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Cover photo: Vaiśravaṇa, detail of plaque acquired in Khotan by Clarmont Skrine in 1922. British Museum 1925,619.35. Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photo copyright © 2010 Daniel C. Waugh. The complete plaque is reproduced in Susan Whitfield and Ursula Sims-Williams, eds., *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. Chicago: Serindia, 2004, p. 160, no. 60, but misnumbered as 1925,619.25.

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THE OLD CURIOSITY SHOP IN KHOTAN

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In July 1922, Clarmont Skrine of the Indian Civil Service arrived as the British Consul General in Kashgar where he remained until September 1924. Almost without fail, Skrine wrote home to his mother Helen in England often in considerable detail about life in Kashgar and his experiences while “on tour” to the various towns of western Xinjiang. On the first of those extended tours, on 26 November 1922, he wrote from Khotan:

To collectors ... the place is a Paradise. ...There are Takla Makan antiquities. This is a great centre for the activities of the “Takla Makanchies” described by Stein, the men... who spend all their lives searching for treasure from the lost cities under the sand. Thanks to Stein, the people here realize that objects other than gold ornaments...have a value for mad Europeans, and so there are two or three people here who have got small collections of things from Yotkan, Domoko and other sites. I have examined one such collection and am seeing another tomorrow. The fragments of mural painting are particularly good, and I am going to photo a lot of them and send the prints to India to Sir A. Stein or to Sir John Marshall, the head of the Archaeological Dept. asking whether they would like me to send the paintings (which are on plaster and rather heavy) to India. There are also some wonderful Graeco-Buddhist plaster-cast heads, two or three simply exquisite, the rest rather archaic; large numbers of clay figurines and ornaments which used to be *appliqué* to vases, etc. and broke off; some are very quaint monkeys playing musical instruments etc. Then there are MSS. I have got hold of two practically complete books, in wonderful preservation, of exactly the same kind of script and material as some of the MSS described and pictured in *Serindia*. These I will send as soon as I can to India, as they may be extremely important... [BL IOLR MSS EurF 154/8, CPS to HSS, 26 November 1922, p. 2.]

Indeed, Skrine returned, “photoed a lot of them,” acquired a few and eventually deposited them in the British Library and British Museum. The photographs, published here for the first time [Figs. 1, 2 next page] from his excellent glass negatives now kept in the Royal Geographical Society, reveal an impressive collection, a genuine Curiosity Shop of antiquities.² Among the questions the photos raise are: whose collection was it, what was the provenance of the objects, and what happened to them subsequently? Our article will provide answers and attempt to address more broadly important questions about the acquisition and provenance of Silk Road antiquities.

The antiquities trade in Xinjiang

The acquisition of antiquities in Xinjiang by European travelers, diplomats and scholars beginning in the late 19th century is well known in outline, if still rather unevenly studied in detail. European diplomats based in Kashgar contributed in important ways to this activity, not only by hosting the explorers when they passed through the city but by acquiring antiquities themselves, often on commission from individual scholars or institutions. Of particular interest would be a study of the collection acquired by the long-time Russian consul in Kashgar, Nikolai Petrovskii, which numbers several thousand items and today is in the Hermitage Museum and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (Elikhina 2008, p. 29).³ George Macartney, the first British resident (later consul) in Kashgar, while not as prolific a collector, played, if anything, a more important role in stimulating western interest in exploring the ancient history of Xinjiang. Beginning as early as 1893, Macartney had been acquiring antiquities and soon thereafter obtained manuscripts for the Indologist Rudolf Hoernle (Hoernle 1899; Stein 1904/2000, p. vii; 1907/1981, I, pp. 190, 266, 270; Sims-Williams 2000, pp. 111-12). This material in turn provided the impetus for Aurel Stein to undertake his first major Central Asian expedition in 1900.

Even if his interest in antiquities was incidental to his other concerns, Skrine took seriously



Fig. 1. Antiquities photographed in 1922 by Clarmont P. Skrine in Khotan. Collection of the Royal Geographical Society image no. S0005895. Copyright © Royal Geographical Society. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



Fig. 1. Antiquities photographed in 1922 by Clarmont P. Skrine in Khotan. Collection of the Royal Geographical Society image no. S0005897. Copyright © Royal Geographical Society. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



Fig. 3. Badruddin Khan in his garden in Khotan. Photograph by Clarmont P. Skrine taken in 1924. Collection of the Royal Geographical Society image no. S0005898.

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the possibility that his time in Kashgar would provide opportunities to contribute to Stein's ongoing research. He received training in mapping techniques from the Survey of India staff and in fact then was able to fill in a few blank spots on the maps Stein's expeditions had drawn for the mountains south of Kashgar (Skrine 1925; Waugh 1999). As the letters to his mother indicate, he had consulted about acquisitions of new material with Stein and the Archaeological Department in India. On several occasions he notes writing to Stein and sending him photographs.⁴ The consulate in Kashgar had a library that included Stein's books and those of other explorers of the region. Skrine understood that his photography, about which he was quite serious, might be useful to record how certain sites had changed since Stein had visited them (e.g, BL IOLR EurF 154/8, CPS to HSS, 4 December 1922, p. 4; see also Waugh 2004). He planned at one point to get himself into caves in the cliffs at Uch Merwan northwest of Kashgar (which had been studied by the Germans) in order to photograph the Buddhist murals there (BL IOLR EurF 154/9, CPS to HSS, 5 May 1923, p. 2).⁵ He even hoped to visit sites Stein had not seen and wrote of "doing a little 'digging'" (disregarding Stein's advice not to), although he never found the time to do so (BL IOLR EurF 154/9, CPS to HSS, 22 November 1922, p. 4; Skrine 1926/1971, p. 170).

On his tours outside of Kashgar, Skrine would

invariably meet with, and more often than not, be housed by the *aqsaqals* of the local British subject communities. These were the elders who represented their communities of Afghan or Indian merchants in dealings with the local officialdom and interfaced with the British consuls. The *aqsaqals* often provided intelligence information to the diplomats and carried out various commissions for them. In Khotan, it was the ex-*aqsaqal* of the Afghan and Indian merchants, Badruddin Khan, who hosted Skrine and his wife.⁶ He and an Armenian carpet merchant there, Keraken Moldovack, were the main Khotanese purveyors of antiquities.

Of the two, Badruddin [Fig. 3] was by far the more important (Sims-Williams 2000, esp. pp. 112-13). His acquisition and sale of antiquities had a long history spanning more than three decades beginning early in the 1890s.⁷ As Stein astutely observed, Badruddin had a great deal to do with spreading the word about European interest in antiquities. Clearly he saw in the antiquities business a good source of profit. Among the manuscripts Macartney sent to Hoernle between 1895 and 1898 were ones he had purchased from Badruddin, who in turn had acquired them from "treasure seekers" he had sent into the desert or, in one or two cases, from the famous forger Islam Akhun whom Stein later exposed. Badruddin also sold material to Captain S. H. Godfrey in Leh (Stein 1907/1981, I, p. 270). In 1899 Macartney

encouraged Stein to use the services of Badruddin (Macartney to Stein 22 March 1899, Bodleian Stein MSS 289, fols. 74-80). Stein then met him in Khotan in 1900 and employed one of his key suppliers, Turdi, as a guide for locating Dandan Uiliq, a site where Turdi seems to have found some of the manuscripts (Stein 1904/2000, pp. 180, 186, 229-30, 251, 258-59). Already on his first expedition Stein was coming to rely heavily on Badruddin for logistics and local knowledge, and as a direct source of antiquities to purchase. In his *Serindia* he referred to Badruddin as "my old friend and factotum" who would write Stein upon receipt of information about some previously unknown site which the treasure seekers had discovered (Stein 1921, II, p. 1238). While scholars tend to be interested above all in what Stein and his local informants found, the process by which sites were discovered and the activities of the "treasure-seekers" are subjects deserving of our attention.

When Carl Gustav Mannerheim was in Khotan in 1906, Badruddin introduced him to antiquities dealers at Yotkan, the ancient city site, concerning which and the antiquities trade Mannerheim provides an interesting description:⁸

The remains consist chiefly of bones, fragments of glass and clay vessels, terracotta ornaments, old coins, glass and stone decorations, fragments of images of Buddha, gold either in the form of dust or small bits of ornaments, etc. The Lasku-üstang flows through the area and on its banks, as well as along the banks of the ariqs leading from it, there are masses of piecemeal relics and broken clay vessels etc. Not only the inhabitants of Yotkan, but others, too, carry on systematic excavations here in the hope of finding enough gold to cover the expense and leave a small profit. The objects found and sold to foreigners are regarded as a subsidiary source of income. [Mannerheim 1969, vol. 1, pp. 88-89]

It is impossible to know exactly how many of the antiquities Stein acquired passed through Badruddin's hands. In one consignment alone which he delivered to Stein in Kashgar in 1915, there were some 420 items, listed separately as having been acquired from him (Stein 1928, I, pp. 111-22). Where possible in cataloguing his acquisitions though, Stein labeled them under the sites from which he

