

Return to the Silk Routes

Current Scandinavian Research
on Central Asia

Edited by
Mirja Juntunen
and Birgit N. Schlyter



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*To Gunnar Jarring,
for his great knowledge and
generous attitude towards
fellow researchers*

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Preface

As will be further explained in our introductory chapter, the rest of the contributions to this volume have their origin in a symposium which was held in Stockholm on 27–29 September 1996 under the Swedish title of *Nordisk Centralasienforskning: språk – kultur – samhälle*, i.e. ‘Nordic Central Asia Research: Language – Culture – Society’. The main purpose of this meeting was to obtain a general view of current research activities and study programmes in this field and to help establish contact between Central Asia researchers in the Nordic countries. Therefore, by designating a general theme for the symposium we hoped to attract most Nordic scholars and graduate students involved in Central Asia research to the Stockholm symposium.

This symposium was prepared by a working committee from the Institute of Oriental Languages at Stockholm University consisting of Joakim Enwall, Mirja Juntunen, Staffan Rosén and Birgit N. Schlyter. The symposium and the present volume were sponsored by generous grants from the Nordic Academy of Advanced Study, Oslo, and the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences, Stockholm. A travel grant was obtained from the Wenner-Gren Center, Stockholm.

Participants in each of the fields represented at the symposium were invited to submit their papers for publication. Our first chapter, which gives a brief historical background to the ensuing articles, was written with the aid of information received from several persons in different parts of the Nordic countries: Christel Braae, Bernt Brendemoen, Ole Bruun, Gerd Carling, Ester Fihl, Anette Jensen, Folke Josephson, Pål Kolstø, Ida Nicolaisen, Staffan Rosén, Volker Rybatzki, Erik Skaaning, Ingvar Svanberg, Per Sørensen and Bo Utas. The Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, made its contribution by offering one of the present editors an opportunity to use its library and benefit from the good services of its librarians. The renowned Swedish scholar and ambassador, Professor Gunnar Jarring, to whom this book is dedicated, has also been engaged in our work. His long experience and excellent memory as well as his keen interest in present-day research on Central Asia render his comments and advice an extraordinary status.

Consultants for questions on the English language were Judith Monk, William Smith and Michael Stevens.

Kräftriket, Stockholm
June 1998
The Editors

Remarks on Transcription and Spelling

It has been our ambition to keep as coherent a spelling as possible throughout the book, with certain exceptions; for example, the two American contributors were permitted to retain their American spelling where it differs from British spelling (as in *neighbor*, *center* etc.). Quoted titles in English, including translations from other languages, were everywhere spelt with capital initial letters in prominent words.

Quotations, lexical items and references to publications originally in non-Latin scripts were transliterated according to international scientific standards; for example, for Chinese we followed the Pinyin scheme convention. Names appearing in the main text (not references), on the other hand, were treated in a somewhat different manner. Geographical names and the names of languages and dialects, both transcribed ones and names originally in the Latin script, were rendered in a common English spelling, as long as there was one (e.g. *Peking*, not *Beijing*, and *Sinkiang*, not *Xinjiang*, *Aarhus*, instead of Danish *Århus*, and *Gothenburg*, instead of Swedish *Göteborg*). Where there were alternatives, each more or less as frequent as the other, either of them was chosen for all articles. For example, *Tajikistan* was preferred to *Tadzhikistan* under the motivation that the affricate sound [dz] is represented by the letter *j* in most other transcribed names (e.g. *Jigda-bulung* and *Jungaria*). As to personal and institutional names in the Latin script, these were spelt as we have most often seen them written in the country of their origin (e.g. Norwegian *Kværne* and Danish *Grønbech*, *Moesgård*). Proper names originally spelt in other alphabets were rewritten in accordance with conventions adhered to in the English mass media; e.g. *Yeltsin* and *Turkmenbashi*, not *Elcin* and *Turkmenbaşy*, which would be standard scientific transliterations of the Russian Cyrillic and Turkmen Cyrillic versions of these two names, respectively. In a small number of cases, for example, less common Mongolian names, the aforementioned transliteration standards were followed (e.g. *Xùrēlbaatar*).

