

Ernst Schäfer (1910-1992) - from the mountains of Tibet to the Northern Cordillera of Venezuela: a biographical sketch

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ABSTRACT.—During the years 1931-1932 and 1934-1936, Ernst Schäfer, a young German student with an unusual interest in, and knowledge about, biology and zoology, and with a great ability as a marksman, was invited to join two scientific expeditions to the Far East. Both expeditions were organized by Brooke Dolan II¹ for the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. These two expeditions collected many important scientific samples to enhance the collections of the Academy. The research done with the material brought back by the two expeditions shed new light on the fauna of the regions visited. From 1938 to 1939 Schäfer organized and directed his own expedition to Sikkim and Tibet. This multidisciplinary expedition was the first one to the region that was composed solely of German scientists. These expeditions gave such fame and prestige to Schäfer that he became known in his country as *Tibet Schäfer* (Pedro Trebbau, personal communication).

In January 1950, Ernst Schäfer was responsible for the establishment of a scientific research station at a site known as Rancho Grande inside the Aragua National Park in Venezuela². It was at the highest point along the road that connects the towns of El Limón and Ocumare de la Costa. The building was named “The Biological Station and Museum of Flora and Fauna Henri Pittier,” and Dr. Ernst Schäfer was appointed as its founder and first Director.

DREAMING OF TIBET AND FAME

Ernst Schäfer was born in Cologne, Germany, on March 14, 1910. As a young boy he collected and reared birds, insects, snakes, fishes, squirrels, and many other small animals. His room looked like a small menagerie, filled with birdcages, aquaria, and terraria that he used to observe the behavior of the many collected animals. As a child, Schäfer was given a BB gun and after some time and constant practice, he became a very skilled hunter. Both hunting and collecting would become necessary skills in his adult life.

After obtaining his High School Diploma in 1929, he enrolled at the University of Göttingen, where he took classes focusing on Zoology, Botany, and Geography. Schäfer wished to follow in the footsteps of the hero of his youth, the Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin.³

While on a University trip to the island of Helgoland, Schäfer met Hugo Weigold⁴, who was impressed by the young student’s knowledge of Biology and Zoology. Weigold had received an invitation to accompany Brooke Dolan II on a scientific expedition in 1930 to the Yangtze River, a trip that Dolan was organizing on behalf of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Weigold recommended inviting Schäfer to be part of the group. The expedition was to include Dolan, Weigold, Otto Gnieser, and the American anthropologist Gordon Bowles. Schäfer accepted Dolan’s invitation and temporarily left his studies in order to join the expedition. One of the most important missions of the group was to collect at least one panda specimen⁵ to be studied and exhibited at the Academy. When the expedition was over, Schäfer went back to

Göttingen to finish his studies.

In 1933, Schäfer published his first book, *Berge, Buddhas und Bären: Forschung und Jagd in Geheimnisvollem Tibet*,⁶ which brought him immediate recognition within Germany. Around that time, a new political regime rose in Germany, and many researchers abandoned the country. Schäfer, who was still a student, stayed, and perhaps by his own choice, or perhaps on the advice of one of his professors, became a member of the SS in 1933. In 1934, Dolan invited him to join a second expedition to Tibet. This one also would include Marion Duncan and Dolan’s wife, Emilie Gerhard. Schäfer temporarily abandoned his studies again, ignoring the advice of his professor Alfred Kühn.⁷ In 1936, Schäfer, who became the scientific leader of the recently finished expedition, traveled with Dolan to the United States in order to catalogue and study the collected material.

GRADUATION, MARRIAGE, AND BACK TO TIBET

Schäfer went back to Germany after his time in the United States, but due to differences with his professor, Kühn, he left the University of Göttingen and transferred to the Friedrich - Wilhelm - Universität in Berlin. In 1937 Schäfer published the note “Die geheimnisvollen Spuren im Tibetischen Schnee.”⁸ in which he argued that, the so-called “abominable snowman,” or Yeti, was nothing more than a Tibetan bear (*Ursus arctos pruinosus*). His claim was based on observations made during the second Dolan expedition. He later repeated this view in his book *Dach der Erde*.⁹ In 1937 Schäfer married and continued his studies until, in 1938, he obtained his Ph.D. with the work entitled

“Ornithologische Ergebnisse zweier Forschungsreisen nach Tibet.”¹⁰

After his return to Germany from his second expedition to Tibet, Schäfer wanted to organize a new expedition led by him. He was eventually authorized to organize it. The multidisciplinary expedition included Karl Wienert, a geophysicist; Ernst Krause, an entomologist, photographer, and filmmaker; Edmund Geer, in charge of logistics; and Bruno Beger, an ethnologist and anthropologist. Ernst Schäfer was the leader and was in charge of collecting flora and fauna, even though all members contributed to the collection efforts.

