

Sir Aurel Stein

Bibliography

1885–1943

Edited

by

ISTVÁN ERDÉLYI

EUROLINGUA

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M. Aurel Stein

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- 3.34 KUBASSEK JÁNOS: Magyar expedíciók Ázsiában [Hungarian expeditions in Asia]. Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó 1994.
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- 3.43 Mindenki Lexikona [Everybody's Encyclopedia]. I-II. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1974.
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- 3.45 NOVOTNY, Bohuslav (ed.): Encyklopédia Archeológie. Bratislava: Obzor 1986, p.823.
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- 3.49 RÁSONYI LÁSZLÓ: Stein Aurél és hagyatéka [Aurél Stein and his Bequest]. Budapest: 1960. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Kiadványai 18.
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3.57 VASVÁRY, ÁRTÚR: *Stein Aurél. Élet és Tudomány* (Budapest) 50 (1962).1582–1584.

3.58 ZIMMERMANN, MAURICE.: *L'achèvement du voyage de Mr. M. A. Stein in Asia Centrale*. *Annales de Geographie* (Paris) 97(1908).88-96.

4. Collation

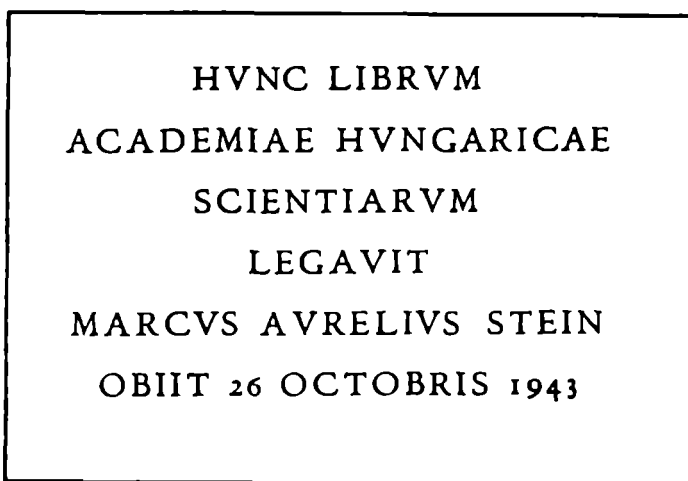
Includes the names of journals, publishing houses, scholarly societies in connection with the activities of Aurel M. Stein. Based on the Bibliography of his works (Chapter 1, pp. 9–29 above).

A Királyi Magyar Természettudományi Társaság (Budapest) 1.076
 A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Budapest) 1.105, 1.116, 1.138, 1.139
 A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Jegyzőkönyvei 1.075
 Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres 1.157
 Akadémiai Értesítő (Budapest) 1.048; 1.053, 1.075
 Akadémiai Könyvtár (Budapest) 1.171
 Allgemeine Zeitung (München) 1.004, 1.007
 American Geographical Society 1.093
 Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (London) 1.155
 Annual Report (Peshawara) 1.074
 Annual Report of Smithsonian Institute 1.042
 Anzeiger der Philosophischen–Historischen Classe (Wien) 1.011
 Archaeologiai Értesítő (Budapest) 1.018

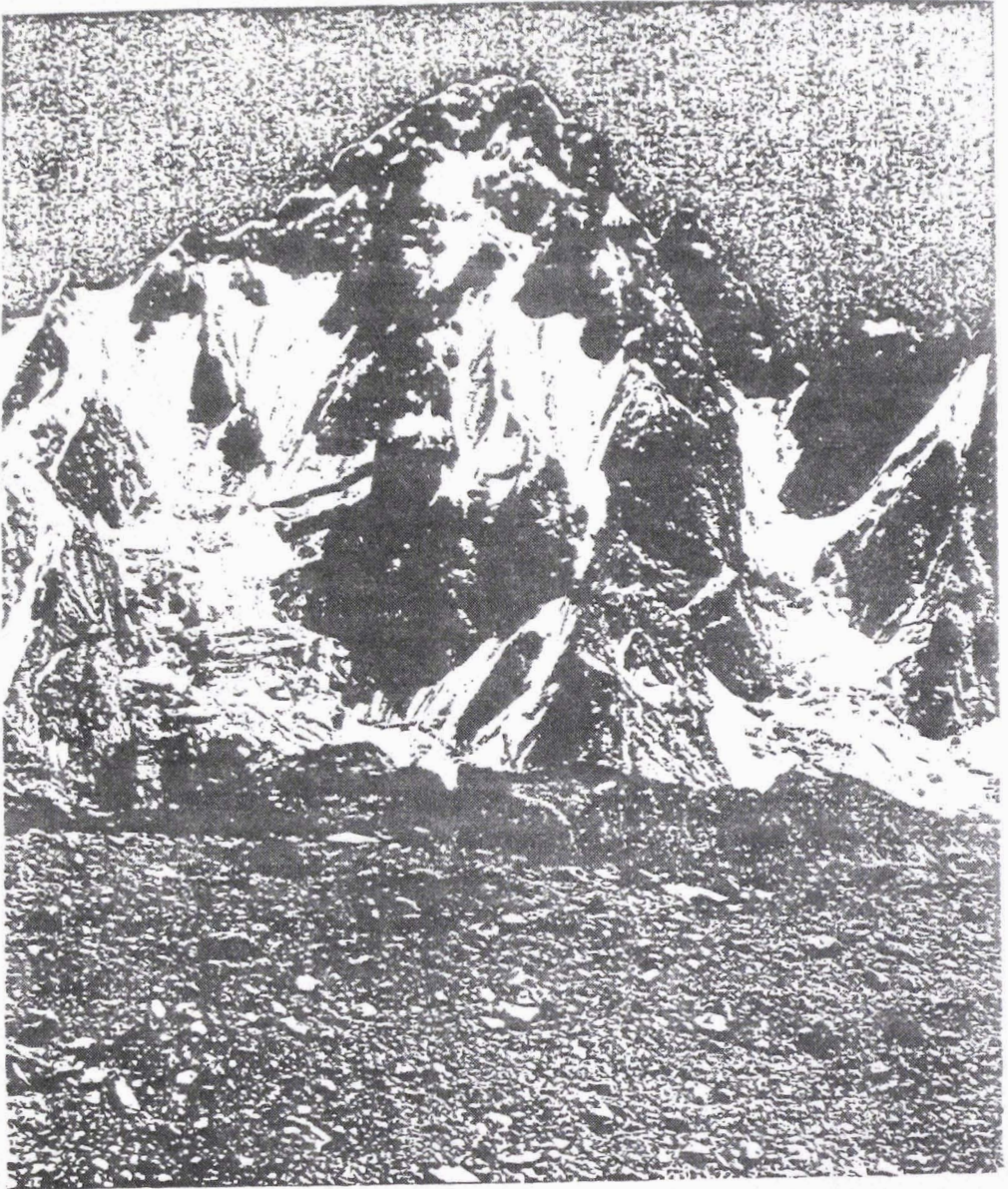
- Athenaeum (Budapest) 1.102
 Austin Hertford 1.031 (offprint), 1.034 (offprint)
 Author's Publication (Oxford) 1.079
 Baptist Mission Press (Calcutta) 1.014 (reprint), 1.022 (offprint), 1.026
 Berichte des Internationalen Orientalischen Congresses 1.003
 Bestetti e Tumminelli (Milano-Roma) 1.113
 Budapest Oriental Reprints 1.158 (see also Oriental Reprints)
 Budapesti Szemle (Budapest) 1.141
 Budapesti Szemle (Budapest) 1.117 (offprint)
 Budapesti Szemle (Budapest) 1.002, 1.019
 Bulletin de L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient 1.112
 Bulletin de la Société de Géographie (Paris) 1.060
 Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution 1.124
 Clarendon Press (Oxford) 1.049, 1.096, 1.112
 Commercial Press (Peshawar) 1.071
 Comptes rendus de séances 1.157 (see also Académie des Inscriptions et
 Belles-lettres)
 Congrès des Orientalists (Paris) 1.025.
 Constable (Westminster) 1.030
 Education Society Press (Bombay) 1.020 (reprint)
 Education Society Print 1.024 (reprint) 1.027
 Egerton Press 1.039
 Eyre and Spottiswoode (London) 1.037
 Fisher Unwin (London) 1.041
 Földgömb (Budapest) 1.152
 Földrajzi Közlemények (Budapest) 1.057, 1.070
 Franklin Társulat (Budapest) 1.116, 1.122, 1.145
 From Kashmirian Manuscripts 1.008
 Geographical Journal (London) 1.036, 1.040, 1.047, 1.051, 1.052, 1.063,
 1.069, 1.078, 1.080, 1.081, 1.082, 1.083, 1.084, 1.088, 1.089,
 1.090, 1.091, 1.098, 1.104, 1.111, 1.114, 1.119 (reprint), 1.129
 1.132, 1.133, 1.136, 1.140, 1.143, 1.144, 1.148, 1.149, 1.151,
 1.159, 1.163, 1.164, 1.165, 1.167
 Geographical Review (New York) 1.093
 Government of India, Central Publishing Branch 1.123
 Government Press (Peshawar) 1.044
 Government Publishing Office 1.042 (Washington, D.C., reprint)
 H. Hart 1.079
 Helin (Budapest) 1.170
 Himalayan Journal (Calcutta) 1.126 (offprint)
 Hungarian Quarterly (Budapest) 1.134, 1.147
 Hurst and Blackett (London) 1.043
 Huxley Memorial Lecture 1.137
 Imprimerie nationale (Paris) 1.169