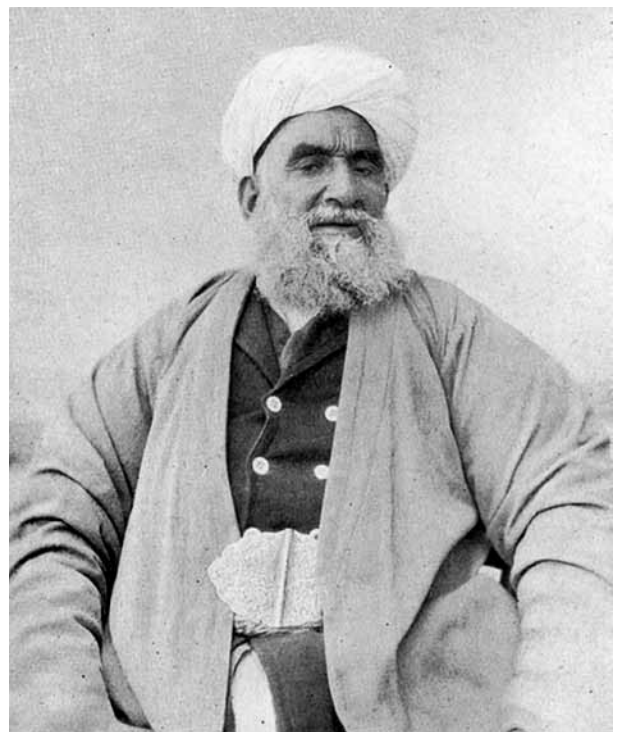


Fig. 4. Badruddin Khan in 1928.
After: Trinkler 1930, ill. 76, facing p. 137.

had some certainty they had come. A good deal of what Badruddin supplied seems to have been listed under sites (e.g., Yotkan) within striking distance of Khotan without any attribution to him.⁹ Stein makes it clear that he systematically interrogated Badruddin (and others who brought him material), and he then carefully noted what he could determine about its provenance. He also warns his readers that the attributions of anything for which there was no explicit excavation record must be treated with caution (Stein 1921, I, p. 97; 1928, I, pp. 99-100). Anyone using the Stein material today must keep this warning in mind and not simply assume that an inventory number indicating a particular provenance guarantees that the object came from that location.

Badruddin's activity continued down into the 1930s, and he obviously was one of those regarding whom Skrine wrote: "The name of Stein is well remembered in these parts among Turkis and British subjects alike, and all antiquities other than gold brought in by the "Taklamakan" or treasure-seekers of the Takla Makan are regarded as his property and to be kept for him..." (Skrine 1926/1971, p. 115).¹⁰ Skrine is explicit about his having obtained antiquities from both Badruddin and Moldovack, although he leaves unanswered the



*Fig. 5. A Khotan carpet factory, probably Moldovack's, photographed in 1928.
After: Trinkler 1930, ill. 75, facing p. 136.*

question as to whether they were collaborators in the business (Skrine 1926/1971, p. 170). The German expedition led by Emil Trinkler in the late 1920s not only stayed with Badruddin [Fig. 4, previous page] but obtained antiquities from him (more on this shortly). On Stein's unfortunately truncated fourth expedition in 1930-31, Badruddin again worked for him. At the same time, Major George Sherriff (British Vice-Consul, Kashgar, 1927-1930; Consul-General, 1930-31) obtained some manuscripts from Badruddin (Sims-Williams 2000, pp. 122-23). These seem to have been busy years in the twilight of Badruddin's career, since he also hosted Nils Ambolt of Hedin's Swedish

Fig. 6. Keraken Moldovack, second from right, standing between Clarmont P. Skrine and Li Amban of Khotan. The official on Skrine's right is Ma Tungling, the commanding officer of the local garrison. Collection of the Royal Geographical Society image no. S0005933. Copyright © Royal Geographical Society. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



expedition in 1931-32 (Ambolt 1939, pp. 112-14). Ambolt described the house and family and photographed Badruddin's grandsons with their father.

Information about the Armenian Moldovack is sparser. Historically Armenian merchants had been active in much of Central and South Asia. When in Khotan in 1900 and 1901, Stein had dealings with a "Russian Armenian from Kokand" who brought him a manuscript forgery for appraisal, but he does not name the man (Stein 1904/2000, p. 188). Whether this was Moldovack is not clear, although we know that his business contacts also were with Kokand. In 1915, Stein credited the Armenian with having given (or sold) him some valuable supplements to the more than 400 items acquired that same year from Badruddin: "Mr. K. Moldovack, an Armenian gentleman settled in Khotan, kindly added ... some metal seals, coins, and a colossal stucco head of Buddha (Kh. 0267, Pl. VIII) probably brought from some site like that of Ak-terek" (Stein 1928, I, p. 99).

Skrine tells us that by 1922 Moldovack was one of only a couple of Armenians left in Kashgaria, stranded there by the Bolshevik revolution. Moldovack ran a carpet factory [Fig. 5], sold other local craft objects, and obviously dealt to a degree in antiquities. Skrine was fond of the man and brought him various magazines and news publications when he returned to Khotan.

In the Skrine photo [Fig. 6] taken on May 2, 1924, in the garden of the Nyang Nyang shrine in Khotan, Moldovack is the gentleman standing to Skrine's left "in his double breasted blue serge coat and Homburg hat and white side whiskers."¹¹ When Emil Trinkler met Moldovack in 1928, he was impressed by his urbanity and curiosity about world affairs (Trinkler 1930, p. 139). Ambolt celebrated Christmas and the New Year with Moldovack in 1931-32, noting that his host had been in Khotan some 30 years already (Ambolt 1939, pp. 114-16), and photographed him in his fine library. Moldovack was still alive in 1935 — well into his eighties, an "immaculate and courteous old man, with his tired but still bird-like gestures and his fund of strange knowledge and strange memories" — when Peter Fleming and Ella Maillart limped into Khotan after their harrowing journey through the wastes of northern Tibet. Fleming was undoubtedly right that Moldovack "would most probably never see a European face again" (Fleming 1936, pp. 296-98).

There is overwhelming evidence that Skrine's two photos of antiquities in 1922 were taken at the residence or business establishment of Badruddin Khan. He, not Moldovack, was the one who managed the network of treasure-seekers and seems to have been consistently the largest seller of antiquities in Khotan during several decades. Since Skrine was staying with Badruddin (and it was the latter's custom, it seems, to go out to meet his foreign visitors when they approached the city), very likely Badruddin's collection would have been the first one Skrine reported seeing and then photographed. We can assume from Skrine's letter that the photos date from November 27, 1922. An examination of their details provides no explicit indication they were taken at Badruddin's house, where Skrine photographed his host in the garden [Fig. 3 above]. Off to the right in the Badruddin photo some carpets seem to be hanging in an open building; since the residence was located near the center of the bazaar, most likely Badruddin's storehouse — his Old Curiosity Shop — was in fact located on the premises. Unequivocal proof that the antiquities had been in the possession of Badruddin was provided by F. H. Andrews, who included that information when he described for Stein's *Innermost Asia* the collection brought to India from Khotan in 1923 by Harold I. Harding,

Skrine's vice-consul (see below) (Stein 1928, II, p. 1052).

Skrine's collection of antiquities

Skrine's unpublished letters and travel diary and his book, *Chinese Central Asia*, contain interesting fragments on the continuing discovery of antiquities in the 1920s and enable us to specify the provenance of at least some objects Skrine acquired. When he first visited Khotan in 1922, he learned that the continuing digging by farmers and erosion at Yotkan (the historic first city there) had led to the collapse of a cliff and the exposure of a new stratum of the old city site. On his return in 1924, he managed a brief visit to Yotkan in the early afternoon of May 2; at that time he took two good photographs of the new stratum, one of which was later published in the batch he provided Pavel Nazaroff for the latter's book.¹² He also acquired a few objects from the local farmers, one of them significant, a lovely carved agalomatolite plaque [Fig. 7] (BM



Fig. 7. Image of Kārttikeya on a peacock, ca. 8th century. BM 1925,0619.40, currently on display in Gallery 33, case 28. Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photo copyright © 2009 Daniel C. Waugh.

1925,0619.40). On his return visit in 1924, he was disappointed to obtain only "a few terracotta figurines and appliqué ornaments of pottery, and one small vase, besides a couple of tiny intaglios" (BL IOLR EurF 154/10, CPS to HSS, 8 May 1924). He seems to have kept the



Fig. 8. Amphora obtained by Skrine in Yotkan. BM 1925,0619.37, currently on display in Gallery 33, case 67. Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photo copyright © 2009 Daniel C. Waugh.

intaglios (as he had done with ones acquired in 1922), but the vase apparently is that now in the BM (1925,0619.37) [Fig. 8].¹³

In one other instance we have information about Skrine's having obtained objects directly from their discoverers. In Keriya in 1924 he recorded in his diary a visit by one Abbas Khan:

14/4/24 New stupa found by Abbas Khan at Khadalik.

Abbas Khan brought me today 2 heavy wooden weaving combs in remarkably good condition, a recumbent angel in stucco [Fig. 9 below] and a no. of small fragments of writing which he said he got last year out of a "house" he found 1 potai N. of Stein's Khadalik site. Loess hill "100 gaz high"; earth was perpetually falling in as he dug. Went about 12 ft. in, then falling in became so

bad that he had to desist. Found a chamber with plaster frescoes on all 4 walls, roof supported by wooden beams & columns all of which collapsed destroying the frescoes on 3 sides at the same time. 4th fresco remains, circ. 3 ft. by 2, pictures of people on horses etc. Other finds were a huge stone flour mill, too big to be turned by hand, and a big earthenware pot, circular, with 2 handles, full of bones, some charred. This was found 3 ft. from outside of frescoed room. Conds [?=contents] were found embedded in firm loess; woodwork of structure was in sand & absolutely rotten. [BL IOLR EurF 154/43, p. 49; cf. the slightly different variant published in Skrine 1926/1971, p. 170].

