

# *Kashgar: Lost in the Mists of Time*

*A photo essay*

by

Daniel C. Waugh

**Oh call back yesterday, bid time return.**

— Shakespeare, *Richard II*, 3.2

Every student of the Silk Roads has heard of Kashgar, one of the key nodes in the network of routes crisscrossing Afro-Eurasia. A city with an important if, surprisingly, understudied history, Kashgar has also featured in alarming news reports of recent years. The very fabric of its physical remains and the lives of its inhabitants have been rapidly and inexorably altered by government policies that have provoked moral outrage from those who deeply care about the people who have so been affected. That recent history has been amply documented, often with dramatic photographic evidence of the changes. My purpose is not to engage in the same discussion, even if my photos may be related to it. The brief essay at the end here will provide some references and also indicate my indebtedness to colleagues who have generously answered specific questions or provided a few of the images. Unless otherwise specified, the photos are my own.



As John Berger reminds us (in his response to Susan Sontag's *On Photography*, which he quotes):

...[U]nlike memory, photographs do not in themselves preserve meaning. They offer appearances—with all the credibility and gravity we normally lend to appearances—prised away from their meaning. Meaning is the result of understanding functions. ‘And functioning takes place in time, and must be explained in time. Only that which narrates can make us understand.’ Photographs in themselves do not narrate. Photographs preserve instant appearances.

Presented here with some historical contextualization but otherwise minimal captioning, my photos should be understood in those terms. They capture instants during visits to Kashgar in 1995, 1996 and 2009. No individual photo can have meaning when viewed out of context. Since my human subjects are anonymous, captured primarily in unguarded moments of their daily lives, the context perforce is external to those individuals. Images of buildings of themselves similarly are limited, unless there are comparable pictures from another era which may reveal something about historical change. I have included a few such images, mainly because of their connection with my study of the British consulate in Kashgar in the early 1920s. A full collection of historic photography in Kashgar is an important project for someone to undertake in the future.

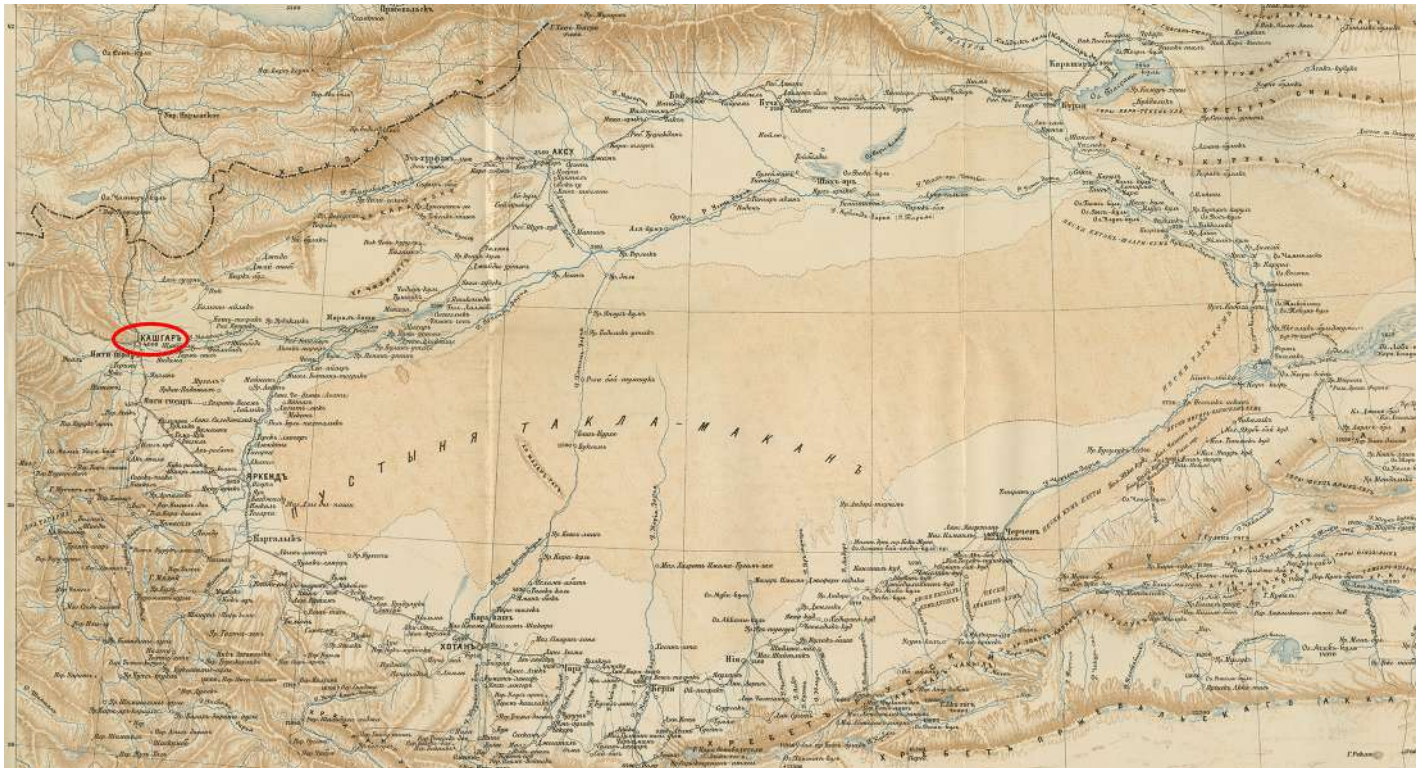
To the degree that I wish to imbue the images with meaning, it is primarily by posing the question of whether they capture something of what has already been lost in the decade since the most recent ones, and whether they might offer paths for better understanding changes in the more distant past. My question in a sense is rhetorical, as I leave it for others who command a fuller range of evidence to provide answers. If, as David Lowenthal has argued (following L. P. Hartley), “the past is a foreign country,” largely an “artifact of the present,” photographs are but one of the kinds of evidence we have, and not necessarily the one best suited to recapture that elusive past. At least in my imagination, they conjure up something of “what the past ought to have looked like,” even if what they show may be but a “replica” with limited resemblance to a past reality. As with controversial attempts to employ insights from ethnography in order to interpret archaeological remains, the photos may tell us more about ourselves or our own era than about earlier generations and their lives.

My visits to Kashgar were brief and certainly cannot be characterized as research trips. In 1995, I led a mountain bike trip that stopped there on its way from Kyrgyzstan to Pakistan via the Karakorum Highway. In 1996, mountaineering and a long, solo hike in the mountains south of Kashgar were my main reason for being there. While the trip in 2009 was part of an academic summer travel program, its extensive itineraries in Xinjiang never involved long stays in any one location. As with any such travel, but also even where one can benefit from longer stays and be better prepared in knowing the local culture, often it is only in retrospect that one may realize the significance of something that was observed and photographed or regret not having photographed something else. I like to think that I understand now much better what I saw. Would that I could return with new eyes and with a new focus.



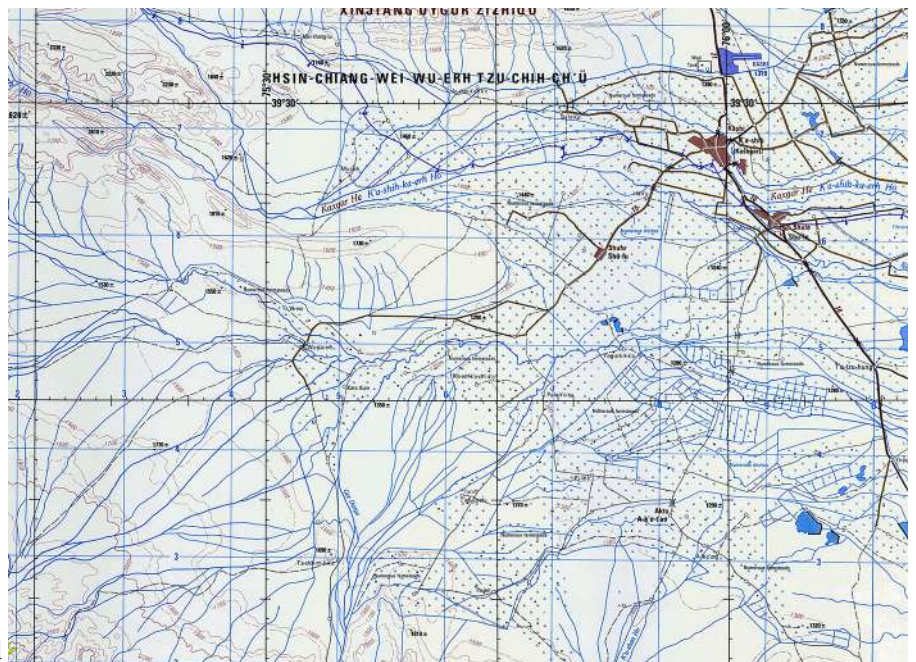
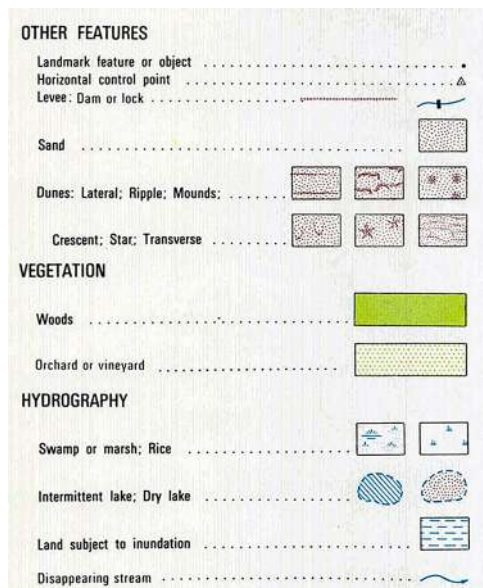


## The geographic setting



Detail from “Map of Eastern Turkestan and the Northern Border Regions of the Tibetan Plateau,” appended to *Trudy Tibet-skoi ekspeditsii 1889-1890 gg. pod nachal'stvom M. V. Pevtsova*, I (S.-Peterburg, 1895); open access, downloaded from <http://jarringcollection.se/Library/Maps/TRVo49aM/TRVo49aM.jpg>.

