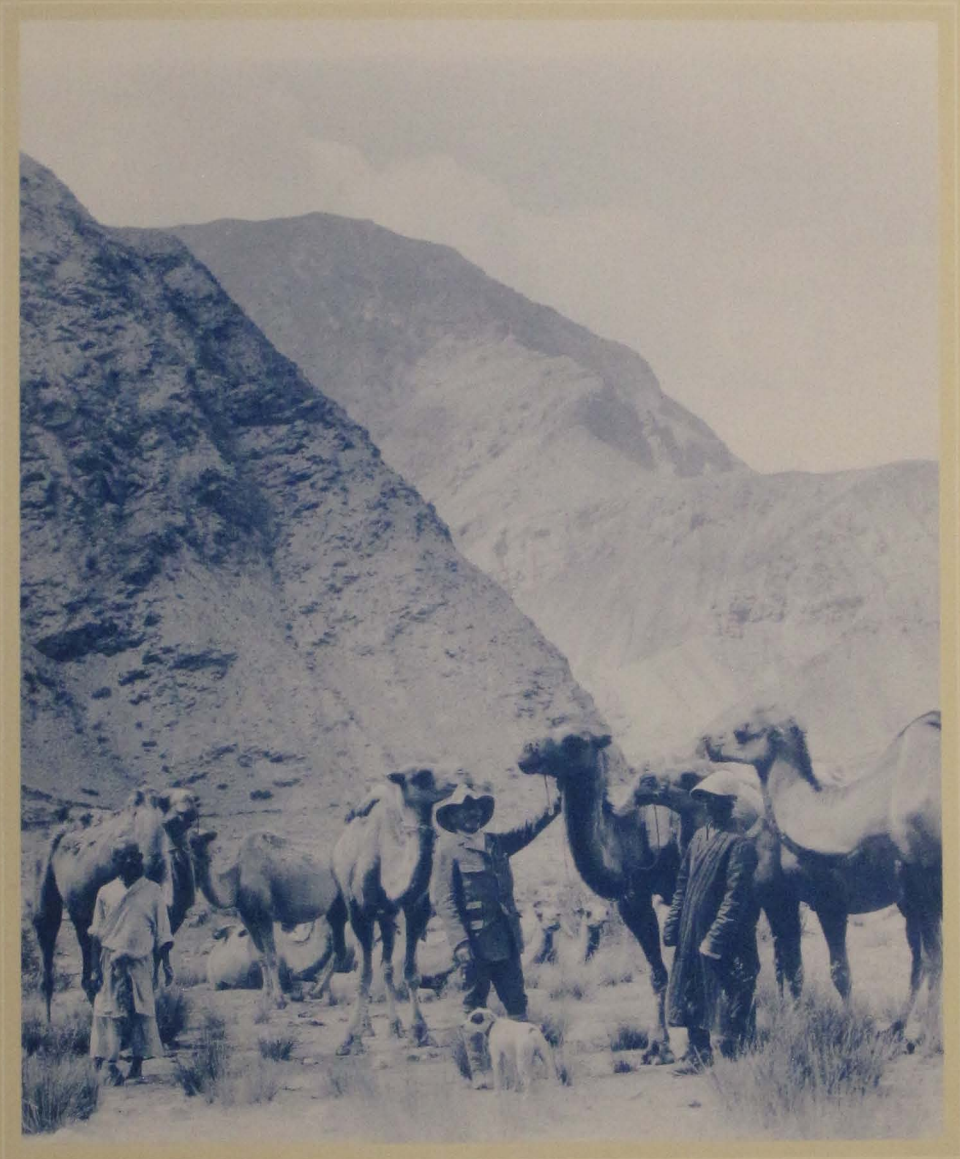


BRITISH MUSEUM

OCCASIONAL PAPER NUMBER 129



**HANDBOOK TO
THE STEIN COLLECTIONS IN THE UK**

Edited by Helen Wang

BRITISH MUSEUM

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Helen Wang

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Front cover: Sir Aurel Stein with camels at Yolchi-moinak, 40 miles south-west of Kashgar, 19 July 1915. Courtesy of the British Library.

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FOREWORD

In 1994 a number of curators and librarians of the Stein collections in the UK decided to meet informally once a year to discuss our work. For most of us, the Stein collections are only a part of our work, and the Stein Days have proved an effective way of keeping in touch with colleagues and learning about other Stein material in other organisations.

The 1995 and 1996 Stein Days were open to anyone with an interest in the Stein collections. The 1995 Stein Day was arranged to coincide with the visit to London of Dr Chhaya Battacharya, formerly Curator of the Stein collections in the National Museum of History, New Delhi and Mme Krishna Riboud from Paris. The 1996 Stein Day was, for many of the 50 or so people who attended, an introduction to the very varied work in progress at the British Library and to the research of Professor Kenneth Seddon and his team at Queen's University, Belfast, on the Diamond Sutra. (For reports of the 1995 and 1996 Stein Days, see Appendix 1.)

The 1997 Stein Day was restricted to curators/librarians/archivists in charge of the

Stein collections. It was encouraging to see the work that had been done by individuals on the Stein collections, and we agreed to pool our information and compile a handbook.

This handbook aims to serve as a finding list for the Stein collections and archives which are housed in various organisations in the UK. The various sections have been written by those who work directly on the Stein material. The information is arranged as follows:

- Collection history
- Collection description
- Publications
- Accessibility
- Contact details

We hope the handbook will prove useful to students, researchers, curators, librarians and archivists, both in the UK and to people working on similar material in other countries. We also hope it will inspire an updated, more comprehensive version in the future. We welcome suggestions and additions.

Sheila Canby, Anne Farrer, Christopher Walker,
Janet Wallace, Helen Wang
John Falconer, Susan Whitfield, Frances Wood
Verity Wilson
Victoria Gill, Peter Brown
Antonia Leak
Eleanor Sinclair, Andrew Tatham, Rachel Rowe
Michael Pollock
Robert Kirby
David Macdowall
Tim Rogers, Colin Wakefield
Christine Butler
Linda Atkinson
Martin Maw, Jenny McMorris
Kathleen Cann, Dr Zutshi

British Museum
British Museum
British Library
Victoria & Albert Museum
British Academy
National Portrait Gallery
Royal Geographical Society
Royal Asiatic Society
University College London
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Bodleian Library, Oxford
Corpus Christi College, Oxford
School of Geography, Oxford
Oxford University Press
Cambridge University Library

With thanks also to Elizabeth Errington, Vesta Curtis and Lilla Russell-Smith for their help on Indian, Iranian and Hungarian matters, respectively.

BRITISH ACADEMY

COLLECTION HISTORY

The family correspondence was sent to the Academy by his niece, Dr Therese Stein, in November 1966.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The collection is arranged in four boxes:

Boxes I and II: Family correspondence of Sir Aurel Stein, 1885-1925

(mostly in German, though a few later letters are written in English)

to Harriette Stein (sister-in-law) 'Jetty'

1886 Budapest
 1888 Lahore, Srinagar
 1890 Budapest, Northumberland
 1892 Lahore
 1893 Lahore
 1894 Lahore
 1895 Lahore, Kashmir
 1896 Lahore
 1897 Paris
 1898 Simla
 1899 Sikhim
 1900 Calcutta, Kashgar

to Harriette Stein (sister-in-law) 'Harriet'

1901 England, Sialkot
 1902 Rawalpindi, London, Oxford
 1903 London
 1904 Peshawar, Lager, Baffakundi
 1905 Peshawar, Kashgar, Kashmir
 1906 Kashmir, Lahore
 1907 Tokum, Kansu, Nan-shan, Piehan
 1908 Kashgar, Srinagar, Lahore
 1909 Calcutta, Budapest, Munich, London, Oxford, Riva, Mendel, Trento, Pallanza, Portofino
 1910 Paris, London, Anvers, Berlin, Frankfurt, Dresden, Oxford, Budapest
 1911 Dresden, Oxford, Paris, Budapest, Bombay, Peshawar
 1912 Peshawar, Bilof, Kashmir
 1913 Srinagar, Mohand Marg, Gulmarg, Kashgar
 1914 Charklik, Tun-huang, Suchou, Kanchou, Kara-khoja
 1916 Kashmir, Port Said, Oxford, London, Cornwall
 1917 Devon, Avignon, Bombay
 1918 Kashmir
 1919 Kashmir, Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi
 1920 Bozen, Dijon, Paris, London, Oxford, Jersey, Vienna, Budapest, Delhi
 1921 Delhi, Kashmir
 1922 Lahore, Kashmir
 1923 Kashmir

1924 Srinagar, Cairo, Luxor, Budapest, Paris, Oxford, London
 1925 Berlin, Guildford, Oxford, London
 1926 Srinagar, Delhi
 1927 Delhi, Kashmir
 1928 Srinagar, Baghdad
 1929 Syria, Damascus, Venice, Budapest, Paris, London, Oxford, Devon, Dresden, Cambridge Massachusetts
 1930 Washington DC, London, Budapest, Shanghai, Singapore, Kashmir, Kashgar
 1931 Kashmir, New Delhi
 1932 Istanbul, London, Oxford, Budapest
 1933 Peshawar, Kashmir
 1934 Budapest, London, Gloucestershire, Paris, Oxford

to Ernst Stein (brother) 'Ernst'

1885 Oxford
 1887 Budapest
 1888 Lahore, Gulmarg
 1889 Lahore, Pampur, Bei Srinagar, Jammu
 1890 Lahore, Budapest, Vienna, London
 1891 Swabi, Palgam, Narastau, Laddu, Srinagar, Lahore
 1892 Lahore, Gulmarg, Kangra
 1893 Berlin, Lahore, Budapest, London, Vienna
 1894 Kashmir, Lahore, Srinagar
 1895 Lahore, Kashmir
 1896 Lahore, Berlin, Kashmir
 1897 Lahore, Budapest, Kashmir, London
 1898 Kashmir, Lahore, Srinagar
 1899 Lahore, Simla, Calcutta, Darjeeling
 1900 Lahore, Calcutta, Peshawar, Rawalpindi
 1902 Rawalpindi, London, Oxford, Hamburg

to Nathan Stein (father) 'Papa'

1888 Gulmarg, Srinagar
 1889 Lahore

Box III

- 670 aerial photographs taken by Stein, with the RAF, for survey of 1938-39 (a list of the photographs is available, giving locations).
- 4 fieldbooks of small siteplans
- Stein's *Limes Report* - example of content: *Alexander's passage of the Tigris and the site of the battle of Arbels, The Station on Wadi as Swab.*

Box IV

Maps: Exploration of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu, 1913-15.

Other

- Copy of Stein's Will, and three Codicils.
- Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: *Report on correspondence and papers of Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862-1943), archaeologist and explorer*, 1984.

PUBLICATIONS

Oldham, A.W., Sir Aurel Stein 1862-1943, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1943, vol.29, pp. 453-65.

Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on correspondence and papers of Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862-1943), archaeologist and explorer*, 1984.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment. A type-written list of the photographs is available, *List of aerial photographs (670) taken by RAF for survey of 1938-39*.

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BRITISH LIBRARY: ORIENTAL AND INDIA OFFICE COLLECTIONS

COLLECTION HISTORY

Oriental Collection

The British Library's Stein Collections have a complicated history resulting from the economics of exploration and the division of artefacts collected by Stein on his first three expeditions to Chinese Central Asia. Financial support offered by the Trustees of the British Museum and by the Government of India was acknowledged in a division of his finds made largely on the basis of language, style and type. All the material was first sent to London for division between the British Museum (various departments) and the Government of India. The latter materials were divided between the National Museum of India in Delhi (three-dimensional materials, wall-paintings and some graphic works) and the India Office Library (textual materials, mainly in Sanskrit and Tibetan). The division, particularly of textual material, was further complicated by the fact that many documents had inscriptions in different languages on *recto* and *verso*.

When the British Library was founded in 1973, textual material from the Stein collection mainly in Chinese but including documents in Tibetan, Sanskrit, Kharosthi, Khotanese, Uighur and Turkic was transferred from the British Museum's Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.

In 1982, the India Office Library (IOL) was transferred from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to the British Library, joining the Oriental Collections (Or.) to form the Oriental and India Office Collections. The transfer included collections of material mainly in Tibetan and Sanskrit, but also included some in Chinese, Khotanese and Kharosthi, collected on Stein's first three Central Asian expeditions, which had been lodged with the India Office. The collections are therefore numbered with the prefix 'Or.' or 'IOL' to show their origin. Within the 'IOL' prefix, they are categorised according to language (IOL San, IOL Khot, IOL Tib etc.), and within the 'Or.' prefix according to expedition number (1st exp. Or.8211; 2nd exp. Or.8210; 3rd exp. Or.8212 etc.), but manuscripts have not always been assigned correctly. The database of the Stein collection is available on the World Wide Web and contains this number as well as expedition number and languages of the documents so that any incorrect categorisations can be clarified.

There is also a small group of photographs of artefacts collected on Stein's fourth Central Asian expedition, of which the originals are now lost.

India Office Collection

The India Office Records are the documentary archives of the pre-1947 government of India.

They comprise the archives of the East India Company (1600-1858), the Board of Control or Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India (1784-1858), the India Office (1858-1947), the Burma Office (1937-1948) and a number of related British agencies overseas.

With the India Act of 1858, a new department of state, the India Office, was set up to serve, under the Secretary of State for India, as an executive office of the United Kingdom government, alongside the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Home Office and War Office. The Secretary of State was assisted by a statutory body of advisors, the Council of India, and headed a staff of civil servants organised into a system of departments largely taken over from the East India Company and Board of Control and housed in a new India Office building in Whitehall.

It was only with the constitutional reforms initiated during the First World War, and carried forward by the India Acts of 1919 and 1935, that there came about a significant relaxation of India Office supervision over the Government of India, and with it, in India, a gradual devolution of authority to legislative bodies and local governments. The same administrative reforms also led in 1937 to the separation of Burma from India and the creation in London of the Burma Office, separate from the India Office though sharing the same Secretary of State and located in the same building. With the grant of independence to India and Pakistan in 1947, and to Burma in 1948, both the India Office and the Burma Office were dissolved.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Oriental Collection

The following are approximate categories of manuscripts. Some of the manuscripts contain more than one language, and some are indecipherable. There is also some material written on birchbark, leather and other materials. The Stein Collection also contains a few paintings on silk and paper, and various artefacts such as sutra wrappers, paper cuts and paste brushes.

Chinese

- c.14,000 scrolls and fragments from Dunhuang, Cave 17 (2nd & 3rd expeditions)
- c.1,000+ fragments on paper from other sites including Chinese on Tibetan
- c.3000 woodslips, fragments and shavings in Chinese
- Chinese paper money of Yuan dynasty

Tangut

- c.4000 fragments on paper

Khotanese

- c.50 scrolls
- c.2000 paper fragments
- c.100 woodslips

Tibetan

- c.1500 fragments on paper
- c.2300 woodslips

Kuchean

- c.300

Sogdian

- c.50

Uighur

- c.100

Eastern Turkic/Runic Turkic

- 6

Sanskrit/Pali, incl. Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts

- c.1500

Associated material

Also included with the Stein material in the British Library collections are fragments, scrolls and woodslips etc collected among others by:

- Dr A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, Education Dept, Bengal, Principal Calcutta Madrasah Feb 1884 and later Advisor to the Government of India
- Captain Stuart H. Godfrey, British Joint-Commissioner of Ladakh and later Assistant to Resident at Kashmir
- Sir George Macartney, Special Assistant for Chinese Affairs, and later British Consul-General in Kashgar
- H.I. Harding, HBM's late Vice-Consul, Kashgar
- Sir Adelbert Cecil Talbot, Resident Kashmir, June 1896
- N. Fitzmaurice Esq.
- Captain G. Sherriff, R.A.
- F.W. Thomas, Librarian of the India Office, 1903-27

The Prints and Drawings Department also houses a large collection of Stein photographs (see separate entry).

India Office Collection

There are several files relating to Stein expeditions in the India Office records. The following is a representative selection only; there is no complete index list to the Stein records, and readers must search the index volumes. Most of the records concern publication of Stein's

expedition reports and related financial considerations.

- L/R/7/75 Letters relating to printing of maps for Innermost Asia
- L/R/7/76 Large file relating to publication, distribution and subsidy for Thousand Buddhas
- L/R/7/145 *re* publication of photographs of frescoes
- L/P&S/10/1218 Travellers: Stein

There are several references to Stein in the Index volumes to the records from 1900 onwards. Readers should consult the index volumes (7/L/R/6/17 1900) for details.

The India Office Collection also includes Stein's excavation photos from the Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle - Annual Report (ASIFC-AR).

PUBLICATIONS

The following is a list of the major catalogues of the material published to date as well as work in progress. Most of the material is available on microfilm and on the International Dunhuang Project Database (see separate entry). The latter includes full colour images.

Bailey, H.W., 'Codices Khotanenses', *Monumenta linguarium Asiae Majoris*, II, Copenhagen, 1938.

Bailey, H.W., *Khotanese Texts*, 7 vols, Cambridge, 1945-85.

Bailey, H.W., *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (Cambridge Oriental Series 3), London, 1951.

Boyer, A.M., Rapson, E.J. and Senart, E., *Kharosthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, 1920-29:

Part I, *Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya site 1901*

Part II, *Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya, Endere and Lou-lan sites 1906-7*

Part III, *Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya and Lou-lan sites 1913-14.*

The British Library *et al.*, *Dunhuang manuscripts in British Collections (Chinese Texts other than Buddhist scriptures)*, 15 vols, Chengdu, 1900-.

