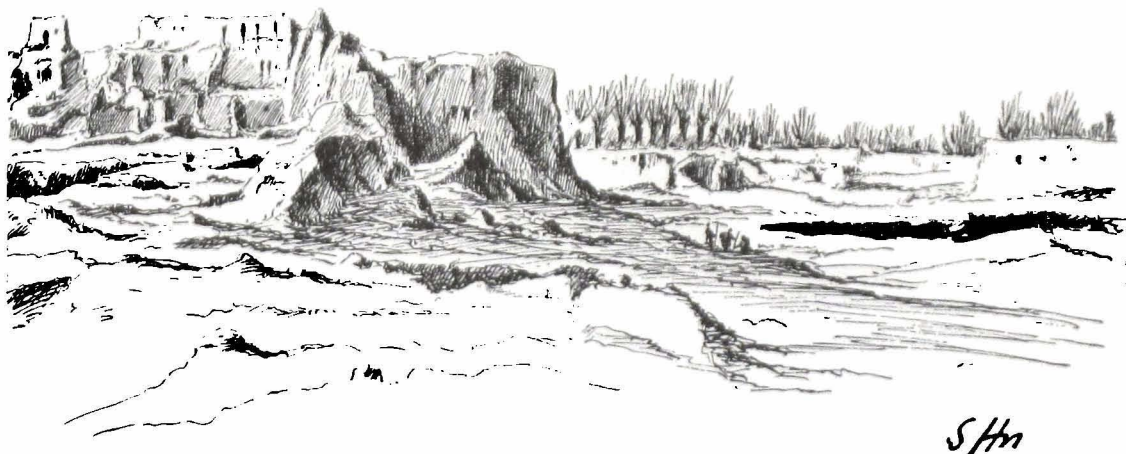


Fig. 1. The archaeological site at Yotkan (Borazan). Sketch by Dr. Sven Hedin 1896.

Writing home on Jan. 10, 1896, Hedin says: »Yesterday I visited the village of Borazan, where those remarkable Buddhist antiquities are found, but I made practically no discoveries. On the other hand the natives come along daily with their terra-cotta figures, pots, precious stones with engraved portraits, coins, Buddha images etc., and I have acquired a lot of these things cheaply enough. There is an old Tartar, of Orenburg, living here, by the name of Rafikoff, and he speaks Russian fluently. He has paid me several visits, and when I called upon him he presented me with a number of these antiquities.» —

From a later visit to Khotan there is in the diary (31. 5. 1896) the following entry: »Now natives come to me every day offering for sale silken carpets and antiquities, the latter, however, mostly consisting of trifling things, such as broken sherds and grimy coins. To-day, however, I picked up, for three *sär* a golden coin engraved with two figures — one holding one cross, the other two crosses, in its hands — in good preservation. I also acquired two extremely tattered Sanscrit manuscripts from the deserts below Hanguja, seven days' journey distant. These things had been procured for me by an Afghan, who promised to hunt up some more.»

In all, Dr. Hedin's archaeological collections from Khotan amounted to 523 numbers (apart from coins and manuscripts). A preliminary account of his finds is given in his travelling report »En färd genom Asien», Vol. II, in which a number of the objects are depicted.¹ For many reasons a detailed analysis of this mat-

¹ English edition: Through Asia, London 1898. German edition: Durch Asiens Wüsten, Leipzig 1899.

erial has been deferred until now, but in the following pages an attempt will be made to analyse it. The delay has had the great advantage that in the meantime many important collections from Khotan have become available through publications, affording abundant opportunities for comparisons.

In 1903 Dr. Sven Hedin presented all his archaeological collections to Statens Etnografiska Museum (The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden), Stockholm, which institution later as a loan deposit placed them in Östasiatiska Samlingarna (The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities), Stockholm.

At the suggestion of Dr. A. R. Rudolf Hoernle the Government of India issued in 1893 instructions to its Political Agents in East Turkestan to collect manuscripts and archaeological finds. The valuable material thus gradually brought together was studied and published by Dr. Hoernle at about the turn of the century in the form of two monographs of fundamental importance.¹

In the year following Dr. Hedin's visit some other Europeans also came to see the Yotkan (Borazan) cultural site, and subsequently reported on it to Dr. Hoernle, who writes as follows:

»This place was visited by Messrs. Högberg and Bäcklund, Swedish Missionaries in Kashgar, in 1897. It was also visited by Mr. Macartney in the spring of the same year. In his demi-official letter, No. 121, dated 21st July, 1897, he states that 'It is a largely populated village about 5 miles west of the Khotan Chinese city. Some gold ornaments, beads, precious stones (diamonds and *hadik*) and terracotta images have been discovered there'. In a private letter, dated the 20th October, 1897, Mr. Macartney informs me that when he visited Borazan, he 'found a number of villagers engaged in digging into the side of a loess cliff, the lower portion of which visibly contained a large quantity of broken pottery, bones and decomposed vegetable matter. The stratum in which the excavations were being made was about 12 feet below the level of the present village. The layer which lies immediately above this formation, and on which stands the village, is also of loess; but it is noteworthy that this upper layer shows no streaks or stratification, a fact which points to the conclusion that the deposit was formed during one single flood. Geologically speaking, therefore, there appears nothing furnishing an indication of the time during which the lower stratum has been covered. I enquired of the villagers whether there was any tradition about Borazan having once been destroyed by flood, but no information could be elicited on this point. They knew nothing about it'. Mr. Bäcklund, however, informs me, in a letter, dated the 10th of October, 1898, that 'Borazan is said to have been a large town with forty gates, which was conquered by a Rustam who burnt it and led a rivulet into the place. These things are said to have taken place before the Moslim time'. He adds that 'the town in the place seen by me is now buried under the mud up to 25—30

¹ Hoernle 1899, 1902.

feet, as it seemed to me. It is an archaeological site where clay images have been found» (Hoernle 1899, pp. XII—XIII).

From Mr. Högberg, one of the Swedish missionaries just referred to, the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm acquired in 1901 a collection of pottery fragments, etc., from Yotkan, probably obtained during the above-mentioned visit. Many of these fragments are, from various points of view, of great interest and will be dealt with below.

The Russian Government likewise caused their agents in East Turkestan to procure collections for the museum at St. Petersburg. The above-mentioned Petrovskij collection was described by G. Kiseritskij as early as in 1896.

The French expedition under leadership of M. J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins in the years 1891—93 also visited Khotan, and the other member, M. F. Grenard, whose sojourn at the place was of some duration, has made extremely valuable contributions to the study of the archaeology and ethnology of the oasis. It is probable that he was the first to identify Yotkan with the ancient capital.¹

In November 1900 Sir Aurel Stein arrived at Khotan on his first important archaeological expedition, and he then also visited Yotkan, of which he gives a detailed description.² About a mile and a half west of Yotkan, at Chalbash, there begins a ravine which joins those at Kashe, a mile east of Yotkan. At a swampy place where the ravine slightly widened out the local inhabitants used to collect pottery fragments and objects of gold. Washing operations were then instituted, and these evidently yielded good results.

According to information given to Stein, the ravine in question, the so-called Yotkan Yar, came into existence sometime about 1868 or 1870 owing to the fact that the irrigation canal by means of which water was brought from Karakash was then beginning to cut down through the loess soil. When reports of archaeological finds reached the governor, Niaz Hakim Beg, he at once organized excavating and washing work on a large scale, and the work has been carried on ever since, with a certain measure of success. These operations widened the ravine more and more, so that Stein estimated the excavated area at »more than half a square mile».

The archaeological stratum, the southern and western section of which is from 5 to 8 feet deep, and its northern section 13 to 14 feet, is of a brownish colour and consists of the remains of miscellaneous refuse, as well as, probably, structural remains. The superimposed surface layer has a depth varying from 9 to 20 feet, is devoid of any trace of later habitation, and has, as Stein points out, undoubtedly been formed by the sludge that has been spread out over the fields by the irrigation canals. Previously there had obtained a fantastic belief in an immense flood by

¹ Grenard, pp. 127—134, 137—139.

² Stein 1903, pp. 257 et seq. Map of Yotkan—Stein 1907, pl. XXIII.

which the former city had been obliterated, a theory in support of which, according to Stein, no acceptable evidence can be advanced.¹

On his visit above referred to, and also on subsequent occasions Stein got together large collections of ceramics, etc., excellent accounts of which have been published. With the beginning of the present century this goldwashing seems to have declined in importance, owing, among other things, to agriculture having become more profitable.² Hence the harvest of pottery fragments, coins, and the like, has declined, although Stein as well as other explorers have nevertheless collected a good deal of interesting material. Among the more casual visitors who have obtained from Yotkan archaeological collections and subsequently printed descriptions and illustrations of them special mention may be made of Mr. O. T. Crosby and Miss E. Sykes.

In his vivid and interesting descriptions of East Turkestan C. P. Skrine writes, *inter alia*, as follows: »Our most interesting excursions, however, were in November, 1922, and May, 1924, when we visited the site of Yotkan, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Khotan, some five miles south-west of the modern town. A few months before our first visit a great mass of loess bluff some 20 feet high had fallen away owing to erosion by irrigation water and had laid bare a new section of the Yotkan 'culture stratum' from 2 feet 3 inches to 5 feet 4 inches thick, lying at an average depth of 15 feet below the upper level of the fields. The composition of this stratum was of a stiff bluish clay, and its contents consisted chiefly of potsherds, animal bones, lumps of charcoal, coins and small metal objects corroded almost out of recognition, fragments of white jade, red and green glass and so on. But more valuable and interesting objects had also been found by the treasure-seekers who had been washing the clay of the stratum for gold most of the summer. In this place where 'trippers' were unknown it did not seem to occur to these people that we might be ready to buy curios found by them during their washings for gold in the stratum, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that we induced them to bring along a few articles they had found. Anything containing gold or precious stones, good jade, etc., had of course been sold in the Khotan bazaar long before, but we succeeded in buying from the villagers a few objects of interest. Of these the best were a beautiful little soapstone figure of the goddess Sarasvati and her peacock, a couple of carnelian intaglios and some quaint clay animals.»³

A small collection of pottery specimens from Yotkan and other archaeological sites in East Turkestan have been brought to Sweden by Dr. Nils Ambolt, astronomer of the Hedin Expedition. The Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, has through von Le Coq's expedition acquired similar material, which the present writer has had the privilege of studying by means of photographs that very courteously were placed at his disposal. Trinkler's collections in Museum für Völkerkunde, Bremen, are not

¹ Cf. Mr. George Macartney's letter, Hoernle 1899, p. XIII.

² Stein 1921, vol. I, p. 94.

³ Skrine p. 171.

yet published but have been studied during a personal visit in the Museum. The National Museum of Helsingfors has archaeological material from Khotan brought together by Field-marshal Baron C. G. E. Mannerheim.¹

TYPES AND SHAPES OF YOTKAN POTTERY.

As has already been pointed out, all the material so far published from the Yotkan culture stratum originates from the finds made by the gold washers. Systematic research, in which everything found would have been preserved, has in no case been carried out. A natural consequence of this is that we know a mass of decorative details, but exceedingly few complete vessels. Of the types of purely everyday pottery we know practically nothing. Undecorated potsherds were always thrown away by the treasure-seekers as being valueless. In the following I propose to make an attempt at summarizing the leading pottery types such as they appear from the archaeological material.

Of plain utility vessels from Yotkan I know only a few, as I have said, and those have been published by Sir Aurel Stein. Seeing that a highly developed metal-working technique existed, one can hardly expect to recover any number of earthenware cooking vessels. On the other hand there ought to be found jars, pitchers and dishes for keeping and serving food, wine, etc., yet Sven Hedin's collection does not include a single plain earthenware vessel of that kind. Those acquired by Stein have almost universally only one handle, fairly narrow neck, and are footless.² A jug, remarkable for its well-balanced proportions, was acquired on his first visit. Its resemblance to Greek vessels of the type known as *oenochôê* is striking.³ Two small vessels of fruit shape, and of better finish, are likewise only provided with a single handle.⁴

Stein also shows a small, plain clay vessel, handleless, but with a low neck and wide mouth. It has been blackened by smoke, and has evidently been used for cooking purposes, or the like.⁵

Although there are among the Yotkan finds exceedingly few clay vessels that are complete, we are not entirely without other possibilities for obtaining information about pottery types. The many miniature vessels may well be considered as essentially trustworthy models. They were probably manufactured for the purpose of being used as toys. There are a good many such ones in the Hedin collection. The *oenochôê* type referred to above is represented, Pl. XVII, 16, and other jugs of clumsier shapes have similarly only one handle, Fig. 2, Pl. XVII, 21, 23, which also

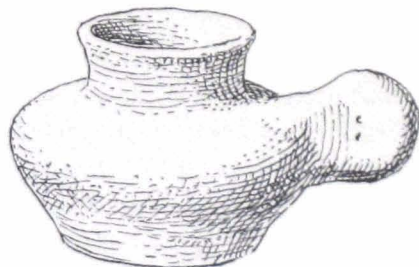


Fig. 2. (03.11.336). Small terra-cotta vessel. 1: 1.

¹ Donner, pp. 32—33. Tallgren 1919.

² Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. IV (Khot. 00102, Yo. 0060). 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo. 0158).

³ » 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIII (Yo. 0024). Cf. Gjerstad, pls. CXXXVI—VII.

⁴ » 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIII (Y. 0027 a, Y. 0028).

⁵ Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo. 02).

applies to the small vessel of prism shape, Pl. XVII, 20. Similar miniature vessels are also illustrated by Hoernle and Stein.¹ The models so far referred to are evidently designed to represent comparatively simple vessels, but examples occur of somewhat more perfected types. One of these once had a relief ornament in the form of a bird whose wings and body were attached to the wall of the vessel, while the neck, now broken off, and the head projected from it, Pl. XVII, 19. The flat and broad handle on another miniature vessel, Pl. XVII, 17, is suggestive of metal objects belonging to early Mediterranean civilizations.²

Clay vessels with two handles are not found in the Hedin collection, but several are depicted both by Hoernle and Stein.³ An exceedingly beautiful specimen is described by the latter as »having the shape of a pilgrim bottle and resembling Samian ware.»⁴ Its applied relief decoration is typical of Yotkan. Stein possesses a fragment of an amphora-like vessel, probably once of a tall and slender shape with incised ornamentation.⁵

The types of Yotkan ceramics dealt with in the foregoing do not present any especially remarkable features. Similar types are found in various localities in Asia. Three-handled vessels, on the other hand, appear to have constituted the show-pieces upon which decorative ornamentation was concentrated. I should at once mention here that, so far as I know, not a single vessel of this type has been recovered in its entirety; on the other hand, larger or smaller fragments have been found in abundance. Those acquired by Sven Hedin in 1896 still form the most valuable part of the material. Pl. III, 2 shows the most nearly complete of the examples in its present state, while Pl. II, 1 illustrates a reconstruction with the missing parts added. Shape and proportions will be apparent from the illustrations. The body of the vessel is widest at about two thirds of its height counting from the bottom, and at that point a thick appliqué band with dentated edges runs round the vessel. The foot is only 1 cm. high. From the reinforcing rim the shoulder narrows sharply towards the neck, whose diameter is less than one third of the greatest diameter of the body. From the upper part of the shoulder issue the three outward-curving handles. At its top-part the neck again widens so as to form the mouth, and to this the upper ends of the handles are attached. The decoration consists of incised parallel lines as well as of moulded ornaments applied before firing. Below each of the handles was placed an appliqué moulded ornament.

Another vessel of the same type, though smaller, is seen in Pl. III, 3. Only the

¹ Hoernle 1899, pl. XIX, Nrs, 21, 40, 44. Hoernle 1902, pl. VIII, Nr. 9. Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLVI (Yo. 0012 x).

² Cf Kiseritskij, fig. 23.

³ Hoernle 1899, pl. XIX, 41—43, 45. Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. III. Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Y. 01).

⁴ Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo. 01). Cf. Marshall 1921, pl. XXVI. Cf. Gjerstad pls. CXXXI, CXXXIV.

⁵ Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIII (Y. 0022).

body with its appliqué ornaments is preserved, while the whole of the neck and the three handles are missing. In place of the reinforcing band of the foregoing, there are here two incised lines between which a row of dots are indented.

Pl. IV,1 represents the upper part of a fine large vessel, which on the lines of those already described is shown reconstructed in Pl. I. Here all three handles, the neck, and part of the shoulder are preserved. Apart from its decoration, which will be dealt with further on, this fragment is of great interest as it shows the wide, cup-shaped mouth, which was circular, i.e. without a lip. Like those mentioned in the foregoing, this vessel shows distinct marks of the throwing process. Two more necks of clay vessels of this type will be described, along with their decorative designs.

Both Hoernle and Stein have published parts of similar vessels.¹ A miniature vessel in Högberg's collection is of the same type, Pl. XVII, 22.

In his treatise published in 1902 Hoernle dwells at length especially upon three-handled clay vessels. On the basis of the available material, which included the illustrations given in Sven Hedin's work »Through Asia», he attempted a reconstruction of this type. Up to the present, however, it cannot be determined with any certainty whether he has succeeded in giving an essentially correct picture, seeing that no vessel with griffin handles has yet been recovered. That it deviates in several details from the original may be accepted as fairly certain. At any rate the shaping of the mouth, the placing of the appliqué ornaments, the arrangement of the masques, etc., do not agree with the material collected by Hedin and Stein.

There can be no doubt that there existed in the Yotkan culture a number of types of clay vessels that have hitherto not been recovered. We possess fragments that indicate this fact, and I shall recur to this question in my discussion on decoration.

Moreover Hoernle, though early in the field, interested himself in the geographical distribution of the three-handled type. He showed that clay vessels with three identical handles are known from the early Mediterranean culture but not from classical times.² A number of vessels of this type have been illustrated and described by Forsdyke.³ It should be noted, however, that these vessels of the late Mycenaean era generally appear to have had small handles, with their upper junctions similarly resting against the shoulder. This point of correspondence may not, however, prove to be of any very great importance.

Unfortunately I have not had an opportunity of finding, to any very adequate extent, material from India for purposes of comparison. It is highly probable that an intimate knowledge of Indian ceramics of the centuries next before and after

¹ Hoernle 1902, pl. VIII, 2, 8.

Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIII (Y. 0023).

Stein 1928, vol. IV, pl. I (Yo. 04).

² Hoernle 1902, p. 43.

³ Forsdyke, pp. 144—148.

the beginning of the Christian era would provide valuable clues for tracing the prototypes of the Yotkan pottery. Cousens has published a description of a clay vessel from Brahmanabad, a three-handled one apparently.¹ At Taxila a number of clay vessels have been found corresponding to those of Yotkan, but the majority of them are of plain shape.² Some of them have two handles, others are provided with one handle and a spout. Three-handled vessels are absent.

In the Hedin collections from Yotkan are preserved two examples of the peculiar clay vessel type known as bifrons vessels. As the name indicates, the body of such

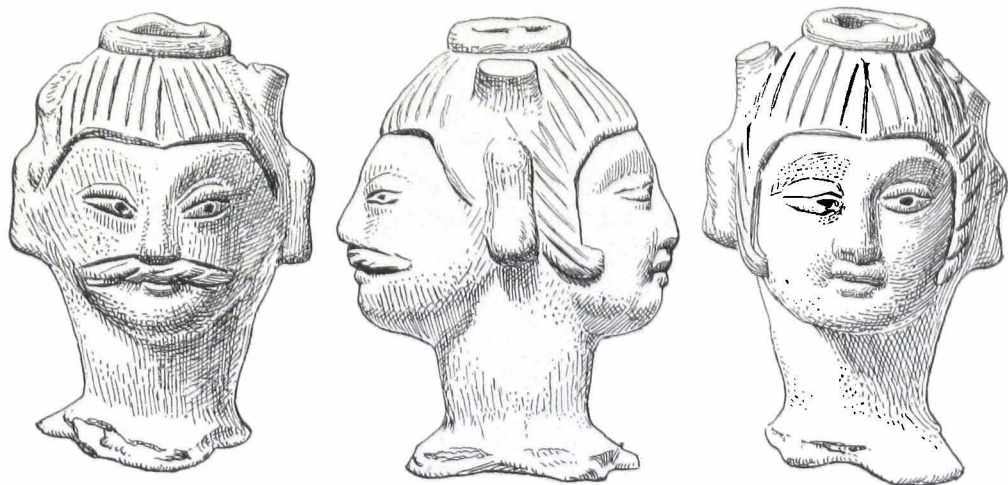


Fig. 3. (03.11.246). Terra-cotta bifrons vessel. Cf. Pl. III, 4 a—c. 2: 3.

a vessel is decorated with a human face on either side, so that each of these faces forms the occiput of the other. It is typical of these vessels that in every case one face is male and the other female. The vessel consists of two halves, moulded separately and stuck together before firing. Their junction runs through the median axis of the vessel and the projections that represent the jointly possessed ears. Immediately above these a horn projects obliquely on each side. Whether these horns are rudimentary handles, or whether they served as points of attachment for a possible suspension cord, I am unable to determine. Pl. III, 4 a—c shows one of these vessels, which is almost intact. The foot, which is composed of the neck possessed in common by the two faces, is of small diameter, and it appears probable that the vessel was principally designed for hanging.

The second example in the Hedin collection, however, had a foot of greater width and stability, Fig. 3. It has a short neck with a narrow mouth. The male face has sharply defined moustaches, while the female face is adorned in front of the ears with locks recalling side-whiskers, a feature also very typical of the clay figures that will be dealt with further on.

¹ Cousens, pl. X.

² Marshall 1920, pl. XX—XXII. Marshall 1921, pl. XXV—XXVI.

Stein, too, added a vessel of this type to his collection.¹ It very readily occurs to one to connect these vessels with their antique counterparts. From Mycenaean times and right up to the Greco-Roman era, similar representations in stone, clay or glass are known.² They appear to have been especially popular in Cyprus, whose part as a prominent factor in the history of the development of the Mediterranean culture is being more and more recognized.

The bifrons vessels of the Yotkan ceramics may undoubtedly be set down as late descendants of the antique types. There exists a close resemblance, but considerable divergences also occur. Thus, for example, the Yotkan vessels universally carry a male and a female face, while their classical counterparts are decorated either with two female or two male heads.³ Again, a narrow neck and mouth are characteristic of the Yotkan finds, while the antique ones often consist of wide cups on a low foot.

A quaint Janus head in bronze, from Yotkan, is depicted by Stein among his acquisitions from his second expedition to East Turkestan.⁴ A similar object in the Hedin collections will be described in Vol. 9 of this Bulletin.

It is not impossible that the inception of the bifrons type may be dated as far back as the Sumerian culture. On this point Contenau writes: »Nous voyons sur de nombreux cylindres où figurent un grand dieu et un fidèle ou un dieu secondaire devant lui, ce personnage à deux visages, servir d'intermédiaire entre le dieu et ceux qui s'adressent à lui.»⁵

STYLES OF ORNAMENTATION IN YOTKAN POTTERY.

In Yotkan ceramics, ornamentation consists of two entirely different kinds, namely incised ornaments and reliefs, or figures previously manufactured in moulds and subsequently stuck on to the vessel. The fact that both kinds often appear on the same vessel does not prevent their conveying an impression of belonging to different periods. Our knowledge of the earlier periods of the history of East Turkestan is, however, still too imperfect to allow of any authoritative pronouncements being made.

The incised or impressed ornaments are as a rule very simple, and therefore contrast fairly sharply with the relief ornamentation founded upon classical prototypes. The upper part of a vessel with three handles, shown in Pl. IV, 1, presents the most common elements that recur without much variation in numberless pottery fragments. In the throwing process a number of parallel lines have been incised, and these have been partly overlaid by reliefs stuck on. Along the middle line of the handles there runs a row of double circles with an indented dot in

¹ Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIII (Y. 0030).

² Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. XXXI, 31—38. Eisen, pl. 74.

³ Cf. Evans, fig. 4, N:r 1210.

⁴ Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. VII (Yo. 00174).

⁵ Contenau, vol. II, p. 627.

their centre, and a similar motif indicates the junction between the body and the neck of the vessel. As a rule it occurs also on the rim of the mouth. The shoulder is decorated with single grooves surrounded by rows of dots alternating with strokes appearing in pairs.

Stein depicts a fragment of a large vessel, presumably originally of amphora shape, which is exclusively ornamented with incised lines.¹ In some places lines in pairs alternate with lattice lines. In other vessels there occasionally occurs incised »herring-bone» ornamentation.

Types of clay vessel handles.

In the various collections that have been obtained from Yotkan clay handles constitute a prominent element. They formed an exceedingly important part of the decorative scheme. It is not always possible to determine to what type of vessel they belong in each case, and I shall not dwell on that point in the following.

Pl. II, 1 and Pl. I give examples of comparatively simple handles, only decorated with circles and strokes, and of this type Stein, too, publishes some examples.² Occasionally they have been provided with a couple of relief figures at their bases, shaped in moulds and affixed prior to firing, Pl. VI, 2.³ Of greater interest are such handles as have been given a zomorphic character, as they distinctly reflect the dependance of the Yotkan ceramics upon the classical civilizations.

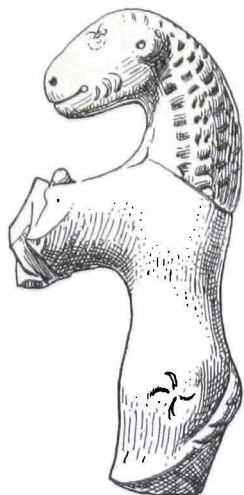


Fig. 4. (03.11.301).
Fragment of »lion-shaped» handle. 2:3.

Handles of lion-shape.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the animals represented by the handles seen in Fig. 4 and Pl. VII, 1—2 are lions. It is true that conventionalization has been carried very far, but several essential features nevertheless remain, such as the sinuous body, the mane covering the neck, and the long tail. The face is stereotyped, with round eyes produced by the impress of a ring, in the centre of which a dot indicates the pupil. The nostrils are similarly represented. Rows of impressed segments convey an excellent illusion of a curly mane. The handles are universally moulded, being separately manufactured in two longitudinal halves, pressed together and worked over. An incised line, running from the forehead over the top of the head down to the point where the neck joins the body, is drawn along the seam.

Hoernle reproduces a fragment of a vessel giving an excellent idea of how the

¹ Stein 1907, pl. XLIII (Y. 0022).

² Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo. 04).

³ Stein 1907, pl. XLV (Kh. 003 m).

lion-shaped handles are placed.¹ The forelegs, which like the hind-legs are always joined together so as to form a support, rest against the neck just below the outward-curving rim of the mouth. The point where the hind-legs are attached is situated roughly in the centre of the shoulder. Thus the head would project above the rim of the vessel.

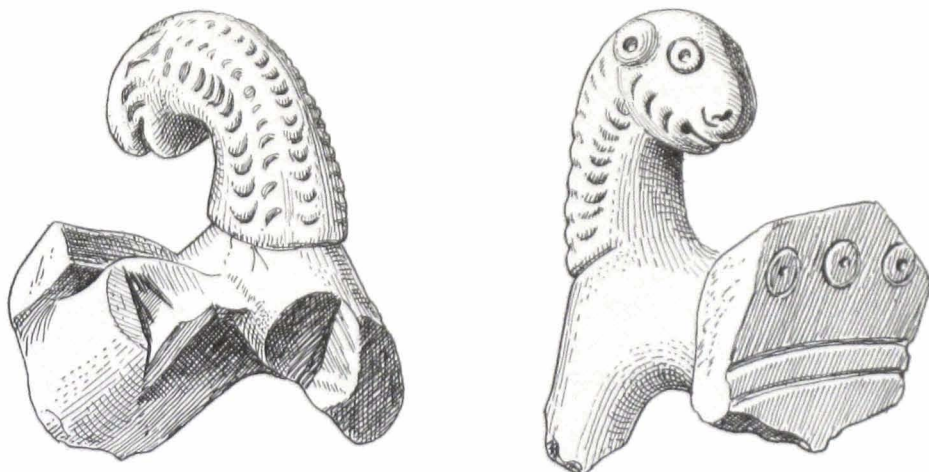


Fig. 5. (35.24 Ambolt coll.). Fragment of double «lion-shaped» handle. 2: 3.

In Ambolt's collection from Yotkan there is an interesting fragment which clearly illustrates how occasionally two such lions were joined together to form a double handle. The portion of the rim that is preserved carries the same annular ornamentation as the one depicted in Pl. I, and it is probable that the vessel in question had three pairs of such double handles, and that it was of a type similar to the reconstructed vessel. In »Serindia» Stein depicts a fragment of a double handle of this type with two lion heads.² Another example is found in the Berlin collections.

The frequent occurrence of lion figures in early Indian art is so well known that there is no need for me to dilate upon the subject. I should merely like to mention the fine crowning figures of the so-called Aśoka columns.³

Handles of griffin-shape.

In all collections from Yotkan fragments of figures representing birdlike animals occur in greater or less numbers. They have been described as winged horses, or even as if the head represented that of a camel. Both of these suppositions are contradicted by the unmistakable horse and camel figures that will be described further on, and which are of an entirely different character. I am inclined to refer the figures in question to the numerous race of fantastic Oriental animals, and to describe them as griffins.

¹ Hoernle 1902, pl. VIII, 8.

² Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. II (Yo. 0045 e).

³ Cf. Coomaraswamy 1927, pl. IV.

Like the lion representations just referred to, the griffin figures served as handles of clay vessels. The forelegs and the hind-legs, each pair joined together, combine to form supports, the forelegs resting against the upper portion of the neck of the vessel, and the hind-legs against the shoulder. So far no clay vessel has been recovered with this type of handles still preserved.