Kashgar's location, circled above on a Russian map of the Tarim Basin published in the 1890s, explains a great deal about its history. At the western end of the vast Taklamakan Desert, it is the clasp joining the necklace of the north and south routes of the Silk Road before they cross the mountains into Central Asia. As the map below illustrates, there is a dense network of rivers and seasonal streams which make possible the intensive agriculture of the Kashgar oasis.



Detail and caption from Defense Mapping Agency NJ-43-3, Kashi, China; downloaded from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashgar#/media/File:NJ-43-3\\_Kashi,\\_China.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashgar#/media/File:NJ-43-3_Kashi,_China.jpg).





A Google Earth image depicts vividly the extent of the green oasis, flanked on the north, west and south by high mountains.

Views below taken from a flight landing at Kashgar in 2009 illustrate the boundary between the cultivated area and the immediately surrounding arid hills and show how reclamation is gradually extending the sown area. Already

such development is taxing the available water resources, a situation that is exacerbated by global warming. Historically the fate of the oasis towns along the Silk Roads was often determined by such climate cycles.







The life-giving water of the oases comes from the melting snow and ice of the surrounding mountains. Although too infrequently seen on account of dust haze, they provide dramatic vistas: above are two segments of a panorama sweeping across the horizon from southwest to north, including the lofty and rarely climbed peaks of Chakragil (6760 m) (top) and Kongur (7719 m), shown in detail on the right from the highway into the Gez River gorge which separates the two ranges and opens access to the west and south. The image on the right provides a good sense of the topography rising from irrigated oases through foothills (where hidden valleys often provide good grazing for herds) to the icy summit.





## *Fragments of a Buddhist past*

The famous pioneer of Silk Road archeology, Aurel Stein, wrote about spending several weeks in Kashgar in 1900 early in his first major expedition into Central Asia:

During my stay I did not fail to examine closely whatever ancient remains of the pre-Muhammadan period survive at and about Kāshgar. Unfortunately such remains are out of all proportion scanty compared with the antiquity of the site and the historical importance of the territory of which Kāshgar has been the capital during successive ages.

Indeed the early written evidence about the spread of Buddhism indicates that Kashgar had been an important center: the famous translator Kumarajiva may well have been there, and Xuanzang reported a large Buddhist community. Stein did investigate somewhat cursorily several sites, the most prominent of which is that of Mori Tim, a major Buddhist complex northeast of Kashgar in what is now a dessicated landscape. Still impressive for their size are the circular stupa and an adjoining pyramidal rectangular temple that had rows of niches with Buddha statues (illustrations below). There are analogies with other early Buddhist sites, for example in the Turfan region. Apart from the two looming remains, several smaller mounds mark the location of other structures. As the studies sponsored by the Monash University Kashgar Research Project and Kashgar Normal University have demonstrated,



Stein's judgment of over a century ago, even if it is in need of corrections, is still true. Much more archaeology needs to be done, especially since some of the few sites recorded elsewhere in the Kashgar region now have been destroyed by modern construction.

During our visit to Mori Tim in 2009, we were unaware that underground *karez* water channels are located not far from the stupa. Their existence helps explain how a major Buddhist complex could have survived out in what is now an arid plain. The question of Kashgar's role in the early spread of Buddhism from South Asia is still debated, but it seems certain that the region played a major role in that early history.

When bicycling down to Kashgar from the north in 1995, we passed another of the few extant Buddhist sites in the Kashgar region, visible from below as three windows (in local parlance, Üch Merwan) inaccessible high on a cliff above the highway. In the 19th century, one of the Russian consul Petrovsky's Cossack guards lowered himself into the cave from above but found little. Stein noted their existence; Paul Pelliot's expedition in the region in 1906 entered the caves, measured and photographed them. They were also visited by the German Turfan expedition. There were vague fragments of painting and the remains of one Buddha statue.

After Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, I: ill. 30,  
facing p. 75.



The British consul in Kashgar in the early 1920s, Clarmont P. Skrine, who corresponded with Stein and hoped at least on a small scale to emulate him with finds of artifacts, planned to photograph the cave interiors but never managed to do so. His letter to his mother, written on 5 May 1923, provides a vivid description of the location:

Uch Merwan ('The Three Windows'), 5 May 1923

Our address sounds rather like a pub, but as a matter of fact it isn't. We are spending the week-end at a little place about 8 miles from Kashgar to the north-west, in the valley of a river which comes down from the Tien Shan [...] The river, which is of a rich chocolate colour not crystal-clear like the Karataş and its tributaries, flows under perpendicular cliffs of clay about 200 feet high on one side and open stony 'sai' (gravel desert) on the other. There are two or three lovely little oases of greenery, a mill buried among tall poplars, a farm with tiny fields of young corn & willow-plantations nestling under the cliff, a way-side shrine and a tiny shop in an orchard carpeted with wild irises. Our tents are under mulberry-trees on a strip of land between the shallow brown river and the great cliff. The 'Three Windows' are half a mile below us, where the cliff is lower, about 100 ft. perhaps. They are carved out of the clay half way up the perpendicular (slightly overhanging in fact) face of the cliff, side by side, and lead I believe to an ancient Buddhist temple with frescoes. Stein has not been inside this temple, but mentions it in 'Serindia' [...] Stein had no time for ancient sites that someone else had discovered before, so he passed it by [...]

### *Kashgar's Islamic past and present*

Over the long span of its history, the Kashgar region has been home to many different faiths whose practices often incorporated elements of folk belief and legend. The early Uyghurs brought Manichaeism; Marco Polo wrote of a Christian community (the Syriac Church of the East, commonly termed "Nestorian"). Islam became the dominant faith of the majority of the population, although exactly when is difficult to know, as local legends about its introduction have come down to us only from later centuries. The major impetus to the islamization of the region came probably not with the first Arab conquests in Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries (CE) but rather under the Turkic Qarakhanid dynasty in the 11th and 12th centuries. Two of the earliest and most important Islamic Turkic authors were from the Kashgar region and flourished under the Qarakhanids. Apart from the evidence in their writings, their connection with Kashgar has been commemorated in mausolea constructed in modern times.





Travel southwest some thirty kilometers from Kashgar along the Karakorum Highway, where at the town of Upal one takes a side road leading to a vast necropolis on a hillside with vistas of the distant mountains. This is where **Mahmud al-Kashghari** is venerated.

The tomb complex of Mahmud al-Kashghari (above), tucked into the grove of trees on the left in the panorama. On the right, one of the more substantial among the many tombs in the cemetery.





Skirine visited Upal at the beginning of July 1924, was hosted by the local *qadi* (religious judge), and described for his mother the shrine and necropolis:

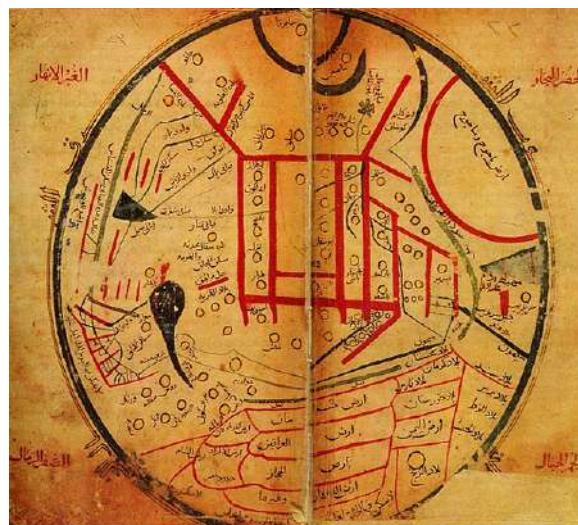
A mile and half up between the two jilgas [valleys] you come to the butt end of a rocky range of low hills & there there is an interesting and extremely picturesque old shrine, the mazar of Hazrat Maulam. The lower part of the ridge is of loess earth & is covered with ancient trees, which clothe its slope, in a way one seldom sees in this country where as a rule trees only grow where they can be reached by streams or irrigation-channels, i.e., on relatively flat ground. Little mosques and many tombs, mostly overgrown with greenery, dot the ridge and peep coyly out among the trees; behind is the bare craggy hill, and the great expanse of 'sai' or gravel desert, in front the incredibly rich and fertile champaign, well timbered & heavy with crop, cut by the winding 'jilgas' with their yellow bluffs. And on the afternoon I first saw it, a rare sight at this time (at most times in fact) of the year, the whole vast panorama of the snows spread for a hundred and fifty miles along the horizon from S.E. round to west [...]

There is a cave in the rocky hill at the foot of it a few yards from a corn-field. This cave which is about 50 yards deep used long ago to be inhabited by a dragon, which preyed upon the countryside after the manner of its kind. This went on until the Four Imams who converted Kashgaria to Islam came along. They commissioned one of their captains, Hazrat Maulam, to slay the dragon & gave him a magic belt which enabled him to do it. Unfortunately, the dragon's poison was too much for the Hazrat and he died in the moment of victory. He is buried not at the Mazar on the hill but at the meeting-place of the two jilgas, Black and Red, some miles below Opal; this was because the people of the two jilgas could not agree as to which should have his grave. I was told all this by my host at tea yesterday, a nice old beaver full of ancient lore.

