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## **The personal papers of Sergey F. Oldenburg as a source for the history of the Russian expeditions to Eastern Turkestan: New archival data<sup>1</sup>**

The year 2013 was marked by the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the prominent Russian indologist and buddhologist Sergey Fyodorovich Oldenburg (1863–1934). For about a quarter of a century, Oldenburg was one of the anchormen of the science-organizing process in the Russian Empire and the USSR: Member of the Saint-Petersburg-Russian-All-Soviet Union Academy of Sciences (since 1900) and its Permanent Secretary (1904–1929), founder and editor of the series “Bibliotheca Buddhica” (since 1897), secretary of the Oriental Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society (1898–1905), full member (since 1896) and member of the Council (since 1913) of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society.<sup>2</sup> S.F. Oldenburg was one of the creators and the chairman (since 1918) of the Russian Committee for the Exploration of Middle and East Asia in Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Respects (RKISVA, 1903–1923; hereafter referred to as “Russian Committee”). This Committee became a Russian division of the International Association for Central and East Asia Exploration, which was established in Hamburg in 1902 at the 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Orientalists.<sup>3</sup> From 1916 until his death the scholar was a director of the Asiatic Museum, which was reorganized into the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences (the present Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS in Saint Petersburg) in 1930.

S.F. Oldenburg published more than 550 works and left an immense personal archive with a lot of unpublished material. His personal papers (No. 208) entered the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in parts in 1934, 1937, 1949 and 1957.<sup>4</sup> Now the collection contains 1572 archival units for 1747–1963, structured in 5 inventories. Unfortunately, the first inventory of the collection, containing dozens of files with materials of two Turkestan expeditions led by S.F. Oldenburg (inv. 1, № 162–196), has been done poorly: the material of one and the same expedition is often split into different units. A lot of the documents were damaged during the catastrophic flood in Leningrad in 1924 – they were stuck together, discolored and need restoring. Some of the documents are kept in other collections of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, particularly in the collections of the following institutions: the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Russian Committee, the personal papers of the members of the Academy of

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<sup>2</sup> About him, see Bongard-Levin (1986), Kaganovich (2006), Vigin (2008: 205–236).

<sup>3</sup> For details about the activity of the Committee, see Nazirova (1992).

<sup>4</sup> For surveys of Oldenburg’s personal papers, see Tunkina (2013a).

Sciences, etc., as well as in other federal and academic archives in St. Petersburg and Moscow.<sup>5</sup>

S.F. Oldenburg has made an outstanding contribution to the study of the history of Eastern Turkestan, the part of Central Asia which in the 18<sup>th</sup> c. became a part of China as an imperial vicegerency Xinjiang (“a new border”), now Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of the PRC. In the first millennium A.D. this region became a transfer station on the Great Silk Route, connecting the countries of East Asia with Europe, an international center of expansion of the Indian Buddhist culture to Central Asia and the Far East. Until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., Eastern Turkestan was an unexplored blind-spot which attracted many European travelers and expeditions from the middle of the century on. At the height of the “Great Game” – the English-Russian rivalry in the central areas of Inner Asia (Trümpler 2008) – Russia sent a number of military emissaries and expeditions to investigate the geography, ethnography, and economy of the region, and to reveal the remainders of the written and material culture of the peoples who had inhabited it in antiquity and in the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup>

The scientific interests of S.F. Oldenburg as an indologist were connected with the research into “Northern Buddhism”. Inspired by the head of the Oriental Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society Viktor R. Rosen (1849–1908), the young 28-year-old scholar began to investigate the monuments of ancient writing and archaeology from the collection of the Russian Consul General in Kashgar (1882–1903), Nikolay Fyodorovich Petrovskiy (1837–1908).<sup>7</sup> In order to attribute the monuments, the Consul started sending ancient coins, estampages of inscriptions and photographic prints to St. Petersburg from as early as 1886. The publication by Rudolph Hoernle (1841–1918) of the Sanskrit manuscript of lieutenant Hamilton Bower (the so-called Bower manuscript; see Bower 1895; Hoernle 1893–1912), discovered in 1889 to the south of Kucha, led to the archaeological spree in Kashgaria. The Bower manuscript offered the first example of the Northern-Indian Gupta scripts and became the most important source for the reconstruction of the stages of a “short chain of the handwritten palaeographical material” (Oldenburg 1900: 029). The search for ancient manuscripts and artefacts

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<sup>5</sup> S.F. Oldenburg’s manuscript groups are also kept in the State Archive of the Russian Federation (MsG 581, inventory 1, 101 units, 1853–1918), some of the documents are in the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire in Moscow, in the Archive of the Russian Geographical Society, in the Archive and Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum, in the Research Archive of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the RAS, in the Archive of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS (9 folders with photographic material of the Russian Turkestan Expeditions) and in the Photo archive of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (the *Kunstkamera*) of the RAS, as well as in the Manuscript Department of the Institute of Russian Literature (the Pushkin House) of the RAS in St. Petersburg.