Burrows, T., *A Translation of the Kharosthi documents from Chinese Turkestan* (James G. Forlong Fund, vol.XX), London, 1940.

Chavannes, E., *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental*, Oxford, 1913.

Clauson, G.L.M., 'Catalogue of the Stein collection of Sanskrit MSS from Kashmir', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912: pp.587-627.

- Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Part 2: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian period and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, vol.5 Saka, London, 1955.
- *Saka Documents I-IV*, H.W. Bailey (ed.)
 - *Saka Documents V-VI*, R.E. Emmerick (ed.)
 - *Text volume*, H.W. Bailey
- Dresden, M.J., 'Khotanese (Saka) manuscripts, a provisional handlist', *Varia*, 1976. (*Acta Iranica*, 3rd series, 12, *textes et mémoires V*, Teheran-Liège, 1977.
- Giles, L., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, London, 1957.
- Hoernle, A.F.R., *Manuscripts of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, vol.1, Oxford, 1916.
- Huang Yongwu (ed.) *Dunhuang baozang*, 140 vols, Taipei, n.d.
- La Vallée Poussin, L. de, *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library*, Oxford, 1962.
- Mackenzie, D.N., *The Buddhist Sogdian texts of the British Library*, Bibliothèque Pahlavi, Téhéran-Liege, 1976.
- Maspéro, H., *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*, London, 1953.
- Reichelt, H., *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums: in Umschrift und mit Übersetzung*, 2 vols, Heidelberg, 1928-31.
- Rong Xinjiang, *Yingguo tushuguan zang Dunhuang Hanwen fei fojiao wenxian can juan mulu / Catalogue of the Chinese Non-Buddhist Fragments (S.6981-13624) from Dunhuang in the British Library* (Xianggang Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu zhongxin yekan / Hong Kong Dunhuang and Turfan Studies Centre: 4), Shin Wen Printing Co., Taipei, 1994.
- Sims-Williams, N., 'The Sogdian fragments of the British Library', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18, 1976, pp.43-82.
- Sims-Williams, N. and Hamilton, J., *Documents turco-sogdiens du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, London, 1990.
- Skjaervo, P.O., *Catalogue/Concordance of the Khotanese manuscripts in the British Library*, British Library (forthcoming).
- Stein, M.A., *Ancient Khotan: Detailed report of archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1907.
- Stein, M.A., *Serindia: Detailed report of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*, 5 vols, Oxford, 1921.
- Stein, M.A., *Innermost Asia: Detailed report of explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran*, 4 vols, Oxford, 1928.
- Takeuchi, Tsuguhito, *Old Tibetan manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan in the Stein Collection of the British Library*, (Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum II), 2 vols, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, The Toyo Bunko and The British Library, 1997-.
- Thomas, F.W. *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 3 vols, (Oriental Translation Fund: New Series, vols 32, 37, 40, 41), London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935-63.
- Whitfield, S., 'The future of the Stein collection in the British Library', *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*, Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies, 1997, pp. 229-42.
- Wood, F., 'From Central Asia to London: the Stein collection of manuscripts in the British Library', *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*, Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies, pp. 221-7.

ACCESSIBILITY

Oriental Collection

The manuscripts and documents in the Stein Collection at the British Library are of international significance and their preservation is our first aim. Handling of the originals is to be avoided where possible. **Permission to consult original manuscripts is therefore only granted when a good reason is provided and readers will usually be directed to surrogate forms.** Certain parts of the collection may be unavailable, either temporarily or permanently, owing to their poor condition or because they are being conserved. Readers are therefore requested to contact the British Library well in advance if they are interested in a particular manuscript.

Large parts of the collection are available in surrogate form, such as microfilm and published facsimiles. Readers for this material will therefore be directed to these surrogates. Part of the collection is also available on a computer database accessible via the Internet and readers will also be directed to this when relevant.

Certain parts of the collection, for example the majority of items in the sequence Or.8210/S.8400-S.14,000, have been encapsulated inside plastic and are therefore better able to withstand handling. Readers may be directed to such groups of manuscripts.

India Office Collection

The India Office Records are administered by The British Library as part of the Public Records of the United Kingdom, and are open for public consultation under the provisions of the Public Record Acts and in accordance with regulations established by the Lord Chancellor. Readers

should contact the India Office Collection for further details.

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**BRITISH LIBRARY
ORIENTAL AND INDIA OFFICE COLLECTION
PRINTS, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS SECTION**

COLLECTION HISTORY

The collection was transferred from the Royal Geographical Society in the 1970s. Stein's own arrangement of his photographs resulted in a complex, if characteristically meticulous, alphabetical and numerical sequence. While this broadly chronological arrangement of the material has been maintained, the photographs have now been assigned an overall collection number (Photo 392) within the OIOC's own photograph holdings, and the various albums and groups of prints broken down into parts. Thus the whole of the Stein Collection of photographs comprises OIOC Photo 392/1-58. The detail of the captioning supplied for the photographs is variable: for the albums covering the period up to the 1900s, very little information is supplied. From the Second Central Asian Expedition of 1906-08 onwards, the photographs are generally well captioned, supplying location, date and subject, with indications where a picture was intended for publication. For the period 1914-38, there is also a series of notebooks listing subject and date of each photograph as well as supplying technical photographic information regarding exposure, etc.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Approximately 11,000 prints, negatives and lantern slides taken by Stein in India, Pakistan,

Chinese Central Asia, Iran, Iraq and Jordan, 1890s - 1938.

The collection covers the whole of Stein's career and provides a detailed visual record of all his major archaeological expeditions. Original prints for most of the illustrations used by Stein in his own published accounts of his travels can be found in the collection. There is also a small number of personal and family photographs.

ACCESSIBILITY

The Stein collection is listed in the OIOC Photographic Collections database, which can be accessed in the OIOC Reading Room in the British Library. Photographs can be searched for by subject, date and/or geographical locations. Access to the original photographs is by appointment only.

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BRITISH LIBRARY: THE INTERNATIONAL DUNHUANG PROJECT

INTERNATIONAL DUNHUANG PROJECT

The International Dunhuang Project (IDP) was established in 1994 following a meeting of conservators from all over the world. Its aim is to promote the study and preservation of the Dunhuang legacy through international co-operation.

OBJECTIVES

- To establish the full extent of the documentary legacy from Dunhuang and other Central Asian sites and to share that information through the development of an international database.
- To develop new techniques for the preservation of the original documents through close collaboration with research chemists and paper technologists.
- To promote common standards of preservation methods and documentation.
- To catalogue the material according to common or compatible standards.
- To store the documents in the best possible environment and reduce handling to a minimum.
- To stimulate research on the material and increase access through the production of surrogate forms, facsimile publication, microfiche, and computer stored images.

ORGANISATION

IDP consists of a small steering group and an active membership of all curators and conservators concerned with Dunhuang and similar materials. It has wide links with those involved in computer development in related fields and with scientists. The project produces an occasional newsletter and holds a thrice-yearly conference (1993: Sussex, UK; 1995: Paris, France; 1998: Berlin, Germany; 1999 St Petersburg, Russia).

CONTACT DETAILS

If you wish to receive the newsletter or would like more information, please contact:

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Website: <http://idp.bl.uk>

BRITISH MUSEUM: CENTRAL ARCHIVES

COLLECTION HISTORY

During the period covered by these papers, the Director of the British Museum for the time being was responsible to its Board of Trustees for making payments from Trust Funds and for carrying the Trustee's policy and instructions into effect with regard both to the superintendence of the Museum and to its relations with other individuals and institutions. Thus the Director and the Director's Office, whose papers form the Museum's Central Archives, dealt with financial and administrative matters concerning excavations and fieldwork which was undertaken or supported by the Museum or from which it received objects for its collections.

The papers described below form part of class CE32 (Excavations: Correspondence, Letters and Papers) of the Central Archives. When the cataloguing of the class began, papers concerning Stein were found to have been placed at an unknown date in two boxes, according to whether they related to Stein's first, second and third or to his subsequent expeditions. Other than this there was no sign that they had been arranged in any way. They have therefore been listed as two separate bundles, the papers being sorted into date order within each bundle and numbered accordingly. Enclosures have been kept with their covering letters. Since class CE32 is still being catalogued, the piece numbers given here are temporary; when the catalogue has been completed a chart collating temporary with final numbers will be available. A database of authors of individual letters and reports contained in the class is also being compiled.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Official correspondence of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, Sir Frederic George Kenyon and Sir George Francis Hill, successive Directors of the British Museum, relating to Stein's various expeditions; with enclosures and associated papers. 1905-1935 and 1948.

- Correspondence and papers of Sir E.M. Thompson and Sir F.G. Kenyon, 1905-1920 and 1927-1928. [157 documents]
BMCA, class CE32, temp nos 112/1-232

The papers relate to objects collected by Stein on his first, second and third expeditions to Central Asia. Most of them concern the division of finds between the British Museum and the Government of India; others deal with the provision of accommodation for finds at the British Museum, and with a proposed inventory of them, to be compiled by Paul

Pelliot. Apart from Stein, the principal correspondents are Lionel David Barnett, Robert Laurence Binyon, (Sir) Lazarus Fletcher, August Friedrich Rudolf Hoernle. Thomas Athol Joyce, P.S. Noble, Sir Charles Hercules Read and Frederick William Thomas; there are also proposals (for division of finds) by Raphael Petrucci (1915) and Frederick Henry Andrews (1915).

- Correspondence of Sir F.G. Kenyon and Sir G.F. Hill, 1928-1935 and 1948. [170 documents]

BMCA, class CE32, temp nos 233-302

The majority of the papers concern the objections which were raised in China to Stein's fourth expedition to Central Asia (1930), the unsuccessful efforts of the Foreign Office to overcome this opposition, and Stein's consequent change of plan and expedition to Persia (Iran). They consist mainly of covering letters from the Foreign Office to Kenyon and Hill, enclosing copy letters, telegrams and memoranda from Stein and from Sir Miles Lampson and other British diplomats in China and Persia.

- Other papers deal with the financing of the fourth expedition by the British Museum and Harvard University; the division of finds from Persia; proposals for a photographic record of Kharosthi inscriptions; and the temporary loan by the Government of India to the British Museum of ceramic specimens collected by Stein in Baluchistan. There is also a report, 1948, by Cyril John Gadd, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, on the division of finds made by Stein in Western Iran, 1935-1936.

ACCESSIBILITY

The Central Archives are open to the public under the terms of the current Public Records Acts. For further information about their content and availability, researchers should contact the Museum Archivist.

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BRITISH MUSEUM: DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS

COLLECTION HISTORY

Coins from Chinese Central Asia

The Stein coins from the first three expeditions arrived in London in 1901, 1909 and 1924, respectively. Those from the first two expeditions came directly to London; those from the third expedition were identified in India before transfer to the British Museum. The Lists of Coins included as Appendices to *Ancient Khotan, Serindia* and *Innermost Asia* were compiled by Stephen Wootton Bushell, Edward James Rapson, John Allan and Florence Mary Glen Lorimer.

Coins from the first and second expeditions appear to have been housed in the Department since the compilation of the Lists; those from the third expedition were transferred from the British Library in the 1970s. In the 1980s Joe Cribb and Lalou Metzler arranged the coins according to the order in the Lists, and allocated an individual registration number to each coin. The registration numbers follow the groupings in the original Lists of Coins, preceded by AK (Ancient Khotan), S (Serindia) or IA (Innermost Asia). For example, S.XXII.d.1 refers to the 1st coin in List sub-group d, of List group XXII [coins excavated at 'Ming-oi' site, north of Shorchuk] in *Serindia*.

The Stein coins were cleaned/conserved in 1993 by Celestine Enderley (retired 1997) of the Museum's Conservation Department.

Coins from Iran and Pakistan

The coins from Iran and Pakistan were housed in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, where the groups of coins from various sites were numbered (groups 168-186) by Julian Reade. These coins were transferred to the Department of Coins and Medals in March 1993, and this numbering was retained. The prefix WAA was added to each coin, and each coin was given an individual number within its group. For example, WAA 168.1 refers to the first coin in group 168 transferred from WAA. A list of these coins is available for viewing in the Department of Coins and Medals.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Coins from Chinese Central Asia

Over 4000 coins were acquired by Stein during his first, second and third expeditions to Chinese Central Asia. Three quarters of the coins are of the Chinese tradition, with official issues spanning a period of about 2000 years from the Han to Qing dynasties. The remaining quarter consists mainly of Islamic coins (Qarakhanid, Chagatayid, Mughal and Samanid coins, coins of Nimruz and 19th-century coins of Kashmir, Khwarazm and Kashmir). In addition, there are a

smaller number of Roman, Parthian, Kushan, Sasanian, and imitation Byzantine coins. There are also coins mixing Chinese and Western coin traditions: the Sino-Kharosthi coins, the Sino-Kuchan coins, and 1 Türgesh coin with a Sogdian inscription.

Coins are from the following sites (in Stein's romanisation): Aduna-kora, Ak-sipil, Ak-terek Tatis, Ak-tiken, Arka-kuduk and Kumat, Arkalik, Astana, Baghdad-shahri, Balawaste, Bash-kumat, Besh-tam, Chahar-taq, Chalma Kazan, Charchan, Chong Hassar, Chong-tim, Damba-koh, Dandan-uiliq, Dawan-kum Tatis, Do Dashtak, Domoko, Endere, Farhad-Beg-Yailaki, Halal-bagh, Hanguya Tatis, Hei-shui-kuo, Jigda-kuduk, Jumbe-kum, Kalalik, Kalat-i-gird, Kara Yantak, Kara-dobe, Kara-dong, Kara-khoja, Kara-sai, Karghalik, Khadalik, Khan-oi, Kharakhoto, Khotan, Khotan Tatis, Kighillik, Kine-tokmak Tatis, Kizil-yar, Kohmari, Kök-kumarish, Kukrani, Kum-bagh, Kurgan, Loulan, Lachinata, Lal-tagh, Limes, Lo-t'o ch'eng, Machi, Maral-bashi, Mazar-tagh, Merdek shahri, Merdek Tim, Ming-oi, Miran, Tatis north of Jiya and Suya, Nanhu, Niya, Rawak, Tatis south of Sapula, Soyang-cheng, Tajik, Tam-öghil, Tar-bogaz, Tarishlak, Toghrak-akin, Togujai, Tokuz-sarai, Toyuk, Ushak-tal, Uzun Tati, Vash-shahri, West Lach, Yar-khoto, Yarkand, Ying-p'an, Yotkan, Yulduz-bagh.

There are also handwritten envelopes and specimen bags from the expeditions, and handwritten identification slips prepared for the Lists of Coins included in the appendices to Stein's reports.

Coins from Iran and Pakistan

152 coins/fragments acquired by Stein in Iran and Pakistan, from the following sites:

Iran (Baluchistan): Tiz, Damba-koh, Qalat-i-Jamshid

Iran (Bushire): Reshire Fort

Iran (Fars): Asir, Chahar-taq (palace), Shahr-i-Majj, Qal'a-i-Darabgird, Qal'a-i-Parian, Tal-i-Haidar, Nakhsh-i-Rustam/Shahpur

Pakistan: Kukrani, Rokhri

Medals

A unique silver medal portraying Sir Aurel Stein and the seal impression depicting Athena found at the Niya site on one side, and a Sogdian god riding a camel (taken from the painted wooden panel found at Dandan-Uiliq) was commissioned by the British Museum, and presented to Professor Ikuo Hirayama on 1 April 1993. It was designed by Ian Rank-Broadley. A bronze version was made for the British Museum medal collection and is housed in the Department. Details and illustrations may be found in the News section, *The Medal*, Autumn 1993, pp. 105-6.

PUBLICATIONS

Lists of the coins from the three expeditions to Chinese Central Asia are included as Appendices to *Ancient Khotan, Serindia and Innermost Asia*, respectively.

Cribb, J., 'The Sino-Kharosthi coins of Khotan - their attribution and relevance to Kushan chronology (Part 1)', *Numismatic Chronicle* 144, 1984, pp. 128-52.

Cribb, J., 'The Sino-Kharosthi coins of Khotan - their attribution and relevance to Kushan chronology (Part 2)', *Numismatic Chronicle* 145, 1985, pp. 136-49.

Porter, V., 'The Islamic coins collected by Stein in Chinese Central Asia', *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*, Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1997, pp. 201-20.

Wang, H., 'The Stein collection of coins from Chinese Central Asia', *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*, Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1997, pp. 187-99.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment. The coins may be studied in the Students' Room. Researchers should contact the Department to reserve a seat in the Students' Room, indicating that they wish to see the Stein collection. For the first visit, it is essential to bring proof of identity and a letter of recommendation.

CONTACT DETAILS

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BRITISH MUSEUM: DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES

COLLECTION HISTORY

Chinese Central Asian collection

The collections listed below are housed in the Department of Oriental Antiquities. They are included in descriptions of finds in Stein's three reports (Stein 1907, 1921, 1928), and the copies of the three reports in the Department's library have been annotated with the Department's registration numbers.

The collections of paintings, prints and textiles from Cave 17 which are now housed in the Department are part of a larger collection acquired by Stein from Cave 17, Dunhuang, during his second expedition. The collection acquired by Stein from Cave 17 reached England in 1909 and remained here until the early 1920s when it was divided according to the proportion of funding of the second expedition, with two-fifths remaining in England, and three-fifths being transferred to India and now housed in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, New Delhi. The collection which remained in England consisted of the paintings, prints and textiles in the Department, manuscripts and some prints transferred to the former Department of Manuscripts (which is now the Chinese Section of the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collection); and a collection of textiles on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum from the India Government.