So at the time, there was no idea that the site was to be connected with Mahmud al-Kashghari, even though there was an abundant local lore whose content is analogous to the popular beliefs about the history of other local shrines in western Xinjiang. The association of the site with Kashghari became widely known only in the early 1980s, his identification with "Hazrat Maulam" based on oral testimony and written documents apparently no earlier in date than the late 18th century. Of these, the most specific text, with an inscription dated 1836, is a waqf donation to "the shrine of Hazret Mawlam Sams al-Addin Chin Sahibi Qalam Mahmud al Kashghari, buried above the pure spring, on the hillside of Opal in Kashgar." Subsequent archaeological work at the site found pre-Islamic artifacts including pieces of Buddhist sculpture and Sanskrit text fragments. That the location had a long history as a sacred site in part probably is due to the spring, which in fact still can be seen just below the current mausoleum.

It appears that a number of the various items of evidence concerning the identification with Kashghari have conveniently disappeared. However, that has not discouraged the designation of the site as an important cultural relic. Why the interest? Kashghari (whose *nisbah*, al-Kashghari, identifies the location of his ancestral home) was a truly important scholar. Presumably because his home town had too little to offer, he went off to Baghdad, the intellectual capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, where he wrote his scholarly work in Arabic. He is known for a unique dictionary of Turkic dialects (the *Diwan Lughat at-Turk*), the first of its kind, that includes a great deal of information about geography, examples of popular sayings, and in one copy a map (right) that places Kashgar and Balasaghun

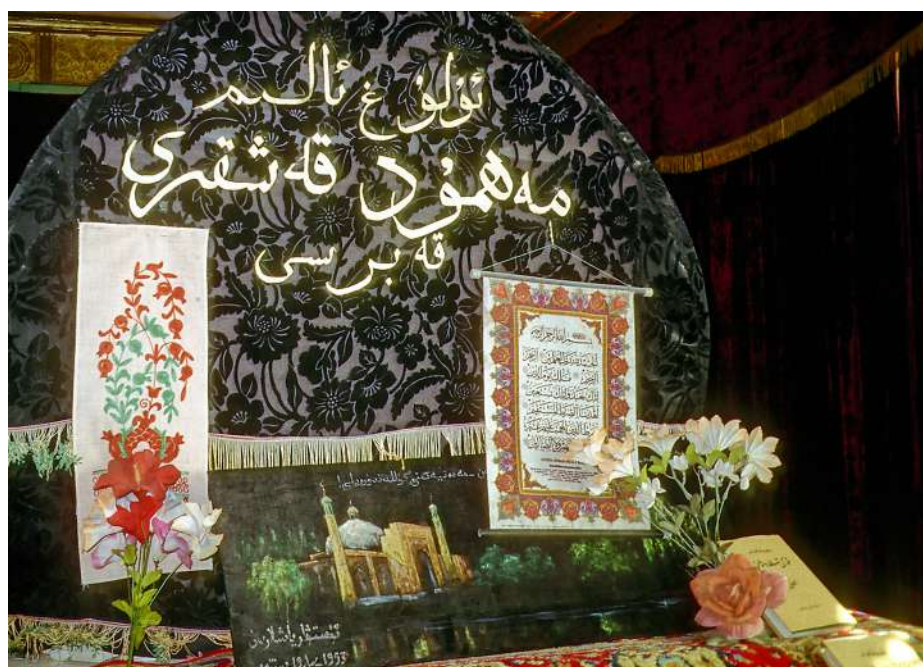
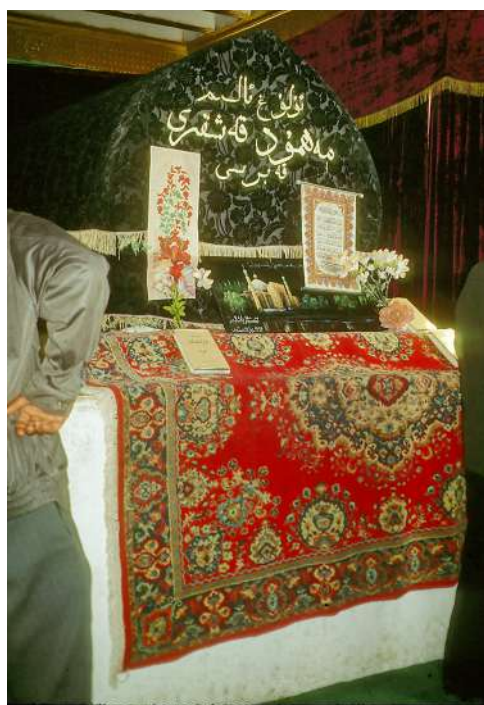
Source: Wikipediacommons





(the dual capitals of the Qarakhanid state), at the center of the world. Despite the skepticism which might reasonably be raised regarding the evidence that Kashghari is buried here at Upal, there certainly was good reason to enshrine his memory in a local history with few really deep roots that can otherwise be securely documented. If there is an “invention of tradition” here, it has its justifications.

Clearly the veneration of the tomb (irrespective of whether the local population knew the now presumed real identity of its occupant) was important to the Islamic community, as the extensive necropolis indicates. After the identification with Kashghari, the specifically Islamic associations of the site remained important. These photos taken in 1995 show the cenotaph, draped in brocade, inscribed with Kashghari’s name and honorifics and attached to which is a small banner with what presumably is a Quranic text. Copies of the modern publication of his famous dictionary are also in the display along with an image of the Khoja Afaq mausoleum in Kashgar, the burial place of the Naqshbandi sufi rulers of Kashgar in the 17th and early 18th centuries (see below).



When John Gollings photographed the site in 2005, the inscription on the shroud had been simplified, but otherwise the display was little changed. In 2009, any direct evidence of religious associations of the tomb had been removed, the inscription on the cenotaph indicating only Kashghari’s name and dates. There was a small “portrait” of him (imagined, as we have no contemporary portrait) and a display case with copies of the modern edition of his book.







Popular shrines frequently have evidence of veneration attached to a particular tree or spring. Both are located just below the current mausoleum of Kashgari and form part of the complex of sacred features associated with it. In 2005 and as recently as 2007, John Gollings and Angelo Andrea Di Castro photographed strips of cloth, hung as votive offerings on the tree, which according to current legend was planted by Kashghari. I do not recall seeing any such strips in 2009, though I have seen such at various other locations in Inner Asia, some of them with no obvious connection to established religious belief. Perhaps here at first the more important thing was not the tree but rather the spring, since water sources frequently are the focus of such veneration. Without a fuller set of observations and images, it is impossible to know whether in fact a kind of “desacralization” of the Kashghari tomb was underway as early as 2009, the year after it received official designation as an important cultural relic. One can assume that pilgrimage to the site may continue, whether or not such is being actively discouraged.

The mausoleum commemorating **Yusuf Hass Hajib** in Kashgar in many ways may have an analogous history, even if the cemetery that apparently once adjoined it is no longer in evidence. I was able to visit it only in 1995. The building itself, in its current incarnation, is a modern reconstruction, as a display

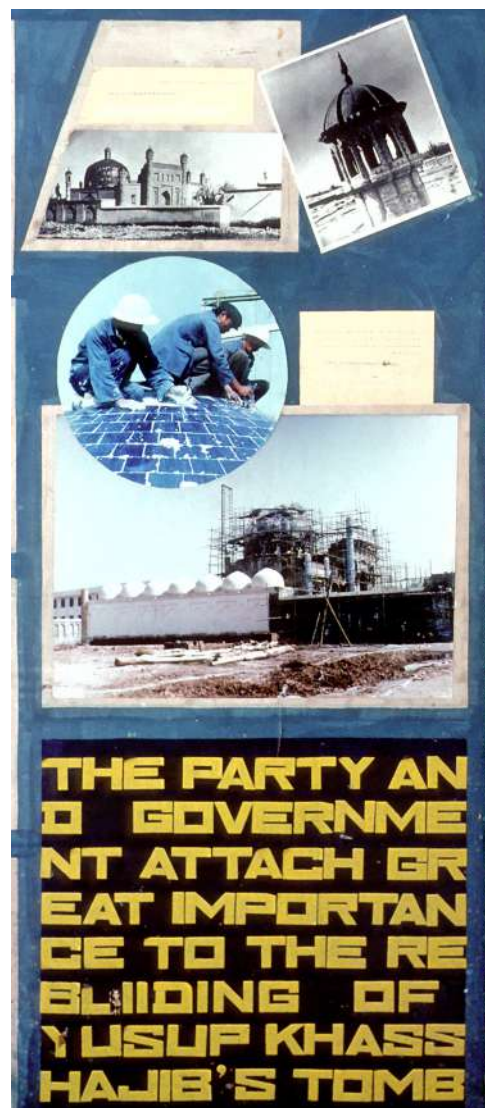




plaque suggests. The earlier mausoleum on the site had been erected in the middle of the 19th century and then was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The current structure, erected with the blessing of the local authorities, post-dates the death of Chairman Mao. Whether Yusuf Hass Hajib is actually interred there has been disputed. The cenotaph inside has an inscription on tiles that at very least names the occupant of the tomb, gives his AH dates, and includes what may be a Quranic verse. A display case contains modern printed copies of his book.