There are three weavers' combs in Skrine's collection (BM 1925,0616.73-75), two of which must be those he obtained from Abbas Khan. The "recumbent angel" very likely is BM 1925,0619.5. See below regarding the "small



Fig. 9. Stucco flying Gandharvi, ca. 8th century. BM 1925,0619.5. Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Photo copyright © 2009 Daniel C. Waugh.

fragments of writing" from the same site.

As Skrine himself seems to have appreciated, what he saw and photographed at Badruddin's was of greater interest than most of the odds and ends he was able to pick up in the field. After all, as he certainly knew from his perusal of Stein, the Khotanese terracotta plaques and appliques were quite common; there were better-preserved examples of some of the other odds and ends such as keys, fire sticks, etc. So Skrine was happy to obtain on the spot at least some of what he had been shown by his host. Figs. 10 and 11 identify which items in his photos are ones he acquired. His choices may have reflected primarily considerations of what

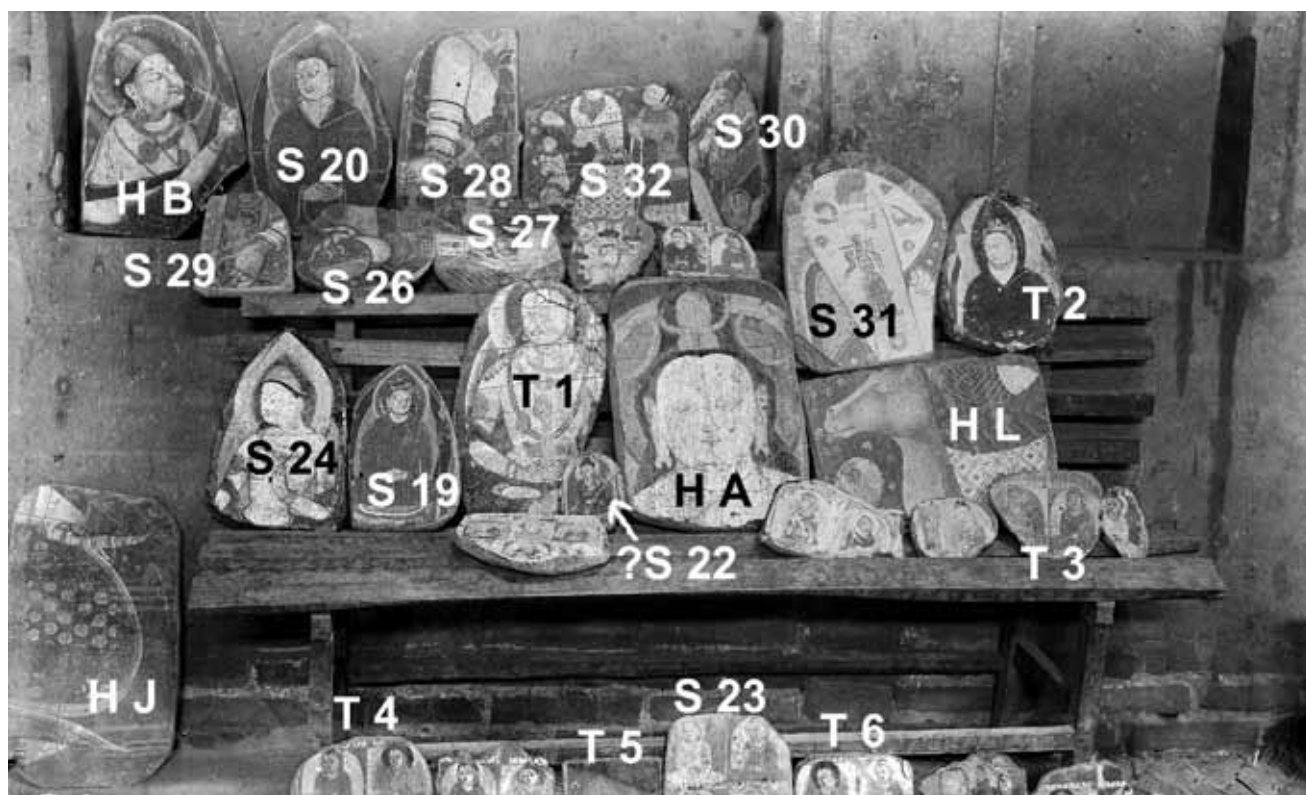


Fig. 10. Identifications and current locations of objects in Skrine photo no. S0005895.
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ID	Current location	Reference (to Gropp 1974) and notes
	Delhi, Harding Collection	
H A	Harding A	pp. 142-145; figs. 53a, 53b
H B	Harding B	pp. 152-155; figs. 56a, 56b
H J	Harding J	pp. 122-123; figs. 44a, 44b
H L	Harding L	pp. 108-110; figs. 41a, 41d
	British Museum, Skrine Coll.	
S 19	1925.0619,0.19	p. 164, fig. 66 (drawing)
S 20	1925.0619,0.20	p. 164; fig. 67 (drawing)
?S 22	1925.0619,0.22	<i>de visu</i> comparison; probably the same.
S 23	1925.0619,0.23	p. 184; <i>de visu</i> confirmation this is correct
S 24	1925.0619,0.24	pp. 111-112, 113-119; figs. 42a, 42f
S 26	1925.0619,0.26	pp. 146-149; figs. 54a, 54c
S 27	1925.0619,0.27	pp. 129-130; fig. 48b
S 28	1925.0619,0.28	pp. 142-146; figs. 53a, 53c
S 29	1925.0619,0.29	pp. 142-146; figs. 53a, 53e
S 30	1925.0619,0.30	pp. 146-149; figs. 54a, 54b.
S 31	1925.0619,0.31	pp. 131-134; figs. 50a, 50c.
S 32	1925.0619,0.32	pp. 166-168; figs. 71a, 71b.
	Bremen, Trinkler Collection	
T 1	A 16149	pp. 157-158; figs. 58a, 58b. Head now missing, though shown in Skrine photo.
T 2	30.32.6	pp. 161-62; fig. 161 (drawing)
T 3	A 13896	pp. 175, 177; fig. 76, pl. XVI facing p. 321. In lower rt. corner of Gropp's reconstruction, but cannot fit next to adjoining piece on left, as fuller version of this piece in Skrine photo reveals.
T 4	A 13896	p. 175, 177; fig. 76, pl. XVI facing p. 321. The piece with four figures in center of Gropp's reconstruction.
T 5	A 16151	pp. 162-63; figs. 64a, 64b, pl. 14 facing p. 305
T 6	Gropp no. B.3.77	p. 179; fig. 77

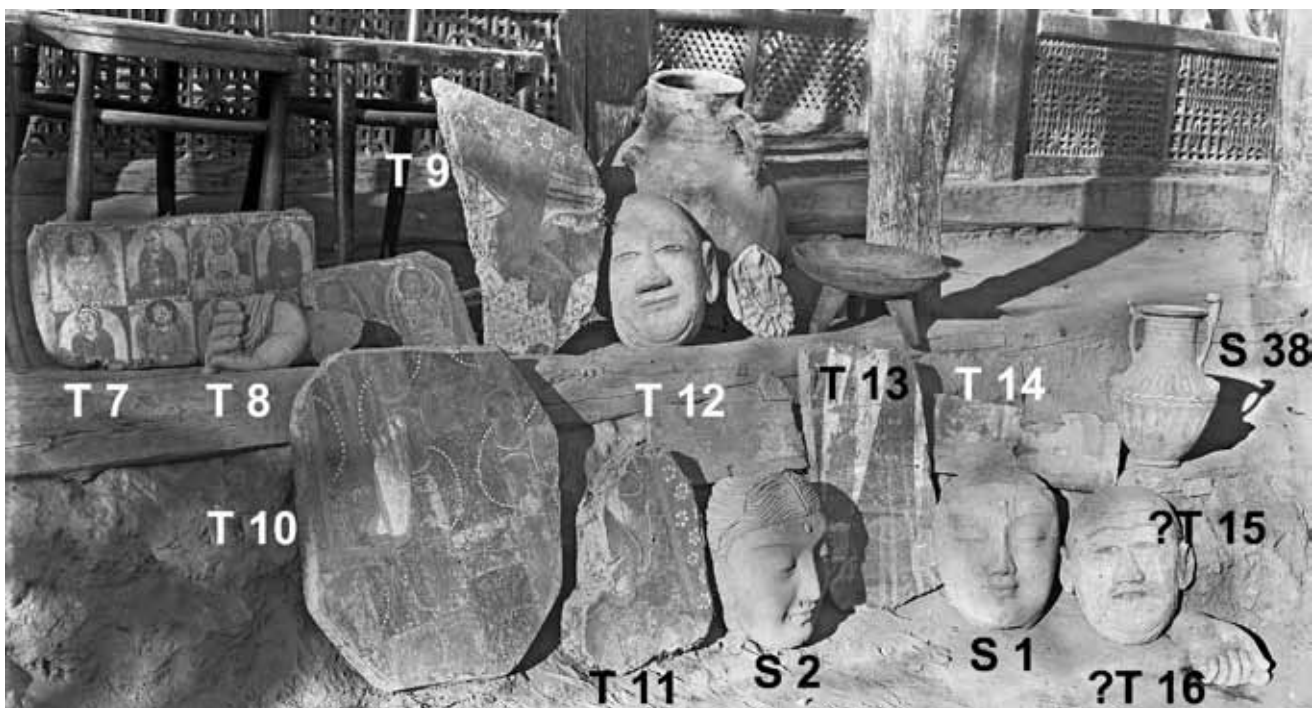


Fig. 11. Identifications and current locations of objects in Skrine photo no. S0005897.