- Indian Antiquary (Bombay) 1.006, 1.017, 1.027, 1.033, 1.038, 1.067,
 1.045, 1.056, 1.085, 1.103 (reprint), 1.127, 1.135
 Iraq 1.143
 Journal de Savants (Paris) 1.111, 1.115, 1.146
 Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (Calcutta) 1.026
 Journal of the Central Asian Society (London) 1.121
 Journal of the East India Association 1.150.
 Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society 1.068
 Journal of the Punjab Historical Society (Lahore) 1.087 (reprint)
 Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and North
 Ireland 1.137
 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) 1.031, 1.034, 1.035, 1.065,
 1.086, 1.106, 1.162, 1.168
 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) 1.160
 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (London) 1.014, 1.022,
 1.028
 Kohlhammer (Stuttgart:) 1.012
 Kreuzschule (Dresden) 1.107
 Lampel Róbert (Budapest) 1.054, 1.064
 Macmillan (London) 1.073, 1.115, 1.131, 1.146, 1.158.
 Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára 1.054
 Magyar Földrajzi Társaság [Hungarian Geographical Society] 1.138
 Magyar Könyvtár [Hungarian Library] 1.064.
 Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Emlékbeszédék [Memoirs of the Hungarian
 Academy of Sciences] (Budapest) 1.077
 Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (Calcutta) 1.118, 1.120,
 1.125
 Milford (London) 1.128 (offprint)
 Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft (München and Erlangen)
 1.058
 Mitteilungen der K.u.K. Geographischen Gesellschaft Wien 1.059
 Murray J. (London) 1.100, 1.101
 Művészet (Budapest) 1.054 (review)
 Naft Magazine 1.155
 New China Review 1.103, 1.109 (offprint), 1.161
 No data with regard to place of publication 1.005 (Bowers), 1.108
 No data with regard to publishing house 1.010, 1.013, 1.015 (Bankipur),
 1.066 (Budapest), 1.097 (Delhi, published in Persian), 1.108, 1.110
 (Delhi), 1.131 (China, 2nd edition of 1.131), 1.131 (Chicago, 3rd
 edition of 1.131)
 Numismatic Chronicle (London) 1.029
 Oriental Reprint Series (Budapest) 1.171
 Oxford University Press 1.143, 1.166
 Persian Language Summary 1.153 (1921)

- Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) 1.021, 1.024
 Proceedings of the British Academy 1.128
 Quaritch, B. Ltd. 1.095
 Records of the Survey of India 1.072
 Revue Numismatique (Stuttgart) 1.012 (review)
 Royal Geographical Society (London) 1.050
 Scottish Geographical Magazine 1.068
 Sir Aurel Stein's Limes Report 1.154
 Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,
 Philosophisch-Historische Classe (Wien) 1.016
 T'oung Pao (Paris) 1.046, 1.055, 1.092, 1.094
 The Academy (London) 1.001
 The Alpine Journal (London), 1.156
 The Antiquaries Journal 1.142
 The British Indian Press 1.127 (reprint)
 The India Society (London) 1.153
 Times (London) 1.051 (review), 1.130
 Times of India 1.023 (offprint)
 Trigonometry Survey Office 1.099
 Tyr (Paris) 1.151
 Wiener Zeitschrift für der Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien) 1.032
 Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien) 1.009
 Witherby (London) 1.061
 Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde (Berlin) 1.062
 Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 1.008
 Zhurnal' Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvyashcheniya (St. Petersburg, Rus-
 sia) 1.043 (review)



Memorial plates in the books donated by Aurel Stein to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest.



The Dream World of Aurel Stein in Central Asia:
Glaciers, Peaks, Rocks... at an elevation close
to 15,000 feet at the head of the Nissa Valley.

Appendix

1. Biography of Sir Aurel Marc Stein

Most international and Hungarian encyclopaedias contain entries about Sir Aurel Stein's life and work. The two monographs devoted to Stein (MIRSKY 1987 and WALKER 1998, see above under 3.44 and 3.56, p. 33) also constitute a basic source for biographical information on Stein. For this reason, we list here only the most important facts in synoptic arrangement on the vita of Sir Aurel Stein emphasizing events not commonly known or seldom considered in international studies. We refer to some unpublished notes, among them 35 letters Stein sent to Ignaz Goldziher between 1888 and 1912; these are preserved in the Oriental Section of the Manuscript Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattárának Keleti Osztálya), the Hungarian language book of BOROS 1970 as well as RÁSONYI's contributions, cf. 3.47-3.50 above, p. 33). A typewritten autobiography of Stein is in the Library of the Hungarian Academy, Manuscript Section 744/1937. A synoptic biography of Stein is printed in WALKER 1998.356–359.— For the sources cited see pp. 29-34 above and pp. 57–60 below).

Born: November 26, 1862 in Pest (Budapest) in an apartment house at the Tükör utca # 2 (Spiegel Gasse, name later changed to Tüköry utca) into a Jewish family. Father: Nathan Hirschler, a less successful businessman. Mother: Anna Hirschler (Netti). Baptised in the Evangelical Church

- 1867 Elementary school at the Lipótváros (Leopoldstadt) in Pest
- 1871 High school student at the Piarist Gymnasium, Budapest
- 1873 Transfer to Kreuzschule in Dresden, Germany; Gelinek Institute until 1877
- 1877 Evangelical Gymnasium (High School) in Budapest until 1879. Honor student
- 1879 High School diploma with distinction in the Budapest Evangelical Gymnasium on June 27
- 1879 Study at the University of Wien, majoring in Sanskrit and comparative linguistics, until 1880

- 1880 One semester at the University of Leipzig from 1880 until 1881, many times visiting the Alps and practicing there alpinism (rock wall climbing); this particular skill became useful in his later voyages to Central Asia's mountains
- 1881 Until 1884 at the University of Tübingen, Germany, majoring in Indology and Old Persian. Study with Rudolf von Roth (1821–1895), Veda and Avesta specialist; also with Alfred Gutschmid (1835-1887), Ancient Orient and Hellenism (Boros 1970. 1211)
- 1883 Ph.D. examination (Rigorosum) at the University of Tübingen with Roth in May, Grade "cum laude" (BOROS 1970.18).
- 1884 Resided in Tübingen; then travel to London and Oxford, England. Studied Old Persian manuscripts
- 1885 As an army "volunteer", he became a student of the Ludovica Academy, the highest university-level army officer training institution of Hungary. The program included hard physical training which allowed him to gain endurance and psychological stability so necessary for his later Central Asian travels. He studied cartography, mapping, and learned the job of a land surveyor—skills which were of use for his scientific activities during his travels in India, Turkestan, and China
- 1886 Sent with a grant from the Hungarian Minister of Education to England (where his younger sister "Tercsi" lived);
- 1887 Contacts Theodor (Tivadar) Duka (1825–1908), a Hungarian expatriate in London, and until 1877 a major of the British military service in India; Duka brings him together with British colonial officials. His mother dies in October 1887. He travels to India with a grant of the Hungarian Ministry of Education
- 1888 Appointed Registrar of Punjab University and Principal of the Oriental College in Lahore (1899), Punjab, India (today Pakistan), a time-consuming administrative position; also teaches Sanskrit language and literature there; in subsequent years, studies archaeological monuments and topography of Kashmir
- 1888 His father dies in November
- 1891 Ignác Hirschler, his maternal uncle and mentor, dies in Budapest
- 1895 External Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (I. Section) in Budapest
- 1897 Acceptance address as external member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest

- 1899 For one year, Principal of Calcutta Madrasah. Considers return to Hungary because he finds his administrative job in India burdensome (Boros 1970.39)
- 1900 His first voyage to Central Asia (Inner Asia); inspects, among other things, the desert ruins discovered by Sven Hedin (May 1900–May 1901)
- 1901 In Europe; helps to unpack his collection at the British Museum. Visits relatives in Central Europe
- 1901 Inspector of Schools in the Punjab (until December 1903)
- 1902 His brother Ernst dies
- 1904 Inspector General of Education, and Superintendent of Archaeology, in the North-West Frontier Province of India and in Beluchistan until 1910. In 1904 he becomes a British subject
- 1908 His second expedition to Central Asia; mapping the main chain of the Kuen-Lun; conducts excavations in the Takla-Makan desert and Tarim basin
- 1909 On leave in Europe until December 1911. Lecturing in Budapest (Academy of Sciences) in Budapest, Hungary; Honorary Doctor of the University of Cambridge *and* of the University of Oxford in England (elected in the same year at both universities, see Boros 1970.67)
- 1910 Appointed Superintendent of the Indian Archaeological Survey serving in this position until 1929. Honorary Curator of Peshawar Museum
- 1912 Honored with the rank of the Knight Commander of Indian Empire Order (K.C.I.E.) conferred upon him by the king on recommendation of the Government of the United Kingdom in recognition of the great achievements of his first voyage in 1900
- 1913 His third voyage which lasted until 1916; travelled more than 18,000 km exploring Turkestan (Oxus and Gobi), Kuen-Lun, Dunhuang
- 1916 More than one year in England, mainly in Devon. Shorter visits to India (Kashmir and Delhi)
- 1917 Retirement
- 1919 One year in Europe
- 1921 Member of the British Academy (Boros 1970.67)

- 1922 Receives the Lóczy Gold Medal of the Hungarian Geographic Society; he was the first scholar honored with this medal; corresponding member of the Académie des Inscriptions (Class I of the French Academy in Paris, Boros 1970.67)
- 1924 Travels in the Middle East, visits Austria
- 1927 Travels to Beluchistan; studies possible prehistoric connection between the civilizations of the Indus Valley and the Sumeria
- 1929 Lecturing in Budapest (Academy of Sciences) in Budapest, Hungary
- 1930 Visits America (Boston, Harvard); plans his fourth expedition to Central Asia with combined American and British support
- 1930 From June to August, with Harvard and British support, on his Fourth Expedition to Central Asia (Chinese Turkestan); unsuccessful, cf. BRYSAK 1997, see p. 57 below). His Chinese assistant whom he trusted, secretly hinders his research in Turkestan
- 1932 In Iran and Europe
- 1933 In Kashmir during summer
- 1935 In Iran for about one year
- 1937 In frail health; stays in Europe. Prostate surgery
- 1938 In the Middle East; pioneering aerial survey (mapping) in Iraq and Transjordan; return to England
- 1939 In India, tours Rajasthan
- 1941 Voyages to the Indus
- 1942 Traveled in India
- 1943 As an 80 year old scholar plans to carry out explorations in Afghanistan, the land of his dreams from his young years on, for the first time in his life. Travels to Kabul, Afghanistan where he arrives on October 19; during a visit to a museum, he catches a cold; on October 26 following a stroke, he dies in the compound of the American Legation. Buried in the Christian Cemetery of Kabul on October 29, on his wish according to Anglican rite. The King and the Foreign Minister of Afghanistan sent representatives to the funeral while the Persian Ambassador, the Iraqi Minister, and the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, were present (MIRSKY 1977.547)

Aurel Stein was one of the most successful representatives of the upwardly-mobile layers of Hungarian urban society during the 19th century con-

centrated mainly in the capital city of Budapest (until 1872 two separate cities: Buda and Pest). His maternal uncle, Ignác Hirschler (1823–1891), a leading ophthalmologist of the country, member of the Hungarian Academy, and an avid liberal politician, helped him to make the right decision for his university studies. His older brother, Arnold (Ernő) Stein, an economist, was also influential in this often contradicting the wishes of their father who would have preferred a practical profession for his younger son. Aurel Stein was reared in a close-knit family; later in India and Central Asia during his voyages, he took care of his employees and coworkers in this Budapest tradition of 19th century family values.

Being of Jewish ancestry, he went first to the famous high school (“gymnasium”) of the Roman Catholic Monk Order of “Piarists” in Pest (during the 1840s, the Hungarian national poet Petőfi was also a student of the same school)—although Stein himself was baptized as a Lutheran and during his long life was associated with different protestant churches (Lutheran in Hungary and Germany, Anglican in Britain and India). He spent four years in Dresden (Germany) as a young high school student where he received stimuli from his German teachers to deal with ancient Greek influences on the Orient, first of all in old India. He completed high school studies in Budapest at the Evangelical Gymnasium (remarkably, also the alma mater of Petőfi); he was a honor student of his class according to his high school diploma (*Abiturzeugnis, érettségi bizonyítvány*) issued in June 1879. As a university student, he worked under the direction of the most noted Orientalists of world famous German universities (Vienna, Tübingen).

The further career of Aurel Stein is both legend and well-recorded reality. His stay in London/England in 1886 became the turning point in his life. In the subsequent year, he became an employee of the then worldwide British colonial empire. He left for Lahore in India where he remained faithful to his vocation, to his family tradition as well as to his Hungarian homeland. He followed in this exploratory work and field research many of his earlier Hungarian compatriots (first of all, Alexander Körösi-Csoma). While doing a job of global importance in the service of the British Empire he never forgot the experiences of his childhood in the very special atmosphere of Old Hungary which gave him the educational chances to become a world-famous explorer of the 20th century.

2. Chinese Assessment of Sir Aurel M. Stein's Work

By LÁSZLÓ BÁRDI (Pécs, Hungary)

Changing epochs force one to rewrite or rethink assessments on different persons and historical events in the Western World (Europe and North America). Gaps between the Western and Eastern World can also be observed in this field. While the West determines *from the bottom to the top*, Chinese centralized ruling works in reverse: *from the top to the bottom*. This aspect is reflected in the catch phrases attributed to ancient emperors such as "My mind is The common mind" (manifested by the Son of Heaven, "Our opinion is The common opinion" (declared by the Sons of the Party). This tradition has been continued by such slogans from the top level in Communist China as "Great Leap Forward", "People's Commune", "People's Foundry" or "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". One can also think of slogans such as "Against Kong (= Confucius, LB), Against Old Habits" or "Together Kong, Together Zhou (= Zhou Enlai, the pragmatist prime minister)" which were used during the infamous Cultural Revolution for only a short period.

The assessment of Sir Aurel Stein has come a long way from such judgmental views as "the foreign devil" and has evolved from "one of the so-called scholars" to "a British scholar". This development not only reflects the change of mind of the central ruling authority in Peking but also says something about the view of the simple people in this huge country which has now begun to divest its traditional prejudices maintained earlier against Western culture.

For a better understanding of the Chinese point of view on Stein, we should recall the following:

1. The topmost achievement of Stein

It is well known that Aurel Stein ("Sir" from 1912 as K.C.O.I.E.= Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire) appeared for the first time in 1907 at *Dunhuang Caves* at the edge of the Gobi Desert in Gansu province, a gold mine for Buddhist art as well as Central Asian history research. It was an important point in the famous network of the medieval Silk Road.

From the bygone times of the Han-dynasty, (2nd century B.C.) the *Silk Road* connected the far remote China (actually its eastern part) with European harbors and merchant centers. This was one of the world's most significant highways: an outstanding commercial route and a cultural cross-roads, mediating between different civilizations. A noted outpost as well as

a resting- and lodging for caravans place along this legendary Silk Road was *Dunhuang*. The surrounding lonely caves (the *Mogao*) were transformed from the 4th century A.D. into shrines and cave temples by the merchants of caravans as offerings against the unforeseen dangers of the Takla Makan Desert which they had to cross. Step by step, the caves were painted and sculpted from top to bottom so that finally the “biggest and longest gallery of the world” (altogether murals of a length of 30 or so miles) was established. It was called by scholars the “Caves of Thousand Buddhas”.