Yusuf Hass Hajib was important in the administration of the Qarakhanid ruler in the middle of the 11th century CE in the capital of Balasagun and wrote a kind of “mirror of princes” book of advice for him, the *Qutadghu bilig* (*The Wisdom that Brings Heavenly Good Fortune*) in 1069. It is considered the earliest substantial work of Islamic Turkic literature, full of maxims for an enlightened ruler. Only the introduction seems to reflect specifically Islamic ideas; there is reason to think it may have been added by a different author. Of the three manuscript copies, only the latest (dated 1439) is in the Uyghur script that was common in many parts of Eurasia; the others are in Arabic script.



Of somewhat uncertain identity is this modest structure, according to my notes the burial place a **Sayyid Ali Asa Khan** (probably an error for Sayyid Ali Arslan Khan, a 9th/10th century Qarakhanid ruler, who is more commonly associated with two other prominent tombs). The “Sayyid” is an honorific indicating he was a descendant of the Prophet, presumably via the lineage of his daughter Fatimah and son-in-law Ali. The photo was taken in 1995.



**The Khoja Afaq Mausoleum.**  
Top right and below, view in 2009; middle right, 1995.



Apart from the Id Kah mosque (about which, see below), the best known of the historic Islamic monuments of Kashgar is the Khoja Afaq Mausoleum, originally built in the 17th century but restored at various times since. Its dome collapsed in an earthquake in the 1980s; while the perspective in the photos above may be deceptive, clearly there was further work on the dome between 1995 and 2009, along with some removal and/or restoration of tiles. While the mausoleum has long been a major tourist attraction, the interest enhanced by its popular epithet, “The Tomb of the Fragrant Concubine,” it is significant as the resting place of one lineage of the Naqshbandi Sufi order which for a time in the 17th and early 18th centuries exercised political leadership in Kashgar. Several generations of the family, beginning with the father of Khoja Afaq, are buried here. As is the case with such important mausolea, a sizeable cemetery adjoins the tomb, and the site has been a center of worship. As the next photos illustrate, the tomb complex includes other significant structures.







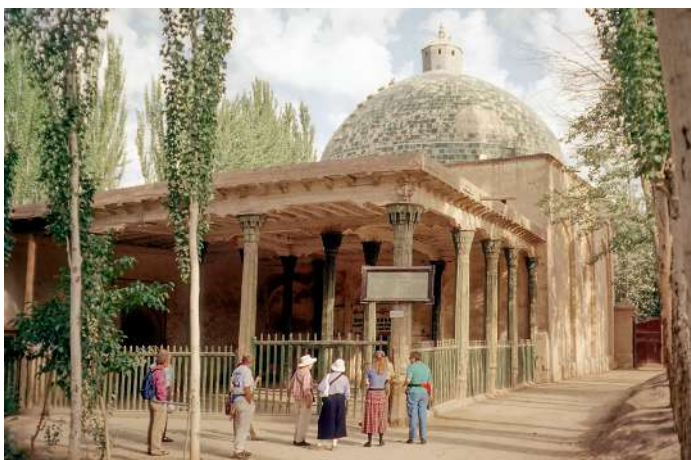
The tiled entrance portal to the complex notes its construction in 1811, with Persian verses possibly celebrating the princess who funded it. To the left is a mosque whose “summer” columned hall includes on the beams painted panoramas. It likely dates to the 1870s when Yaqub Beg, at the time the independent ruler of Kashgar, expanded the complex.







According to the explanatory plaque in place in 2009, the older of the two mosques (below) dates back to the time of Khoja Afaq, though more likely what one sees now is a later construction. Of interest and possibly accurate is what this same inscription relates about beliefs of those who might have worshipped in this hall. As the photos indicate, between 1995 and 2009, the building has deteriorated, the portico propped up and access closed.







Inside the mausoleum is an array of cenotaphs for the deceased, with identity cards (the more recent, above, elaborately printed) and, for some, tile inscriptions. The catafalque (middle right) is allegedly that in which the body of the “Fragrant Concubine” was transported back from Beijing, although it most likely was used to transport that of a male member of the family. As James Millward has documented, the idea that a captured Uyghur princess (Xiang Fei) was taken off to be the Qianlong Emperor’s concubine, rejected his advances, was murdered and her body brought back is a myth that conflates her with a real imperial concubine. Its tellings and re-tellings have served political and nationalistic purposes. The Fragrant Concubine is not here. The idea of her special fragrance is part of the myth perpetuated at the site for the edification of visitors (see next page).





So the Khoja Afaq complex today has undergone “museumification” as a tourist attraction, even if some visitors of the older generation with their grandchildren may harbor memories of it as a religious site. When Gunnar Jarring was in Kashgar in 1930, he photographed a pile of Marco Polo sheep (*Ovis ammon polii*) horns on an “altar” near the entrance, a phenomenon not atypical for Central Asian shrines where animal skulls or horns often decorate the buildings and attest to some kind of religious syncretism. In the 1990s, this evidence of veneration long gone, tourist stalls were hawking “portraits” of the Fragrant Concubine, copies of a painting attributed to Giuseppe Castiglione showing her as a kind of Europeanized Joan of Arc. The inner compound around the mausoleum now offers opportunities to don elaborate dress and/or pose with a suitably attired camel. In the age of selfies, the attraction is obvious.



Three photos courtesy of Charlotte Green







After: C. P. Skrine, *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), facing p. 80.



In many traditional societies, the focal point of communal life is the central religious complex, for Kashgar historically the **Id Kah mosque**. One can but imagine this central square of the Old City in earlier times, when, as documented in the photograph taken by C. P. Skrine, a thriving market filled what is now an empty expanse of pavement, with the old market stalls replaced by modern eateries and emporia. As with the Khoja Afaq complex, the tourist is offered opportunities to sit on or be photographed next to a Bactrian camel. For the local Muslims, the mosque now apparently is one of the few locations where worship is permitted in the city, open to them only at designated times.





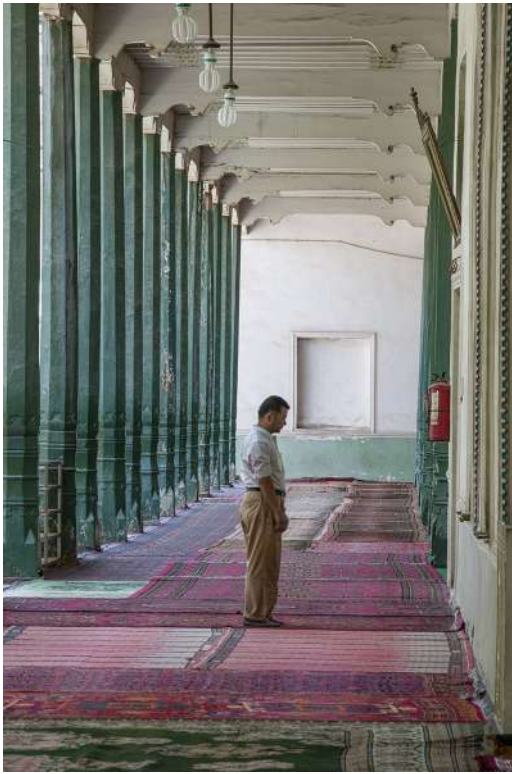


The view of the mosque from the square seems relatively modest (if one's standard for comparison is some of the grandiose mosques of Iran or Turkey), but the compound inside is spacious and inviting. There is little evidence here of the early history of the site, the mosque having been built in 862 AH/1442 CE but having undergone major rebuilding and renovation especially in the last half century. When we were there in 2009, mid-day prayers were underway in a canopied space in the courtyard. From there one proceeds to the main prayer hall through a gate flanked above the donation boxes by a Quranic admonition emphasizing the virtue of charity (Arabic on the right, Uyghur on the left).



Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah 2:274: "Those who spend their wealth by night and by day, secretly and publicly, will find that their reward is secure with their Lord and that there is no reason for them to entertain any fear or grief."





The somewhat austere interiors can accommodate thousands of worshippers but here on an ordinary weekday were nearly empty. Unlike in other Muslim countries, the *mihrab* (the niche indicating the direction of prayer toward Mecca) lacks elaborate inlay or tiled decoration. In it are a hanging depicting the *Kaaba* at Mecca, the clocks necessary to determine the hour of worship, and an elaborate *minbar* (pulpit).



Hanging in the main prayer hall is an imposing Persian carpet, which was presented to the mosque by an Iranian delegation.





In the 1990s and 2009, public manifestations of Islamic cultural norms were still much in evidence, though now, a decade later, there is ample proof that they have been banned. In the bazaar there were stalls selling prayer beads and Qur'ans in 1996; occasionally one might witness shopkeepers at mid-day prayer even in the now sterile halls of the covered market (2009). In traditional Islamic cities, neighborhoods each had their local mosques, which in Kashgar were still in evidence (most of them apparently of new construction or recently renovated). Now, we are told, most have been shuttered, converted to other uses or destroyed, and a great many of the ubiquitous shrines to locally venerated figures have been obliterated. Conservative traditions in dress, especially for women, were in evidence a decade ago, although obviously there was a wide range of what individuals and families deemed acceptable. Many women covered much of their faces with scarves or even the entire head and shoulders with what is termed a *tor romal*, a head scarf, here of knitted fabric. The term for this fashion is "wearing brown" (*chümbel artish*). As the pictures suggest, it is not incompatible with wearing otherwise more "modern" fashions.







1996



2009







In the open-air Friday market, 1995



Photo courtesy of Charlotte Green

2009





*In the Old City*  
2009







Some are shy; for others, there is no  
“unguarded moment”.