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ID	Current Location	Reference (to Gropp 1974, unless otherwise indicated); notes
	BM, Skrine Collection	
S 1	1925,0619.1	<i>de visu</i> identification
S 2	1925,0619.2	<i>de visu</i> identification; Skrine 1926, ill. facing p. 170
S 38	1925,0619.38	<i>de visu</i> identification; on display in BM, Gallery 33, case 20
	Bremen, Trinkler Coll.	
T 7	A 13896	pp. 175, 177; ill. 76, pl. XVI facing p. 321. This is top two rows (8 figures) of Gropp's reconstruction of the panel.
T 8	30.32.20	p. 254; ill. 128
T 9	A 16157	p. 107; fig. 40. Other half of this not shown in Skrine photo; so obviously it was broken prior to Trinkler purchase.
T 10	A 16150	pp. 119-22; ill. 43a, 43b, pl. V facing p. 112.
T 11	A 16159	p. 163; ill. 65 (drawing)
T 12	A 16116	pp. 195-96; identification based on Gropp's verbal description
T 13	A 16164	pp. 137-41; ill. 52b, 52e, pl. VII facing p. 128
T 14	A 16117	pp. 194-95; ill. 80a-b.
?T 15	A 15985	p. 250; verbal description, Gropp suggesting it is modern forgery
?T 16	A 13912 or 16004	p. 253; probably first of these, based on verbal description.

would have been easiest to pack. Hence he left some of the larger mural pieces behind. Skrine seems to have been particularly taken by two stucco Buddha heads though (BM 1925,0619.1 and .2). Presumably their "classical Greek style" appealed to him; so it is not surprising he selected them over the other two large stucco heads, which he termed "rather archaic" [Fig. 12].¹⁴ While the mural fragments seem to have survived transport to London reasonably well, the two Buddha heads, already cracked, did not, as the accompanying comparison photos

reveal [Fig. 13]. Of course it is possible that the selection to some extent was Badruddin's (in consultation with Moldovack?), since Skrine seems to imply that it was something of a concession that he be allowed to take anything, instead of its being held for future shipment to Stein.¹⁵ A few objects Skrine mentions he obtained at the time cannot at present be identified with any in the Skrine collection.¹⁶



Fig. 12. Skrine's "classical" and "archaic" sculptured heads, the one on left now BM 1925,0619.1; that on right possibly Bremen A 15985. Photo copyright © Royal Geographical Society. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

The further distribution of Badruddin's inventory

Skrine's acquisitions from Badruddin seem in any event to have been only a small portion of the entire collection. Gerd Gropp's careful catalogue of the Trinkler Collection now housed in the Übersee-Museum in Bremen provides important leads as to what happened to the remaining items. Like so many western visitors before him, when Emil Trinkler arrived in Khotan in February 1928, he took up residence at Badruddin's, and he obtained both from Badruddin and Moldovack "eine grössere Sammlung Antiquitäten" (Gropp 1974, p. 14). Trinkler never gives specifics about what he obtained from Badruddin, except to describe the latter's enthusiasms during the transactions which took place in something of an Oriental bazaar atmosphere (Trinkler 1930, p. 135). Trinkler does say explicitly that Moldovack gave the Germans his extensive archaeological collection, and adds at another point that largest part of what they acquired had either been purchased by them or received as gifts (Ibid., pp. 139, 181). Although Trinkler's own excavation of desert sites was cut short when the Chinese authorities put a stop to the activity, he was able to send back to Germany a substantial collection, one that today is second in significance amongst collections of Central Asian antiquities in Germany, surpassed only by the Turfan Collection in the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin.

In studying the paintings and sculptures in



Fig. 13. Before (1922 in Khotan); after (2009 in London). BM 1925,0617.2. Photo on left copyright © Royal Geographical Society. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission. Photo on right copyright © Daniel C. Waugh. Reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the Trinkler Collection, Gropp cast his net widely to compare them with ones delivered to Stein, and those acquired by Skrine (this, apparently, being the first serious examination of the Skrine material in the British Museum). The Stein materials included a number of large painting fragments and wooden panels which had been brought from Khotan by Harold I. Harding in 1923. Gropp argued that many of the mural fragments in all three of these collections probably had come from a single location, Balawaste, and he provided imaginative sketches of how the surviving pieces might be placed on large wall panels of Buddhist scenes, even though most of each panel in fact has not survived.¹⁷ It is not our purpose here to discuss whether these reconstructions of the original provenance of the paintings hold up under scrutiny. The important thing is that Gropp's groupings pointed to a common origin for items in all three collections, something that should hardly come as a surprise. Skrine's photos from Khotan now confirm that much of this material, now divided among Delhi, Bremen and London, had on 26-27 November 1922 indeed been together, on the shelves of Badruddin's shop in Khotan.

Details of Harding's role in this are not yet known. He was Skrine's vice-consul in Kashgar for most of a year.¹⁸ At least from Skrine's vantage point, this was unfortunate, for he could not forgive Harding his braggadocio and eccentric tendency to dress in native fashion, and he suspected him of pro-Bolshevik

sympathies. When Harding was finally leaving in late July 1923, the Skrines breathed "Good riddance!" Harding then traveled from Kashgar to India carrying with him (perhaps he picked them up en route) some of the Khotan antiquities. Whether this was on instructions from Skrine (or Stein) or was something he simply undertook on his own, we do not yet know.¹⁹ In any event, when the material was delivered in India and catalogued, it was recorded as a gift from Harding, and there was no mention that Skrine had any part in the matter (Stein 1928, II, pp. 1052-1056).²⁰ The material indeed included objects in Skrine's photos (and other items not in them); so Stein surely would have known something about the material in advance, assuming Skrine had in fact written and sent him copies of the photos. Stein added his own note to Andrews' inventory of the Harding collection: "No definite information is available as to the provenance of the antiques here described. But it appears probable that they were brought to Khotan as a result of digging which villagers carried on at some ruins in the desert area covered with tamarisk-cones NE. of Domoko" (p. 1052).

Thus a second consignment of Badruddin's collection had now left his shop. Doubtless he himself kept no inventories; so we cannot be sure what he had left. It seems likely that Trinkler then acquired the major portion of what remained in 1928, although Badruddin still had material to sell a few years later. We have marked on Skrine's photos the current location of the objects we have been able to identify in the three museum collections [Figs. 10, 11, above]. That still leaves some material unaccounted for — see the enlarged photos appended below — but it is likely that an examination of the Trinkler collection (Gropp's catalogue does not include photos of everything) will provide additional matches. Since some of the painting fragments Skrine photographed show only partially in one of the photos, matching of them may prove to be impossible in any event (especially insofar as they are "thousand Buddha" images, which are numerous in the Trinkler collection). It is important to remember, of course, that Skrine by no means had photographed everything in the shop, whose inventory probably included dozens, if not hundreds, more objects.

Skrine's photos thus have provided some new information on aspects of the antiquities trade in Khotan. The phenomenon of the scattering

of Silk Road antiquities amongst various collections is certainly well known, but here we can see a good example of the role played by an important dealer in Xinjiang in that process. Probably the lesson to be drawn from all this is a simple one, best given in Stein's own words, following his indication as to why he had designated Yotkan as the provenance of many objects, including ones obtained through his "trustworthy local factotum Baddrudin khan": "...Even in the case of these objects the evidence as to their provenance can obviously not claim the same value as if they were finds resulting from systematic exploration on the spot. As regards antiques acquired through other channels there is still greater need for caution before making any individual piece a basis for antiquarian argument" (Stein 1921, I, p. 97). A closer examination of the Skrine collection manuscripts reinforces this message.

Skrine's Central Asian manuscripts

The Donation Reports for the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts of the British Museum record for 1 June 1925 that "Mr. Barnett has the honour to report to the Trustees that Mr. Clarmont Percival Skrine, I. C. S., has presented to this Department a valuable collection of mss. etc. brought by him from Chinese Turkestan." (DH36/4 Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts: Donation Reports, 1921-1926). Unfortunately hardly any other information is available about Skrine's acquisitions, nor are we lucky enough, as we are in the case of the antiquities which he presented to the Museum (see earlier part of this article), to have any photographs displaying manuscripts for sale in Khotan.

A certain amount however can be gleaned from Skrine's diaries and his book (Skrine 1926/1971), together with notes on the wrappers in which the items were originally presented or, in some cases where these are no longer preserved, from information presumably transferred from them into the Reading Room's List of Oriental Manuscripts.

As mentioned in the earlier part of this article, Skrine had already by 26 November 1922 "got hold of two practically complete books, in wonderful preservation, of exactly the same kind of script and material as some of the MSS described and pictured in Serindia." These were most probably the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*

'Lotus Sutra' (Or.9613 — see below for individual descriptions and case histories), the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* (Or. 9614), and possibly also the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 'Sutra of the Golden Light' (Or.9609 and 9610/3). They were purchased apparently from Moldovack and Badruddin: "At Khotan our Armenian friend, Mr. Keraken Moldovack, and the ex-Aqsaqal Khan Sahib Badruddin Khan allowed me to take for presentation to the British Museum a selection of ancient Buddhist manuscripts" (Skrine 1926/1971, p. 170). Or.9610 was, according to the Reading Room List, "found with Or. 9609" — information probably taken from a discarded envelope. The wooden document Or. 9612, and presumably also the tallies forming Or.9611, came from Khadalik according to their wrapper. The label preserved with Or. 9615 reads: "Documents found by Abbas Khan near Khadalik site. Keriya 14/4/24." We learn additionally from Skrine's diary of 14 April 1924 (quoted in the earlier part of the article) that Abbas Khan found them in 1923 at a site one potai (two and a quarter miles) north of Stein's Khadalik site. Or.9616 was described, according to the Reading Room List, as a collection of "Miscellaneous fragments from Buddhist books, found at Domoko."