<sup>6</sup> For details, see Popova (2008).

<sup>7</sup> Petrovskiy’s letters to S.F. Oldenburg and partly to V.R. Rosen, and a list of publications of N.F. Petrovskiy are published in Myasnikov (2010).

became strained because of the rivalry of N.F. Petrovskiy with the English, French, German, Swedish and American collectors.

On November 28, 1891, at the session of the Oriental Branch of the Russian Archaeological Society, S.F. Oldenburg addressed N.F. Petrovskiy with the request for sending to the Society the information “about the remnants of antiquities in Kucha or in other places of Kashgaria” and for the first time raised the question of organizing an archaeological expedition into this region (Protokol 1892: X). In the reply letter (January 1892) the Consul informed the Society: “The discovery of the manuscript near Kucha was made by Bower by chance. In view of the desire of the Department [...] I am sending a leaflet bought by me in Kashgar two years ago; it is written in a language unknown to me and similar to the leaflets from the book by Bower” (Petrovskiy 1893: 294). On January 27, 1892, in a private letter to V.R. Rosen, Petrovskiy clarified: “I was truly and deeply afflicted by the fact that Bower had arrived at this find before me. This is but simple chance, and after all I cannot help thinking that it is me that should be that lucky man, rather than an alien tourist. If the Department intends to send an archaeologist or an expedition to Kashgaria, it goes without saying that I will do my best for them. I have helped a lot of people here, from Americans to Swedes, and I would help my own people”.<sup>8</sup> On November 15, 1892, Petrovskiy wrote to Rosen: “I am waiting for two more manuscripts from Kucha. I would be inexpressibly glad if my acquisition added new material to academia and thereby surpass the manuscript of Bower in its scientific value; it would not have escaped from my hands had I been in Kashgar at that time”.<sup>9</sup> N.F. Petrovskiy had agents in Aksu, Kashgar, Kucha, Korla, Yarkand, Khotan and conveyed antiquities and manuscripts in boxes for the Russian Archaeological Society to baron Rosen, piling him with artifacts from Serindia. The unpublished letters of N.F. Petrovskiy to V.R. Rosen yield information on the places where the antiquities and manuscripts were found as well as on forgeries, and they also give data about many expeditions and travels of the Europeans to Eastern Turkestan. They indeed conserve the richest material on the history of the “Great Game”.<sup>10</sup>

It was S.F. Oldenburg who first revealed a monument from Kucha written in a dead language, an “earlier unexampled alphabet”, in fact – in so called slanted Brahmi (North-Indian script), a variant previously unknown to scholarship<sup>11</sup> (Oldenburg 1893); and he did so in his article “The Kashgar Manuscript of N.F. Petrovskiy”, which was re-published separately in the “Proceedings of the Oriental Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society” (1892). The publication of the facsimile of this text by

<sup>8</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 777. Inv. 2. Unit 337. Fol. 1v–2. Published in: Myasnikov (2010: 223–352).

<sup>9</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 777. Inv. 2. Unit 338. Fol. 3.

<sup>10</sup> For details, see Tunkina (2013b).

<sup>11</sup> The manuscript has the form of an Indian poṭhī. These two folios of the “Udanavarga” in the Tocharian B language, written in North Central Asian Brahmi in the 7<sup>th</sup> c., are from Kucha (the modern code of the collection from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS is: SI P/1a, 2a (SI-1903)). See: Pamyatniki 3, 2004: 76, note 144; Peschery 2008: 172, № 115 (M.I. Vorob'yeva-Desyatovskaya).

Oldenburg was the beginning of Tocharian studies as a separate branch of research (Krauze 1959: 39). Besides 11 Tocharian fragments, the collection of N.F. Petrovskiy, also comprised texts in Sanskrit and in previously unknown dead East Iranian languages – Khotan Saka, Sogdian, etc. For several decades these manuscripts were being published by S.F. Oldenburg, partly in transliteration and as facsimile,<sup>12</sup> while another part of the texts and tables, although prepared for publication, remained unpublished.<sup>13</sup> The manuscripts from Petrovskiy's collection are now kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS under the code SI P (Ser Indica, Petrovskiy; see Pamyatniki 3, 2004: 35).