While he was still planning the expedition and looking for financial support, Schäfer's wife was killed in a hunting accident in November 1937. Schäfer went into a deep depression for a few months, after which, even though he had not completely recovered psychologically, he continued on his planned enterprise. Schäfer's team collected geographic, ethnological, anthropological, cultural, and medical information. In addition to the many specimens of fauna, flora, and artistic material that were collected, thousands of photographs were taken, along with hundreds of meters of film. Unfortunately the expedition was cut short by the outbreak of World War II, and with the



Fig. 1. Ernst Schäfer in Tibet, 1938. Photographer unknown (probably Ernst Krause); photo courtesy of the Ewell Sale Stewart Library, Academy of Natural Sciences Philadelphia.

war dominating concerns, much of the material brought back by the expedition was simply put into storage.

Back in Germany, in December, 1939, Schäfer married his second wife, and immersed himself in working on his collected fauna specimens which allowed him to write his work *Tiergeographisch-ökologische Studie über das tibetische Hochland*,¹¹ obtaining the degree of *Doctor Habilitatis* from the University of Munich in 1942. After receiving the degree, Schäfer was named the leader of the section “Forschungsstätte für Innerasien und Expeditionen”¹² of the *SS-Ahnenerbe*. On January 16, 1943, the Department was renamed the “Sven-Hedin-Institut” and because of the war it was transferred to the Mittersill Castle, in Austria.

THE WAR IS OVER, THE FUTURE IS IN VENEZUELA

Schäfer moved to Mittersill with his family until the end of the war. In 1945, as the war came to a close, Schäfer was arrested because of his association with the Nazi Party. In June, 1949, he was exonerated from war crimes during his trial at Nuremberg and released. Although Schäfer was without a job, he was able to earn some money giving lectures about his research and expeditions. Early in 1949, he received news from an old friend who was living in Venezuela that the government of that country was looking for a scientist to found and direct a scientific research station.

Schäfer contacted Dr. Tobías Lasser¹³ from the Caracas Botanical Institute, an arm of the Ministerio de Agricultura y Cría.¹⁴ He was delighted to be offered a position and moved to Venezuela with his wife and daughters, arriving in December, 1949. By January, 1950, Ernst Schäfer was in Rancho Grande, and had started organizing the new Biological Station (Lasser, 1951). It was named “Estación Biológica y Museo de Flora y Fauna Henri Pittier,”¹⁵ a name that was never used, since everyone called the place “Estación Biológica de Rancho Grande.”¹⁶ Due to his research, that same year Schäfer was named a member of UNESCO¹⁷ for semi-arid regions.

The main functions of the new station were to serve as a research center and to help educate the public about the fauna and flora of the region and the need for their preservation. Schäfer started taking trips to different areas of the park, mainly to study and collect birds in order to start a museum. Eventually he hired personnel to help with the research and to establish a didactic exhibition that would be open to the public. Schäfer also traveled and explored other regions of Venezuela. The station became widely known and was visited frequently by Venezuelan and foreign scientists. Several of them helped to enhance the museum.