More can be learned from studying the individual case histories of each manuscript, and for this we can be grateful to the fact that individual treasure-seekers did not exhaustively 'excavate' any one site at a time, perhaps regarding potential finds as an investment for the future. Either that, or their agents, middle men such as Badruddin Khan, deliberately split up items to be able to satisfy more customers, thereby earning more money. The case of Mulla Khwaja who guided Stein to Khadalik at the end of September 1906 is well known:

Since my former journey certain fragmentary manuscripts in Brāhmī writing had reached Badruddīn Khān and through him Mr. Macartney, and on my first return to Khotan I had traced these to diggings which Mullah Khwāja, a petty official of Domoko, was said to have carried on at some ruin situated in the desert not far to the north of that village. Through Badruddīn Khān I had myself secured some fairly well preserved leaves of Sanskrit 'Pōthīs', and on my return from the mountains I had managed to get the man himself brought to Khotan together with some further specimens.

Mullah Khwāja proved to be no regular 'treasure-seeker' but a respectable village official whom Merghen Ahmad, my old guide to Dandān-oilik, had some five years previously urged to look out for old 'Khats' such as he had seen me excavate. Mullah Khwāja, being in great arrears to the Keriya Ya-mên with revenue due from the oil tax, hoped for a chance of getting out of his debts by such finds. So he induced villagers accustomed to collecting fuel in the desert jungle north and east of Domoko to guide him to some 'Kōne-shahrs' not far off. Scraping among the remains at one of these small sites, known to the woodmen as *Khādalik* ('the place with the sign stake'), he had come upon the hoped-for 'Khats'. Having realized some money by their sale to the Indian and Andijānī Ak-sakāls at Khotan, and having sought favour by presenting others as curios to the Keriya Amban, he had intermittently carried on his burrowings for the last three years or so. [Stein 1921, p. 154].

The result of sporadic "burrowings" led to parts of the same manuscript being sold to different buyers while leaving some remnants in situ to be discovered by Stein and other explorers. These are now preserved in different institutions all over the world — abundant material for potential jigsaw puzzles to be reconstructed digitally.

The famous "Kashgar" (so-called because it was first associated in the west with Kashgar) Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Or.9613), is perhaps the best example of this. The manuscript was probably first discovered at Khadalik around 1893 and the greater part sold to Nikolai Petrovskii (Consul in Kashgar, 1882–1903) who sent it to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg. We know that it came from Khadalik because the geographer Ellsworth

Huntington was taken there in 1905 and found part of another leaf of the same manuscript [Fig. 13].



Fig. 13. MS Huntington F, Collection of Yale University Library. After Huntington 1907, pl. facing p. 204.

Meanwhile Macartney had been regularly purchasing manuscripts from Badruddin on behalf of the Government of India, many of which must have been discovered by Mulla Khwaja at Khadalik from about 1902 onwards. One consignment of wooden documents and manuscripts, no. 148, forwarded for decipherment to the Indologist Rudolf Hoernle in 1906, contained a further four leaves of this manuscript. Macartney reported:

It seems to me improbable that only these four sheets were discovered; and, as they may have formed part of a book and have been detached therefrom after discovery, I have written to Badrud Din that he should seek out the person from whom he obtained the sheets and endeavour to get from him the entire book, if such be in existence. And for Badrud Din's trouble I have promised him a handsome payment, should the book be reported to be genuine by experts.

Badrud Din has sent me no particulars as to how he came by the different objects. My own experience of him convinces me that, even if he was asked for information, he could never furnish any, sufficiently accurate to possess scientific value. It is certain that he did not find these things himself; and most likely he bought them in the town of Khotan from labourers or from "treasure seekers" who make it their business to go, after a storm, into the deserts, in the vicinity of the town, and gather anything which may have been laid bare by the drifting of the sand." [BL IOLR MSS EurF 302/14, G. Macartney, Kashgar, to the Resident of Kashmir, 17 January 1906].

Despite Stein's exhaustive excavations at Khadalik in 1906, no further leaves of this manuscript were discovered, and by the time he returned there in the Spring of 1908, he found that the site had been destroyed by irrigation and was under cultivation (Stein 1912 vol 1, p. 246; vol. 2, p. 414). Possibly Badruddin



Fig. 14. Composite of the right side of folio 282 verso of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, showing Skrine's part on the left and Huntington F on the right. Right side based on Yuyama and Toda 1977, plate II.

had taken heed of Macartney's instructions to purchase the rest of the manuscript, even if he did not pass it on to Hoernle, because subsequent sales took place, and today only 12 leaves are missing. Skrine purchased 40 leaves either from Badruddin or Moldovack probably in 1922, and Emil Trinkler another 9 in February 1928. By chance, the left side of folio 282, purchased by Skrine, fits perfectly with Huntington's "Fragment F," which he discovered in 1905 [Fig. 14], proving conclusively that they are parts of one and the same manuscript (Yuyama and Toda 1977). Six fragments were also found or purchased by Count Otani Kozui whose three expeditions to Central Asia took place between 1902 and 1914.

British Library Oriental Manuscripts Or. 9609–9616

Or.9609 [Fig. 15]

11 leaves (folios 3–5, 24, 26, 36, 53–56, and 68) of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*²¹ written in Early South Turkistan Brahmi script (Sander 2009), possibly dating from the 6th century.²² Purchased probably in 1922 (see above) from Badruddin or Moldovack.



Fig. 15. Or.9609A1/1, folio 5v of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* written in Early South Turkistan Brahmi script, possibly dating from the 6th century. Dimensions: 37.2 x 10.5 cm. Photo copyright © British Library. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

This manuscript originally consisted of a few more than 82 leaves of which 28 survive today. It was written for a patron Puñabuddha (colophons on ff. 26 and 55).



Fig. 17. Or.9610/3v. Folio 15v of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* written in Early Turkestan Brahmi script s, dating from the 5th-6th century. Dimensions: 41.4 x 9.3 cm. Photo copyright © British Library. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

If Skrine was correctly informed that this manuscript was found with Or.9610 (see below), then it probably originated from Khadalik.²³

Other locations

Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (IVR RAN): 12 leaves (ff. 6, 28, 37-40, 59 [numbered 57], 60 [58], 62 [60], 73, X, and 82).²⁴ Signature: SI M/13. They were acquired by S. E. Malov, probably from Badruddin or Moldovack, during his second expedition to Central Asia, 1913-15.²⁵

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Five leaves (ff. 29, 30, 32, 64, and 65). Signatures: Mainz 644, 650, 643; KS01, KS02. They were acquired by Trinkler in February 1928 from Badruddin or Moldovack and were given with seven other leaves, now apparently lost, to the Prussian Academy in 1930 (Gropp 1974, pp. 362, 364).²⁶ Fortunately old photographs of all the Trinkler folios are preserved in the Khotanese manuscript photo collection in Hamburg (Skjærvø 2004, vol. 2, p. 11). Gropp also published facsimiles of fols. 33 and 34 (1974, pp. 365, 366) and Trinkler himself included a photograph of folio 66r in his published expedition account [Fig. 16].

Fig. 16. Folio 66r, now missing, of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* purchased by Trinkler in 1928. After: Trinkler 1930, ill. 90 facing p. 160.



Or. 9610²⁷ [Fig. 17]

Folios 225 (Or.9610/1) and 8 (Or.9610/2) of two different manuscripts of the Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, written in South Turkestan Brahmi script v (Sander 1968; Sander 2009), probably dating from the 8th to 9th century. Or.9610/3 is folio 15 of a Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* manuscript written in Early Turkestan Brahmi script s (Sander 1968; Sander 2009), possibly dating from the 5th or 6th century. Purchased probably in 1922 (see above) from Badruddin or Moldovack.

Or.9610/3 has been provisionally identified (Wille 1997, p. 720) as being part of the same manuscript as Kha.i.301 (IOL San 1489), excavated by Stein from Khadalik i, a large Buddhist temple which yielded an enormous quantity of manuscript leaves in addition to frescoes and fragments of painted panels. If this identification is correct, Khadalik would then be the find-spot for all three manuscripts in addition to Or.9609 with which they were apparently found.

Or.9611, Or.9612²⁸ [Figs. 18, 19, next page]

Nine wooden tallies (Or.9611) and a record tablet (Or.9612) recording amounts of wheat received by the monk Jīyapuña. According to the wrapper of Or.9612, they were found at Khadalik.