Years and centuries went by and the Silk Road lost its former importance for trade. The villages of formerly vivid and busy oases became depopulated and were covered with sand while the chatter of bargaining by tricky traders was replaced by the noiseless steps of solitary monks who dwelled in the caves and shanty houses. Ultimately, the once famous caves became horrifying ghost towns similar to the desert mine settlements of the American Wild West. The silent shadows of Buddhist sculptures saw only scarce and occasional native prayers.

At the beginning of our century *Wang Yuanlu*¹ (HOPKIRK 1984.158, NAGEL 1986.1321; WHITFIELD-FARRER 1990.15), an ordinary Taoist (Buddhist) monk and the self-appointed guardian of the Caves, was the first person in the 20th century who offered written documents about these unique compounds. Even if during the past eight to ten centuries these richly painted and decorated ancient caves were not totally unknown to the locals, the outer world did not get any substantial informations about them.

One of the first Western travelers in the Dunhuang area was NIKOLAI MIHAILOVICH PRJEWALSKY (Polish spelling PRZEVALSKIJ), the pioneering Asian explorer of Russia, who found some ruins of the ancient Silk Road and according to some views (HOPKIRK 1984.157) shortly visited Dunhuang Caves in 1879. Many scholars do not accept this information as reliable (MAGIDOWITCH 1962.519, KÉZ 1936.114). PRJEWALSKY spent only a short time in Dunhuang and he certainly did not have enough time for a careful inspection of the sites. He did not give any details in his account of his expedition to Dunhuang. Also in 1879, a Russian botanist with the German name ALBERT REGEL discovered some ruins and “Buddhist idols” northwards from the Dunhuang area but he had no chance to continue his explorations southwards.

In the same year (1879) a young Hungarian geologist and geographer Lajos Lóczy entered (in all probability as the very first in the subsequent

¹According to other sources (Li 1987.10) his name was *Wang Yuanzhuan*. The difference in name probably came about due to a change of his “status” from a *Daoist* to a *Buddhist* monk. Note that he was also cited in alternating fashion as a *Daoist* or a *Buddhist*. In those bygone days it was not unusual for monks of different religions/denominations to live peacefully together in the same shrine. For example, during Wang's time two Buddhist novices and a Tibetan lama lived in the Dunhuang monastery.

long line of Westerners) these magnificent grottoes. This Hungarian expedition (led, otherwise, by the son of the famous Hungarian Count István Széchenyi) had a different research mission and its members were unable to visit the Dunhuang sites. Later on, Lóczy was the person who suggested² Stein in a conference in Hamburg to seek and study this place.

Actually Stein did a lot more than to follow this advice. Even because of this, his field research activities became the center of heated disputes among Chinese scholars and Western specialists. Adoration in the West and anathematization in China are the outermost points of the discussion.

Aurel Stein visited Dunhuang and the Caves of Thousand Buddhas of Mogao first in March of 1907. The second time occurred in at late March during his expedition of 1913-15. The outstanding result of his stay was that he studied these very specific murals and recovered the so called "Hidden Library", the existence of which was basically unknown before his visits.

Actually, the library was known to the the above mentioned Wang Yuanlu. He went to Gansu province to take refuge from the famine which was raging in his home of Hubei province. He settled at Dunhuang in the Mogao Caves and one day engaged some handymen to clear one of the caves which was sanded up and had cracked walls. One of them was the cave now generally numbered as 16th (Nagel 1986.1321; some other sources use No.17, see TAYLOR ET ALII 1996.911; WHITFIELD-FARRER 1990.7). Frescoes of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were revealed there which were painted in the Sung-dynasty era (960-1279). During this work a part of the wall fell down.

Wang Yuanlu tapped the rest of the side wall and had the impression that it sounded hollow. He then broke open a way through the wall and discovered a little door; when opening it, he found himself in a small square chamber (five feet high and eight feet wide) in total darkness. Here he detected a neat pile of countless documents, manuscripts, sutras, roll-paintings, silk banners, ritual vessels, etc. The walls were fully covered with Tang-dynasty frescoes (618-907 A.D.) and it turned out that the room and some neighboring chambers were full of colored statues. The door leading to this small room was originally not sealed and it seems that somebody closed it later on, perhaps in the 11th century. Probably the monks of Mogao Caves wanted to save the artifacts from the Xixia ('Western Xia') invaders but they could not return for a further examination of the place. Thus this unique treasure-room, this archaic safe deposit, remained a secret for more than nine centuries.

²In 1902 an international conference of orientalists there was organized in Hamburg, Germany. One of the most remarkable reports was held by Lajos Lóczy on the Hungarian expedition to Central Asia in 1879. Aurel Stein was in the audience too and his attention was drawn to the beauties of Dunhuang Caves by Lóczy's paper (Miklós 1959.9).

The unique documents detected in the caves contained a wide range of information on ancient mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geography, religion, water conservancy, agriculture, paper making, wine and sugar making, mining, textiles, ornaments and handicrafts, and last but not least data on history and contemporary everyday life. The sculptures and frescoes are at the same time a gold-mine for historians of art and music as well (WANG 1989.44). Today more than 550 grottoes in Dunhuang (with the main part of Mogao Caves) hold nearly 3,000 colored statues, 50,000 square meter of murals, and about 1,000 paintings on silk and paper (DUAN 1990.9).

From this enormous amount of cultural documents, the most important are Chinese, Uighur, Sanscrit, Tibetan, Sogdian, Tangut, archaic Runic-Turki language documents (many of them in unknown or unidentified languages) on about 3000 rolls. Further, there are listed approximately 6000 or so smaller manuscripts and fragments, 400 pieces of Buddhist and non-religious (secular) roll-paintings, and silk flags and banners (BALÁZS 1993. 348).

One of the most outstanding finds is a Chinese language copy of the “Diamond Sutra”, the very first, a book printed by wooden blocks in 868 A.D., i.e. six hundred years *before* J. Gutenberg’s Latin Bible (Mainz 1448 to ca. 1454). This archaeological find was like a shocking earthquake for scholars as Westerners regarded it a gigantic discovery and victory of the searching spirit of A. Stein.

The Chinese, however, in the spell of their imperial ideology, saw in Stein’s discovery a “big injury and damage” for their culture. They stated that the lost property (acquired and transferred by Stein to India and then to London) of the shrine caves was an integral part of the Chinese national heritage. This was the reason why they declared Stein’s action (and that of his contemporaries and adherents such as SVEN HEDIN’s, WARNER’s, LE COQ’s, PELLIOT’s, GRÜNWEDEL’s, OTANI’s and others activity) “the biggest robbery of the century”. Since it was not so much the discovery itself but the transport of parts of it to Western collections.

2. The main target of defamation: Stein

During the subsequent decades, a large number of Western travellers visited Dunhuang, most of them in the footsteps of Aurel Stein. Like Stein himself, they took a multitude of manuscripts and other relics with them to their home countries; so did PAUL PELLIOT (1878–1945) of France, ALBERT LE COQ (1860–1930) of Germany, LANGDON WARNER (1881–1955) of the United States of America, KOZUI OTANI of Japan and many others, sometimes famous scholars, sometimes ordinary treasure-hunters or spies. Nevertheless, in Chinese opinion the worst of them (the real “delinquent”) was Sir Aurel Stein; the Chinese began to equate his name generally with

the “foreign devils of the Silk Road”. This oversimplified (or just simplistic) judgment was maintained and spread in China for a long time. It changed and was modified only in recent times (see below).

The relics acquired (mostly purchased) by Stein were altogether:

12 crates from his first expedition 1900–1901; no materials yet from Dunhuang,

96 crates from the second one 1906–1909; including 24 crates of manuscripts and five of other relics from Dunhuang (Stein 1912, chapter LXII and Szörényi 1986.235), and

182 from the third one 1913–1916; also including Dunhuang materials; Vécsey 1961.801).

Note that other foreign experts also took a large number of precious relics and transferred them to the West or to America (their activities are outside of the scope of this paper).

The enormous amount of Dunhuang manuscripts which date from the *Three Kingdoms* period (220–280 A.D.) to the *Song dynasty* (960–1279) selected and purchased by Stein, was transferred to the British Museum, later to the British Library, a part of them came into the National Museum of India. Stein’s material became a real sensation for scholars or archaeology around the world.