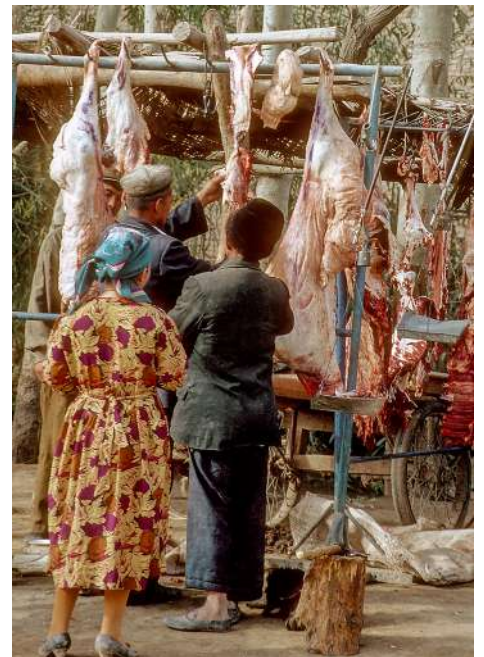
**Kashgar ... has villages and towns in plenty. The biggest city, and the most splendid, is Kashgar. The inhabitants live by trade and industry... This country is the starting-point from which many merchants set out to market their wares all over the world...**

— Marco Polo, *The Travels* (Latham translation), 80

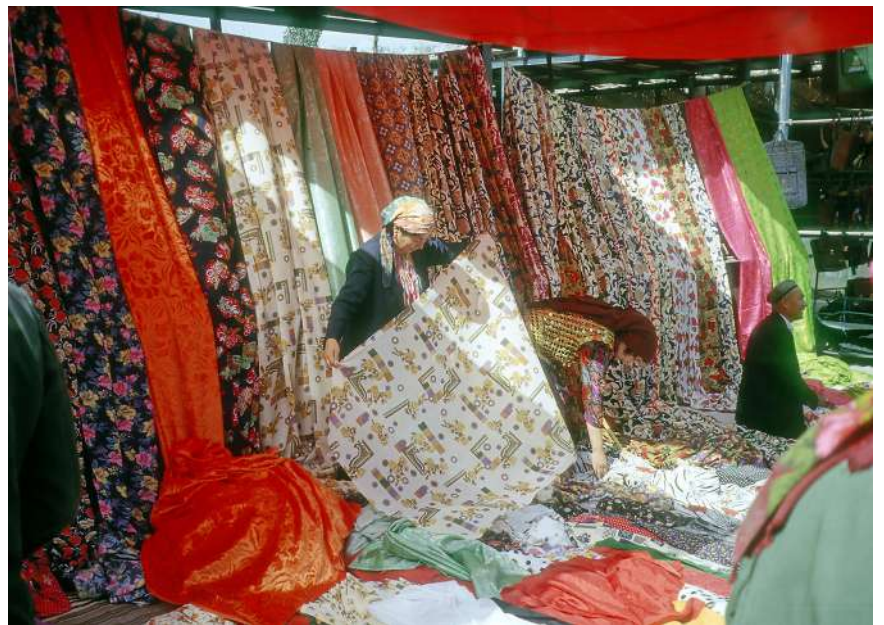
Re-visit now the famous open-air Friday market as it was in 1995 and 1996 before much of the activity was moved into the sterile environment of regular stalls under a roof (2009). Throngs arrive from the surrounding villages, walking, bringing their produce on donkey carts, in some cases leading one or two sheep to sell. Not so many years earlier, one might have witnessed merchants arriving on camels. Wares are arrayed on the ground or in temporary stalls, a knife sharpener pedals to spin his grinding wheel, some goods are weighed on traditional balance beam scales, barbers ply their trade, hand-pulled noodles are offered with condiments for traditional *laghman*... Walk through the streets of the Old City and see the craftsmen at work, the fast food stalls, the marketing of what was produced to a considerable degree for local consumption, though some increasingly just for the tourist trade. Sense the encroachments of the modern world, in which the traditional economies of Silk Road cities have succumbed to economic realities, technological change and government policies. It is tempting to romanticize what we have lost... Even a quarter century ago, there had been significant change.







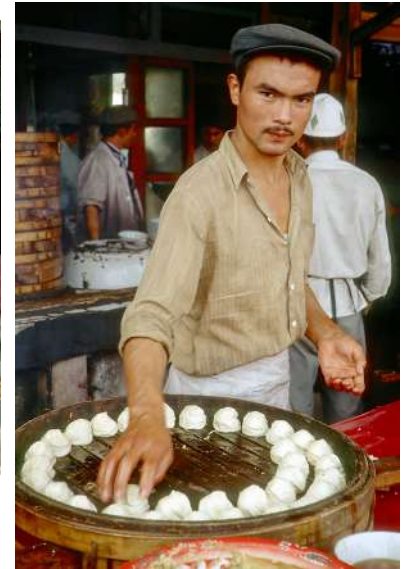




















2009: In the era of Coca-Cola signs on umbrellas (in Chinese), though next to a tea merchant, and mobile phones.







Can he play the musical instruments he sells but presumably does not make? Artificial flowers. Kashgarcarpet.com no longer responds to an Internet search. But *in situ* in 2009 one could even buy a wall hanging featuring the mythical portrait of Chinggis Khan. Weavings for every taste and pocketbook.





One of the fascinations of international travel is to visit societies where craftsmen still have the skills to make things by hand and where the streets of even large cities often are lined with small businesses producing and/or selling a specific set of goods. The traditions of neighborhoods, where the inhabitants regularly interacted with others living close to them and did much of their shopping in local stores had not yet vanished. However, the box stores, the supermarkets, and the online giants inevitably will change all this. The throwaway society was not yet there in Kashgar; so people turned to specialists for repair of that which was valued. Even with the significant changes in Kashgar evident in 2009, and the imminent threat of even more rapid erosion of traditional ways, there was a huge amount of interest still to be seen in the perhaps already not so old “Old City”. And some of this production was on a not insignificant scale. There was at least some evidence that the skills were being passed on to the younger generation, even though, as recent news articles indicate, it is increasingly hard to find apprentices willing to learn how to do the hard work.



Techniques seem to have changed little in a decade and a half: soften the wood, then heat it so it will bend into the circular shape of the steamer tray (the photo below taken in 1995, the others in 2009). Steamed buns, *manta*, are one of the local diet staples.







Above left and right: 1995



2009







Photo courtesy of Charlotte Green



The region was once renowned for its cutlery (picture upper right, 1995), though recently restrictions have been imposed on sales. In middle right, the craftsman is fixing inlay in the handle of a knife. Where sharpening in the market in 1995 had been done on a human-powered wheel, here electric motors are the norm.





Photo below 1996; the rest, 2009







Photo courtesy of Charlotte Green



A dental clinic















In 2009, blocks of glacial ice arrived in the back of a pickup, not on a donkey cart.





## *The Old City: gone forever?*



While it is clear that Kashgar's transformation long antedates our visit there in 2009, we witnessed the beginnings of the acceleration of the process. Already a year or two later, comparative images, in part based on satellite photos, showed that large areas of the Old City had been razed for new development, with only two relatively small districts designated for preservation. Whether those in fact have been "preserved" is now doubtful. The photos here are but a limited snapshot from a brief moment in an ongoing process.

The two photos below courtesy of Charlotte Green



One of the quarters designated for preservation (Kozichi Yarbeshi) is shown in the panorama below. It adjoins a new quarter, whose construction can be seen to the left in the above photo. Recent aerial news photos indicate that the little park with the ferris wheel is but a small element in the "renewal" project, with a much larger park and lake nearby. Clearly some of what was underway here in 2009 could have been justified by concern over public health, since the excavation happening above was around a stagnant water body that was little other than an open sewer.





A recent visitor to this same quarter reported that it had been closed to tourist access, and, disturbingly, the homes seem to have been emptied and closed. This was not what I saw in 2009 when in all innocence I climbed the same stairs children were using and wandered through the narrow passages and occasional open squares. Granted, few people were around, but then it was the middle of the work day. At one point a guide with a small tourist group yelled at me for being there “illegally”, suggesting that tourist access was already being restricted. And indeed it seemed that there was one main, well-paved route through the center, with occasional signs in English, and a shop or two tucked away in what had probably once been private quarters. The official tags affixed above the doorways included one identifying the residence as a “safe house/family” and another with the designation “civilized/cultured household”, possibly indications that these were homes which could receive tourists. By chance, a girl (interested in selling me some beads) invited me into her very modest home. In no way did it resemble the “delicately painted three-story house with a good-sized yard” in which is a 60-year-old fig tree, the “homestay” for “visitors wanting to experience the real Kashgar” touted in a recent article in *China Daily*. There is no reason to think what I photographed in that one home was typical, as other residents clearly had open vistas, possibly inner courtyards, and the like (see below). But it was “real Kashgar”.







\*\*\*



A family's home: the "kitchen"/"living room", the bedroom; the only daylight coming from the opening to the roof, accessible by a ladder. Some apricots were laid out there for drying. Socialization with neighbors commonly might occur on the rooftops, which are interconnected.







The “tourist shop” enjoyed some greenery and running water. While door tags included one indicating homes that had water, clearly some families seem to have relied on a public faucet. This quarter of the Old City did have the occasional small shop which obviously served the residents (and in the given instance was manned by two boys to the accompaniment of wonderfully melodic bird song).







