

There is nothing in the ruined fort of Endere, the survey of which we have now completed, directly to indicate the purpose for which it was originally placed here. But the approximate date we have ascertained for its abandonment, when compared with what Hsüan-tsang tells us of the condition of this region in the middle of the preceding century, supplies reasonably safe ground for surmises. When the pilgrim had started eastwards from Ni-jang or Niya, he entered 'a great drifting sand desert' ⁶ the terror and dangers of which for wayfarers he graphically describes, much in the same fashion as Marco Polo, more than six centuries later, described the great desert between Lop Nor and Sha-chou ⁷. After having travelled through the moving sands for four hundred li, or four marches, he arrived at 'the old country of the *Tu-huo-lo* 都貨羅'. This country had long been uninhabited. All the towns presented the appearance of an unoccupied waste ⁸.

Hsüan-tsang's 'old *Tu-huo-lo* country'.

Six hundred li further to the east he reached the old kingdom of *Chê-mo-t'o-na* 折摩駝那, where the city walls still stood high, but there were no inhabitants. This *Chê-mo-t'o-na*, for which the older name of *Chü-mo* (*Tsiu-mo*) 沮末 is correctly given in Hsüan-tsang's 'Life' ⁹, can be no other than the oasis of Charchan; the position of the latter is clearly indicated on the one hand by the distance of a thousand li from Ni-jang or Niya, which accurately coincides with the ten marches reckoned at the present day between the two places, and on the other by the bearing and distance to Na-fo-po or Lou-lan, which the pilgrim's narrative places to the north-east and at a thousand li. Na-fo-po or Lou-lan has long ago been identified as the vicinity of Lop-Nor, and a look at the map shows that the oasis of Charchan lies to the south-west of the latter and almost exactly halfway between Lop-Nor and Niya.

Hsüan-tsang's *Chê-mo-t'o-na*, or Charchan.

The relative distances which Hsüan-tsang has recorded to Ni-jang or Niya and *Chê-mo-t'o-na* or Charchan, respectively, oblige us to look for the deserted settlements of what he calls 'the old country of *Tu-huo-lo*' ¹⁰ in the tract surrounding the actual Endere site; for the latter lies within twelve miles or so of the direct route from Niya to Charchan and, as Dr. Hedin's map shows, some sixteen miles nearer to Niya than to Charchan ¹¹. Seeing that about 645 A.D. this tract was already a waste abandoned to the desert, the question arises how to account for the existence in it of the ruins excavated by me, which were undoubtedly occupied during the early part of the eighth century. Two explanations appear open. Either the tract, perhaps in consequence of the improved conditions following the establishment of Chinese authority throughout Eastern Turkestan, which as we have seen took place within a little over ten years after Hsüan-tsang's passage ¹², had again come under cultivation and received a settled population. The

Endere fort built in tract deserted at Hsüan-tsang's time.

⁶ See *Mémoires*, ii. p. 247; Beal, ii. p. 324 sq.

⁷ See Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 196 sq.

⁸ See *Mémoires*, ii. p. 247; Beal, ii. 325.

⁹ See *Vie de H.-Th.*, p. 290; Chavannes, *Voyage de Song Yun*, p. 13, note 1. The *Hsi-yü-chi* erroneously reads 沮末 Ni-mo. Comp. also *Turcs occid.*, pp. 30, 57, 306, and for the Han Annals' account of the same oasis, Wylie, 'Notes on the Western Regions,' *J. Anthropol. Inst.*, x. p. 28.

¹⁰ Hsüan-tsang's mention of this tract as 'the old country of the *Tu-huo-lo*', i.e. of the tribe of the Tochari which played so important a part in the early history of the Oxus region, and the memory of which long survived in the name of Tokhāristān, has been the subject of much learned speculation: comp., e.g., Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 206 sqq.; Franke, *Zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker*, pp. 28 sqq. A discussion of the various problems connected with the real character and origin of the Tochari (the Tukhāra of Sanskrit

texts) does not come within the scope of my task here. But I may mention that, if the conquerors of the Bactrian Greek dominion really came from this region, Dr. Marquart's argument against their having been nomads at the time would find strong support in the physical character of their alleged old home.

That the term Taklamakān, by which all desert ground within the central area of the Tārīm Basin is popularly designated, can neither on linguistic nor on historical grounds be derived from the name *Tu-huo-lo* (see Hedin, *Through Asia*, ii. pp. 784 sq.) scarcely needs to be demonstrated to critical students.

¹¹ The route followed by me between the Endere Site and Niya, and measured on my map, covers about 110 miles. Between Endere and Charchan Dr. Hedin's map (see *Reisen in Z.-A.*) shows about 110 miles as the road distance without allowance for windings.

¹² See above, pp. 59 sq.