The rest of manuscripts, sculptures, flags, banners and removed wall-paintings *not* acquired by Stein are today in collections of many countries: Japan, India, Taiwan, USA, South Korea, Sweden, Finland, Germany, France, Russia; institutions with Dunhuang materials are preserved in more than thirty institutions (museums, libraries) around the world. The main reason of Chinese protest against Stein and the other Western explorers was the “accusation of robbery”, although Stein *paid* in silver coin for the manuscripts and other relics. Thus his acquisitions legally constituted purchase and not theft as often stated by Chinese.

We should also emphasize that Stein never forced or pressed his business partner Wang to sell the manuscripts as we know that he dealt and bargained patiently with his Chinese counterparts. He explained that it was advantageous for China if Wang allowed Western scholars to study the manuscripts. Moreover, he promised to give generous donations for the cave temples and shrines (and, of course, for Wang too...).

Wang, actually, acknowledged that he did not know what to do with the enormous amount of manuscripts since he did not have the knowledge to study them. As we know from other sources (LI 1987.12), Wang had never told to Stein that he reported on this discovery to Chinese Gansu provincial officials as early as 1900. Soon after that, a Chinese scholar, YE CHANG was put in charge of the study of the ancient Dunhuang inscriptions. YE also wanted to have all the manuscripts transported to

Lanzhou, the Gansu provincial capital, where they could be better protected and studied by trained personnel. While the Qing government later ordered the cave resealed and guarded, it was unable to spend 10,000 taels³ of silver to transport the artifacts to Lanzhou (Li 1987.11). Other sources estimated for this purpose a lower sum of approximately 5,000 to 6,000 liang of silver (Miklós 1959.12).

Important items from the Dunhuang treasure were certainly incorporated into collections in China too. Nevertheless, Westerners should understand the grief and sorrow of Chinese scholars since they must visit at least thirteen different countries to study evidences and remnants of their own history from the Dunhuang area.

These details (all recent information) offer new aspects for the assessment of Stein's acquisitions. With regard to the rude criticism by the Chinese we should consider in depth the circumstances under which he acted at that time. His suggestions and decisions with regard to the acquisitions were reasonable and fair. DUAN WENJIE, director of the Dunhuang Research Academy is, like other contemporary scholars, ambivalent about Wang Yuanlu/Yuanzhuan's role. Wang was, after all, a Chinese national who discovered the sand-buried treasure and reported it to Gansu Chinese officials but he also built a personal fortune on his findings mainly through selling artifacts to Stein. From a Chinese scholarly point of view, he broke up the collection in their local framework and by selling items to Westerners he brought about their permanent loss for China.

Duan also does not accept foreign arguments that the documents were bought fair and square (Li Xia 1987.11).

The Dunhuang-manuscripts are (he says) cultural relics and a priceless legacy of China which cannot be measured in terms of money. Almost every country today has strict laws against smuggling or sale abroad of such treasures and rightly so. So much was carried away by foreign explorers, swindlers and adventurers that China is now left with only one-sixth of the total relics. (Li Xia 1987.12.)

That is certainly correct from the point of view of present-day thinking. But the question is whether this *retrospective* view are applicable as correct for the situation one century ago. China was in 1900 a poor country without the international reputation of a great power. It was in the community of the world's nations not in the same situation as it is today. The political circumstances and the general consciousness of this great country were unfavorable as it did not possess the self-respect which is a natural feature of nations in our time. Researchers from successful Western great powers acquired ancient artifacts in that time in other areas too as in

³A *tael* or *liang* is a unit of weight for silver (= 50 grams).

Greece and the otherwise powerful Ottoman Empire. Think of the controversy surrounding the “Elgin Marbles” (now in the British Museum) which were purchased by Lord Thomas Elgin Bruce (1776-1841) from the antique Parthenon of Athens or of the archaic “Pergamon Altar” in Berlin (which was acquired in the Middle East).

The most weighty “crime” of Stein and the other foreigners was—in the Chinese opinion—the *mutilation* of the frescoes (murals) of Dunhuang since the alien voyagers cut out beautiful details of some pictures. This really can be regarded as a crime in the view of archaeologists both in the past and the present. However, the explorer who employed this method was not Stein but Langdon Warner from the USA. He easily overcame the doubts and scruples of archeologists when he picked up “handsome presents” for American collections. It is well-known that Warner used glue-soaked strips of gauze and sharp knives when he cut out parts of the pictures. Warner himself claimed that he acquires “treasures the like of which we had never seen in America, and which Berlin, with its wealth of frescoes sawn in squares from the stucco walls of Turkestan, might envy” (WARNER 1938; HOPKIRK 1984.221.). The Chinese must not confuse Stein with Warner.

3. Changing times, changing assessments

The most significant scholars of Dunhuangology (LIN-NING-LUO 1992, 9.p.), while classifying the periods of the Chinese assessment of foreign transfers from the area, has set up the following periods:

- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. 1909–1930, | 4. 1950–1966, |
| 2. 1931–1943, | 5. 1976–1983, |
| 3. 1944–1949, | 6. 1984–present. |

According to the Chinese experts, the main characteristics of these six stages were:

The first period (1909–1930) was the phase when Chinese scholars realized the importance of the “Study of Dunhuang-relics” (= Dunhuangology, *Dunhuang xue*). Frankly speaking, the Chinese experts themselves did not understand in this period how precious Dunhuang’s relics were (this was recognized only by Westerners). The influential circles of art historians in the capital city of China neglected the arts and artifacts of remote rural areas. The bad economic conditions and the danger of military actions during the civil war did not allow for the development of interest in archaeological findings. As a consequence of the “Shanghai incident in 1925”, a xenophobia began to spread in the land as a narrow-minded hatred against everything which was foreign. This prejudice contributed to the negative assessment of Stein.

The second period (1931–1943) was the evolvement of home-grown Chinese Dunhuangology. The new generation of art historians and administrators became more attentive to their national art relics. They began to study Dunhuang murals and a successful exhibition of rubbings and copies from the Dunhuang artifacts was arranged in the biggest cities of China. From the Chinese point of view, this was an advantageous process. On the other hand, however, this new wave of nationalism created undesirable side-effects too by strengthening the condemnation of “foreign devils” and “Western adventurers and robbers” (these were popular phrases of the time). Heavy accusations were brought against Aurel Stein. Sven Hedin and Langdon Warner were also the target of hostility from the side of Chinese scholars and the press.

The third period (1944–1949) is called the full-range phase of Dunhuangology. As a result of their Northwestern Research Expedition of Cultural Relics, the government set up the Dunhuang Research Institution in 1944 near the Dunhuang-Mogao Grottoes with a dozen or so researchers. Systematic domestic Chinese research began and Dunhuangology (*Dunhuang xue*) was organized in two sections of the newly founded institute: research on the art treasures of grottoes (artifacts) and the study of the manuscripts. It became clear to the Chinese that most of the original manuscripts were in foreign countries. Real research and scholarly disputes, however, were pushed into the background by the cruel events of the war.

The fourth period (1950–1966) is the epoch of fights among the Communist Forces and Nationalist Army. As a result, the People’s Republic of China was officially declared in Beijing by Mao Zedong on October 1, 1949. Subsequently, all of Gansu province (which included Dunhuang) was “liberated”; we should note, in any case, that the “Dunhuang Research Institution” broadened its pre-war activity in this period. In 1951 there was a surprisingly well arranged exhibition of Dunhuang entitled “Thousand Buddhas ~ Replicas” in Beijing. This gave stimulus to a rapidly growing Chinese self-confidence and Communist colored neo-nationalism. In a contemporary Chinese work on the history of printing published in 1961 by the National Library of Beijing, it was proudly declared: “The Diamond Sutra... is the world’s earliest printed book..., this famous scroll was stolen over fifty years ago by an Englishman *Si-tan-yin* (Stein) which causes people to gnash their teeth in bitter hatred...” (HOPKIRK 1984.174.) On the one hand, it was told in the press again, that “the Chinese did not need any help from foreigners to explore their own country” (HOPKIRK 1984.227). On the other hand, one could observe favorable and speedy progress in real scholarly research of the Dunhuang relics by Chinese experts. This stage was called in Chinese “The phase of deepening development of Dunhuangology”. The period was quite ambivalent in the assessment of Stein. First,

the earlier rude criticism of Stein became more moderate (due to the friendly relations between then Communist Hungary and the People's Republic of China: the Chinese knew that Stein was Hungarian). Later on, however, the "cold war" reached scholarly life too. The "left-wing" ideologists of the Communist cultural administration began to operate with the concept of "western imperialism". The little denouncing tablets re-appeared again beside the damaged frescoes in the exhibitions. International cooperation with non-Communist countries declined and only some Japanese scholars could visit the "Dunhuang Research Institute".