Known folios of Ms Or.9609 of the <i>Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra</i>						
Malov	6	28	37-40	59[57], 60[58], 62[60]	73, X, 82	
Skrine	3-5	24, 26	36	53-56	68	
Trinkler			29-35		63-67	

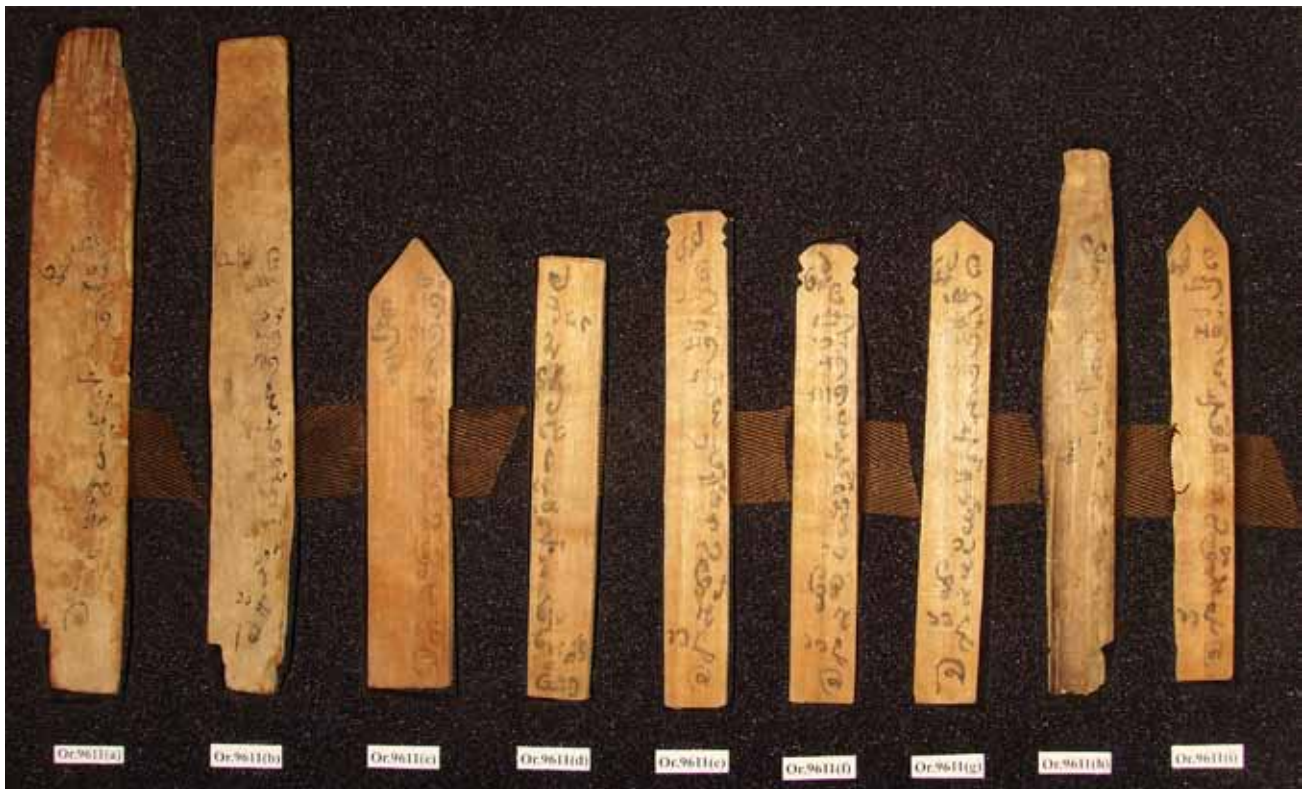


Fig. 18. Or.9611a-i, Khotanese wooden tally sticks recording receipts of wheat.

Fig. 19. Or.9612. Khotanese record of receipts of wheat, from Khadalik.



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Or.9613²⁹ (see also above) [Fig. 20]

Folios 256-258, 282, 327-348, 360, and 13 fragments of other folios of the Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, written in South Turkestan Brahmi script v, dating from the 8th or early 9th century.³⁰ Purchased probably in 1922 (see above) from Badruddin or Moldovack.

This calligraphic large format manuscript

originally consisted of 459³¹ folios. It was written, according to the colophons (see Emmerick 1974; Lokesh Chandra 1976, p. 2), for the Lady Jalapuñānā, her husband Jalapuña, and their relatives. The manuscript came from Khadalik. The Skrine folios have been damaged by fire as have the similarly shaped preceding and following leaves, now in St. Petersburg, suggesting that the manuscript was split up

Fig. 20. Or.9613/1r. Folio 327r of the Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, written in calligraphic South Turkestan Brahmi, dating from around the 8th or early 9th century. Dimensions: 56.1 x 18 cm. Photo copyright © British Library. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



Extant folios of the "Kashgar" <i>Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra</i> (after Toda 1981, pp. xii-xiii)										
Petrovskii 3-243	255	261-81	283-311, 321-326	349-59	361-66	369	374-78	380	385-446	448-59
Trinkler	244-52									
Hoernle	253-54	259-60								
Skrine	256-58	282	327-48	360	367-73		380-84	447		
Huntington		282								
Otani						367-72				

after the damage had been incurred. An almost illegible note in Uigur, preserved with Or.9613, mentions the date 26 Zu'l-Hijja 1333 (November 1915), and some sellers(?): Muhammad Sharif and Muhammad Niyaz. A price of 'x' (illegible) tanga is also mentioned.³²

Other locations

IVR RAN: 399 folios.³³ Purchased by Petrovskii ca. 1893 with further leaves presented by George Macartney in 1910 (Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia 2008, p. 104). Signature: SI P/5. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz: nine leaves purchased by Trinkler from Badruddin or Moldovack in 1928 (Gropp 1974, pp. 362, 368). Signature: SHT 4439, formerly Mainz 685-689, 705, 706, 715, 717.

British Library (BL) Hoernle collection: four folios. Signature: Or.15011/28-31, formerly Hoernle H.148 SA 22-25.

Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives: one leaf. Signature: Huntington F.

Lüshun, Dalian: six fragments acquired by Count Otani. Signature: 20.1567/1-6, formerly P.23A-F.

Fig. 21. Or.9614/5. Folio 299 of the Khotanese Book of Zambasta, written in South Turkestan Brahmi script v, probably dating from the 8th century. Dimensions: 41 x 12 cm. Photo copyright © British Library. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



Or.9614 [Fig. 21]

Six fragments, forming folios 150, and 296-99 of the popular Khotanese verse manual of Buddhism, the *Book of Zambasta*,³⁴ written in South Turkestan Brahmi script v, probably dating from the 8th century. Purchased ca. 1922 (see above) from Badruddin or Moldovack.

Altogether 207 leaves survive of this manuscript extending from folio 146 to 440. Several colophons mention the patron, Zambasta, his son Zarkula and his other sons and daughters. As in the case of Or.9613 we know, because of Ellsworth Huntington's discovery of another leaf, that the manuscript came from Khadalik [Fig. 22]. It had also been partially damaged by fire.³⁵

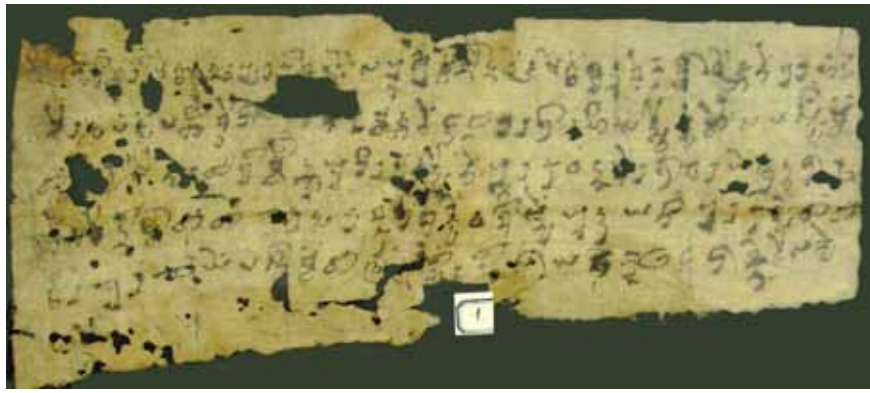
Fig. 22. Documents discovered by Ellsworth Huntington during his second expedition to Central Asia 1905-1906. Manuscript I is folio 214 of the Book of Zambasta. After: Huntington 1907, ill. facing p. 206.



Other locations

IVR RAN: 192 folios and two wooden covers (Emmerick and Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia 1995, pp. 34-6. One is unfortunately now missing). Acquired by Petrovskii before 1903 (when he left Central Asia).³⁶ Signature: SI P/6.

Fig. 23. Or.9615/1. Khotanese letter from a site near Khadalik, 8th century. Photo copyright © British Library. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



BL Hoernle collection: one leaf (f. 279). Part of a consignment of manuscript leaves sent to Rudolf Hoernle for decipherment in May 1903. They "were purchased from Badruddin, Aksakal at Khotan, and are believed to have been discovered in the Takla Makan Desert" (BL IOLR MSS EurF 302/14, R. Arbuthnot, Under-Secretary, Government of India, Archaeology and Epigraphy, Simla to A. F. R. Hoernle, c/o India Office, 25 May 1903). Signature: IOL Khot 154/8, formerly H. 142 NS 53 (see Emmerick 1968, pp. xiii-xiv; Skjærvø 2002, p. 345).

Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives: one leaf (f. 214). Found by Huntington in situ in 1905 at Khadalik. Signature: Huntington I

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta: six folios (ff. 269, 271, 334-5, 385, 389). In 1908, two leaves (ff. 269 and 335) were apparently offered for sale to Strassburg University Library by a Russian from Jerusalem (Leumann 1912, p. 11). These same leaves and four others (271, 334, 385, 389) were subsequently purchased by E. Denison Ross in Calcutta "from a Caucasian exile and Russian subject named Kara, who had, in his turn, acquired them from Caucasian Jews, who had gone to Khotan as carpet dealers and bought the leaves there" (Konow 1914, p. 13). Some of these references must surely refer to Keraken Moldovack the Armenian carpet and antiques dealer who lived in Khotan and collected antiquities for the Russians.³⁷ Additional information suggests that "Kara" might be a Russian officer who in May 1910 was offering Central Asian manuscripts for sale in Calcutta.³⁸

Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin: f. 270. Signature: MIK III 178.