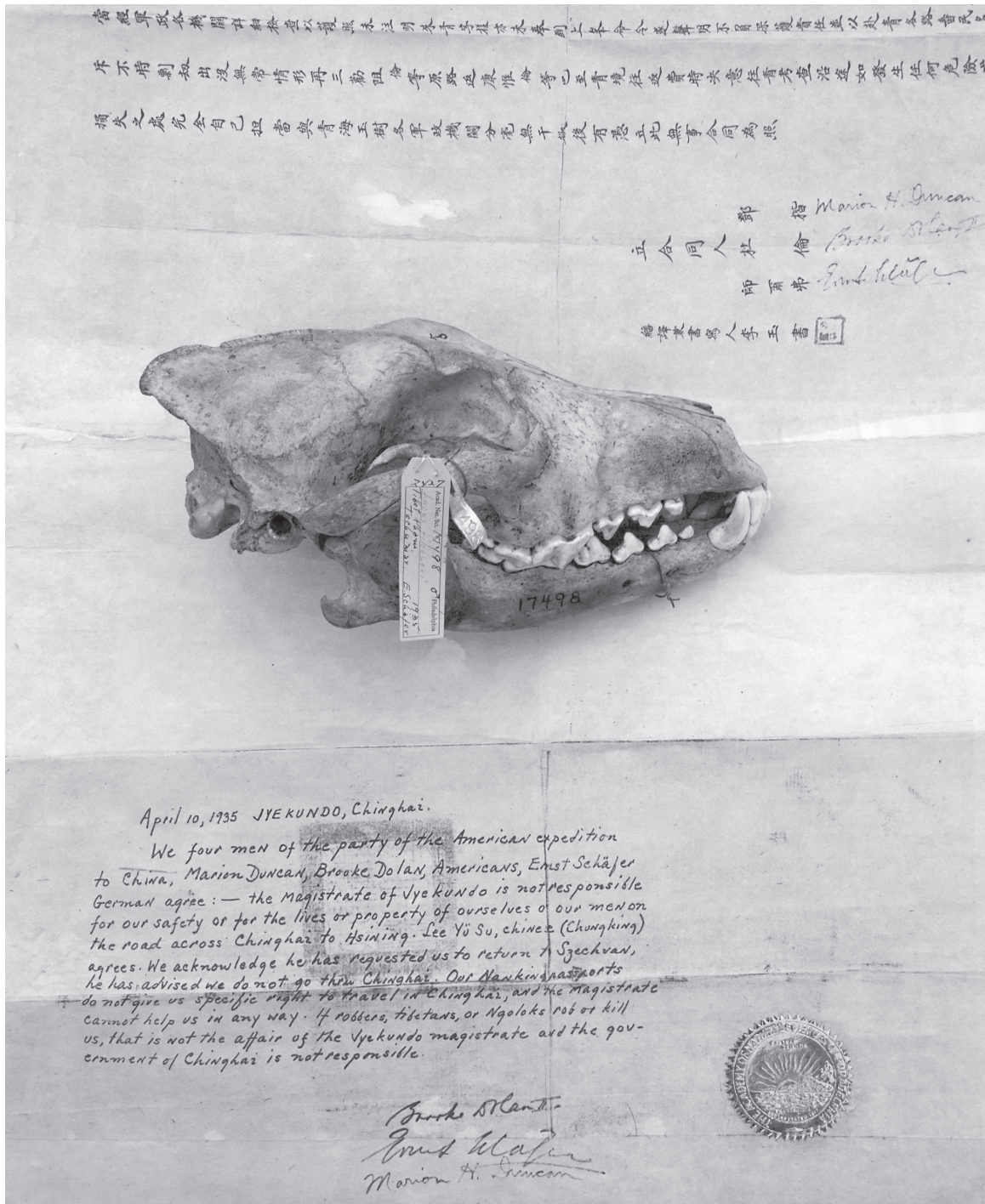


Fig. 2. Wolf skull (*Canis lupus*, male) collected by Ernst Schäfer in, Kham, Tschumar, Tibet, July 1935. Academy of Natural Sciences Mammal Collection, specimen #17498 with a travel document carried by Brooke Dolan, Ernst Schäfer, and Marion Duncan during their 1935 expedition, ANSP Archives, Coll. 64. Photograph by Rosamond W. Purcell.

During this period, Schäfer published his findings and research in several Venezuelan and international journals. He was invited to teach courses and gave lectures at the Agronomy and Biology Schools of Universidad Central de Venezuela, in Maracay and Caracas respectively.¹⁸ Schäfer was also regularly invited to give lectures and conferences in several scientific institutions in Venezuela.

BACK IN EUROPE

In 1954 Schäfer traveled back to Düsseldorf, Germany, to work at the Venezuelan pavilion at the hunting and fishing convention. While there, he accepted an invitation given by King Leopold III a few months before in Rancho Grande to direct a documentary film¹⁹ about the natural history and native inhabitants of the Belgian Congo²⁰ that would be used to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the colony. He spent several years working on this project.

Schäfer and his family returned to Germany, where he eventually obtained a position as curator of the “Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum” in Hannover.

Schäfer did travel to Venezuela one final time in 1981. He visited several places, including Rancho Grande. Following this trip, Schäfer embarked on writing

a comprehensive work entitled *Die Vogelwelt Venezuelas und ihre ökologischen Bedingungen*²¹ using his 1950-54 field notes. Ernst Schäfer died on July 21, 1992.

FINAL COMMENTS

Schäfer was a knowledgeable and highly capable intellectual. There is no doubt that his scientific contributions have been of value to many of the regions where he conducted his research (Ali, 1962; Peck, 1992; Thapa, 1992; William H. Phelps “el viejo”, *in litt.*). He had a great influence on the study and development of Venezuelan Ornithology and the conservation of the country’s wildlife. Schäfer’s years in Venezuela were some of the happiest he ever had, and he was always concerned about the conservation of Venezuela’s natural resources (Bodo and Heidi von Garmissen, Isrun Engelhardt, Pedro Trebbau, and Liselotte Vareschi, personal communication; Rodríguez 2006). His contributions to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia gained him a life membership in 1932 and some of the most important specimens collected by Dr. Schäfer can still be admired in several habitat groups (dioramas) in the Academy’s museum (Peck, 1992). The museum and collection that



Fig. 3. Ernst Schäfer at Rancho Grande, Venezuela, 1951. Photographer Ursula Schäfer; photo courtesy of the Ernst Schäfer family.

Schäfer founded in Rancho Grande is still active with wider scope and responsibilities.²² It now has more than 23,000 specimens of mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians and fishes as well as many other samples of animal origin with a didactic area containing about 1,500 specimens (Sánchez and Bisbal, 2004).

