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The Expeditions to Tocharistan*

I have been in love many times, but
Asia remained my bride. She has
held me captive in her cold embrace,
and out of jealousy would never let
me love any other. And I have been
faithful to her, that is certain.

Sven Hedin

Introduction

Tocharian studies within Indo-European linguistics seem compared to the studies of other branches of the Indo-European family to suffer from a little underdevelopment.¹ One of the

* I would like to express my gratitude to my teacher, Melanie Malzahn, for her patience, generosity and encouragement as well as for her very helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

¹ Tocharian just like the Anatolian branch of Indo-European was discovered only at the beginning of the 20th century. Consequently, the study on both branches lacks a research tradition reaching back hundreds of years like it was the case with Sanskrit, Ancient Greek or Latin. But it is to emphasize that in this respect Anatolian was somewhat more fortunate than Tocharian. Assyriology provided methods and experiences in the investigation of a cuneiform language like Hittite. The Hittites were also known from a lot of very important and diverse sources like the Old Testament and Ancient Egyptian records, so there was a more general interest for research in this language from very different fields right from the beginning. After the decipherment and proof that Hittite is an Indo-European language, Kuryłowicz showed that it was possible to trace some of the Hittite ⟨h⟩ signs back to Saussure's "coefficients sonantiques" and as a consequence at least some of the Indo-European scholars at that time recognized the importance of this branch immediately.

main reasons for this lies in the history of the exploration of the Tocharian languages, which was ventured by different countries with very varying interests and diverging methods in a time of political unrest and instability in the geostrategically important area of Eastern Turkestan at the dawn of World War I.

To know the conditions and the history, the traditions, the ways and dead ends of a field of study contributes to better understanding, acquaintance and knowledge within the field itself, and eventually leads to progress and hopefully to new insights and achievements. As for Tocharian studies, it is especially important to understand what caused the scarcity of text editions, translations and handbooks and why the material we do have is scattered in the way it is.

Because any linguistic contribution to Tocharian studies should at least to a certain extent rely on philology, it is crucial to know, where exactly Tocharian manuscripts hail from, how and where they are kept and registered, and how many of the texts are in one form or another available for philological and linguistic usage and research. In short, the circumstances

Tocharian had a comparatively softer impact on the community of scholars at the time of it was found. A language written in an Indian script, spoken by a couple of Buddhist monks during the middle ages somewhere in China, which did not display its archaisms, particularities and riddles right from the start, was not a scholarly main focus for any of the fields that could have dealt with Tocharian, even less so due to the fact that an incredible amount of other language material showed up together with Tocharian like Sanskrit, Iranian and Turkic varieties, that researchers traditionally knew more about.

Even though there was a rich output of research on Tocharian in the first decades after its discovery, substantial work was mainly carried out by those who had unrestricted access to the manuscripts, by their close colleagues, and their students.

Though great achievements have been made within Tocharian studies in the last almost hundred years since the trail-blazing paper of Sieg and Siegling 1908, it is still more than ever necessary to banish the shadows and deficiencies of the past and highlight Tocharian to give this particular branch of Indo-European the status and full regard it deserves within Indo-European linguistics and its neighbor disciplines.

of the recovery of the manuscripts play a crucial role in the philological and linguistic interpretations of the linguistic material itself².

In general, one should understand the history and traditions of a domain in which one is working. Within the domain of Tocharian studies this is particularly important, if we are to understand and eventually solve the problems and puzzles we are currently facing.

The purpose of this paper is to cast some light on the very early history of Tocharian studies, and through unraveling the origins of this great discipline, to show where and when our precious texts were found, which brave and brilliant adventurers excavated them, and where they went after their discovery.³

² Cf. already Grünwedel, 1905, 179: “Es ist ja richtig, daß Handschriftenreste noch immer sprechen, selbst wenn sie aus dem Zusammenhang gerissen sind, während ja Fresken ohne den Zusammenhang, ohne Plan, ohne detaillierte Ortsangabe fast wertlos sind; aber von wissenschaftlichem Standpunkt muß ich auch bei Handschriftenfunden auf die Notwendigkeit solch eingehender Angaben hinweisen. Es ist durchaus nicht gleichgültig, wo sie gefunden werden, in welchem Zustand sie gefunden werden, ob es deponierte einzelne Blätter waren oder ob man auf Reste von Bibliotheken rechnen darf.” The necessity of knowing from where the manuscripts hail from, how and when they were written (in future research also who or which writing school) should play a more and more important role within Tocharian studies, for the outline of the history of the Tocharian script cf. Malzahn, this vol.

³ I will restrict myself to mentioning mostly Tocharian outputs of the expeditions. I therefore only mention sites and places that were visited by the various expeditions, where Tocharian manuscripts actually have been found or, at least could have been found. For a general overview on expeditions to Eastern Turkestan and material from there, see Dabbs, 1963; Hopkirk, 1980; Klimkeit, 1988, 34-47; Tikhvinsky/Litvinsky, 1988, 11-82; Sundermann, 1998; Litvinsky, 1999 as well as the homepage of the International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bl.uk/>), all with further references. For details of the collections and editions see Malzahn, this vol. a.