It was S.F. Oldenburg who became one of the founders of the new branch of scholarship – Central Asian philology and palaeography.<sup>14</sup> He encouraged international cooperation and promoted the idea of creating a group of researchers from various countries to study the Indo-European and Indian cultures of Eastern Turkestan. While in Paris during a trip abroad (1893–1894), S.F. Oldenburg invited his French colleagues to decipher the texts. “Asia seems to have begun assigning all new and new tasks for Orientalists,” Oldenburg wrote from Paris to baron V.R. Rosen on January 12, 1894, “there are runes of Orkhon, a language of the MSs of Petrovskiy, and now the new inscriptions from the north of Afghanistan, which were sent to Senart. He showed them to me – either Pahlavi, or an Indian script; nobody here can understand these inscriptions. They'd like to make facsimiles and send them out to urge everyone to refine their wit. Here I showed the shots from the fragments by Petrovskiy – everyone enjoyed them”.<sup>15</sup> Along with the Russian scholars, the West-European specialists proceeded with publishing and deciphering the “unknown language” as well. The French indologist Émile Senart (1847–1928) suggested to Oldenburg to “make a translation” of his articles about the manuscripts of Petrovskiy, but the latter answered that he wrote only in Russian (“j'écris seulement en russe”).<sup>16</sup> Following V.R. Rosen, S.F. Oldenburg insistently urged his West-European colleagues to study Russian; he considered the Russian oriental school as an equal partner of West-European scholarship.

<sup>12</sup> Oldenburg (1894a, b, c; 1897; 1899a; 1904b; republication: Pamyatniki 3, 2004: 34–74).

<sup>13</sup> The material connected with the unpublished 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> parts of the article by Oldenburg “Otryvki kashgarskikh rukopisey iz sobraniya N.F. Petrovskogo” (Fragments of the Kashgar Manuscripts from the Collection of N.F. Petrovskiy), including the tables of phototypes from the manuscript facsimiles, can be found in: SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 131. Fol. 42 (tabl. 19a,b), f. 45 (tabl. 21a,b), f. 46 (tabl. 17a,b), f. 43–44, 55 (tabl. without No.); Unit 356. F. 5–6; MsG. 725 (Shcherbatskoy F.I.). Inv. 4. Unit 54.

On the collection of N.F. Petrovskiy, see Oldenburg (1910, 1912; republication: Pamyatniki 3, 2004: 345–350, Oldenburg 2012: 201–209).

<sup>14</sup> Tyomkin (1985), Bongard-Levin (1986), Tyomkin (1997), Pamyatniki 3 (2004: 14–33), Myasnikov (2012).

<sup>15</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 777. Inv. 2. Unit 320. Fol. 1–3 v. Published in: Perepiska (2004: 280–281).

<sup>16</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 777. Inv. 2. Unit 320. Fol. 1–3 v.; Perepiska (2004: 280, 281).

A palaeographer and professor of the University of Vienna, Johann Georg Bühler (1837–1898), with whom S.F. Oldenburg had been acquainted from his first trip abroad in 1886–1887<sup>17</sup>, was involved in the discussion about the “unknown language”. The future member of the Academy, Fyodor I. Shcherbatskoy, who in 1893 asked Oldenburg to forward Petrovskiy’s texts to Vienna to let him and Bühler “try reading them on the seminar”, had attended the lectures of J.G. Bühler in 1891.<sup>18</sup> Bühler received an offprint of Oldenburg’s article (1892) from Richard Pischel, the professor of the University of Halle, and expressed his doubts about the age of Petrovskiy’s manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> In May 1896, having already been in St. Petersburg, S.F. Oldenburg continued to correspond with J.G. Bühler; he highly appreciated the knowledge of the latter in a letter to V.R. Rosen: “In the absence of the specialists-critics here, it is rather important for me to have some control over the work”.<sup>20</sup> The articles of J.G. Bühler<sup>21</sup> and those of the German Sanskritist Ernst Leumann (1859–1931; see Leumann 1900), professor of the University of Strasbourg, on the fragments of Petrovskiy’s manuscripts were sent to the Russian Consul in Kashgar.<sup>22</sup> The President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and former Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, R. Hoernle (1897, 1899), the Russian colleagues Nikolai D. Mironov and Alexander von Stael-Holstein, and the German researchers Emil Sieg (1866–1951) and Wilhelm Siegling (1880–1946) hazarded their own conjectures about the script and languages. The letters of these West-European scholars to V.R. Rosen, S.F. Oldenburg, F.I. Shcherbatskoy, Dmitri A. Klementz, Mikhail M. Berezovskiy, etc. – written by Sylvain Levy (1887–1932),<sup>23</sup> J.G. Bühler (1893–1897), R. Pischel (1899), Sven Hedin (1899), Albert Grünwedel (1900–1914), E. Sieg (1907), Paul Pelliot (1906–1932), Aurel Stein (1910–1933), Albert von Le Coq (1923–1924) and others – demonstrate a really close cooperation within an academic community established to solve the key questions of the history and archaeology of Eastern Turkestan.

By 1908 the dead Indo-European language of the 5<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> cc. had been deciphered by E. Sieg and W. Siegling and named Tocharian A (the texts written in that language had been discovered in the North-East of Xinjiang, in the provinces of Turfan and Karashahr) and Tocharian B, or Kuchean, (these texts had been discovered both in the

<sup>17</sup> S.F. Oldenburg, having been familiar with G. Bühler for 11 years and corresponded with him, published his emotional obituary; see Oldenburg (1899b).