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- Schäfer, Ernst, Helmut Hoffmann, Konrad Foerster, Edmund Geer, Lutz Bohmann, Karl Wienert, Ernst Krause, Johannes Schubert, Bruno Beger and Alois Melichar. 1942. Geheimnis Tibet. Der grosse Dokumentarfilm der Schäfer-Expedition. Berlin: Zentralpressestelle der Universum Film AG. 35 p.*
- Schäfer, Ernst and Rodolphe Meyer de Schauensee. 1938. Zoological results of the second Dolan expedition to western China and eastern Tibet, 1934-1936. Part II. Birds. Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia 90:185-260.
- Schäfer, Ernst and William H. Phelps. 1954. Las Aves del Parque Nacional "Henri Pittier" (Rancho Grande) y sus funciones ecológicas. Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales 83:1-167.
- Schäfer, Ernst, W. Putzier and W. Holldorf. 1985. Studien am Weißwedelhirsch (*Odocoileus virginianus* ssp.) der venezolanischen Llanos. Bongo 9:1-22.
- [Schäfer, Ernst, Heinz Sielmann, Daniel Biebuyck and Henry Brandt]. 1958. Les Seigneurs de la Forêt. Brussels: Ets Jean Malvaux. 141 p.

Films (Documentaries)

- Geheimnis Tibet*²⁷(1943) (Alternative name: *Lhasa-Lo – Die verbotene Stadt*²⁸) (Germany). Ernst Schäfer (Director and Writer [with Hans-Albert Lettow], Producer, Scientific advisor).
- Les Seigneurs de la Forêt* (1958) (Belgique) (Name in the USA: *Masters of the Congo Jungle*). Ernst Schäfer (Writer [with Henry Brandt and Heinz Sielmann], Scientific advisor [with Daniel Biebuyck]).²⁹

Selected Annotated Bibliography with references to Ernst Schäfer, his research and/or expeditions.³⁰

- Abs, Michael, Pascal Eckhoff, Jürgen Fiebig and Sylke Frahnert. 2010. The bird collections in the Museum für Naturkunde Berlin resulting from Ernst Schäfer's three expeditions to Tibet and Sikkim. *Zoosystematics and Evolution* 86(1):49–80

A large amount of birds were collected from Sikkim, Tibet and neighboring provinces in 1931/32, 1934–1936 and 1938/39 by Ernst Schäfer. They are housed in the Museum für Naturkunde Berlin, but many of them were neither inventoried nor integrated in the museum's collection. The authors have made these birds available for the scientific community by compiling an updated list of all the 3,520 specimens collected by Schäfer in Tibet and Sikkim.

- Ali, Sálím. 1962. *The Birds of Sikkim*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 414 p.

In his introduction Sálím writes: "But perhaps the most thorough and rational collecting of Sikkim birds in recent times has been done by Dr. Ernst Schäfer during the two years immediately preceding the Second World War... Ornithologists familiar with Dr. Schäfer's earlier work in Tibet and with his competence and excellence as a field biologist will appreciate the incalculable harm Sikkim ornithology has sustained through the tragic loss under war conditions of all his manuscript field notes."

- Allen, Glover. 1937. Second Preliminary Report on the Results of the Second Dolan Expedition to West China and Tibet: A New Race of *Ochotona*. Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia 89:341-342.

A well-marked subspecies of *Ochotona*, collected by Schäfer. The ssp. responds to the more arid conditions in its paler hues. I was named *Ochotona erythrotis brookei* in honor of the organizer and leader of the expedition.

- Allen, Glover. 1938. Zoological results of the second Dolan expedition to Western China and Eastern Tibet, 1934-1936. Part III. Mammals. Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia 90:261-293.

A list with comments on the mammals collected by Schäfer during the second Dolan Expedition to China

and Tibet.

Bowles, Gordon T. 1935. *Racial Origins of the Peoples of the Central Chinese-Tibetan Border*. PhD Thesis. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University.

Contains information obtained from the first Dolan Expedition in which Bowles was one of the members together with Schäfer.

Dolan, Brooke. 1938. *Zoological results of the second Dolan expedition to Western China and Eastern Tibet, 1934-1936. Part I. Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 90:159-184.

Comments on the results of the first Dolan expedition and purposes of the second one. Details are given of the route and many of the collected animals. There are also references to Ernst Schäfer and material collected by him during the Expedition.

Dolan, Brooke. 1980. *Across Tibet*. Excerpts from the Journals of Captain Brooke Dolan, 1942-1943. *Frontiers* 2:1-45.

Details of the third Dolan II expedition to Tibet. There is a brief mention to his first two expeditions, as well as the involvement of Schäfer in them.

Duncan, Marion Herbert. 1952. *The Yangtze and the Yak. Adventurous Trails In and Out of Tibet*. Alexandria, Virginia: Edwards. 353 p.

The missionary Duncan was the interpreter during the second Brooke Dolan expedition. In this book he gives some details on that expedition.

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2003. *The Ernst-Schaefer-Tibet-Expedition (1938-1939): New light on the political history of Tibet in the first half of the 20th century*. p. 187-195. *In: McKay, A. (ed.). Tibet and her Neighbours*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

It contains a summary of Schäfer's life up to 1938 and a short description of the Expedition and its results. She clarifies views surrounding the expedition and Schäfer's research, and demystifies the alleged ideological, esoteric and occultist aspects of the expedition.

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2004. *Tibetan Triangle: German, Tibetan and British Relations in the Context of Ernst Schäfer's*

Expedition, 1938-1939. Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques 58(1):57-113.