Following the arrival of the Cave 17 paintings in London, a major programme of conservation had to be organized to unroll and conserve the fragmentary paintings. This was carried out between c.1910 and the early 1920s under the direction of the Japanese mounter, Urushibara. Since the early 1980s additional conservation of the collection of paintings and prints has been carried out by the Eastern Pictorial Art section of the Museum's Conservation Department, where a programme for the conservation and mounting of the fragment collection is now being carried out.

Islamic collection

See entry for British Museum: Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities (WAA). In the past few years, the Stein ceramic and small finds have been placed in a more accessible storage area, within the Department. They have been arranged according to findspot, which has contributed to our understanding of the currency of certain ceramic groups in specific areas of Iran. As work progresses on upgrading storage of other Iranian shard collections in the Department, more useful comparisons with the Stein material will be able to be made.

At the present time, an Iranian team is excavating at Hormuz, a site well represented

among the Stein finds, so eventually useful comparisons may be made with the new finds.

It is hoped that on future visits to Iran, one might study the Stein material which was kept in Iran.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Chinese Central Asian collection

- 1500+ archaeological objects excavated from sites on the Southern Silk Route, the border fortifications near Dunhuang and the North-eastern Silk Route during Stein's three expeditions to Chinese Central Asia from 1900-03, 1906-09 and 1913-16. The collection from the Southern Silk Route includes objects from sites from the Khotan oases, Niya, Miran and Loulan. The Northeastern Silk Route includes objects from Shorchuk, Khora and Astana.
- 240+ paintings on silk and paper from Cave 17, Dunhuang, acquired during Stein's second expedition to Chinese Central Asia (1906-09).
- 60+ groups of fragments of painted silk and paper from Cave 17, Dunhuang, acquired during Stein's second expedition to Chinese Central Asia (1906-09).
- 30+ woodblock prints from Cave 17, Dunhuang, acquired during Stein's second expedition to Chinese Central Asia (1906-09).
- 200 textiles, including complete objects and fragments, from Cave 17, Dunhuang, acquired during Stein's second expedition to Chinese Central Asia (1906-09).

Islamic collection

- 798 objects in ceramic, glass, stone, terracotta, ivory, metal and wood. There are site-markings on most pieces, and specimen envelopes for small items such as beads. The main registration number series are:
 - OA+7500-8119
 - OA+12031-12128
 - 1928-10-22-145 to 193
 - 1937-3-18-1 to 25and other isolated numbers in the OA+ series. Documentation as per WAA entry.

Except for the 1928 group, the rest of the finds come from Stein's four Iranian expeditions (1931-36) [cf. WAA entry]. The objects come from the same regions as the pre-Islamic collections in WAA, that is Baluchistan, Makran, Kirman, Hormuzgan and Fars, but they were acquired at far fewer sites than the ancient collections.

Archive material

Letter from Stein to Foster (addressed from Merton College, Oxford, Nov 22, 1911) in Manuscripts Box: *Masson, Cunningham, Martin*.

PUBLICATIONS

Chinese Central Asian collection

Andrews, F.H., *Descriptive catalogue of antiquities recovered by Sir Aurel Stein during his explorations in Centra Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran*, Delhi, 1935.

Andrews, F.H., *Wall paintings from ancient shrines in Central Asia recovered by Sir Aurel Stein*, 2 vols, London, 1948.

Binyon, L., *A catalogue of Japanese and Chinese woodcuts in the British Museum*, London, 1916.

British Museum, *Guide to an exhibition of paintings, manuscripts and other archaeological objects collected by Sir Aurel Stein, KCIE, in Chinese Turkestan*, London, 1914.

Farrer, A., 'From paradise paintings to paper flowers: comparative values in the pictorial material from Cave 17, Dunhuang,' *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture*, Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies, 1997, pp.243-60.

Waley, A., *A catalogue of paintings recovered from Tunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein*, London, 1931.

Whitfield, R., *The art of Central Asia: the Stein collection in the British Museum*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982-85.

vol.1 (Paintings from Dunhuang)

vol.2 (Paintings from Dunhuang)

vol.3 (Textiles, sculpture and other art)

Whitfield, R. and Farrer, A., *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas*, London: British Museum exhibition catalogue, 1990.

Islamic collection

As per WAA entry.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment. Some pieces are on permanent display in the Joseph E. Hotung Gallery of Oriental Art.

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Islamic collection:

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BRITISH MUSEUM: DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN ASIATIC ANTIQUITIES

COLLECTION HISTORY

The collection contains material from Stein's four expeditions to the Indus valley and Iran in the years 1931-36: (1) The Indus valley and S-E Iran (from Makran to Kerman), November 1931- April 1932; (2) S-E Iran (from Kerman to Bushire), November 1932 - March 1933; (3) Fars, Iran, November 1933 - May 1934; (4) Western Iran, November 1935 - November 1936. The finds from the first two expeditions, which were financed by the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, were divided by agreement between the Iranian Government, Harvard University and the British Museum, with the largest share going to Harvard. The Fogg Art Museum's share was largely, if not entirely, transferred to the Peabody Museum of Harvard University where it is registered in the 36-91-60 series. The finds from the third and fourth expeditions mostly came to the British Museum, with a small number of finds being claimed by the Iranian Government. It appears that the major part of the British Museum's share of the finds was initially deposited in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and that subsequently much (but not all) of the Islamic pottery was transferred to the Department of Oriental Antiquities while the coins were transferred to the Department of Coins and Medals. By contrast in 1985 a number of items, particularly flints, were transferred back to Western Asiatic Antiquities from Oriental Antiquities (where they had been numbered 1880-3029 to 1880-3065).

Current work

The best of Stein's finds allocated to the Museum, in particular that part of the material which was illustrated in Stein's own accounts, had already been recorded in the Museum's registers by about 1950. Many pieces lay unregistered for nearly half a century in the Museum. The lengthy process of entering into the Museum's by now computerised registers the remaining great mass of Stein's sherds and small finds, notionally acquired in or before 1947, began anew in 1995 (as the 1947-5-1 collection). During the last three years the bulk of the sherds have been registered by Joe Venturella (Canada) and Katrien Rutten (University of Ghent). It is hoped that the registration process will be completed in the next two years. Particular attention has been paid to establishing a detailed geographical hierarchy for the collection and to recording Stein's own excavation numbers for the purpose of establishing complete site inventories. On completion of the registration project the Department plans to publish a more detailed guide to the relevant collections.

Some of the best of Stein's ceramic and metal finds at Hasanlu are exhibited in the Museum's recently refurbished gallery of Ancient Iran. The Keeper, Dr J.E. Curtis, in conjunction with Professor Robert Dyson (Philadelphia) plans a complete publication of the metalwork found by Stein at this site.

Detailed studies of Stein's ceramic finds have begun anew. Susanne Kerner's *Vakilabad-Keramik* (Berliner Beitrage zum Vorderen Orient, Band 13, Berlin, 1993), is a complete publication of ceramics from Vakilabad and other sites in the vicinity of Kanakan in the Fasa district of Fars. A wider ranging study of the ceramics from Stein's survey and excavations in Fars is being undertaken by Dr. Abbas Alizadeh (Tehran).

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

- 1937-3-13 collection: 71 items, also numbered in the sequence WA 129002-129071 and 137322. Pottery and a few small finds, almost exclusively from the first expedition.
- 1937-10-11 collection: 268 items, also numbered in the sequences WA 129101-129352 and 130791-130806. Pottery and a few small finds from the third expedition.
- 1947-5-1 collection: this collection falls into two parts:
 - (1) 626 items, also numbered in the sequences WA 129608-130000, 131000-131121, 136086-136196. Pottery and small finds from the fourth expedition. The first two numerical sequences represent the material already published and illustrated by Stein; the third group accounts for the remaining (unpublished) whole pots from this expedition (mainly from Hasanlu and Dinka) and the important groups of metalwork from Hasanlu and Shami.
 - (2) over 10000 sherds, also numbered in the sequences WA 140000-140244, 142000-151980, some 470 small finds, also numbered in the sequences WA 151981-152394 and 152422-152476, and an uncounted number of flints. These items come from all four expeditions. This larger part of the 1947-5-1 registration group represents an attempt to complete the Department's registration of its Stein collections from Iran.

Documentation

The Department's archives contain only two significant items from the original excavation archive:

- Typed lists of sites and their abbreviations. The most important of these is a list of sites visited in the 'Second Persian Journey', with dates, which begins with an otherwise unpublished list of the sites visited by Muhammad Ayub Khan, Stein's surveyor, during Stein's absence in England in the interval between his first and second expeditions. Stein, in 'Archaeological reconnaissances', refers to the area covered as being 'in the hills to the north-west of Kerman as well as in the high valleys to the south and south-east' (p. 161), and 'in the Zarand and Kohistan tracts to the north and north-west of Kerman' (p. 162), and 'in Bardsir' (p. 164). No detailed reference is made by Stein to most of the site names listed by Muhammad Ayub. A number of sherds collected during this survey (mostly, if not all, Islamic) are in the Department's 1947-5-1 collection.

- A copy of what appear to be Stein's original study notes (or field notes?) on sherds, whole pots, and metal from the fourth expedition, describing some material not illustrated in *Old Routes* nor present in the WAA collections. It should be noted that the site inventory numbers are already recorded in these study notes, but were evidently revised in some cases (e.g. the sites of Dinkha and Hasanlu).

This archival information is supplemented by the site marks and numbers on individual sherds, and by the remaining packing labels which have been partially retained both in London and at Harvard. The labels, which are often dated, act as valuable confirmation of uncertain site abbreviations and in a few cases allow us to identify the whereabouts of sites not recorded in Stein's published accounts.

PUBLICATIONS

(a) by Stein himself

On the first and second expeditions:

- 1934 'Archaeological reconnaissances in southern Persia', *The Geographical Journal* **83** (2), pp. 119-34.
- 1937 *Archaeological reconnaissances in north-western Iran and south-eastern Iran carried out and recorded with the support of Harvard University and the British Museum.* (By Sir Aurel Stein, ... Antiques examined and described with the assistance of Fred. H. Andrews and analysed in an appendix by R.L. Hobson), London.

On the third expedition:

- 1935 'An archaeological tour in the ancient Persis,' *The Geographical Journal* **86** (6), pp. 489-97.
- 1936 'An archaeological tour in the ancient Persis', *Iraq* **3**, pp. 111-225.

On the fourth expedition:

- 1938 'An archaeological journey in western Iran', *The Geographical Journal* **92** (4), pp. 313-42.
- 1940 *Old routes of western Iran. Narrative of an archaeological journey carried out and recorded by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Antiquities examined, described and illustrated with the assistance of Fred. H. Andrews, O.B.E.* London.

(b) by Bahman Karimi, Inspector of Antiquities, Iran, who accompanied Stein on the 15-month tour of Iran, 1935-36

- 1950 *Rahha-yi bastani va paytakhta-yi qadami-yi gharb-i, Iran.*
- 1950 *Rapport résumé de quinze mois de voyage de Dr Bahmen Karimi: les anciennes routes de l'Iran, Iran.*

(c) Subsequent research

The potential revealed by Stein's surveys and excavations in Iran has led to a number of subsequent excavations on sites which he pioneered, including the following:

Bampur: Beatrice De Cardi (1966)

De Cardi, B., 'Excavations at Bampur, S.E. Iran: a brief report', *Iran* **6**, pp. 135-56, London, 1968.

De Cardi, B., *Excavations at Bampur, a third millennium settlement in Persian Baluchistan*, New York, 1970.

Dinkha Tepe: Robert H. Dyson (1966/1968)

Muscarella, O.W., 'The Iron Age at Dinkha Tepe, Iran', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* **9**, pp. 35-90. New York, 1974.

Hamblin, C., *The Habur Ware Ceramic Assemblage of Northern Mesopotamia*. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1971 (publication of the pottery).

Hasanlu: Robert H. Dyson (1957-1977)

Dyson, R.H. *et al.*, 'East of Assyria: The Highland Settlement of Hasanlu', *Expedition* **31** (2-3), pp. 3-127. Philadelphia, 1989.

Tal-i-Iblis: Joseph R. Caldwell (1964/1966)

Caldwell, J.F., 'Tal-i-Iblis: the Kerman Range and the Beginnings of Smelting' (Illinois State Museum Preliminary Reports 7). Springfield, 1966.

Caldwell, J.R., 'Investigations at Tal-i-Iblis (Illinois State Museum Preliminary Reports 9). Springfield, 1967.

Siraf: David B. Whitehouse (1966-1973)

Whitehouse, D.B., Preliminary reports in the journal *Iran*, vols 5-12. London, 1967-74.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment.

CONTACT DETAILS

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NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY: HEINZ ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

COLLECTION HISTORY

Where known, the provenance of the photographs is noted below.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

- 1 drawing of Stein, signed and dated by Sir William Rothenstein, 1920
NPG 3881
- Portrait of Stein, 3 March 1924
B/W photograph from original negative by Bassano, no.71914
NPG Acq no. x
- Stein and dog, 22 Sept 1917
Photograph of photograph, by Norman Taylor, 107 High Street, & 74 Cowley Street, Oxford, from collection of F.H. Andrews, 1948.
NPG Ref neg: 5291
- Stein at Kagan (nr Bukhara), 17 July 1942
Photograph of snapshot, from collection of F.H. Andrews, 1948.
NPG Ref neg: 5292
- Stein at Kagan (nr Bukhara), 17 July 1942
Photograph sent to NPG by H.R. Cresworth, Cambridge University Library, December 1952.
NPG Acq no. x38874 (as ref neg: 5292)
- Stein, Aug 1911
Photograph of photograph in collection of F.H. Andrews, 1948.
NPG Ref neg: 5293

- Stein, 1933
Photograph by Wykeham Studios, 165 Victoria Street, London SW1, presented to NPG by Stein, 1935.
NPG Acq no. x38873

PUBLICATIONS

National Portrait Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue 1856-1979, compiled by K.K. Yung, edited by Mary Rettman, London: NPG 1981.

Franklin, J. *Supplement to the National Portrait Gallery Complete Illustrated Catalogue, 1980-1995*, London: NPG, 1995.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment, in the Heinz Archive and Library, Orange Street, London WC2. The drawing and NPG Ref negs 5291-5293 are documented in Sitter's File 'Sir (Mark) Aurel Stein'. NPG Acq nos x38873 and x38874 are in the Photographic Archives.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

COLLECTION HISTORY

The Society's collection of material relating to Stein largely comprises subsequent donations of material by others.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

- 1 b/w framed portrait of Stein, by W. Howard, dated 1946
- 1 box of photographs, as prepared for publication with instructions for reproduction, one batch labelled 'prints from Miran: Prim M.V as seen in *Serindia* vol.I and Andrews *Folio* plate III'.
- Diploma of the Geographical Society, Munich, awarded to Stein, 29 April 1909
- Notes of the speech by the Public Orator, Cambridge, on the occasion of awarding Stein Doctor of Science, 20 January 1910
- Diploma of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, awarded to Stein, 22 February 1910
- Stein's certificate of membership of the Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna, 8 March 1911
- Stein's certificate of membership of the American Philosophical Society, 21 April 1939
- Certificate of Honorary Doctorate of the University of St Andrews, awarded to Stein in September 1939
- The Council's Minutes Books (not indexed)

ACCESSIBILITY

Visitors are advised to seek the advice of the Librarian in advance if wishing to consult the Stein material, the Council's Minute Books and other archival material.

The Library is open to Members (and non-members by special arrangement) on Tuesday (11.00-20.00), Wednesday (11.00-17.00) and Thursday (11.00-17.00). It holds many of Stein's publications, both books and articles, as well as biographical articles about Stein from various journals. Books are listed in the printed catalogue (up to 1932) and in the card index thereafter. Journals are listed in the *Printed handlist of the periodical titles in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The archival material is not catalogued.

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ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTION HISTORY

The Society's collection of material relating to Stein is largely the correspondence Stein maintained with the Society and its staff, his own donations to the Society, and subsequent donations of material by others.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The Society's holdings of material relating to Stein is arranged in the Library, the Archives, the Picture Library and the Map Room.

Library

The Library holds many of Stein's publications, both books and articles, as well as biographical articles about Stein from various journals. Books and journals are in a card catalogue index.

Archives

- Correspondence relating to Stein:
1901-1910: 92 letters
1911-1920: 194 letters
1921-1930: 190 letters
1931-1940: 189 letters
1941-1950: 43 letters
A type-written reference guide to the correspondence is available for consultation in the Archives.
- Stein's application to the Government of India for permission to renew explorations in Turkestan, N.P. 1906 (17 pages and attachments [z.136.14])
- Typescript of 'On Alexander's route into Gedrosia: an archaeological tour in Las-Bela', and three copies of the 12 photographs illustrating this paper.
- Typewritten biography of Stein
- Notes on photographs
- Note on wind-sculpted block of wood from Lop Nor

Picture Library

- 2 studio portraits of Stein
- Photograph of Stein crossing river
- Photographs taken by Stein: China (22 photos), Iran (10), Iraq (17), Pakistan (21)

Map Room

- Maps produced by Stein (both manuscript and printed):
China (8 maps)
India (4 maps)
Iran (9 maps)
Jordan (8 maps)
Pakistan (3 maps)

The maps are catalogued according to author and area.