Note that a whole decade (1966-1976) is missing in this official periodization. These are the years of "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (in America known simply as the Cultural Revolution). We don't know enough about this time in modern Chinese history. We are unable to estimate the losses and damages of this inhuman era in the Dunhuang region. It seems, in any case, that the former disadvantage, being a remote location from the center, turned into an advantage: there were no furious bands in Dunhuang which had destroyed the ancient cultural relics like in the centrally located cities.

The fifth period (1976–1983) can be called the *new golden age* of Dunhuang research (so according to the most significant Chinese summary of Dunhuangology, which represents *the* official party attitude). The Dunhuang research has been stepped up since 1979; Foreign scholars—first of all Japanese—again arrived and participated in common projects at Dunhuang with their Chinese colleagues. A large number publications appeared, under the title *Dunhuang yanjiu* (Dunhuang Studies) a journal is published.

The first great event took place in 1983 with the organizing of the First National Symposium on Dunhuangology. The 150 participants presented 115 papers on art, cultural relics, history, linguistics, religion, economy, ethnic nationalities, and innovations in technological research at the grottoes. The name of Sir Aurel Stein was carefully managed: he was mentioned scarcely and cautiously. The significant event of the rediscovery of Dunhuang Caves by him was totally neglected. Only the "unfair purchasing" and procuring of the manuscripts and other relics was briefly mentioned. This indicated the changing of times that the period of a more objective assessment of Stein arrived.

The sixth and last period of Dunhuangology began in; it can be called the era of balanced development and rational reconciliation. The process of real evaluation of Stein's work and his archaeological activity slowly moved forward. In 1986 the former *Dunhuang Research Institute* changed its name and profile. The new *Dunhuang Research Academy* set up different institutes (dealing with grotto protection, grotto archaeology, and grotto music and dance). There is also a center devoted to the study of ancient manu-

scripts of Dunhuang and Turfan Caves. There are a great number of Chinese specialists in painting, sculpture, history of fine arts, Buddhism, archaeology, ancient architecture, chemistry, medicine and overall history (with almost eighty experts and other scientific workers).

In books, quarterly magazines and other publications the foreigners (including Sir Aurel Stein) are mentioned after the “decade of silence” but the references are not always precise. During the First International Conference of Dunhuangology in 1990 the organization committee accepted a paper by the author of these lines on Stein only after a second rereading; his rehabilitation was regarded as premature by the Chinese organizers (Bárdi 1990.8-9)—although I wanted to make a re-evaluation *sine ira et studio*⁴. However, the same year brought positive changes too. After a long interval of friendly (or at least peaceful) relations between the two highly important partners, China and the United Kingdom, a *new epoch* of well-planned co-operation in science has commenced between these two countries

In 1990 the *British Museum* arranged an outstanding exhibition of the “Stein Collection” which was actually a magnificent display of paintings, textiles, and manuscripts from Dunhuang. It was important because the previous catalogued exhibition of the “Stein Collection” took place 65 years earlier (in 1914) in London (WHITFIELD–FARRER 1990.7). Also in 1990, a large exhibition of Dunhuang relics centering around the evidence that they provide on ancient science, technology and arts and crafts was held in the USA (China Today, 1990, 5 pp.). It was also a significant gesture of good will that photocopies, slides and microfilms of Dunhuang murals and manuscripts from England were sent to the organizers of the exhibit in China. A further result of the British-Chinese common effort was the editing and publishing of the work “Dunhuang Manuscripts in British Collections” with the collaboration of the Institute of History of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Dunhuang–Turfan Academic Society, the British Library of London, and the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University. This imposing series of 16 enormous volumes represent a milestone in English-Chinese scholarly cooperation. It was the first time that non-Buddhist manuscripts were made accesible to historians of the Early Middle Ages of Central Asia.⁵

⁴ “Without any anger and prejudice”. (Tacitus).

⁵ It is to be noted that in the first, exhaustive, “Preface” by the Chinese participant, the name of Sir Aurel Stein was *never* mentioned. Phrases were used such as “...the manuscripts were discovered...”, and afterwards “...explorers from Great Britain ...obtained considerable numbers of documents...”. But questions like “*Who* was he?” or “*Who* made it and how?” were never raised by the Chinese contributors. They made no comments with regard to these questions. Apparently, they wanted to appear objective in order to avoid any dispute. In the second “Preface” written by the English contributors, the name of Stein was mentioned very shortly in three brief sentences: “...documents... were brought ... by Sir Marc Aurel Stein in 1909; Stein made three major expeditions...;

Perhaps the largest exhibition of Dunhuang relics was held in Beijing in the autumn of 1986. Visitors there observed that no malicious remarks were added to the exhibited items and that only one small photo called attention to the work of "Western scholars"...

Mogao Caves are listed by UNESCO as a "World Heritage Site." This is outstanding international appreciation by our global world for Dunhuang and its Buddhist tradition (see WHITFIELD 1995)

4. Retrial of Sir Aurel Stein

Before making a judgement in "Stein's affair" we should know that the Dunhuang region has predominantly Muslim inhabitants and that the temples, shrines and the ecclestical objects of other religions were endangered. While the Koran prohibits portrayal of images, the Dunhuang-frescoes portrayed Buddhas, bodhisattvas, monks, lamas, emperors. While visiting the Dunhuang sites, I personally observed that on many of the damaged frescoes first of all the faces of depicted persons were destroyed. Such beheadings of ancient paintings was a "very special method" of Islamic religious criticism. This "religious vandalism" of true believers is very similar to the "political vandalism" of Red Guards.

One should not forget what the fate of the rest of manuscripts which remained in Dunhuang was after the departure of Stein in 1916. A great deal of the consignment sent to Beijing disappeared along the way there; they were donated by the guards to local and provincial potentates or simply sold. Before their arrival when the deficiency of the original shipment would become obvious, the rest of the manuscripts were irresponsibly torn into pieces in order to confuse the Beijing inspectors and to make an exact count of the scrolls for the receiver impossible.

After the rediscovery and reopening of the "Hidden Library" there was also a good chance of plundering the treasures on the spot. A kind of "private archaeology" (carrying artifacts home by villagers to decorate their houses) and tomb robbery was an ancient tradition by local groups; a good find was always a rich harvest for the family budget. This old tradition survived the turbulent historical and political events; it was flourishing not only in those old nice days but is popular even today in spite of protective regulations by the government.⁶

...Stein records his first sight of the manuscripts...". These formulations reflect British restraints. Stein's merits were in this sentences certainly not overemphasized...

⁶As a counter measure to the black market of cultural relics as well as to stop the robberies and illegal digs was passed a legislative act in 1982 ("Law for the Protection of Relics of the P.R.China"). However, the situation has not changed up to the present-day. The following popular folksong from Shaanxi Province proves this: "Dig a tomb to find fortune / Overnight you are a wealthy man..." (ZHU 1987.9; LI 1987.11-13; ZHANG 1992.4-17.)

Finally we have to answer the question: did Stein really “rob” the Dunhuang Caves as the Chinese have stated or did he just rescue the antiquities that he removed from there and other places on the ancient Silk Road. At the very moment, the Chinese press is writing on Stein more objectively than before. The articles mentioned his name without any discriminating notes; e.g.:

...*Wang* (that is Wang Yuanlu/Yuanzhuan—LB) began to sell large quantities of these priceless manuscripts to foreign scholars for relatively small sums...Among them was the British archaeologist *Sir Aurel Stein*, who *collected* (so no more robbery! LB) some 10,000 documents and later wrote a book, 'The Thousand Buddhas' (Li Xia, 1987, 11.p.). "...Copy 'A' (an ancient map of the firmament, LB) was taken to England by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907, and is now in the British Museum (Dunhuang Manuscript No. S3326)... (WANG JINYU 1989.44.)