CENTRAL ASIA RESEARCH - A BACKGROUND

Nordic Research on Central Asia

Past, Present and Future

MIRJA JUNTUNEN AND BIRGIT N. SCHLYTER

After decades of political seclusion, the vast region of Central Asia – from the Caspian Sea to the Khingan Mountains and from the Iranian Plateau and the Himalayas to the Siberian Steppes – is in a process of profound sociocultural metamorphosis and reassertion. This state of affairs challenges present-day and future Central Asia research by making demands for new knowledge and perhaps even a new outlook on the organization of the research itself; a new era has started in Central Asian studies.

Central Asia research in Scandinavia and more generally, the Nordic countries, has a long and rich tradition to fall back on but is today entering a new state of development and expansion, in a fashion similar to Central Asia research elsewhere in the international community. The following chapters, most of which are reports from ongoing projects on contemporary Central Asian settings and based on papers read at a symposium held in Stockholm in 1996, further elucidate the course of development and future perspectives in this field of research.¹

Nordic scientific contacts with the Central Asian region started in the early 18th century, after the defeat of the Swedish King Charles XII at Poltava and the capture of his army by the Russian enemy. Some of these prisoners of war were sent to the woodlands and steppes in the eastern parts of the Russian empire, where they became interested in and acquainted with the people and languages as well as the geography of the area. When

¹ For this chapter an attempt was made to cover Central Asia research in all the Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. The reason for referring to Scandinavia in the title of the whole volume is that the account of current research projects in the present chapter and the symposium from which the manuscripts of the book originated were confined to persons and institutions in Denmark, Norway and Sweden (cf. the comment on p. 16).

they were finally released by the tsar and returned to Sweden, these early explorers of North-East and Central Asia brought back with them valuable future research material including Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts.²

The Governor General of Siberia, Prince Gagarin, realized the importance and ability of the Swedes and allowed them to travel without hindrance in this vast area. The most famous of them, Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (1676–1747), travelled extensively in Siberia during his captivity, which lasted some sixteen years. His book published in Stockholm in 1730 and entitled *Das nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asien*³ was one of the first accounts of the region beyond the Ural Mountains. Another Swede, Ambjörn Molin (d. 1731), a cavalry captain, who was on an expedition organized by Prince Gagarin to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, wrote a book about the people in North-East Asia.⁴ The journey of Johann Christopher Schnitscher resulted in a book about the Kalmucks and their folklore, traditions and religion.⁵ Johan Gustaf Renat (1682–1744), an artillery-sergeant, who took part in an expedition sent to Central Asia to look for gold sand, was even more closely acquainted with the Kalmucks, as he and his first wife, Brita Scherzenfeldt, were held prisoner by them for several years. Before Renat's release, the Kalmuck khan presented him with two maps of Jungaria. Renat made a Swedish version, a copy of which, drawn in 1738, was published after almost 150 years of oblivion along with an introduction, comments and an index in French.⁶

² The manuscripts are preserved at the university libraries of Uppsala and Lund; see Helmut Eimer, *Tibetica Upsaliensia: Handliste der tibetischen Handschriften in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala* (Bibliotheca Ekmaniana 66), Uppsala 1975.

³ A facsimile of the original work was published in *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 8, Szeged 1975, with an introduction by J. K. Krueger.

⁴ Ambjörn Molin, *Berättelse om de i Stora Tartariet boende Tartarer som träffats längst nordost i Asien*, Stockholm 1880.

⁵ Johann Christopher Schnitscher, *Berättelse om Ajuckiniska Calmuckiet, eller om detta folks ursprung, huru de kommit under Ryssarnas lydno, deras gudar, gudskykan och prester, huru de skiftas uti 4 Ulusser eller folkhopar, deras politike och philosophie, med flera deras lefwernes sätt och seder så wid bröllop som begrafningar*, Stockholm 1744.