“Tocharistan” and the Silk Road

The Tocharian languages were unearthed during the end of 19th, and the early years of the 20th century in Central Asia, namely in the Tarim Basin in Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, today’s Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (chin. Xīnjiāng Wéiwú’ěr Zìzhìqū)⁴. The lionshare of the area, where Tocharian manuscripts were found is adjacent to Tarim River (Chin. Dayan). The so-called Tarim Basin, the largest basin in the world, stretches between the Afghan part of the Pamir mountains in the West, the Tian Shan in the north, and the Kunlun Shan that forms a barrier with the Tibetan Plateau in the south. To the east, leads the Hexi or Gansu corridor through a territory with alternating zones of aridity and mountainous areas, including the Richthofen range (Qilian Shan), directly to the Gobi Desert.

Since antiquity, the surface of the Tarim Basin has been naturally shaped by the loess desert Taklamakan and its arid climate. The Silk Road, on the other hand, which splits at Kashgar (today’s Kāshǐ) into a northern, and a southern route at the verges of the desert, finally coming together near Dunhuang in today’s Gansu province, culturally dominated this inhospitable region for centuries. The name “Silk Roads”

⁴ The name of this most Western part of China, Chin. xīn jiāng, means “new frontier/territory” and its capital, world’s metropolis farthest away from the ocean, is nowadays Ürümqi (Chin. Wūlǔmùqí; until 1954 Dihua). This in expanse biggest region of China covers 1,6 million square kilometer and is nowadays inhabited by approximately 20 million people. As in ancient times, this region today still consists of a blend of different ethnicities and languages (see Hoppe, 1998), with the two major populations being the Turkic Uyghurs (about 45 percent) and the Han Chinese (about 40 percent). Due to the fact it was this part of Central Asia, which was of strategic and economic interest for China since the dawn of the Chinese empire, the history of Xinjiang is divers and multifarious. Over the millennia, the different powers of Central Asia alternated in controlling Xinjiang, since 1955, however, Xinjiang is an autonomous region of the Peoples Republic of China. For further information on modern Xianjiang, see Dillon, 2005; Starr, 2004; Weggel, 1987; Xinjiang, 1988. For the earlier history of Xinjiang, cf. the references given in footnotes 5 and 6 below.

(“Seidenstrassen”) was coined by the teacher of Sven Hedin, Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen, the founder of modern geomorphology, and the leading geographer and geologist of his time. In a narrow sense, the expression ‘Silk Road’ refers to an overland network of tracks, paths, routes and arteries connecting mainly the trading centers of the Mediterranean area with those of (East) Asia.⁵ Since the Silk Road was not the result of a single concerted effort, its formation was a process that took centuries and its origins reach back even millennia.⁶

Only a few oases grace the Tarim Basin, only caravan tracks forged their way between them. These socio-economically important caravan tracks connected the oases that over thousands of years hosted, brought together and amalgamated cultures and civilizations. Over the course of the centuries, innumerable peoples of very different provenance and origins settled along this part of the Silk Road. Societies were born and decayed, civilizations rose to power and vanished, cultures flourished and withered along the realms of the trade route of techniques and ideas between orient and occident, leaving behind the remains of former periods of bloom. Countless tongues were spoken and passed on, innumerable scripts were written and handed down in the centers of culture in this desolate wasteland, the austerity of the landscape tempered

⁵ The literature on the Silk Road is large, diverse and manifold, ranging from adventure novels via tourist guides to scientific journals. A good synopsis over the history, the cultures and economics of the Silk Road with useful and thorough references was given by Gabain, 1979; Klimkeit, 1988, and, more recently, Wood, 2002. Cf. also the small introduction to the Silk Road by Höllmann, 2004. For the history of the civilizations along the Central Asian Silk Road, see Sinor, 1990 as well as the UNESCO series *History of Civilizations in Central Asia* and the references given in fn. 4.

⁶ For thousands of years, Central Asia and especially its eastern part, the Tarim Basin with its populations from the West only served as a transmission belt for silk, but also for agricultural techniques, stock farming, metallurgy, technology, arts and crafts as well as religion in either way was the main area of exchange between the Chinese civilization and civilizations from beyond the frontiers of Chinese culture (see Klimkeit, 1988; Mair, 1998; Mallory/Mair, 2000; Wood, 2002; Di Cosmo 2004).

by the oases.

“Diese Oasenstädte waren in erster Linie Träger einer gehobenen materiellen und geistigen Kultur, die neue Techniken und Ideen nicht nur aufnahmen, sondern auch an die Nachbarn weitergaben. Ein Ausdruck jener höheren Kultur ist die Schriftkunde, welche durch Rezeption zahlreicher unterschiedlicher Alphabetformen – insgesamt 24 – gekennzeichnet ist. Darin spiegelt sich auch die Weltoffenheit der zentralasiatischen Oasen wider, in denen man Texte in 16 verschiedenen Sprachen fand.