<sup>18</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 3. Unit 685. Fol. 4; Vigasin (2008: 276–277).

<sup>19</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 777. Inv. 2. Unit 320. F. 21–25 v.; Perepiska (2004: 283, a letter of January 13/25, 1894).

<sup>20</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 777. Inv. 2. Unit 321. Fol. 1–2; Perepiska (2004: 303).

<sup>21</sup> Perhaps, the following article is referred to: Bühler (1894).

<sup>22</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 3. Unit 496. Fol. 82–86; Perepiska (2004: 288).

<sup>23</sup> Only the letters to the following French scholars are published – S. Levy, E. Senart, P. Pelliot, addressed to S.F. Oldenburg, F.I. Shcherbatskoy, I.M. Alexeyev, V.V. Radlov and F.A. Rozenberg. See Bongard-Levin, Lardinois, Vigasin (2002).

North-East of Xinjiang (Turfan and Karashahr) and the North-West, in Kucha and around it).<sup>24</sup>

As early as 1892, V.R. Rosen intended to send his younger colleagues S.F. Oldenburg and F.I. Shcherbatskoy on a research expedition to Eastern Turkestan.<sup>25</sup> Due to lack of funding, however, this plan could be implemented only 17 years later. The oldest friend of S.F. Oldenburg, D.A. Klementz (1848–1914), keeper of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, travelled over the North oasis of Eastern Turkestan at the expense of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1898 (Oldenburg 1916). In a private letter he stated that “the work in the Turfan region will suffice for more than one hundred years, for all Europe”.<sup>26</sup> Oldenburg’s plans to get there in summer 1904,<sup>27</sup> while N.F. Petrovskiy was still alive, remained unrealized; in 1905–1907 an expedition of a traveler-naturalist, Mikhail Mikhaylovich Berezovskiy (1848–1912), departed for Kucha (Vorob’yeva-Desyatovskaya 2008; 2009; Bukharin 2013). Finally, in 1909–1910 and 1914–1915, two Russian expeditions to Eastern Turkestan took place under the direction of S.F. Oldenburg and appointed by RKISVA. The scholar was carefully preparing for these travels – he studied literature (Oldenburg 1904), the unpublished reports and descriptions of Kashgaria,<sup>28</sup> and he collected Chinese, British, and Russian maps. Chinese Turkestan impressed the travelers as an “extinct kingdom of the Buddhist temples”.<sup>29</sup> In the course of the two expeditions, a lot of architectural and archeological monuments were found and described that related

<sup>24</sup> For details, see Ivanov (1959).

<sup>25</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 777. Inv. 2. Unit 338. Fol. 16–17 (letter of N.F. Petrovskiy to the academician V.R. Rosen of December 25, 1892); Perepiska (2004: 290).

<sup>26</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 3. Unit 269. Fol. 15 v. (letter of January 9, 1904). Published in Oldenburg (2012: 233).

<sup>27</sup> Perepiska (2004: 351, 354, 360); Myasnikov (2010: 292–294).

<sup>28</sup> The collection of S.F. Oldenburg has the unpublished description of Chinese Turkestan, made by a secretary of the Russian Consulate in Kashgar, Mikhail Ivanovich Lavrov, with mention of the archaeological sites of the region. See: Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the RAS. MsG. 208. Inv. 4. Unit 34. Fol. 1–124. Typewriting. Fol. 125 (a copy of the Chinese map of the Kucha district). See also the Chinese maps of the Kucha district No. 1 and 2, described by the same Lavrov: SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 178. Fol. 14–15. After the departure of N.F. Petrovskiy in August 1903 to Tashkent, M.I. Lavrov became the head of the Consulate in Kashgar. His journey was made in the period from December 21, 1904 to April 14, 1905. M.I. Lavrov left Kashgar and made 2,886 versts (= 3,079 km) on horseback in 84 days. He prepared 5 boxes with ancient artefacts, including manuscripts, now kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS (Pamyatniki 3, 2004: 79, 247–260, 337–342). In August 29, 1907, M.I. Lavrov’s description was forwarded to the chairman of RKISVA, the academician V.V. Radlov, by the vice-director of the 1<sup>st</sup> Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ivan Ya. Korostovets, who soon became a Russian envoy in Beijing (SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 188. Fol. 66–66 v.). M.I. Lavrov’s description was used by Oldenburg in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> Russian Turkestan Expedition and is frequently mentioned in his travel diary (SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162).