On my first visit to this same quarter in 1995, we could look along the façade (apparently right to left in the previous photo). We were in the residence of a potter with expansive views to what then was still a lot of greenery and whose home was his workshop with a wheel and the thrown pots drying in the sun.



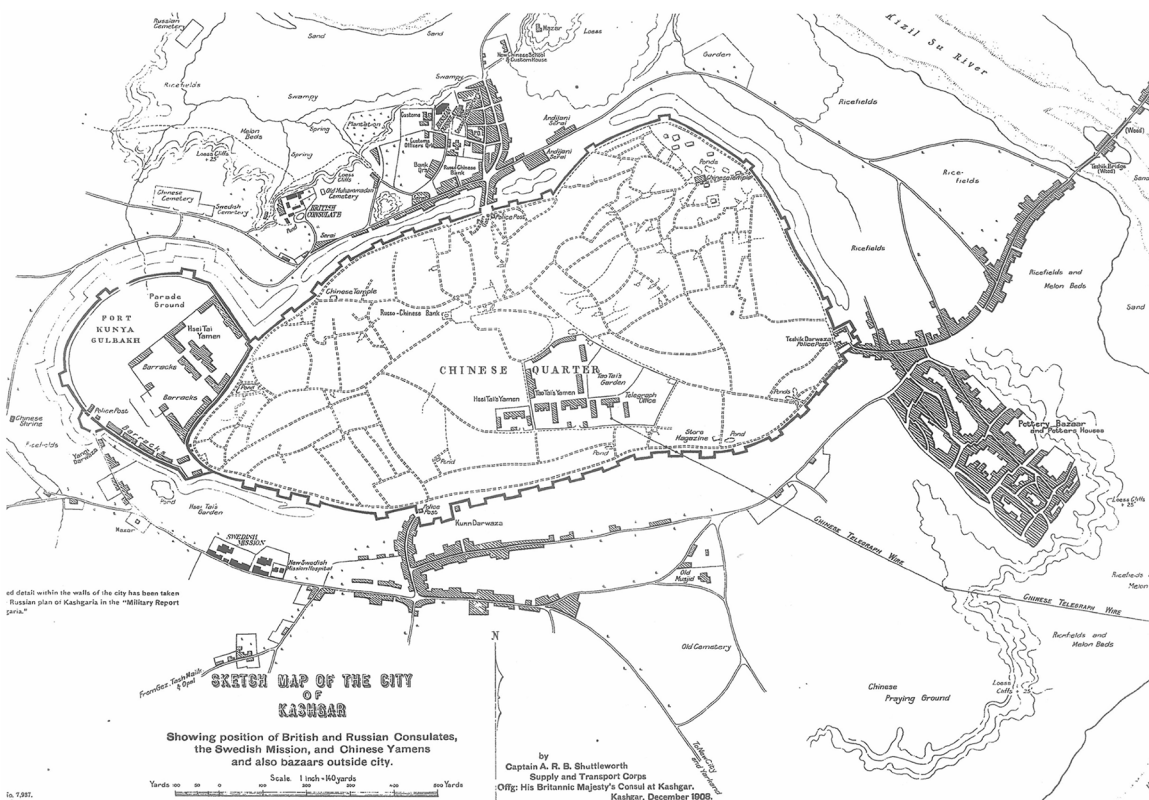




Photos above and above left courtesy of Charlotte Green



It is impossible today to get a real sense of the “medieval” Kashgar that even well into the 20th century was a walled city. The map below, drawn in 1908 by a British officer, shows it encircled with the fortifications. While one section of wall has been “re-



stored” (re-built from scratch?) for touristic purposes, there is no obvious evidence of the remains in the top photos taken in 2009. As elsewhere in the world, walls and moats have yielded to the modern demand for roads to handle auto traffic, rather than the traditional kinds of transport such as horse and donkey taxis, photoed in 1995.



As one would walk in 2009 from the new market emporium into the Old City, heading toward the main square with the Id Kah mosque, much of what we have seen in the Kozichi Yarbeshi quarter would be familiar, although there was a more varied landscape of residential and commercial areas, including already new construction emulating someone's idea of "traditional" architecture. One could still see how people interacted with close neighbors in narrow and winding streets and passages. However, there also was a prominent billboard extolling visually the new housing that was being planned and to which displaced residents were going to have to re-locate. What was shown on it has the misleading title "Construction plans for the renovation of dilapidated houses in Kashgar's old district." Nothing it depicts suggests just "renovation". Well over 80% of the Old City no longer exists, and what is left, we are told, continues to shrink or has been embalmed in a kind of Disneyfied tourist trap.









## *Old exteriors, new content and sad remains*

I have a particular interest in a part of Kashgar's history that understandably is not one either the local population or the political authorities have cared to commemorate and preserve. Kashgar was one of the outposts in the so-called Great Game, where Russians and Brits attempted to exert influence through their consular officials. The Russians entrenched themselves first by the 1890s, and the British followed. After many years there, George Macartney finally was appointed British Consul-General in 1908. The shells of both consular buildings survive, but how they have been treated exemplifies the way in which commercial interests have co-opted history to their own purposes.

When I came to Kashgar in 1996, it was but a temporary stop on the way to the mountains, though at one point in our expedition, we returned there for R & R. We stayed in the Seman Hotel, where on our arrival, the exotic Orient of dancing women and young men greeted us. For the most part, we ate our meals at an excellent, but inexpensive cafe across the street, run by a "Mr. Daniel". On my visit to Kashgar in 2009, our group had a meal in the old building of the Russian consulate at the Seman Hotel, the interior of the Russian-style building gutted and re-made to serve the purposes of modern tourism. A clumsy modern camel statue evoking the Silk Road greets visitors as they enter the hotel grounds.



Even as late as 2009, as the next photos show, the interior of the consulate preserved an earlier re-decoration in a kind of orientalist style and apparently was occasionally used for banquets. The garden in back was overgrown. More recent photos (not shown here) indicate some kind of gaudy portico has been added to the façade.







In 2016, as the photos below and right (courtesy of Hermann Kreutzmann) illustrate, the interior apparently has been gutted, in the process damaging the painting of “Theseus Taming the Bull of Marathon”, which the Russians had commissioned (an undistinguished copy of an original by a famous 18th-century French painter, Charles-André van Loo). Compare the original now in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2000.179.15 (lower right).



Photo from <https://collections.lacma.org/node/201903>



A photo of George Macartney taken in 1890. He is on the left in front, next to the Amban of Keriya, who is flanked by Francis Younghusband, here acting as Macartney's translator and later infamous for the bloody invasion of Tibet. Private collection.



Search for the **Chini Bagh** (Chinese Garden) today, and you will come to a modern hotel, seen here from the street. The name has been shamelessly borrowed from the name that the British adopted for their consulate grounds, a rather choice location on a bluff with a view looking down on gardens extending to the river. The “original” Chini Bagh had been built under the first

British consul in Kashgar, George Macartney. Over time, renovations were made in the interior, which now, like the Russian consulate building, has been gutted and re-decorated with ersatz orientalism to serve as a Chinese restaurant. At least in 2009, the terrace was being used as a rubbish heap, and what used to be the gardens below has been replaced by a hodgepodge of nondescript buildings.

Here is how C. P. Skrine described the Chini Bagh in a letter to his mother dated 2 August 1922, soon after he had arrived in Kashgar:

The ‘Chini Bagh’ is a large house of the North Indian Commissioner’s Bungalow type standing on a bluff overlooking paddy fields and the river beyond. There are two courtyards with trees and lotus-ponds, one behind the other, & the front door opens on to the inner one; but the real front of the house is on the other or N.W. side, looking towards the river. Here there are fine terraces onto which the French windows of the big drawing room open, & a veranda belonging to the very roomy & comfortable suite of rooms (2 bedrooms, 2 dressing rooms, bathroom with big English bath h[ot] & c[old], and study) occupied by D[oris] [his wife—DW] and myself. There is a big hall, also a smaller hall with a side-door on to the garden used by the occupant of the flat on the upper floor (obviously intended for a Vice-Consul), a fine big drawing room & a still bigger dining room; a library room & a boudoir off the drawing room which D. monopolizes & calls her ‘office.’ The kitchen is larger & conveniently placed close to & on the same level as the dining room; it boasts a real English range. There are excellent ice-cold cellars too. The flat on the top floor contains 3 nice airy rooms & must be a pleasant habitation; the rest of the roof is flat à l’Indienne.

He would later complain bitterly about the fact that Macartney had installed Russian-style stoves for winter heating (the winter climate in Kashgar is severe). In Skrine’s view, the stoves were “cheerless compared with a bright roaring English fire”; so eventually he had open fire-places installed.



The Chini Bagh had an open forecourt, gated at front. Now all that space, but for a bit of lawn and greenery, is taken up by the modern hotel, through which one walks to reach the old consulate building.





When these four images were taken in 1996, apparently at least one room in the building (the former library) was still used for hotel guests, even if some other part was already a Chinese restaurant. What may be the original woodwork was still intact, but radiators had been added for heat. The building had not yet undergone its transformation into a gaudy restaurant (see next page) announced over the entrance with a much larger sign in 2009. One wonders about the fate of the very good library of exploration and travel books, which apparently remained behind when Eric Shipton, the last British Consul-General, left in 1947.