Zugleich jedoch wird deutlich, wie vielgestaltig in ethnischer und sprachlicher Hinsicht dieser Raum war. Zwar mögen zeitweilig das Sogdische, das Chinesische oder das Türkische als *lingua franca* gedient haben, dennoch existierte hier niemals eine Sprache, die als Grundlage einer kulturellen Einheit gedient hätte. Vielmehr leisteten verschiedene Sprachen iranischer, indischer und zentralasiatischer Provenienz wie das Chinesische ihren Beitrag zum geistigen Leben der Oasen, in denen man Schriften bewahrte, die z.T. in ihren Ursprungsgebieten in Vergessenheit geraten waren.” (Klimkeit, 1988, 14seq.)

The Beginning of the Footrace for Antiquities

In 1889 Captain Hamilton Bower was sent to the vicinity of Kucha to investigate the murder of a Scottish traveler. During his stay for the inquiry he purchased a Brāhmī manuscript written on 51 leaves of birch bark. Bower sent this bundle of birch-bark leaves to the Oriental Society of Bengal in Calcutta. After an examination by August Friedrich Rudolf Hoernle⁷ it turned out to be the oldest Sanskrit manuscript known so far. Shortly after the so-called Bower manuscript was made known and accessible by Hoernle, another groundbreaking discovery was made. Ancient documents came into the possession of the French traveler Jules Léon Dutreil de Rhins in Khotan, among them a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript from the second century CE. At the same time, in the 80s and 90s of the 19th century, the archeological period of expeditions to Chinese Turkestan⁸

⁷ See Grierson, 1919.

⁸ The forerunners of this archaeological period were indeed scientific expeditions that investigated the geography, geology, flora and fauna of this region in the 19th century. The most prominent explorer of the time before the archeological expeditions began was of course Nikolai

was initialized by the brothers Grum-Grzhimailo, who besides having done zoological, botanical, geological and geographical⁹ investigations discovered amongst other archeological findings the underground canal system of the Turfan oasis¹⁰.

An important factor for the transmission of ancient artifacts from the Tarim Basin into the studies of scholars were the major players in the Great Game¹¹; the representatives of the great powers of the United Kingdom and the Russian Empire in Kashgar, George Macartney¹² and Nikolai T. Petrovsky¹³. As opponents in the Tournament of Shadows¹⁴, they not only fought for the hegemony of their countries in Central Asia but also for supremacy in the raid for antiquities. It was indeed in Russia and in the United Kingdom where the first texts of Tocharian provenance appeared in journals¹⁵, transmitted to the scholars by the consul generals of their countries, who bought them from locals.

The general attention Central Asia was beginning to attract by that time would not have been kindled without the great Sven Hedin¹⁶. This explorer and adventurer understood like no one

M. Przhevalsky. See Dabbs, 1963, 11-88 for an account of expeditions to Chinese Turkestan from antiquity to 1888, when the archeological period of expeditions was initialized.

⁹ Their most striking discovery in this respect was the insight that the Turfan region is a depression lying more than 150 meters beneath sea level and thus being among the lowest elevations of earth's land surface.

¹⁰ See Grum-Grzhimailo, 1948.

¹¹ This term was coined by Arthur Conolly, a British intelligence officer in the first half of the 19th century, and popularized by the writer Rudyard Kipling in his novel 'Kim'. The Great Game and its Russian antipode (see fn. 14) refer to the rivalry, conflict and fight for spheres of influences in Central Asia between the British and the Russian Empire since the beginning of the 19th century. See Clubb, 1971; Skrine/Nightingale, 1973; Hopkirk, 1990, 2001; Meyer/Brysac, 1999; Macartney, 1999; Ewans, 2004; Johnson, 2006.

¹² For biographical data, cf. the references in fn. 11

¹³ For biographical data, cf. the references in fn. 11

¹⁴ Tournament of Shadows, Russian Турниры теней, is the Russian counterpart to the English term Great Game. Cf. also fn. 11.

¹⁵ Cf. Oldenburg, 1892; Hoernle, 1893.

¹⁶ As a student of Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen, Swedish born

else to popularize and communicate dry issues like deserts and remains of ancient cultures within them by delivering lectures on Central Asia all across Europe and writing absorbing and diverting books. Among other things, he also reported about the discovery of ruins at the edge of the Tarim desert.¹⁷

On the 12th International Congress of Orientalists in 1899 in Rome the attention of the scientific community was fully aroused by and focused on the enthralling reports, sensational discoveries and startling findings from Chinese Turkestan, especially through the papers of Hoernle, Klementz, Radloff and Sénart. In this respect 1899 might be seen as the year of the birth of cultural studies of Eastern Turkestan, as it was the starting point for the systematic and effective exploration of this region. A footrace of different national expeditions¹⁸ began, that within the next twenty years, through unearthing treasures troves and treasure dramatically changed a whole series of disciplines and contributed to the formation of complete new fields of study. In the course of time, ancient cultures and civilizations (re)appeared, old religious centers surfaced, new scripts were found, new languages were discovered, and mummies even showed up¹⁹. The vestiges of this impact of the findings and discoveries from Eastern Turkestan – in some disciplines more than in others²⁰ – are today still noticeable.

