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# Letters, Reports and Bestsellers: Stein's Accounts of his First and Second Expeditions

When I first saw the Stein material in Éva Apor's office at the Academy of Sciences, Budapest, I was stunned. It seemed that the almost sixty years since Sir Aurel Stein's death had not passed, and that I had entered a time-warp. In the beautiful building of the Academy, just round the corner from the street where Aurel Stein's parents once had a flat, and where he grew up, I found myself in a library room with its walls covered in wooden panelling before a desk covered in brown envelopes. These envelopes had contained Stein's personal collection of photographs, correspondence and off-prints for several decades. The precision of Stein's organisational skills was immediately apparent. Neatly packed and clearly labelled in cardboard boxes were the fruits of his long decades of fieldwork and travelling. Amazingly well preserved leather wallets containing family photographs that must have travelled with him on his expeditions lay beside some of the aerial photographs he had taken with the Royal Air Force in the thirties. Beside these were the albums, some containing a collection of postcards, others containing photos taken during various journeys in India or the Middle East. In the most beautiful albums were important photographs taken on Stein's First Expedition to Chinese Central Asia. The juxtaposition of this varied material, annotated in Stein's own hand, gave the impression that Stein might have walked out of that room just a few days before I had arrived.

During the next two years John Falconer and I catalogued those thousands of photographs. At times it was a repetitive task, yet throughout the process the new evidence gave an intimate insight into the working methods of this meticulously organized scholar-explorer. One could not fail to be impressed. There were photographic notebooks with every detail of every shot filled out in neat writing, along with typed up versions of the same produced by Stein's assistants, and, finally, very detailed instructions to type-setters about how these photographs should appear in print. It is all the more remarkable that his work was so well organized when we consider that in the five years between completing the First Expedition in 1901 and setting off for the second in 1906 Stein had spent much of the time travelling, and that he did not finish correcting the proofs for his scientific report, *Ancient Khotan*, until he was already out in Turkestan. Although Stein never had a fixed address, he nonetheless managed to keep all his important papers and photographs. Indeed, perhaps it was because he was not distracted by family and property that he maintained a regular and extensive correspondence with his friends, relatives and colleagues. In his letters Stein related to them the details of events that happened during his expeditions. These descriptions would later be used as the basis of his published popular accounts: substantial books that are many hundreds of pages long.

In the age of e-mail, digital photography and satellite phones it is perhaps difficult to appreciate the intricacy of Stein's correspondence. Extreme discipline was essential for managing the vast correspondence and for organizing the photography and preparation of the enormous publications that Aurel Stein left to us as the result of a life-time's methodical work. He was a less flamboyant traveller than many of his day, and, as he generally left remarks of a personal nature out of his narrative, his text can appear somewhat dry and daunting. However, his excellent skills in organizing the expeditions and in recording the material he acquired have proved the test of time, making his legacy all the more important. It is interesting to consider that in our own age when e-mail is used in almost all specialist correspondence it will be very difficult for a future researcher to reconstruct the exchange and development of ideas. E-mail is impermanent and although it is convenient it has put an end to the tradition of writing letters intended for eventual publication. Letter-writing was an essential part of Stein's work, and his letters were published, for example, in *Akadémiai Értesítő*, the Journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Stein was in regular correspondence with his older brother Ernst up to the latter's death in 1903 and with his British friends from India who later returned to Britain: Fred Andrews, Thomas Arnold and Percy Stafford Allen. Their vast correspondence has been investigated and quoted extensively by Stein's two biographers, Jeannette Mirsky and, more recently, Annabel Walker.<sup>1</sup> In this talk I would like to take the example of one previously unknown correspondence that gives insight into how initially small ideas could grow into big achievements owing to Stein's unique skills.

Exactly one hundred years ago, in 1902, Stein attended an international conference of orientalists in Hamburg. At the age of forty he was at a turning point in his life: in previous decades he had sought for a role, but this search had now been completed and the studies amassed in his head were beginning to bear fruit. From about this time Stein was certain that his mission in life was to organize more expeditions like the first one, and eventually secure enough capital to become financially independent. In the meantime, he somehow had to fulfil his other working commitments to a degree that would satisfy the government and bureaucrats who employed him.