Pl. IV, 4 reproduces a very fine example from amongst the Hedin collections. It has belonged to a very large vessel and is strongly modelled. On a maned neck rests an eagle's head, from the crown of which rises a projection built up in offsets like the horn of a unicorn. The wings are short, folded on the back and issuing from a disc with incised ornamentation at each shoulder. A short tail bends upwards along the back. The loins are provided with voluted ornaments of which the rays terminate in small

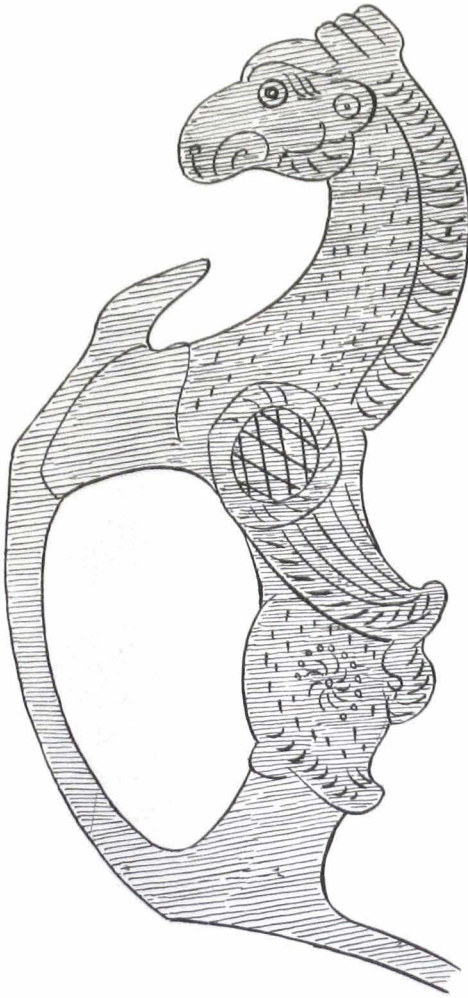


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of «griffin-shaped» handle attached to wall of vessel.
Cf. Pl. IV, 4. 1: 2.

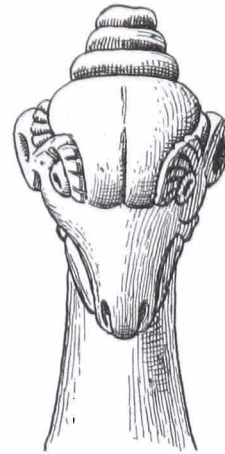


Fig. 7 (03.11.297). Head of «griffin-shaped» handle. 2: 3.

circles. The support to the hind-legs is unfortunately broken off, but with the aid of other finds its length can be determined approximately, cf, Fig. 6. At any rate the larger figures of this type have on their bodies scattered short incised lines, possibly meant to indicate feathers.

Fragments of this type of handles occur, as already mentioned, in large numbers and in varying dimensions.¹ They are made in two halves, pressed in moulds and put together, and then affixed to the vessel.

¹ Kiscritskij, fig. 12—13. Grenard, pl. VII. Hoernle 1902, pl. VIII. Stein 1907, pl. XLV. Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. III. Tallgren 1919, figs. 14—15.

That this decorative creation of fancy is connected with similar objects elsewhere may be regarded as self-evident. The fabled fauna of the Orient has hardly been fully explored as yet, as fresh material is constantly turning up. As early as in ancient Susa the griffin occurred fully developed, and Contenau published an example which he dates at about 3000 B.C.¹ According to the opinion expressed by Strzygowski, the origin of the idea may be traced back to the nomad peoples of Central Asia.² It is not surprising that we find it a popular motif in Indian art, which at different times received its strongest impulses from the north-west. Already in the pre-Hellenic style the griffin occurs among the sculptural motifs of the Maurya, Sunga and Andhra periods.³ On Indian soil the Near Eastern elements developed afresh, were inspired with new ideas, and became bearers of the figures of a luxuriantly expanding mythology. The fabled animals surrounding the bodhi-tree at the eastern gate in Sanchi include griffins, the heads of which strongly recall the Yotkan clay-vessel handles.⁴ On their foreheads the former also wear a crest, or tuft, which may well be supposed to have developed into the horn-like projection on the foreheads of the latter. Griffins akin to these, executed in relief, are depicted from Bāmiyān.⁵

The evolution of the Garuda type is no doubt connected with the griffin motif from the remotest antiquity.

Appliqué reliefs decorating clay vessel necks.

As already mentioned, in the most elaborately ornamented vessels of Yotkan ceramics the decoration is concentrated upon handles, neck and shoulder. With a view to clearness I propose here also to arrange the material in groups according to the relation of the details as to form and placing.

Gandharvas.

One fairly frequently recurring type of comparatively large and vigorously executed reliefs is usually identified as representations of Gandharva, cf. Pl. V, 3 and Fig. 8 a—b. They represent female beings seated on lotus thrones and holding heavy garlands, their arms raised. Only the upper portion of the body of the figure is visible. Variations of this theme are but slight, relating only to the pose of the hands, the execution of the neck ornament, the shape of the garland, etc. As to their position on the vessel and what purpose they served we can see quite well from a couple of fairly large ornaments illustrated by Hoernle and Stein.

¹ Contenau, vol. I, figs. 295.

² Strzygowski, p. 296.

³ Coomaraswamy 1929, p. 11.

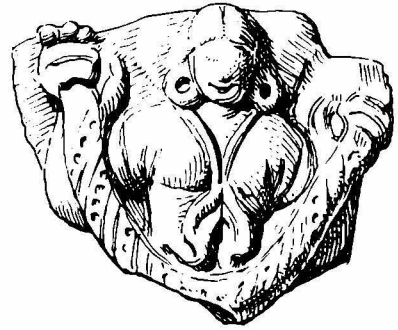
⁴ Grünwedel 1920, fig. 19.

⁵ Hackin 1933, pl. LXXVIII.

respectively.¹ These reliefs formed part of the decoration belonging to clay vessels of considerable size and provided with three handles. As is evident from the fragments in Sven Hedin's collections as well as from Stein's finds, the material in these vessels must have been of unusual thickness. The figures rise in strong



a



b

Fig. 8 a. (03.11.217). Fragment of neck of big vessel with appliqué relief. 1: 1.
 Fig. 8 b. (03.11.222). Fragment of neck of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief. 1: 1.

relief from the neck, which is decorated in the usual manner with impressed circles and lines. In addition there are the small and thin reliefs representing musicians etc., and these will be described later.²

Fig. 8 b shows a Gandharva representation of this class, remarkable for its fine plastic execution.³ The bust part is modelled with exceptional elegance and softness. The ears are ornamented with large circular discs, and behind the head is discernible an aureole represented by a circular disc. The garland is of a type identical with that found in early Indian friezes. It does not appear to me improbable that these Yotkan Gandharva reliefs may constitute a later form of development of the above-mentioned friezes which, so to speak, have been broken up so that one segment of the garland has been retained by each of the figures.

I am here using the generally adopted term Gandharva for these relief figures while fully recognizing how weak are the grounds on which this term must be considered to be based. Foucher very properly points out the risks involved in any attempt to identify images of the genii, demigods and demons of which Buddhism contains an innumerable host. The Gandharva, however, are tutelary deities who sustain

¹ Hoernle 1902, pl. VIII, 2. Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIII (Y. 0023).

² Cf. Hoernle 1902, pl. VIII, 2, 4.

³ Cf. Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. I (Yo. 0040).

themselves on incense fumes and execute celestial music, and they would have appealed to the imagination of the inhabitants of the Khotan oasis who were always known for their devotion to music. The Gandharva are supposed to be subordinate to Dhritarashtra, one of the four Kings of Heaven, who is the Lord of the East.¹

Among the material of reproductions of ancient Indian art which I have had available for study, I have been unable to find anything directly corresponding to these Yotkan relief figures. That the type as a whole is founded on Indian tradition is obvious, and I have already pointed out that there exists a certain correspondence as to details.² Garland-bearing worshippers occasionally occur in Gandharan art, but they are there executed in a more unconventional and naturalistic style.³

An example of a type resembling the Gandharva figures is reproduced in Pl. V, 4. It represents a man putting a bowl to his mouth. He is adorned with a large garland which hangs in a curve from his shoulders.

In the cave paintings of Kucha this motif is found in a different form. There garland-bearing Gandharvas are seen floating in the air in highly acrobatic postures.⁴ It is probable that paintings of this type once existed on the temples of Khotan, although nothing of that kind has been preserved for the reason that the upper portions of the walls and the roofs have everywhere been obliterated.

»Bacchus» figures.

Among the shoulder-ornament reliefs contained in the Stockholm collections one or two call for particular attention as they constitute the most complete examples of their type that have so far been recovered. Pl. V, 1 shows the one in the best state of preservation (from Högberg's collection), while in Fig. 9 the same object is seen after having been reconstructed by the aid of details from other fragments.⁵ The relief represents a man seated with one knee drawn up and the other resting on the ground. Under his right arm he holds a wine-skin (?), while in his left hand he holds an elongated object raised above his shoulder. On his head is a bordered, peak-shaped piece of headgear resembling the kind worn by the Kirghiz of to-day. The upper part of the body is naked down to the narrow loin-cloth, a suggestion of which is seen below the navel. The posture is easy and at the same time well balanced, and the workmanship is of unusually good quality.

It is not difficult to find parallels to and prototypes of this piece of composition in the realm of Indian culture. Among the Atlantides figures on the Jauliān Stupa, remains can be seen of a figure expressing a kindred motif.⁶ Here, as in many

¹ Cf. Grünwedel 1900, Getty.

² Foucher 1905/22, fig. 117. Waldschmidt, fig. 11 a.

³ Foucher 1905/22, fig. 79, 459.

⁴ Grünwedel 1920 (2), pl. XIII, XIV.

⁵ Marshall 1921, pl. X i.

⁶ Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. I (Yo. 0042, b). Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo. 08). Ryojun Catalogue, pl. LXXI.

other cases where we are seeking some connection between the Yotkan pottery reliefs and Indian sculptural art, we have to content ourselves with features of general resemblance and certain points of correspondence as to details, but these are of such a nature, and appear in such numbers, that a very close connection is beyond all contradiction.

The Bacchic type here dealt with appears to be closely connected with the group

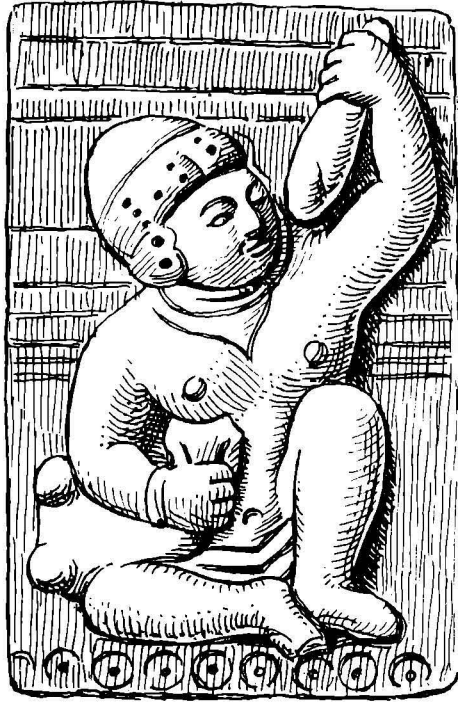


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the relief Pl. V, 1. 1:1.

of figures that Scherman refers to in his interesting paper as the »Dickbauch» type. In this treatise he establishes that the deities of ancient India were by no means averse to the pleasures of wine-drinking. In the early Mathura reliefs are found representations vividly recalling the Yotkan type.¹ The posture and character of the seated figure are approximately identical. In his right hand he is holding a bowl, which in Pl. V, 1 is paralleled by the mouth of the wine-skin, while in his left hand he holds the bag-like object that our Yotkan Bacchus raises aloft. This type of figure has undergone remarkable modifications in the course of time, and quite a number of deities have been made to materialize in this exuberant human shape. It is but natural that the Gods of Wealth and Abundance especially appear in this form. The object carried in the left hand of the Yotkan figure has frequently been turned into a money bag, and it is probable that the mongoose ejecting jewels

¹ Scherman, figs. 12, 14, 19.

from its mouth, which is an attribute of the Kubera images of Lamaism, is of the same origin.

The Yotkan relief, however, appears to be a purely profane Bacchic representation. The bag-like object may well be accepted as some kind of drinking-horn from which the wine is poured in a jet, without putting it to the mouth. Scherman depicts, from Oldenburg, a silver bowl from North West India whereon is seen a figure which, surrounded by bunches of grapes, is drinking his wine in this way. The parallel is made complete by the presence of the wine-skin he is holding under his other arm. This quaint way of drinking is of extreme antiquity in India and still prevails in our days. Out of it have been evolved interesting types of drinking vessels used in the temples of Lamaism.¹

In the Indian Bacchic figures we may have before us traces of early Mediterranean influence from the era preceding the rise of the Gandhara school of art. Primarily it is Dionysos who lent his attributes to the Indian Gods of Abundance, and his spirit is still discernible in the simple reliefs that once decorated wine-jars in distant Khotan.

Minor reliefs.

Beside the larger reliefs already described, which probably decorated their respective clay vessels to the number of three — one in each space between the three handles — there is a group of smaller reliefs that in varying numbers adorned the neck portion of the vessels. They may be divided into two groups: human figures, and purely ornamental devices such as conventionalized vegetable motifs, rosettes, etc. They were universally manufactured in moulds and attached to the vessel before firing. Their execution varies in the quality of the workmanship: occasionally the figures are sharply defined and well shaped, or again they are carelessly made and have blurred outlines. They have of course suffered a great deal of change from wear, as well as from their repose for many centuries in the soil.

Fig. 10 illustrates the rolled-out decoration on the neck of a clay vessel in the Hedin collection. Its lower portion contains a frieze of 12 figures whose motifs clearly indicate that the vessel was used on festive occasions, probably for holding wine. This row consists of three harpers, two syrinx-players, two drummers and one flute-player. Two reliefs are missing, and another is too blurred and worn to be recognizable. The twelfth figure is also indistinct, but a comparison with other published material reveals the motif to consist of two pigeons kissing each other on a bunch of grapes.² Of this, Stein says that it recalls elements of Gandhara sculptures, the Ajanta frescoes and Coptic embroideries.³ That its origin is to be sought in the Hellenistic style is quite certain.

¹ Coomaraswamy-Stewart 1928/29.

² Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIV (Mac. 001).

³ Cf. Foucher 1905/22, fig. 68.

The same applies, as a matter of course, to the grapes and leaves seen in the upper rows. These motifs recur in a variety of combinations on many vessels, as is evident from illustrations given here. The same decorative scheme appears on the large vessel of which a reconstruction is shown in Pl. I. Here, too, the lower portion

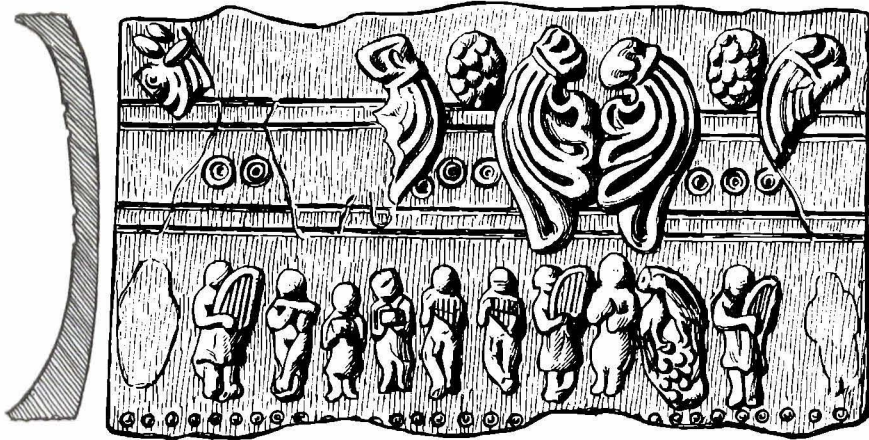


Fig. 10. (03.11.335). Relief decoration of neck of terra-cotta vessel.
Cf. Pl. III, 1. 1: 2.

of the neck is occupied by twelve small reliefs, the majority of which, however, are much worn to allow of any detailed study. It is still possible, however, to discern a motif similar to the foregoing, viz. musicians, kissing pigeons, etc. The upper portion is more richly decorated, having three relief figures, six leaves and six rosettes. The latter belong to the most cherished motifs in Yotkan ceramic art, and also recur later on objects found at Dandān-Uiliq. These rosettes — or jewels, as they are also called — are very largely met with in Indian art, e.g., on the Bharhut reliefs.¹ Among the finds from Bhulia, which Carlleyle identifies with Kapilavastu, the home of Buddha, are depicted fragments comprising jewels and leaves of the same type as is seen on the Yotkan vessels.² Unfortunately the illustrations are not distinct enough to enable me to determine their degree of correspondence.

Among appliqué ornaments attached to necks or shoulders of clay vessels are found various forms of palmettos, bunches of grapes, and leaves.³ They convey a very strong impression of being related to Hellenistic forms.

On the neck of a clay vessel contained in Högborg's collection there are three small reliefs in a good state of preservation, Fig. 11. One of them represents a dancing or floating female figure with her hands placed together above her head. From her shoulders flutter the ends of a veil. There was only room for the upper halves of the legs, but it can clearly be seen that the left is placed over

¹ Coomaraswamy 1927, pl. XII.

² Carlleyle, pl. XII.

³ Grenard, pl. VIII.

the right. An identical figure recurs in one or two of Stein's acquisitions.¹ Similar representations are frequently found in early Indian and Gandhara sculptures.² The other relief contains two figures sitting opposite to each other on lotus thrones and sharing an aureole behind their heads. This group is supported by an elephant.³ Here, too, strong Indian influence is evident.

Among other figures of this class may be especially mentioned the one shown in



Fig. 11. (01.23.2. Högberg coll.). Relief decoration of neck of terra-cotta vessel. 1: 1.

Pl. VI, 3, representing a pair of wrestlers.⁴ In spite of the coarse workmanship, this relief produces an animated effect and vividly recalls modern Mongolian wrestling matches.

During the T'ang dynastic period this class of decoration, with its moulded thin reliefs, was popular in China for ornamenting large and tall vessels.⁵

Shoulder ornamentation.

That portion of vessels which is known as »shoulder» has, as already mentioned, offered great possibilities for ornamentation but it nevertheless appears as if there had been less variation here than on the vessels neck itself. The available material is, however, so comparatively slight and casual that it is advisable to refrain from drawing any too positive conclusions.

Of the incised decoration I have already spoken in the foregoing and pointed out its paucity of motifs. Nor does it play any particular part in three-handled vessels either. Moulded ornaments are altogether predominant and may be divided into two groups: reliefs found on the slightly concave surfaces between the handles, and the appliqué ornaments attached below the juncture of the handles.

¹ Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLV (Kh. 003, c).

Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. II (Badr. 033).

² Smith, V. pl. XXXII. British Museum Quarterly, vol. VII. No. 2.

³ Cf. Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIV (Mac. 001). Hoernle 1902, pl. IX, No. 20.

⁴ Cf. Hoernle 1902, pl. IX, No. 20.

⁵ Cf. Hallwylska Samlingen, Grupp XLVIII, IV B. a.d.i. Stockholm 1930.

The simplest, and purely ornamentally executed, relief motifs consist of more or less strongly stylized palmettos and acanthus leaves. Here the classical origin appears beyond all question. However, not a single example of this is contained in the otherwise very comprehensive Hedin collection. I must therefore refer the reader to illustrations in Hoernle, Stein and Grenard.¹ The most commonly occurring motif appears to have been a garland of depending leaves with upturned points. Occasionally the rib of the leaf is also executed in relief, although it is more often merely indicated by incision like the upper portion of the leaf.² The upturned points of the leaves, which are placed close together, form an undulating analogy of what I should like to call the reinforcing band that marks the border between the shoulder and the lower portion of the vessel. An attempt at analyzing the development and degeneration of this motif has been made by Stein.³ These leaf ornaments are also found on the upper parts of the handles (cf. Fig. 12, Ambolts collection). That the lotus-leaf decoration on the shoulder and on the body of vessels is an Indian element is evident from a comparison of Pl. II with a couple of reliquaries from Taxila.⁴

On the other hand we find many excellent examples of larger and more space-filling reliefs in Sven Hedin's collection. A remarkable type, two examples of which are found there, is seen in Pl. XII, 2. A grotesque figure is applied to a pottery fragment, whose thickness indicates that the vessel was a large one. The head is of a model that occurs more frequently than any other, with a large mouth, deeply sunk round eyes, pointed ears, and ear-plugs. Comparison with the copious material of heads of figures will at once make it clear that this was never meant to represent a human face. In many details it more closely resembles the monkey figures. The hands, which are folded on the chest, are holding the ends of a cloth laid over its shoulders. It is not altogether impossible that these lappets in fact constituted the stems of leaf ornaments resembling those issuing from heads of the same type, although of smaller size, which are depicted by Hoernle.⁵

The lower portion of the two figures from the Hedin collection here described is broken off, but another, also fragmentary, example acquired by Stein serves to complete the figure.⁶ The figures have been seated, with their knees wide apart, just above the reinforcing rim, with their feet resting on it. The bulbous belly is naked except for a narrow loin-cloth.

Even these grotesques I consider referable to the »Dickbauch» type mentioned in the foregoing, and which has been dealt with by Scherman. They are of course not to be regarded as images or deities, but as offshoots of the same primary type

¹ Hoernle 1902, pl. IX. Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. III. Grenard pl. VIII.

² Woolley fig. 3.

³ Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. III. vol. I, p. 102.

⁴ Cf. Marshall 1920, pl. X 10 and pl. XII 12.

⁵ Hoernle 1902, pl. IX, fig. 7.

⁶ Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo. 06).

out of which Kubera, and ultimately the Laughing Buddha, have received their forms of representation. It is also conceivable that they are evolved from the often very grotesque Yaksha atlantides that Indian art delights in representing as supporters of stupa foundations.¹

Two more reliefs in the Hedin collection of which I have found no counterparts in other collections from Yotkan are reproduced in Pl. VI, 1. They have been manu-

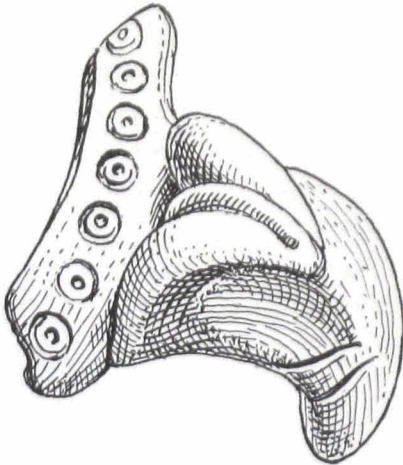


Fig. 12. (35.24. Ambolt coll.). Upper part of handle of terra-cotta vessel. 1: 1.

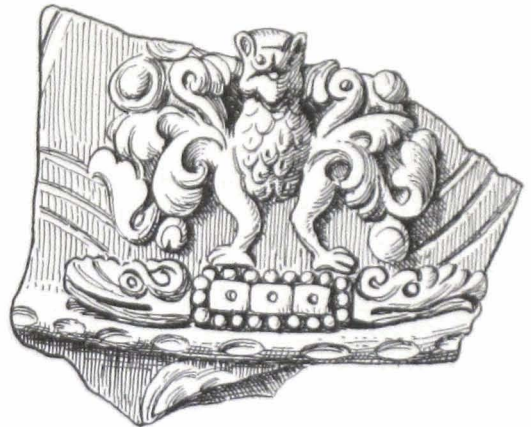


Fig. 13. Reconstruction of part of shoulder of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief representing griffin or Garuda bird. Cf. Pl. VI, 1. 2: 3.

factured in the same mould, but as in one of them the head is missing and the other lacks the foot portion, I have caused a reconstruction to be made, Fig. 13. The motif is easily recognizable: it represents the Garuda bird holding Nagas in its talons.

As will be seen, the bird is shown in direct front view. The beak is broad and parrot-like, roughly resembling the same motif as seen in the Lamaistic paintings. The plumage is distinctly defined, while the legs are powerful and issue from the bird's body from the same point as the wings. The latter have lost all trace of naturalism and have been changed into acanthus leaves.

The bird's talons rest against an ornament that without too great presumption may be interpreted as Nagas. The middle portion consists of a trisected rectangle, surrounded by beads, at each end of which is placed a crocodile's head. The motif must be regarded as very degenerate, but there cannot very well be any doubt as to its origin.

In Indian mythology Garuda, the mythical bird, dates back to remotest antiquity and legends has attributed to it a variety of qualities and functions. It is

¹ Cf. Foucher 1905/22, fig. 313—314. Marshall 1921, pl. XXII i.

the sworn enemy of the Nagas, the snakes, and is generally represented with snakes in its beaks or talons. Already prior to the rise of the Gandhara school, Garudas appeared in Indian art.¹ Coomaraswamy classes them with the ancient Indian motifs.²

From the eastern one of the famous gateways surrounding the great stupa at Sanchi, Grünwedel illustrates a relief in which among other mythological animal figures there is a typical Garuda.³ Further, on the top of the pillar erected in about 170 B.C. a Garuda was placed as a crest.⁴ From Mathura and Newal in the Ganges valley Cunningham illustrates tiles with animals and tritons whose bodies change into the same kind of acanthus leaves as those seen in Fig. 13.⁵ This also applies to the fragments of a frieze from Pialma, near Khotan, discovered by Trinkler.⁶

In Gandharan art this ancient Indian motif was given a new form. The Ganymede of Hellenism that was carried off by an eagle has been turned into a Garuda bearing away a Nagini.⁷ In the art of the Far East, especially in that of Lamaism, this motif has played an important part even into our own times.

Moulded appliqué masks.

As has been mentioned in the foregoing, and as will also be seen from Pls. I—II, moulded appliqué ornaments in the form of masks of human beings, animals or fabled creatures, play an especially prominent part in the decorative schemes of more richly ornamented clay vessels. As a rule they are attached immediately below the lower junctures of the handles, i.e. on the shoulder just above the rim marking the widest circumference of the vessel. The size of these appliqué ornaments varies according to the dimensions of the vessel, as can be verified from the portion of the vessel adhering to their back, this being always thicker behind larger specimens than behind smaller ones.

These appliqué ornaments have been recovered in large numbers, and our collections also contain a good many specimens. For the sake of clearness I have here divided them into groups according to the different types of the faces, a system of classification which, however, is bound to be somewhat arbitrary, as intermediate forms are apt to blur the boundary lines.

Human faces that have been given a truly naturalistic treatment are comparatively few, and even in these cases they possess certain conventionalized elements. In Pl. IV, 6 and Fig. 14 a is seen a plump satyr-like type which, with its wide and laughing mouth, vividly recalls sculptures and architectural details of the later

¹ Cf. Foucher 1905/22, fig. 466.

² Coomaraswamy 1927, p. 50.

³ Grünwedel 1920 (1), fig. 19.

⁴ Smith, p. 66.

⁵ Cunningham, vol. XI, pl. XVIII.

⁶ Trinkler, 1931, pl. 2, No. 3.

⁷ Foucher 1905/22, figs. 318—319.

classical era. The cheeks are full, the nose broad and fleshy, and the eyes obliquely set. The face is surrounded by a wreath of volutes of which the ears, which are almost circular, form a part. Whether this encircling motif is intended to give a stylized representation of hair and beard I must leave as an open question. This



a



b

. Fig. 14 a. (03.11.143). Terra-cotta mask showing human or satyr face. 2: 3.
Fig. 14 b. (03.11.150). Terra-cotta mask. 2: 3.

type appears to have occurred only on larger clay vessels.¹ A variation of this is found in Pl. VIII, 6, where the wreath is only suggested by incised lines of semilunar shape. The round eyes are of the type that generally characterizes animal figures in Yotkan ceramics. The form of the ears is the same as in the lion representations. The motif has an appearance of degeneracy. This applies in a still higher degree to Pl. IV, 5, which illustrates a fragment of a badly executed and uneven vessel with a double row of teeth below the appliqué ornament. Pl. IV, 3, where the grotesque motif is altogether predominant, is to a still higher degree a compromise between a human being and an animal.

The appliqué ornament, Pl. VIII, 5, no doubt represents a male face with large moustaches, strongly curving superciliary ridges and a frontlet decorated with a large rosette. This type is somewhat rare, but is nevertheless found in other collections also.² The turban-like head-dress resembles that of adorning deities and Bodhisattvas in Indian art.³

Monkey faces, or, more properly speaking, something between human beings and monkeys, is what I should like to call those numerous appliqué ornaments of which examples are seen in Pl. VIII, 1, 4. In the following I shall recur to the

¹ Kiseritskij, fig. 8.

² Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIII (Y. 0017). Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. I (Yo. 0020).

³ Foucher 1905/22, figs. 364, 396, 428, 495 etc.

peculiar monkey figures that have been recovered in such large numbers at Yotkan. The reliefs here dealt with show the typical features of the monkey representations, namely the deeply furrowed forehead, the round eyes and hair parted in the middle. The fact of their having been used as appliqué ornaments below the handles of vessels is confirmed by Hoernle's illustrations,¹ but that they also occurred in other combinations may be seen from Fig. 27 and from Stein's acquisitions.²

Lion faces, with closed mouth and of remarkably inoffensive appearance, occur in numerous examples, see Pl. VIII, 2. Thick rolls of whiskers cover the mouth.

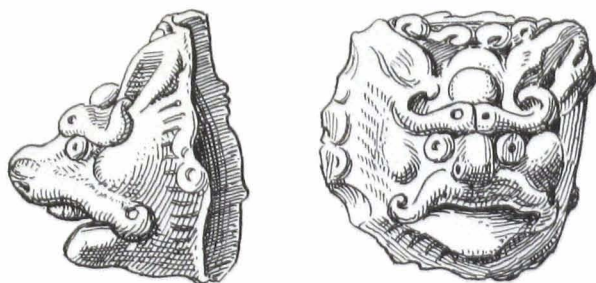


Fig. 15. (03.11.152). Terra-cotta mask. 2: 3.