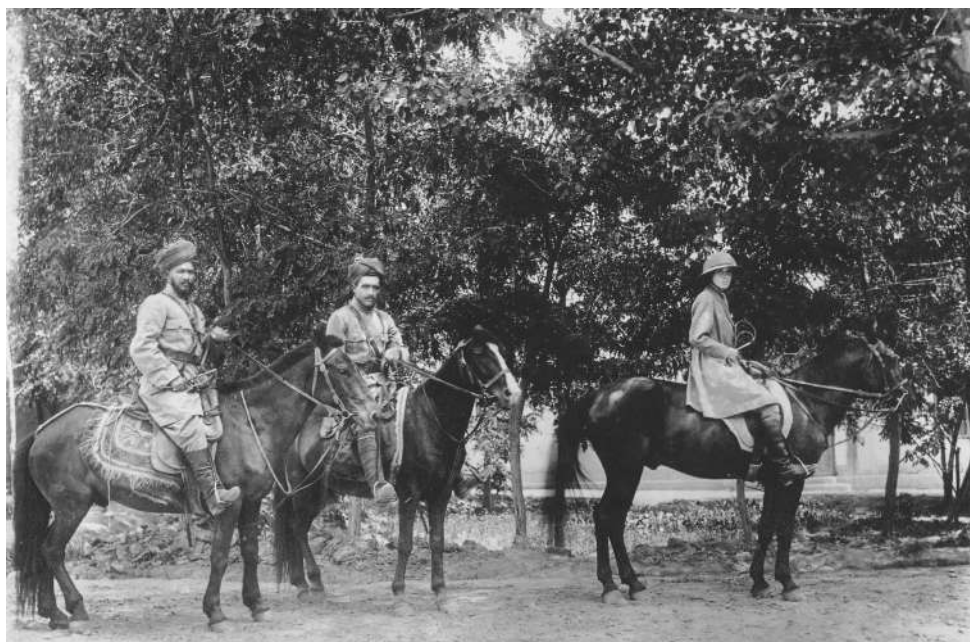
The view through a screened window out onto the terrace in 2009 contrasts with C. P. Skrine's photos of the same terrace and the rose garden below when he was hosting 214 guests to celebrate the birthday of King George V on May 30, 1923. The Muslim delegation from the city, both British subjects and Uyghurs, was about to observe their prayers. Private collection.





When Skrine arrived in Kashgar in 1922, he was appalled at what he deemed the bad taste in furnishings by his immediate predecessor, Percy T. Etherton. One can but imagine what Skrine, never one to mince words, would have thought of the current interiors and the desecration of the terrace and gardens. All that is now left of the original compound is the shell of his “bungalow” and, oddly, an elm tree that in 1998 was 108 years old. The tree has merited the kind of special protection never accorded to the historic building, perhaps because of its usefulness to shade those who might sit at one of the outdoor tables of the “Former British Consulate Cafe”.

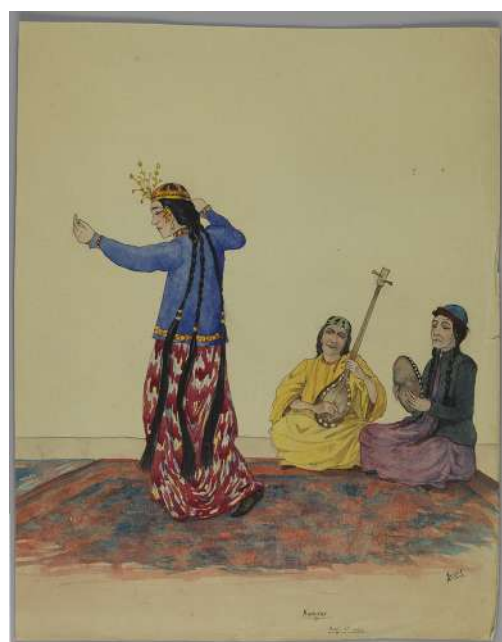
A full history of the British consulate in Kashgar remains to be written. George Macartney never produced a book on his service there. His wife’s published memoir is thin gruel, perhaps because she had to focus her energies on raising their three children. The Skrines had no children; so Doris Skrine, while fulfilling her expected role as hostess and house manager at the consulate, traveled widely with her husband, many of the trips on horseback. The photo below shows her ready to venture out accompanied



by two of the consular guards. Skrine bought her a “riding camel”, a huge shaggy bactrian. Another of his photos shows her on her “Suleyman”, as he was dubbed, in the courtyard of the consulate. She collected quite a menagerie of animals (especially birds) in the lower garden of the consulate and was devastated when wild dogs from the city broke in one night and killed most of them. Unfortunately, her letters home were not saved



by her family; unlike her husband, who would publish a book about Kashgaria, she had no interest in recording her experiences. Somewhat to the discomfort of her husband (for whom informal engagement with the local population had distinct limits), she developed close friendships with the women from the local community who worked at the consulate. Doris Skrine learned enough Uyghur to be able to talk with them and thus has to have learned a fair amount about their lives and customs. When Clarmont Skrine wrote his book, he was able to incorporate at least some of what she told him and wrote in letters that are no longer extant. She had some ability as an artist, and left behind a fair number of ink drawings (usually character portraits) and some watercolors, two of which are reproduced here.



© British Library Board, IOLR EurF 154/54 (021 and 025). On the reverse of the picture on the left, Doris Skrine wrote: "Festival of the Ide (after Ramasan)." The picture on the right, dated Kashgar, 6 August 1922, probably was drawn at the same time. The festival was Eid al-Adha, the Feast of the Sacrifice, which was celebrated on 4 August 1922. The month of fasting, Ramadan, had been in May.

The Skrines both seem to have enjoyed their two years in Kashgar. While the florid prose (which is somewhat typical for C. P. Skrine) may have been intended in part to reassure his mother right after they had arrived at the Chini Bagh, his enthusiasm was not forced:

Kashgaria is a favored land, a regular Arcadia of prosperous, contented peaceable folk and well-watered green fertile lands, of trees and gardens and a hundred different crops, of big fat sheep and goats, in fact, a land flowing with milk and honey — and its atmosphere seems to favor the growth of friendliness & good feeling...

Words that could easily find a place in a travel brochure or the *China Daily* today!

At their departure for the long journey back to India in 1924, the Skrines were seen off on the way out of town by several different delegations of those with whom they had interacted. Doris's female friends, veiled, took her aside for their goodbyes. In a fragment of one of her letters, Doris wrote:

I choked down a little tea, but cut the party pretty short, for they were all weeping and my own face was stiff with the effort not to do so. They dropped their veils over their faces and came with me as far as the road, and I would I'd had the mental support of a veil too!

I said goodbye & rode off, but slowed down before reaching a corner and looked round. I shall never forget the picture they made, standing together under the trees, with the afternoon sun slanting through the branches on to the blue and red and purple of their dresses. Then I turned the corner, and they were hidden from sight.



When he quoted Doris's letter in his book, Skrine deleted her "and I would I'd had the mental support of a veil too!" It was a bit much for him to imagine that a British official's wife could even entertain the thought of so covering her face in a place where veiling in public was common for the women. Some of their descendants may wish they still had the option.

The Skrines never saw Kashgar again. The Kashgar we might wish to see is now lost in the mists of time. The experience of wandering through the crowded Friday bazaar on the edge of town a quarter century ago may have veiled my vision with the illusion that one could extrapolate from it into the past, and project from it into the future. The past, however, is a foreign country. And a chance encounter recorded in this photo from 1996, which I might title "The Company Portrait", clearly signaled what the future might hold.





## Acknowledgements and Sources

Several colleagues have provided me with images and/or responded to queries: Charlotte Green, Justin Jacobs, Jere Bacharach, Bernard O’Kane, Hermann Kreutzmann, Marianne Kamp, Mustafa Aksu, James Millward, Angelo Andrea Di Castro, Marika Vicziany and Rian Thum. Eric Enno Tamm sent me his scan of the 1908 map by Shuttleworth; see Tamm’s interesting overlay of that map’s data on a satellite image of Kashgar: “Kashgar: Then and Now Map” (on-line at “The Horse That Leaps Through Clouds” [[http://horsethatleaps.com/kashgarmap\\_oldnew/](http://horsethatleaps.com/kashgarmap_oldnew/)]). I am grateful for their help, but they bear no responsibility for any opinions or errors in my essay.

The quotations from the unpublished letters and the two images of Doris Skrine’s watercolors have been published with the kind permission of the British Library Board and C.P. Skrine’s heirs, Helen Holland and Robin Moore, who hold the copyright to his materials on permanent deposit in the British Library’s Oriental and India Office collections, EurF 154. I am near completion of a book-length selection of Skrine’s writings and photos from Kashgar. Skrine’s own book on Kashgaria is *Chinese Central Asia* (London: Methuen, 1926, and several reprint editions). For Macartney’s career in Kashgar, see Skrine and Pamela Nightingale, *Macartney at Kashgar: New Light on British, Chinese and Russian Activities in Sinkiang, 1890-1918* (London: Methuen, 1973), which was largely researched and written by Nightingale.

Since the current essay is focused mainly on the photos, I have not attempted to do an in-depth survey of the academic literature and very extensive news reporting about Kashgar. However, here are some suggestions, based on what I have found useful. One of the best introductions to the history of Turkic peoples in Central Asia is Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford Univ. Pr., 2011). A good overview of Xinjiang’s past is James A. Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (London: Hurst, 2007). For the origin and uses of the legends about the “Fragrant Concubine”, see his “A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong’s Court: The meaning of the Fragrant Concubine,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53/2 (1994): 427-458. On traditional music and its politicization, see his “Uyghur Art Music and the Ambiguities of Chinese Silk Roadism in Xinjiang,” *The Silk Road* 3/1 (2005): 9-15 (illustrated with three of my photos).