A view of the German-Tibetan-British relations in the context of the Schäfer-Tibet-Expedition of 1938/39. It briefly describes the expedition and its results and how even after being planned as a purely scientific venture it fell into an area of conflict between politics and science from the very outset.

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2005. Ernst Schäfer, Zoologe. p. 503-504. *In: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (ed.). Neue Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 22*. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot Verlag.

A brief biography of Schäfer and the relevance of his expeditions and research.

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2007. *Tibet in 1938-1939: Photographs from the Ernst Schäfer Expedition to Tibet*. Chicago, Illinois: Serindia Publications. 296 p.

The 1938-39 Schäfer-Tibet Expedition produced the most extensive photographic record of Tibetan life prior to the Chinese invasion. Some of those photographs are presented here, accompanied by essays on Schäfer and the world he encountered.

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2008. *Nazis of Tibet: A Twentieth Century Myth*. p. 63-96. *In: Monica Esposito (ed.). Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Coll. Études thématiques 22, Vol. I*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO).

The 1938-39 Schäfer-Tibet Expedition constitutes the main piece of "evidence" used by crypto-historians in their construction of Nazi-Tibet connections. This article provides details on Schäfer and the real reasons and results of his expedition, debunking the "occult" and "esoteric" allegations.

Engelhardt, Isrun. 2008. *Mishandled Mail: the Strange case of the Reting Regent's Letters to Hitler*. *Zentral-Asiatische Studien* 37:77-106.

In March 1939 during the visit of Schäfer's 1938-39 Tibet expedition to Lhasa, Reting Rinpoche, the Regent of Tibet, wrote two letters to Adolf Hitler. Even though this was not the most important result of the expedition, it is perhaps the most famous and has played a role in German-Tibet relations. Brief

- details on Schäfer's expeditions to the Far East and his research are mentioned here.
- Engelmann, Carlheinrich. 1938. Über die Großsäuger Szetschwans, Sikongs und Osttibets bearbeitet nach Dr. Ernst Schäfers Tagebüchern und Trophäen von der ersten und zweiten Brooke-Dolan-Expedition der "Acad. of Nat. Sc. of Philadelphia". Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde 13:1-76.
- Comments on some of the Fauna studied and collected by Ernst Schäfer during the Dolan expeditions.
- Eidmann, Hermann August. 1941. Zur Ökologie und Zoogeographie der Ameisenfauna von Westchina und Tibet. Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der 2. Brooke Dolan-Expedition 1934-1935. Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Ökologie der Tiere 38(1):1-43.
- A detailed study of ants collected by Schäfer during the second Dolan Expedition.
- Frahnert Sylke, Jürgen Fiebig, Michael Abs and Martin Kaiser. 2004. Die Expedition von Ernst Schäfer nach Sikkim und Tibet 1938/39 und deren Sammlung von Vögeln im Museum für Naturkunde Berlin (The expedition of Ernst Schäfer to Sikkim and Tibet 1938/1939 and its collection of birds in the Museum für Naturkunde Berlin). Jahresversammlung der Deutsche Ornithologen-Gesellschaft in Kiel 2004. Tagungsband p.56
- The authors reveal their plan to publish the catalogue of species of birds collected by Schäfer's 1938/39 expedition and in the collection of the Museum für Naturkunde in Berlin
- Greensit, Charlotte. 2000. Who are you calling abominable? Time Europe, September 6.
- Greensit interviews Reinhold Messner about his book "My Quest for the Yeti". Messner mentions a letter he received from Ernst Schäfer stating how he discovered that the Yeti is merely a Tibetan bear.
- Greve, Reinhard. 1995. Tibetforschung im SS Ahnenerbe. p. 168-199. In: Thomas Hauschild (ed.). Lebenslust und Fremdenfurcht. Ethnologie im Dritten Reich. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Comments on the research related to Tibet done by Ernst Schäfer and his team at the Ahnenerbe.
- Gruber, Ulrich. 1986. Die Tibetexpeditionen von Dr. Ernst Schäfer. Tibetforum 5(1):9-12.
- Comments on the scientific findings of Schäfer's Tibet expeditions.
- Kater, Michael. 2001. Das Ahnenerbe des SS, 1935-1945: ein Beitrag zur Kulturpolitik des Dritten Reiches. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag-Anstalt. 529 p.
- The book is based on the author's 1966 dissertation and it deals with the history of this Institution. It shows details on Schäfer's research and those of his Department and team after interviews done by Kater to the German scientist. There is already a 4th edition from 2006. However, all editions are virtually identical to the first one published in 1974.
- Klös, Ursula, Heinz Georg and Hans Frädrich. 1993. Zur Erinnerung an Ernst Schäfer. Bongo 21:91-96.
- Obituary.
- Kuhlmann, Michael. 2002. Neue Arten der Bienengattung *Colletes* Latr. aus Südtibet mit Beschreibung der Route der "Deutschen Tibet Expedition Ernst Schäfer 1938/39" (Hymenoptera: Apidae: Colletinae). Linzer biologische Beiträge 34(2):1155-1178.
- Description of new species of bees in the genus *Colletes* collected during Schäfer's Tibet Expedition 1938/39
- Lasser, Tobias. 1951. La estación Biológica del Rancho Grande. Acta Científica Venezolana 2(1):7-8.
- History of the origin of the Rancho Grande Biological Station. It credits the origin of the station thanks to the hiring of Ernst Schäfer and gives a brief CV of the German scientist.
- McKay, Alex. 2002. Swastikas, medicine and Tibet. Welcome History 20:10-12.
- Relevance of the medical treatment given by members of the Ernst Schäfer-Tibet-Expedition (1938-1939) to settlers along the covered route.
- Messner, Reinhold. 2000. My Quest for the Yeti: Confronting the Himalayas Deepest Mistery. New York: St. Martin's Press. 102 p.