<sup>29</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 163. Fol. 37, 44.

not only to ancient Buddhist culture. Written monuments in various languages were discovered there as well.<sup>30</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Russian Turkestan expedition (1 RTE), intended to be a prospecting one, was focused on Kashgar, Turfan, and Kucha; as a result, about a dozen ground and cave-based Buddhist temples were investigated.<sup>31</sup> Having encountered the traces of various excavations in different parts of Kashgaria, S.F. Oldenburg critically evaluated the activity of most his West-European forerunners, recognizing them as antiquarian rather than scientific investigations, and estimated their results as barbarous pillage of monuments to replenish the West-European museums.<sup>32</sup> On the contrary, it was essential for Oldenburg not to touch the monuments in situ, unless they were in danger of immediate destruction. Only the artefacts which needed saving and restoring were brought out, first of all, to Petersburg – those were the fragments of manuscripts found on the floors of caves, pieces of wall paintings and statues – the rest was cleaned, fixed and preserved, if possible.

Although the 1<sup>st</sup> RTE followed the trails of the German and French expeditions of Grünwedel, Le Coq, and Pelliot, and observed the demolished monuments, one can encounter some references to the singular finds of Tocharian texts (language 1 = Kuchean = Tocharian B) in its material. In the *Karashahr oasis*, in Shikshin, Oldenburg recorded the finds of fragments of manuscripts and inscriptions on the walls “in black and white”: caves 1, 5, 11; complex F 2.<sup>33</sup> In the picture of cave No. 8 (a part of cave B, by Grünwedel called No. 6) “one can see... a strip with Buddhas with a flame behind, and a piece of inscriptions with the names of constellations”, but S.F. Oldenburg did not indicate the language. In cave No. 11, then, a scene was cleared with the picture of an

<sup>30</sup> Skachkov (1993); Men'shikov (1993); Popova (2008: 148–175).

<sup>31</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 1. Inv. 1a-1909. Unit 156. Fol. 31 v. § 80; Fol. 55 § 173; Fol. 2. Inv. 1-1909. Unit 24. Fol. 208 Inv. 1 Unit 162, 163 (a short report), 164, 165.

<sup>32</sup> See the indicative remarks in the diary of S.F. Oldenburg for 1909, with the description of the caves Ming-oi near Shikshin about the methodologically incorrect and superficial researches of A. Grünwedel and A. Le Coq in 1906, who were carrying out excavations, but not to the soil: “All this is to a great degree looked up and down by the Germans [...]. [...] the Germans also were digging; it has been found that they were digging to the known depth [...]. It is clear that here everything was dug and abandoned. There was nothing to indicate any layers there”; and about the murals and sculptures: “Everything is cut and damaged”. SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162. Fol. 16b, 19b, 20b.

<sup>33</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162. Fol. 19a: a cave with niches 1 (a cave with a skeleton, depicted with black paint): Inscriptions on the walls “in black and white” in Sanskrit and in language I (Tocharian B); between the niches 5–6 – a local variant of Kharoṣṭhī. Only separate characters remained from the inscriptions. A small fragment of an Uighur text was found in the rubbish, fol. 30a (during the cleaning-up of temple cave No. 5, there was found “irregular rubbish with broken-down frescos, pieces of inscriptions: black-on-white, language I and Sanskrit (?); a lot of small details, scraps of the Sanskrit manuscripts, one in language I and one a Manichaean (!), dropped by the Germans (?). Several well preserved pieces of inscriptions (black-on-white) in a language [...] and in Uighur (several characters)”; *Russkaya Turkestanskaya ekspeditciya* (1914: 13, 16); D'yakonova (1995: 104, 113).

“Uighur khan with a flower before a big figure of Buddha. Under him in the partitions there were the inscriptions in the language I (?) Brahmi”. Above the picture of the Buddha “there were traces of inscriptions in the language I”. In September 1909, while cleaning a rubbish dump near complex F2, Oldenburg “discovered a scrap of the Uighur document and a scrap in language I”. Carrying out excavations of a chaitya before F2, among the bricks he found scraps of Uighur manuscripts and, probably, an “image” – “a paper pasted on a cloth. Unfortunately, it appeared to be but the scraps”. In complex F5 there was found “rubbish with the scraps of Sanskrit manuscripts”.<sup>34</sup>

The valley Sym-Sym in the *Kucha oasis*, 7 miles from the village Kirish, was also mentioned by him; it was there Oldenburg found the remains of a mortar and a lot of pottery fragments with graffiti, including the ones with Brahmi characters. The monastic settlements Subashi and the “original caves” in western Min-ya near the village Aryk-arasi impressed S.F. Oldenburg with “a lot of niches and an abundance of graffiti in the Kuchean language”. The scholar also referred to the graffiti (remainders of separate signs) in “the very old caves without traces of any Chinese influence on the pictorial art” in Kyzyl-Karga along the high road to Aksu.<sup>35</sup> In the *Turfan oasis*, Oldenburg bought a number of manuscripts, but he did not mention Tocharian texts, often confining himself to short notes about the finds and the acquisition of the texts only.<sup>36</sup> In Sängim-Agyz, the

<sup>34</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162. Fol. 21b; Russkaya Turkestanskaya ekspeditsiya (1914: 19); D'yakonova (1995: 105, 118, 126).