Sven Hedin's focus was geography, topography and cartography of Central Asia. Among other findings we owe Hedin the discoveries of the sources of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, of the 'wandering lake' Lop Nor and of various archaeological sites like remains of the Great Wall in the west of China. For biographical data see Hedin, 1928; Kleinert, 2001.

¹⁷ For the works of Hedin, cf. Hess, 1962-1980.

¹⁸ In the run-up of the 1899 congress, a Russian delegation tried to organize a international expedition to Eastern Turkestan by mainly trying to convince the Germans to give them financial or at least scientific assistance. Unfortunately, this venture failed. F.W.K. Müller said after he had examined the artifacts the Russian scholars had showed him: "Wenn es gelingen sollte neue derartige Funde in Höhlentempeln zu machen, so dürfte die ganze Religions- und Culturgeschichte Centralasiens ein anderes Aussehen bekommen", see Zieme, 1983, 152.

¹⁹ See Mallory/Mair, 2000.

²⁰ Cf. Pinault, 2004, 256.

The Russian Expeditions

Russia had a comparatively long tradition of exploration and investigation of Eastern Turkestan.²¹ The first Russian expedition to take notice of archeologically interesting remains was the one of the botanist Johann Albert Regel in the 60s and 70s of the 19th century²². Dimitri A. Klementz, the keeper of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg was the first excavator on the northern Silk Road in 1898²³. Klementz dug in Karakhoja and Yar-khoto, where he also found manuscripts of different provenance. Piotr K. Kozlov who had been a member of the famous Przhevalsky expeditions to Central Asia before was also among the first who brought back ancient manuscripts from his first expedition 1899-1901 from sites in and around Turfan²⁴. From 1905-1907 the brothers Berezovsky excavated in Turfan and Kucha²⁵. After the attempt to convince the German researchers to venture an international expedition failed, it took several years before the official First Russian Turkestan Expedition under Sergei F. Oldenburg made excavations in Kara-shahr, Turfan, Kucha, and its surroundings, namely Subashi, Kizil and Kumtura from 1909-1910.²⁶ The second expedition took Oldenburg to Dunhuang and then again to Turfan from 1914-1915.

The Russian Empire's consul general Petrovsky at Kashgar and the Russian consul of Urumqi, Nikolai N. Krotkov, also contributed a lot to the Russian collection of antiquities and manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan by collecting ancient material that they bought from local people.

The Tocharian manuscripts either bought through the efforts of Petrovsky and Krotkov or excavated by the various expeditions are now under the charge of the Oriental Institute of St. Petersburg and the Russian Academy of Arts and

²¹ Cf. Dabbs, 1963, 30-116.

²² Cf. Regel, 1880.

²³ Cf. Klementz, 1899.

²⁴ Cf. Menshikov, 1984.

²⁵ Cf. Mironov, 1909.

²⁶ Cf. Oldenburg, 1914.

Science. Unfortunately, only a small fraction of the Tocharian manuscripts have been made accessible so far.²⁷

The British Expeditions

It was Mark Aurel Stein²⁸ who was able to persuade the British Government in India to finance an expedition to Central Asia under his leadership. This first British enterprise which marked the beginning of a 15 year period of major discoveries and achievements in the field of Central Asian studies took place in the years 1900-1901, and lead along southern realms of the southern route of Silk Road, especially Khotan, Loulan, Miran²⁹, Niya and Endere. Stein presented the outcomes of his first expedition – manuscripts and archeological findings – to an enthusiastic public at the 13th International Congress of Orientalists 1902 in Hamburg inducing and inspiring broader research, motivating and triggering further expeditions. Between 1906 and 1908, Aurel Stein visited the sites on the southern Silk Road that he had been to the years before for a

²⁷ Cf. Malzahn, this vol. a.

²⁸ Hungarian born (and later knighted) Mark Aurel Stein studied oriental languages and antiquities in Tübingen and Vienna. After starting as a philologist and linguist – he wrote his unfortunately lost PhD on “Die Nominalflexion im Zend“ – he eventually became interested in visiting the places, which had previously been the objects of his theoretical philological studies. After spending some time in Great Britain doing minor research, Sir Henry Rawlinson wrote a letter of recommendation for Stein applying for a job at the Educational Department in India. In India after a short time as an Inspector of Schools, he got appointed to be the Head of the Oriental Institute in Lahore (see Zeller, 1998).