The face is as a rule surrounded by a ring of circles with which the pointed ears blend. One example found in the Hedin collection, Fig. 14 b, stands apart from the foregoing on account of its fine workmanship and the light-coloured surface coating, the slip, which has been laid over the moulded relief. In the middle of the forehead is a square depression, within which a similar, smaller depression is sunk. It is not inconceivable that here was inset some specific ornament, a stone or such like. From these divergencies one is inclined to suppose that the clay vessel of which we possess this fragment was imported into Yotkan from some other locality.

Wolves' heads is what, for lack of something more appropriate, I call the type seen in Fig. 15 and Pl. VIII, 3. This kind of reliefs is always unusually high, with a strongly projecting nose, open jaws and heavy ridges above the eyes. In Stein's work these figures are provisionally described as hyenas, which of course may be equally correct.

The fact of appliqué masks' being among the most popular motifs of classical architectural ornamentation is too well known to need any emphasis here. In Indian art they also occurred, although not to any similar extent.³ As to whether the appliqué masks found on the Yotkan vessels came into being by inspiration

¹ Hoernle 1902, pl. IX, 13, 16, 17.

² Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo 01).

³ Foucher 1905/22, fig. 81.

from architecture, or whether similar clay vessels existed in India, is a question I am unable to answer owing to lack of comparative material.

From the caves of the Bāmiyān valley architectural details are known in which appliqué masks form the principal motif.¹

Spouts.

All Yotkan collections being of the character of purchased, detached finds, it follows as a natural consequence that as regards many of the preserved decorative details we are ignorant of their employment as well as of the type of vessel to which they once belonged. No change can be expected in this state of things until excavations have been carried out under scientific direction.

In the majority of the works that have been published on this locality references are found of animal heads which are hollow so as to form tubes through which it is possible to pour liquids. There can be no doubt that these objects served as spouts, but as to the shape, etc., of the respective clay vessels we are only able to advance theories. Even among this group of objects different types are distinguishable. The most common of these is the head of some animal or other, with elongated jaws — often with a tube inserted — set on a neck, cf. Fig. 16 b. The spout as a whole is, as usual, moulded in two halves, but so as to leave a tubular cavity running along the middle. Fig. 16 c shows an interesting example of this type of object, as here is preserved not only the whole of the spout but also a fragment of the pierced wall of the vessel, which proves incontestably that the object served some practical purpose. The head is provided with a large open mouth with formidable fangs, as well as the horn-like, offset-built projection mentioned in connection with the griffins already described. Fig. 16 b belongs to the same type, which is also represented in Grenard's work.² Another feature typical of this group is that the tube is bent at an angle of roughly ninety degrees. The bird's head, Pl. XIV, 1, probably also belongs to this class of objects as the beak forms a tube set at right angles to the hollow neck. Another variant is found in the he-goat's (?) head, Fig. 16 a, which is open at the top as well.³ The idea of this arrangement is difficult to explain, but it may not be altogether inconceivable that this spout once belonged to some kind of trick-jug. Vessels of that class are known to have existed in ancient times in China.

As already mentioned, no spouted vessel is so far known from Yotkan, nor even any fragments that might supply information as to shape or type. Certain hints are, however, obtainable from the miniature vessels. Kiseritskij illustrates such a one provided with spout, lid, and one handle.⁴ In shape it is tall and slender, and generally of Near Eastern type.

¹ Hackin 1933, pl. LXXXII.

² Grenard, pl. VII.

³ Cf. Hoernle 1902, pl. XIII, 5. Cf. Crosby, p. 140.

⁴ Kiseritskij, fig. 33.

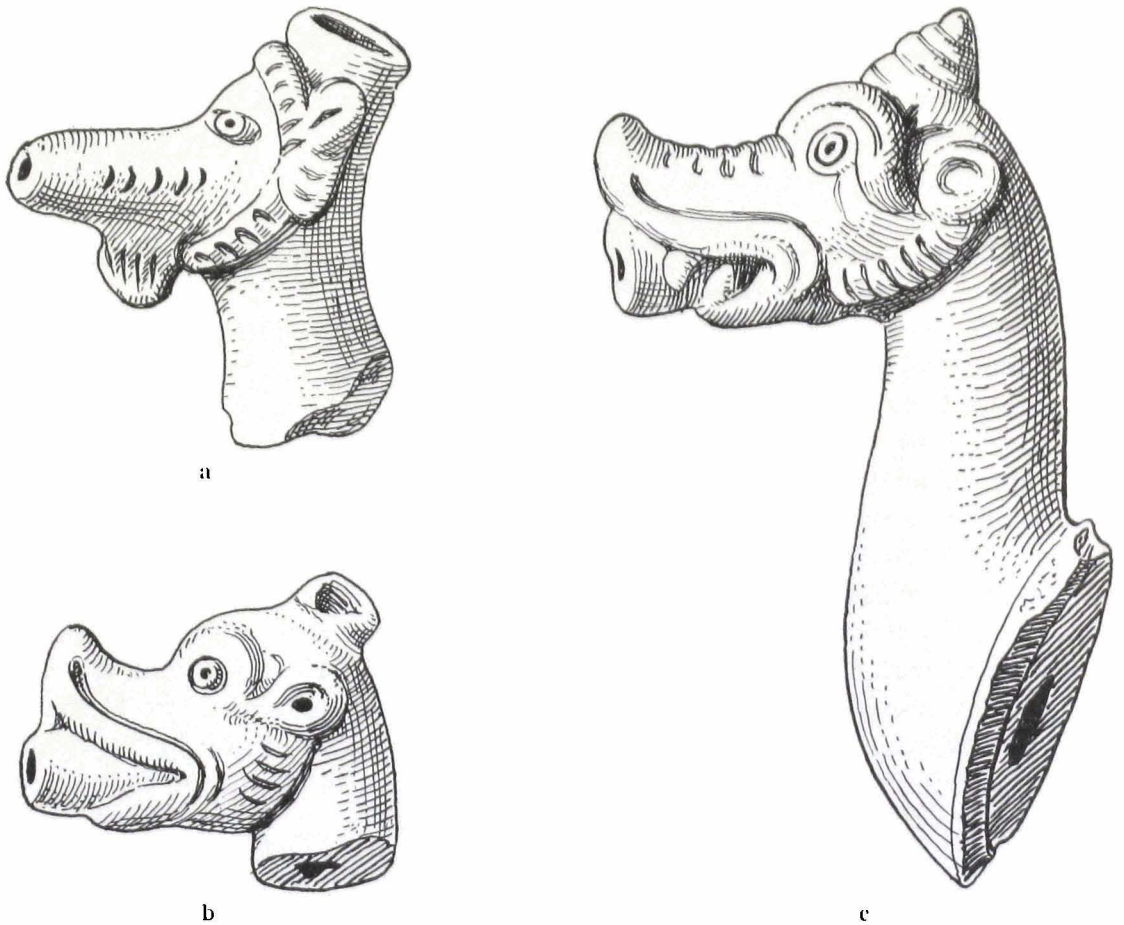


Fig. 16 a. (03.11.314). Terra-cotta spout, head of he-goat (?). 1: 1.

Fig. 16 b. (03.11.315). Terra-cotta spout in form of griffins head with inserted tube. 1: 1.

Fig. 16 c. (03.11.313). Terra-cotta spout in form of griffins head with inserted tube. 1: 1.

Spouted earthenware jugs are also preserved in archaeological collections from the region of the Gandhara culture.¹

Fig. 17 b illustrates a small and gently curving spout tapering towards its mouth, which might have belonged to a tea-pot of ordinary, modern Chinese type. At its lower end is a small appliqué lion mask.² — Whether this type already existed in its developed form during that period I cannot say. I have come across no evidence on that point.

There can be no doubt that among the body of types contained in Chinese ceramics of the T'ang period there existed also vessels with handle and spout, and it is an interesting fact that during that period an especially important cultural

¹ Marshall 1920, pl. XXI, 37, XXII, 51.

² Cf. Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. I (Yo. 017).

exchange took place with the Occident. It is well known that Chinese ceramic art was influenced thereby and that late Hellenistic elements were then imported. As an example of this I may point to a jug, illustrations of which have been repeatedly published, provided with a handle in the form of an animal leaning

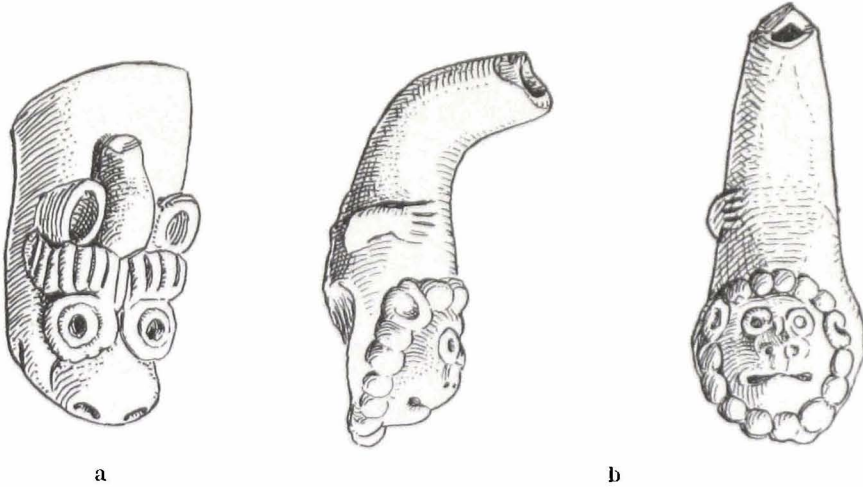


Fig. 17 a. (01.23.14. Högberg coll.). Terra-cotta spout with appliqué moulded head of animal. 1: 1.
 Fig. 17 b. (03.11.243). Terra-cotta spout with appliqué moulded mask at base. 1: 1.

over into the mouth of the vessel, which has a spout and is also provided with a stand decorated with grotesque masks.¹ Here one feels inclined to trace, in a translated form, the identical elements that play such an important part in Khotan ceramics.

A slightly curved spout in Högberg's collection, Fig. 17 a, is decorated with an appliqué animal head, a notion not unfamiliar to Chinese art of the T'ang period.² The similarity may not be too obvious, but on the other hand we know, that, in the era referred to, China was the recipient of many impulses from the West through intercourse along the caravan roads of ancient Central Asia. Khotan was one of the most important stations on the southern route, and there can therefore be nothing unreasonable in seeing in the simple Yotkan pottery one of the stages in the progress of the pottery types towards the East, where they were subsequently recast and given a fresh and brilliant development.

Plaques with moulded reliefs.

Among fragments of pottery from Yotkan is a group which shows with peculiar clearness the connection with Indian art. In the Hedin collection it is represented by the plaque seen in Pl. VI, 5. On a perfectly plane surface are attached moulded relief details, forming an arcade, between the columns of which human figures

¹ Hobson—Hetherington, pl. XXIX, fig. 2. Hobson—Rackham—King, fig. 82.

² Cf. Hobson—Hetherington, pl. LIII. Hetherington 1922, pl. 8, fig. 3.

are worked in. The columns are of Indo-Corinthian type and support arches decorated with strings of beads. The figures, of which only one is complete, represent walking men who are carrying on the left shoulder a large jar. This they steady with the right hand raised above the head. An impression of movement, and of the heaviness of the burden, is excellently well conveyed, in spite of the plainness of execution.

The plaque is defective at the top and the sides, but its bottom edge is intact. From the back there projects, at a slightly acute angle, a broken-off prop. Until more complete finds have been made, it is impossible to determine to what use this plaque may have been put. That it did not form part of a clay vessel is perfectly certain. It is rather to be supposed that it belonged to the decorative scheme of some building, although its small size seems to argue against this. I am more inclined to think, however, that it may have pertained to a miniature stupa.

Of this type Stein has illustrated two fragments, one of which is especially interesting.¹ In this case, too, the field is partitioned by an arcade, in the inter-spaces of which figures are worked in. These represent musicians with flute and cymbals and wearing turban-like head-dresses. Below the arcade runs a balustrade, above which is stretched a rope composed of alternating plain and bead-threaded strings. Right at the top can be seen the crenellated crest of the arcade wall. All of these elements recur in almost identical form in Indian art. That this balustrade is of early Indian type I need hardly point out. It occurs in a large number of reliefs and temples of the centuries next preceding the birth of Christ, e.g. at Sanchi, Bharhut, Karli and Bedsa.² This balustrade is described by Foucher as »le plus simple et peut-être le plus foncièrement indien» of the elements contained in early Indian decorative art. Crenellated battlements of this type are also of exceedingly common occurrence.³ Taken as a whole, this relief is very closely related to the style of art that flourished in India before the rise of the Hellenistically influenced Gandhara school.

Another fragment is regarded by Stein as evidence of there having existed in Khotan the same worship of the Gautama Buddha's alms-bowl as obtained in Northern India.⁴

Hoernle, too, publishes fragments of similar friezes, one of which is decorated with crenellations and the balustrade just described.⁵

Terra-cotta figurines.

Besides clay vessels, and larger or smaller fragments of such, there are included in all Yotkan collections a multitude of clay heads, fragmentary horse and camel

¹ Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. I (Yo. 02).

² Coomaraswamy 1927, pls. IX—XVII.

³ Coomaraswamy 1927, pl. XII, fig. 43. Foucher 1905/22, fig. 99.

⁴ Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. I (Yo. 0039. 1.).

⁵ Hoernle 1902, pl. IX, 21—23.

figures, monkeys represented in every conceivable kind of occupation, birds etc. Typical of them all is the fact that they evidently belonged to figures in the round, that is to say that they did not serve as ornaments on clay vessels. In many — or even most — cases we are ignorant of their employment and their motifs, and are

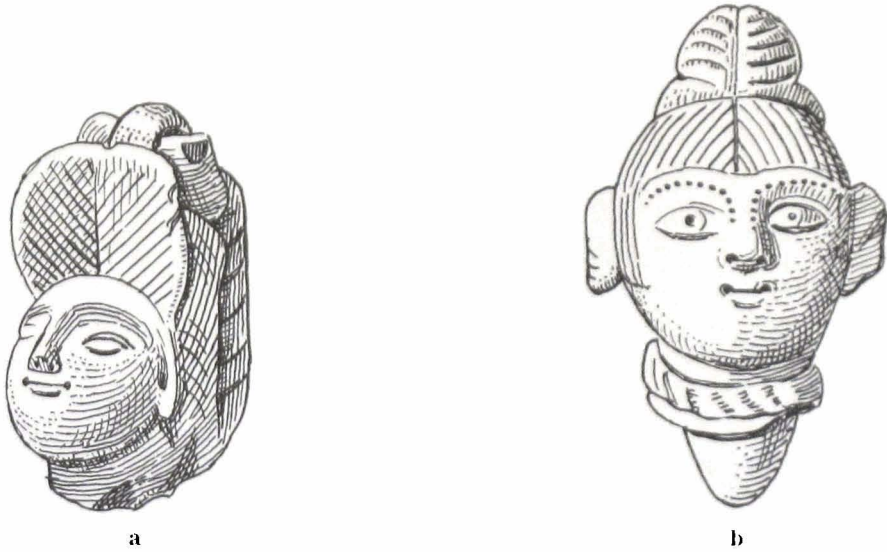


Fig. 18 a. (01.23.27. Högberg coll.). Terra-cotta head. 1: 1.
Fig. 18 b. (03.11.264). Terra-cotta head. 1: 1.

constrained to leave the solving of these questions to the future. As far as can be done I have in the following divided the material into groups in order to simplify description and study.

Human representations.

From the account already given of the decorative elements on Yotkan pottery it will be clear that figural representations were very popular. This becomes still more evident upon an examination of the extensive collections of independent figures. Even in this case we have to content ourselves with fragments, as intact figures are extremely few.

Female figures.

In most cases it is possible to determine whether these clay heads are meant to represent women or men, head-dresses or head-ornaments providing reliable guidance on that point. Both sexes are about equally represented, though it is possible that women in some degree predominate.

Facial features are as a rule modelled on the same plan, which is natural enough seeing that the heads were first pressed into a mould and then given a finish. The expression is, therefore, generally stereotyped and lifeless. In relation to their length

the faces are very broad, the forehead is low, the nose is disproportionately small, and the eyes long and narrow. The mouth is accentuated by means of the corners' being indicated by two deeply impressed holes, as is also frequently the case with the nostrils. The chin is weak, and the ears merely suggested, if at all visible. The eyebrows are often represented by arches formed by impressed dots set close together. The potter centred his interest upon the head-ornaments, which, so far as can be judged, must have been very complex.

One of the most common types is seen in Fig. 18 a. From the forehead rises a high and straight pad, which must have been formed over some sort of frame.



Fig. 19. (35.24. Ambolt coll.).
Terra-cotta figure representing
woman playing musical instru-
ment. 1: 1.

At the nape of the neck the hair is collected into a thick plait — occasionally tied round with a piece of ribbon — and then taken along the head to the top. Surmounting the crown is a rectangular object encircled by this plait. This is undeniably a quaint arrangement, but it no doubt had its model in real life. The Gandhara school presents a remote parallel in certain statues of Indian princes and notables, where the hair is seen piled on top of the head in a doubled-up plait.¹

Pl. IX, 7 depicts an interesting figurine which is complete but for the arms and hands. The head and its adornment is similar to the foregoing. The chest region is almost flat, but the lower part of the body has instead been carefully treated. The hips are broad, and the legs swathed in a pair of very wide and pleated trousers. Down over the hips falls a jacket with lappets that reach far down on either side, and round the

waist is wound a belt with a lappet in front and six pendent tassels at the back and sides.

An uncommonly beautiful and elegant figure in Ambolt's collection, representing a woman playing some instrument, has her hair dressed in a similar way and wears on her shoulders a cape or fur tippet. On her cheeks a lock of hair hangs down in front of the ears, a feature which recurs in a large number of heads. Exceedingly characteristic of Yotkan ceramics is the type seen in Fig. 20 b.² The above described pad over the forehead is absent, but it is replaced by a diadem formed of circular plates. The plait, which is taken from the nape of the neck up to the crown of the head, is thicker, and has been detached from the head so as to resemble a small handle. The object on the top of the head is absent, but all the more prominence has been given to the arching coil of hair. Occasionally this is also decorated with circular plates, as is also the thick, upturned plait at the back. To what extent this may be a true representation of reality, or merely con-

¹ Foucher 1905/22, figs. 358, 392.

² Cf. Kiseritskij, figs. 1a, 1b.

ventionalized exaggeration, it is impossible to determine. Fig. 20 a illustrates a head of grey-black clay material, plainly made and bare of any extra adornments.

Stein has made a fortunate acquisition in a complete figure with a head of this type.¹ It represents a woman holding a cradle in front of her. She appears to be

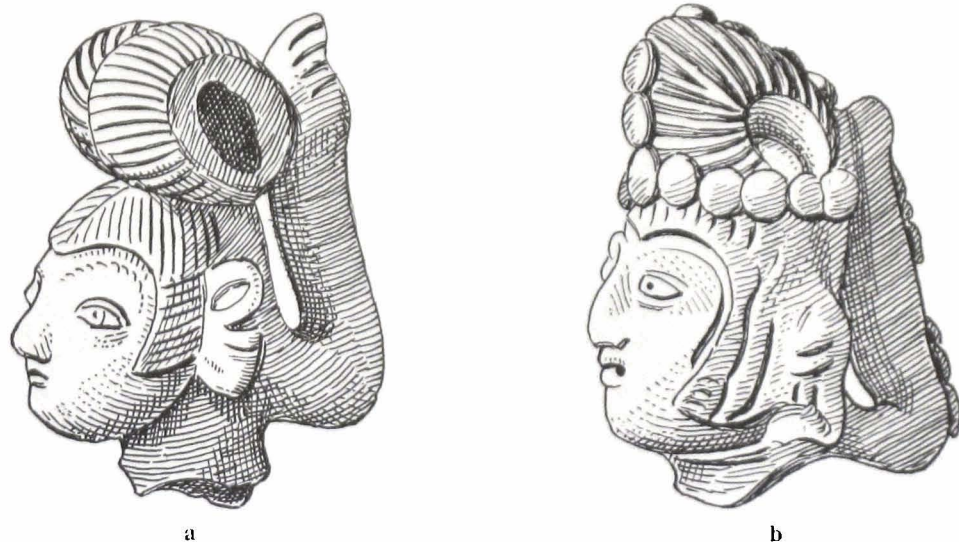


Fig. 20 a. (03.11.270). Terra-cotta head, dark grey ware. 1: 1.

Fig. 20 b. (03.11.257). Terra-cotta head with elaborate head-dress. 1: 1.

dressed in a jacket with wide and pointed sleeves, resembling the dancing-dresses worn by Lama priests. The body is cut off below the hips so as to provide an adequate standing surface. Possibly this little figurine served as a toy, or doll.

I have been unable to find elsewhere anything directly corresponding to this type of head-dress. However, the quantity of material I have available is comparatively small. It is a well known fact that Central Asiatic women, e.g. in Tibet and Outer Mongolia excel in the elaborate dressing of their hair.

A female head of a peculiar type is shown in Fig. 21 a and Pl. XI, 2. It is hollow, and was fitted to the body by means of a tubular projection. In the back of the head is a large circular aperture, which seems to suggest that it once formed a sort of spout on some earthenware vessel. Of a similar, though more richly ornamented, head Stein says: »Of special interest is the large female head (Y. 0031), which clearly suggests modelling after a well-defined local type, recognizable also in some small worshipping figures of the Dandān-Uiliq frescoes. The very oblique eyes are in curious contrast to the thoroughly 'Aryan' look of the other well-shaped features.»²

From some of the finds it is possible to trace the rather complicated process

¹ Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. II (Yo. 2).

² Stein 1907, vol. I, p. 208.

by which they were manufactured, Pl. IX, 1 and Figs. 18 b and 21 b. The back and front halves of the head were formed separately by pressing into moulds, and were thereupon joined together. Then a peg was inserted the lower part of which reinforced the neck and continued downwards into the interior of the body. The latter also was made in two halves. The arms, which likewise had been fashioned

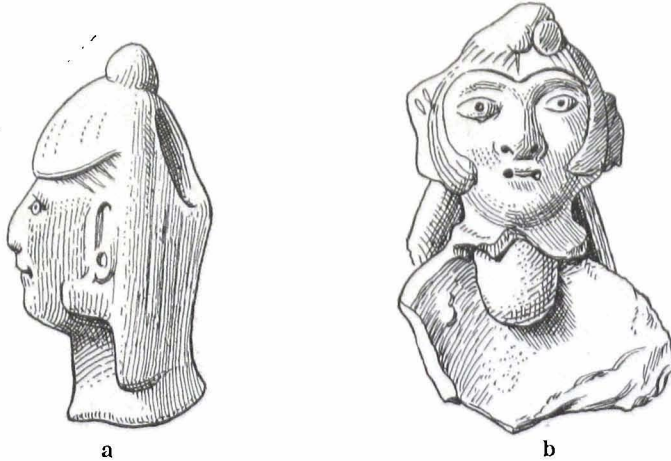


Fig. 21 a. (03.11.260). Terra-cotta head. Cf. Pl. XI, 2, 2: 3.
 Fig. 21 b. (35.24. Ambolt coll.). Fragment of terra-cotta figure. 2: 3.

separately, were attached during the last stage of the process, and finally the work was finished off and smoothed, or polished. A fragment included in Ambolt's collection affords an excellent illustration of the procedure.

Male figures.

Not a single intact example of independent, earthenware male figures appears to have been recovered hitherto. Fragments, on the other hand, are very numerous, heads, in particular, being very largely represented.

In Pl. X, 8 is seen the torso of a male figure holding before him a wine-bag made from the skin of some animal.¹ Unfortunately the head is missing, and also the portion of the dress that covered the legs. The latter are now visible, but it is evident that they were originally concealed by some article of dress or else stuck into some other object serving as a stand. In its present state the figure shows that it was dressed in a sleeved jacket with the characteristic curve in its lower edge, which descends into a point on each side. Across his shoulders he wears a tippet or some other ornament, with tassels hanging down on to the shoulders, back and breast. Further, a belt encircles his waist and from it are suspended several objects the meaning of which I have so far been unable to discover. Another, and similar, treatment of the same motif, although more plain, is illustrated in Pl. X, 7, where the head

¹ Cf. Fig. 9.

is well preserved, but the left arm, the right hand and the legs are missing. Across his shoulders he wears an ornament similar to the foregoing, and on his back are seen some things resembling animals' paws. From his belt are suspended a couple of bags. His head is shaved except for the crown, and from there a plate-decorated plait hangs down the back. The head is turned slightly to one side, which of course imparts a greater effect of animation to the figure, and this is enhanced by the faint semblance — perhaps unintentional — of a smile settled on the features.

It may perhaps be the absence of head-ornaments — otherwise attractive representations — that has induced the potter to bestow more individual care on the face. In certain cases it would seem as if the heads had been modelled by hand instead of being moulded. This tends to lend greater variety to the types.

Male heads are generally given more marked features than female ones. The eyes are sunk more deeply, and occasionally the eyebrows form strong ridges. Very rarely is any opportunity neglected to emphasize the moustaches, which are often extended to meet the generally bushy beard. As a rule no head-gear is worn, and the hair is either brushed up off the forehead or else combed down, concealing it altogether. Hoernle illustrates an especially fine head of this type, a real work of art.¹ Like the female head already described (cf. Fig. 21 a) it is hollow and has a large hole in the crown. Its refined features and the soft modelling strongly recall the Gandhara school, which likewise provided its Bodhisattva figures and statues of princes with elegant moustaches.² The fragment seen in Pl. XI, 1 is also remarkable for firmness of design.

In Pl. X, 5 is reproduced a head of which only the front half remains. As in the female heads, the eyebrows are indicated by arches of impressed dots. Round the head is wound a turban, a species of head-gear which occurs in manifold variety in Indian sculpture. The circumstance that the head terminates in a tenon goes to prove that it has belonged to an independent figure.

What especially serves to give the male heads a more lifelike appearance is that the eyes are set more deeply, and that prominence has been given to the rims of the eyelids and the brows. This is clearly apparent from the type reproduced here, Pl. X, 2 and Pl. XI, 7.³ The head, which is adorned with moustaches and a beard, is set low on the shoulders. A jewel is suspended on a string round the neck. As the pate is bald, it is evidently an old man that is here represented. Each of the two examples included in the Hedin collection has a round hole in the crown of the head, communicating with the cavity in the interior of the figure.

A group that stands apart from the rest is formed by the heads illustrated in Figs. 22, a.—d. They are without unnecessary ornamentation of any kind, but are conspicuous for firmness of form. With one exception their eyes are represented by deep slits. The mouth is more naturalistically rendered without the aid of impressed

¹ Hoernle 1902, pl. XI, 1. Cf. Le Coq 1925, fig. 10.

² cf. Foucher 1905/22, figs. 393—97.

³ cf. Hoernle 1902, pl. XI, 11. Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. III (Yo. 009 c. 3.).

dots of primitive effect. One of the heads (Fig. 22 d and Pl. XI, 3) has a strange-looking, crescent-shaped ornament, placed right across the top of the head. It does not appear to me too rash to set these figures down as representatives of a specific variation of style that must either be referred to a different period, or else be regarded as originating from some other place of manufacture. Even the character

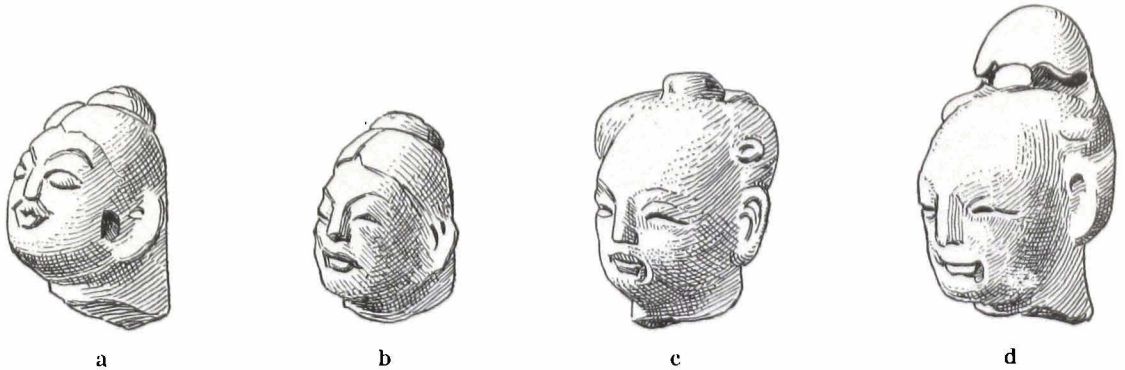


Fig. 22 a. (03.11.266). Terra-cotta head. Cf. Pl. XI, 4. 2: 3.

Fig. 22 b. (03.11.271). Terra-cotta head. Cf. Pl. XI, 6. 2: 3.

Fig. 22 c. (03.11.00). Terra-cotta head. 2: 3.

Fig. 22 d. (03.11.263). Terra-cotta head. Cf. Pl. XI, 3. 2: 3

of the material is different. They are all much worn, which may perhaps be ascribed to the materials being less durable.

In the Yotkan clay heads there is frequently a depression in the forehead just above the nose, cf. Pl. XI, 8. There can be no doubt that this served as a setting for a bead or stone of some kind, so as to form an *urna*, that is to say the protuberance that of old has been regarded in India as a sign of high intellect.¹ Representations of gods and saints in Buddhist art are almost universally provided with this strange beauty-mark. It is very possible that a good many of the hemispherical semi-precious stones and glass beads that have been recovered at Yotkan and other places in East Turkestan were originally set in the foreheads of figures representing deities. Seeing that they are rather clumsily made, these heads that are here illustrated cannot perhaps be considered as having belonged to deities, but it is not altogether impossible that they represent degenerate types, or even that they may have been mere toys. The origin of this motif must, however, be considered identical with that of the *urna* of Buddhism.