<sup>35</sup> Russkaya turkestanskaya ekspeditsiya (1914: 61, 63, 66).

<sup>36</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162. Fol. 23 (on October 2, 1909, in Sart Turfan, Oldenburg bought from an “artful Sart” and two boys, employed for the diggings in Yar, “some sort of” old manuscripts and fragments of documents), 23 v. (on October 4, he traveled to see old Turfan and bought there “two books for 3 taels. Two tablets with an Uighur inscription for a half a tael; the tablets from Yar”); fol. 25 (on October 8, a translator of the expedition B.T. Khokho “brought a new Tibetan manuscript... with bad illustrations and ornaments and a strongly spoiled copper caitja”; in Sasyk-bulak (Shipan) on October 9 in the cave No. 3, they found a fresco with an Uighur inscription, and in the rubbish, a piece of a xylography in the language Si-sya (Thongho)), fol. 25 v. (on October 12, he noted: “I bought manuscripts from an Aqsaqal for 12 taels”); fol. 26 (on October 14 in Karakhoja near the ruins of Idiqu-shari they “bought several manuscripts and some little things. By the way, two runic fragments, very small”; on October 15 in a building Z (chaitya) while clearing rubbish, they “found several Uighur manuscripts and xylographic fragments”); fol. 26 v. (on October 17, 1909, “someone offered for sale... several scraps of manuscripts; among other things one Uighur document, evidently, quite an integral one”), fol. 27 (on a road to Murtuq near the ruins of Bezeklik on October 18, they incidentally found a “Manichaeon fragment, a piece of Uighur xylography and a piece of an Uighur manuscript (in capital letters)”), fol. 28 v. (on October 28 in Turfan, he “bought several manuscripts from an Aqsaqal for 6 taels”), fol. 29 v. (in Sängim-Agyz on November 1, 1909, Oldenburg, remarking on the inaccuracy in the description by Grünwedel, wrote in his diary: “The complex I as it turned out to have a lot of inscriptions near the bases, on which books are lying, inscriptions with the titles of the writings! Grünwedel might have missed them. Alas, now nothing has been preserved. [...] Someone brought a piece of Uighur xylography”), fol. 31 v. (while clearing a circular gallery



1<sup>st</sup> RTE followed the trails of the investigations of Klementz, Grünwedel and Le Coq. In the course of Grünwedel's expedition, "doctor Huth photographed and copied the inscriptions; it was incomparably safer". Unfortunately, all attempts to search for those photographs after the death of doctor Huth in Berlin, made by A. Grünwedel and S.F. Oldenburg, came to naught. S.F. Oldenburg was engaged in studying "the poor remains of the inscriptions" of the interior decoration of the temple No. 1 and identified them as cartouches with names of Buddhas, as well as book titles on the images of the Buddhist library and texts of the nomenclative-catechetical character. There, an amusing incident happened: while excavating a base of temple No.1, the workers found out that the floor was broken. The hole was cleared, but nothing was found there except rubbish and small pieces of decorations. At the depth of 1,5 arshin (circa 1 meter), they found a page of the German translation of the famous novel by Charles Dickens, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*. This find "was warmly welcomed by our workers as a desirable "hat – a manuscript," Oldenburg wrote with irony.<sup>37</sup> Monastery No. 9 had two rooms with a lot of inscriptions but we have only "insignificant fragments" of them. In one of the rooms they discovered an inscription of 4 lines between the scenes, and black inscriptions in Central Asian Brahmi above the heads of 32 Buddhas.<sup>38</sup> Cave No. 43 in Bezeklik was notable for the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions.

Running an eye over the caves of Toyuq-Mazar, they found a fragment in the Middle Persian language and in Manichaean script. It was saved among the papers of the Oldenburg collection and remained unknown to the experts.<sup>39</sup> On November 9, 1909, in Toyuq-Mazar, the scholar made the following note in his diary: "Jisa brought the results of his excavations; a pile of small manuscripts and some sort of fragmented pieces".<sup>40</sup> Another monument not yet introduced to the scientific community was discovered by S.F. Oldenburg on November 25, 1909, in the upper part of the Lemjin gorge, to the North-West of Syrkip, on the left bank of the river, taking course along an araba cart road. This was a "stone with signs, looking like tamgas". This stone, called Kalmakchoka by the local inhabitants, stood near the poorly preserved ruins. The next discovery was a second stone with life-scenes of Buddhas (Buddhas in rows) and inscriptions, which was published by A. Grünwedel. There were "inscriptions in Chinese and some other separate signs".<sup>41</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> RTE gathered over 30 boxes of finds (murals, wooden and bronze statuettes and other art objects), besides adding almost a hundred fragments of manuscripts, found mainly during the excavations, over 1500 photographs of monasteries, caves, temples,

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around the temple in Sängim-Agyz on November 18, 1909, in a small floor-hole they found scraps of "three Uighur manuscripts and some Sanskrit ones").