Ryukoku University Library, Kyoto: f. 294, acquired by Zuicho Tachibana on one of Count Otani's Central Asian expeditions (Leumann 1963, p. 80). Tachibana was in Central Asia between 1908 and 1912 (Galambos 2008). Signature: Saiikibunkashiryō no. 11062, formerly Tachibana shiryō no. 41.³⁹

Or.9615⁴⁰ [Fig. 23]

10 Khotanese documents, one Khotanese/Chinese, and one Tibetan, mostly in a very fragmentary state. Since two documents mention monks, it is possible that they originate from the archive of a Buddhist monastery. They were discovered in 1923 by Abbas Khan at a site two and a quarter miles north of Khadalik (see above).

Or.9616

17 fragments of a Prajñāpāramitā manuscript (Or. 9616/1-17),⁴¹ written in South Turkestan Brahmi script v [Fig. 24]; 4 fragments of a second Prajñāpāramitā manuscript (Or. 9616/18-20, 21); one fragment of a syllabary (Or. 9616/27) and over 100 further miscellaneous Sanskrit fragments. The collection is described in the Reading Room List as "Miscellaneous fragments from Buddhist books, found at Domoko," information presumably copied from a discarded wrapper.

Fig. 24. Or.9616/2. A Sanskrit Prajñāpāramitā text, written in South Turkestani Brahmi script v, dating from the 8th or 9th century. Photo copyright © British Library. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.





Fig. 25. Or.9616/31-33. Forged documents supposedly from Domoko. Note the same four letters repeated in Or.9616/31 and 32. Photo copyright © British Library. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

This collection also includes three forgeries (Or.9616/31–33) [Fig. 25]. These are not unlike some of the forgeries, also apparently from Domoko, which Stein purchased from Badruddin in 1930 during his fourth expedition to Central Asia (Sims-Williams 2000, pp. 121–24).

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Notes

1. Daniel Waugh is the principal author of the first part of the article; Ursula Sims-Williams is the author of the section dealing with the Skrine manuscripts.

2. The RGS collection has a third glass negative of Skrine's from Khotan showing the antiquities. At the time I ordered copies of the two images reproduced here, I passed it over, apparently either because I felt it duplicated material in one of them or was of inferior quality to reproduce. In response to my recent inquiry about the third negative, which has not yet been catalogued, the RGS photo library indicated that its current location cannot be determined, presumably because of the rearrangements involving the move of the collection since my visit several years ago. It is significant that the three negatives showing the antiquities were in an envelope inscribed (in Skrine's handwriting) "Yotkan antiquities" with the date May 5, 1925, when Skrine was back in London and shortly after his presentation to the RGS on "The Alps of

Qungur." That envelope also contained the negative showing Badruddin, reproduced in this article, and two images Skrine took showing the archaeological strata at the Yotkan site.

The major collections of Skrine photos (prints and negatives) now are in the RGS and the British Library; in both locations additional work is needed to identify exact locations and subjects depicted in them. I have examined most of this material, although, since it has been in the process of reorganization and cataloguing, possibly additional photos may turn up. One group of images I did not have access to from the RGS collection was the lantern slides Skrine prepared for a lecture he gave to the Society, although the subject for it was his explorations in the mountains. The BL (IOLR, Photo 920/1) has several prints of artefacts Skrine photographed in Khotan, one being of several appliqué terracotta ornaments, presumably ones acquired by Skrine and now in the British Museum. Two photographs of individual objects (BM 1925,0619.1 and 1925,0619.40) were published in Skrine 1926 facing p. 170. The other photos in the BL depict various craft items of more recent manufacture.

3. After Petrovskii had retired, the Russian consul Sokov continued to collect for Russian museums, as Albert von Le Coq learned in 1913 (Von le Coq 1928, pp. 29-30).

4. The Stein papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MSS 107), which I have searched somewhat cursorily for material relating to Skrine, contain a certain amount of their correspondence when Skrine was in Kashgar, but apparently not any of Skrine's letters regarding antiquities. At various points, Skrine thanks Stein for sending copies of publications (including *Serindia*), and they do discuss Skrine's explorations in the mountains south of Kashgar. Skrine sent "Sir Aurel's last letter to me" to his mother for safe-keeping on February 16, 1923; perhaps this was the reply to Skrine's communication about the antiquities in Khotan (BL IOLR EurF 154/9, CPS to HSS, 16 February 1923). In the same letter home, Skrine noted that he had just sent Stein some 20 enlargements to look at and then forward to Mrs. Skrine in London. I have not found any letters from Stein to Skrine in the Skrine papers at the BL.

5. Skrine did at least photograph the cliff facade and the caves from below, probably on his visit there May 5, 1923, when he wrote his mother from Uch Merwan (BL IOLR EurF 154/9, CPS to HSS, 5 May 1923). He lists the photo in a typed set of captions he provided a literary agent, J. E. Pryde-Hughes, 22 July 1927 (Skrine papers, document temporarily held by DCW with permission of the late John Stewart); its negative, unnumbered, is in the RGS collection.

6. In his book, under the guise of citing a letter or diary entry (neither of which have turned up in his unpublished papers), Skrine describes how he and his wife Doris stayed at Badruddin's in 1922 (Skrine

1926/1971, pp. 118-119). On his return to Khotan in 1924 he was writing his mother from Badruddin's garden (BL IOLR EurF 154/10, CPS to HSS, 20 April 1924). The photo he took of his host must date to the second visit, as we learn from Skrine's typed caption list of 1927: "A leading British Subject of Khotan, Khan Sahib Badruddin Khan, in the garden of his town house. (Note the masses of peach-blossoms on the trees and the windows of the guest-rooms decorated with silks and embroideries)." The photo was published in Nazaroff 1935, facing p. 152; the print is from a glass negative in the RGS collection.

Skrine's published book and his letters and diary complement one another but do not always overlap, even though Skrine clearly drew heavily on the unpublished material and quotes extensively from it. As I have shown (Waugh 2007), some of the purported quotes undoubtedly were in fact composed when Skrine sat down to write the book after leaving Kashgar. This does not mean, however, that the information in them is wrong. Clearly he added many details to the book that were not in his and his wife's contemporary writings from Kashgaria.

7. One may assume that his becoming the aqsaqal of the Afghan community in Khotan helped him establish connections with his European customers. Badruddin's assumption of this position must have been recent, since in 1891 one Akram Khan was still aqsaqal of the Afghan community (Dutreuil de Rhins 1897-1898, I, p. 46). Macartney, recommending Badruddin's services to Stein, writes that his father had also been an aqsaqal (see Macartney to Stein, 22 March 1899, Bodleian Library Stein Collection 289, fols. 74-8). Capt. Godfrey in Srinagar told Stein that Badruddin's father Khairuddin had transmitted antiquities via his son, but it is not clear whether the son succeeded his father in the position (see Godfrey to Stein, 17 October 1899, Bodleian Library Stein Collection 289, fols. 121-122).

8. Mannerheim has a photo of Badruddin (whom he calls Badsuddin and terms "the former Indian aksakal of Khotan") on p. 89. Badruddin and his nephew accompanied Mannerheim to several locations in the vicinity of Khotan but apparently did not provide the visitor with much of anything in the way of antiquities himself. Mannerheim notes that in fact there was little of value to be had, since Stein had probably obtained most of the good material on his recent visit, and there also had been purchases by Japanese a couple years earlier. Badruddin did help him negotiate purchases of some "täzkirs," written accounts of legends about local Sufi shrines. Mannerheim then noted that the only way he could pay was for Badruddin to transmit the money to the local mullahs, although it was uncertain how much of it they then would receive. And indeed, once back in Kashgar Mannerheim received a letter in English from Badruddin in which the latter wondered when the payment [which in fact had already been made] would be forthcoming. Mannerheim used this

incident as the excuse for a diatribe about the perfidy of "the Sart who sucks in treachery and deceit at his mother's breast" (Mannerheim 1940/1969, I, pp. 113-114; also p. 104). So in the end he appears not to have been very grateful for all the assistance Badruddin had provided.

9. In his catalogue of the Stein materials in what was then the Central Asian Antiquities Museum in Delhi, Fred Andrews (1935) listed the items specifically obtained from Badruddin under the sites from which it was presumed they had come.

10. Von le Coq in 1913 reported a small triumph in managing to talk Badruddin out of material reserved for Stein (Sims-Williams 2000, p. 126n12, citing Klaus Wille).

11. The identification of the individuals in this photo is taken from captioning on its print in BL IOLR Photo 920/1. The RGS has the original nitrate negative.

12. For the visits to Yotkan, see Skrine 1926/1971, p. 171; BL IOLR EurF 154/43, p. 59, diary entry for 2 May 1924; BL IOLR EurF 154/10, CPS to HSS, 8 May 1924. A small print of one of the two photos is in BL IOLR Photo 120/1; the photo was printed in Nazaroff 1935, facing p. 56, one of a good many photos Skrine allowed Nazaroff to use. Two glass negatives of the Yotkan strata are in the RGS collection; see above n. 2.

13. The Skrine collection is listed, almost in its entirety, in the British Museum's online database and illustrated with photographs, many the ones taken by me in November 2009. A selection of these photos has been appended below.

14. While it is difficult to be certain without seeing a photograph of the object in question (Bremen Museum A 15935), Gropp 1974, p. 250, describes what may be one of these heads and reasonably suggests that it may be a modern fabrication.