Lastly, there is the head illustrated in Pl. X, 4, which may possibly have formed part of the decorative relief ornamentation on some clay vessel.² It is of careful workmanship, and the features are well formed. The face is beardless, but parallels pertaining to Indian sculptural art testify to the masculinity of the head in

¹ cf. Grünwedel 1920 (1), p. 140. Waldschmidt, p. 16.

² cf. Stein 1921, vol. IV. pl. III (Yo. 00182).

question. The turban-like head-ornament with an erect ring in the middle is closely related to the Bodhisattva figures of the Gandhara school.¹

Of the male heads from Yotkan, Stein says, *inter alia*: »With their well-shaped 'Aryan' features, including high-bridged noses and prominently set eyes, they seem to bear out what anthropological and other evidence leads us to assume about the racial character of the old Khotan population and its nexus with the *Homo Alpinus* of the Pamir region. That the type intended must be essentially local becomes clear at once on comparing it with the conventionalized heads which the hieratic sculpture of Khotan has borrowed from Graeco-Buddhist art.»²

It hardly can be doubted that the greater part of the pottery fragments that have been recovered at Yotkan was manufactured locally, but the question arises whether the »Aryan» features were not imported from India. Correspondences on points of detail are so numerous that one is inclined to believe that divergences from the Indian types are due to a later development and to impulses from other quarters.

In most archaeological collections one comes upon objects the use of which can only be guessed at, and not a few of such are met with in Yotkan ceramics. Among this group must be counted the object seen in Pl. XII, 3. It represents a male head with well-modelled features, heavy brows and moustaches, and a long and pointed, forked chin-beard. In the centre of the forehead is seen the above-mentioned depression, recalling the *urna* of the Buddhist images of gods. The nose is strongly prognathic, this being accentuated by straight lines drawn from the corners of the eyes to the point of the nose. The forehead is deeply wrinkled. Holes pierced in the ear-lobes for ear-ornaments are indicated.

The fragment in question, which is broken off both above and below, is hollow, but it is not possible to say whether any back portion existed. Stein has acquired several fragments of this type.³ The example included in the Hedin collection is more complete than any other hitherto recovered, but even so it does not supply sufficient data for determining the mode of its employment, etc.

The explanation that most readily presents itself is, in my opinion, that these figures were used as caryatids. But it is not altogether impossible that they formed the feet of clay vessels or incense burners. It is even conceivable that they were placed as corner decorations on miniature stupas, although it must be admitted that there exists no evidence whatever in support of that supposition. In Stein's collections from Niya, points of contact with this type of Yotkan pottery are found.⁴ The correspondence does not, however, go beyond certain general points of resemblance.

¹ cf. Foucher 1905/22, fig. 359, 413 etc.

² Stein 1921, vol. I, p. 98.

³ Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLIV (B.001 a, C. 004, Y. 0018).

Fragments of the same kind are to be found also in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

⁴ Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. LXX.

Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. XXXIV.

Stein connects the type illustrated in Pl. XII, 3 with certain Gandhara statues representing Kubera, or princes or men of high rank.¹ Among other things he says of a fragment of this type that «the Scythian type of its portrait-like head is unmistakable».

It cannot be denied that these Yotkan heads bear a close resemblance to the bearded appliqué masks of Bāmiyān, Afghanistan, which Hackin illustrates.² In spite of differences in size, material, etc., they may no doubt be dated back to the same origin.

ANIMAL FIGURES.

There are hardly any reasons for supposing the numerous fragmentary horse or camel figures to be anything else than broken toys. It is obvious that they were unattached to other objects as also that they possessed no religious character whatsoever. Just as Mongolian children have herds of wooden camels, so the offspring of the Yotkan people most probably played with clay horses and clay camels.

From Sari Dheri, a mound 18 miles north-east of Peshawar, Gordon depicts a horse figure which is evidently of a type closely related to the Yotkan finds. It is very possible, therefore, that also this detail is an indication of the close connection that existed between northern India and Khotan. Gordon dates this find in the first century A.D.³

It is common to all animal figures described below that, unless otherwise stated, they were manufactured in moulds and were generally made in longitudinal halves. After these halves had been joined together while still wet, certain details such as eyes, mane, etc., were indented by means of some pointed tool. The forelegs are as a rule made in one piece so as to form a support, and the same applies to the hind-legs. Riders, packs, etc., were separately modelled and stuck on before firing.

Horses.

The Hedin collection contains quite a number of fragments of horse figures, all very much of the same type and workmanship. There is no intact example among them, nor any specimens in which the upper portion of the rider's body is preserved.

In type, the horses thus represented appear very closely related to modern horses of Central Asia. They are low of stature, with a short neck, and appear to be of sturdy build. The mane, which is erect and clipped, is indicated by incised lines, as are also bridle and trappings. The eyes are simply impressed circles, while the ears consist of attached pieces of clay. More care has occasionally been given to the saddles, and it can be quite clearly seen that they more or less

¹ cf. Foucher 1905/22, figs. 367—368. Smith, pl. 28.

² Hackin 1931, pls. XIII, LXXXIII.

³ Gordon, pl. XIII, fig. I.

closely resembled those of the Mongols and Turks of to-day. Stein illustrates a horse with the whole of its trappings excellently reproduced.¹

The majority, at least, of these figures have carried a rider, of which, however, as already indicated, only the legs remain. Stirrups are in all cases absent, a circumstance, however, that is ascribable to their summary treatment or age.

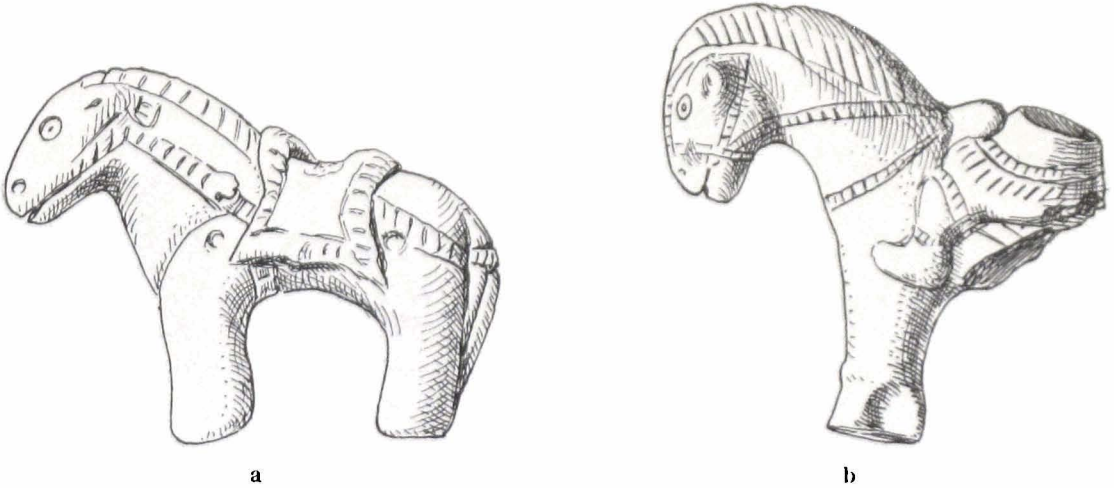


Fig. 23 a. (03.11.118). Terra-cotta horse with saddle. 1: 1.

Fig. 23 b. (03.11.124). Fragment of terra-cotta horse with rider. 1: 1.

Pl. XIII, 4 represents a horse carrying two riders, of which the rear one was evidently a woman, (cf. Pl. IX, 7). It appears that in ancient Khotan horses were exclusively used as riding animals, and never for carrying loads. At any rate, among the fairly abundant material available nothing can be found to contradict this assertion.

Illustrations of several toy horses of this type have already been published by different authors.²

Camels.

As regards plastic treatment, employment, size, etc., the camel figures form parallels to the horses described above. Notwithstanding the summary shaping of the figures, all the chief characteristics of the two-humped (Bactrian) camel have often been given excellent expression. In all its simplicity Pl. XIII, 1, for example, presents a most lifelike picture of a camel with bushy hair-growth on neck and forehead. Occasionally the animal is shown with its head bent so far backwards that its face is almost horizontal, a posture recalling the habit, or vice, of certain camels of jerking their heads back even to the front hump.³

¹ Stein 1907, vol. II, pl. XLVI (Y. 009 c).

² Hoernle 1902, pl. X. Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. I. Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. III. Kiseritskij, figs. 14—15.

³ Cf. Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. II (Yo. 008 c).

Among this class of toys both riding and pack camels are represented. Pl. XIII, 1 reproduces a monkey as rider, and Stein has a fragmentary figure of this class.¹ I shall revert to the monkey figures in another connection. Frequently the loads of the pack-camels are distinctly reproduced. There is, for example, in the Hedin

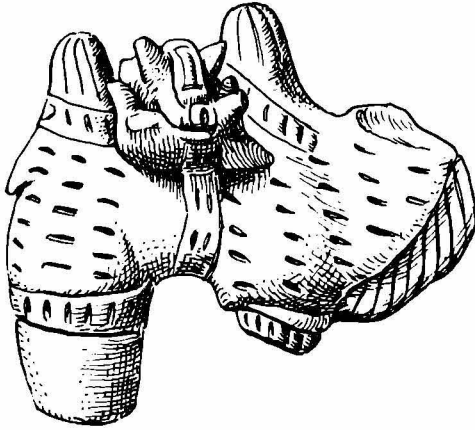


Fig. 24. (03.11.130). Fragment of terra-cotta Bactrian camel loaded with bags. 1: 1.

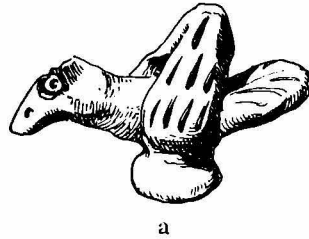


Fig. 25 a. (03.11.320). Miniature terra-cotta bird. 2: 3.



Fig. 25 b. (03.11.319). Miniature terra-cotta bird. 2: 3.

collection one animal with three wine-skins or water-bags tied on its back. One of these rests between the humps, and the other two are secured by a rope taken round the animals belly, Fig. 24.² Headstall, reins, or other details of that kind are never indicated.

Pl. XIII, 3 is nothing but one half of a camel figure, which has presumably burst in the firing,

Birds.

Among Yotkan antiquities are included a good many miniature figures; such representing birds are particularly frequent, Pl. XVII, 12—15. Figs. 25 a.—b. Many of these are provided with a small foot-plate to be able to stand upright. Others are pierced for threading on a string. In the latter case they may be supposed to have adorned some sort of plain necklace.

The birds are variously represented, some perched in a restful pose with their wings folded, others evidently in the act of flying.

Miniature birds are numerous represented also in other collections.³

¹ Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. III (Yo. 065).

² cf. Tallgren 1919, fig. 9.

³ Stein 1907, pls. XLV, XLVI. Hoernle 1899, pl. XIX. Hoernle 1902, pl. VII. Catalogue of Ryojun Museum, pl. LXXI.

Diverse other animals.

Besides the above-mentioned groups, numerous examples of which are contained in the collections, the Yotkan ceramic fauna includes certain rare species of animals.

Pl. XIV, 5 illustrates a representation — unfortunately only fragmentary — of a fish on the back of which a snake (?) displays its sinuous body, while a second snake rears its head against the dorsal fin. The tail of the fish is broken off, but it would seem to have had an upward bend. The figure is hollow, and made in two halves. Its motif and employment I am unable to explain. The object in question hardly impresses one as having the character of a toy. I am more inclined to believe that it formed part of some large group. Buddhist legends contain numerous examples of aquatic monsters, such as Nagas, which play an extremely important part. Monsters more or less resembling crocodiles also constitute an important element in Indian architectural decoration.¹

Another animal representation of less common occurrence is seen in Pl. XIV, 3, which illustrates an *argali* (Bighorn sheep) with its four legs placed closely together, preparing to leap. Similar figures are preserved in the collections in Helsingfors and Berlin.² It cannot be denied that this type of figure bears a general resemblance to the Ordos bronzes.

The rat, Pl. XVII, 11, whose head is naturalistic, while its body has been formed into the shape of a ring, probably to serve as the handle of a clay vessel, is another rare type.³ This may also be said of the pig, Pl. XIV, 2, which conceivably has formed the handle of some large vessel.⁴

Monkey figures.

Among pottery finds from Khotan representations of monkeys occupy a very prominent place on account of their abundance and their clever as well as varied treatment. As a rule they are of inconsiderable size, being frequently actual miniatures, but the motifs are so diversified and remarkable as fully to justify the special attention that has been paid to these figures.

The illustrations reproduced in this work serve better than lengthy explanations to elucidate the variegated character of these monkey figurines. Many of them are so small that they are best studied with the aid of a magnifying glass. Very frequently they are pierced, from which it may be inferred that they were worn as ornaments, or perhaps even as amulets. The most remarkable thing about them is that they, so to speak, represent monkeys in human occupations, such

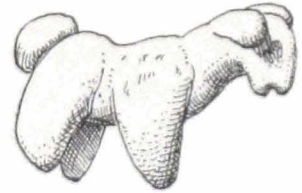


Fig. 26. (03.11.123). Miniature terra-cotta dog. 1: 1.

¹ cf. Vogel.

² Tallgren 1919, fig. 12.

³ Hoernle 1902, pl. XIII. Cf. Stein 1907, pl. XLIII (Y. 0028).

⁴ Stein 1921, vol. IV, pl. III (Yo. 0064).

as riding, playing on musical instruments, rocking a child's cradle etc. Obscene and phallic representations are especially numerous.

So far as I have hitherto been able to ascertain, monkey figures constitute an element typical of Khotan. Their not having to any appreciable extent been found elsewhere than within the limits of the Khotan oasis may, however, be accounted for by the fact that we know of no other locality offering such favourable conditions for the preservation of miniature figures of this kind.

Contrary to the usual practice otherwise, the monkeys as a rule appear to have been modelled independently, without recourse to moulds. This has naturally tended to increased vivacity and variety in types and expression. Pl. XV, 5 forms an exception. Here the original consists of the front half of a monkey figure which has probably been manufactured in two moulds.

The obvious question arises of the employment of these figures, and the conceptions that have given rise to their creation. I must confess that I have been unable to find any satisfactory explanation. Their having been used as toys is out of the question, among other things because of the obscene motives that so frequently recur. Besides, many of them are so small that they must have been carried, or kept, threaded on a string. Perhaps Stein has hit upon the true explanation when he says: »The humour of the Khotanese public was manifestly pleased to see its prominent failings caricatured under the guise of these monkey figurines; for this clearly is the explanation of the manifold representations of monkeys playing on musical instruments and for the still more numerous ithyphallic figures and pairs in amorous embrace». ¹ Even if this may partly be accepted as an explanation, it does not appear to me sufficient to explain their abundant numbers and exuberant variety.

As an example of the strange conceptions that may lie at the back of representations of a similar kind, I may point out that, at any rate in the interior of northern China, it is a common practice to employ painted or carved representations of the coitus act as a sort of amulet against evil influences and demons. ² It is said to be no uncommon thing to place uppermost in a money box a picture of this kind. Further I may recall the somewhat surprising ancient custom of presenting bridal couples with coins bearing in relief representations of different coitus postures. There also exist certain kinds of aprons painted or embroidered with representations of couples engaged in coition. These aprons are said to have formed part of the bride's underclothing.

Of some of these monkey figures there is in modern China a parallel showing how miniatures of this kind may be employed. At the moon festival on the 15th of the 8th month, in every street in Peking are sold toys representing the moon hare in all possible human, and even strange, shapes. Thus he is represented as the Buddha, or a Bodhisattva riding on a tiger, or as a Taoistic god, an artisan,

¹ Stein 1921, vol. I, p. 99.

² Cf. Waley 1932.

a street-merchant, etc. A frequently occurring toy, too, is a mountain on the peaks of which are placed miniature animals, even including monkeys. There can be no doubt indeed that the monkey gained its importance in Chinese folklore through Buddhism. I need only point to Sun Wu Kung, in the legend Hsi Yü Chi, who still remains an exceedingly popular figure. It is quite conceivable that some of the small Yotkan monkey figurines formed part of similar fantastic toy mountains or landscapes.

The monkey motif, however, is anciently established in art. Hoernle points out the connection existing between the music-making monkeys and early forms of Greek satyrs and Pan representations, which also appear in ithyphallic postures.¹ He says, *inter alia*: »It may be noted, also, that in the Atharva Veda the musical Gandharvas sometimes appear in the form of monkeys, and thus are clearly related to the Greek Satyrs and Pans». That monkey representations occurred in still earlier periods is proved by certain finds from Susa.²

Monkey figures are found already in the earliest Indian sculptures that have been preserved, e.g. in the famous reliefs of Bharhut.³ Monkeys play an important part in Indian mythology and folklore. It will be sufficient here to mention Hanuman, in the Ramayana legend.⁴ It is easy to imagine that Indian pieces of folklore in which monkeys occupy a prominent place may have penetrated into Khotan, and thence spread farther eastwards. It may well be supposed that the monkey Sun Wu Kung — one of the leading characters in the popular legend of Hsüan Tsang's pilgrimage to India for the purpose of fetching the sacred Buddhist writings — had its origin in the motif of popular fables. In its recorded form this work is supposed to date from the period of the Mongol dynasty, although no doubt founded upon traditions of an earlier date.

Monkeys are also included in the rich store of Buddhistic legends, and fabled motif of this type are known from temple paintings in caves in northern East Turkestan.

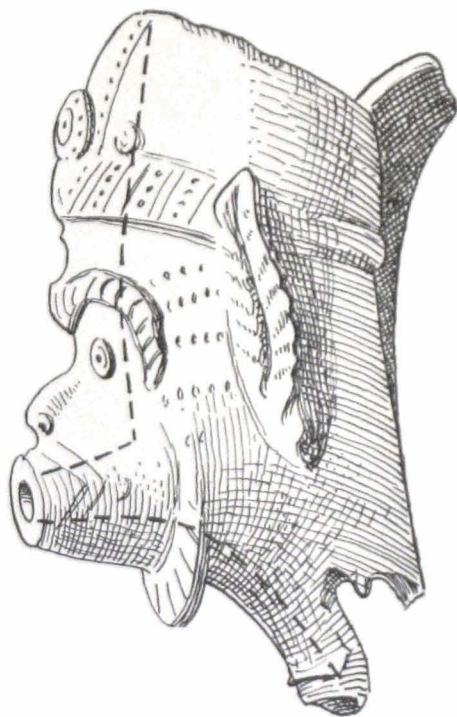


Fig. 27.(03.11.293). Terra-cotta spout in form of monkey head. Cf. Pl. XII, 4. 1: 1.

¹ Hoernle 1902, p. 49.

² Contenau vol. I, fig. 276.

³ Smith figs. 41—42.

⁴ cf. Ball, pp. 117—124.

From Ming-Ui in the neighbourhood of Kucha, Grünwedel illustrates a representation of the legend of the lion that had promised to take charge of a monkey's young, but fell asleep and thus allowed them to be carried off by an eagle.¹

From Khotan, Indian monkey motifs in art were disseminated towards the east and north-east. In The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, is preserved a T'ang camel with a monkey for a rider,² that is to say, the same motif as recurs among the Yotkan toy figurines.³ A cognate figure is illustrated by Rucker-Emden.⁴ In the same Museum there is a jade ornament representing a horse with two small monkeys on his back (Inv. No. K. 11000:352).

Among »Scythian» bronzes also we find mounted monkeys, and their origin is no doubt traceable to the Yotkan figurines or others of their kind. Salmony dates them on unconvincing evidence at a very late period, namely the second millennium after Christ.⁵

DISCOVERY OF THE RUINED CITY OF DANDAN-UILIQ.

During his stay at Khotan, Dr. Hedin also collected information concerning the desert tracts he next planned to visit, and among other things heard of the existence of archaeological remains. On that subject his diary for January 7, 1896, contains the following: »In the evening there called upon us a man from Islamabad, who was especially well acquainted with the desert that lies between Khotan- and Keriya-darya. He was an old man, and had travelled three times between those rivers. He told us that the sand to the west of Khotan-darya was the worst in the whole country, but considerably higher between Khotan- and Keriya-darya. From Islamabad he had walked for seven days NE to Keriya-darya, and on the way he had — three days' march from Islamabad — come upon the ruins of an ancient town consisting of a great many houses mostly filled with, and buried in, sand, and built of *qamish* (wattle of reeds) and wooden slats. Many of them carried on their walls *surat* (paintings) of Chinese character, and there were also human bodies, some of which were still covered in clothing or shrouds, the women having on them armbands and necklaces of bronze. There were also fragments of pottery and of large vessels. On the bed of the Keriya river he had then travelled 'down-stream' for one day, and then again struck across the desert, in five days arriving at Buksem, when half-way passing an ancient site containing about seventy houses.»

This report, and others in a similar vein, moved Dr. Hedin to try to find and map out the positions of these hitherto unknown ruined sites. His plan was to

¹ Grünwedel 1912, fig. 44, p. 23.

² cf. Sirén 1930, pl. 100 A.

³ cf. Fig. XIII, 1 and Stein 1928, vol. III, pl. III (Yo. 065).

⁴ Rucker-Emden, pl. XI.

⁵ Salmony, pl. XXXV.

traverse the desert between the Khotan and Keriya rivers, and then to follow the bed of the latter southwards and back to the town of Keriya. This adventurous journey, the course of which turned out entirely different, is described in detail by Dr. Hedin himself in his work »Through Asia», wherefore only the archaeological discoveries that fell under the first section of the journey will be dealt with here. On the 14th of January he left Khotan with a small caravan consisting of four men, three camels and two donkeys. The march on the first few days followed the Yurung-kash in a northerly direction. His diary contains the following note:

»Wednesday, Jan. 15th (at Tarashillik Langar, 2 days N. of Khotan). The ancient site discovered by Ahmad lies six days east of Kara-dung (between Alasar-tagh and Buksem); he had gone there with his sons and was confident of finding his way there again; there the sand would be deep and making for heavy going, still there is some *yulghun* (tamarisks); fragments of brass vessels and knives, and also a coin were the only things he had collected. Further, there were several corpses in seated postures within the houses, which appeared to be between 20 and 30 in number, here and there peeping up out of the covering sand; they were structures of *toghraq* (wild poplar) material. There were no terra-cotta objects, Buddha figures, or precious stones. (Borazan was probably an ancient temple site or a centre of terra-cotta manufacture). The second town lies three days' journey from Tavek-kel in the direction of Keriya-darya, and there the houses are built of adobe with wattles or the like, and hard clay; many of them have fallen down, others are standing partly erect, with *surat* (paintings) on the walls, and carvings and ornamentation on the wooden beams of the eaves. The paintings are said to be in red and black, but whether they represented human beings or not, I could not learn. Ahmad says that the region between Khotan- and Keriya-darya is identical with the tract known as Takla-makan, and that the desert between Yarkand-darya and Khotan-darya has no name. This piece of information, which I had already heard at another place, is interesting, seeing that it was precisely the region east of Khotan-darya that the ancient Tokharians occupied.»

The little village of Tavek-kel was the last outpost of the settled region, and there the caravan halted a couple of days in order to rest the animals and to make the final preparations for the crossing of the desert. Here, too, the people talked of ancient cities buried in the desert:

Wednesday, Jan. 17. (In camp at Tavek-kel).

»A man had travelled east from here, and after six days' journey come upon an ancient town; he only brought back a copper spoon he had found there. The Bek, Tokhta Bek, tells me that in Tavek-kel there are at least twenty men that have discovered ancient towns east of here. From their descriptions it is easily understood that they are referring to several different ancient sites, and that the whole region between the two rivers was formerly abundantly dotted with villages. It may be that they had actually discovered another such region as that east of Ilchi, where hundreds of villages lie scattered, and that in the neighbourhood

there is to be found a large city with a bazar, etc. Kara-dung, mentioned above, lies five days east of Khotan-darya and is said to consist of an immense dune surmounted by huge, black *yulghun*. To that place nine men went six days ago. More remarkable finds are obtained there than at Tavek-kel. Ahmad Mergen gave me a couple of carved stones, one with a seated lion. *Qash-tash* (jade stones) are frequently found there, and also Chinese copper coins with a large square hole in the centre. There are many corpses in the houses — in a sitting position, surprised by the sand. It is said that this death-dealing sand was not brought along by a *qara-buran* (black storm) but that it had descended like a sudden waterfall from the sky, so that the inhabitants had not even time to rush out of their houses before being suffocated. Both at that place and at Tavek-kel there had been found corpses with Chinese plaits of hair and in clothing that fell to rags. At Tavek-kel the houses are ornamented with floral motives. At Kara-dung are found red and black vessels and *safil* (walls). Of such things they took away nothing, as they considered them valueless, and instead wanted gold or silver. Ahmad considered Kara-dung as being far more profitable to explore than Tavek-kel, and I am much tempted to go there directly but think, however, it is better to take things in there proper order. It is said that many goldseekers have perished. As an example, four men had gone to Kara-dung some years ago, and on a high dune they had erected a *nishan* (way-sign) whereupon they set out in different directions after having agreed to meet again at the *nishan* in the evening. Two of them did so, but the others did not turn up. Their tracks were followed, but some distance away they had been obliterated, from which could be concluded that the men had been surprised by a local *buran* (storm) and thus unable to find their own tracks again, or the *nishan* with the supplies there deposited.»

On the same day there is a note alongside of a drawing:

»Instrument used by shoemakers for stroking down and polishing leather, found at the ruins. The handle is of wood, the lower portion of black stone«. Cf. Fig. 32 a.

On January 18. Dr. Hedin left Tavek-kel and struck out due east with his small caravan. By degrees the vegetation ceased almost altogether, and the dunes rose higher and higher. Now and then, however, traces of human habitations were found, of which the diary bears witness:

Wednesday, January 22nd. (Camp V).

»On a dry clay ridge we made a rather remarkable find, namely a fragment of a red earthenware pot with a projection for placing it in a ring or iron stand over the fire, and its was still soot-blackened. This shows that people have lived at this place.« Cf. Fig. 32 b.

Thursday, Jan. 23. (Camp VI).

»At the *toghraq* where we fed the camels yesterday, and found a potsherd, I now hear that the ancient city of *Dan-kanaste* (a fancy name, probably) was situated.« — — — — —

»Our guides had told us that we had steered too much southwards. They also

knew that in order to make Eski Shahr it was necessary to pass above the above-mentioned *kötek* (dead dry trees) at the eastern edge of which the ruin would be found. They therefore struck off northwards and were soon out of sight. Shortly after noon Yakub Shah returned with an intact, one-handed clay jug and told me he had found the place. — — — —



Fig. 28. Ruins of House *a*. Sketch by Dr. Sven Hedin 1896.

S. H.

— — — — Ahmad Mergen and Kerim Jan took one of the camels and went out to collect firewood. — — — Among the firewood were several pieces of timber that had formed parts of some house construction. Thus there were several with square holes and marks from carpentering. — — — —

At the point where we changed our course northwards we found in several places red fragments of fired pottery. — — — The above mentioned vessel was spherical, thus differing somewhat from those nowadays manufactured in Khotan, the latter being oblong. In the main, however, the shape is the same.» Cf. Fig. 32 c.

The camp just referred to was situated close to the ruined site that was being sought. On the following day it was subjected to a hurried exploration, resulting among other things in the collection, a detailed description of which will be given below. The discovery of this town is of such great importance in studying the early history of East Turkestan that Dr. Hedin's note made on the spot may appropriately be cited here at length.

Friday, Jan. 24. (Ride to the ruins).