Stein had a very good relationship with the director of the archaeological museum in Lahore, the father of Rudyard Kipling, John Lockwood Kipling who helped Stein to gain support from the British-Indian government for his first expedition which lead him in the footprints of Sven Hedin to Central Asia (see Klimkeit 1988: 35; for more information on Sir Aurel Stein, see Mirsky, 1977; Walker, 1998; Wang, 2004; Whitfield, 2004).

²⁹ In Miran Stein discovered the eldest known Buddhist wall paintings in the Tarim-Basin to be dated into the 3rd century CE (see Klimkeit, 1988, 41).

second time. He also inspected Dunhuang, where he was able to gain some precious manuscripts from the famous library cave³⁰ and finally, before daring to cross the Taklamakan desert on a North-South route³¹, he stopped by at the Turfan oasis, but without attempting to excavate anything, as well as at Kara-shahr.

In his third expedition 1913-16, Stein traveled again, after having done work on “his” sites in the south, the northern track visiting Bezeklik, Dunhuang, Karakhoja, Khocho, Loulan, Maralbashi, Murtuk, Toyuk, Yar-khoto, Turfan and went further to Afghanistan and Iran.³²

Sir Aurel Stein was one of the most productive researches in Central Asia. His important findings and discoveries as well the excellent and exemplary description, handling and edition of what he unearthed made him a giant in the historical studies

³⁰ The Magoa caves (Chin. mò gā kū) at Dunhuang, which are also called the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, were according to a legend founded in 366 CE as a temple by the Buddhist monk Lezun. From the 4th century on, Buddhist monks collected manuscripts there and Buddhist pilgrims donated paintings and sculptures for the growing temple complex. This caves were first mentioned in western literature by Lajos Lóczy, a geologist and participant on the expedition of Count Bela Széchnenyi and Gustav Kreitner organized by the Geological Department of the Natural History Museum of Vienna. Around 1900 a Taoist monk called Wang Yuanlu appointed himself to the keeper of parts of this temple system. Behind a wall he discovered an enormous storage of ancient manuscripts in dozens of languages and scripts. The rumor about this finding attracted the European researches and Sir Aurel was among the first who in fact saw the treasures of this old library and was able to purchase a part of it from its self-proclaimed keeper. Among other things Stein gained a copy of the Diamond Sutra which was printed in 868 CE, and thus – being 587 years older than the Gutenberg Bible – the oldest dated book print in the world.

³¹ The crossing of the Taklamakan in a north-south passage almost cost the life of Sven Hedin in 1895. Two of Hedin’s Uyghur camel drivers as well as six out of seven camels perished in the desert, which name Taklamakan approximately means “you go in and will never come out” in Uyghur.

³² This three expeditions were, of course, not the last Sir Aurel ventured. In his eighties, he made an expedition to Afghanistan in 1943, where he died and was buried in Kabul.

of Central Asian culture, on whose shoulders generations of researchers stand.³³

Due to the excellent documentation of Sir Aurel, we exactly know where the Tocharian texts he found came from, which is very important in the context of Tocharian linguistics and philology, and especially for the dialectology of Tocharian B. What is also of interest in this respect is the fact that among the Tocharian texts Stein unearthed are manuscripts from the southern part of the Silk Road, which with other sparse evidence from other collections point to transmission of Tocharian texts in region far from its proper domain.

The Stein collection contains ten thousands of manuscripts in almost a dozen of languages, artifacts, paintings and photographs, and is currently mainly kept in the British Library in London, the National Museum of India in Delhi and the Hungarian Academy of Science in Budapest.³⁴

It was not only British expeditions which brought artifacts from Tocharistan to light, but also the passion for collecting antiquities and ancient artifacts of the consul general of the British Empire, Sir George Macartney. Sir George – whose house at Kashgar was a sanctuary for all European travelers, adventures and researchers of the Eastern Turkestan – assembled a vast amount of findings, which were mostly bought from local people. A large portion of the findings was send to Hoernle for evaluation and among them a great deal of the Tocharian material that is now in the Hoernle and several other collections.³⁵

The Japanese Expeditions

Apart from European nations, Japan also evinced great interest in Central Asia and strived towards the deployment of an expedition to Eastern Turkestan. Under the leadership of and

³³ The most important accounts of Stein's expeditions are Stein 1907, 1912, 1921 and 1928. For an bibliography of Stein's works, see Erdélyi, 1999.

³⁴ Cf. Malzahn, this vol. a.

³⁵ Cf. Malzahn, this vol. a.

financed by Count Kozui Otani³⁶, son of the 21st abbot of the Nishi Honganji monastery in Kyoto, the major convent of the Buddhist Jodo Shinshu community³⁷, Japan ventured the first expedition in the years 1902-1904. While the Russian and the British government suspected the Japanese expeditions to be a disguise for espionage³⁸, the Japanese claimed to believe that the roots of the Jodo Shinshu lie in Central Asia. The first Japanese campaign led Teshin Watanabe and Kenyu Hori to Duldurakhur, Khotan, Kizil, Kucha, Kumtura, Maralbashi, Tumshuk, Turfan and Subashi. Due to the fact that Khotan had already been explored by Sir Aurel and Turfan was investigated by the Germans virtually at the same time, the Japanese team concentrated mainly on Kucha and its periphery³⁹.