Regretfully, the total ignorance (“conspiracy of silence”) of his person still occurs. Some Chinese articles carefully avoid mentioning Stein (and other Westerners generally) , cf.

...a great number of paintings and documents from the cave (Mogao Cave, Dunhuang, LB), however, were lost in the early years of this century or taken to other countries. Many are now housed in foreign museums (Duan, 1990.10).

Moreover, in a number of Chinese contributions even the slightest references to Western scholars in connection with these topics are missing (cf. at least WANG 1990.50-54, CHAI 1990.27-28; PENG 1990.29-32). This is also unanimously symptomatic of the special thematic publications too (“The Silkroad” 1983; “Silk Road Tour” 1986; “The Ancient State of Loulan” 1987, etc.).

Perhaps the most comprehensive and authentic Dunhuang volume of our days was published in 1992 (LIN JIAPING–NING QIANG–LUO HUAQING: *Zhongguo dunhuang-xue shi* = The History of Dunhuangology in China), but this enormous book (containing 691 pages written in Chinese characters which would mean at least the double size in English) refers to Stein only three times in short sentences, as follows:

From birth Jewish, the Hungarian Stein in the year of 1907 in a room of Mogao Caves captured a great deal of ancient manuscripts, with those he returned to England...where in the Stein-Collection a great deal of ancient manuscripts are sorted... (op. cit., p. 45.);

or:

Stein wrote some books such as “Historical Relics of the Middle Region of Sino-Chinese- Desert, 1912” (probably it is the “Ruins of Desert Cathay”, 1912, LB) and “Archaeological Study of the Western Regions, 1921” (probably this Chinese title covers the “Serindia...”, LB), afterwards “Description of Thousand Buddhas, 1921.” (It must be “The Thousand Buddhas” [LB], op. cit.. p. 148.)

I emphasize: this is presently the most authentic and most comprehensive book on history of Dunhuangology in China...

A very significant psychological motif must still be added here. In spelling Stein's name in Chinese characters the Chinese do not display any malevolence (although they could do it if they had any intention to do so). His name has phonetically determined characters (according to the very strict Chinese linguistic rules it sounds: *Si-tan-yin*, and the same syllables could be written with characters denoting the *same* sound sequence but having totally *different* meaning). All the Chinese characters used for Stein's name now have “neutral” meaning and represent nothing more than a simple phonetic transcription. This is very important for the ordinary Chinese people, especially if we think of the malignancy which is obvious in the written form of the ancient nomadic tribes who were their enemies. The Chinese used for the transcription of such ethnonyms only such syllables which have hostile, pejorative meaning (e.g., wild beasts, cruel and disgusting). The Chinese transcription of foreign names always symbolizes emotion: sympathy or antipathy. The present spelling practice in writing the name *Aurel Stein* definitely reflects a benevolent attitude.

5. Conclusions

I believe the “Stein story” is not yet over, and that the “Dunhuang dispute” is not finished. The jury of history keeps some new surprising judgements for the future. One of them is *Sir Marc Aurel Stein's* total disculpation of any wrongdoing. The international community of scholars (including the Chinese) have to do justice to him, without bias and prejudices. In fact he *was not the enemy* of China and the Chinese culture. Just the opposite.

We should not forget that in his notebook and publications, he always wrote with great *respect* about the role what China played in the development of the areas he travelled and of the peoples along the ancient Silk Road. He always emphasized the significance of the one-time *Pax Sinica* (“Chinese Peace”) in relation to the history of the antique world. “The great historic past of China as a Central Asian empire and the traditions of the past saved the peace of this region”— as he stated (Stein 1927).

Generally speaking we also can agree with the following characterization of Stein:

probably he was the most enthaustic admirer and most successful discoverer of the "Glory of Chinese Civilization..." (RÁSONYI 1960).

An important question in this connection is the *future* of the countless relics brought to foreign countries (not only by Stein but by Le Coq, Grünwedel, Pelliot, Kozlov, Otani, Warner and many others !).

It is no question that without these voyagers, these inestimable values *would be lost forever* for mankind. Due to their transfer to the West, fortunately enough, they were *preserved for posterity*. Researching, studying and conserving this treasure gave innumerable new information for the history of Central Asia, for the history of art, for the history of religions, for linguistics and for many other fields.

But is it also out of question *where* is the right place now to have these treasures ?

Chinese public opinion views the Dunhuang–Turfan–Khotan etc. manuscripts (particularly those in Chinese) as rightful Chinese property (HOPKIRK 1984.236). Those in their present place (London, America, Japan), in the museums of the Western World, are mostly *exotic curiosities*, not connected directly to the history of those states but related by direct means to the Chinese past and civilization. There now exists in China a special institution founded exclusively for the comprehensive studying of Dunhuang relics which would be able to take care of all archaeological items in the same way as Western collections do.

Under these aspects, researchers of today may recognize in Stein's activities numerous positive features. His contemporaries and followers have always assessed him in this way. Sir Denison Ross, the other famous orientalist wrote about him: "*This great Hungarian is the pride of two nations and the wonder of all.*"

Sir Aurel Stein was not only "*The Grand Old Man of the Silk Road*", but a real hero of his era, very similar to the tragic protagonists of the ancient Greek dramas which he certainly studied as a young student; he may have chosen them as his role model: *hero and victim at the same time*.

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3. Learning about the Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund: A British-Hungarian Encounter

By MIKLÓS Z. ÉRDY (New York)

During the Second World War and the subsequent communist era Great Britain and Hungary more than ever were separated from each other in cultural matters. I was, therefore, surprised to come across a piece of unexpected information in 1985 while reading a book, authored by Peter Hopkirk and published in 1980 (HOPKIRK 1980). He wrote a detailed chapter about Aurel Stein and his life work with great reverence. On the last pages of the book, he mentioned a fund established by Sir Aurel Stein shortly before he died in 1943. The fund aimed at furthering oriental exploratory research by British or Hungarian citizens. I quote the passage from the book referring to Stein:

"Seldom", wrote Sir Denison Ross, the Orientalist, "has there been combined in one man such qualifications for exploration". He added: "This great Hungarian is the pride of two nations and the wonder of all" Although a British citizen, Stein never entirely forgot the country of his birth. His frugal lifestyle had enabled him to save some £ 57,000 and most of this he left to set up a fund to further Central Asiatic Studies. His own stipulation was that, whenever possible, the work should be carried out by British or Hungarian scholars. (HOPKIRK 1980, p. 238; full title below)

While I was raised in Hungary, and after my subsequent move to the United States in 1957, I had never heard of this possibility of monetary assistance to Hungarian scholars of oriental studies. Such a connection would offer a window for them to do research in far away lands of the east. I immediately set myself to the task of finding out how a scholar from Hungary could apply for funds from the Stein estate.

Although Hopkirk's book was published in the United States, I learned through inquiries that that the author lives in London, England. In those days I met with Dr. Louis Szathmary of Chicago, a renowned collector of Hungarian books and rarities of historical importance (artifacts, coins). I outlined him the task I wished to undertake and the chances the Stein-fund offered for Hungarian scholars. He gladly offered to write two letters of inquiry in this matter to London where he had good connections in intellectual circles

Three months later, still in 1986, I received the *Guide to Awards* published by the British Academy, describing, among others, the so-called *Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund* which outlined the purpose of the bequest

4. Neither Devil nor Hero: A Scholar with Vision

By GYULA DÉCSY (Bloomington, Indiana)

Considering all factors in play during the 20th century, we must qualify Stein's activities as a *rescue of cultural goods* which belong not only to the local people of the Dunhuang area, the Chinese state, and the Chinese Nation but to the entire human race. Many archaeologists are convinced that without Stein's work the materials collected by him would have been destroyed and mankind would have been deprived of a considerable part of the Dunhuang heritage. It was hoped that in Great Britain, the Stein Collection would receive the best possible care by archaeologists and museologists; its items would remain in excellent condition and be preserved there as documents of a unique culture in a location better than their original setting. It was also hoped that it would be on permanent display and accessible to the public.