⁶ John Gustaf Renat, *Carte de la Dzoungarie dressée par le suédois Renat pendant sa captivité chez les Kalmouks de 1716-1733. Édition de la Société impériale russe de géographie*, St. Péterbourg 1881. All of the Renat maps have been thoroughly commented on in John F. Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, vol. 1, London 1919, pp. clxvi–ccxvi. The person mainly instrumental in the rediscovery, at the end of the last century, of the Central Asian adventures of Renat and his fellow Carolingian officers was August Strindberg, who then worked as an assistant at the Royal Library in Stockholm and who later became one of Sweden's best-known writers; cf. Gunnar Jarring, 'Swedish Relations

Scandinavian explorers in Central Asia

After more than a century with hardly any contacts at all, a new Scandinavian interest focused on Central Asia when a large number of expeditions to the region were undertaken towards the end of the 19th century and in the first few decades of the 20th. Between 1890 and 1935 the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin (1865–1952) went out on six long expeditions, which took him on different routes through the western parts of Central Asia and the terrifying Takla-makan desert as far as Lake Lop-nor and Tibet. His renowned *Central Asia Atlas* and other maps by his hand are still excellent sources of information as regards Central Asian toponymy⁷ – a field of research of the utmost importance to our understanding of extinct languages along the Silk Routes in Central Asia. Furthermore, Sven Hedin brought back to Sweden important archaeological material from Khotan and it was he who discovered the desert town of Loulan in the vicinity of Lop-nor. The most extensive and important Hedin expedition was the last, made between 1927 and 1935. Hedin travelled with a large multidisciplinary team of more than 40 specialists of different nationalities including archaeologists, geologists, ethnographers and many others. The aim of the expedition was to explore, among other areas, Inner Mongolia, the Tarim basin, Tianshan and the north-western part of Tibet. The extensive Hedin collection – maps, drawings, photos, scientific notations etc. and Hedin's own writings – is kept at the National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.⁸

The Mongolian texts in the Hedin Collection containing material from various fields of Central Asian studies have been carefully catalogued by Pentti Aalto⁹, the productive Finnish scholar, who himself has published a

with Central Asia and Swedish Central Asian Research', *Asian Affairs. Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 61 (1974), pp. 257–266.

⁷ See e.g. D. M. Farquhar, G. Jarring and E. Norin, *Sven Hedin Central Asia Atlas: Memoir on Maps, Vol. II: Index of Geographical Names* (Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, I:3 Geography, Publication 49), Stockholm 1967.

⁸ In 1992 an international symposium on 'Central Asian Studies in the 20th Century and the Legacy of Sven Hedin' was held in Urumchi in Sinkiang. There were some 70 participants from six different countries including members of the board of the Sven Hedin Foundation in Sweden (Staffan Rosén, Håkan Wahlquist, Bertil Nordenstam); see the symposium volume Ma Dazheng, Wang Rong and Yang Lian (eds), *Xiyu kaocha yu yanjiu* [Studies and Research on the Western Region], Ulumuqi [Urumchi] 1994.

⁹ Pentti Aalto, 'A Catalogue of the Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature', in *Contributions to Ethnography, Linguistics and History of Religion* (Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of

great number of works on Mongolian philology and ethnography as well as on topics relating to Indo-European cultural traits in the eastern part of Central Asia.¹⁰

Explorers and adventurers from other Nordic countries also deserve mention. Two Danish Pamir expeditions headed by Lieutenant Ole Olufsen (1865–1929) set out in the late 1890s.¹¹ The Finnish geographer Johannes Gabriel Granö (1882–1956) toured the southern parts of Siberia, Mongolia and the Altay Mountains.¹² The Finnish Colonel, later Field-Marshal, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim (1867–1951), travelled on horseback from the Caspian Sea to Peking passing among other places the Swedish missionary station in Kashghar (see below).¹³ Henning Haslund-Christensen (1896–1948) from Denmark had participated in Sven Hedin's 1927–1930 expedition as a caravan leader.¹⁴ Inspired by the experiences gained during this journey he organized expeditions of his own to Mongolia¹⁵ and Afghanistan. He died in Kabul in 1948, just as he had started his third expedition. His companions went on with the work and remained in Afghanistan until 1954, studying various

Dr. Sven Hedin, Publication 38), Stockholm 1953, pp. 69–108. A useful bibliography on Mongolian studies in Sweden is Ingvar Svanberg and Eva-Charlotte Ekström, *Mongolica Suecana: Bibliography of Swedish Books and Articles on Mongolia* (Uppsala Multiethnic Papers 3), 2nd edition, Uppsala 1988.