During the second expedition of 1908-1909, the Japanese explorers, Zuicho Tachibana and Eizaburo Nomura, mainly concentrated on the Turfan area, on Kizil and Kucha and later moved on to Dunhuang. The third Japanese expedition 1910-1914 led the team consisting of Zuicho Tachibana, Koichiro Yoshikawa, and Teshin Watanabe to Dunhuang and then

³⁶ Kozui Otani (1876-1948) studied in London, where he was appointed to a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and played host to Sir Aurel and Sven Hedin, who with their stories and artifacts of their travels inspired him to project an own expedition to Central Asia (see http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections_jp.a4d).

³⁷ The Jodo Shu “Pure Land School” was the first Japanese school of the Amitābha-Buddhism, also known as Amidism (Jap. Amida being derived from Amitābha) that is associated with Mahāyāna, in which the central doctrine is the confidence in the Bodhisattva Amitābha. This branch of Japanese Buddhism was founded by Honen Shonin (1133-1212) and formed to the Jodo Shinshu “True Pure Land School” by his disciple Shinran Shonin (1173-1262), which is the biggest Buddhist community in Japan today (see Zotz, 1991).

³⁸ Cf. Hopkirk, 1980, 190-197.

³⁹ It is the merit of Kenyu Hori and Teshin Watanabe to have discovered and first examined the cave complex of Kizil. Unfortunately, the efforts and findings of this examination have been destroyed by an earthquake that scared away the Japanese scholars, which enabled the Germans to uncover, carry away and come out with the treasures of this site a short while afterwards (Klimkeit, 1988, 38).

again to Turfan. There are a few Tocharian manuscripts that come from these Japanese enterprises.⁴⁰

The German expeditions

The first German expedition took place during 1902-1903. It was conducted by Albert Grünwedel⁴¹, head of Indian Department of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, who was accompanied by the Turcologist Georg Huth⁴², and by the Museum's factotum Theodor Bartus⁴³. The first destination of the expedition was the Turfan oasis, which became the eponym for all German expeditions. Major work was done by the German team at Khocho, but they also dug in Bezeklik, Maralbashi, Kara-shahr, Kizil, Kucha, Kumtura, Toyuk, Tumshuk, Sengim and Yarkhoto. At the end of the expedition in March 1903 the result of the first German enterprise were 46 crates with paintings, statues and manuscripts in a variety of languages.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ For the Japanese research of the Silk Road, cf. Laut/Röhrborn, 1988; Kudara, 1999. For the Tocharian manuscripts, cf. Malzahn, this vol. a.

⁴¹ For biographical data, see Stache-Rosen, 1990, 132seq.; Waldschmidt, 1935; Walravens, 2004. For the interesting correspondence of Grünwedel, cf. Walravens, 2001.

⁴² After the return of the team to Germany, Huth died exhausted from the stresses and strains of the expedition and its journeys (Klimkeit, 1988, 36).

⁴³ "Zu Lassan in Pommern als Sohn eines Webermeisters geboren wurde er Matrose auf einem Segelschiff und legte das Steuermannexamen ab, nachdem er viele Jahre auf der See zugebracht hatte. Eine Zeitlang war er Squatter im australischen Busch, wo er das Reiten außergewöhnlich gut erlernte, während seine vielen Matrosenjahre auf Segelschiffen ihn mit allen Künsten des Schneiderns, Schusterns, Schmiedens, Tischlerns, kurz, mit allen Handfertigkeiten, die ein richtiger Segelschiffmatrose braucht, auf das Beste vertraut gemacht hatten. Er musste während eines Besuchs in Deutschland im Museum (für Völkerkunde zu Berlin; H.A.F.) eine Stellung annehmen, da der Bankrott seiner Bank in Melbourne ihn plötzlich seiner Ersparnisse beraubte. Die Gegenwart dieses findigen, äußerst kräftigen und beherzten Mannes hat wesentlich zum Erfolg nicht nur der ersten, sondern aller 4 Expeditionen beigetragen." (Le Coq 1926: 28).

⁴⁴ For the results of this expedition, cf. Grünwedel, 1905.