ACCESSIBILITY

Library

The Library is open to Fellows and Corporate Members on weekdays (11.00-17.00) and until 18.30 on Mondays. Photocopying facilities available. Copying of older or more delicate material is at the discretion of the Library staff. Study bays available for quiet consultation of books and journals.

Archives

The Archives are available to non-members by appointment. Photocopying is at the discretion of the Archivist. The finding aids are an author card index, a geographical index and a typewritten reference guide to the Stein collection.

Picture Library

The Picture Library is open to non-members by appointment. Photocopying facilities (b/w and colour) are available. Copying of older or more delicate material is at the discretion of the Library staff. Finding aids include a card catalogue of portraits and photographers.

Map Room

The Map Room is open to non-Fellows Monday to Friday (11.00-17.00). Photocopying facilities (b/w and colour) are available. Space is available for map consultation, eg in the New Map Room or the Reading Room.

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Library:

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Archives:

Huw Thomas tel: 0171-591-3050

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Picture Library:

Joanna Scadden tel: 0171-591-3060
fax: 0171-590-3061

Map Room:

Francis Herbert tel: 0171-591-3050

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON: LIBRARY

COLLECTION HISTORY

Stein's aerial photographs previously held in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum, were transferred to the Library of the Institute of Archaeology. The Institute's archival material, including Stein's aerial photographs, were transferred to University College Library (Manuscripts and Rare Books) in Spring 1998.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Photographs of Transjordan, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Sudan. A handwritten list of the photographs (known as the "Air Photo Index") is available, and there are plans to upgrade it. The list arranges the material by country, site and type of film (flat film, glass film, roll film, prints without negatives). A typed two-page list of amendments to the Air Photo Index, was compiled by Dr Welsby, British Museum, in August 1993.

ACCESSIBILITY

Anyone wishing to consult the photographs should contact the Librarian in advance to make an appointment. Those who do not hold a current library ticket should bring with them an academic letter of recommendation and proof of identity. During term-time the library is open Monday, Thursday, Friday (10.00-17.00) and Tuesday, Wednesday (10.00-19.00). It is possible to order reproductions of the photographs for a fee.

CONTACT DETAILS

Gill Furlong, Archivist
Manuscripts and Rare Books
Library
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT
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Fax: 0171-380-7727
e-mail: mssrb@ucl.ac.uk
library@ucl.ac.uk

VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM: FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

COLLECTION HISTORY

The Stein Loan Collection of textiles is housed in the V&A on loan from the Government of India. Some pieces from the Collection were displayed in the International Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Royal Academy, London, 1935-36. Fuller details are found in Verity Wilson's article (1995).

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The Stein Loan Collection consists of over 700 individual textile fragments from various sites: Astana, Darabzan-dong, Endere, Farhad-Beg-yailaki, Hami, Karadong, Karakhoja, Khadalik, Khara-khoto, Loulan, Ming-oi, Miran, Mazar-toghraq, Mazar-tagh, Niya, Qianfodong and the *limes* defences near Dunhuang. They were acquired during Stein's second and third expeditions to Chinese Central Asia.

PUBLICATIONS

Verity Wilson's article (1995) introduces the Stein Loan Collection, summarises the history of the Collection and the work that has been done on textiles from the Stein and other collections (e.g. British Museum, and the Musée Guimet and Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris), including work by Chinese textile specialists.

Burnham, H.B., 'Technical aspects of the warp-faced compound tabbies of the Han dynasty', *Bulletin de Liaison du Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens* 22, 1965, pp. 25-45.

Joshua, J., 'The restoring of ancient textiles', *Embroidery* 1933/9, pp. 15-18.

King, D., 'Some notes on warp-faced compound weaves', *Bulletin de Liaison du Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens* 28, 1968, pp. 9-19.

Kazuyoshi, Nagasawa, 'Chugoku Koda: Kan-To no Senshoku' (Ancient China: Textiles from the Han to Tang periods), *Senshoku no Bi* (Textile Art) 30, 1984, pp. 9-72.

O'Neale, L.M., 'A survey of the woollen textiles in the Sir Aurel Stein Collections', *American Anthropologist* 38, 1936, pp. 414-32.

O'Neale, L.M. and Durrell, D.F., 'An analysis of the Central Asian silks excavated by Sir Aurel Stein', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* I, 1945, pp. 392-446.

Riboud, K., 'Some remarks on strikingly similar Han figured silks found in recent years in diverse sites', *Archives of Asian Art* 26, 1972-73, pp. 12-25.

Wilson, V., 'Early textiles from Central Asia: approaches to study with reference to the Stein Loan Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London', *Textile History* 26 (1), 1995, pp. 23-52.

Yokohari, K., 'An essay on the debut of the Chinese samit based on the study of Astana textiles', *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 12, 1991, pp. 41-101.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment in the purpose-built Far Eastern Textile Study Room. An album of photographs of most of the Stein Loan Collection is available for consultation.

CONTACT DETAILS

Far Eastern Department
Victoria & Albert Museum
South Kensington
London SW7 2RL

Tel: 0171-938-8264

Fax: 0171-938-8667

e-mail: far.east@vam.ac.uk

VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM: REGISTRY AND ARCHIVE

COLLECTION HISTORY

Unknown.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The archives dealing with the Stein material in the V&A are contained in three files:

- V&A Registry Nominal File, *Stein, M.A. Dr.*,
- V&A Registry Nominal File, *India: Archaeological Survey*
- V&A Registry Nominal File, *Exhibitions: United Kingdom, London, Various, Royal Academy Exhibition of Chinese Art, 1936.*

CONTACT DETAILS

The Registry
Victoria & Albert Museum
South Kensington
London SW7 2RL

Tel: 0171-938-8264

Fax: 0171-938-8667

BODLEIAN LIBRARY: DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL BOOKS

COLLECTION HISTORY

The manuscripts were collected by Stein at Srinagar between 1885 and 1905 and were originally deposited on loan in the Indian Institute, Oxford, in 1911. On Stein's death in 1943 the manuscripts were bequeathed to the Indian Institute. The Stein oriental manuscripts, together with the various other manuscript collections that were the property of the Indian Institute, are now administered by the Bodleian's Department of Oriental Books (cf. Craster, 1952).

The collection was catalogued by Gerard L.M. Clauson (1912). Two non-Sanskrit items deserving mention, neither of which is recorded in Clauson's *Catalogue*, are MS. Stein Or. d. 84 (Pashto) and MS. Stein Or. c. 18 (Arabic/Turkish). In addition, there are two Sanskrit items, MS. Stein Or. c. 17 and MS. Stein Or. e. 2 (xiii) which are not in Clauson.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The Stein oriental collection consists of 161 manuscripts (referenced MSS. Stein Or.) containing some 370 separate texts, mainly in Sanskrit.

PUBLICATIONS

Clauson, G.L.M., 'Catalogue of the Stein collection of Sanskrit MSS. from Kashmir', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1912, pp. 587-627.

Craster, E., *History of the Bodleian Library, 1845-1945*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 311-12.

ACCESSIBILITY

Access to the collection is restricted to holders of the appropriate Bodleian Library reader's ticket. A photocopy of Clauson's *Catalogue*, annotated with the current Bodleian shelfmarks of the manuscripts, is available in the Oriental Reading Room, in the New Bodleian. A number of items (classed as 'Or. Res.') are in such a poor state of preservation that they cannot be issued to readers.

CONTACT DETAILS

Department of Oriental Books
Bodleian Library
Broad Street
Oxford OX1 3BG

Tel: 01865-277034

Fax: 01865-277182

e-mail: oriental@bodley.ox.ac.uk

**BODLEIAN LIBRARY:
DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
AND WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS**

COLLECTION HISTORY

The papers were bequeathed by Stein to the Indian Institute, Oxford (whose library has been administered as a dependent library of the Bodleian since 1927), and were later transferred to the Department of Western Manuscripts (as it then was).

They were catalogued in Mary Clapinson and T.D. Rogers (1991), vol.2, SC nos 53042-520; shelfmarks (which are to be quoted in any references) MSS. Stein 1-437, 439-58. Index entries are included in the index (vol.3) of *Summary catalogue*. A separate, fuller, index accompanies the typescript 'Catalogue of the papers of ... Stein (1862-1943)'; compiled by Elizabeth Diamond and T.D. Rogers, 1983. Copies are available for consultation at the National Register of Archives, London, and at the Bodleian (which can also supply photocopies of the catalogue).

Various other Stein papers, not part of the collection, can be found in the index to *Summary catalogue*, and in the Accessions Index (on cards) in Duke Humfrey's reading room in the Old Library.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

About 450 boxes of the papers and correspondence of Stein (MSS. Stein 1-437, 439-58), including:

- **MSS. Stein 1-11, 13-34:** 33 boxes of letters from Stein to P.S. Allen, 1898-1943 (Allen's letters to Stein, 1903-32, are MSS. Allen 201-10, and MS. Stein 12)
- **MSS. Stein 36-60:** 25 boxes of correspondence with F.H. Andrews, 1899-1943
- **MSS. Stein 63-113:** letters from various correspondents, with copies of many of Stein's replies
- **MSS. Stein 114-128:** family correspondence
- **MSS. Stein 132-258:** about 100 notebooks and field diaries compiled during expeditions, 1899-1943, and personal diaries, 1899-1940 (incomplete series)
- **MSS. Stein 261/1-266:** 'personal narratives', an informal record of his expeditions
- **MSS. Stein 285-377:** papers and correspondence relating to expeditions
- **MSS. Stein 378-426:** drafts of publications, with related papers
- **MSS. Stein 428-457:** photographs

A few seal impressions and coins found with the papers were transferred to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in 1983. Maps have been incorporated in the Bodleian's Map Room catalogue.

A small group of papers (including 'personal narratives', 1935-36, a lecture, and photographs), bequeathed by F.H. Andrews to the Ashmolean in 1958, was passed to the Bodleian in 1988, and these await cataloguing.

PUBLICATIONS

Clapinson, M. and Rogers, T.D., *Summary catalogue of post-medieval western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Acquisitions 1916-1975*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1991.

Diamond, E. and Rogers, T.D., 'Catalogue of the papers of Sir (Marc) Aurel Stein (1862-1943)', Bodleian Library (typescript), 1983.

Kawani, T.S., 'Kuh-e-Khwaja, Iran, and its wall paintings: the records of Ernst Herzfeld', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 22, 1987, pp.13-52 [with reference to Bodleian MS. Stein 84].

ACCESSIBILITY

Access to the collection is restricted to holders of the appropriate Bodleian reader's ticket. Prospective readers should write in advance to the Keeper of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts (address below), who can give information about admission to the Bodleian.

For conservation reasons, the whole Stein collection is read on microfilm (kept on the open shelves in the Modern Papers Reading Room, New Bodleian Library); the originals can be made available if the microfilm is unclear, on application to a senior member of the Department. The various other Stein papers, not part of the main collection, are not included on the microfilm.

Copyright

The British Academy holds the copyright in Stein's papers and has kindly given permission for the Keeper of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts to allow reasonable amounts of photocopying and quotation from the papers. Requests to quote from or publish items in the Stein papers should be made in writing to the Keeper. Copyright in papers not written by Stein (e.g. in letters to him) rests with the copyright holders of the writers.

CONTACT DETAILS

**Keeper of Special Collections
and Western Manuscripts
Bodleian Library
Broad Street
Oxford OX1 3BG**

Tel: 01865-277152

Fax: 01865-277182

e-mail: western.manuscripts@bodley.ox.ac.uk

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE: ARCHIVES

COLLECTION HISTORY

The material relating to Stein held in the archives at Corpus Christi College consists of legal papers (of historical rather than operative interest) deposited there many years after Stein's death. Although Stein was a long-standing friend of P.S. Allen, President of the College (1924-33), he had no formal attachment to the College.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

- 2 packets of legal papers, given to CCC Archives by Elizabeth Rawson. Miss Rawson was a Fellow of CCC (1980-1988) and she had been offered the papers by Professor A.D.H. Bivar, a former member of the College and Academic Trustee for Stein's estate.
- Legal papers concerned with the will of Sir M.A. Stein: Will, Codicils and Probate (1934-1944), and office copies. Also Court Orders concerning administration of the will: estate duty documents. Appointments of Trustees 1947-1984. A handlist accompanies this material.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment. Researchers should contact the archivist. CCC Archives are listed no. 876 in *British Archives* (Foster and Sheppard, 3rd edition).

CONTACT DETAILS

Ms Christine Butler
The Archives
Corpus Christi College
Oxford OX1 4JF

Tel: 01865-276717

e-mail: christine.butler@ccc.ox.ac.uk

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: ARCHIVES

COLLECTION HISTORY

The Clarendon Press, Oxford, was Stein's favoured publisher. The files relating to his publications are lodged at the Oxford University Press (OUP).

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The Press archives contain a number of items relating to Stein's publications. They fall into four categories:

- **Dropped Editorial Files:** the earliest surviving editorial files on works that reached publication by OUP, but which are now out of print.
- **Editorial Files:** successors to the Long Book Files, also on works that reached publication by OUP.
- **Condensed Accounts:** short, one- or two-page accounts of printing figures, sales, etc. for publications by OUP.
- **Dropped Editorial Files:** files on works which never reached publication by OUP.

Long Book Files

Ancient Khotan: 3 files. 1903-1906; 1906-1938 - correspondence between Stein and OUP on lettering, plates, proofs, reproductions of wall-paintings etc. Approximately 50 handwritten letters from Stein. Third file, 1954-1976 - reprinting requests from other publishers. [LB 2135]

Serindia: 1 file. 1913-1978 - correspondence between Stein and OUP on cost of publishing, photography, colour plates, Chinese inscriptions. Later correspondence from other publishers for permission to reprint plates and then to reissue the work. Approximately 20 handwritten letters from Stein. [LB 4685]

Innermost Asia: 3 files. 1907-1984; 1923-1925; 1923-1961. File 1 has approx. 25 letters from Stein on progress of the manuscript and its plates. File 2 has no Stein correspondence, but deals with publishing details and rights information. File 3 has typed copies of approx. 15 Stein letters concerning production of the book. These letters end in 1928. Items from 1961 concern the surviving printing blocks for the book. [LB 6172]

Editorial Files

Innermost Asia: 1 file, Jan-Dec 1929. Contains printing and distribution details, and reviews of the book from *The Times*, as well as Indian, German and French newspapers. There is no

correspondence or other manuscript material from Stein. [PBED 006387]

Condensed Accounts

Innermost Asia: 1929-1961 [CPCA 001487]

Dropped Editorial Files

Lowell Lectures: May 1929-Apr. 1930: 1 Stein letter. The book never saw print because of questions over its lack of illustrations. [CPED 000763]

Portfolio of Central Asian Wall Paintings: 1929-1941. No Stein letters. These were Buddhist paintings from Chinese Turkestan, removed to the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities in New Delhi. Shortages and the loss of the European market stopped the book. [CPED 000144]

Documents Chinois: Apr.-Aug. 1935. Approximately 5 typed, signed letters from Stein. The book would have been a companion volume to the work of Stein's collaborator Chavannes, and would have drawn on Stein's wooden and paper items from China, as studied by Maspero. Production costs seem to have stalled the project. [CPED 000072]

PUBLICATIONS

Andrews, F.H. (in collaboration with Stein). *Wall paintings from ancient shrines in Central Asia*, London, 1948.

Maspero, H., *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*, Trustees of the British Museum, 1953.

Stein, M.A., *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907.

Stein, M.A., *Serindia*, Oxford, 1921.

Stein, M.A., *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928.

ACCESSIBILITY

Virtually all of this material is available to researchers. The exceptions will be very recent contractual or commercial documents from the 1960s and 1970s.

Researchers should contact the Archives at least one week in advance of any visit, and bring a letter of recommendation with them when they arrive. All archive material is read in the Oxford University Press library, and must not be removed from that room. Researchers are welcome to bring laptop computers. Photocopying for research purposes is available at the discretion of the Archives staff. Permission to quote directly

from the Archives in a thesis or published work must be obtained from the Secretary to the Delegates of the Press. Researchers should contact the Archives for further details.

CONTACT DETAILS

Dr Martin Maw
Archivist
Oxford University Press
Great Clarendon Street
Oxford OX2 6DP

Tel: 01865-267527

Fax: 01865-267908

e-mail: mawma@oup.co.uk

**UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD:
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM - HEBERDEN COIN ROOM**

COLLECTION HISTORY

This is a small collection of coins purchased by Stein in north-west India, primarily the Punjab and Kashmir between 1899 and 1892, and between 1898 and 1899, with a packet of very corroded coins sent to Stein c.1920 by the District Commissioner for Bannu. The collection was given to the Indian Institute and subsequently transferred to the Bodleian Library and eventually to the Ashmolean Museum.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Some 500 coins, mostly copper: a few Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian, and more substantial numbers of Kushan and the Hindu rajas of Kashmir and their Muslim successors. There are several scraps of paper giving details of provenance and the dealers from whom they were purchased, but these are often separated from the coins to which they originally refer.

PUBLICATIONS

David MacDowall has been studying the coins with a view to publication. He may be contacted at Heberden Coin Room.

ACCESSIBILITY

By appointment in the Heberden Coin Room.

CONTACT DETAILS

The Keeper
Heberden Coin Room
Ashmolean Museum
Oxford OX1 2PH

Tel: 01865-278058

Fax: 01865-278057

e-mail: roz.britton-strong@ashmus.ox.ac.uk

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD: SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHY

COLLECTION HISTORY

Except where stated below there is no evidence of the source of these books or maps. The School believes that the proof maps were among materials donated by Sir Aurel Stein to the Bodleian Library and subsequently transferred to the School of Geography.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Publications (some annotated) and maps (some proofs) associated with Stein.