<sup>37</sup> Russkaya Turkestanakaya ekspeditsiya (1914: 39–40).

<sup>38</sup> Russkaya Turkestanakaya ekspeditsiya (1914: 43).

<sup>39</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1 Unit 130. Fol. 31–32.

<sup>40</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162. Fol. 30 v.

<sup>41</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162. Fol. 35 v.; Unit 178. Fol. 6–7 (the photographs of the first stone in the form of prepared tables for publication); Russkaya Turkestanakaya ekspeditsiya (1914: 55).

etc. to the Central Asian corpus of the Asiatic Museum. Unfortunately, S.F. Oldenburg published only a short preliminary report on the expedition of 1909–1910,<sup>42</sup> which was awarded in 1915 with a gold medal of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. The publication of the full report was prevented by the First World War, and then by the change of power in Russia.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Russian Turkestan expedition (2<sup>nd</sup> RTE) of 1914–1915 purposefully focused on research into the “thousand Buddhas” cave complex on the slopes of Mogao Mountain in Dunhuang (Shazhou) in Western China near the Great Wall (Dunhuang district in Gansu province). On the way back, the expedition surveyed the monuments of the Turfan oasis, which were examined for the first time by S.F. Oldenburg at the end of 1909 and at the beginning of 1910. The main task of the second expedition was to search for material to identify the age of the monuments of Buddhist art and the acquisition of data to characterize its special styles in Eastern Turkestan.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE delivered 29 packages of material, which weighed over 89 puds<sup>43</sup> (one pud is sixteen kilograms) – a collection of sculptures, paintings and ornamental art from China and India (2,500 objects), about 2,000 negative images, sketches and tracings of the wall-paintings, plans and drawings of the caves, copies of the cartouches, records of the murals, and detailed descriptions of 450 caves, provided by S.F. Oldenburg with an explicit enumeration of all peculiarities (frescos, statues and etc.) and their characteristics with regard to colour-grades and styles. The 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE supplemented the manuscript collection of the Asiatic Museum with circa 19,000 items – Chinese, Uighur and Tibetan documents and xylographies.<sup>44</sup> The collected archaeological and ethnographical monuments came to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences; in 1930–1934 on the insistence of S.F. Oldenburg, they were turned over to the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum (including the collection inventories and the richest photo-archive of the expedition (Peshchery 2008; Elikhina 2008: 75–81), plans, tracings and other illustrative material).

The material of the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE has also remained unpublished; S.F. Oldenburg published only three short review articles about the expedition of 1914–1915 (Oldenburg 1921; 1922; 1925). In 1923, during his foreign mission, Oldenburg repelled an offer of German publishing companies to publish the material of the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE in 6 volumes, because he wanted to publish them in his homeland (Perepiska 2004: 208). In 1926, Oldenburg re-received a proposal from the publisher Van Oest to publish the material of the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE in English and French in 8 volumes, in folio, in the series “*Ars Asiatica*” with 400 photo-types, 10 colored tables, plans and drawings.<sup>45</sup> However, Oldenburg’s study of the languages and culture of Central Asia remained, for the most part, only in

<sup>42</sup> Oldenburg (1913: XX–XXI); *Russkaya Turkestanskaya ekspeditsiya* (1914).

<sup>43</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 192. Fol. 67.

<sup>44</sup> The Dunhuang manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS were published as facsimiles in Shanghai in 17 volumes in 1994–2000, and the electronic version is available on the Internet within the framework of the International Dunhuang Project: <http://idp.orientalstudies.ru/idp.a4d>. For details, see Popova and Liu (2012).

<sup>45</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 182. Fol. 143.

the project stage, mostly because of the hard politico-social conditions in the country and the enormous administrative workload in the Academy of Sciences borne by him to save Russian science and culture from annihilation.

The unpublished field material of the two expeditions of S.F. Oldenburg to Eastern Turkestan was deposited in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the RAS. Among them are his correspondence with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finances, Russian as well as foreign organizations and scholars about organizing and conducting expeditions, reports, manuscript maps and plans, photographs, watercolors and drawings, check lists of the gathered collections, register books on manuscripts' entries, archaeological and ethnographical objects delivered to the Asiatic Museum, the Museum of the Russian Archaeological Society, the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the RAS, etc. The most valuable part of the collection is considered to be the handwritten field diaries of S.F. Oldenburg himself,<sup>46</sup> topographer and surveyor Dmitri. A. Smirnov, painter Samuel M. Dudin,<sup>47</sup> the painter and photographer of the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE, Boris F. Romberg,<sup>48</sup> as well as plans of the architectural-archaeological remains, descriptions of the sites, temples and caves, outline copies of the murals taken by the expeditions, brief reviews, and parts of the reports yet unpublished. Parts of the field diaries of S.F. Oldenburg, D.A. Smirnov, and S.M. Dudin of the 1<sup>st</sup> RTE period, as well as the extensive graphic material, are kept in the collection of the Russian Turkestan expedition in the Archive and Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum.<sup>49</sup>