After the findings and results of this first expedition had an unpredictable and unexpected impact in the professional world in Germany, scholars⁴⁵ and patrons⁴⁶ were eager to support another expedition. The second German Turfan expedition, this time under the charge of Albert Le Coq⁴⁷, an honorary worker of the Ethnology Museum in Berlin, took already place in 1904-1905. Grünwedel stayed in Germany due to health problems, and so Le Coq was only accompanied by the technician Bartus. They worked again around Turfan and also concentrated on Bezeklik, Karakhoja, Khocho, and Yarkhoto. More than hundred crates were sent back to Germany containing mostly paintings⁴⁸ and not to many texts.⁴⁹

When Grünwedel, accompanied by H. Pohrt, finally arrived in Eastern Turkestan,⁵⁰ the third German Turfan expedition

⁴⁵ Backing for a further expedition came in form of a Turfan committee from such pundits like the Sanskritist Richard Pischel, the historian Edward Meyer, the anthropologist Friedrich W. K. Müller, and the orientalist Eduard Sachau (see Le Coq, 1926, 29f.).

⁴⁶ The industrialist Friedrich Krupp who besides James Simon, an art collector and benefactor of the Berlin Museum, also partly sponsored the first expedition, provided funds as well as the German Emperor, Wilhelm II, himself, which is the reason why the second German expedition is also known as the first Prussian Turfan expedition.

⁴⁷ For biographical data, see Stache-Rosen, 1990, 141seq.; Pelliot, 1930.

⁴⁸ Bartus “war es, der eine besondere Technik zur Ablösung der Fresken entwickelte, indem er die Bilder, die auf einer 1-2 cm dicken, mit Häcksel vermischten Lehmschicht aufgetragen waren, in Segmente zerschnitt, mit Hilfe eines Fuchsschwanzes von ihren Unterlagen löste und bruchsicher verpackte” (see Klimkeit, 1988, 36). This technique not only upset Grünwedel during the expeditions he was attending – he in adhering to the philosophy that you have to know the context of a painting to understand it historically and culturally, refused to take large portions of them away and mostly copied the pictures they found in a virtuoso manner. The way the German expeditions dealt with the sites especially with the removal of the paintings rose hackles among other scholars, namely Stein who complained about his German colleagues or more precisely rivals in his private correspondence (Hopkirk, 1980, 169seq.).

⁴⁹ See Le Coq 1909, 1910, 1913 for the outcome of the second German and first Prussian Turfan expedition.

⁵⁰ Before his arrival Grünwedel had demanded a meeting with Le Coq and Bartus in the summer of 1905 at Kashgar. At that time rumors

1905-1907 immediately began, leading the team to Bezeklik, Kara-shahr, Korla, Kumtura, Shorchuk, Toyuk, Tumshuk, the Turfan oasis and, of course, to Kucha, where an incident with the Russian expedition of the brothers Berezovsky⁵¹ coerced them to concentrate mainly on Kizil. Almost 120 crates were shipped back to Berlin.⁵²

In the years 1913-1914 Le Coq and Bartus undertook the fourth and last German Turfan expedition that was focused around Kizil, Kucha, Kumtura, Simsim and Tumshuk and rendered more than 150 crates.⁵³

Apart from excavating, the German expeditions also bought antiquities, mainly manuscripts⁵⁴, the provenance of which we cannot be sure of in most of the instances. This is, of course, also true for the artifacts purchased by the other nations.

For Tocharian studies the German expeditions were very fruitful.⁵⁵ Not only does the German collection seem to be

spread about the library of Dunhuang, and Le Coq was irresolute about them going to Dunhuang or obeying the wish of Grünwedel and going to Kashgar. To decide the question, Le Coq flipped a coin and they went to Kashgar to meet Grünwedel, who with a belatedness of several months arrived there at the end of 1905. Had things been different, there would have been enough time for Le Coq to be the first western researcher in Dunhuang. This episode contributed among other events to the tensions between Grünwedel and Le Coq (see Klimkeit, 1988, 40; Hopkirk, 1980, 125-133). Although it was not only Grünwedel, who was exposed to sarcasm and ridicule by pointed remarks made by Le Coq in his correspondence (on which see Tangerloo, 2004).

⁵¹ The arguments between the Russian and the German expeditions reached at one point even the level of mutual threat of force of guns (Le Coq, 1926, 109¹).

⁵² For an account on the second and third Turfan expedition, see Grünwedel, 1912; Le Coq, 1926; in English Le Coq, 1928a.

⁵³ For the results and adventures of the fourth Turfan expedition, see Le Coq 1918; 1928.

⁵⁴ Cf. Le Coq, 1926, 70seq.

⁵⁵ Due to the immediate cataloging and preservation – especially of the manuscripts which were put under glass plates – of the findings of the four German Turfan expeditions after they arrived in Berlin, there was almost no delay in evaluating the incredible results. Le Coq in proving himself as a popularizer of the expeditions and its discover-

the biggest collection of Tocharian texts, the texts were also rather quickly transliterated, edited and published due to the endeavor and effort of Sieg and Siegling, who started their life task as early as 1907.

The Tocharian texts are now under the charge of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz and almost entirely published as photographs on the website of the Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexd.htm>)⁵⁶.