Books

- Stein, M.A., *Archaeological reconnaissances in north-western India and south-eastern Iran*, London, 1937.
- Anon, *Desiccation in Asia: a geographical question in the light of history*. Budapest: The Society of the Hungarian Quarterly, 1938.
[Presented by Sir Aurel Stein, 1939]
- *Memoir on maps of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu from the surveys made during Sir Aurel Stein's explorations 1900-1, 1906-8, 1913-15*, Dehra Dun, 1923.
[With annotation: 'Presented to Dr D.G. Hogarth. C.M.G. etc with kindest regards of A. Stein']
- Second copy of above accompanied by box of maps.
- *Memoir on maps illustrating the ancient geography of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1899.
[With annotation: [Presented to Major Kenneth Mason M.C., R.E. on his auspicious return to Kashmir, a cherished field of past labours, in grateful remembrance by A. Stein, Srinagar, April 7, 1922']
- *Mountain panoramas from the Pamirs and Kwen Lun*, London, 1908.
[Presented by Sir Aurel Stein.]
- *On ancient Central Asian tracks: brief narrative of three expeditions in Innermost Asia and north-western China*, London, 1933.
[Contains book reviews by Sir E. Denison Ross, one from *The Listener* 10 May 1933, and one probably from *The Times*.]
- *Ruins of Desert Cathay: personal narrative of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*, 2 vols, London, 1912.

- *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan: personal narrative of a journey of archaeological and geographical exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, London, 1904.
[With annotation: 'Presented to the Oxford School of Geography with the compliments of M. Aurel Stein']
- *Serindia: detailed report of explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, vol.4: plates*, Oxford, 1921. [2 copies]

Maps

- Chinese Turkestan and Kansu from the surveys of Sir Aurel Stein, 1900-1, 1906-8, 1913-15. 1:500,000. Sheets 1-47.
- Map of portions of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu to illustrate the explorations of Dr M.A. Stein, I.E.S. and his assistants, surveyors R.B. Lal Singh and R.S. Ram Singh, Survey of India, 1906-8. 1:253,400. 94 sheets.
- Dated uncorrected proofs of the above are held, but there is no obvious difference between them and the final versions.
- Map showing portions of Chinese Turkestan. 1:1,500,000. Published by the Royal Geographical Society in the *Geographical Journal*, 1902.
- Map showing portions of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu... 1:3,000,000. Published by the Royal Geographical Society in the *Geographical Journal*, 1911.
- Map showing portions of the Kun-Lun Range, Chinese Turkestan... 1:1,000,000. Published by the Royal Geographical Society in the *Geographical Journal*, 1911.
- Parts of the Provinces of Baluchistan and Kerman from surveys made in 1931-32 under the direction and with the assistance of Sir Aurel Stein K.C.I.E. by Surveyor Muhammad Ayub Khan. 1:750,000.
- Parts of the Province of Kerman and Gulf Coast from surveys made in 1932-33... 1:750,000.

ACCESSIBILITY

Researchers are welcome to consult the material by appointment, preferably during the University vacations. Membership of the Library is not necessary. Photocopying facilities are available.

CONTACT DETAILS

The Librarian
School of Geography
University of Oxford
Mansfield Road
Oxford OX1 3TB

Tel: 01865-27911

Fax: 01865-271929

e-mail: Linda.Atkinson@geog.ox.ac.uk

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

COLLECTION HISTORY

The letters were discovered, with a number of unrelated items, in a cupboard in the University Library in 1982; there was nothing to show when and how they came to the Library. The fact that letters 1-10 have a covering note in Stein's hand might suggest that he retrieved them after his brother's death in 1902. Letters to Ernst Stein and Hirschler are quoted in Annabel Walker: *Aurel Stein, Pioneer of the Silk Road* (London 1995), as being among the Stein MSS in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The collection was given the reference number Add.8838 in the Library's series of "Additional Manuscripts". The letters were numbered 1-19 in chronological order. The references for individual letters are therefore Add.8838/1, Add.8838/2, etc.

COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Add. MS 8838

A small box, covered in green cloth, containing 19 letters from Stein, in German, with a covering note inscribed 'My letters from Kashmir & Skardo 1889, M.A. Stein', and in another hand: "Iso letters of M.A. Stein to his uncle, Professor Ignaz Hirschler 1890-1'. The collection comprises:

- 10 letters (nos 1-10) to Stein's brother Ernst, Aug-Oct 1889, written while travelling in Kashmir. Most of them are long travelogues, written over several days, and covering several stages of his journey. They begin in Kohala on 01-08-1889, and go on to describe the journey via Srinagar to Skardo and beyond, ending in Lahore on 14 Oct 1889.
- 6 letters and 3 postcards (nos 11-19) from Stein to his uncle Professor Ignaz Hirschler, Jan 1890 - Feb 1891, most written from Lahore, with a few from on board ship, between Europe and Asia.

Stein had arrived in Lahore early in 1888 to take up a position at the University of the Punjab, and he made the first of many annual visits to Kashmir that summer. The letters to Ernst Stein therefore describe his second visit. The letters to his uncle are shorter; they would be among the latest letters to Hirschler, who died in 1891.

There are a further six letters from Stein (in English) in other collections in the Dept of Manuscripts

- From Stein to E.B. Cowell (first Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge), 12 Dec 1894, Oriental College Lahore. A formal letter notifying Cowell of the despatch of

Stein's catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Raghunatha Temple Library.
Add.6377/315

- From Stein to E.J. Rapson (Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge), 4 Oct 1907, Camp Anshi, Kansu. Stein is about to leave for another winter's work in Turkestan, congratulations on Rapson's new post in Cambridge, reference to the mass of material Stein has sent to the British Museum, fears Rapson has not yet received his presentation copy of *Ancient Khotan*.
Add.7601/109
- From Stein to E.J. Rapson, 19 Nov 1909, c/o Thomas Cook, Milan. Stein is writing up his reports in the Italian lakes area, thanks for Rapson's letter and the news of his work on the texts Stein discovered at Niya. The proposed date of his lecture in Cambridge (20 Jan) will suit him; hint that if he is to be given an Honorary Degree he would like it to be scientific rather than literary, to acknowledge his archaeological and geographical work.
Add.7601/270
- From Stein to Francis Jenkinson (Cambridge University Library), 8 July 1910, Merton College, Oxford. Stein thanks Jenkinson for permission to deposit his Tibetan manuscripts in the UL for Miss Ridding to prepare an inventory; she may take the material to work on at home, up to a maximum of three bundles.
Add. 8781/295
- From Stein to Sir (William) Martin Conway (art critic and mountaineer), 12 April 1917, Middlecot, Ilshingham, Devon. Stein thanks Conway for the trouble he has taken about a piece of brocade, would like to use his note in *Serindia*, and hopes for his expert help in dealing with the decorated textiles found at the site of the Thousand Buddhas at Tunhuang.
Add.7676/P405
- From Stein to Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India), 9 April 1933, Government House, Peshawar. Stein thanks Hoare for his letter (which was an acknowledgement of receipt of Stein's book).
Templewood VII:2

ACCESSIBILITY

The letters can be consulted in the Manuscripts Reading Room, by holders of full library reader's tickets. Persons who are not members of Cambridge University may apply for a reader's

ticket by bringing an academical letter of reference, together with some proof of identity.

CONTACT DETAILS

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Cambridge University Library
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APPENDIX 1

REPORTS OF THE STEIN DAYS HELD IN 1995 AND 1996

REPORT OF THE STEIN DAY 1995

In 1994 a number of curators of the Stein collections in the UK decided to meet informally once a year to discuss their work. The 1995 meeting was held at the British Museum on Friday, May 19, and was pleased to welcome Dr. Chhaya Bhattacharya and Mme Krishna Riboud to talk about their work on textiles and other objects.

Mme Riboud presented the results of her research on 600 textile specimens from Silk Road Limes now held at the National Museum in Delhi. Through a detailed thread count and analysis of patterns she explained that she believed that Dr. Lubchenko's dating of the patterned textiles as 3rd-4th centuries AD to be incorrect, and that they should be dated earlier. She stressed the complexity of the weaves used in these textiles indicating that they could not have been produced by a home industry, and she also showed several examples of textiles with characters, including the character now used for brocade - 'jin'.

Dr Bhattacharya, now at the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, described the Stein collection at the National Museum, New Delhi and reported that during her time there she had compiled 15 registers listing the 11,839 items, which included: 244 banners from Dunhuang in silk and hemp with 93 on paper; over 2000 pieces of stucco; over 600 textile pieces; and about 900 fragments of wall paintings. She also reported that she was working on a catalogue of all the banners from Dunhuang which totalled 1,669 held in the British Museum, the Hermitage, Berlin and New Delhi. Professor Roderick Whitfield then continued the painting theme, reporting on his work in matching up fragments across collections.

After tea, curators from the UK gave brief reports on their work. It was interesting to hear from Christopher Walker and Sheila Canby of the British Museum about Stein's Iranian expeditions. Verity Wilson (Victoria & Albert Museum) described the recent cataloguing of the 600-700 pieces of textiles on loan from the Government of India. Stein's 3D material and textile fragments held at the British Museum have also been catalogued and made accessible, work described by Jessica Harrison-Hall and Anne Farrer. Susan Whitfield outlined the work of the International Dunhuang Project and Wang Jiqing, a Visiting Researcher at the British Library, gave a fascinating introduction to his research on Stein's fourth expedition.

The meeting was very well attended and there was an interesting discussion. The talks and discussion were taped and transcriptions (recording quality and time permitting) will be available later in the year. For information

contact Sheila Canby at the British Museum. Many thanks to Sheila Canby and Helen Wang for their work in organising this very successful day. (from *IDP News*, no.3, July 1995)

REPORT OF THE STEIN DAY 1996

In 1994 a number of curators of the Stein collections in the UK decided to meet informally once a year to discuss their work. The third Stein Day was held on June 10th at the British Library, providing an opportunity to learn about the active projects on the Dunhuang and other material at the Library and the work of librarians responsible for non-Chinese texts.

In the morning Professor Kenneth Seddon and his graduate student Alan Kennedy of the Queen's University of Belfast introduced their work on the Diamond Sutra, the world's oldest, dated printed text (AD 868). Using detailed slides, Professor Seddon showed how the condition of this important document has deteriorated over time largely as a result of early, inappropriate conservation, which lacks detailed documentation, and he stressed the urgent need for the document to be restored to a stable condition. But how? Professor Seddon's talk outlined the methods he has developed for analyzing the yellow dye used on many of the Dunhuang documents and he explained the nitrate treatment which can be used to change the chemical composition of the dye so that it will be insoluble in water (without altering the colour). This will enable the backing paper to be removed. He also showed the results of experiments using these methods performed on paper fragments from Dunhuang from the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. Alan Kennedy followed on with a lecture on the pH probe under development, funded by the British Library, and which will allow accurate measurements of the pH of paper.

The meeting was particularly pleased to welcome Professor Jiang Qixiang from the Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology. Professor Jiang is a renowned scholar of numismatics and was in London on a three-month study visit from April to June to the British Museum. Having spent twenty years in the Xinjiang Museum and another twenty at the Institute, Professor Jiang is familiar with all the recent archaeological work of both organizations. There was great interest in his slides of the sites but too little time to show them all, so a second session was arranged at SOAS, London University, on June 19th.

After lunch, British Library curators gave brief reports. Frances Wood spoke of the present work on the Stein third expedition material which is being carried out with the help of Professor Sha Zhi, formerly of Renda University, Beijing, who

is at the British Library on his fourth visit. When the material has been surveyed, two Chinese conservators will spend time at the British Library assisting in its conservation.

Ursula Sims-Williams introduced the Sogdian (50+ fragments), Khotanese (1600+ fragments, not dated by c.5th-6th centuries), and the Kuchean (500+ fragments), and mentioned the work of James Hamilton in Paris on Runic Turkish. Michael O'Keefe spoke about the 800+ Kharoshthi documents from Stein's three expeditions, and the British Library's acquisition in 1995 of birch bark manuscripts in north-west Prakrit Kharoshthi. Up to 20 texts are represented in these new documents, and a joint project with the University of Washington should publish them in the next year. A joint British Library and UNESCO publication is also due out next year.

Susan Whitfield then gave a demonstration of the International Dunhuang Project database, showing the organization of the material, cross-referencing, and images (whole and close-up). This is an impressive project and there is genuine appreciation among scholars of the thoughtful arrangement of the information and the ease in which the material can be accessed. There are

plans to make at least part of the database accessible on the Internet in 1997.

The tea-break was combined with a visit to the British Library Oriental Conservation Studio, where Mark Bernard and his colleagues showed their current projects, the re-boxing of some of the material in preparation for the move to the new British Library building, and the conservation survey element of the database, as well as answering questions.

Professor Roderick Whitfield spoke about his recent work on the banner paintings found recently by Frances Wood in the British Library. Professor Whitfield showed slides of the banners, described the composition of the paintings and compared them to those in the Musée Guimet in Paris. He read and then discussed the interpretation of the latter by Dr Jacques Giès.

To round off the day, short updates were given by Helen Wang (British Museum, Coins and Medals), Anne Farrer and Sheila Canby (both British Museum, Oriental Antiquities), and Anne Amos (Victoria & Albert Museum).

As last year, the meeting was very well-attended and there was interesting discussion. (from *IDP News*, no.5, Summer 1996)

APPENDIX 2
SIR AUREL STEIN (1862-1943)
Obituary by C.E.A.W. Oldham

Marc Aurel Stein, second son of Nathan and Anna Stein, was born at Budapest on 26 November 1862. As a sister had been born twenty-one years, and a brother, Ernst Eduard, nineteen years earlier, another child had not been expected. His father and mother, who adored him, being elderly, the direction of his education fell chiefly upon his elder brother, helped by his maternal uncle, Professor Ignaz Hirschler. Since childhood he spoke both Hungarian and German. At the age of ten he was sent to the Kreuzschule in Dresden, where he was taught Greek, Latin, French, and English, and a foundation laid for his exceptional linguistic attainments. It was at this school that the Eastern campaign of Alexander the Great first attracted his attention, awakening the ambition of being able one day to explore in ancient Bactria, an ambition which was on the eve of being fulfilled when he died some seventy years later at Kabul. While inheriting from his father's and his mother's side an interest in travel, exploration, and archaeology, he was introduced in his early years to Arminius Vambéry, then famous for his travels in the Central Asian Khanates, and his attention was drawn to the adventures of that great pioneer Tibetan scholar, Csoma de Körös. It was the call of the East that inspired him to concentrate on Oriental studies. His abiding interest in the East has been shown by his will, which makes the British Academy his ultimate legatee to form a fund for the promotion of research in Central and Further Asia.

After completing his secondary education at the grammar school in Budapest he went to the universities of Vienna and Leipzig, and then, with the object of advancing his Indian and Iranian studies, to Tübingen, where he worked under the celebrated R. von Roth. In 1884 he went to Oxford and London to complete his linguistic studies. In 1885 he had to return to Budapest to undergo his year's volunteer training. This was completed at the Ludovica, where he also underwent a course of instruction in geography and surveying, which, as he often acknowledged, proved invaluable in after years. In 1886 he returned to London and pursued research in the British Museum, which was destined to house so many of his precious finds. In England he fell under the influence of Lord Reay, Sir Henry Yule, and, in particular, Sir Henry Rawlinson. It was characteristic of Stein's never-failing gratitude for help rendered that he always cherished the memory of Rawlinson, who was largely instrumental in securing for him employment in India.

His first important, and still valued, contribution to Oriental studies, 'Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins', appeared in

the *Oriental and Babylonian Record* in 1887, at the end of which year he started for India. In February 1888 he was appointed Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore and Registrar of the Panjab University. At Lahore he made the acquaintance, which was to develop into lifelong friendship and collaboration, of F.H. Andrews, then Vice-Principal of the School of Art, but soon to become Principal in succession to Rudyard Kipling's father. There also he renewed acquaintance, first made in Oxford in 1886, with E.D. (now Sir Edward) Maclagan, then in the Panjab Secretariat, another lifelong friend, for whom he had the deepest affection. Sir Edward has recorded¹ a vivid description of Stein's boundless enthusiasm for archaeological exploration, how he was always straining at the collar, constantly asking for periods of special duty or extensions of leave, and how he became a 'real expert in manipulating the mysterious processes of officialdom'.

At Lahore Stein was soon to meet two other men to whom he remained devotedly attached till their deaths. These were P.S. Allen, afterwards President, C.C.C., Oxford, and well known in scholastic circles as editor of the letters of Erasmus, who became Professor of History at the college in 1897, and T.W. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Arnold, who joined the college from Aligarh as Professor of Philosophy in 1898. Whenever he came to England in the intervals between his many expeditions Stein was a welcome guest of Mr. and Mrs. Allen in Oxford or at their charming retreat in the Cotswolds. Of Allen he wrote after receiving the news of his death in 1933, that he had been 'as dear to me as ever a brother could be for the last 35 years'. Arnold he has called his 'incomparable friend'; and in the provisions of his will conveying his property to the British Academy for the establishment of a fund for Central Asian exploration he desired that the fund should be known as the Stein-Arnold Fund, in memory of this friend.