»Examined four houses. Of the structures only wooden posts project above the sand. These timbers are greyish-white and full of cracks; they are light, brittle and porous. They are tapering upwards, where they are most eroded by the wind,

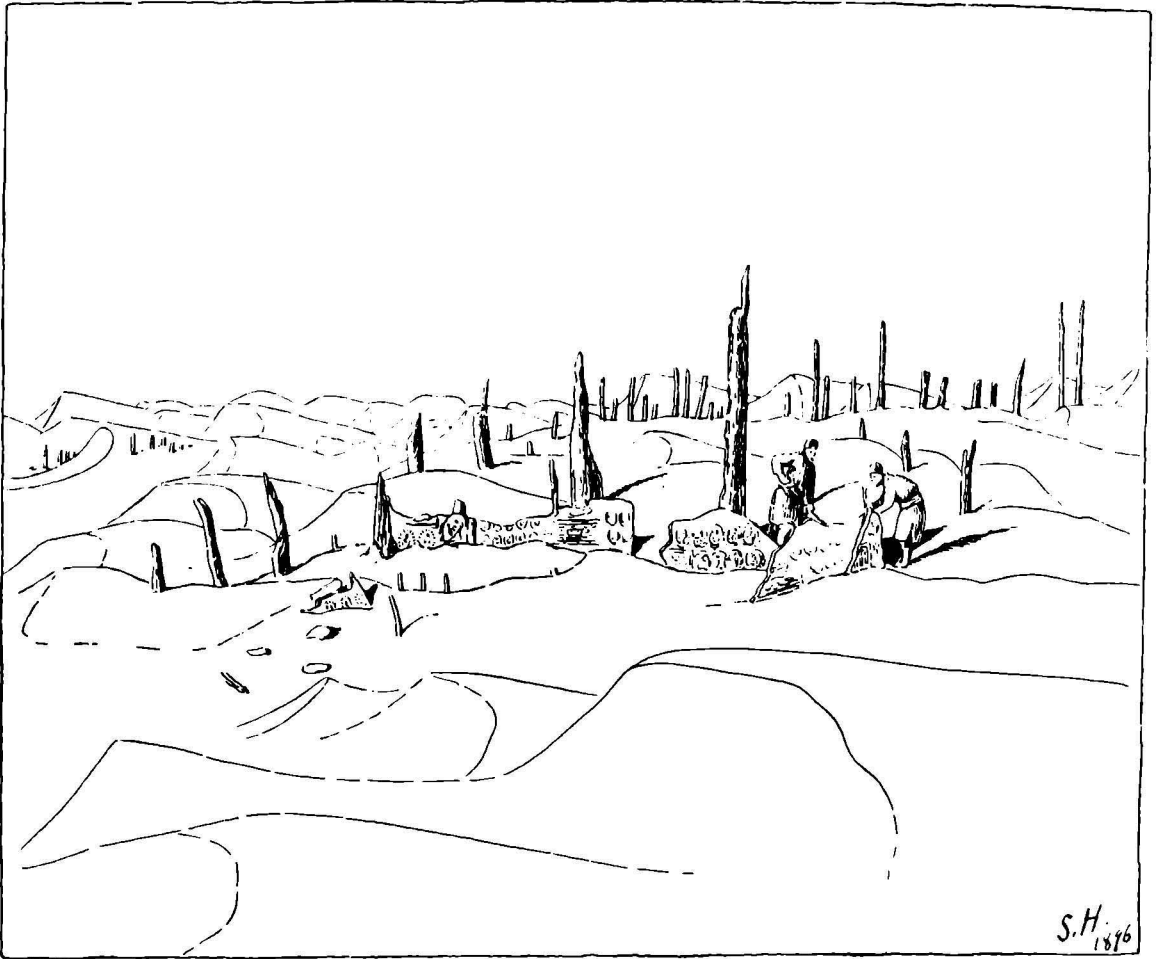


Fig. 29. Ruins of House *b*. Sketch by Dr. Sven Hedin 1896.

cf. Fig. 28 and Fig. 32 e. Between these vertical *toghraq* posts can be seen traces of the walls, the material of which consisted of *qamish* and clay, coarse and strong *qamish* lashed together and secured to slats, forming a groundwork over which clay (mixed with straw) is daubed and plastered. The houses are small, apparently having contained only two or three quite small rooms. Here excavation is, however, made exceedingly difficult as the sand keeps pouring down again, like water, into the opened pit. A *buran* would clear the place more effectively.

House *b* was of greater interest, cf. Fig. 29 and Fig. 32 f. Here the posts formed two squares, one inside the other, possibly indicating a pillar-supported balcony running round the house. Here are also traceable four distinct quadrangles on the edge of a *sai* (gravel-field), high above the surrounding ground so as to give an uninterrupted view in all directions. The first house, with a large post in its centre, seems to have been a Buddha temple. The plaster coatings on both inner and outer sides of the walls were covered with paintings in red and black lines

on a yellow ground, mostly representing women sitting down in prayer, and with hair-dresses of a style resembling that of Chinese women, but their eyebrows meet, and in the forehead they have a circular ring similar to that still worn by the Hindoos. Flowers are of common occurrence. Somewhat strange is a man, offering something on a dish, who is in all certainty not meant to represent a Chinese but an Aryan. These paintings occurred on the lower portions of the walls, next to the ground, and only fragments of them could be fished up. Being applied on the plaster, the whole substance is, however, so fragile that it must be handled with extreme care lest it be irretrievably spoiled. The paint drops off at a touch, and, transportation of a piece of wall scenery of this kind being practically impossible, I contended myself with making sketches. My servants said that this house had been a *bud-khane*, i.e. idol temple, which is not improbable in view of its elevated and dominant position and the worshipping figures. In one of these pictures, which covered the full length of the walls, and were executed with great skill, dogs were also depicted. Some pictures of women are excellently well done, cf. Fig. 30. In all directions vertical posts, representing hundreds of houses, are seen sticking out of the sand. The ground is uneven, and it is chiefly on terraces that houses are found. At one of these terraces my men were able to collect *qamish* in such a good state of preservation that the camels ate it with avidity. At its foot there was a great deal of *sai* (gravel) and there also lay a well preserved millstone. It was said that higher up in the south traces could be seen of a fairly wide *östäng*; whether this emanated from Khotan-darya or Keriya-darya my informant could not say for certain. In the temple building he picked up a piece of crumpled paper carrying some written characters. There was also found a round, turned object of unknown employment, as well as Chinese copper coins with a circular hole in the centre.

At House *c* — in the sand that filled its interior — we found a number of reliefs in plaster of Paris, representing women standing on pedestals, Buddha images, friezes, garlands, women holding garlands, etc., all of these things no doubt having belonged to a richly decorated wall. On many of these figures, from among which we made a selection, the paint still remained. Even these showed very fine workmanship. Here the likeness of Buddha was unmistakable. Lastly, at House *d*, which was quite small, there was also a very solidly constructed fireplace, facing west. This house had evidently possessed *bala-khane*, a balcony, if one may judge from square marks at the top ends of its wall-posts. Several other houses were provided with balconies. At the Buddha temple was recovered a human foot in plaster of Paris, probably from some Buddha image. Fragments of red pottery were scattered about. The upright posts define the shape and size of houses and rooms as distinctly as do the columns of Persepolis. From the relative positions of the houses it is, however, impossible to form any conclusions as to the lay out of streets or the existence of any bazar. There is no stone-built house, nor any of adobe like those of Khan-uj. It is probable that the houses that

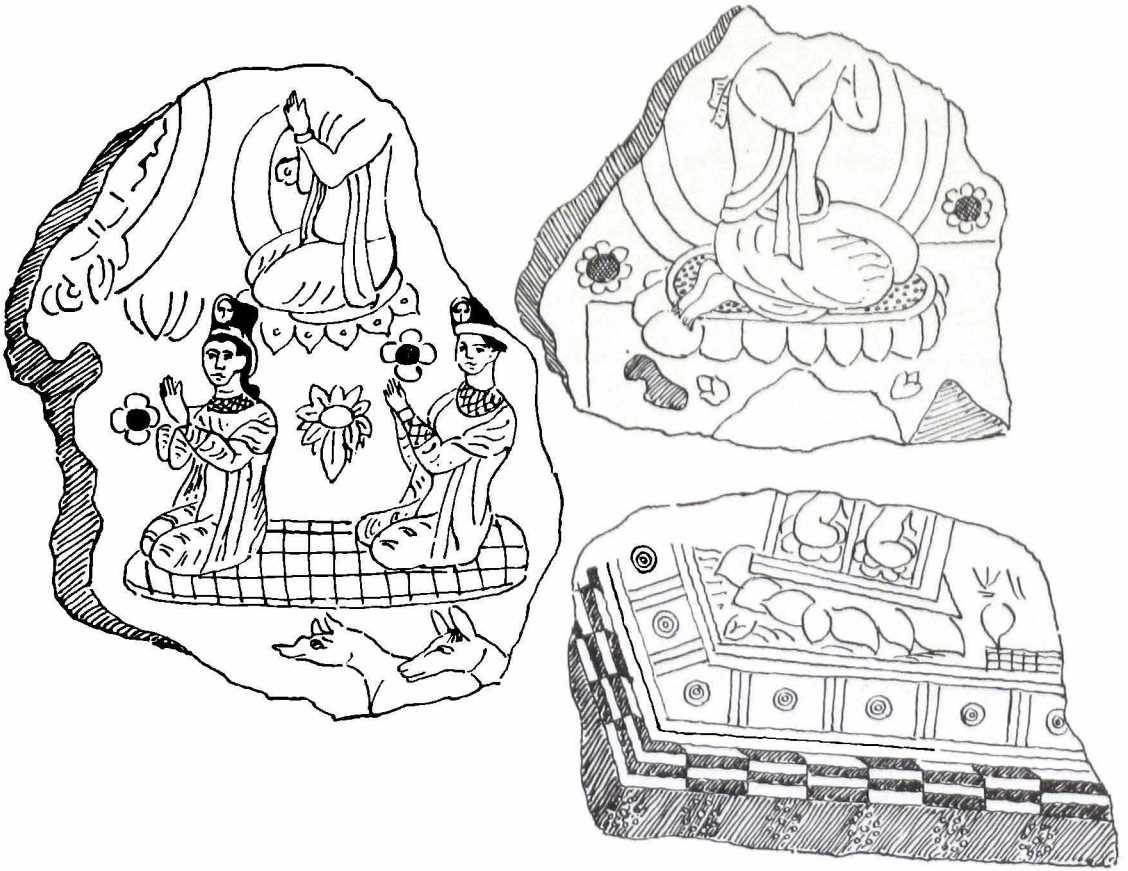


Fig. 30. Mural paintings in House *b*. Sketches by Dr. Sven Hedin 1896.

so abundantly are peeping out of the sand only constitute suburbs of a town whose major portion is already covered over by the dunes, which occasionally allow of a house being laid bare here and there. One or two long corpses of *terek* — dead dry trunks of tall slender poplars — still lay extended on the sand, and here and there stood decayed stumps of *shaftalu* (peach-trees) showing that they had been planted in avenues or arranged in rows in some orchard. The discovery of a silkworm cocoon indicated that sericulture was once carried on at this place. No human corpses or bones, nor any *guristan* (cemetery). From this my attendants concluded, probably correctly, that the inhabitants had in time been warned of the approach of the sand, and thus been able to retreat to other tracts. In further support of their theory they argued that if this were not so, one ought to be able to discover even more valuable articles, or mats, *chapan* (mantles) and the like, all being property which they thought the inhabitants had time to carry away with them on making

their exodus, when they probably trekked southwards. At House *d* was found a carved cornice, and some turned knobs which had probably crowned posts, besides which there were many specimens of roof-beam joints.

Then there arises the question as to what period this town dates from, and at what date it was abandoned. It is certain that it was never occupied by any Turki tribes, nor by Mohammedans, as these were not acquainted with cultured plaster of Paris ornamentation, and still less with Buddha. One is therefore safe in dating it to an era earlier than the influx of Islam. The figures are most nearly suggestive of Hindostan, in a lesser degree, if at all, of China. They are comparable to known productions of Indian art. That the era of its occupation lies very far back in time may be inferred from the fact that the ruins are situated right in the midst of the most turbulent sand area, and that the drift-sand since then has had time to pile up into dunes up to a height of ten metres at the ruined site itself. That the wooden remains and the reeds are found in such a state of preservation that the former constitutes a most excellent fuel and the latter are eagerly devoured by camels must be due to the power of the sand of protecting organic matters. All dunes at this place are orientated west or south, which proves the sand to have swept in from the east or north. Half-an-hour's distance from the dunes there are, however, a couple of live tamarisks, and beside them we found water of pure freshness.»

On December 18th, 1900, Sir Aurel Stein arrived at the above-described ruined site, the name of which he records as Dandān-Uiliq («the houses with ivory»). For the space of a couple of weeks he carried out here with extreme care, with the assistance of a number of labourers, the excavation of numerous houses, which yielded rich finds, and he also made a map of the area (see Stein, 1907, II, Pl. XXIV). In the exhaustive treatise in which the collected material is described, Stein, in collaboration with several specialists, gives a detailed account of the history of the locality.

The central section of the ruined site has an extension of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from N. to S., and a width of $\frac{3}{4}$ mile. It is entirely covered with drift-sand, in the dunes of which are hidden the remains of houses, except the wall posts already mentioned by Dr. Hedin. In his excavations Stein found inside the houses very remarkable objects: fragments of images of deities, votive tablets painted on flat pieces of wood, coins, manuscripts, etc. From these finds it has been possible to fix the date when the town was abandoned at the years immediately subsequent to A.D. 790. Stein also points out the probability of the final devastation having taken place in connection with the conquest of the whole of East Turkestan by the Tibetans in 791.

How long the town existed in its occupied state it is, on the other hand, impossible to say, but it is probable that its history covered several hundred years. In view of the perishability of the materials Stein considers that the finds that have been made must date from a relatively short period preceding the destruction of the town. To this may be objected that the objects in question have nevertheless survived both the obliteration of the town and at least eleven hundred years of desert sand-storms.

It does not appear possible with any certainty to identify on Stein's map the ruins that Hedin visited and cursorily described in his diary. It is probable, however, that his House *c* is identical with Stein's Ruin D I. The finds show perfect correspondence. For the rest, the description is of such a general character that it affords no data that can serve as a check. Seeing that Stein probably examined only part of the ruins one cannot be certain that the two explorers are always referring to the same house-remains.

To judge from the cursory description of House *b* it looks as if its decoration corresponded to Stein's discoveries in the ruin he indicates by D II. What lends colour to this supposition is Dr. Hedin's reference to dogs, of which, however, he only saw the heads, Fig. 30. Stein excavated the ruin completely and found representations of rows of men riding on camels or horses. Each of the men held a bowl in his right hand. It is probably the upper part of the body of such a rider that Dr. Hedin saw and sketched.¹

SVEN HEDIN'S COLLECTION FROM DANDĀN-UILIQ.

In the above-cited diary it is mentioned that in House *c* were discovered divers reliefs in plaster of Paris, and the whole of this little collection appears to originate from this one place. These objects are without exception fragments of larger decorations, as to the character of which we are unable to draw any definite conclusions. It is probable that in part they have formed the background of larger decorative figures. Fragments of these latter have been revealed in various temple ruins in the town in the course of Stein's excavations.

The most notable group consists of a series of standing Buddha images, all of exactly the same type and perhaps originating from the same mould. The latter supposition cannot however be definitely established on account of a certain degree of finishing work. Each figure is standing on a small console representing lotus leaves. The head is slightly inclined forward so that the circular aureole at its back is free of the wall, cf. Pl. XVIII, 1—2. The right hand is raised to the breast with the palm turned outwards in *abhaya-mudrā* (= »fear not»). The left arm hangs down the side. The body is draped in a mantle softly falling in a multitude

¹ Hedin 1898.

of folds, and below it can be seen a glimpse of the undergarment. Eyebrows and eyelashes are indicated by fine black lines, and the gaze is directed upwards. Wing-tips are distinctly seen rising from the shoulders.

The standing Buddha figurines contained in Dr. Hedin's collection evidently originate from two groups, or from the background of two different, larger, statues. Variety has been effected by painting the garb in different colours. One of them is distinguished by a russet mantle and green undergarment, while the other has a deep-red mantle and undergarment of a lighter russet colour.

As to how these figures were disposed there need be no doubt. One of Dr. Hedin's fragments has still attached to it a fairsized portion of the blue wall that formed its background, Pl. XVIII, 5. Stein has made a lucky find of two figures with the connecting wall-portion still adhering, as is also the moulded border that framed the group.¹

As already pointed out by Dr. Hedin, these figures show a striking relationship to Gandharan art. They are coarsely made, and apparently mass products, but nevertheless retain in a general way the conventionalized features of the Hellenistically influenced religious sculpture of northern India.²

In Ambolt's collection from Karakir there are similar reliefs representing the erect-standing Buddha with the right hand raised in *abhaya-mudrā*, which from their more refined workmanship present a still closer correspondence with their Gandharan models.

The Hedin collection also contains ten fragments of the borders that have defined the aureoles set behind the larger figures. The decorative motifs are all of a severely classic-Hellenistic style and essentially consist of leaves and grapes. Stein shows exactly similar fragments found in D I.³

Among the motifs are especially noticeable grapes and leaves which have been made more lifelike by a variety of colouring, Pl. XX, 6. It will suffice to compare these motifs with decorative details from Mathura in order to establish their close dependence upon Indian prototypes.⁴ »Jewels» surrounded by garlands of beads is another ornamental motif occurring both here and in the Yotkan finds.⁵

From the same ruin originates a group of reliefs showing the Buddha seated in meditative pose on a console decorated with lotus leaves, with a pointed aureole behind him, Pl. XIX, 2. These figures, too, retain traces of painting but are mostly in a bad state of preservation and are lacking in details. A characteristic feature of early representations of the seated Buddha is that his feet are hidden, and that a fold of his mantle falls between his knees. A striking resemblance to these reliefs, which no doubt formed parts of large mural decorations of aureoles, is shown

¹ Stein 1907, pl. LIV.

² Cf. Foucher, fig. 452. Waldschmidt, fig. 5.

³ Stein 1907, pl. LVII.

⁴ Foucher, fig. 94 B.

⁵ Cf. Stein 1907, pl. XLIV (Y. 0015, (Yotkan). Pl. LV (D. I. 44, Dandān Uiliq).

by the ordinary type of Lamaistic clay plaquettes. The latter, as we know, are used as reliquaries or amulets, but it does not seem improbable that the type has been evolved from the reliefs of fixed temple decorations.

Even in the Dandān-Uiliq collection there are fragments of Gandharva figures, that is to say, reliefs representing garland-holding celestial women, Pl. XIX, 6, 7. They are three in number, and all much worn and damaged. Their type has already been dealt with in the foregoing. All indications go to show that these reliefs, like the Buddha reliefs already referred to, formed part of mural decorations.

The motif of the figure rising only half-way behind a garland of leaves may possibly be connected with the popular Buddhistic-Lamaistic conception that deities are born through the medium of a lotus leaf resting on the water. Traces of paint can still be made out. The garland of lotus leaves through which the figure is in the act of rising was once painted blue, while the encircling string of beads exhibits remains of yellowish-grey paint. Illustrations of more complete examples are published by Hoernle and Stein.¹

All of the above-described objects from Dandān-Uiliq are in plaster of Paris and were manufactured in moulds. Their back presents a flat surface, but in this grooves have been incised in order to make them adhere better to the walls. By painting them in strong colours a more effective finish has been given them in spite of the plain material.

Of all the buildings in the ruined city nothing remains but the walls to a height of 1 to 1.5 metre, and wooden corner posts. It is therefore difficult to make any definite pronouncement on its architecture as such. It may, however, be accepted as probable that it consisted of simplified copies of Indian prototypes. An important detail was the passage formed between the outer wall of the cella and an encircling wall so as to make possible the ritual circumambulation, or *pradaksinā*, which to this day plays an important part in the cult of Buddhism, cf. Fig. 32 f.

All the walls were evidently decorated with paintings, although these frequently consisted of stencil work of no artistic merit. The height to which the art of painting nevertheless was occasionally capable of attaining is illustrated by the excellent picture of a bathing woman discovered by Stein.²

I have already pointed out both resemblances and differences between the finds from Yotkan and those from Dandān-Uiliq. Taken all together, the material from the latter locality is of a finer character, more nearly approaching its Indian prototypes. Even Dr. Hedin, though early in the field, advanced the surmise that Yotkan was a town engaged in the commercial manufacture of pottery, while Dandān-Uiliq was a religious centre. No evidence has been forthcoming in disproof of this theory. It would be too rash to try fixing, by theoretical construction, the difference in dates between the periods of prosperity of these two localities. Both of them probably flourished for several centuries and were important parts of

¹ Hoernle 1902, pl. XII, 2. Stein 1907, pl. LVI.

² Stein 1907, Pl. II.

that cultural centre for the dissemination of neo-classically influenced Buddhistic art which Khotan represented. From here the rich treasures of classical antiquity were passed on to the north and east under continual modifications according to Asiatic conceptions. At this spot was no doubt situated one of the most important stages along the route towards the art that in China and Japan attained such a brilliant standard of development. In fact, Sirén numbers Khotan among the localities that probably supplied artisans for the imposing cave temples of northern China. Nor can it be denied that, e.g., the huge reliefs of Yün-kang, sculptured in the living rock, exhibit a certain degree of kinship with the modest paintings and stucco decorations of Dandān-Uiliq.

In March 1928 this ruined site was visited by the German and Swiss explorers, Trinkler, De Terra and Bosshard, who carried out some excavation work there. This did not, however, yield any new discoveries.¹

Dr. Hedin's collection contains four fragments which differ from the rest as regards both material and style. It is true that two of them are illustrated in the work »En färd genom Asien» (Through Asia) and are there described as having come from the town of Taklamakan, i.e. Dandān-Uiliq, but this may possibly be due to an oversight, so that in reality they may originate from some other locality. If so, they were among the objects purchased from »treasure-seekers» of Khotan.

A feature common to them all is that the material is exceedingly hard, and that the surfaces, especially underneath, are full of deep cracks. The colour is grey, here and there shading into brown and blue-green. The material resembles natural stone to perfection, although it undoubtedly consists of a compound mass. Traces of reddish-brown paint are discernible in protected places.

These fragments originate from Buddha figures in relief, standing erect and with the right hand raised in *abhaya-mudrā*, while the left holds a corner of the mantle. Pl. XX, 1 shows an exceedingly fine Buddha head, bearing all the traditional attributes: the *urna*, i.e. the circular protuberance in the centre of the brow, *uśnīṣa*, the lock-covered bulge on the crown of the head, and extended ear-lobes.

Stein discovered in a mound of ruins known as Kighillik (»the Dunghill»), in the neighbourhood of Ak-sipil, several fragments which, judging from his description and illustrations, are exactly similar in character to the above-mentioned objects in the Hedin collection.² Comparative measurements show that the hand, Pl. XX, 2, is of exactly the same dimensions as its counterpart in a torso reproduced by Stein. It might have originated from the same mould. The same probably applies to the left hand, holding the mantle, Pl. XX, 3, which however in Stein's version is too badly damaged to admit of exact measurements' being taken.

It is quite obvious that this group of fragments is more closely connected with

¹ Cf. Trinkler, De Terra, Bosshard.

² Cf. Stein 1907, p. 477, pl. LXXX.

true Gandharan art than any other finds from Khotan. A comparison with the beautiful Gandharan statue of the Buddha that is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin reveals how close these correspondences are.¹ At the same time it should be borne in mind that the Khotan reliefs were produced in moulds, which must have caused a certain blurring of details.

Stein very properly points out the resemblance existing between the Kighillik fragments and the reliefs excavated by him in the stupa at Rawak, which bore the remains of an exceedingly rich ornamentation.

There are undoubtedly good reasons for dating the fragments in question at a period when intercourse between Khotan and north Indian art centres was particularly intimate.

DISCOVERY OF THE RUINS OF KARA-DUNG.

A week after his visit to Dandān-Uiliq, Dr. Hedin with his small caravan had reached a wooded tract on Keriya-darya, known as Tonguz-basti, and there he learnt from a tribesman belonging to the local primitive pastoral inhabitants that the ruins of an ancient city lay one day's journey to the north-west. Carrying with them a small supply of water the expedition repaired to the place on February 2, and spent the following day in making a cursory examination of the locality. There are, it is true, no finds from this ruin in the collection, but as this discovery led to its being more thoroughly examined by Stein a few years later, Dr. Hedin's original notes are here quoted:

Monday, Feb. 2nd (Ride to Kara-dung).

»At last we have arrived at the famed Kara-dung, which is neither blacker nor more 'dung' than any other sand supplied with cones. It is, however, the dark-coloured *yulghun* (tamarisks) that have given rise to its name. It is rather characteristic that both the hunter of Khotan-darya and the shepherd of Keriya-darya call the site 'Kara-dung,' without ever having met or having an idea as to its distance from its nearest river. Our man Kasim, who has been here before (a five days' journey) turned back from here without knowing in the least that Keriya-darya, with both people and animals, was quite close. We camped on a flat piece of ground, between small-sized dunes, in one of which the nearest house was buried, with sticking-up *toghraq* posts of exactly the same appearance as in the previous ancient town. Red pottery fragments were found strewn about, and also necks of jars, Fig. 32 d. A couple of small bits of brass. One *arba* axle with one hub remaining, Fig. 32 i. This axle is constructed in exactly the same way as nowadays; nevertheless, long ages must have passed since it was possible to travel by *arba* over this now sand-buried tract. Thus there were in the middle portion of the axle two perforations for the attaching of the body of the vehicle, and at the ends perforations for linchpins. Firewood was plentiful about the camp, *terek* and *jigde* (oleaster), dead and dry as dust, and giving out a terrific heat. The house was built of *toghraq*.

¹ Le Coq, 1922/24, pl. 5. Waldschmidt, pl. 4.

Monday, February 3rd.

Took a walk among the ruins, and then returned to the 'lake'. Examined four houses. They date from exactly the same period as those of the previous town. In only one of the houses were found similar paintings on the wall-plaster, although here they were for the most part hopelessly damaged and generally impossible

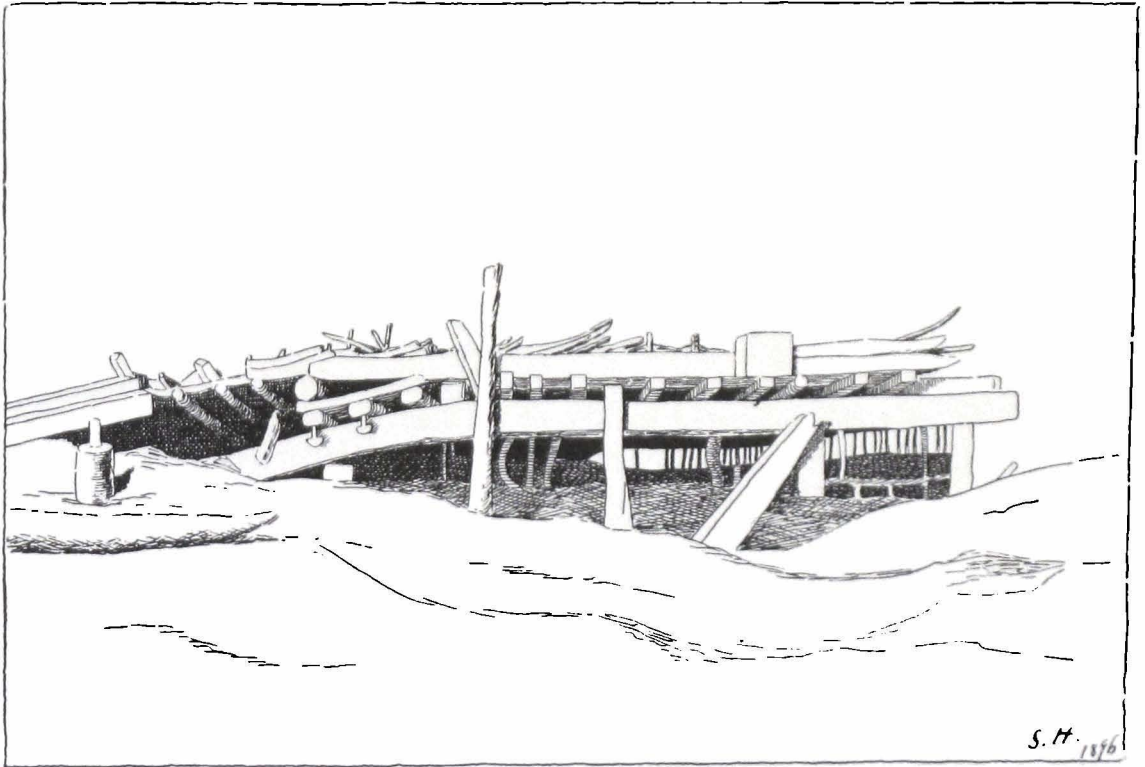


Fig. 31. From the ruins of Kara-dung. Sketch by Dr. Sven Hedin 1896.

to make out. Here and there were to be seen the upper portion of a face, or such-like. Also here the faces have a red circle on the forehead between the eyebrows. The houses are similarly constructed, and of *toghraq*. All about are seen *terek* and *jigde*. Pottery fragments quite common, and one or two bits of brass were also seen lying about. The site covered a considerable area, although apparently smaller than the one I have just visited. Strangely enough the houses seem to have been built on a scattered plan, without any system; at any rate big spaces now appear between them, and there is nothing to give any impression of streets. It must be borne in mind, however, that only solitary houses show up above the dunes, while no doubt a great many — at all events the majority — lie buried underneath the sand. The most remarkable among them was an immense house, most nearly resembling a modern *serai*, built as a square with the corners cut off, a large court in the middle where again a smaller, rectangular house had stood; its outer sides

measured 93 by 84 paces, Fig. 32 g. There remained only a number of upright posts, the cross-beams that had supported the floor and were about 4 m in length, and long posts. This house evidently consisted of two stories, if one may judge from crossbeams which are now projecting above the sand and must have been at a height of four to five metres above the then surface of the ground. Its general aspect was that of a narrow arcade, and of the central house several posts remained. Outside there is a comparatively well preserved building, or maybe the foundation of a verandah, cf. Fig. 31. It appears originally to have been constructed of interlocking and intercrossing beams. A third house was small, and built on the adjoined plan: *a* doors, *b* fireplace, fired to a red colour and in a good state of preservation, Fig. 32 h. The lintel was level with the present surface of the sand. Generally speaking, the houses were of small size, the proportions of the one here first described suggests its having been a public *serai* or temple. This ancient town is situated between two *dawāns*, a site no doubt formerly intersected by the river. On the far side of the western *dawān* no ruins are to be seen, but there, too, dead trees are found in a depression indicating an ancient river valley running parallel to the present rivers. The depressions and the streaks of *yulghun* (tamarisks) that we passed in the desert, all of them no doubt mark ancient beds of Keriya-darya. In a valley between two dunes there was a small rectangular clay terrace, very porous and breaking to pieces. In some of the houses, right among the posts, were still standing tamarisks that had been dead a very long time, with whitened limbs as brittle as glass. It was evident that they had grown up among the ruins, and therefore had not existed contemporary with the town. The latter must have been an abandoned ruined site at the time the trees took root, so that these flourished and died all in the same ruins. This my men considered as proving the high antiquity of the town.

A post, 4 m high, which has belonged to a house without a balcony, is provided with two mortices for holding horizontal beams that supported the flooring. This double-morticed piece of timber has served as a corner-post, Fig. 32 j. Any attempt at reconstructing a house of this kind would prove extremely difficult. Nothing is seen but an eroded skeleton, but nevertheless the plaster and the walls of these houses were of the same character as in the town previously examined, i.e. *qamish* (wattle of reeds), and on that mud and a white coat of plaster on the inner wall-face.