- Messner establishes again that the Yeti is a Tibetan Bear. He mentions that the first person that actually confirmed his assumption was Ernst Schäfer back in 1936. Messner mentions a letter he received from Ernst Schäfer saying that: "In 1933-35, the British mountaineers Frank Smythe and Eric Shipton discovered the first "yeti footprints" ... The "Abominable Snowman" ... opened up financial resources for numerous Everest expeditions. In 1938, ... in my publications ... [I] established the yeti's real identity [was that of] ... Tibetan bears, Smythe and Shipton came to me on their knees, begging me not to publish my findings in the English-speaking press. The secret had to be kept at all costs – or else [they would not be able to obtain financial help for another] Everest expedition."
- Meyer de Schauensee, Rodolphe. 1937. First Preliminary Report on the Results of the Second Dolan Expedition to West China and Tibet: Two New Birds from Tibet. *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 89:339-340.
- Two bird subspecies collected by Schäfer during the second Dolan Expedition are named by Meyer. One is named after Brooke Dolan II (*Crossoptilon crossoptilon dolani*), the other after Ernst Schäfer (*Charadrius mongolus schaeferi*).
- Osgood, Wilfred H. 1931. Roosevelt's Giant Panda group installed in William V. Kelley hall. *Field Museum News* 2(1):1.
- A brief story of how westerners "discovered" the Giant Pandas and how Theodore Jr. and Kermit Roosevelt were able to collect one and bring the skin of another, which were prepared for exhibition at the Field Museum of Natural History. These Pandas were the first shown in a museum in America. The second captured Panda to be exhibited in America would be the one collected by Ernst Schäfer during the first Brooke Dolan II expedition to China and Tibet. This Panda (along with two others collected by Dolan and Schäfer) is exhibited in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.
- Peck, Robert McCracken. 1992. Explorer Ernst Schäfer remembered. *Academy News* 15(3):6.
- Obituary with comments on the relevance of Schäfer on research and collections of the Academy.
- Peck, Robert McCracken. 2000. To the ends of the earth for science: Research expeditions of the Academy of Natural Sciences-the first 150 years, 1812-1962. *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 150:15-46.
- History of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia expeditions. Mentions the importance of the Dolan II expeditions and the contributions of Schäfer.
- Prinzinger, Roland. 1993. Ernst Schäfer (1910-1992). *Journal für Ornithologie* 134(3):368-369.
- Obituary. States the importance of Schäfer's research on birds.
- Rodríguez, José Antonio. 2006. El Viajero de las Aves. La Obra Científica de William H. Phelps (1937-1965). Caracas: El Nacional. 415 p.
- A historical account of William H. Phelps' life. It mentions Ernst Schäfer as a collaborator and personal friend of Phelps. It details the contributions of the German and the importance of the paper he and Phelps wrote together about the birds of Rancho Grande.
- Rogers, Mark. 2000. The SS-Ahnenerbe and the 1938/39 German-Tibet Expedition. M.A. Thesis. Atlanta, Georgia: Georgia State University. 102 p.
- A translation, study and analysis of Ernst Schäfer's book "*Geheimnis Tibet*" (Mystery of Tibet). In his book, Schäfer describes the scientific goals and methodology to prepare for the expedition. He also describes in detail most of what the scientific team encountered in the different regions they visited. Rogers mentions that Schäfer's narrative will be of great help to scholars wishing to understand Tibet and neighboring regions as well as their settlers during the late 1930's. Rogers concludes that even though Schäfer's expedition has been linked to Nazi occultism, Schäfer's research and his expedition had truly scientific and serious purposes and should be "salvaged from such a dubious realm".
- Sánchez, Javier and Francisco J. Bisbal E. 2004 ("2002"). Museo de la estación Biológica de Rancho Grande. Memoria de la Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales 158:5-28.
- History of the Rancho Grande Biological Station and Museum. They were founded and established by