Toilers on the Panjab plains ordinarily resorted, like some Mughal Emperors of old, to Kashmir for rest and change of climate. Stein fell a victim to the charms of the 'valley'. He became interested in the chronicle of its kings, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, the only work so far known of a truly historical character in the vast mass of classical Indian literature. His first vacations and short periods of leave were devoted to strenuous antiquarian research among its hills and valleys for the elucidation of topographical details in the history. Working with the help of a Kashmiri scholar and friend, Pandit Govind Kaul, his masterly edition of the

¹*The Hungarian Quarterly*, 4 (2).

original Sanskrit text was published in 1892. His translation, with notes, geographical memoir, and maps, appeared in two volumes in 1900. This work gave unmistakable proof of his abilities and fine scholarship. During the last few years of his life he gave much time and labour to the preparation of a revised edition of the work, with emendations, additional notes, and illustrations, making many trips to secure photographs of the sites mentioned. The question of publication by the Oxford University Press is understood to be under correspondence with the Kashmir Darbar. All orientalist will look forward to its appearance.

Fascinated by the alpine scenery of Kashmir, Stein selected a sequestered site on a meadow-like plateau 11,000 feet above sea-level whereon to pitch tents and retire when compiling his reports. This was Mohand Marg, his 'beloved mountain camp', which he spoke of as his 'only true home', where he stayed after each of his expeditions and could concentrate, undisturbed, on the preparation of the detailed accounts of his travels and discoveries. The cold at that altitude was so intense at times that several letters told of his sitting in his 'fur bag'. High above the Marg was a rocky eminence, with still grander views of the distant snows and intervening forest-clad slopes, to which he used to climb with his friend Andrews, referring to it as his 'tomb'. In the summer of 1943 Andrews received from him a packet of flowers, including edelweiss, with a slip of paper inside inscribed 'a few flowers picked on the climb to my "tomb": but he was destined to rest elsewhere.

Early in 1898 Stein obtained permission to accompany the Malakand Field Force into Buner, when he succeeded in carrying out a rapid archaeological survey of that hilly area. His report, which was printed by the Panjab Government, may be said to have presaged his future career. In 1893 he contributed a paper on the Shahi Kings of Kabul to the *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*. In 1899 he published his *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, embodying the results of his topographical inquiries in that State. In the same year he was appointed Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, a post in some respects uncongenial. His holidays that year were spent on an archaeological tour in the Gaya and Hazaribagh districts, in the course of which he showed his discernment by correcting previously accepted identifications of some ancient sites mentioned by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims (*Indian Antiquary*, 1901).

His plans for that exploration in Chinese Turkestan which made him world-famous were now matured, and when laid before the Government of India received the cordial and active support of Lord Curzon and his advisers. Of special importance was the assistance rendered, as in all his later journeys, by the Survey of India Department in the deputation of a trained Indian surveyor. In the spring of 1900 he started on the first of his memorable

Central Asian expeditions, travelling by the route through Gilgit and Hunza and over the Pamirs to Kashgar. Thence he moved to Khotan and along the southern fringes of the Taklamakan desert, returning to India late in 1901. His discoveries near Khotan, at Dandan-oilik, Niya, and Endere revealed in a remarkable state of preservation, due to the extreme aridity of the area, abundant relics of Indian, Chinese, and Hellenistic cultures that had met and mixed there for almost a thousand years. Near Niya were found hundreds of documents in Kharoshthi, Chinese, and other scripts on wedge-shaped or rectangular wooden tablets or bamboo slips. At Endere he found remains of the oldest Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts yet known. The fascinating story of these discoveries was first told in *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan* (1903), while the scientific results of the expedition were described in *Archaeological Exploration in Chinese Turkestan* (1901) and in *Ancient Khotan* (2 vols., 1907).

Stein acquired British nationality in 1904. His formal association with the Archaeological Department had already begun by his appointment as Archaeological Surveyor, NW. Frontier Province and Baluchistan, but from 1906 he was engaged in special duty.

In order to explore the widest extent of country he purposely avoided following the same path, unless this were inevitable or necessary for further inquiry. On his second Central Asian expedition he started from Peshawar and travelled over the Malakand pass, through Swat, Dir, Chitral, and Mastuj, over the Darkot and Baroghil passes past the headwaters of the Oxus, over the Wakhjir pass and the Taghdum-bash Pamir, and by the side of the great Mustagh-ata massif down to Kashgar. On his way through the Hindukush and Pamirs he verified the accuracy of the account given in the old Chinese annals of the military expedition under Kao-Hsien-chih, who with an army of 10,000 in A.D. 747 crossed the Baroghil (12,000 feet) and the difficult Darkot (15,400 feet) passes to invade Yasin and Gilgit - a feat, as Stein noted, which may well be held to surpass the great Alpine feats of Hannibal, Napoleon, and Suvorow. From Kashgar he moved south to the K'un-lun, to secure anthropometric measurements of the Pakhpo tribe, who in their present isolation preserve the main physical features of the *Homo Alpinus* race. He identified Yotkan, seven miles west of the present town of Khotan, as the site of the ancient capital. Re-excavating at Dandan-oilik, which had been abandoned at the end of the eighth century, a rich harvest was reaped of wall-paintings, stucco reliefs, painted wooden panels representing legendary scenes or showing Persian and Hellenistic influence, and a quantity of folia, partly in Indian Brahmi script and partly in a then unknown language but subsequently found to have been the

indigenous tongue (Saka-Khotani) of the Khotan people.

Nearly 500 miles to the east, at the Miran site, which had been abandoned after the close of the third century A.D., he recovered most interesting wall-paintings, many of unmistakable classical design. A succession of trying marches led to the ruins of ancient Lou-lan, where a Chinese administrative headquarters had stood in the second century B.C. at one of the stages on the earliest route to the west. Here and at a site in the vicinity documents of the third and fourth centuries in Chinese and Kharoshthi script were found, as well as carved panels, textiles, fragments of a woollen-pile carpet (possibly the earliest known), and a torn paper inscribed in an unknown script, after identified as Sogdian. Many more exhausting marches, trying to the utmost the endurance of both men and animals, led across the steeply terraced salt-encrusted bed of the dried-up Lop Sea. That an old route used from ancient to historic times had been struck was proved by the finding of neolithic implements and, besides metal objects and beads, a quantity of Han type coins looking as if fresh from the mint, that had evidently fallen from a receptacle in which they were being carried. Greatly impressed by the organization that could alone have enabled vast traffic to be transported across 120 miles of such formidable desert, Stein pushed on past 'Jade Gate' to Tun-huang, Su-chou, the Nan-shan ranges, and the Etsin-gol basin. It was on this expedition that he traced the ancient Chinese *limes*, or line of wall and fortified posts, which had been built at the close of the second century B.C. to safeguard the passage of political and military missions and trade caravans. Stein traced this line for about 400 miles from Jade Gate in the west to the Etsin-gol in the east. Digging along it and at the watch-towers he found abundant documents, not only of linguistic importance but also of historical value as throwing light on the political, military, and economic organization of those early times. Among the many interesting objects recovered was a small box inscribed 'The medicine case belonging to the Hsien-ming company'. From the construction and location on vantage points of the towers he inferred, no doubt correctly, how they had served to flash signals by day and night along the route, recalling, I may add, the semaphore towers built for this purpose before the introduction of the telegraph along the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to North-West India.

It was on this expedition also that Stein made his perhaps most widely known discovery at the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' at Ch'ien-fo-tung near Tun-huang. Here was made what may be described as his most sensational find of an enormous cache of documents in various languages and scripts, temple banners and paintings on gauze-like silk walled up in a rock-hewn recess since the

eleventh century. The story of the infinite patience, tact, and diplomacy by which he ultimately induced the reluctant priest-custodian to disclose, and afterwards part with, these priceless records forms one of the most thrilling romances in the history of archaeological discovery. A popular account of this second expedition appeared in *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (2 vols., 1912), while the detailed scientific record, now much prized and long out of print, was published in five handsome quarto volumes in *Serindia* (1921). Specimens of the art treasures from Ch'ien-fo-tung were illustrated and discussed in the portfolio *The Thousand Buddhas* (1921).

The third and longest Central Asia expedition, made during the years 1913-16, carried Stein much farther afield. This time he chose another line of approach to the desert passing through the hill territories of Darel and Tangir, which had never before been visited by a European, and thence over a succession of difficult snowy passes across the Taghdumbash Pamir. Journeying along the southern edge of the Taklamakan and the Lop Sea to Kan-chou, the Nan-shan mountains, and Su-chou, he turned northwards down the Etsin-gol basin to Khara-khoto. Later on he traversed for some 500 miles the rugged and sterile Pei-shan, then unsurveyed - a wonderful feat - and passing through the eastern Karlik-tagh reached Dzungaria, so full of associations with the movements of the Yüeh-chih, Huns, Turks, and Mongols. From Dzungaria he visited Turfan and Bezeklik, and, besides making important finds, surveyed accurately the Turfan depression, which in one part attains a depth of 980 feet below sea-level. From Turfan he went westwards along the skirts of the T'ien-shan to Kashgar, through the Alai Pamir, and crossing the high meridional barrier, the Imaos of Ptolemy, that separated his Inner and Outer Scythias, down Karategin by the route the silk caravans must have followed in classical days, to Samarqand. He then moved southwards to Persian Baluchistan, where he made fresh discoveries in the Helmund basin of Sistan.

Looking back to the reception given by orientalists to the momentous discoveries made on these three expeditions, perhaps the most striking effect, apart from their value in the sphere of linguistics, lay in the opening of a new and unexpected vista of the history, cultural, economic and political, of Central Asia, and the revealing of prolonged intercourse of Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic, and Chinese civilizations in regions which, for many centuries before the sea-route came to be fully used, had provided a corridor of communication between the West and the Far East. Stein succeeded in establishing beyond doubt the lines that had been followed from Kansu to Sogdiana. The spread of Buddhist teaching from north-western India towards China and its paramount influence on the life

of the people were abundantly disclosed throughout the area.

The next few years were mostly occupied in seeing *Serindia* through the press and in the preparation of the detailed record of the third expedition, which was published in *Innermost Asia* (3 large 4to vols. with portfolio of maps, 1929). In 1926 a rapid tour of nine weeks, prolific in archaeological and other results, was made throughout the Swat valley, the ancient Udyana of many Buddhist associations, when Stein followed the tracks of Alexander to Mt. Pir-sar, the 'Rock of Aornos', the capture of which had been regarded by the old historians as a feat worthy of Herakles. Many suggestions had been made as to the site of this mountain fastness for a century back, all unsatisfying; and the episode had almost relapsed into the region of myth. Stein had kept the solution of the puzzle in view for nearly thirty years, and had already demonstrated that Mt. Mahaban, the latest favourite, did not fulfil the description of the historians. The manner in which he finally discovered the real site and established beyond question the correctness of his identification is a striking example of his genius for such topographical inquiry.

Meanwhile epoch-making discoveries made in 1923-5 by Sir John Marshall's assistants at Mohenjo-daro in Sind of an advanced civilization dating back to the third and fourth millennia B.C. had revolutionized our conceptions of the history of Indian culture. Stein, who was familiar with the results of de Morgan's excavations at Susa, as well as with the little known researches of Major Mockler on the Makran coast, and had himself found suggestive material in Sistan in 1916, saw the possibility of tracing vestiges of this prehistoric culture from the Indus valley westwards to the basin of the Tigris. It was the hope of being able to do this, as he told me, that led him to undertake a succession of tours between 1927 and 1936 extending from the Panjab frontier through Waziristan, Baluchistan, Makran, south-eastern, southern, western, and north-western Iran as far as Lake Urumia. In 1927-8 in Waziristan, Baluchistan, and Makran he discovered numerous prehistoric sites, and, making such excavations as the paucity of local labour permitted, recovered abundant remains of the so-called 'chalcolithic' period. Detailed accounts of the results, with illustrative plates and maps prepared from the surveys carried out, have been published as *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, under the auspices of which these journeys were made.

In 1929 Stein visited America and delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, a series of lectures dealing with his three long expeditions into Central Asia. These lectures formed the basis of a volume entitled *On Ancient Central-Asian Tracks* (1933), which gave a condensed account of the geographical and archaeological exploration made in the years 1900-1, 1906-8, and 1913-16. He had arranged to make a

fourth expedition in the following year into Hsin-chiang and Inner Mongolia, and after visiting Nanking and obtaining the official sanction of the Central Chinese Government, he once more crossed the Himalayan passes, full of zest and plans for further achievement. Unfortunately the attitude of the Chinese Government had meanwhile changed, and, to use his own words, 'obstructive tactics imposed by the unreasoning nationalist jealousy of irresponsible elements necessitated the abandonment of that fresh effort after the loss of ten precious months'. The time had not, however, been entirely lost, for Stein pressed on from Khotan and, though thwarted at every stage by the local officials and delayed by illness, by dint of dogged perseverance and infinite tact and restraint managed to get as far as Charchan, where he turned north and then west, completing a tour of some 2,000 miles round the Taklamakan, and making important survey observations *en route*.

Next year, after making a tour through the Salt range in the Panjab to the Jhelum in order to trace Alexander's route from Taxila to that river, he resumed his 'reconnaissances' towards the Tigris from the point in western Makran which he had reached in 1928. From the little port of Gwadar he travelled in a north-westerly direction through the Makran ranges, the Bampur valley, Rudbar, and Jiruft, eventually halting at Kerman. On this trip, made in greater part on camel-back, he explored the ruins of Polo's 'city called Camadi', and also satisfied himself that Alexander when retreating into Karmania had turned inland from the Kej valley and reached the Bampur area by a fairly easy passage through the hills. Again many prehistoric sites were discovered with chalcolithic remains. After spending the summer in England, he rejoined his camp at Kerman in October 1932, and made another long tour of exploration passing through Minab, Hormuz, Bandar Abbas, and the coastal area of Laristan to Bushire. On this expedition several useful surveys were made of little-known tracts on the fringe of the Persian Gulf, 'tribal unrest' precluding travel farther inland. Near Tahiri he made a thorough examination of the ruins of the once busy port of Siraf, frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers as a centre of trade between Persia and India and China in the ninth and tenth centuries. Except at Haraj, where remains of a prehistoric, possibly neolithic, settlement were found, most of the sites visited dated from Muhammadan times.

In 1933-4 Stein explored widely in the province of Fars, where he discovered numerous remains of chalcolithic settlement, and some of neolithic age, besides many interesting monuments of Sasanian times. In May 1935 he was back in Shiraz, arranging for his last and longest tour in western and north-western Iran, which took him through Khuzistan, the Bakhtiari country, Luristan,

Kermanshah, and Ardelan to Lake Urumia. In the earlier stages, some fifty miles north-west of Shiraz, between Ardekan and Fahliun, he explored and surveyed the area of the defiles called the 'Persian Gates' by Alexander's historians, where the Macedonian forced a hard-won passage on his way from Susiana to Persepolis when held up temporarily by the Uxian hillmen, who demanded their 'tribal allowances' before allowing his army to pass. With his wonted thoroughness he reconciled details given by the historians with the local topographical features. Rennell, he found, had indicated the site with wonderful accuracy on one of the sheets of his *Map of Western Asia* drawn in 1809, before Kinneir's visit (1813-14). Valuable surveys were made of tracts in the Kohgalu hills, the Zagros range, and the Pish-i-koh and Delfan areas. Structures and sculpture of Sasanian, Parthian, and earlier times were examined and described. Many bronze figures showing unmistakable Hellenistic influence were found, more particularly in the Shami valley. In the short time at his disposal Stein was unable to solve the puzzle of how these objects of Hellenistic-Iranian worship had been set up in this secluded valley. Besides the rock sculpture and cuneiform inscriptions previously seen and studied by Layard and other experts, a quantity of painted pottery was found in the Malamir valley, proving that it had been the site of a chalcolithic settlement; similar remains were discovered in many other localities. In the Lur country the opportunity was taken of looking into the question of the age of the rather notorious 'Luristan bronzes'. Judging from the associated finds Stein regarded it as difficult to ascribe them to a period much earlier than the beginning of the first millennium B.C. In the hilly country of western Iran he liked to feel that he was often passing over ground trodden nearly a century before by his esteemed patron Sir Henry Rawlinson. Farther north three days were spent in making a detailed survey of the vast halls and passages excavated with immense labour in the caves of Karafto hill, and in taking estampages of the inscription in ancient Greek characters of the third or fourth century B.C. with its reference to 'Herakles'. He was satisfied that this was the Mt. Sanbulos mentioned by Tacitus as the shrine where the Arsacid king Gotarzes sought oracles from Herakles when awaiting the attack of Mihirdates and the Romans. Full reports of the four tours in Iran, or reconnaissances as he preferred to call them because he had 'only been blazing the trail' for others with more time and means at their disposal, have appeared in *Archaeological Reconnaissances in NW. India and SW. Iran* (1937) and *Old Routes of Western Iran* (1940).

Having now accomplished to his own satisfaction the tracing of that prehistoric civilization so unexpectedly revealed by the excavations in Sind all the way from India to the edge of the Tigris basin, Stein felt free to

direct his energy to fresh fields and pastures new. His experience in discovering the old Chinese *limes* in Kansu enhanced his already keen interest in the researches of Fr. Poidebard in respect of the Roman *limes* in Syria, and he resolved to make similar investigation in Iraq and Transjordan. With this object he had made preliminary reconnaissances by plane in 1929 and 1935. He had long been alive to the great value of survey from the air, and had contemplated the use of a man-carrying balloon when searching for sites in the Taklamakan in 1906-8. His detailed examination and surveys were made from the air and on the ground in 1938 and 1939 from the Tigris in north-eastern Iraq to the Gulf of Aqaba. Numerous remains of Roman highways, fortified posts, aqueducts, barrages, cisterns, and milestones were discovered. The results were briefly described in two papers published in the *Geographical Journal* (1938, 1940), but the full scientific report has yet to appear. As always, accurate surveys were carried out, and Stein expressed the hope that the map sheets, which he carefully checked, 'will some day be of use for the British share in the International Atlas of the Roman Empire'.