This town was situated not far from the river and was contemporaneous with the one previously examined».

After the ruins at Kara-dung had become known through Dr. Hedin's publications they were visited by Sir Aurel Stein in March, 1900. He subjected the site to a series of closer examinations, excavated certain sections of the great quadrangle, and made a map of the area.¹ It was then found that the central portion

¹ Stein 1907, Pl. XXXVIII.

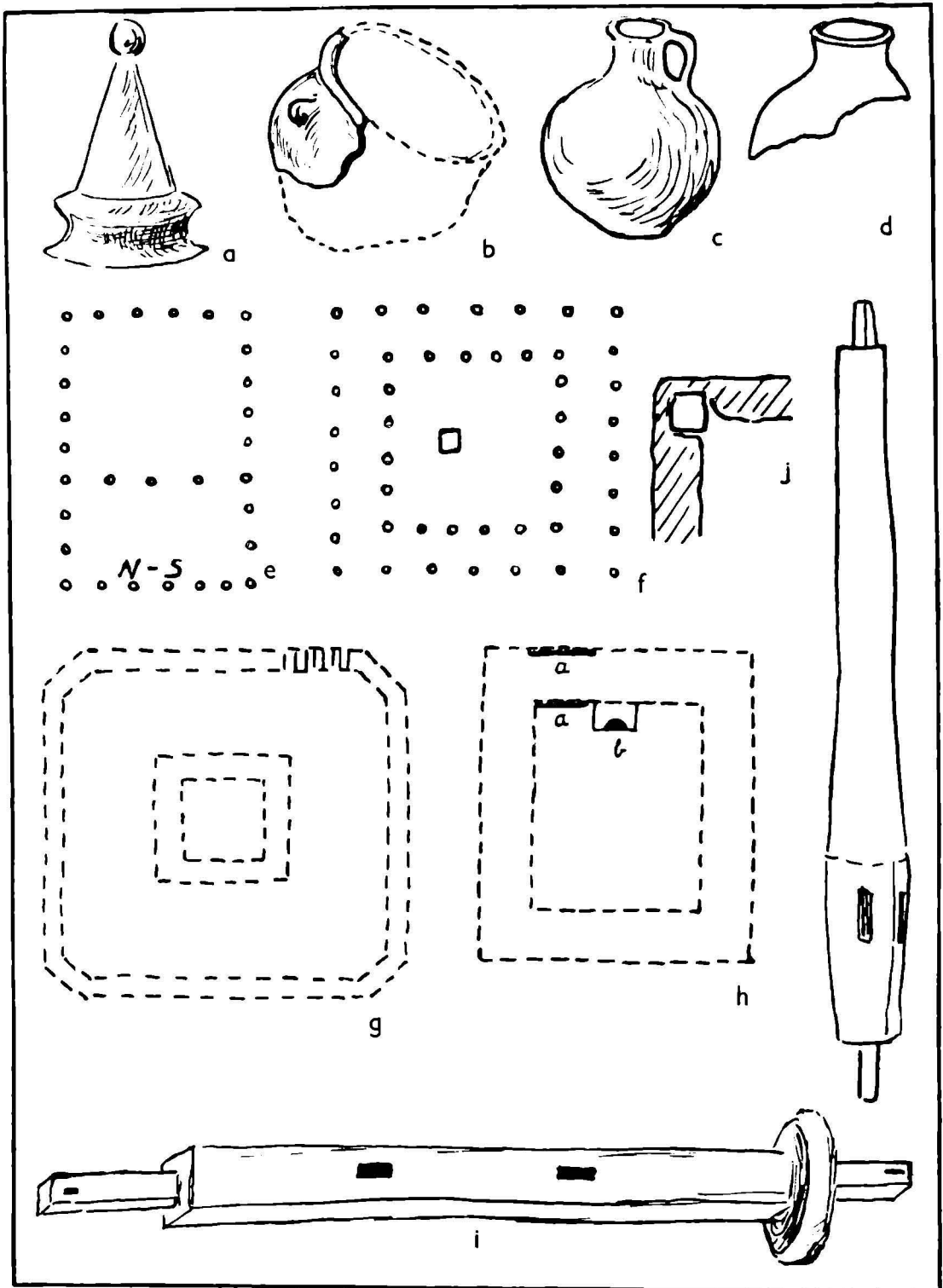


Fig. 32. Sketches made by Dr. Sven Hedin during his journey to Dandān-Uiliq and Kara-dung 1896.

had consisted of a ramparted court-yard, in the centre of which had stood a number of buildings constructed of timber and plaster. This mud-built embankment was at its base about 20 feet thick and formed the foundation of a building consisting of a long file of small rooms unconnected with one another. Only a few of these could then still be made out. The floors of the rooms on the embankment were 17 feet above the level of the ground. In the eastern section Stein excavated a large gateway which is identical with the building in Dr. Hedin's diary and is here reproduced from a sketch, Fig. 31.¹ Owing to the excellent protection afforded by the rampart, the gateway and its roof had been preserved in a fairly intact condition. Through the gateway led a central passage, 10 feet broad, which could be closed by means of a massive wooden door of two leaves, and cross-bars. Beside this there were two side passages, each 5 feet broad. The roof consisted of thick beams on the top of which was laid a thin layer of reeds, which in their turn were covered with a second layer of *toghraq* branches overlaid with stamped mud, 1½ foot in thickness. Stein agrees with the supposition that this had served as the flooring of a second storey, which may have been in the nature of a watch-tower.

Of detached objects very few finds were made: some fragments of glass or bronze, a spindle-whorl, an iron arrow-head, a comb of a type common in Northern India, and fragments of earthenware vessels. Of the coins recovered, some were of Wu-ch'u type and consequently of the Han dynasty or of the period succeeding its downfall. No objects of T'ang type were discovered.

From the above it may be concluded that the establishment was abandoned at an earlier date than Dandān-Uiliq. No remains of dwelling-houses appear to have been discovered by Stein.

Stein appears to agree with Dr. Hedin's supposition that the purpose of the structure must have been that of a *langar* or roadside caravan-serai. He also points out the probability of the important caravan route between Khotan and Kucha having passed here. The defensive character of the establishment makes it probable that it constituted a military outpost for safeguarding communication with the oases along the southern foot of Tien-shan.

At a ruined site located half a mile from the quadrangle excavations yielded no return for the trouble beyond a few coarse clay vessels.

(To be continued.)

¹ Cf. Stein 1907, vol. I, fig. 53.

LIST OF PLATES.

Terra-cottas from Yotkan, purchased at the site or in Khotan.

Pl. I. Reconstruction of terra-cotta jar with 3 handles. Cf. Pl. IV, 1 and text p. 157.

Pl. II, 1. Reconstruction of terra-cotta jar with 3 handles. Cf. Pl. III, 2 and text p. 156.

Pl. II, 2. Reconstruction of terra-cotta jar with 3 handles. Cf. Pl. III, 3 and text p. 156.

Pl. III, 1 (03.11.335). Fragment of terra-cotta vessel, consisting of neck with appliqué moulded reliefs. Cf. Fig. 10 and text p. 167. Height 10.6 cm.

Pl. III, 2 (03.11.333). Terra-cotta jar, probably the best preserved one of the type with 3 handles. Two handles now missing but broken stumps indicate the places where they were attached. Below rim appliqué reliefs, leaves and grapes. Traces of appliqué reliefs at the sides of the handle, cf. Pl. VI, 2. See reconstruction Pl. II, 1 and text p. 156. Height 16.8 cm. Diameter of body 12.7 cm. Diameter of bottom 6.6 cm. Height of neck 7 cm.

Pl. III, 3 (03.11.334). Body of small terra-cotta jar with 3 handles. Cf. reconstruction Pl. II, 2 and text p. 156. Height 6.2 cm. Diameter of body 8.1 cm. Diameter of bottom 4 cm.

Pl. III, 4 a—c (03.11.245). Terra-cotta bifrons vessel. Almost perfectly preserved, only one of the projections above the ears missing. Cf. text p. 158. Height 9 cm. Depth face to face 7.1 cm.

Pl. IV, 1 (03.11.230, 234—01.23.30). Fragment of terra-cotta vessel with 3 handles. Neck and handles decorated with incised lines and circles. Appliqué reliefs. Cf. reconstruction Pl. I and text p. 157. Diameter of mouth 16.2 cm. Height 16 cm.

Pl. IV, 2 (03.11.308). Terra-cotta head of »griffin-handle». 5.4 × 3.7 cm.

Pl. IV, 3 (03.11.160). Terra-cotta mask, part of the decoration of large vessel. Cf. text p. 173. 5 × 4.6 cm.

Pl. IV, 4 (03.11.297). Handle of large vessel. Griffin shape with incised decoration. Made in two halves, in moulds, joined before firing. Cf. Figs. 6–7 and text p. 162. 18×10 cm.

Pl. IV, 5 (01.23.3. Högberg coll.). Fragment of large vessel with incised decoration and an appliqué moulded mask. Cf. p. 173. 10.1×8.7 cm.

Pl. IV, 6 (03.11.142). Fragment of large vessel with big appliqué moulded mask. Cf. Fig. 14 a and text p. 172. 8.7×7.1 cm.

Pl. V, 1 (01.23.1. Högberg coll.). Fragment of neck of big vessel with incised circles and appliqué moulded reliefs. Cf. Fig. 9 and text p. 165 et seq. Height 11.2 cm.

Pl. V, 2 (03.11.221). Fragment of neck of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief. Cf. text p. 165 et seq. 6.5×5 cm.

Pl. V, 3 (03.11.216). Fragment of neck of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief representing a Gandharva. Cf. Fig. 8 a and text p. 163 et seq. 9.5×7.8 cm.

Pl. V, 4 (03.11.220). Fragment of neck of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief representing a man raising a bowl. Cf. text p. 165. 7×5.3 cm.

Pl. VI, 1 (03.11.214). Fragment of shoulder of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief representing a griffin. Cf. Fig. 13 and text p. 171. 8×5.8 cm.

Pl. VI, 2 (03.11.229). Fragment of handle of terra-cotta vessel. At the sides two appliqué moulded reliefs. 5.4×5.3 cm.

Pl. VI, 3 (03.11.226). Fragment of neck of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief representing wrestlers. Cf. text p. 169. 5.4×5.3 cm.

Pl. VI, 4 (03.11.227). Fragment of neck of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief representing a man with a wine-bag (?). 5.3×4.3 cm.

Pl. VI, 5 (03.11.215). Fragment of terra-cotta object. Plain tile with appliqué moulded reliefs. Cf. text p. 177 et seq. 10.6×6.6 cm.

Pl. VII, 1 (03.11.303). Terra-cotta head of »lion-handle». Height 3 cm.

Pl. VII, 2 (01.23.15. Högberg coll.). Terra-cotta »lion-handle». Cf. text p. 160. 5.3×2.4 cm.

- Pl. VII, 3 (03.11.304). Terra-cotta head of »griffin-handle». Height 3.7 cm.
- Pl. VII, 4 (03.11.176). Terra-cotta mask. 3.4 × 3 cm.
- Pl. VII, 5 (03.11.135). Head and upper part of body of terra-cotta animal figure. 4.5 × 3 cm.
- Pl. VII, 6 (03.11.170). Terra-cotta mask. The rim partly missing. 4.8 × 3.7 cm.
- Pl. VII, 7 (03.11.151). Terra-cotta mask with wide-open mouth. 4.8 × 4.6 cm.
- Pl. VII, 8 (03.11.166). Terra-cotta mask from big vessel. 4.7 × 4 cm.
- Pl. VIII, 1 (03.11.163). Terra-cotta mask. Cf. text p. 173. 5.4 × 3.5 cm.
- Pl. VIII, 2 (01.23.4. Högberg coll.). Fragment of big vessel with appliqué moulded mask. Cf. text p. 174. 9.5 × 5.9 cm.
- Pl. VIII, 3 (03.11.154). Fragment of big vessel with appliqué moulded mask. Cf. Fig. 15 and text p. 174. 4.9 × 4.7 cm.
- Pl. VIII, 4 (03.11.182). Terra-cotta mask. Cf. text p. 173. 3.6 × 3.4 cm.
- Pl. VIII, 5 (03.11.158). Terra-cotta mask. Cf. text p. 173. 5.7 × 5.4 cm.
- Pl. VIII, 6 (03.11.149). Terra-cotta mask. Cf. text p. 173. 6.3 × 5.7 cm.
- Pl. IX, 1 (03.11.262). Head of terra-cotta figure. Cf. text p. 180, Height 5.7 cm.
- Pl. IX, 2 (03.11.259). Head of terra-cotta figure. Cf. Fig. 20 a and text p. 181. Height 6 cm.
- Pl. IX, 3 (03.11.278). Terra-cotta relief. Probably the front part of head moulded in two halves. Height 5.2 cm.
- Pl. IX, 4 (03.11.281). Head of terra-cotta figure. Height 3.8 cm.
- Pl. IX, 5 (01.23.28. Högberg coll.). Head of terra-cotta figure. Cf. text p. 180. Height 4.5 cm.
- Pl. IX, 6 (03.11.279). Terra-cotta relief. Probably the front part of head moulded in two halves. Height 5.5 cm.

Pl. IX, 7 (03.11.9). Terra-cotta figure. Arms and feet missing. Cf. text p. 180. Height 8.4 cm.

Pl. IX, 8 (01.23.25. Högberg coll.). Terra-cotta relief. Probably the front part of head moulded in two halves. Height 5.1 cm.

Pl. X, 1 (03.11.249). Terra-cotta head. 3.5 × 3.3 cm.

Pl X, 2 (03.11.248 b). Terra-cotta relief. Cf. text p. 183. 4.6 × 2.7 cm.

Pl. X, 3 (03.11.252). Terra-cotta relief. Probably the front part of head moulded in two halves. Height 3.4 cm.

Pl. X, 4 (03.11.286). Terra-cotta relief. Probably part of appliqué decoration of vessel. Cf. text p. 184. Height 3.3 cm.

Pl X, 5 (03.11.250). Terra-cotta relief. Probably the front part of head of figure moulded in two halves. Cf. text p. 183. Height 4.3 cm.

Pl. X, 6 (03.11.254). Terra-cotta head with big round ornament attached to vertex. 3.1 × 2.7 cm.

Pl. X, 7 (03.11.11). Terra-cotta figure. Left arm, right hand and legs missing. Cf. text p. 182 et seq. Height 5.6 cm.

Pl. X, 8 (03.11.10). Fragment of terra-cotta figure. Head missing. Cf. text p. 182. Height 6 cm.

Pl. XI, 1 (03.11.253). Fragment of terra-cotta head. Cf. text p. 183. 4.5 × 4.1 cm.

Pl. XI, 2 (03.11.260). Terra-cotta head. Hollow, with big round opening in vertex. Cf. text p. 181. Height 6.8 cm.

Pl. XI, 3 (03.11.263). Terra-cotta head with crescent-shaped ornament. Cf. Fig. 22 d and text p. 184. Height 5.7 cm.

Pl. XI, 4 (03.11.266). Terra-cotta head. Cf. Fig. 22 a and text p. 183. Height 4.4 cm.

Pl. XI, 5 (03.11.248 a). Terra-cotta head with deep hole drilled into vertex before firing, another hole from below. Height 3.3 cm.

Pl. XI, 6 (03.11.271). Terra-cotta head. The top broken. Cf. Fig. 22 b and text p. 183. Height 3.6 cm.

Pl. XI, 7 (03.11.224). Terra-cotta relief. Probably the front part of figure. From vertex a hole drilled. Cf. text p. 183.

Pl. XI, 8 (01.23.17. Högberg coll.). Terra-cotta relief. Cf. text p. 184. 4.9×3.7 cm.

Pl. XII, 1 (03.11.238). Terra-cotta fragment. Possibly part of big vessel. Appliqué moulded relief representing head of monkey, surrounded by leaves. 4.3×4.1 cm.

Pl. XII, 2 (03.11.225). Fragment of big vessel with appliqué moulded relief. Cf. text p. 170. 6.6×6.1 cm.

Pl. XII, 3 (03.11.244). Terra-cotta relief representing man with moustaches and beard. Cf. text p. 185. 13.6×5.8 cm.

Pl. XII, 4 (03.11.293). Moulded terra-cotta spout in the shape of a monkey-head with diadem and ear-ornaments. Cf. Fig. 27. 8.2×6.7 cm.

Pl. XIII, 1 (03.11.127). Terra-cotta figure representing Bactrian camel with riding monkey. Complete. Cf. text p. 192. 5.4×5.1 cm.

Pl. XIII, 2 (03.11.133). Fragment of terra-cotta horse. 5.5×3.5 cm.

Pl. XIII, 3 (03.11.131). Terra-cotta relief. Probably one part of figure moulded in two halves. 4.1×3.5 cm.

Pl. XIII, 4 (03.11.117). Fragment of terra-cotta horse with two riders. Cf. text p. 187. Height 7.2 cm.

Pl. XIII, 5 (03.11.132). Fragment of terra-cotta camel. The hind-legs missing. Cf. text p. 187. 7.9×7.9 cm.

Pl. XIV, 1 (03.11.316). Terra-cotta spout in shape of birds head. Cf. text p. 175. 5.2×3.7 cm.

Pl. XIV, 2 (01.23.6. Högberg coll.). Terra-cotta figure representing pig. Legs broken. Cf. text p. 189. 8.2×5 cm.

Pl. XIV, 3 (03.11.136). Terra-cotta relief representing *argali*. Cf. text p. 189. 3.6×2.5 cm.

Pl. XIV, 4 (03.11.134). Coarse terra-cotta handle in shape of animal. 4.2×3 cm.

Pl. XIV, 5 (03.11.296). Terra-cotta figure representing fish (?). The tail broken. Cf. text p. 189. Length 14.9 cm.

Pl. XV, 1 (03.11.294). Head of coarsely modelled monkey head. Height 5.1 cm.

Pl. XV, 2 (03.11.1). Terra-cotta figure representing kneeling monkey. Height 6 cm.

Pl. XV, 3 (01.23.43. Högberg coll.). Head and upper part of terra-cotta figure representing monkey playing the panpipe. Height 4.9 cm.

Pl. XV, 4 (03.11.8). Fragment of terra-cotta figure. Height 9 cm.

Pl. XV, 5 (03.11.2). Terra-cotta relief representing monkey with strongly marked phallus. Cf. text p. 190. 6.2×4 cm.

Pl. XVI, 1 (03.11.89). Fragment of terra-cotta figure representing monkey playing the *sitār*. 2.7×2.7 cm.

Pl. XVI, 2 (03.11.19). Terra-cotta figure representing kneeling monkey with child in the arms. Child's head and mother's right leg missing. Height 5.2 cm.

Pl. XVI, 3 (03.11.88). Fragment of terra-cotta figure representing monkey grasping a panpine with both hands. Height 2.3 cm.

Pl. XVI, 4 (03.11.92). Fragment of terra-cotta figure representing female monkey. Arms and legs broken. 3×1.9 cm.

Pl. XVI, 5 (03.11.71). Terra-cotta figure representing a cradle with child or monkey. 2.6×1.1 cm.

Pl. XVI, 6 (03.11.83). Terra-cotta figure representing monkey. Height 2.1 cm.

Pl. XVI, 7 (03.11.98). Fragment of terra-cotta figure representing eating monkey. 2.4×2.2 cm.

Pl. XVI, 8 (03.11.25). Terra-cotta figure representing kneeling monkey. Right leg missing. 3×1.6 cm.

Pl. XVI, 9 (03.11.64). Terra-cotta group representing two monkeys embracing amorously. The arms partly damaged. Height 3 cm.

Pl. XVI, 10 (03.11.62). Terra-cotta figure representing monkey climbing at a branch. Height 5.3 cm.

Pl. XVI, 11 (03.11.75). Terra-cotta figure representing hairy sitting monkey with left hand raised to the mouth. 3.7×1.7 cm.

Pl. XVI, 12 (03.11.35). Terra-cotta relief representing head and upper part of body of female monkey with well-developed breasts. Height 3.3 cm.

Pl. XVI, 13 (03.11.15). Terra-cotta figure showing kneeling monkey with apron-like kilt. He is eating, or playing the panpipe. Height 5 cm.

Pl. XVI, 14 (03.11.57). Terra-cotta group representing two sitting monkeys embracing amorously. The arms partly missing. 4.5×3.1 cm.

Pl. XVI, 15 (03.11.12). Terra-cotta figure representing female monkey. The arms missing. Height 4.8 cm.

Pl. XVII, 1 (03.11.49). Terra-cotta miniature monkey, kneeling. Height 2.2 cm.

Pl. XVII, 2 (03.11.50). Terra-cotta miniature monkey holding both hands to the chin. Height 1.4 cm.

Pl. XVII, 3 (03.11.37). Terra-cotta miniature monkey grasping a *sitār* with left hand, right hand missing. Height 1.8 cm.

Pl. XVII, 4 (03.11.40). Terra-cotta miniature monkey playing the *sitār*. Height 1.4 cm.

Pl. XVII, 5 (03.11.68). Terra-cotta grotesque figure showing a bird's body with tail and wings but with two owl-like monkey heads. 3.4×2.5 cm.

Pl. XVII, 6 (03.11.00). Terra-cotta miniature monkey, hairy, seated. Height 1 cm.

Pl. XVII, 7 (03.11.84). Terra-cotta miniature monkey, hairy, seated. Left arm missing. Height 2.1 cm.

Pl. XVII, 8 (03.11.36). Terra-cotta miniature monkey playing the *sitār*. Tail of hair on the back. Left hand missing. Height 2.4 cm.

Pl. XVII, 9 (03.11.45). Terra-cotta miniature monkey. 1.4×1.1 cm.

Pl. XVII, 10 (03.11.312). Fragment of terra-cotta animal. Head of a he-goat (?). Moulded in two halves. 2.1×2 cm.

Pl. XVII, 11 (03.11.138). Small handle from a vessel. In shape of a ring decorated with the head of a mouse. Cf. text p. 189. 3.4×1.6 cm.

Pl. XVII, 12 (03.11.324). Terra-cotta miniature flying bird made to string on a thread. Cf. text p. 188. 2×1.1 cm.

Pl. XVII, 13 (03.11.323). Terra-cotta miniature flying bird, with small stand. 2×1.8 cm.

Pl. XVII, 14 (03.11.330). Terra-cotta head of bird. White slip. 3×3.6 cm.

Pl. XVII, 15 (03.11.327). Terra-cotta miniature bird. 2.2×2.1 cm.

Pl. XVII, 16 (03.11.338). Miniature terra-cotta vessel. The handle partly broken. Cf. text p. 155. Height 2.1 cm.

Pl. XVII, 17 (03.11.340). Miniature terra-cotta vessel. Cf. text p. 156. Height 1.4 cm.

Pl. XVII, 18 (03.11.342). Miniature terra-cotta vessel. Cf. text p. 156. 1.4×1 cm.

Pl. XVII, 19 (03.11.337). Miniature terra-cotta vessel. Cf. text p. 156. Height 2 cm.

Pl. XVII, 20 (03.11.339). Miniature terra-cotta vessel. Cf. text p. 156. Height 1.9 cm.

Pl. XVII, 21 (03.11.341). Miniature terra-cotta vessel with one handle. Cf. text p. 155. Height 3 cm.

Pl. XVII, 22 (01.23.49. Högberg coll.). Miniature terra-cotta vessel with 3 handles. Very crude incised decoration. Cf. text p. 157. Height 4 cm.

Pl. XVII, 23 (03.11.343). Miniature terra-cotta vessel with one handle. Crude incised decoration. Cf. text p. 155. Height 2.3 cm.

Objects excavated or found at Dandān-Uiliq (Takla-makan).

Pl. XVIII, 1 (03.11.376). Stucco fragment (plaster of Paris). Standing Buddha. Russet mantle, green undergarment, black hair. Feet and pedestal missing. Cf. text p. 200. Height 17 cm.

Pl. XVIII, 2 (03.11.372). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Standing Buddha. Replica Pl. XVIII, 1. Height with pedestal 23 cm.

Pl. XVIII, 3 (03.11.378). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Standing Buddha. Head missing. Replica Pl. XVIII, 1. Height 17.8 cm.

Pl. XVIII, 4 (03.11.374). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Standing Buddha. Head, feet and pedestal missing. Replica Pl. XVIII, 1. Height 13.5 cm.

Pl. XVIII, 5 (03.11.379). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Lower part of standing Buddha with deep-red mantle and lighter russet undergarment. The adhering wall-portion blue. 12.2×7.7 cm.

Pl. XVIII, 6 (03.11.373). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Standing Buddha. Head, feet, pedestal missing. Deep-red mantle, lighter russet undergarment. Height 14.2 cm.

Pl. XIX, 1 (03.11.396). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Border of aureole, half-round moulding representing overlapping lotus-petals. Alternate sections coloured green and brown. 11.5×3 cm.

Pl. XIX, 2 (03.11.383). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Seated Bodhisattva on half-open lotus. Vesica with traces of deep-red colour. Hands resting in lap, robe concealing feet. Cf. text p. 201. 11.4×7.7 cm.

Pl. XIX, 3 (03.11.399). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Replica Pl. XIX, 1. 9.3×3 cm.

Pl. XIX, 4 (03.11.390). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Probably part of border of vesica. Jewel composed of ovoid cartouche, two fillets and row of beads. 6.3×4.8 cm. Cf. text p. 201.

Pl. XIX, 5 (03.11.391). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Two rows of lotus-petals overlapping. 10×7.6 cm.

Pl. XIX, 6 (03.11.381). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.). Fragment of Gandharva-figure rising from a lotus. Garland of beads hanging down from the raised, now

missing hands. Head missing. The lotus shows traces of blue colour, the beads of yellowish. Cf. text p. 202. 10.7×10.5 cm.

Pl. XIX, 7 (03.11.380). Stucco fragment (pl. o. P.) of Gandharvafigure. Lower part missing. 11.1×10 cm.

Pl. XX, 1 (03.11.386). Stucco head. From Ak-sipil? Buddha head with *urna* and *uśnīṣa*. Cf. text p. 203. 6×4.9 cm.

Pl. XX, 2 (03.11.389). Stucco fragment. Ak-sipil? The right arm and hand of standing Buddha. Cf. text p. 203. 8.2×3.4 cm.

Pl. XX, 3 (03.11.387). Stucco fragment. Ak-sipil? The left hand and forearm of standing Buddha grasping mantle. Cf. text p. 203. 6.3×4.6 cm.

Pl. XX, 4 (03.11.392). Stucco fragment. Portion of border, composed of overlapping chrysanthemum leaves. Traces of blue and russet colours. 12.4×6.3 cm.

Pl. XX, 5 (03.11.394). Stucco fragment. Portion of border composed of beads and a single row of lotus-leaves. Traces of red colour. 10.7×3.7 cm.

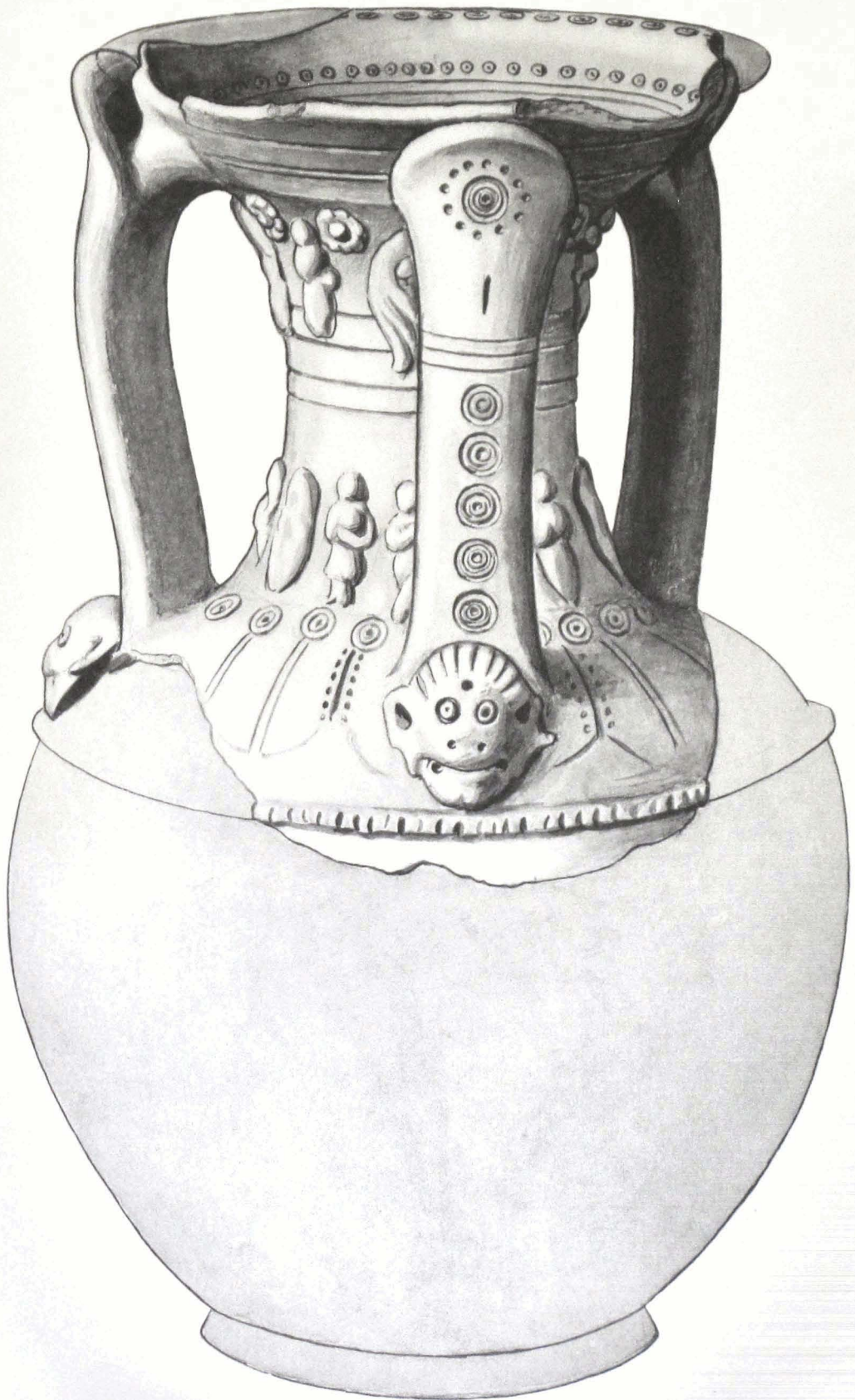
Pl. XX, 6 (03.11.393). Stucco fragment. Portion of curved border with wine-leaves and grapes in low relief. Colouring in alternate sections blue and russet. Cf. text p. 201. 12×5.5 cm.