¹⁰ For a bibliography of publications by Pentti Aalto, see *Studia Orientalia* 47 (1977), pp. 287–311.

¹¹ See e.g. O. Olufsen, *Through the Unknown Pamirs: The Second Danish Pamir Expedition, 1898–99* (with maps and numerous illustrations), New York 1969 (reprint of the 1904 edition, published by William Heinemann, London). Olufsen and his colleagues not only explored the Pamir region but travelled extensively in Western Turkestan and spent some time in both the Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara as well as in Merv in present-day Turkestan; see id., *The Emir of Bokhara and his Country*, Copenhagen and London 1911, and notice the reference to a forthcoming volume in footnote 33.

¹² Johannes Gabriel Granö, *Altai: Upplevelser och iakttagelser under mina vandringsår*, 1–2, Helsingfors 1919–1921.

¹³ Mannerheim's diaries were published in id., *Across Asia from West to East in 1906–1908* (Travaux ethnographiques de la Société finno-ougrienne 8), Helsinki 1940.

¹⁴ Thanks to Haslund-Christensen's love of Mongolian music we have today a unique and large collection of Mongolian folk songs, the greater part of which he recorded during the first Sino-Swedish Expedition. The recordings are now in the possession of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. The musical material, including a translation of the texts by Kaare Grønbech, was published in *The Music of the Mongols. Part 1. Eastern Mongolia* (Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, Publication 21) Stockholm 1943. See also footnote 33 on p. 11.

¹⁵ Henning Haslund-Christensen's Mongolian adventures are related in his *Asiatiske strejftog. Med tegninger af Lodai Lama fra Khalka-Mongoliet*, København 1945.

aspects of Afghan geography and Afghan nomadism.¹⁶ One member of this team, Klaus Ferdinand from Aarhus, later headed a number of Danish Scientific Missions to Afghanistan in the 1960s and 1970s. Collections made by the Danish expeditions are kept at the National Museum and the Royal Library in Copenhagen and at the Moesgård Museum in Aarhus.



The Scandinavian participants of the 1927 Hedin expedition. From left to right: Georg Söderbom, Folke Bergman, David Hummel, Erik Norin, Henning Haslund-Christensen, Frans August Larsson and Sven Hedin. A picture from YMER (Tidskrift utgiven av Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi) 71:3 (1951), p. 163 (Photo: Lieberenz)

¹⁶ See e.g. Johannes Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan: étude d'un pays aride avec des chapitres de M. Kjøie et K. Ferdinand*, Copenhagen–Oslo–Helsinki 1959, and Klaus Ferdinand, 'Preliminary Notes on Hazāra Culture (The Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953–55)', *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske meddelelser* 37:5 (1959).

Previous research on Central Asian topics

In addition to what had been collected by King Charles' officers, material acquired and experience gained by participants in various Scandinavian expeditions and by single Nordic explorers constituted the basis for later scholarly works in general history, philology, archaeology, ethnography, religion, cartography, geology and other disciplines.¹⁷