In the cold season of 1940-1 he commenced a survey, continued a year later, of the dried-up course of the Vedic river Sarasvati, the 'lost river' of the Panjab, through the desert parts of the Bikaner and Bahawalpur States. Trial excavations disclosed the existence of numerous prehistoric sites, the fuller examination of which at some future date may yield important information. A short account of these surveys appeared in the *Geographical Journal* (1942).

There was still an unexplored region between Darel and Swat that Stein had set his heart on visiting, where the Indus winds through stupendous gorges on its way to the Panjab plains. It had been traversed in the fifth and seventh centuries by the intrepid Chinese Buddhist pilgrims by 'the route of the hanging chains', as it was called in the Chinese annals; but the area was tribal territory beyond the administrative control of the Indian Government, and so entry was not permitted. Welcome news, however, had come in 1939 from his staunch friend the Wali of Swat that he had occupied all the hill territory up to the Indus on the west side of the gorges, and the road was thus far clear for him. Stein took the earliest opportunity of availing himself of this invitation. He first made a flight in an R.A.F. plane over the area, which he described in a letter thus:

The views obtained from a great height of those high snow-covered spurs of the Kohistan and the deep valleys between them were most impressive. No mountain scenery in Asia, or perhaps on this globe, could be more grand than the one presented by those huge ranges,

*including Nanga Parbat and Haramukh,
on either side of the Indus.*

Towards the end of 1941 he ascended the Kohistan and explored and surveyed the western side of the gorges. The following extract from a letter written from a high mountain camp in his eightieth year illustrates his amazing physical energy and his abiding affection for old friends.

It has meant much hard travel on foot, including the crossing of a high pass now closed by snow, which cost us 16 hours. But I have been able to face it all and enjoy the interest presented by the wonderful scenery and the quasi-archaic conditions of life.... The scrambles along precipitous mountain sides are a bit fatiguing, the tracks still impossible for any laden animals or for riding.... I am trying to collect specimens of Kohistani speech; but, alas! there is no Grierson² any more to make use of them. His loss is ever felt by me.

In July-September 1942 he made a longer trip to the gorges, this time on the eastern side of the Indus, but unfortunately his movements were hampered by the preaching of *jihad* by a *faqir* in Jalkot. However, he managed to map some parts of unsurveyed tribal territory, and to examine a number of Buddhist sgraffiti of relatively early date. 'It was interesting ground', he wrote, 'but meant much hard climbing over a succession of passes 14,000-15,000 feet' - an astounding feat for a man of his years. It was most unusual for Stein to refer to fatigue in his letters; but he was evidently beginning at last to feel the strain of arduous climbing.

His last expedition was made in the early months of 1943, chiefly with the object of establishing Alexander's route through Las Bela State and 'Gedrosia' on his disastrous defeat from the Indus delta to Persia. He was satisfied that he had succeeded in settling this long-discussed question. This lengthy tour through parched tracts and rugged sandstone ridges must have been particularly trying. However, refreshed by the mountain air of 'his beloved mountain-camp' in Kashmir, he wrote in great spirits on the 6th of October of his preparations for visiting Kabul and of 'the chance of work desired since boyhood in *Ariana antiqua*'. He had many times sought permission to work in Afghan territory, but, in spite of the efforts of three Viceroy's, this had not been granted. The chance had at length come through the intervention of an old Harvard friend, Mr. C. Van H. Engert, who had been appointed United States Minister at Kabul. On the 13th of October he wrote from Peshawar, full of projects of work, that he felt very fit. He

reached Kabul on the 19th. On the 21st he visited the museum, where he seems to have caught a chill. Bronchitis developed a day or two later; he had a stroke on the night of the 24th/25th, and, despite unremitting medical attention, passed away on the 26th. He was buried in the Christian cemetery on the 29th in the presence of representatives of the King, the chief Afghan officials, and members of the various embassies. One of his last utterances to his friend Mr. Engert was: 'I have had a wonderful life, and it could not be concluded more happily than in Afghanistan which I have wanted to visit for sixty years.'

Throughout his explorations in Central Asia and the north-western frontiers of India Stein was frequently guided in his identification of sites by the accurate record of travel left by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, who had journeyed through those regions in the seventh century A.D. This explains why Hsüan-tsang was often referred to as his 'patron saint'. With the accounts of all other travellers he was intimately familiar. He followed Marco Polo's tracks for long stretches, elucidated his reference to 'Balas rubies' in his account of Badakshan, and identified his 'Pein' with Uzun-tati and his 'Etzina' with Khara-khoto. But even greater interest perhaps attaches to his tracing of stages and routes in Alexander's Eastern campaign: the crossing of the Tigris and features of the battle of Arbela; his passage through the 'Persian gates'; his march through the Swat valley and storming of the famous 'Rock of Aornos'; his route through the Panjab across the Salt range to the Jhelum, and the exact site of the decisive battle in which he defeated Poros; the line taken in retreat through Las Bela and Makran into Karmania - all these were identified by Stein with his habitual thoroughness. Another identification may be mentioned as being of special importance to historians. The Khyber Pass is popularly known as the north-western 'Gate of India'. Stein's unerring geographical sense convinced him that this conception must be modified. He devoted a trip across the frontier to tracing the ancient caravan route which led from Dakka through Shilman to the Kabul river and then across it to Charsadda, the early capital of Gandhara. 'It was this route', he wrote, 'and not the one through the difficult defiles of the Khyber which was used, I believe, by the early invaders.'

The enormous mass of material of archaeological and linguistic importance recovered during nearly half a century of intensive exploration is now treasured in museums in London, New Delhi, Calcutta, the U.S.A., and Iran. It has engaged, and still engages, the attention and study of the foremost scholars in different parts of the world. Much of it had to be referred for identification or elucidation to specialists in languages, painting, ceramics, numismatics, anthropology, &c. Stein acknowledged

²Sir George Grierson had died on 7 March 1941.

profusely his obligations to the experts who readily and gladly devoted time to this work, such as - to name but a few out of many - É. Chavannes, A.F.R. Hoernle, E.J. Rapson, Abbé Boyer, É. Senart, Sir G. Grierson, F.W. Thomas, Sir F. Kenyon, Sir J. Marshall, Sir G. Hill, L. Binyon, R.L. Hobson, and J. Allan. He ever recorded his special indebtedness to his lifelong artist friend and collaborator F.H. Andrews for the classification, arrangement, and descriptive cataloguing of his finds and for the elucidation of many problems. He took scrupulous care to name and thank every person, official or private, who had helped him on his travels. He secured for his surveyor assistants, who worked so splendidly for him, the recognition of the Indian Government by the grant of promotion or titles. Three of these were awarded the Back Grant, one the Murchison Grant, and one the Gill Memorial by the Royal Geographical Society. Lal Singh, Ram Singh, Afraz Gul Khan, and M. Ayub Khan, these devoted and trusted companions, who shared his hardships and perils, would have followed him anywhere.

That hundreds of cases - the proceeds of two only of the expeditions filled nearly 400 cases - should all have been safely transported through trackless desert and over high mountain passes must be regarded as a marvel of skill in packing and organization of carriage. The value of his archaeological finds from the historical and cultural points of view has been recognized by the most competent judges. The vast mass of manuscript material recovered, all of the highest importance linguistically, calls for more particular notice. The Kharoshthi documents, in a north-west Indian Prakrit and some in Sanskrit, are invaluable for the study of the dialect and for the history of the area from Khotan to Lop-Nor; they also reveal official and social conditions as early as the third and fourth centuries A.D. The late Prof. Rapson (one of many scholars who have worked at them) spent some twenty years on their study and editing. The Tibetan manuscripts, largely official, comprise some of the earliest written examples of that language, and are of special value for its history and for the spread of Tibetan influence in the region. Dr. F.W. Thomas has been busily engaged for many years, and is still engaged, on these, as well as on two yet unknown Tibeto-Burman languages. Of special value among the Chinese documents may be mentioned early editions of texts not otherwise available and the oldest specimen of a block-printed book, besides Manichaean texts in Chinese. Among languages classed as 'unknown', Sogdian is represented by some early correspondence and long Buddhist texts; Tokhari, which presents an interesting linguistic puzzle and seems to have been indigenous to the north of the Tarim basin, by fragments only in an Indian Brahmi script; Saka-Khotani, by numerous documents and translations from Sanskrit, which throw light on the long-forgotten kingdom in which it

was spoken, and on the little known period of Turkish intrusion from the north about the tenth century. Professor H.W. Bailey has been working for several years on the Saka-Khotani manuscripts. We have also specimens of Hsihsia, the old Tangut language, and Buddhist texts and documents in Uigur Turkish.³

The very exceptional range of his own linguistic knowledge helped Stein to decide on the spot what should be preserved. He was familiar with the current speech of most of the areas visited, so that he was able to converse directly with the local folk and obtain promptly the information he required. He always regretted he had not taken his father's advice to learn Arabic. He made efforts to master it, once while at Delhi, and once at Shiraz; but more urgent work intervened. In 1935 he wrote: 'I have felt this great gap in my philological equipment all along.' In 1938, while at Beirut, he spent some weeks in a quiet hill retreat learning the colloquial speech for use when searching for remains of the Roman *limes* in Iraq and Syria.

Stein also availed himself of any opportunity of collecting in secluded tracts vocabularies of local languages or dialects hitherto unstudied. These he used to send to Sir G. Grierson. From material obtained in 1915 in the high Oxus valleys, and in 1926 in northern Swat, Grierson compiled two manuals, *Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami* (1920), and *Torwali* (1929). Another of his activities was the recording of anthropometric data in respect of little-known races or tribes, such as the people of Pakhpo in the K'un-lun, the Dards of Chitral, the Ghalchas of Roshan, the Wakhs of Wakhan, and the Afridis of the Afghan frontier.

Stein's contributions to our geographical knowledge of many parts of Asia were unsurpassed. On each of his expeditions he had accurate surveys made of the areas visited by trained surveyors deputed by the Indian Survey Department, whose work he was able to supervise by reason of his own early training. Most of these areas had never been surveyed, and some never visited before. An idea of the vast extent of these surveys may be had by reference to his *Memoir on Maps of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu* (1923), bearing in mind that this deals only with his first three expeditions in Central Asia, and that more than a dozen lengthy expeditions were made by him thereafter. In one region alone, that of the northern Nan-shan ranges, nearly 50,000 sq. miles were surveyed. It would be difficult to estimate the total mileage of all his journeys, two of which alone covered almost 25,000 miles. In the spheres of physical and historical geography his views on the vexed question of 'desiccation' and on the changes that have led to the recession of the desert oases towards the

³I am indebted to Dr. F.W. Thomas and Prof. H.W. Bailey for help regarding these languages.

surrounding high mountain ranges are of special value. His unequalled acquaintance with the conditions of Chinese Turkestan combined with the archaeological evidence convinced him that the abandonment of sites now covered by arid desert has been gradual, and not due, as so often imagined to sudden physical catastrophes. He believed that the most likely cause of the diminished water-supply from the rivers was the shrinkage of the glaciers on the high ranges left behind in the last glacial period, which have become gradually reduced under milder climatic conditions. His notes on the probable age to be assigned to the *gabarbands* (dams) and to irrigation by *karez* or *qanat* (underground water channels) in the dry regions of Baluchistan, Makran, and Iran are also important. Had he never made the more sensational finds that have so overshadowed his other activities, Stein's geographical work alone would have earned him lasting fame.

Prolonged travel, often under conditions of extreme heat or cold, through trackless deserts and over snow-covered passes and glaciers amid the loftiest mountains on our globe must inevitably involve hardship and danger. Stein had his share of both. In 1908, when scaling in foul weather at a height of 20,000 feet a snowy col on the watershed of the K'un-lun with a view to determining the position of Johnson's 'Yangi-dawan', his feet were badly frostbitten. His hardy hill porters carried him by forced marches 300 miles down the mountains to the Moravian Mission hospital at Leh, where all the toes of his right foot had to be amputated to save the leg. In 1914, on the high Nan-shan, his horse reared and fell backwards on him, severely injuring the muscles of his left thigh. This confined him to bed for a fortnight and crippled his movements for some months; but borne in a litter he carried on, and directed his little party for some 500 miles across the dead Pei-shan. Elsewhere he broke his left collarbone on three occasions. In 1933 he narrowly escaped shipwreck in a gale in the Persian Gulf when, failing road transport, he attempted to reach Daiyir from Tahiri in an open and leaky country boat. In 1937, when in north-western Iran, he had to stop work and hasten to Vienna to undergo a serious operation. These misadventures were treated lightly - as part of the day's work - in his letters; they did not for a moment 'cloy the hungry edge' of his appetite for work.

By nature unassuming and retiring, but with the wide sympathies that high culture breeds, Stein had a very warm and generous heart, and a genius for making, and keeping, friends. Reference has already been made to some of his oldest and closest friendships. There were numerous others in different lands of whom he always spoke in terms of affectionate regard. It was wonderful how he managed to maintain regular correspondence with them all, even under the most trying conditions of travel,

letting them share in his thrilling experiences, and making them feel his lively interest in all their doings. Mrs. Allen has told us⁴ how her husband's letters were carefully preserved in packets and answered with never-failing regularity. F.H. Andrews has preserved forty-five yearly bundles of his letters, numbering between two and three thousand. It is the more astonishing when we realize that after each day's toil, in addition to making systematic notes and labelling all his finds, he always wrote a full 'personal narrative', as he called it, to form a foundation for his detailed reports. That he was able to do all this was due to his methodic habits and to the fact that he wrote very rapidly in a clear hand, acquired, it may be added, with characteristic resolution, at the suggestion of one of his professors, who warned him that his script at that time was illegible. A defect of style, less noticeable in his private letters, was a tendency to prolixity, attributable perhaps to meticulous regard for the minutest detail. His broad sympathies were not confined to human beings; he was also much devoted to animals. The dog that shared his travels and his tent was provided with a specially made fur coat for low temperatures; baggage camels, mules, donkeys, and his horse or pony were all treated with every possible care. He was keenly sensible of natural scenery, whether of the grander type of towering snow-clad peaks and forested slopes or the soft landscape of rural England; he constantly referred to the beautiful flowers he had seen by the way.

Stein was specially fitted by study and personal qualities for his life work. Rare linguistic attainments; acquaintance, confirmed by a remarkably retentive memory, with all previous descriptions of the areas to be visited; careful planning beforehand and masterly organization in every detail; economizing of labour, expenditure, and time; an almost uncanny flair for grasping topographical features influencing human movement and settlement; tenacity of purpose that often enabled him to overcome obstacles that might seem insurmountable to others; patience and tact in dealing with men of all classes and races; a wiry physique and inexhaustible energy of body and mind; the power of quick and accurate observation; discernment in inference; meticulous attention to the recording of details; and lastly, the faculty of inspiring his helpmates with his own fervid enthusiasm - all these qualities he may be said to have possessed in exceptional measure: they combined to contribute to his pre-eminent success. His mobility was never hampered by a large staff; ordinarily he was accompanied by a surveyor; a 'handy-man', a cook, and porters and animals sufficient to carry equipment and food. In parts of Iran 'unrest' necessitated a military escort, occasionally involving delay. His grasp of

⁴Letters of P.S. Allen, 1939.

topographical detail was exemplified when, in 1899, he visited the district of which I then held charge. When showing him the chief sites of interest in and about the old city of Gaya which he had never seen before, I was astonished by his knowledge of their relative positions, memorized from descriptions given in certain archaeological reports. 'Then that must be the Prapitamaheshvar temple, and that the Rukmini tank.' 'So the Akshaya-vata must be over there' he would say: and he was correct in every case.

Short of stature, but fairly broad-shouldered, he had a frame of iron. Many instances might be cited of his amazing physical energy and endurance. After a most exhausting march of thirty-six miles over the hot sandy desert, he pitched his tent and sat down to write up the day's work, and then he penned a closely written letter of six quarto pages to one of his old friends! A story was told me of how, when preparing for a tour across the north-west frontier of India, he applied to Government for the deputation as orderly of a hardy young soldier. The request was passed on to the local military commander. A particularly active young Pathan, bred in the hills, was specially selected. After completion of the tour the commanding officer sent for the young man and asked him how he had got on with Sir Aurel. The reply was: 'Stein Sahib is some kind of supernatural being, not human; he walked me off my legs on the mountains; I could not keep up with him. Please do not send me to him again, Sir.' Stein was then between sixty and seventy years old. In fifty-five years of unremitting travel and research it is hardly an exaggeration to say not an hour seemed to have been wasted. The programme for each day, whether of travel or of other tasks, was mapped out beforehand, and strictly observed. He worked till late in the night, but always rose early.

His most important publications have been mentioned above. All these were models of erudition and scientific accuracy, with admirable maps and plans, and illustrated from his own photographs, which he took in great abundance. In addition he wrote many brochures and contributed many numerous

papers to the journals of various societies in this country and abroad. To the *Geographical Journal* alone about twenty-five major contributions were made. His lectures, of which he delivered many, were more adapted to a scholarly than to a popular audience. Accuracy was his guiding principle; the only occasions on which I noticed signs of annoyance or impatience on his part were when some reputed scholar erred in this respect.