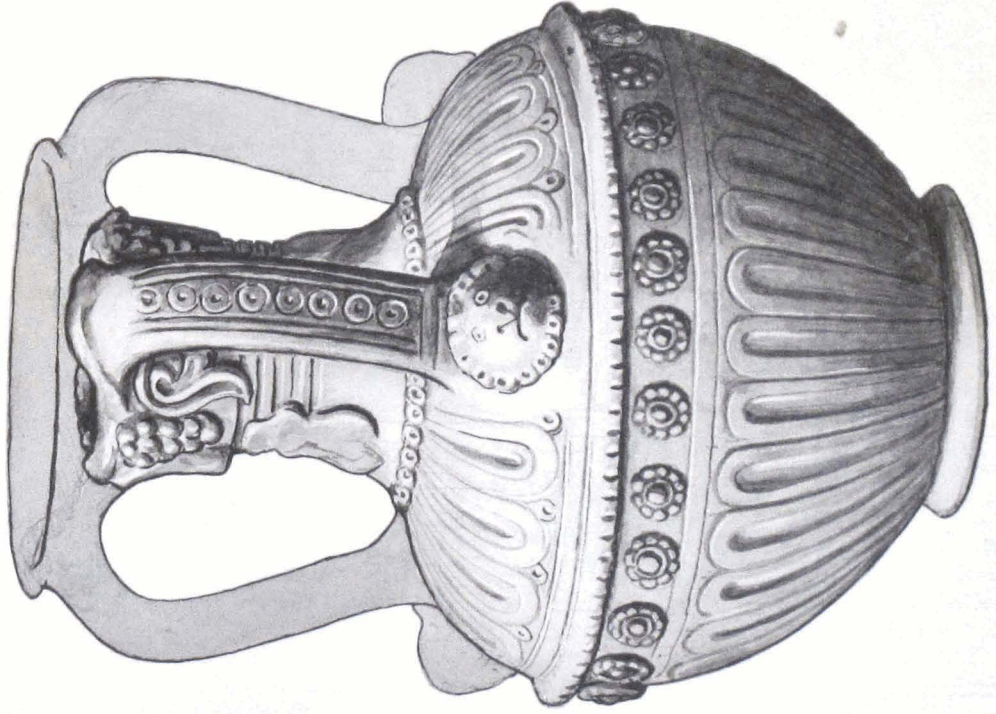
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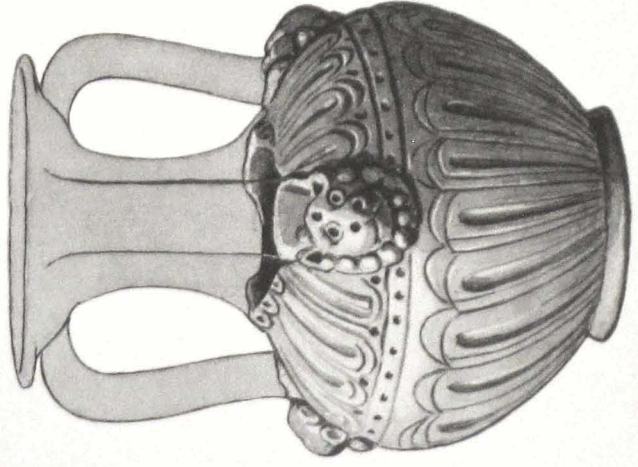
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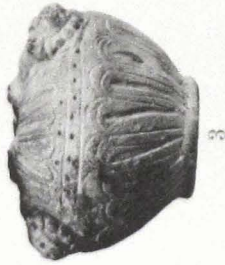


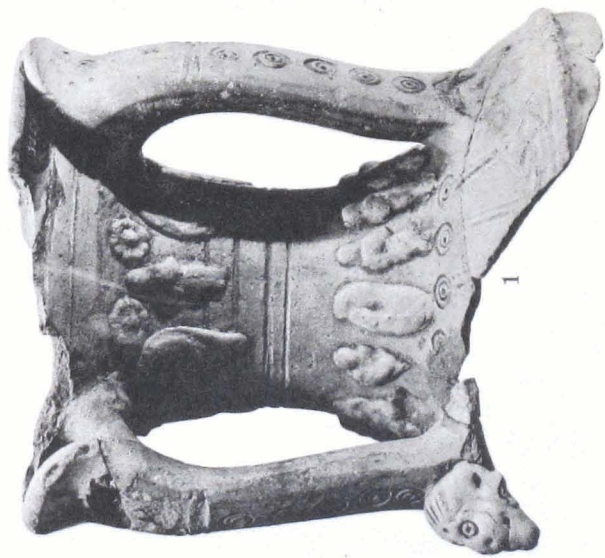


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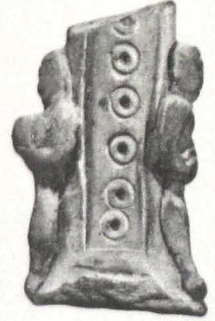
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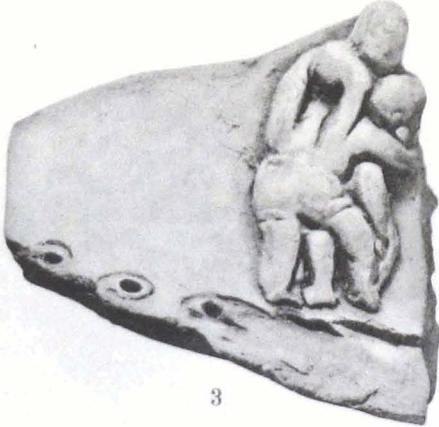
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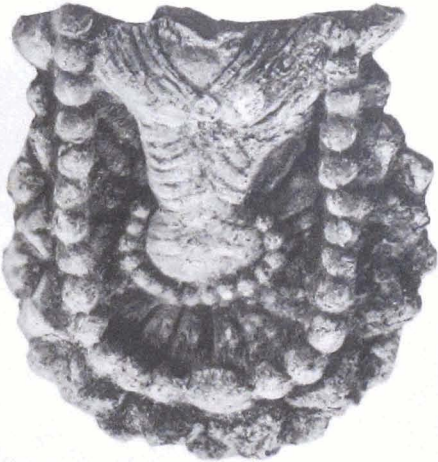
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SVEN HEDIN'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS FROM KHOTAN

II

BY

GÖSTA MONTELL

The treatment of Dr. Sven Hedin's archaeological collections from the Khotan oasis in East Turkistan was begun in Bulletin No. 7. These objects were collected in 1896 and have not been described in detail since then. In the volume just mentioned the terracotta collection was dealt with, and a brief description was given of the finding of these objects, etc. The history of Khotan and its significance as a station on the road from East to West was emphasized there.

The study now continues with a description of the objects of metal, bone, and stone contained in the collection. Professor Helmer Smith of Uppsala has been kind enough to transcribe one manuscript leaf in Khotani Saka and one in Sanskrit, both acquired by Sven Hedin in Khotan, but now unfortunately lost. The numerous gems with engraved seals will be dealt with in a later paper.

OBJECTS OF METAL.

Among the finds from the Khotan district, and especially from Yotkan, there is a large number of metal objects. There have been found numerous small images of Buddha, signets, mountings, and small objects of bronze, also objects of lead, gold, etc. Since those excavating the culture strata at Yotkan have solely been digging for treasures, many historically interesting finds have undoubtedly gone straight into the melting pot. The remainder have found their way to various museums and collections. Thus already Kiseritskij and Grenard reproduced several metal objects and Sven Hedin's travels of 1898 contain a selection from his collections.¹ The majority, however, are now being published for the first time. No metallurgic examination has been made of the objects.

OBJECTS OF BRONZE OR COPPER.

The great majority of the metal figures in Sven Hedin's collection are cast of bronze. Many of them are badly coated with verdigris and the details have consequently become undistinct, sometimes being almost impossible to discern.

¹ Hedin 1898, Part II, p. 113.

Apart from the coins and the signets most of the objects are of a religious character.

What was said when discussing the clay figures from Dandan-Uiliq regarding the close relationship to Indian art is equally true with reference to the bronze figures and the fragments of such that are included in Sven Hedin's collection. Generally speaking greater difficulties appear to have been encountered in working the bronze and the detail work is fairly rough. Nevertheless it is stated that Khotan was known for its metal-work.¹

The only large object made in two parts is a seated Buddha with a halo ornamented in relief, Pl. I, 1 a—c. The figure itself is solid and with the aid of two tenons at the back it was fastened to or behind the screen, in which there are two corresponding holes, as will be seen from the illustrations. The lower part of the figure is missing. It probably consisted of a lotus throne or at least of a lotus stalk similar to what is the case in some other images here illustrated. The screen is pointed and adorned with seven small images of Buddha in relief. The outlines of these images are all very indistinct, but they are undoubtedly of a type resembling the main figure. The grouping of seven Buddha figures occurs in other finds from Khotan.² In later Buddhism and in Lamaism there occur similar groupings especially in representations of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the god of medical science. Fragments of similar objects of wood were found by Stein especially at Domoko, east of Khotan.³

A standing figure of Buddha, the right hand raised to abhaya-mudra, is in all essential respects similar to the clay figures from Dandan-Uiliq⁴ and other localities, but is very poorly and roughly made, Pl. III, 1. The features can no longer be traced and the folds of the dress are almost obliterated. It is possible that this simply is a figure that was never completed, i.e. which was never given the necessary finish.

A far superior finish is displayed by the image of Buddha Pl. II, 5, this not being apparent from the reproduction, which is blurred by the damage the figure has suffered from bronze-pest. Buddha is portrayed sitting with his legs crossed but with his feet hidden by the dress. His hands are resting in his lap, probably united in dhyana-mudra. The head is bent slightly forward. The figure is supported by a lotus throne with a stalk. Similar to what is the case with reference to Pl. I, 1 a—c, it is possible also here to discern a striking resemblance to the bronze figure from Jauliñ that Marshall has published.⁵ These are Indian forms imported to Khotan.

The small Buddha reliefs, Pl. II, 3, 6, 8, form a special group. The arrangement

¹ Rémusat, p. 16.

² Hoernle 1902, Pl. XII, 5, 9. Kiseritskij, p. 185.

³ Stein 1928, Pl. IX, 13, 14.

⁴ Stein 1907, Pl. LIV, Stein 1921, Pl. X.

⁵ Marshall 1921, Pl. XXVII b.

is the same in all the cases with the seated figure supported by a lotus throne or a console. Behind the figure there is always a plain aureole. It seems as if these small reliefs were intended to be attached to a background. Their resemblance to the previously described stucco fragments is striking.¹ The same type of small bronzes occur in other collections from Khotan.²

Some fragments appear to originate from unsuccessful casts that were never finished, Pl. II, 9 and Pl. III, 5.

It is really not worth while subdividing this limited and fragmentary materia according to style. One special group might possibly be made to consist of some bronzes characterized by a more thorough finish and a softer and more mobile shape than the others. Pl. II, 7 shows a seated figure, the right leg drawn up under the body, the left resting on the ground. The right hand holds a lotus stalk the leaves of which support an image of Buddha whereas the left hand is hanging down holding an object that may be conceived as a vessel for holy water. The figure wears a crown on its head and on the forehead there is an *ūrṇā* consisting of an inset chip of a turquoise. At the back there are two tenons with the aid of which the relief was attached to a bedding. It is not easy to say what divinity the figure is to represent, the attributes being so indistinct. If the object in the left hand really is to represent a vessel for holy water, this is probably an image of Bodhisatva Maitreya. The close relationship to the Gandhara art is apparent.³

The standing figure of Bodhisatva, Pl. II, 1, belongs to the same group. The same open crown on the head, the same lotus stalk and the object in the left hand, are all found also in this image. The collections in Leningrad include a very similar object, but it can hardly be correctly drawn as reproduced by Kiseritskij.⁴ The fact that this type of representation was common in Khotan is confirmed inter alia by a beautiful wooden relief in Stein's collection.⁵

The majority of the bronze figures are presented in a frontal position. One of the finest fragments, Pl. II, 2, is a remarkable exception. Of the whole relief there remains but the head of a richly ornamented Bodhisatva (?) with a halo. The details of the hair ornament are difficult to determine but the impression as a whole very greatly resembles the Gandhara art. It is possible that this is an object imported directly from India.

The Buddhistic group may be considered to include a few more small objects. Pl. VI, 19, and Pl. VI, 16, have undoubtedly both been worn as amulets and ornaments. The cross-shaped *vajra* or thunderbolt has had a stone in the middle, which has now disappeared. Really this double thunderbolt should have four

¹ Montell, Pl. XIX, 2.

² Hoernle 1902, Pl. XII, 7. Stein 1921, Pl. VI.

³ Foucher 1905/22, figs. 418—422.

⁴ Kiseritskij, p. 186.

⁵ Stein 1928, Pl. XIV (Har. 029).

arms, all alike, but one of them has been replaced by a ring.¹ It is here quite superfluous to go into the enormous importance of the *vajra* in Buddhistic symbolism and cult. The literature has numerous investigations and descriptions.²

The small elephant standing on a lotus console adorned with a chip of turquoise, Pl. VI, 16, immediately reveals its Indian origin. At the top it has had a suspension-ring. From time immemorial the elephant has been the object of religious worship especially in India whence the belief in his sacredness and wisdom has spread wide and far. In modern Buddhism the elephant plays an important part and figures of elephants are always occurring in the symbolism and as stands for valuable offertory vessels, etc.

Among the finds from the Khotan district there are other images of elephants.³ I shall revert to this motif when discussing the signets.

Among the smaller bronzes in the Hedin collection there are several directly corresponding to the previously described objects of terracotta. There are three miniature pots, Pl. VI, 15, 20, 21, which must have been toys or amulets.⁴ Nor is the bird, Pl. VI, 10, new as regards type. It is furthermore so badly corroded that all details have vanished. The miniatures of monkeys, so prominent among the terracotta finds, are here represented by a typical head, Pl. VI, 23, and by a crouching figure supporting its elbows against its knees, Pl. VI, 12.⁵

The small, beautifully made bronze Pl. VI, 24 may possibly have been part of the ornamentation of the roof of a miniature stupa. The lower edge of the seated lion is curved, probably in order that it may be placed as an ornament on the roof-tree. Ever since the very earliest days of Buddhism, stupas of various sizes and materials have been used as reliquaries, ornaments on altartables, etc. Their prominence in the Khotan architecture in the 5th century A.D. was confirmed by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien.⁶

The fact that many currents of culture have met in the Khotan district during the course of time is proved also by this small collection. The mounting Pl. IV, 8 represents a type that has an enormous spread throughout Siberia, Russia, Hungary, Scandinavia, etc.⁷ This spread has probably been brought about *inter alia* by the migrations of the Finno-Ugrian peoples.

The bronze Pl. IV, 9 may be referred to the same group. It is conspicuous by its very elegant finish with an animal resembling a lion, in full run. Also this type with its slit is widely spread.

¹ Cf. Coomaraswamy 1935, fig. 28.

² Coomaraswamy 1935. Waddell 1894, pp. 15, 27 etc. Getty, p. 51. Grünwedel 1920, pp. 85, 93, 112.

³ Stein 1928, pl. XII. etc.

⁴ Cf. Montell, pl. XVII. Kiseritskij, figs. 33—34.

⁵ Cf. Montell, pls. XV—XVII.

⁶ Cf. Montell, p. 148.

⁷ Arne, p. 132 *et seq.* Fettich, figs. 61, 81, 88.

Pl. IV, 4 is unfortunately broken but it could hardly be doubted that this bronze is related to the rich material published by Arne.¹ Also this specimen in the Hedin collections is decorated with single palmettos placed alternately opposite each other.

Volume 7 of this Bulletin contained a description of the two interesting bifrons vessels in Sven Hedin's collections.² The bronze objects also include such a double head, Pl. VI, 22. Unfortunately the surfaces are so worn and corroded that it is impossible to see if also in this case one face was that of a man and the other of a woman. The head has been pierced from the crown to the neck and has probably been threaded on a piece of string or a chain.

The collection contains four fragments of bronze bracelets, Pl. IV, 6, 7, 10, 11. Unfortunately they are all so short that it is hardly possible to obtain any definite impression with regard to shape and dimensions, but all four have been open for they terminate with the head of a snake or a dragon. There is no doubt but that these armlets belong to the same cultural complex as the strap-fittings previously described. Several armlets of the same type have been unearthed in Hungarian grave-fields,³ and they are also found in collections from South Russia.⁴ Undoubtedly armlets of similar types occur within the whole Scythian and Finno-Ugrian sphere of distribution.

It is evident that several of the metal objects have been intended to be used as decorations on some other foundation, straps or the like. This also applies to the lion illustrated in Pl. IV, 12. There are still remains of rivets on the reverse side. It is impossible definitely to decide whether or not this lion is contemporary with the rest of the collection. Its material, etc., is different from that of the other metal objects. Apparently it is of a decidedly Persian character.

No complete, undamaged bronze vessels appear to have been found at Yotkan, which is quite natural seeing that the locality would seem to have been rather soggy. A few fragments occur in Sven Hedin's collection. Pl. IV, 2 represents an animal figure, evidently at one time serving as a handle on the edge of a vessel. The details are almost entirely obliterated by verdigris, but it is possible to distinguish the slightly projecting ears and the line denoting the mouth. The front legs have rested against the edge of the vessel, the hind-legs against the vessel below the neck. We are thus confronted with a direct parallel to the many handles of pottery found at Yotkan.⁵ I know of no similar find from other collections.

A vessel whose mouth had a diameter of about 16 cm, is represented by a fragment of the edge, Pl. IV, 1. The vessel itself is exceedingly thin, the edge being strongly reinforced. The fragment displays no traces of ornamentation.

¹ Arne, figs. 130—163.

² Montell, pp. 158—159.

³ Fettich, Pl. 44 : 18—19, 47 : 5.

⁴ Ebert's Reallexikon, B. 13, T. 43 B.

⁵ Montell, Pl. IV, 4. pp. 160—163.

Bronze objects from Tavek-kel.

On the 18th of January, 1896, Sven Hedin's caravan rested in the little village of Tavek-kel, four marches north of the town of Khotan. There he bought three archaeological objects reproduced in Pl. IV. Closer details as to their origin are lacking but presumably the objects were found in the deserts between Khotan-darya and Keriya-darya.

The spoon, Pl. IV, 15 represents a wide-spread type whose occurrence among the finds from Jauliãñ indicates that it migrated with Buddhism to Central Asia. The handle of the spoon is broken off also on the specimen from Tavek-kel.¹ The pointed oval shape of the bowl recurs in finds *inter alia* from Corea.

The ladle Pl. IV, 13, however, is a more uncommon type. The bottom is flat so that the ladle does not topple over if laid on a smooth surface. Apparently it originally had a handle inserted in the tube intended for that purpose, attached to the round bowl. Bergman presents a similar find from Lop-nor.² Nothing but guesses can be made regarding its use. It must be considered out of question that it is an ordinary spoon or ladle. Nor is it likely that it was used for melting metals, the handle being so short. In certain sacrificial ceremonies at the Lama temples similar ladles are used in our days, but they are generally more richly ornamented. The Indian origin of these fire sacrifices is irrefutable, however, and is further confirmed by some of the offerings burnt being stated to be fetched from India.

The chronological determination of the arrow-head Pl. IV, 14 is impossible as yet. This type with a long tang to be inserted into a tubular shaft is very common in Asia. Several related finds exist from East Turkistan.³

Signets.

Among the objects purchased by Dr. Hedin at Khotan there are 23 metal signets of different sizes. They have been used for sealing letters, etc., which is best demonstrated by Stein's finds, *e. g.* at Niya.⁴ There he discovered several unbroken letters in an excellent manner illustrating the arrangement of seals and strings. The documents are from the third century A. D.

The above mentioned signets vary as regards shapes and intaglios. Probably they differ very considerably in age, too, this being very difficult to prove, however. They generally consist of a bronze plate, one flat surface of which is engraved with a figure or an ornament. On the back there is a small loop for the string. The most common shape is square, but the collection also includes four round, two rectangular, one octagonal, and one entirely irregular, resembling more than anything else an animal head with horns.

¹ Marshall 1921, Pl. XXVII h. Cf. Bergman 1936, pp. 98—99, where there is a survey of the spoons found in East Turkistan.

² Bergman 1938.

³ Stein 1921, Pl. VI. Stein 1928, Pl. XLVII, Pl. CXI, Le Coq, 1925, fig. 115 (from Kutch).

⁴ Stein 1921, Pl. XX.

The intaglios can be subdivided into two main groups, animal motifs and pure ornaments. Strangely enough the variation appears to be comparatively small, the same motif recurring surprisingly often. The heraldic seated lion occurs thrice among these 23 signets. In addition specimens occur in other collections.¹ Another favourite motif is the animal resembling a deer with large antlers, shown in Pl. VI, 1—3, which is the centre of three intaglios. ²) It has undeniably a certain general resemblance to the deer of the Ordos bronzes.

The svastika is the commonest symbol on the metal signets — it occurs 6 times on these 23 signets and in addition on 2 signets of stone, the age of which is doubtful. In three cases it constitutes the only motif, in the other three it fills one field of the quartered surface, the remaining fields having a diagonal cross, quatrefoil, trefoil. I shall revert to them below.

As is well known, many reports and books have been written about the swastika, its origin and its significance, and there are innumerable explanations.³ In this connection it is sufficient to establish the significance of the svastika as a Buddhistic symbol. Also in India the history of the svastika no doubt dates back to far older periods, best demonstrated by a reference to the discoveries of signets with the svastika made by Marshall in Mohenjo-Daro.⁴ The incorporation of the symbol with the special Buddhistic sphere of forms has undoubtedly been of enormous importance for its dispersion in East Asia. It is popularly said to be a sign of Buddha's heart, the symbol of endless motion, eternity, etc. On the whole the svastika is a propitious symbol.

Great importance is ascribed to the direction in which the cross moves, and different sects and faiths adhere fanatically to one or the other. Earliest Buddhism, however, does not seem to have attached decisive importance to this. For instance, Buddha's footprints on the reliefs from Amaravati contain both types on the same picture.⁵ Both types are also represented on the signets in Sven Hedin's collection as is seen from Pl. V.

It has not been possible definitely to explain the type of intaglio portrayed in Pl. V, 1—3, although the figures of the four fields undoubtedly are symbolical. It is evident from the relatively frequent occurrence of these intaglios that the motif has been of special significance. There are three specimens in the Hedin collection, all reproduced here, one in Folke Bergman's from Cherchen, and one in Stein's collection.⁶ Hoernle reproduces a similar intaglio, although not quite identical.⁷ The group of symbols may possibly be conceived as the arms or

¹ Cf. Hoernle 1899, Pl. III. Stein 1921, Pl. V.

² Cf. Stein 1907, Pl. L.

³ Cf. Lessing, p. 78. MacKenzie, pp. 1—46. Waddell, 1894, p. 389. Villiers, p. 102. Williams, p. 351, Wilson.

⁴ Marshall 1931, Pl. CXIV.

⁵ Wilson, p. 802.

⁶ Stein 1921, Pl. V.

⁷ Hoernle 1899, Pl. III, 77.

sign of a religious sect or a group of monasteries. A comparison with a find from Khotan, which I consider particularly interesting, is especially instructive. Grenard reproduces a cross, originally almost equibranchiated, one arm now being missing.¹ The middle section is in the shape of an octagonal seal of the same type as in Pl. V, 5, but with the three Chinese characters Ta Sin Ki. Two of the branches of the cross end in seal-like fields containing the letters KHIX, while the third is occupied by a square figure of a seal with four fields, which seems very closely related to the seals just mentioned in Hedin's collection. Undoubtedly there is a connection between them. Grenard explains the remarkable cross as a Christian-Nestorian and this can probably not be doubted. Certainly the field with trefoil is replaced by another fylfot but nevertheless the agreement is palpable. This find of Grenard's should mean that these seals must be considered as reminiscences from the Nestorian age.² This has not led us to a real explanation of the motif, but a solution will probably be arrived at later. Judging from the description, the cross described by Grenard is also a seal, there being a loop on the reverse in which to fasten the string.

The subdivision of the surface of the signet into four fields occurs in Stein's collection from Niya.³

The motif on the signet Pl. VI, 6 is probably also related to the svastika. It is crudely and summarily made.

It is known and acknowledged that the ornamentation of primitive art was first of all of symbolical importance, also that this is true with reference to the earliest art in India. During the first centuries of Buddhism no images of the founder of the religion himself occurred, nor of the figures in the legends. Symbols, the meaning of which could be understood by one and all, replaced palpable images.

In a few monographs Foucher has presented the results of his thorough investigations in this sphere.⁴ He points out that first the attempts at the making of images consisted of the amulets or souvenir coins that were made at the four most important places of pilgrimage, where the »four great miracles» were commemorated. These places were Kapilavastu, Bodh-Gayā, Benares, and Kusinagara, which according to the legend were the scenes of Gautama Buddha's birth, his first revelation, first sermon, and his passing into Nirvana. On the reliefs from Sanchi, Barhut, and Amaravati, richly ornamented with scenes from the legends, Buddha is still often represented by a symbol, not in human shape. There was perhaps no prohibition against representing humans in pictures, but the great reverence and tradition prevented the development for a long time.

¹ Grenard, fig. 7, pp. 134—135.

² Cf. Saeki.

³ Stein 1907, Pl. LXXII.

⁴ Foucher 1917 and 1934.

Judging from all facts it would appear that Buddhism took the use of certain symbols from its predecessors.¹

According to Foucher's very convincing investigations the birth of Buddha is symbolized by the lotus flower, his first revelation by the tree, his first sermon by the wheel, and Parinirvana by the grave-mound or the stupa.

In our collection of seals there are undoubtedly Buddhistic motifs, and it is especially easy to recognize the lotus flower, which in five instances is the only motif on the seal, Pl. V, 5, 8, 9, 11, Pl. VI, 18. The schematization has gone very far in some cases, but nevertheless I consider that we can be convinced that the determination is correct also with reference to Pl. V, 8. An early special development of the motif is represented by the vase with the decoratively arranged flowers, Pl. V, 11. A great variety of this type occurs already at Sanchi and Barhut, and it has long remained extremely popular, it being possible to demonstrate several specimens in East Turkistan material. Its occurrence in the ruin-field of Lou-lan is also confirmed by Sven Hedin's collections.²

The Indian origin of the lion motif was touched upon already in connection with the publishing of the terra-cotta finds from Yotkan.³ Gautama Buddha also has the title of Śākya-simha — the lion of the tribe of Śākyas — and the royal animal is generally considered to be a symbol of Buddha. Among the signets there are three that portray lions of heraldic type, seated on their hind-legs and with one front-paw raised.⁴ Two of them are rather indistinct, Pl. VI, 7, 8. The sitting posture of the lion is typical of the sculptures crowning the Asoka columns and also of some early Indian reliefs.⁵ It is difficult to explain why the paw is raised unless the intention simply is to denote a position of adoration.

Three signets, two of which are round, depict a deer-like animal with huge antlers supplied with heavy points, Pl. VI, 1—3.⁶ The two round signets portray the animal walking with bent fore-leg. The surface is filled with some round hollows. The interpretation of the motif is vague, but the position as holy animals held by deer and gazelles within Buddhism should be remembered. It is said that Gautama Buddha was reincarnated eleven times in the shape of a deer⁷, and the fact that he delivered his first sermon in the so-called Gazelle Park at Benares has had the result that gazelles and deer have become symbols of the holy doctrine.

The elephant, Pl. V, 12, too, has connections with the religious conceptions. We know through the researches made by Foucher that the oldest presentations

¹ Coomaraswamy 1935.

² Bergman 1936, Pl. II.

³ Montell, pp. 160—161.

⁴ Cf. Hoernle 1899, Pl. III, 61. Stein 1921, Pl. V. Stein 1907, Pl. L (Y. 007a).

⁵ Smith, fig. 29, Pl. 33 and fig. 101.

⁶ Cf. Stein 1921, Pl. V (Yo. 00143).

⁷ Ball, p. 115.

of Buddha's first bath show two elephants pouring water over the newly born child.¹ The part played by the elephant as a symbol has already been touched upon. The picture on this signet is not quite distinct, but it looks as if the elephant has an object on its back, possibly to be interpreted as a so-called *cintamani*, a »holy gem« or a shrine. The interpretation is perhaps a bold one, but can be defended when considering parallels from later Buddhist art. Thus Adam reproduces a box from Bhotan with a relief representing an elephant carrying *cintamani*.² A comparison with a signet from Aq Sapil seems to me to prove the purely religious character of the motif.³

The running neat, the engraved motif in Pl. V, 10, hints at an Indian origin. A beautiful signet from Yotkan representing a cow being milked is included in Stein's collection.⁴ In his presentation of a small collection from Yotkan, Skrine mentions »two square metal seals, one with a classical winged bull intaglio«.⁵ It is evidently this specimen that is reproduced on the cover of his book. No doubt the motif is related to our seal, which, however, is cruder.