- Ernst Schäfer who was their first Director.
- Steinbacher, Joachim. 1992. Erinnerungen an Ernst Schäfer – ein Forscherleben. *Natur und Museum* 122:433-434.
- Obituary.
- Stone, Witmer. 1933. Zoological results of the Dolan West China expedition of 1931. Part I. Birds. *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 85:165-222.
- Material collected by Ernst Schäfer is presented and identified.
- Stresemann, Erwin. 1939. Zwei neue Rassen aus Süd-Tibet und Nord-Sikkim. *Ornithologische Monatsberichte* 47(6):176–177.
- Stresemann, Erwin. 1940. Welche Rasse von *Hirundo rustica* brütet in Sikkim? *Ornithologische Monatsberichte* 48(3):88–89.
- Texera Arnal, Yolanda. 2002. The beginnings of modern ornithology in Venezuela. *The Americas* 58(4):601-622.
- It presents a brief CV and comments on Schäfer and his ornithological research in Venezuela.
- Texera Arnal, Yolanda. 2003. *Ornitología*. p. 95-120. In: Texera Arnal, Yolanda. *La Zoología en Venezuela 1936-1970; una historia social*. Caracas: Fundación Polar.
- It presents a brief CV and comments on Schäfer and his ornithological research in Venezuela.
- Thapa, Kaiser B. [1992]. *Wildlife in Sikkim. Remembering Dr. Schaefer*. Sikkim Express [1992]:3
- An obituary of Schäfer and the importance of the scientist's expedition and research on the birds of Sikkim birds.
- Tilman, Harold W. 1948. *Mount Everest 1938*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 160 p.
- Details of the British 1938 Mount Everest Expedition. Part of the British team met the German team led by Schäfer. Tillman mentions that he told one of the German team members not "to be put off by the zoologist [Schäfer] who would assuredly tell him that any accountable tracks he might see in the snow were not those of a "snowman", not even a "Snark", but merely those of a bear."
- Tolstoy, Ilya. 1946. *Across Tibet from India to China*. *National Geographic Magazine* August:169-222.
- Details on the third Dolan II expedition to the Far East. It contains brief comments on his first two expeditions.
- Trebbau, Pedro. 1998. 50 años. Conservación de la fauna y flora venezolana. p. 343-353. In: Crispín, K. (ed.). *Asociación Cultural Humboldt, 50 años de irradiación cultural*. Caracas: Asociación Cultural Humboldt.
- Trebbau Mentions the relevance of Schäfer in research and conservation in Venezuela.
- Trense, Werner. 1992. Tibet-Schäfer. *Wild und Hund* 20:11.
- Obituary. States the importance of Schäfer's research and expeditions to Tibet.
- Tung, Rosemary Jones. 1996. *A Portrait of Lost Tibet*. Photographs by Ilya Tolstoy and Brooke Dolan. Berkeley: University of California Press. 224 p.
- The book mentions some details about the third expedition of Brooke Dolan II who was accompanied by Ilya Tolstoy on a political mission to Tibet. It also shows a selection of photographs taken by them.
- Vaurie, Charles. 1972. *Tibet and its Birds*. London: Witherby. 407 p.
- Vaurie studied some of the specimens collected by Schäfer and deposited at the Berlin Museum of Natural History; many of them were still unpacked.
- Wang, Xiaoming and Robert S. Hoffmann. 1987. *Pseudois nayaur* and *Pseudois schaeferi*. *Mammalian Species* (278):1-6.
- Details on the systematics, biology, ecology and distribution of the Himalayan blue sheep (*Pseudois nayaur*) and the Dwarf blue sheep (*P. schaeferi*). Specimens of both species were originally collected and studied by Schäfer in their natural environment during the second Dolan Expedition.

¹Brooke Dolan II (1908-1945) was a Trustee of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. He organized three expeditions to China and Tibet (1931-1932, 1934-1936, and 1942-1943). Even though his last expedition was political in nature, all of them were important because they were pivotal to collecting significant scientific information, specimens and photographic documentation (Dolan, 1980; Tolstoy, 1946; Tung, 1996).

²This is the first Venezuelan National Park. It was created by the government in 1937 and was also known as “Rancho Grande National Park” until 1952, when it was renamed in homage to the Swiss-born botanist Henri François Pittier (1857-1950), to whom the Park owes its creation. Pittier was also influential in the foundation of the “Rancho Grande Biological Station and Museum.”

³Sven Anders Hedin (1865-1952) was a Swedish Explorer, geographer, and geopolitician. He drew the first detailed maps of the Far East regions. It also appears that he was the first to notice that the Himalayas was a lone and massive mountain range.

⁴Hugo Weigold (1886-1973) was a renowned German Biologist and Ornithologist. He founded the “Vogelwarte Helgoland” in 1909 and became its first director in 1910. He would later become the director of the “Naturkundeabteilung” of the “Landesmuseum Hannover.” He was a member of several scientific expeditions that explored the West of China and the East of Tibet.

⁵The Panda was shown to the western world by the French Missionary Armand David thanks to a skin that he was given in 1869. It appears that Hugo Weigold was the first westerner to see a Panda alive when he bought a cub in 1916. Kermit and Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., were the first foreigners to hunt a specimen, which is at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (Osgood, 1931). Ernst Schäfer collected the second panda for scientific purposes on the first Brooke Dolan II expedition. It is at the museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

⁶“Mountains, Buddhas and Bears: Research and collecting in the mysterious Tibet.”