Stein was awarded the C.I.E. [Commander of the Indian Empire] in 1910, and the K.C.I.E. [Knight Commander of the Indian Empire] in 1912. Honours were showered upon him by learned societies in this and other countries of Europe and in America. He received the Back Grant in 1904 and the Founder's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1909, the Gold Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1932, and that of the Society of Antiquaries in 1935. He was awarded the Campbell Memorial and Flinders Petrie medals and the Huxley medallion. Other medals were received from Sweden, France, Hungary, and the U.S.A. Hungary conferred on him the order of the Croix de Mérite, and struck a medallion in his honour. Honorary degrees were conferred by universities, and academies enrolled him as a Fellow. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1921.

As Marco Polo is regarded as the greatest traveller of medieval times, so Marc Aurel Stein is likely to be considered in many respects the greatest traveller and explorer of modern times. In him we see perhaps an outstanding, if not unique, example of the combination of a great scholar and a great man of action. Scholar and explorer, archaeologist and geographer, he lived a long and laborious life, full of great accomplishment. He has written his name - *nomen praeclarum et venerabile* - large across the continent of Asia, and left behind fragment memories in the hearts of a host of friends of many races in many lands.

Obituary by C.E.A.W. Oldham, from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29, 1943, pp. 453-65, reproduced with the permission of the British Academy.

APPENDIX 3
SIR AUREL STEIN (1862-1943)
Chronology by Annabel Walker

26 Nov 1862	Marc Aurel Stein born in Tüköry utca, Budapest
1871-3	Piarist gymnasium, Budapest
1873-7	Lutheran Kreuzschule, Dresden
1877-9	Lutheran gymnasium, Budapest
1879-80	Studies Sanskrit and comparative philology at university in Vienna
1880-1	Moves to University of Leipzig
1881-4	Studies Indology and Old Persian at University of Tübingen
1884-5	In England to study oriental collections
1885-6	Military service at the Ludovica Academy, Budapest
1886-7	Further study in England
Oct 1887	Stein's mother dies
Nov 1887	Stein leaves Europe for India
May 1888	Stein's father dies
1888-9	Registrar of Punjab University and Principal of Oriental College, Lahore
Nov 1891	Stein's uncle, Ignaz Hirschler, dies
1899-1900	Principal of Calcutta Madrasah
1900	<i>Kalhana's Rajatarangini, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir</i> , published
May 1900-May 1901	First expedition to Chinese Turkestan: travels north from Kashmir via Gilgit, the Hunza valley and Tashkurgan. Explores desert sites in vicinity of Khotan, including Dandan-Uiliq, Niya, Endere and Yotkan; surveys headwaters of Khotan River in Kun-lun Mountains, connecting area with Indian Trigonometrical Survey. Returns to Europe across Russia
Summer 1901	In Europe to unpack his collection in the British Museum and visit family
Nov 1901-Dec 1903	Inspector of Schools in the Punjab
May 1902-Dec 1903	In England to work on collection and visit invalid brother Ernst
June 1902	First attempt to work in Afghanistan
Oct 1902	Ernst Stein dies
1903	<i>Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan</i> published (popular account of first expedition)
1904-10	Inspector-General of Education, and Superintendent of Archaeology, in North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan
Sept 1904	Becomes a British subject
Oct 1905	Goes to Kashmir to prepare for second expedition
Apr 1906-Oct 1908	Second expedition to Chinese Turkestan: travels north via Chitral and Wakhan corridor of Afghanistan. Revisits old sites and digs at new ones, including Lou-lan, Miran, the 'Chinese limes' and Ming-oi. Arrives in Tun-huang in March 1907 and obtains thousands of manuscripts and paintings from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas. Crosses Taklamakan Desert from north to south, early 1908. Surveys in Nan-Shan Mountains and traces Khotan River to its source. Suffers frostbite in feet and has toes of left [should read right] foot amputated, Oct 1908. Returns to Kashmir via Ladakh
1907	<i>Ancient Khotan</i> published (detailed report of first expedition)
Jan 1909-Dec 1911	In Europe, on leave and to work on new collection at British Museum. Lectures in several countries, stays in Italy and then at Merton College, Oxford
1910-17	Superintendent of Archaeology in the North-West Frontier Province and Honorary Curator of Peshawar Museum

1912	Second attempt to work in Afghanistan
1912	<i>Ruins of Desert Cathay</i> published (popular account of second expedition)
June 1912	Made KCIE
July 1913-Feb 1916	Third expedition to Chinese Turkestan: travels north via Darel and Tangir. Revisits old sites, traces ancient route across Lop Desert and digs at Khara-khoto in Gobi Desert, and at several sites in vicinity of Turfan including Astana. Extracts more manuscripts from Caves of the Thousand Buddhas. Injures leg in riding accident. Returns to India via Russian Turkestan and Iran, uncovering Buddhist remains at site in Sistan, south-east Iran
Apr 1916-Sept 1917	In England to write detailed report of second expedition. Lives mainly in Devon
1917	Official retirement. Obtains extension of service on 'special duty' to work on books, collection from third expedition and other projects. Divides time between Kashmir and Delhi
Dec 1919-Dec 1920	In Europe, to write and see sister-in-law
1919-22	Third attempt to work in Afghanistan; foiled by Foucher
1921	<i>Serindia</i> published (detailed report of second expedition)
Feb 1924-Nov 1925	First visit to Middle East; continues to Europe. Writes at house in Surrey; holidays with sister-in-law in Austria
1926	Tour of Swat and identification of Mount Una as Alexander's Aornos
1927-8	Two explorations in Baluchistan, to seek links between prehistoric civilizations of Indus valley and Sumeria
1928	<i>Innermost Asia</i> published (detailed report of third expedition)
Nov 1928	Final retirement from service in India Second visit to Middle East; continues to Europe
1929	<i>On Alexander's Track to the Indus</i> published
Dec 1929-Jan 1930	Visits America from England
Mar-May 1930	Visits China from England
June 1930	Returns to Kashmir Stein's old friend Sir Thomas Arnold dies
Aug 1930-June 1931	Fourth expedition to Chinese Turkestan: travels north via Gilgit and Hunza. Chinese prevent excavations and Stein abandons work, returning to Kashmir
Oct 1931	Short tour in Punjab in search of Alexandrian evidence on banks of Jhelum River
1932	First Iranian expedition, in Iranian Baluchistan
Summer 1932	In Europe
1932-3	Second Iranian expedition, along Persian Gulf
1933	<i>On Ancient Central Asian Tracks</i> published
Summer 1933	In Kashmir
16 June 1933	Stein's closest friend, P.S. Allen, dies
1933-4	Third Iranian expedition, through eastern Fars
May 1934-May 1935	In Europe, including holiday in southern Italy
11 Oct 1934	Stein's sister-in-law dies
1935-6	Fourth Iranian expedition, from western Fars to Iranian Kurdistan
Apr 1937	Undergoes prostate operation. Remains in Europe
1937	<i>Archaeological Reconnaissances in Northwest India and Southeast Iran</i> published
Jan 1938	Travels to Middle East
Mar-May 1938	Aerial survey of Middle Eastern <i>limes</i> in northern Iraq
Summer 1938	In Kashmir

Oct 1938-May 1939	Aerial survey of Middle Eastern <i>limes</i> extended from Iraq into Trans-Jordan
June-Nov 1939	In England
Nov 1939	Returns to India
1940	<i>Old Routes of Western Iran</i> published
Dec 1940-Mar 1941	Archaeological tour in Rajasthan
Oct 1941-Feb 1942	Explores 'route of the hanging chains' in Indus Kohistan
1942-3	Short tours in Bahawalpur, Chilas and Las Bela
19 Oct 1943	Stein sees Kabul, Afghanistan, for the first time
26 Oct 1943	Stein dies at the US Legation, Kabul

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APPENDIX 4

SIR AUREL STEIN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 ASIFC = *Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle*
 ASIFC-AR = *Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle - Annual Report*
 BMQ = *British Museum Quarterly*
 BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
 GJ = *The Geographical Journal*
 GR = *Geographical Review*
 IA = *The Indian Antiquary*
 JA = *Journal Asiatique*
 JAS Bengal = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
 JPHS = *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*
 JRAI = *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
 JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
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- 19 Jun 1909, p. 13c Stein awarded Stanislas Julien prize by Académie des Inscriptions, Paris, and Hardy prize by Royal Bavarian Academy, for *Ancient Khotan*
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- 12 Nov 1937, p. 17c leading article
- 14 Apr 1939, p. 16d Stein's survey of Roman frontier in Middle East
- 1 Jun 1939, p. 7e Stein returns to England
- 28 Oct 1943, p. 7e Stein's death (with photograph)
- 30 Oct 1943, p. 5e Stein's death
- 4 Nov 1943, p. 7d Stein's death

MEDALS AND HONOURS AWARDED TO STEIN

- 1904 Awarded Back Grant by Royal Geographical Society (*GJ* 23, p. 516; and *GJ* 24, p. 111)
- 1909 Awarded Founder's Medal by Royal Geographical Society (*GJ* 33, p. 593-94, p. 610; *GJ* 34, pp. 99-100; *Times* 6 Apr 1909, p. 10a; *Times* 25 May 1909, p. 10a)
- 1909 Awarded diploma of the Geographical Society, Munich (diploma held at RAS)
- 1909 Awarded D.Litt degree of Oxford University (*Times* 25 Feb, p. 10c; 3 Mar 1909, p. 8c)
- 1909 Awarded Campbell Memorial Gold Medal by RAS Bombay (*Times* 3 Mar 1909, p. 11b; 8 Apr 1909, p. 3f)
- 1909 Awarded Stanislas Julien prize by Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (*Times* 19 Jun 1909, p. 13c; *JA* series 10, no. 13, p. 340.)
- 1909 Awarded Hardy prize by Royal Bavarian Academy (*Times* 19 Jun 1909, p. 13c)
- 1910 Awarded Honorary Doctor of Science, Cambridge (Public Orator's speech held at RAS; *Times* 21 Jan 1910, p. 4d)
- 1910 Awarded diploma of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (diploma held at RAS)
- 1910 Appointed C.I.E. [Commander of the Indian Empire] (*Times* 24 Jun 1910, p. 9c)
- 1911 Elected Member of the Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna (certificate held at RAS)
- 1912 Appointed K.C.I.E. [Knight Commander of the Indian Empire] (*Times* 14 Jun 1912, p. 10b)
- 1912 Awarded Lucy Wharton medal by Board of Managers of the Museum, University of Pennsylvania (*Times* 19 Jul 1912, p. 11e)
- 1917 Russian Geographical Society: Honorary Member, *GJ* 50, p. 76.
- 1918 Paris Académie des Sciences: Tchihatchef Prize, *GJ* 51, p. 271.
- 1921 Elected Fellow of the British Academy
- 1923 Awarded Anders Retzius medal by Swedish Anthropological and Geographical Society (*Times* 21 Apr 1923, p. 9g)
- 1923 Awarded gold medal by French Geographical Society (*Times* 29 May 1923, p. 13g)
- 1925 Elected Honorary Member of Hungarian Archaeological Society (*Times* 26 Feb 1925, p. 11g)
- 1928 Awarded Flinders Petrie Medal for Archaeology at London University (*Times* 22 Mar 1928, p. 21c; *Times* 29 Jun 1929, p. 7e; *Times* 6 Jul 1929, p. 17d; *Times* 8 Jul 1929, p. 14d)
- 1931 Elected Honorary Member of Société Asiatique, 11 Jun 1931, *JA* 219, p. 340.

- 1932 Awarded Gold Medal by Royal Asiatic Society (*Times* 17 Jun 1932, p. 16c; including speeches by Sir S. Hoare and Sir E. Maclagan)
- 1934 Awarded Huxley Memorial Medal by Royal Anthropological Institute (*Times* 1 Aug 1934, p. 6f)
- 1935 Awarded Gold Medal by Society of Antiquaries (*Times* 18 Apr 1935, p. 10c; *Times* 1 May 1935, p. 11b; *Times* 12 May 1935, p. 12b)
- 1939 Became member of American Philosophical Society (certificate held at RAS)
- 1939 Awarded Honorary Doctorate, University of St. Andrews (certificate held at RAS)

Stein may have been awarded other medals from Sweden, France, USA, and Hungary (apparently the Croix de Mérite, and a medallion were struck in his honour). Except for those housed at the RAS, the present whereabouts of the medals and awards remain unknown.

MAPS

- 1913 'Map of portions of Chinese Turkestan and Kansu to illustrate the explorations of Dr M.A. Stein, CIE, and his assistants RB Lal Singh and RS Ram Singh, Survey of India, 1906-08', *GJ* 42, p. 417.
- 1920 'Sir Aurel Stein's Maps', *GJ* 56, pp. 144-45.
- 1937 Note on Stein's maps in Eric Teichman's 'The motor route from Peking to Kashgar', *GJ* 89, pp. 297-308 (especially pp. 306-07).
- 1993 Karl E. Ryavec, 'The present-day value of maps illustrating the archaeological surveys of Sir Aurel Stein in Xinjiang and Gansu', *JRAS*, 3rd series, 3, part 2, July, pp. 233-43.

BIOGRAPHIES OF STEIN

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- 1977 *Sir Aurel Stein - Archaeological Explorer*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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- 1995 *Aurel Stein: Pioneer of the Silk Road*, London: John Murray.

ARTICLES/CHAPTERS ON STEIN OF A BIOGRAPHICAL NATURE

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- 1970 *Stein Aurel ifjusága* (The Youth of Aurel Stein, 1866-1891), Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

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- 1997 'Last of the 'Foreign Devils': Sir Aurel Stein's fourth foray into China was a humiliating failure. Who conspired to undermine the expedition and why?', *Archaeology* (Nov/Dec), pp. 53-59.

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- 1980 *Foreign devils on the Silk Road: the search for the lost treasures of Central Asia*, London: John Murray. [Reprinted 1984 and subsequently, Oxford: Oxford University Press]

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1938 'Marc Aurel Stein', *Hungarian Quarterly* 4 no. 2, pp. 273-79.

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1960 *Stein Aurél és hagyatéka, Sir Aurel Stein and his legacy*, A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Kiadványai, Publicationes Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 18, Budapest.

1960 'Sir Aurel Stein', *Acta Orientalia Academia Scientiarum Hngaricae*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 241-52.

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1978 'Stein, the Central Asian nomad', *Geographical Magazine* 50(12), pp. 816-19.

Szőrenyi, L.

1985 'Stein Aurél', in *Stein A: Ázsia halott szívében*, Budapest, pp. 435-55.

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1943 'Death of Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., F.B.A.', *GJ* 102, pp. 143-44.

1943 'Sir Aurel Stein', *The Illustrated London News* (6 Nov) p. 526.

1943 'Sir Aurel Stein, 80, an archaeologist. Explorer of Central Asia, wrote many works on subject, dies in Kabul, Afghanistan', *The New York Times* (Friday 29 Oct) p. 19.

1943 'Sir Aurel Stein', *New York Herald Tribune*, 7 Nov 1943.

1943 'Sir Aurel Stein (1862-1943)', by C.E.A.W. Oldham, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29, pp. 453-65.

1943 Obituary in *The Times* 28 Oct 1943, p.7e (with photo); 30 Oct 1943, p. 7e; 4 Nov 1943, p. 7d.

1943 'Stein Aurél' by Cholnoky Jenő, *Földrajzi Közlemények* 71(4), pp. 223-28.

1944 'Sir Aurel Stein', by C.E.A.W. Oldham, *JRAS* 1944, pp. 81-86 ('This number is dedicated to the memory of Marc Aurel Stein scholar & explorer')

1944 'Sir Aurel Stein, KCIE', by Sir P. Sykes, in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 31 (Jan, part 1), pp. 5-6. (followed by an appreciation by L.C. Dunsterville, p.7)

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1944 'Sir Aurel Stein', by Juliusz Halász, *Hungarian Quarterly* 10 (no. 1, spring), pp. 100-14.

1944 'A Great Hungarian Explorer', by Joseph Somogyi, *Hungarian Quarterly* 10 (no. 1, spring), pp. 15-121.

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- 1938 Short notice about exhibition of Buddhist painting (esp. paintings and wood-cuts from Dunhuang) opening in Edward VII Gallery on 16 Feb 1938, *BMQ* 12, no. 2, pp. 69-70.
- 1938 Short notice, entitled 'Excavations', about Stein's work in Persia, *BMQ* 12, no. 1, p.32.
- 1938 Short notice about Stein's two expeditions in Makran and S. Iran in 1931-33, *BMQ* 12, no. 2, p. 45. (referring to selection of objects from pottery, flint tools and metal objects found at sites, incl. Khurab and Bampur, added to the BM collection).
- 1939 Short notice about presentation of 192 photographs of archaeological sites in Iraq from the Air Ministry to the BM, *BMQ* 13, no. 1, p. 29.

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- 1985 *Sir Aurel Stein's Limes Reports*, BAR International Series 272 (i-ii).

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- 1989 'An analysis of Poidebard's air survey over Syria', (compares work of Poidebard and Stein) in Chapter 6 of *Into the sun: essays in air photography in archaeology in honour of Derrick Riley*, Sheffield.

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- 1968 *Studies in the ancient history of Northern Iraq* (refers to Stein's papers), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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- 1996 *Rudolf von Roth 1821-1895, die weite Welt nach Tübingen geholt* (lists the correspondence of 1884-1895 between Stein and Roth, housed in Tübingen University Library) *Nachlassverzeichnisse der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen Band 1*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

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OTHER RECENTLY PUBLISHED OCCASIONAL PAPERS

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