By this stage, Stein was becoming increasingly well known, particularly in specialist circles. He had already published a forty-page report on the results of his First Expedition, and was working on the manuscript of his popular account of this, entitled *Sand-buried Ruins of Ancient Khotan*. It was a bestseller. Published in the summer of 1903, two-thirds (500 copies) of the print-run sold out almost

immediately. Another, cheaper, edition appeared in 1904. Although the conference in Hamburg had taken place before this book was published, specialists were already well aware of the importance of the finds Stein had made in Chinese Turkestan and of the enormous impact they promised to make in various fields. In these early publications Stein proved beyond any doubt that there was a strong Hellenistic influence in the art of the desert oases of Central Asia, and indicated that he had found unparalleled quantities of documents written in early Indian and Iranian languages. Members of the art world and linguists were keen to hear more.

Also presenting a paper at the Hamburg conference was the Hungarian geologist, Lajos Lóczy. Lóczy was fifty-three, and also well known in academic circles. He had been a member of the 1877–80 expedition to Asia organised by the Hungarian Count Béla Széchenyi, and his scientific account of the geographical and geological results of the expedition was published in 1899, after long years of research on the samples collected. The definitive three-volume scientific report of the expedition was devoted to the geography, flora and fauna of the regions visited. This publication, which was also available in German, made Lóczy well known internationally. During the Széchenyi expedition Lóczy had assembled large quantities of soil, plant and animal samples, and had taken careful notes and measurements. He then studied the samples with a team of experts for twenty years before publishing the results. As an acknowledgement of the importance of his work, the Royal Geographical Society in London elected him as an honorary member. He was considered an expert on the mountains of Western China and Tibet, and for decades his opinion was sought to confirm Sven Hedin's findings in the area.<sup>2</sup> Lóczy's popular account of the expedition had been available in Hungarian since 1886. Although Stein met Lóczy for the first time in Hamburg in 1902, we can be certain that he was aware of Lóczy's geological research and the importance of his expedition.

It was at the Hamburg conference that the two men started discussing their common interest: Central Asia. This was the beginning of a long-distance friendship that lasted until Lóczy's death in 1920. Through this example we can see how a combination of well-informed scholarship, good luck and daring, along with meticulous planning and systematic study of the material collected would eventually lead to Stein's greatest success.

From this time, Stein and Lóczy began a regular correspondence in Hungarian. It is interesting to see the development and changes in the topics they discussed, alongside the deepening of their friendship. Initially, the correspondence was very formal and centred mainly on Lóczy's polite request to publish a Hungarian version of the popular account of Stein's First Expedition, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, at the same time as the English edition. Stein had grown up speaking Hungarian and German, and his education had been also been in these languages, however, he wrote all his books in English. Lóczy would have preferred Stein to have 'translated' his own text into Hungarian, but this was not possible. A translation by Gyula Halász was finally published in 1908 with the slightly different title *Homokba temetett városok* [Towns buried in the sand]. The monthly

exchange of letters between Stein and Lóczy throughout 1903 indicates that Lóczy was hoping to invite Stein to lecture in Budapest in May 1903. Stein accepted the invitation gladly, and Lóczy invited Stein to lecture in Budapest again in 1909.

As the increasingly friendly tone of the letters shows, the two men were also establishing a professional relationship: Lóczy started investigating the sand and loess samples that Stein had collected on his First Expedition, and subsequently wrote one of the appendices in the scientific account of that expedition, entitled *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, published in Oxford in 1907. Before the book was published Stein was already on his Second Expedition; indeed, he managed to correct the proofs for the substantial *Ancient Khotan* while out in the field. This observation serves to demonstrate two aspects of his working methods: first, how he juggled the tasks of excavation and fieldwork, writing up new notes and proof-reading all at the same time; and second, how he entrusted the material he collected to specialists for their expert investigation. As a result, there were seven appendices written by specialists in *Ancient Khotan*.

Lóczy received the first samples from Stein in March 1903 and sent off his first report in November of the same year. In a letter written in December 1903 Lóczy made a detailed comparison of Stein's sand samples with those he had collected himself in the area of Dunhuang in 1879. He stressed the great difference in their structure and material. This was the first time that Dunhuang was mentioned in their correspondence. However, in his popular account of the Second Expedition, published as *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Stein said that Lóczy had first drawn his attention to the very special importance of Dunhuang in 1902, presumably at the orientalist conference in Hamburg:

Already in 1902 my friend Professor de Lóczy, the distinguished head of the Geological Society and President of the Geographical Society of Hungary had directed my attention to the sacred Buddhist grottoes known as the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' or Ch'ien-fo-tung to the southeast of Tunhuang. As a member of Count Széchenyi's expedition and thus as a pioneer of modern geographical exploration in Kansu, he had visited them as early as 1879. I had been greatly impressed by his glowing description of the fine fresco paintings and stucco sculptures which he had seen there, and the close connection with early Indian art which he thought to have recognised in some of them without himself being an antiquarian student. It had, in fact, been a main cause inducing me to extend the plans of my expedition so far eastwards into China. On the 16th of March [1907] I could at last pay my first visit to the famous cave temples to which my thoughts had turned for so long from afar.<sup>3</sup>

Today, Dunhuang is a thriving tourist centre, famous for its Buddhist caves and the unparalleled finds now scattered in various institutions around the world. In 1902, when Aurel Stein first heard about the cave temple complex, it was a half-forgotten Buddhist site hidden out of sight in the Chinese desert. Here, over four hundred cave temples had been hewn out of the gravel cliff and decorated with stunning wall paintings and sculptures between the fourth and fourteenth centuries. Lóczy had visited the cave temples in 1879; he and his two colleagues were the first Westerners to reach Dunhuang.

This is where I see proof of Stein's sharp eye and his ability to work on several projects at the same time. Stein initially

had the idea of visiting Dunhuang in 1902, at a time when his applications to make expeditions into Afghanistan and Tibet were being refused. He was still writing up his First Expedition, and his attempts to secure permission and funds for a Second Expedition became all the more urgent. In the meantime he became a naturalised British citizen in 1904, which made his position considerably easier.

The continuing correspondence with Lóczy reveals that as Stein continued to work on *Ancient Khotan*, he was also writing applications to secure permission and funds for the Second Expedition. Permission was finally granted in 1905, with funds from the British Museum and the British Government of India. It was decided that any finds would be brought first to Britain for study and publication, and subsequently divided up, with the larger portion to go to museums in India.

Stein had eight months to prepare for the Second Expedition, which was much bigger in scale and longer in duration than the First. His correspondence from the end of 1905 is full of practical requests to his friends in Britain, asking them to send the equipment he needed in time. In his packing he included his standard notebooks, ink, and little green photographic notebooks, along with more mundane objects.

The expedition set out in April 1906 and finally reached Dunhuang in March 1907. While travelling, Stein continued his extensive correspondence and meticulous note-taking. Stein was very disciplined and always travelled with a minimal crew which comprised his Indian and Central Asian assistants, and no European company. This gave him full control and enabled him to make decisions quickly. His local assistants were often capable of remarkable acts. For example, Stein's faithful assistant Turdi would regularly arrive with a bag full of letters, sometimes containing 150 items, having located Stein in the most unlikely places in the desert. On one occasion he had covered 1,300 miles in 39 days in icy conditions, insisting on following Stein's tracks into the Lop desert although he had no provisions, and had to spend the last day without water once his supply of ice had run out.<sup>4</sup> When correspondence arrived Stein would pour over it in the evening, following the usual full day's work. He understood the importance of keeping notes up to date, and would delay investigating potentially interesting finds in order to do so.

In the words of Stein's first biographer Jeannette Mirsky, Stein was 'methodical':

He routinely went into purdah to spend ten to twelve uninterrupted hours a day writing the reports for each of his many expeditions. He had no home. Living arrangements were temporary and centred on his books and papers: the books carefully chosen for study, reference and refreshment and masses of papers carried with him in capacious brief cases, each clearly labelled 'Personal Correspondence' etc. As long he had his books and papers with him, wherever he was, he felt at home; a bed, a table... a chair and a lamp – and his home was furnished... Stein was methodical in the larger sense – systematic or organized might be better words – in the thorough way he planned, prepared and concluded his expeditions...<sup>5</sup>

Stein was very careful in the planning of each stage of his journey and in the supply of his provisions. His humane treatment of animals and servants made it possible to operate with remarkably low levels of casualty in such dangerous terrain. His plans to visit Dunhuang involved a considerable detour to the east, and demonstrate his complete confidence

in Lóczy's estimate of the importance of the Dunhuang caves. Annabel Walker summarized the severity of the route:

The hazards of the 380-mile desert track ahead of them..., however slight compared with those of the waterless tract leading to Lou-lan, were considerable. Only a couple of days into the journey to Tun-huang, late in February 1907, three of the donkeys hired locally succumbed to exhaustion, having had to cover twenty-four miles without water the previous day... the grim aspect of the landscape continued and for fully seventeen days of the trek, there was no sight of another human being.<sup>6</sup>