⁷Alfred Kühn (1885-1968) was a German developmental biologist. His studies on the action of genes in development made him a pioneer of the “one gene-one enzyme” hypothesis. He had scientific interest in an astonishing variety of subjects, which accounts for his influence on several branches of biology.

⁸“The mysterious tracks in the Tibetan snow.”

⁹Ernst Schäfer would mention years later that the Yeti that the westerners had been looking for over the years was nothing more than a Tibetan Bear. The Yeti of the Tibetans and surrounding regions, however, had a more mystic origin and even had religious connotations. Schäfer’s works, published in German, do not convey any doubts that the Yeti was a myth. In 1938, while in Sikkim, he and the team members of his German expedition (1938-1939) met members of a British expedition led by H.W. Tilman who were coming back from Everest. When discussing the Yeti, Frank Smythe and Eric Shipton obtained Schäfer’s promise not to publish his conclusion in English, since that could harm their ability to raise funds for future expeditions to the region (Greensit, 2000; Messner, 2000; Tilman, 1948; Ernst Schäfer, in litt.).

¹⁰“Ornithological Results of two expeditions to Tibet.”

¹¹“Eco-geographic studies of the high Tibetan regions.”

¹²Center for Asian Research and Expeditions.

¹³Tobías Lasser (1911-2006). Renowned Venezuelan botanist who was the founder of the Jardín Botánico de Caracas (Caracas Botanical Gardens).

¹⁴“Department of Agriculture and Animal Farming”.

¹⁵“Biological station and Museum of Fauna and Flora Henri Pittier.” The name honored the Swiss botanist who was pivotal in the foundation of the first Venezuelan National Park and in convincing the Venezuelan government about the need to establish a Research Station there.

¹⁶Rancho Grande Biological Station.

¹⁷United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

¹⁸Facultad de Agronomía, Maracay, and Facultad de Ciencias, Escuela de Biología, Caracas. Universidad Central de Venezuela.

¹⁹“Les Seigneurs de la Forêt, 1958” (Literally “The Masters of the Forest”, but commercially translated in English as “The Masters of the Congo Jungle”).

²⁰Later known as Zaire and more recently as Democratic Republic of Congo.

²¹“The Birds of Venezuela and their Ecological Conditions.”

²²However, the Museum of the Rancho Grande Biological Station was moved from its original location at the Rancho Grande building, to the entrance of the Henri Pittier National Park in El Limón.

²³This is a comprehensive list of Schäfer’s publications (Books, scientific and popular articles). All listed works have been examined/ corroborated by the author, except the two with an asterisk (*) at the end of the reference.

²⁴Different editions of this encyclopedic book appeared in 1976 and 1985. It is included in this bibliography because Ernst Schäfer was the consultant for Biology and Hunting matters, but he also contributed as author with several works: Von der Entstehung der Arten, p. 74-75; Der Stammbaum der Hirsche, p. 82-85; Das Hirschgeweih, p. 86-87; Spitzentrophäen, p. 88; Das Raubwild Europas, p. 104-105;

Warnen, Tarnen, Täuschen, p. 108-109; Rankämpfe der Dickhornwiddler, p. 156-157; Afrikas Wildreichtum, p. 168; Ein Riese stirbt, p. 188-189; Beizjagd bei den Kirgisen, p. 208-209; Die Pirsch, 218; Jagd auf Wölfe, p. 224-225; Bärenjagd im Karst, p. 226-227; Die Drückjagd, p. 228-229; Entenjagd in Nordamerika, p. 244-245; Eiszeitjäger der Gegenwart, p. 246-247; Jagd auf das Barren-Ground-Karibu, p. 248-249; Der weiße Widder, p. 250-251; Elchjagd, p. 252-253; Die letzten Bisons, p. 254-255; Wapiti und Weißwedelhirsch, p. 256-257; Pumajagd, p. 258-259; Jaguarjagd am Orinoco, p. 260-261; Jagd im südamerikanischen Urwald, p. 262-265; Letzte Jagd, p. 266-267; Pantherjagd, p. 268-269; Jagd auf lebende Fossilien, p. 272-277; Afrikanische Jagd, p. 278-279; Streifzug durch die Steppe, p. 284-285; Jagdzauber der Primitiven, p. 186-287; Verpflichtung zur Hege, p. 289-297.

²⁵There is a "Book Club" edition (Deutscher Bücherbund) that also appeared in 1965.

²⁶There are also revised editions in 1974, 1979, and 1982.

²⁷"Secret Tibet."

²⁸"Llasa-Lo – The forbidden city."

²⁹Schäfer was invited by King Leopold III to work on this documentary, and even though he was completely involved in the making and postproduction of the film his name was erased from the original credits when it was finally exhibited. However, he is mentioned as one of "the main authors of the film" in the book that appeared to accompany the film ("Les principaux auteurs du film ... Ce sont: Ernest Schaefer, ..." [Schäfer et al.], 1958).

³⁰The aim of this note is to focus in Schäfer's research achievements. Even though numerous works were researched to write Schäfer's biography, several of them were left out of this "Selected Annotated Bibliography" section for different reasons, but mainly because they did not accurately present his research and/or a balanced historical reconstruction.