The turn of the century was a period of comparative philology, and several scholars from Scandinavia and Finland were engaged in Central Asian linguistic research. Runic inscriptions on the shores of the Yenisey River had been discovered by the above-mentioned von Strahlenberg already in the 18th century, and more material was collected by, among others, Charles Schulman (1721), Johan Reinhold Aspelin (1889) and Axel Olai Heikel (1890). With access to these findings the Danish Professor of Comparative Philology in Copenhagen, Vilhelm Thomsen (1842–1927), succeeded in deciphering the Old Turkic Orkhon inscriptions from the 8th century,¹⁸ which are the oldest Turkic texts known. Thomsen's achievement gave a very substantial impetus to Turkological and Altaic research, which was continued in his own country by Vilhelm Grønbech (1873–1948) and his son Kaare Grønbech (1901–1957)¹⁹ as well as Kaare Thomsen Hansen (1924–1997). An outstanding representative of Altaic philology in Finland was Professor Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873–1950), who carried out extensive fieldwork of his own in Central Asia.²⁰ The first Finnish Turkologist of

¹⁷ The scientific outcome of the Swedish Carolingian research was documented by Sven Hedin in the first volume of his *Southern Tibet: Discoveries in Former Times Compared with my own Researches in 1906–1908*, Vol. 1–9, Atlas, Maps 1–2. Stockholm 1917–1922. A bibliography of Swedish publications on Central Asia up to the 1990s compiled by Ingvar Svanberg appeared in Staffan Rosén and Bo Utas (eds), *Det okända Centralasien – en utmaning för svensk forskning*, Uppsala 1994. Other accounts of the history of Central Asia research in the North are found in e.g. Pentti Aalto, *Oriental Studies in Finland 1828–1918* (The History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828–1918), Helsinki 1971, Klaus Karttunen, *Itästä etsimässä: Eurooppalaisen Aasian-tutkimuksen vaiheita*, Helsinki 1992, and K. V. Jensen (ed.), *Dannebrog på stepperne*, Institut for Orientalisk Filologi, Københavns Universitet, København 1988.

¹⁸ Vilhelm Thomsen, 'Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénisséï, notice préliminaire', *Oversigt over Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskaps Forhandlinger...*, København 1893, pp. 285–299.

¹⁹ Among the best-known works by the latter are K. Grønbech, *Der türkische Sprachbau*, Kopenhagen 1936, and id., *Komanisches Wörterbuch: Türkischer Wortindex*, Kopenhagen 1942.

²⁰ Besides the handbook G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* (Société finno-ougrienne. Mém. 104), 3 vols, Helsinki 1952–1966, which appeared after

great prominence was Martti Räsänen (1893–1976) with comprehensive works on Turkic historical phonology, morphology and etymologies.²¹

A special source of inspiration for Swedish philological studies on Central Asia, besides the Hedin expeditions, was the Swedish mission to Eastern Turkestan, present-day Sinkiang, 1892–1938.²² The first missionary station was set up in Kashghar in 1892 by the Rev. N. F. Höjer. In addition to their ordinary religious duties, the missionaries devoted much time to humanitarian work as well as to scholarly and cultural activities, such as publishing and printing books. One of them, Gustaf Raquette, who was also a doctor of tropical medicine and a linguist, compiled a grammar of Eastern Turki.²³ His scientific work at Lund was continued by Gunnar Jarring (b. 1907), who had been in Kashghar in his twenties to study the Uighur language and collect material. The months spent in Kashghar were the beginning of Jarring's long and successful career as a Turkologist.²⁴ Part of his own collection of Turkological literature was donated to the University Library in Lund, where Gunnar Jarring was Associate Professor of Turkic languages for a short period before he started his eminent career as a Swedish diplomat. Still active at the age of 90, Ambassador Jarring has completed a huge work on the Central Asian Turkic place names that appear in Sven Hedin's

his death, Ramstedt also published works on Kalmuck, Korean and Pashto. A list of publications by G. J. Ramstedt can be found in *Studia Orientalia* 14:12 (1950).

²¹ See e.g. Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkssprachen*, Helsinki 1969. Bibliographies of Räsänen's works were published in *Studia Orientalia* 19:13 (1954) and *Studia Orientalia* 28:17 (1964).

²² See, for example, John Hultvall, *Mission och revolution i Centralasien: Svenska Missionsförbundets mission i Östturkestan 1892–1938*, Stockholm 1981.