The French Expedition

The French expedition – having had the backing of a strong committee headed by Émil Sénart – was conducted during 1906-1909 under the charge of the Sinologist Paul Pelliot⁵⁷,

ies contributed to kindling the interest in professional as well as lay circles. For short accounts of all the results of the four German expeditions, see Zaturpanskiy, 1912; Zieme, 1983. For a detailed account, see Sundermann, 1998 with references. For the details of funding for the expeditions, see Zaturpanskiy, 1912, and Sundermann, 1998. An account of the impact of the German Turfan expeditions for Oriental studies in Germany is given by Schütte, 1990. For the history, description, condition and plans of the German Turfanforschung and the Turfan collection, see the homepage of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. <http://www.bbaw.de/bbaw/Forschung/Forschungsprojekte/turfanforschung/de/Startseite> (with references).

The “Acta betreffend die Expedition des Prof Grünwedel nach Turfan”, which are kept in the *Museum für Indische Kunst* in Berlin, are not accessible to public, but are being prepared for access via internet. There is a valuable FU Berlin dissertation by Cordula Gumbrecht called “Die deutschen Turfanexpeditionen gesehen in den Archiven von Urumchi und Berlin”, which mostly deals with the correspondence of the German expedition members with Chinese authorities for their tasks and travels in Eastern Turkestan. As Sundermann, 1998 points out a “comprehensive, critical history of the German Turfan expeditions and their results, however, remains a task for the future.”

⁵⁶ For the details, cf. Malzahn, this vol. a.

⁵⁷ See Salles, 1946 for biographical details, and Walravens, 2001a for a bibliography of the life and works of Paul Pelliot.

a pupil of Sylvain Lévi. Pelliot was accompanied by Louis Vaillant, a physician and scientist, and Charles Nouette, the expedition's photographer. The French expedition worked at Duldur-akhur, Kara-shahr, Kizil, Kucha, Kumtura, Maralbashi, Subashi, Tumshuk, Turfan and Dunhuang, where the gifted Pelliot was able to gain thousands of best kept manuscripts in different languages from the library cave.⁵⁸

Almost all of the Tocharian manuscripts as well as the manuscripts of other languages are kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Only a part of the Parisian collection of Tocharian manuscripts has been published as yet.⁵⁹

Summary

The expeditions to Tocharistan were important for more than one specific field. Indo-European linguistics and closely related fields profited inestimably from them. Without these expeditions, a whole particularly interesting and in some respects archaic branch of Indo-European would have never seen the light of the day and the studies of scholars of very different disciplines.

Modern Indo-European linguistics cannot be done without philology. At least for Tocharian philology, this involves knowledge of manuscripts, their origin, their history, where they are kept and how they are redacted. To make statements about the history of Tocharian, it is sometimes necessary to follow this catena back to the very beginning of Tocharian studies – the discovery of the texts.

The risks, efforts and endeavors of the excavators are invaluable for Indo-European linguistics and philology.

⁵⁸ Due to the fact that Pelliot spoke Chinese fluently, he gained the confidence of Wang Yuanlu, the keeper of the library at Dunhuang, and was thus allowed and able to pick the best pieces of the library – in this very respect Sir Aurel, even though he managed to gain manuscripts from the library cave, was less successful before him (see Hopkirk, 1980, 177-189).

⁵⁹ Cf. Malzahn, this vol. a, and Pinault, this vol. for details.

Overview

British Expeditions

- I Stein
- II Stein
- III Stein

German Expeditions

- I Grünwedel, Huth, Bartus
- II Le Coq, Bartus
- III Grünwedel, Le Coq, Pohrt, Bartus
- IV Le Coq, Bartus

French Expedition

- I Pelliot, Vaillant, Nouette

Japanese Expeditions

- I Watanabe, Hori
- II Tachibana, Nomura
- III Tachibana, Yoshikawa, Watanabe

Russian Expeditions

- I Klementz
- II Kozlov
- III Berezovsky
- IV Oldenburg
- V Oldenburg

SITES & EXPEDITIONS	BRITISH	GERMAN	FRENCH	JAPANESE	RUSSIAN
Bezeklik	III	I, II			
Duldur-akhur			I		
Dunhuang	II, III		I	I, II, III	V
Endere	I, II				
Jigdalik					
Karakhoja	III	II			I
Kara-shahr	II	I	I		IV
Khocho	III	I, II			
Kizil		I, III, IV	I	I, II	IV
Korla		III			
Kucha		I, III, IV	I	I, II	III
Kumtura		I, III, IV	I	I	IV
Loulan	II, III				
Maralbashi	III	I	I	I	
Miran	II, III				
Murtuk	III				
Sengim		I			
Shorchuk		III			
Simsim		IV			
Subashi			I		IV
Tajik					
Tonguzbash					
Toyuk	III	I, III			
Tumshuk		I, III, IV	I	I	
Turfan	II	I, II, III	I	I, II, III	II, III, IV, V
Yar-khoto	III	II			I

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