Pl. VI, 5 deviates in more respects than one from the signets so far dealt with. Its shape is irregular and the engraving very shallow. It is extremely difficult to say what the greatly conventionalized motif originally was. It would be tempting to guess at the head of an animal with short horns. This, however, is contradicted by there being no sign of eyes and ears, while in their place there is a motif resembling a palmetto.

In spite of the variations, the signets so far described are of mainly the same character, for which reason there is hardly reason to assume anything but local manufacture within the Khotan district. There is a signet in the collection, however, which deviates in many respects from the foregoing, Pl. VI, 9 a—b. The stamp itself is square and very thick and has a loop occupying nearly the entire width. Most noticeable, however, is the engraved figure representing a quadruped of a very fantastic shape. It seems to represent a griffin or a dragon. There are parallels in Stein's collection from other parts of East Turkistan. Particularly from Kucha he reproduces signets closely related to this specimen in Sven Hedin's collection.⁶ Specimens of an almost similar type are occasionally made of stone and then often have a decided Chinese character.

The rectangular signet Pl. VI, 4 a—b, makes a strange impression among the others. It has three Chinese graphical signs of a lapidary style. The interpretation being uncertain, no attempts at reading can be made here. In other respects, too, it deviates from the rest for they all have the figure itself sunk, engraved

¹ Foucher 1934, p. 13.

² Adam, p. VIII.

³ Hoernle 1899, Pl. III, 53.

⁴ Stein 1907, Pl. L (Y. 009K).

⁵ Skrine, p. 171.

⁶ Stein 1928, Pl. CXI.

or cast, causing the motif to stand out in the seal. But in this instance the graphical signs are in relief. It is therefore probable that signet paint was used in the same manner as is customary in China to this day. The decoration on the sides of the heavy seal are of a Khotan character, however, The rings with a dot in their centres may be compared with the object of bone, Pl. VIII, 15. The loop, too, is of a type unknown among the Khotan signets.

In the foregoing the common term »signet» has been retained, but I must stress that no signet impression with pictures of the type described are preserved in spite of our now being in possession of fairly comprehensive material. A natural explanation is perhaps that these large »signet pictures» were used for some special purpose, e. g. for the stamping of clay amulets.

OBJECTS OF IRON.

Several objects of iron emanating from the first millennium of our era have been found in East Turkistan.¹ Very little, however, is preserved from the old capital, Yotkan, probably for the reason that rust has annihilated the objects.² Most of the finds from East Turkistan consist of fragmentary tools, cooking-vessels, arrow-heads, etc.

In Sven Hedin's collection there is a small relief with an image of Buddha, Pl. II, 4, of the same kind as on the bronze reliefs previously described, Pl. II, 3, 6, 8. It is completely covered by a coating of rust, but the figure is perfectly distinct, portraying a seated Buddha with a slightly pointed aureole behind. The object is of great interest, proving as it does that iron was used also in the manufacture of figures of a religious character.

A greatly disintegrated, rectangular bead, not reproduced here, is possibly of the same material or rather has been covered with paint containing iron compound. Signs are visible on the four sides, and there is a possibility that the bead also served as a kind of seal.

OBJECTS OF LEAD.

It is not unreasonable to presume that bronze was of a comparatively high value in Khotan, there hardly being any mines in the immediate vicinity. Lead, which was cheaper, has also been used, as is indicated by the finds. There are some specimens in the Hedin collections and Stein mentions several finds of lead.³

The small, thin, fragmentary relief, Pl. VI, 13, is of special interest. Evidently it represents a divinity, probably a Bodhisatva, richly ornamented. On his head he wears the diadem with a row of pearls and a large upright round disc in the

¹ Andrews, p. 8.

² Cf. Stein 1921, p. 119.

³ Stein 1921, p. 116. Stein 1928, p. 110.

middle characteristic of the Gandhara figures.¹ The same head ornament recurs in numerous variations among the paintings in the ruins of temples in northern East Turkistan, *e. g.* at Ming-Öi.² Contrary to what is the case in the cultural districts mentioned, the upper part of the body of the lead figure now under consideration is covered by a cloak draping the breast with a long pointed flap, which arrangement also occurs in terra-cotta figures from Khotan.³

The small standing figure of a monkey Pl. VI, 14 differs only slightly from the large group of miniatures previously discussed.⁴ In this case the material has made possible a more slender shape, that is the sole difference. The small bird, Pl. VI, 11, is made of the same material.

What the object reproduced in Pl. VI, 17 really is supposed to represent is difficult to say. Probably it is a pendent carried in a chain or a ribbon. Possibly it may be supposed to represent a fruit.

OBJECTS OF GOLD.

It is evident from the quotations in Bulletin 7 that gold was used extensively for the decoration of stupas and temples in the formerly wealthy Khotan.⁵ Treasure hunters know, too, how to wash out remnants of goldleaf and gilding⁶, and there is no doubt but that several gold objects have been brought to light, but quickly and unnoticeably they have disappeared into the melting-pot. Stein has really only one remarkable gold object from Yotkan, a small figure of a monkey, acquired in April, 1901.⁷ There is a limited number of finds from other parts of East Turkistan.

Sven Hedin was successful in procuring eight objects of gold in Khotan in the year 1896. Six of them were reproduced in his travels.⁸ The acquisition of one of them is mentioned in a previously cited notation in a diary, that notation apparently referring to Pl. VII, 5.⁹ All these objects were presumably used as adornments and ornaments, this being apparent from the fact that most of them have holes or rings to which should be attached a ribbon or a chain. The reproductions in Pl. VII are enlargements to facilitate the study of the objects, the exact sizes being stated in the list of plates.

The most striking find is the little cherub with wings, Pl. VII, 2. It is pressed or chased of a thin plate of gold, the reverse is flat and of the same material.

¹ Foucher 1905/22, figs. 396—397, 413, etc.

² Grünwedel 1912, figs. 243—244, 355, 357, etc.

³ Hoernle 1902, Pl. IX, 2.

⁴ Montell, pp. 189 et seq.

⁵ Giles, p. 5 (quoted from Fa Hsien).

⁶ Stein 1907, p. 194.

⁷ Stein 1907, pl. LI (Y. 004).

⁸ Hedin 1898, p. 98.

⁹ Cf. Montell, p. 151.

The work is fairly crude, and it is impossible to discern what the figure is holding in his hands. Probably the gold object in question was imported. Its Hellenistic character is undeniable. Close parallels occur in finds from Western Asia.¹

The two miniature birds, Pl. VII, 1 and 3, are decidedly Yotkan, the material only having permitted greater elegance than when bronze or pottery was used. Eyes, beak, and feathers are denoted by punched lines and dots.

Pl. VII, 4 is a small round disc with pressed ornaments, not intelligible. Probably this is merely a fragment. The pendent Pl. VII, 6 has had a pressed figure in relief, which, however, no longer can be interpreted.

The remaining three objects are coins which have been used as ornaments. Already in Dr. Hedin's first description they were said to be Byzantine, and with the kind assistance of Dr. N. L. Rasmusson of the State Historical Museum I have been able more definitely to determine them. They are all old Asiatic copies of genuine Byzantine coins but barbarized, the details, too, being partly erroneous. Their prototypes were probably coined during the early part of the sixth century A. D. and belong to the kind of coins termed *Solidus*. The obverse of Pl. VII, 5 shows the picture of the Emperor Justinianus I, the reverse a winged Victoria. The type occurs after the year 538.²

Pl. VII, 7 is very thin and indistinct but is probably of a type that in Byzantium was discontinued in the year 538.

The very thin round disc that has been folded twice, Pl. VII, 8, is also an attempt at a copy of a *Solidus*. Only the reverse has been coined, however, displaying an indistinct Victoria.

The counterfeit coins confirm the lively connections between East Turkistan and the countries around the Mediterranean as late as in Byzantine times.

OBJECTS OF STONE.

Khotan is of old famous mainly as a place where jade or jadeite is found, the stone being obtained especially from the old river-bed of Yurung-kash. Sven Hedin's collection, however, contains no finds of jade objects that can definitely be claimed to be old, but there are, on the other hand, some relatively modern ones which will not be treated in this connection.

It is apparent both from literary sources and archaeological finds that the working of jade was of great importance already during the town's time of greatness. Other materials are also made use of for carved and sculptured figures, and this collection also includes a number of alabaster miniatures. This loose material permits a certain liberty in the shaping of the figures. On the other hand alabaster is very fragile and the surfaces sensitive to wear.

The sphere of motifs is the same as that occurring in the case of clay figures

¹ Cf. Sauerlandt, Pl. 29.

² Cf. Warwick Wroth, Vol. I, p. 26, Pl. IV.

and small bronzes. Pl. I, 2 and Pl. VIII, 12 are undoubtedly of a Buddhistic character. The first-mentioned fragment originates from an uncommonly large figure, displaying the head of a Buddha still presenting traces of paint and gilding. The gold was laid on a coating of dark reddish brown paint. The aureole appears to have been blue. The small, fragmentary but well-shaped image of a Buddha, Pl. VIII, 12, on the other hand, has been coated with red paint, possibly excepting the hair which seems to have been dark.

Some of the other small figures, too, are palpably related to India where Hellenistic influence asserted itself. Pl. VIII, 8, especially, is characterized by its smooth and elegant shaping in agreement with the reliefs of the Gandhara art. This little figure, too, has elongated lobes of the ear which would seem to indicate that it is related to some Buddhistic motif. One might possibly conceive a connection with the common representations of Buddha as a child, his baptism, his first steps, etc. The same material for Buddhistic small figures is repeatedly found among Stein's finds.¹

The monkeys typical of Khotan occur also here. The small seated monkey Pl. VIII, 2, supporting its head against its right hand and with its tail drawn in under the body, might just well be made of pottery. Nothing but the material distinguishes it from the miniatures of monkeys previously discussed. Pl. VIII, 5 shows a large head of a monkey attached to an emaciated body, the arms of which are merely indicated. The lower part of the figure is lacking.

Miniatures of birds were found made of pottery as well as bronze, and they recur also of alabaster, Pl. VIII, 3. The head has been pierced through the eyes, this probably having been made in order that it may be suspended. All the miniatures were presumably worn as ornaments or amulets. The large human figure, Pl. VIII, 6, is very rudely made. The whole character of the work causes a suspicion that it is of a later date.

With reference to a fragmentary figure of a boy Stein expresses the supposition that it was imported straight from Gandhara.² Sven Hedin's collection is found to contain a parallel, but better preserved and of a more elegant finish, Pl. VIII, 9. The similarity does not cover all details. Our specimen is thus absolutely frontal, whereas the one first mentioned is holding something in his right hand and furthermore has a row of pearls (?) around the waist. It is quite likely that figures of this kind served as amulets, used similarly to what was the case in China, the women wearing small ivory, bronze, or china images of boys when they prayed for sons. The whole character of the work, however, undoubtedly indicates a relationship to India, as was pointed out already by Stein.

Pl. III, 4 shows a figure that is unfortunately very incomplete, the upper part being entirely missing. The material is a kind of dark sandstone. The figure

¹ Stein 1907, Pl. XLVIII. Stein 1921, Pl. VI. Stein 1928, Pl. X.

² Stein 1921, Vol. 1, p. 100; Vol. IV, Pl. VI (Khot. 02. 0).

has been a representation of a seated, richly ornamented god, placed on a stand covered with lotus leaves. It is hardly possible more definitely to determine the figure.

Among the smaller objects of stone I believe Pl. III, 2 and 3 to be of special interest. Both consist of pegs that taper slightly downwards, the section of one being round, of the other square. A closer study of Pl. III, 3 immediately attracts attention, it then being found that the upper part is in the shape of a fist. This at once brings to mind an amulet against »the evil eye». The fact that this specimen is not unique for Khotan is proved by one of Hoernle's plates.¹ According to Seligmann the belief in the dangerous influence of the evil eye is especially developed among the Turkish tribes², but there is scarcely any reason to believe that the finds here mentioned have anything to do with the present-day population of East Turkistan. We know well enough the enormous importance that Greeks and Romans attached to the evil eye, and the amulets against that danger consisted of miniature hands of various materials.³ In Tibet, too, the use of such hand-amulets is known.⁴ I have not been able to find any modern specimen from East Turkistan but this may depend on the fact that I have had no really thorough study of East Turkistan life at my disposal. The probable explanation is that the old population of Khotan learnt the idea by way of Northern India, influenced by Hellenism.

At the top of Pl. III, 2 there is an engraved ornament or possibly a graphical sign, the interpretation of which has not been possible.

OBJECTS OF BONE OR IVORY.

Sven Hedin's collection contains no very large number of objects made of this material. In one or two cases the age of the objects is doubtful, certain details indicating a comparatively late date.

The most beautiful object is perhaps the upper part of a comb, in whose fret-work top there are carved two seated figures, P. VIII, 13. All the teeth of the comb are broken away. The figures are framed in a circle with a carved row of pearls, which is found on both sides of the comb. Both of the figures, which represent a man and a woman, support one knee against the circle. The man's left arm encircles the woman's shoulders, his right hand holds hers, which is resting on his knee.

I know of no corresponding figural representation from the Khotan district, but if we turn to the Gandhara art parallels are easily found. It would appear beyond doubt that we are here confronted with an offshoot of »the tutelary pair»

¹ Hoernle 1899, Pl. XIX, 18.

² Seligmann 1922.

³ Villiers, p. 171 *et seq.* Cf. also Westermarck. Vol. I, pp. 414—478.

⁴ Seligmann 1910, Vol. II, p. 197.

whose mythological significance and evolution in the history of art were discussed by Foucher.¹ The god of wealth and the goddess of fecundity and plenteousness have been united in a symbol of happiness and conjugal fidelity. It is the demigod Pancika, ruler and general of *yakshas*, and his consort Hariti, that has developed into a patron and author of numerous progeny, originally having been a child-devouring demon. It is extremely interesting to note how this representation recurs with different contents of ideas throughout the whole Graeco-Roman world. Foucher has made a survey of the reliefs of pairs of gods in Gaul and in India, and he says, *inter alia*, »Such as they are, these groups — which, besides, are nearly contemporaneous — seem to us to furnish for the moment one of the most palpable verifications of the fact that in the first centuries of our era the sculptors of the Gauls and those of Ariana had each learned at the school of the Greeks, and spoke from one end of the ancient world to the other the same common language, the same artistic 'koinê'.»

The find from Khotan here described is another step eastwards and northwards in the migration of the motif, and in present-day lama images of gods it should be possible to trace offshoots.

A comparison between the carved comb and the sculptures reproduced by Foucher results in many details being found to be in agreement with each other and also supplies the explanation of the object that the female figure holds in her left hand. It is simply the classical horn of plenty which very soon appears to have got another shape in India where the animal horn was no suitable divine attribute.²

This type of comb with a curved top seems to have been the most common one in East Turkistan judging from the numerous finds reproduced by Stein³ and it still subsists in the same territories.⁴

The richly carved plate, in deep relief and slightly convex, Pl. III, 6, presents some problems difficult to solve. Its outer shape is complete, but unfortunately the central figure is considerably damaged. Along the edges there is a row of small holes indicating that the object has been attached to some kind of support. The ornamentation is undoubtedly of a Buddhist-Tantric character, its close relationship to other Khotan art of Indian origin at the same time being palpable. It is thus possible to compare the fluffy tail-feathers of the birds with human upper parts of the body that support the vessel for holy water at the bottom with fragments of pottery from Yolkan.⁵ The upper half of the relief contains a hexagram whose six angles are each filled with a similar standing figure. The figure

¹ Foucher 1905/22, p. 142 *et seq.* Foucher 1917, pp. 139—146.

² Foucher 1905/22, p. 144.

³ Stein 1921, Pl. VI (Khotan). Stein 1921, Pl. XXVIII (Niya). Stein 1928, Pl. XXI & XXVI (Lou-lan).

⁴ Le Coq, 1916, p. 18.

⁵ Montell, p. 171, Pl. VI, 1.

inside the central hexagram cannot very well be definitely determined. Evidently it is a divinity whose one foot is placed on a prostrate human figure. The right arm is raised above the shoulder and holds an object, the left rests against the breast. The whole figure brings to mind a Lamaistic mandala. The central figure might be interpreted as a *dakini*, e. g. Simhavaktra.¹ The hexagram is borne and supported by another six female figures which may be considered as *yakshini*.

It is difficult to say how this remarkable object was used, but it should be pointed out that it greatly resembles the bone aprons that are still used by Tibetan Lama monks for certain ceremonies. The central figure, too, may be the same in both cases.² On the other hand, the object in the Hedin collection is much more richly ornamented and is made with greater finesse and in better agreement with Indian prototypes. Additional finds and more material for comparisons may perhaps in the future make possible a definite interpretation.

Sven Hedin's collection includes two dice of bone. They represent two types, Pl. VIII, 10, in agreement with our modern cube-shaped dice, and Pl. VIII, 14, which is rectangular. Stein has reported several finds of the first-mentioned type from Mazar-Tagh and Endere.³ Marshall advises of some similar finds from old Indian culture.⁴ In Sven Hedin's collection there is also a die made of stone of the same kind as the ones of bone described above.

Rectangular dice are mentioned from India⁵ and China, and Stein reports a find from Lou-lan.⁶ The specimen here reproduced is of a peculiar kind. All four sides of the die are divided into four fields by carved lines, each field containing the same numeral designation. Probably the side with 4 dots was counted as 1, that with 8 dots as 2, etc. Hoernle describes an interesting development of this type from the modern Kashmiris.⁷

An object of bone, whose purpose I cannot explain, is illustrated in Pl. VIII, 15. It is perhaps the handle of a tool, a large spoon or the like. The object is twice as thick at one edge as at the other. A very primitive human figure is engraved at the very top of the rounded point. Otherwise the decoration consists of circles with a dot in the middle.

OBJECT OF MOTHER OF PEARL.

There is only one object made of this material in the collection, the little »fleur-de-lis«, Pl. VIII, 4. The object gives no indication as to its use, but it is reasonable to believe that it was a decoration of some sort.

¹ Cf. Grünwedel 1900, fig. 149.

² Waddell, p. 75, Tucci & Ghersi, Pl. to p. 202. Bossert, p. 287.

³ Stein 1907, Pl. LII. Stein 1928, Pl. VI.

⁴ Marshall 1931, Pl. CLIII, 7—10.

⁵ Culin, p. 76.

⁶ Stein 1921, Pl. XXXVI.

⁷ Hoernle 1899, p. 44.

A P P E N D I X

BY

HELMER SMITH

The manuscript leaves found by Dr Hedin in 1896 (see *En färd genom Asien* II, p. 96 and cp. G. Montell, *Sven Hedin's archaeological collections from Khotan* I, p. 151) have been reproduced, on Pl. IX—X, from Dr Hedin's photos, as it proved impossible to make out where the originals are hidden at present. We do not expect Saka scholars to take much interest in a fragment about the merit of learning and preaching a certain *sūtra* (Pl. IX), cp. for inst. E. Leumann, *Nebenstücke* 20⁴³ sqq. = S. Konow, *Saka Studies* 84¹⁰ sqq.; nor will the sanskrit fragment (Pl. X) teach us anything new about the *pāramitās*. We only hope that someone of the experts in buddhology kindly will take the pains of replacing the fragments in their original setting and, accordingly, correct my mistakes, which would have been more numerous without the kind help of Professor Sten Konow of Oslo.

Pl. IX

Leaf from a Saka *sūtra*; 5 lines; about 22 *akṣaras*; folio number 10 (?) on the left side of the obverse margin.

Obverse (IX a)

⟨d⟩ijsāte • auyā vāṣīyā auyā paṣimyaṇa haṃtsa arthāna hvāṇīyā
ṣi tyau puṇyau atīsaṃdai himi hastamṇi balysūstejsa • pātcā Maṃnyuśrī
aḷysāṃnai tta hvetā si ṣe sūtrā diṣi diṣi birāṣāṃṇā ā vā
ne śtātā tvī ⟨bi⟩śśā uysnaura pyūṣṭā yanīdā • pātcā Maṃnyuśrī a-
ḷysāṃnai tta hve si ci ttū dātā śau jūna vāṣīyā tte uysāṇe rakṣa •

Reverse (IX b)

cvī ṣe jūṃna vāṣi tye hiśśā ru tcārīmi rakṣa cai drai jūṃna vāṣīyā bi-
śānu ysaṇinu busvārāṇā rakṣa • cvai tcāhau jūṃna vāṣītā harbi-
śye kṣīrā rakṣa • cvai paṃjsa jūṃna vāṣītā biśānu balysaṇā-
nu rudinu rakṣa • pātcā Maṃnyuśrī aḷysāṃnai tta hvetā si • ṣi dātā
arthānā(?) biśvā kṣīraṇvā haurāṃṇā kāmī ttitā × kāmī hvetā

Translation

(if) he would commit (this *sūtra*) to memory, or read it or propound it together with its meaning (∴ commenting upon it) in the midst of an assembly, by these merits he will become a non-returner from (his way towards) the supreme *Bodhi*. Then Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta spoke thus, namely: this *sūtra* should be propounded all about the world or (if) not, . . .,¹ (that) all beings may hear it. Then Mañjuśrī

¹ *Śtā(ka)* 'feasible', Konow (see NTS XI 76²⁷, against M. Leumann, Glossar 503).

kumārabhūta spoke thus, namely: whoever should read this *dharmā* once, his is (o: he brings about) protection for himself; whoever should read it twice, his is protection for his whole field of activity; whoever should read it three times, his is protection for all relatives (and) kinsmen; whoever should read it four times, his is protection for the whole country; whoever should read it five times, his is protection for all district chiefs (and) kings [read: *ruṃḍinu*]. Then Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta spoke thus, namely: this *dharmā* (together with its?) meaning should be delivered to all countries. Who . . . , who . . .

Pl. X

Sanskrit fragment (Prajñāpāramitā), being the right part of a folio of, originally, 8 lines at least, with about 40 *akṣaras*; there are more or less legible remains of six lines (maximum 23 *akṣaras* in succession). The transcript fills up interior gaps, but refrains from conjectures as to the great lacunæ and makes no attempt to fit into the context the (on photo overturned) tatter to the left (6 lines, max. 4 *akṣ.*).

Obverse (X a)¹

— — — na — —
 — — — × samjñāṃ — —
 — — — rabhūte × × tv(o) ma — —
 — — — <pratisamyuktena> cittenānityākāreṇa pratyavekṣa-
 — — — × jñā × sarvākārajñā<tāpra>tisamyuktena cittenānityā-
 — — — <tac ca nōpalabha>te bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya prajñāpāramitāyām cara-
 — — — <bodhisatva>sya mahāsatvasya prajñāpāramitāyām cara × taḥ sarvākārajñā-
 — — — <ākāre>ṇa pratyavekṣate tac ca nōpalabhate evaṃ vedanāṃ samjñāṃ saṃskārā-

Reverse (X b)

— — <tac ca nō>palabhate • peyālaṃ rūpaṃ nairātmyākāreṇa pratyavekṣati tac ca nō-
 — — <veda>nāṃ nairātmyākāreṇa pratyavekṣati tac ca nōpalabhate • punar a-
 — — — <pārami>tāyām carataḥ sarvākārajñāatāpratisamyuktena ci-
 — — — evaṃ vedanāṃ samjñāṃ <saṃskārā>n vijñā<nam a>nityataḥ pratyave-
 — — — tac ca nō<palabha>te • evaṃ vedanāṃ samjñāṃ <saṃ-
 — — — no pa apraṇi × ta — —
 — — — × × — —
 — — — × — —

¹ To Professor Konow who informs me (Sept. 19th 1938) that he knows close parallels to the fragment and will utilize it in a forthcoming study on Serindian Prajñāpāramitās, I am indebted for the readings *Subhūte* (Obv. l. 3, my *rabhūte*), and *punar a<param>* (Rev. l. 2 last *akṣaras*, where I at first saw *avara*-).

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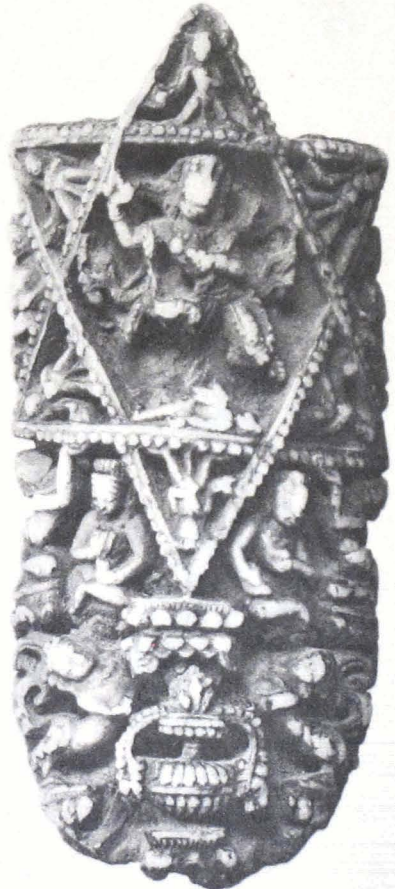
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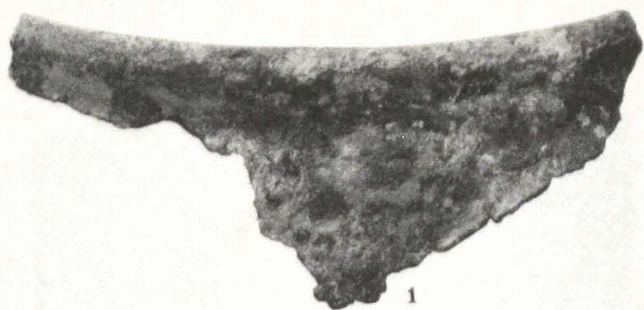


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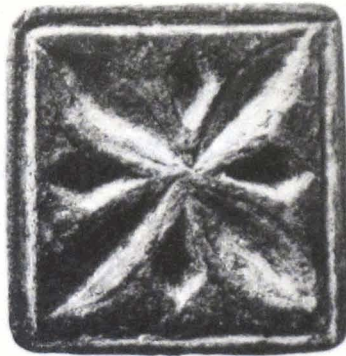
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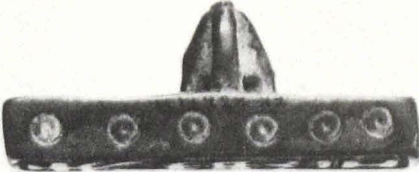
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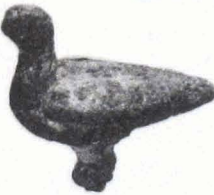
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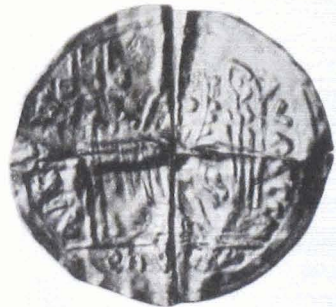
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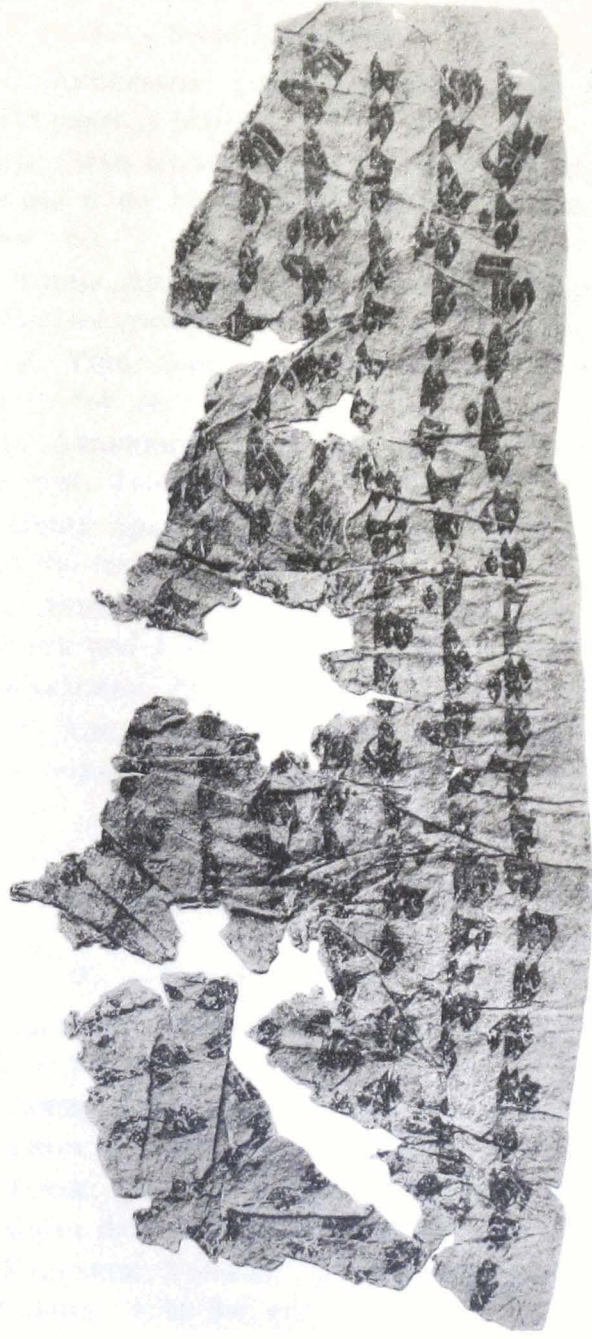
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