²³ Gustaf Raquette, *Eastern Turki Grammar: Practical and Theoretical with Vocabulary (I–III)*, Berlin 1912–1914.

²⁴ Gunnar Jarring's doctoral thesis was *Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre*, Lund 1933. This pioneering work was later followed up by *An Eastern Turki-English Dialect Dictionary*, Lund 1964. His *opus magnum*, with presentations and analyses of philological and ethnological material from his own fieldwork in Eastern Turkestan, is id., *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki: Tales, Poetry, Proverbs, Riddles, Ethnological and Historical Texts from the Southern Parts of Eastern Turkestan. With Translations and Notes*, 4 vols, Lund 1946–1951. Recently, this work appeared in an Uighur translation (Beijing 1997). Publications by Gunnar Jarring have been listed in Christopher Toll and Ulla Ehrensverd, *Gunnar Jarring: En bibliografi*, Stockholm 1977, Ulla Ehrensverd (ed.), *Turcica et Orientalia: Studies in Honour of Gunnar Jarring on his Eightieth Birthday 12 October 1987*, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions 1, Stockholm 1988, pp. 192–204, and Ulla Ehrensverd, *Gunnar Jarring: En bibliografi 1988–1997*, Stockholm 1997.

of a Central Asian section at the Asia Library that was recently opened at the Institute of Oriental Languages in Stockholm by donating an impressive collection of books on the ethnography, languages and history of Central Asia, especially Eastern Turkestan.²⁶

Recent works on Central Asian Turkic languages in other Nordic countries have been published by, *inter alia*, Even Hovdhaugen (Norway), Juha Janhunen (Finland) and Volker Rybatzki (Finland).²⁷

As to Indo-European languages, the Norwegian indologist Sten Konow (1867–1948) distinguished himself through studies on Khotanese Saka and became a leading scholar in the field of north-eastern Iranian languages.²⁸ One of his students, Georg von Munthe af Morgenstierne (1892–1978), became an expert on Indo-Iranian frontier languages.²⁹ Prods O. Skjærvø continued the Oslo tradition of Khotanese studies before leaving Norway for Harvard University. Iranian studies in Sweden, which owe their solid foundation to the legendary scholar of Semitic and Iranian languages, Professor H. S. Nyberg (1889–1974) at Uppsala University, also comprise specific works focusing on the Central Asian region or areas bordering on this region.³⁰ Nordic contributions to research on Tokharian were made first

Attempt at Classification and Explanation Based on Sven Hedin's Diaries and Published Works (Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, VII:11 Ethnography, Publication 56), Stockholm 1997.

²⁶ This donation was made possible by financial support from the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters History and Antiquities.

²⁷ Before entering the broader field of general linguistics Even Hovdhaugen wrote on various Turkic languages, among them Old Turkic from the 8th century Turkic inscriptions in his article 'The Relationship between the Two Orkhon Inscriptions', *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974), pp. 55–82. Juha Janhunen is conducting research on an Altaic basis. His publications include articles on eastern Turkic languages, such as Sayan Turkic, Khakas and Shor. Besides ethnological studies on Turkic as well as Mongolian documents, Volker Rybatzki has recently published an extensive work on 'Die Inschrift des Toñuquq', *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 40, Szeged 1997.

²⁸ See e.g. *Zwei Handschriftenblätter der alten arischen Sprache aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Oslo 1912, and *Khotansakische Grammatik*, Oslo 1941. A list of Konow's works was published in *Norsk Bibliografisk Bibliotek* 3:5 (1942), pp. 92–103. See also R. E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan* (*Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series III*), 2nd rev. ed., Tokyo 1982, p. 8, for later publications by Konow concerning Khotanese. One of the most important collections of Khotanese documents is included in the Hedin collection at the National Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm.

²⁹ Georg von Munthe af Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, 2nd rev. ed. and with new material, 4 vols, Oslo 1973.

³⁰ For example, Bo Utas, 'The Jewish-Persian Fragment from Dandan-Uiliq', *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968/1969), pp. 123–136, and Carina Jahani, *Standardization and*