M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907; also reprint editions and available on-line), has a detailed discussion of what he knew from textual sources and learned on visiting key sites. See esp. Chs. 3 and 4. For essential updates and specifically for Kashgar, reviewing what is known and what still needs to be learned, see Marika Vicziany and Angelo Andrea Di Castro, “The Kashgar Oasis: Reassessing the Historical Record,” in Alison V. G. Betts et al., eds., *The Cultures of Ancient Xinjiang, Western China: Crossroads of the Silk Roads* (Archaeopress Archaeology, 2019): 113-142; Vicziany, Di Castro and Xuan Zhu, “The Kashgar Oasis in Buddhist and Pre Buddhist Times: the Archaeological and Environmental Record,” in *ibid.*: 143-170. Di Castro has several other valuable publications based on the work carried out by the Monash University Kashgar Project; see, e.g., his “The Mori Tim Complex in the Kashgar Oasis,” *East and West* 58 (2008): 257-283; “Graves, trees and powerful spirits as archaeological indicators of sacred spaces,” in *Old Myths and New Approaches: Interpreting Ancient Religious Sites in Southeast Asia*, ed. by Alexandra Haendel (Monash Univ. Publishing, 2012): 237-251 and plates 14.1, 14.2. Paul Pelliot’s description of the “Three Windows” site is “Notes sur l’Asie Centrale,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 6/3-4 (1906): 255-269 (specifically, 255-261). On the discovery of Mahmud Kashgari’s tomb, see Kahar Barat, “Discovery of History: The Burial Site of Kashgarli Mahmud,” in *Central Asia Reader: The Rediscovery of History*, ed. by H. B. Paksoy (Armonk NY and London: Sharpe, 1994): 77-81. For an introduction to Qarakhanid literature by an authority and the translator of both Kashghari and Yusuf Hass Hajib, see Robert Dankoff, “Qarakhanid Literature and the Beginnings of Turco-Islamic Culture,” in *Central Asian Monuments*, ed. by Hasan B. Paksoy (Istanbul: Isis, 1992): 73-80. Gunnar Jarring’s memoir is *Return to Kashgar: Central Asian Memoirs in the Present*, tr. by Eva Claeson (Duke Univ. Pr., 1986), where he writes about the Khoja Afaq mausoleum on pp. 185-195. For Uyghur food, which figures in a good many of my photos, see “Uyghur Cuisine” (Wikipedia) and the very interesting new book by Paul D. Buell et al., *Crossroads of Cuisine: The Eurasian Heartland, the Silk Roads and Food* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020).

On Islamic shrines and worship, see Rahilä Dawut, “Shrine Pilgrimage among the Uighurs,” *The Silk Road* 6/2 (2009): 56-67; and Rachel Harris and Rahilä Dawut, “Mazar festivals of the Uyghurs: music, Islam and the Chinese State,” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 11/1 (2002): 101-118, of particular interest for its discussion of the importance of music. The current authoritative monograph in English on the Islamic religious geography in Xinjiang is Rian Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History* (Harvard Univ. Pr., 2014). His article, “The Spatial Cleansing of Xinjiang: Mazar Desecration in Context,” *Made in China Journal* 5/2 (2020): 48-61 (on-line at <https://madeinchinajournal.com/2020/08/24/the-spatial-cleansing-of-xinjiang-mazar-desecration-in-context/>), provides a well-documented analysis of recent developments with interesting observations about the importance of built environment for Uyghur culture and identity. In the article are a couple of recent photos that illustrate vividly how the “Old City” has been re-configured as a tourist attraction, with ticketed access.



On the recent and current situation in Kashgar, of considerable interest is the discussion of the social and cultural impact of the enforced changes in urban living space by Sawut Pawan and Abiguli Niyazi, "From *Mahalla* to *Xiaoqu*: Transformations of the Urban Living Space in Kashgar," *Inner Asia* 18 (2016): 121-134. That number of the journal is a special issue devoted to "Spatial Transformations in China's Northwestern Borderlands." The Uyghur advocacy organization, Uyghur Human Rights Project ([www.uhrp.org](http://www.uhrp.org)), has published substantial reports that are particularly valuable for their historical contextualization, illustrations, and eyewitness descriptions. They may be downloaded from the UHRP website. I have consulted [William Drexel], *Kashgar Coerced: Forced Reconstruction, Exploitation, and Surveillance in the Cradle of Uyghur Culture* (2020); Bahram K. Sintash, *Demolishing Faith: The Destruction and Desecration of Uyghur Mosques and Shrines* (2019); and [Nicole Morgret], *Extracting Cultural Resources: The Exploitation and Criminalization of Uyghur Cultural Heritage* (2018). A well illustrated recent news report about the fate of Islamic sites is Chris Buckley and Austin Ramzy, "China is Erasing Mosques and Precious Shrines in Xinjiang," *The New York Times*, September 25, 2020 (on-line at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/25/world/asia/xinjiang-china-religious-site.html?searchResultPosition=3>). For the official Chinese response to criticisms, see Chris Buckley, "Brushing Off Criticism, China's Xi Calls Policies in Xinjiang 'Totally Correct,'" *The New York Times*, September 26, 2020 (updated October 14, 2020) (on-line at <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/26/world/asia/xi-jinping-china-xinjiang.html?searchResultPosition=2>). For a Chinese report promoting opportunities for "immersive" tourism in Kashgar, see Xinhua, "Kashgar natives open homes, hearts to immersive travelers," September 9, 2018 (on-line at [https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201809/28/WS5bad6ad5a310eff30327fe29\\_1.html](https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201809/28/WS5bad6ad5a310eff30327fe29_1.html)). At the head of the article is a stunning aerial photo by Jiang Wen Yao looking from the Id Kah mosque across the new "Old City" to the highrise-studded suburbs beyond.

On more general issues of interpretation, I have benefited from John Berger, "Uses of Photography," in idem, *About Looking* (New York: Pantheon, 1980): 48-63; and David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1985). Lowenthal's Ch. 6, "Changing the Past," is particularly relevant; I credit him for my use of the epigram from Shakespeare.

Special comment is merited for an elegantly printed photo essay on Kashgar, which I saw for the first time only after completing my own essay. As I discovered, my own editorial decisions and those reflected in the book are in many ways very similar, although at the same time the two projects complement one another. Had I seen the book earlier, I might have been discouraged from attempting to do something with my own photos. The book is drawn from a collection of over 7000 photos by John Gollings taken in March and April 2005 as part of the Monash University project: *Kashgar, Oasis City on China's Old Silk Road*, photographs by John Gollings; introd. by George Michell, Marika Vicziany and Tsui Yen Hu (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008). Gollings is a professional photographer with a particular interest in architecture. Many of the images thus show buildings or interiors devoid of people, at the same time that he has very interesting images of crowded markets, including at least one in a small town outside Kashgar that preserved traditional ways even after the main bazaar in Kashgar itself was being "modernized." His superb work on Kashgar can be sampled on-line at <https://johngollings.com/cultural-projects/kashgar-and-the-silk-road>. The un-edited full collection in middle-size jpegs may be viewed via the Monash University library at [https://figshare.com/collections/Kashgar\\_project\\_Gollings\\_collection/3474396](https://figshare.com/collections/Kashgar_project_Gollings_collection/3474396). Of particular value and relevance are the many photos of shrines and their adjoining cemeteries, not just in Kashgar itself but in the surrounding region (sites that I never saw). These images document a lot that may now have been destroyed or altered by removal of evidence of religious veneration.

**About the author/photographer:** Daniel Waugh is Professor Emeritus of History, International Studies and Slavic at the University of Washington (Seattle, USA). Trained as a specialist on early modern Russia, prior to his retirement in 2006 he taught courses relating to the Silk Road and developed the educational website "Silk Road Seattle" (<https://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/>), which still offers some valuable materials even if it is badly in need of updating. From 2003-2017, he edited and produced for The Silk Road Foundation what is now the substantial annual, *The Silk Road*. His international exposure to the Silk Roads in Afro-Eurasia has included participation in archaeological excavations of Xiongnu sites in Mongolia and study of Buddhist art in the Mogao Grottoes at Dunhuang. In 2010, supported by a fellowship from the Mellon Foundation, he was able to travel and photograph extensively in the Middle East. Collections of his photos are being added to various academic databases, including ArchNet (a partnership between the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and the Aga Khan Documentation Center at MIT) and the HEIR (Historic Environment Image Resource) at Oxford. Among his other photo essays are "Hagia Sophia" (published at the end of the current volume of *The Silk Road*); "Light on the Liao" ([https://edspace.american.edu/silkroadjournal/wp-content/uploads/sites/984/2018/03/Waugh\\_Liao\\_SR\\_15\\_2017\\_pp83\\_106.pdf](https://edspace.american.edu/silkroadjournal/wp-content/uploads/sites/984/2018/03/Waugh_Liao_SR_15_2017_pp83_106.pdf)); and "Water" ([https://edspace.american.edu/silkroadjournal/wp-content/uploads/sites/984/2018/03/Waugh\\_postscript\\_water\\_SR\\_15\\_2017\\_pp187\\_218.pdf](https://edspace.american.edu/silkroadjournal/wp-content/uploads/sites/984/2018/03/Waugh_postscript_water_SR_15_2017_pp187_218.pdf)). He contributed to the recent *The Silk Road: Peoples, Cultures, Landscapes*, edited by Susan Whitfield, and has forthcoming book chapters on "Archaeology and the Material Culture of the Ulus Jöchi (Golden Horde)" and "Virtual Silk Roads: Objects, Exhibitions and Learners."