Defenders of Stein like to stress that the "non-domestic transfer collections" of Asian relics came to their present-day places of custody as the result of private trade activities. State governments have never been directly involved in their purchase and transfer. Therefore, the collection does not represent treasure which can be an object of international ownership disputes. It is also emphasized by Westerners that there are areas along the Silk Road which do not represent the ancestral homeland of the Chinese people: Turks, Mongols and some Indo-Europeans may have lived in those territories as indigenous populations. The area is mainly Muslim today and became Chinese speaking only later on; Chinese has always been always an imported foreign language of higher culture and not a homegrown means of communication. It is thus in a similar historical situation in Dunhuang as medieval Latin in France, England or Germany: a language of higher culture which superseded the local indigenous languages. The Chinese have the right to keep these territories under their administration only to the extent that the Italians have the right to claim areas in Northern Germany, Belgium, England, or Ireland. The use of a certain *acrolect* (high culture language) does not entitle the core nation to *political ownership rights* in areas in which the language of the core region was used as a second language. This is a legalistically precise view of Western lawyers. Nobody has ever raised the claim in Rome or Milan that the Gutenberg Bible (the first book produced with movable types in the Western world in the 15th century around 1484-1452) would be an exclusive property of the Italians because it was printed in Latin.

Analogically to the European assessment of the relationship of Latin/local languages, the representatives of non-domestic (European and American or Japanese) acquisitional interests would stipulate that in Dunhuang it is not the Chinese but the local population which is the first candidate for the

property rights in the Dunhuang area. They are quite distinct racially or linguistically from the Chinese, and while politically still weak and unexperienced, they may soon articulate their ownership claims not so much against the West (mainly the British) but against the core-Chinese (Han) in Beijing. This is a politically sensitive problem but there is no doubt that it will soon become a factor in the assessment of the ownership problems of the Dunhuang treasures soon. Neither legal experts of international property right nor the Chinese can ignore these factors.

The world is shrinking with regard to geographic distances. London is only a half-day flight from Beijing, and—in an ideal case—the objects of the Stein-collection can be studied by Chinese or local scholars in London in the same way as on the spot or in Beijing. Property-right discussions seem to be in these circumstances quite futile—at least for Westerners and Japanese who acquired and hold the treasures.

But *audiatur et altera pars*. Chinese claims for an eventual repatriation of the relics are well founded both territorially, nationally, and principally under the umbrella of a new international ideology. The view is generally accepted today that ancient artifacts belong

first of all to where they came into being;

where they are connected closest with the life (history) of locales;

where the conditions of their preservation are most favorable;

where they are made accessible most easiest to researchers and the general public;

where they are best protected against theft and danger of destruction.

The first two essentials would support Chinese claims for repatriation; the further three requirements are incalculable not only with regard to China but also to the present established places of preservation. According to some views, only 1% (one percent) of the artifacts acquired by Stein and transferred to the West are properly displayed in museums. The rest are stored in basements inaccessible to the public and open only for research on a case to case basis. There are no buildings in the new places of preservation which had appropriate facilities for a complete display of the transferred artifacts. With a return to the place of origin, the relics would have enough place for exhibition and would be in their natural setting—an advantage which is unobtainable in the present facilities.

The idea of repatriation of transferred relics was repeatedly brought up in the session of the the International Council of Museums (ICOM/UN-

ESCO). The following information is taken from a contribution of Alfonz Lengyel (Eurasian Studies Yearbook 71[1999].245):

In order to repair the damage that Western treasure hunters have caused in the past, the Committee for Repatriation of Cultural Relics was formed within the International Council of Museums (ICOM/UNESCO). It has been suggested at the 1982 ICOM General Assembly in Mexico City that a repatriation of cultural relics be initiated after an examination of the following facts:

At what expense was the disputed material acquired and how long was it safeguarded?

Would it have perished if it was not moved to the West to safeguard it there?

How much of the safeguarded material was displayed and how much remained inaccessible to the public?

Was it part of a private collection closed for access to the public?

These views offer a totally new—and perhaps a fair and final—assessment of *Sir Marc Aurel Stein* both for the Chinese and the Western side. The Hungarian-British voyager may have anticipated a situation which is beginning to prevail in our modern world at the threshold of the third millennium:

Everybody is home everywhere on this planet.

Everybody and, at the same time, nobody possesses the exclusive property rights to the treasures of the world cultural heritage.

In these circumstances, the responsible view is: keep the artifacts where they are and make all their items accessible to everyone. Priority rights of individuals, nations, or states cannot prevail and are of secondary importance in the modern “global village.”. Property right disputes, especially when motivated by national pride and international power play of the Great Nations, will damage cultural heritage common to all peoples of the world.

The meaning of *Devil* is not necessarily as bad in Chinese as in English. Stein was neither devil nor hero; he was a fine scholar who did his job in the best possible way in the noble spirit of his education and the time in which he was born and which he served according the prevailing principles of the epoch. Thank him and do not judge him according to nationalistic bias. He did not represent British imperial interests but

followed the ideals of an indivisible world culture, the benefits of which Chinese, British, Hungarians, Germans share in the same way today.

5. Remark on the names of Aurel Stein

By GYULA DÉCSY

Aurel Stein, Aurel M. Stein, Sir Aurel Stein, Sir Aurel M. Stein, Aurel Marcus Stein, Sir Aurel Marcus Stein, etc.—these names denoting the same person are used indiscriminately and inconsistently in earlier literature. It was not possible to unify Stein's name use for the present bibliography, even if in newer publications a trend is observable to preference of the simple form Aurel Stein (e.g. in Wang, see pp. 28 and 29 above). Stein's original given name was Mark (so called after one of his uncles), in the baptism (ca. one week after his birth) he received Aurel. Aurel is a rare name both in Hungary and Germany and therefore very distinctive; his parents may have been aware of this fact. An association with the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius have played a role in giving him the name "Aurel" when he was baptised in the Lutheran church in Pest. But there are no clues that in his young years he liked the association of his name with with the Roman Emperor. For detail see Boros 1970, p. 42 and especially 96; for Boros see 3.05, p. 30 above. In any case, until 1887 he used only the form Aurél Stein (in Hungarian Stein Aurél). Before this year, Mark/Márk/Marc(us) was certainly not a part of his name.

When in London in 1888, he began to use Marc because Aurel was not well known in Britain; many people thought there that Aurel was his surname. He "re-took" the name Marc in Britain with the approval of his brother Ernst and his influential uncle Ignác Hirschler. Later on, when internationally famous, he abandoned the name Mark/Márk/Marc/Marcus (often abbreviated as "M."); in 1912 he was knighted as "Aurel Stein" (Sir Aurel Stein). Apparently, this happened on his explicit wish. With this, he returned to the name he preferred and used as a child and a young adult. All of his Hungarian publications (mostly translated from English) appeared under the name "Stein Aurél" (i.e. without Mark or M.). It is therefore surprizing that in the plate pasted in the books he bequested to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at the end of his life appears

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(see reprint on p.68 of the present publication). The classicistic design of the wood block plate makes a connection with the Roman world and his studies of the particular epocs understandable. In any case, Stein himself was so inconsistent in the use of the different forms of his name (see above) as is the posterity dealing with his magnificent works.



Ex Libris

pasted in the books bequested to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by Sir Aurel Stein in 1943. Bookplate's original size 10.5x13.5 cm. Original size of the drawing 7x10 cm.

Editors' Remark: The main body of the Bibliography of Sir Aurel Stein (pp. 9–29) was compiled in Budapest by István Erdélyi. Data about some smaller contributions had to be taken from offprints and clips of the Budapest Stein Collection or from other non-primary sources since many of the journals in which Stein published in Britain or India are not in the holdings of the Budapest libraries. To complete the data, catalogs and printed bibliographical publications of the following libraries were consulted: Library of the Hungarian Academy, University Library, Hungarian Geographic Society (Magyar Földrajzi Társaság), Geographic Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (all in Budapest). Some data were taken from the printed catalogs of the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.). On request of the editor, colleagues from the Royal Asiatic Society (London) and the British Museum kindly supplied information. The present bibliography thus offers more than any other publication on Stein, including L. Rásonyi's work (see 3.49 above). Special thanks of István Erdélyi go for help and advice to the following persons: Akos Heidenbach (alpinist, bibliographer, Csobánka, Hungary), László Pétervári (Librarian of the Hungarian Geographic Society in Budapest), Éva Apor (Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), Teréz Sántha (Gáspár Károli University, Faculty of Humanities, Budapest), † Iván Petkó (free-lance researcher), Dafydd Kidd (British Museum, London) and the staff of the Ferenc Hopp East-Asia Museum (Budapest). Most illustrations printed in the book were obtained through the mediation of Professor György Kara (Budapest).

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