15. Perhaps significant in this regard is the fact that Skrine was given only parts of manuscripts, other leaves of which were sold on separate occasions both earlier and later and are scattered in various collections around the world (see below). At present it is impossible to say whether they may first have passed through Badruddin's shop before they were dispersed. It seems that Badruddin did not always keep very careful track of the manuscripts in his possession. When staying with him in 1914, August Francke and Hans Körber reported stumbling across some manuscript fragments in the "writing room" and Badruddin's remembering where he had another packet of such material, which the Germans then purchased (Francke 1921, pp. 92ff.).

16. These include "small intaglios from rings, two square metal seals, one with a classical winged bull intaglio, the other with Chinese lapidary characters similar to the impression of the Chinese official's seal shown in "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Vol. I, plate 95 (6)...copper coins of the Han and Tang dynasties"

(Skrine 1926/1971, p. 171n1). There are a few gaps in the online inventory numbering for the Skrine collection; likewise a few items did not turn up when examining *de visu* the objects in storage. It may be some of this material is to be found under those numbers. Unfortunately, the original inventory listing for his donation in 1925 could not be located, although it seems unlikely that it contains any additional information about the provenance of items in Skrine's collection. The Museum's Report of Donations and Standing Committee reports do not contain any detailed listing of the material.

Items such as the coins likely have been catalogued elsewhere in the Museum's records. It is possible, of course, that, despite his statement in his book, they never went to the Museum. The continuation of his letter to his mother, quoted above p. 57 is this: "The above are all Museum things, and I don't want to buy them for myself, only for the Archaeological Dept. whose authority I have to spend money on their behalf. What I do propose to acquire, if I can at a reasonable price, on my own be half are two or three delicious little corullian and garnet intaglios and a copper seal or two, all dating from the early centuries of our era, and in two cases at least bearing exquisite little works of art carved on them. One is a rectangular bit of corullian with a most lifelike wild boar cut into it; the other a copper seal of a Pegasus-like winged horse, a beautiful piece of work. There is also, if you please, a pair of dice, just like modern dice but larger and with the dots rather uneven and the whole very worn, which were unearthed from a site 15 days journey into the desert from Domoko!"

17. The proposed Balawaste connection for the Harding material had already been made by Fred H. Andrews (Stein 1928, II, 1052-1053; Andrews 1933/1981).

18. Mr. Leonard Pepper of Oxford has been studying Harding's career and kindly provided me several years ago with his annotated transcription of Harding's travel diary from his journey up to Kashgar in 1922 (Harding managed to get the Swedish Mission Press in Kashgar to publish it) and an unpublished essay on aspects of Harding's career. There is nothing in this material which sheds light on Harding's involvement with the antiquities, although that is not to say evidence regarding that subject may not be located.

19. Harding had gone on "tour" in April, returning to Kashgar in early June from Khotan. So he could have negotiated the matter of the antiquities on that trip. Skrine was so busy in his letters home explaining his frictions with Harding that he never commented on any details of what exactly Harding was supposed to be doing on that tour. The letters are in BL IOLR EurF 154/9.

20. An interesting fragment of wood sculpture obtained by Harding (National Museum, New Delhi, Har. 028) with the other material discussed here is the focus of a recent article by Sampa Biswas, "The

Iconography of Buddha on a Wooden Panel from Khotan," *IDP News* No. 34 (2009-10): 1-3.

21. For an edition, translation and comprehensive introduction and commentary see Skjærvø 2004. For details of this manuscript (Or.) see vol. 2, pp. 16-39.

22. For a 7th or 8th-century date see Sander 2009, p. 138, but Skjærvø (2004, vol. 1, p. lxii) places it in the 5th or 6th century on linguistic and textual grounds.

23. Gropp (1974, p. 31) suggests that the manuscript may come from one of the great stupas in Rawak, though he does not give any reason.

24. Emmerick and Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia 1995, pp. 179-80, suggest that because some text is repeated twice, the Malov leaves may in fact be from two similar manuscripts. Skjærvø (2004, vol. 1, pp. lxvi-lxvii), however, attributes this to a scribal error.

25. The Malov mss. were rediscovered in 1990 in a box containing a label indicating only that they had been brought by Malov from Khotan and were collected between 1913 and 1915. The contents were "crumpled and torn manuscript folios and fragments mixed with dirt and sand," on the basis of which Emmerick and Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia concluded that "Malov had evidently taken the material directly from archaeological sites that had been abandoned by the excavators" (Emmerick and Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia 1995, p. 8). However this evidence alone does not seem sufficient justification for such a view.

26. Gropp (1974, p. 362) specifies that Trinkler acquired his manuscripts from Badruddin, but without citing any references. However, as mentioned above, Trinker himself (Trinkler 1930, pp. 135, 139) did not say exactly what he got from either of his Khotan contacts.

27. Edition: Wille 1997.

28. Edition: Skjærvø 2002, pp. 77-8.

29. Facsimile of the whole manuscript: Lokesh Chandra 1976; romanized text and edition: Toda 1981.

30. Toda 1981, p. xii, suggests a 9th or even 10th-century date. However there is no evidence to suggest Khadalik was inhabited after the 8th or early 9th century (Stein 1921, pp. 159, 164), and the language of the colophon seems to agree with other Middle Khotanese (7th-8th century) inscriptions (P. O. Skjærvø, personal communication).

31. So Toda 1981, pp. xii-xiii, but 467 according to Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia 2008, p. 104.

32. I am grateful to Dr. Abdurishid Yakup of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for deciphering this for me.

33. However Toda 1981 lists a total of only 396 leaves.

34. Edition and translation: Emmerick 1968. See also Skjærvø 2002, pp. 78-80.

35. Fire-damaged leaves are: ff. 146-50 and ff. 267-99 at St. Petersburg and the British Library which to judge from their appearance were together in a bundle. However ff. 269-71 in Berlin and Calcutta are in perfect condition. The manuscript must have been split up at least twice: before the fire and again after it, but before it was sold off to different buyers.

36. But apparently presented to the Asiatic Museum in 1909 (Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia 2008, p. 103), which was after Petrovskii's death.

37. Francke 1921, pp. 93-94, writing on the relationship of Moldovack and Badruddin: "Es wurde uns nun klar, daß wir zwischen zwei Feuer geraten waren. Der Aksakal hatte klaren Auftrag bekommen, für die englische Regierung, zuhänden des wieder im Innern Asiens reisenden Sir Aurel Stein zu sammeln; Herr Moldowack dagegen war Sammelagent für die russische Regierung."

38. I thank my BL colleague Imre Galambos for this. He tells me that in a letter preserved in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, dated 5 May 1910, a Hungarian, Emanuel Maurice Löffler, wrote (Galambos' translation): "A few days ago a Russian officer from Central Asia arrived here from the Taklamakan region, and brought with him five documents on parchment that had been found near Khotan...We have not been able to determine the language of the writing, linguists here are of different opinion. But they are thought to be in the same language as the 3-4 fragments acquired in the same location by our eminent Dr Stein. The parchment has writing on both sides. Dr. Ross believes that it is very old, thousands of years old, and extremely rare. Of the five pieces, Dr Ross obtained two, while I held on to the remaining three, in order to give the Academy an opportunity to consider purchasing it. Said Russian officer has been asking 350 rupees per document but I think that it would be possible to get them for 275 a piece." Löffler offered to procure them for the Hungarian Academy if they were interested, promising to do his best "to keep their owner in check, lest these rare copies are bought by a foreign society."

39. I thank Giuliana Martini and Yutaka Yoshida for ferreting out this information.

40. See Skjærvø 2002, pp. 80-82.

41. Identified by Klaus Wille (personal communication).

DETAILS OF SKRINE'S PHOTOS SHOWING OBJECTS WHOSE IDENTIFICATION HAS NOT YET BEEN FIRMLY ESTABLISHED

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Objects shown in RGS photo no. S0008595



(left) Gropp 1974, Inv. no. A 16149 (now missing its head). Below it is an unidentified panel and to its right apparently BM 1925,0619.22.

(right) fragment from bottom row.



*(above) two fragments from bottom row.
(below) two fragments from upper row.*



The second fragment from right is Gropp 1974, Inv. no. A 13896; the others are unidentified but most likely are in the Bremen collection and listed by Gropp.



Objects shown in RGS photo no. S0008597



(right) probably
Gropp 1974, Inv.
no. A 13912



(below) almost
certainly
Gropp 1974, Inv.
no. A 16116



(left to right): Gropp Inv. no. A 13896; 30.32.20 (the
hand); unidentified.

SELECTED PAINTINGS FROM THE CLARMONT P. SKRINE COLLECTION

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(right) BM 1925,0619.21
(Gropp 1974, p. 160, ill. 61).

(below) BM 1925, 0619.19
(Gropp 1974, p. 164, ill. 66).

BM 1925, 0619.20 (Gropp
1974, p. 164, ill. 67).



BM 1925,0619.26 (Gropp 1974, pp. 146–49, ill.
54c).



BM 1925,0619.30 (detail) (Gropp 1974, pp. 146-49, ill. 54b). In Gropp's reconstruction, the fragment here was above the hand holding the bowl in BM 1925,619.26. See his ill. 54a.



(below, top) National Museum, New Delhi, Harding D (Gropp, pp. 131-34, ill. 50b). The photo is somewhat streaked because of reflections on the glass. This image is well known from various publications.

(below, bottom) BM 1925,0619.31 (ibid., fig. 50c). As Gropp indicates, the Skrine fragment is the right leg of the seated Dhyani Buddha (see his reconstruction, ill. 50a).



The upper half of a painted wooden panel, BM 1925,619.36.