In the late 1930's the scholar's widow, Elena G. Oldenburg,<sup>50</sup> with the assistance of F.I. Shcherbatskoy tried to publish her husband's scientific heritage,<sup>51</sup> but none of the prepared manuscripts actually appeared in print. Based on the field diaries of S.F. Oldenburg of the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE,<sup>52</sup> she composed a handwritten work of six exercise books (about a thousand typewritten pages), entitled "The Description of the Caves Chan Fodun near Dunhuang".<sup>53</sup> A typoscript with the description of the Buddhist cave temples of Qian Fo Dong (Mogao) exists in three copies: one was kept in the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum; the second one, with handwritten corrections of F.I.

<sup>46</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 162. 86 f. (1 RTE); Unit 167–177 (2 RTE); Unit 179 (2 RTE); Unit 180 (1–2 RTE); Unit 181–182 (2 RTE); Unit 185 (card-catalogue of the photographs of the 2 RTE); Unit 186–188 (1–2 RTE); Unit 193. 15 notebooks. 537 f. (1–2 RTE); 194 (1–2 RTE).

<sup>47</sup> The ethnographer, traveller and photographer Samuil Martynovich Dudin (1863–1929) visited Kashgar for the first time in 1901–1902, by order of the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum. For his diaries of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Russian Turkestan expeditions, see SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 164 (1 RTE); Unit 183 (2 RTE).

<sup>48</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 180.

<sup>49</sup> Archive of the State Hermitage Museum. MsG. of RTE. Inv. 1. Unit 4, 7, 8, 12–16 and etc.

<sup>50</sup> Oldenburg Elena Grigor'evna (born Klementz, in the first marriage Golovachova, 1875–1955), a niece of the member of Narodnaya Volya and a researcher of the Eastern Turkestan D.A. Klementz, the second wife of S.F. Oldenburg from February 19, 1923.

<sup>51</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 175. Fol. 2, 992–1014.

<sup>52</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. Inv. 1. Unit 174. 6 exercise books. Autograph of S.F. Oldenburg.

<sup>53</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Units 167–172. Typoscript.

Shcherbatskoy,<sup>54</sup> was kept in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the AS of the USSR; the third one was held by the Archive of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The two last copies – the bound and the unbound – entered the Academic Archive when Oldenburg’s collection was handed over. Based on the copy from the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum, a Chinese translation of “The Description of the Caves Chan Fo-dun near Dunhuang”, including maps, plans, drawings and 300 photographs of the 2<sup>nd</sup> RTE, was published in 2005 in Shanghai in a series “Dunhuang Art Relics Collected in Russia” (vol. 6).<sup>55</sup> The book by S.M. Dudin, a participant of two expeditions of S.F. Oldenburg, about the architectural monuments of Xinjiang, published in 1916 (Dudin 1916), was recently also printed in Chinese translation (Beijing, 2006).<sup>56</sup> In 1995, Natal’ya V. Dyakonova introduced the material on the monuments of Shikshin, gathered by the 1<sup>st</sup> RTE of S.F. Oldenburg to the scientific community (Dyakonova 1995). To the shame of Russian scholarship, the complete edition of the material of the two Russian Turkestan expeditions under the direction of S.F. Oldenburg in the original language has not yet been accomplished.

### Abbreviations

|           |   |
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| MsG       | Manuscript group  |
| RAS       | Russian Academy of Sciences   |
| RKISVA    | Russkiy Komitet dlya uzucheniya Srednei i Vostochnoy Asii v istoricheskom, arkhelogicheskom, lingvisticheskom i etnograficheskom otnoshenii [Russian Committee for Middle and East Asia in the Historical, Archaeological, Linguistic and Ethnographic Exploration] |
| RTE       | Russian Turkestan Expedition  |
| SPbF ARAN | Sankt-Peterburgskiy Filial Arkhiva Rossiyskoi Akademii nauk [St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences]   |
| ZVORAO    | Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Imperatorskogo Russkogo arkhelogicheskogo obshchestva [Proceedings of the Oriental Branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society]  |

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<sup>54</sup> SPbF ARAN. MsG. 208. Inv. 1. Unit 175. F. 9–991. A typescript with insertions by F.I. Shcherbatskoy. For details, see Tunkina (2013c).

<sup>55</sup> Dunhuang Art Relics (2005).

<sup>56</sup> See also Dudin (1917).

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