It is generally agreed that, although Dunhuang was known in Western specialist circles by the beginning of the twentieth century, it was brought to public notice by Stein, and his acquisition there of a large number of manuscripts and paintings. In the words of C.E.A.W. Oldham:

It was on this [the Second] 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.<sup>7</sup>

The 'enormous cache' was arranged in remarkably regular bundles behind an entrance that had been carefully sealed some time in the eleventh century. A wall-painting disguised the opening to the library, which had lain undisturbed for nearly nine hundred years. It was discovered by chance by Wang Yuanlu, the Chinese Daoist monk who was looking after the caves.

Stein was the first Westerner to arrive in Dunhuang after the discovery of these important manuscripts and paintings, and he was able to secure a great number of them, now preserved in the British Museum and the British Library, both in London, and at the National Museum of India, in New Delhi. Such was the success of Stein's Second Expedition that his achievements were officially recognized in 1912 when he was offered a knighthood.<sup>8</sup>

On his approach to Dunhuang, Stein wrote in Hungarian to Lóczy on 10 March 1907:

My excavations at the Lop-Nor ruins and the packing up of all the archaeological finds and their despatch towards Kashgar etc. have taken up my time to such an extent that it is only now, marching towards Tun-huang across the Kum-tagh desert that I can at last get down to letter writing. Besides it is very appropriate to write from here as I have to thank my deeply honoured friend for the first warning that in 1903 prompted me to extend the plan of my current travel as far as furthestmost Western Kansu. In addition to Marco Polo and Hsuan Tsang, my Chinese patron saint, my dear friend you are my main guide here, and during the long daily marches I think often and always with great pleasure at your precious directions.<sup>9</sup>

In another letter he wrote:

These lines I am writing from the territory of China proper, from the furthest Western point of Kansu province: an old goal of mine. I have not been disappointed in my expectations of this place; I know Lóczy will be pleased about this... as he was the first who spoke to me about these cave temples and their artistic heritage.<sup>10</sup>

As with his correspondence, Stein always set aside time to write detailed notes which he could develop into publications soon after his return. In *Ruins of Desert Cathay* he wrote:

Never did I feel so strongly the old-world charm of this sleepy frontier of true Cathay as when I retired to the famous sanctuary

of the 'Crescent Lake' for a day's peaceful writing. It lay hidden away amidst high sands beyond the southern edge of the oasis and about three miles from the town... I had ridden out to this secluded spot to enjoy undisturbed work 'in Purdah', as our Anglo-Indian phrase runs. But Chiang, my only companion, though he had brought out work too, could not forgo the temptation of climbing to the top of the huge dune in his dainty velvet boots, just to make the sand slide from there and hear the 'miraculous rumbling' it produced... There was no other noise to disturb me all day.<sup>11</sup>

Later in the book he adds:

During these weeks of uninterrupted strenuous labour [at the caves] it was no small relief from the strain and anxieties which attended my tasks with Wang Tao-shih that there were such works of true art to claim my attention. My sole relaxation between the day's struggle with materials only too abundant and the note-writing which had to follow at night time, were strolls in the dusk up the wild gorge of rock into which the valley of the 'Thousand Buddhas' rapidly narrowed higher up.<sup>12</sup>

A healthy sense of humour occasionally shows through his dry, descriptive style. He camped at a nearly abandoned site near Dunhuang, and described it:

I could now see plainly that not the buildings alone, but also the fields and arbours surrounding them, bore every mark of approaching abandonment. Close to the homestead we had occupied the fields were being overrun by light drift sand... An air of hopeless decay hovered over the whole place, and my antiquarian imagination found it easy to call up the picture it will present when the desert shall have finally claimed it. Thus Dandan-oilik or the Niya site may have looked during the last years preceding abandonment. I wondered to whose lot it will fall to excavate the 'site', which is now preparing here, and what that archaeologist, say, of two thousand years hence will make of the scraps of English or Indian writing which our stay over one night may have contributed to the rubbish heaps accumulated at Shui-i. From consideration for that *confrère* far off in the ages, I purposely refrained here from burning my waste paper!<sup>13</sup>

Upon his return from the Second Expedition, Stein submitted an official report and numerous 'thank you' letters. Some aspects of his work at Dunhuang were kept confidential; an uncirculated addition to his report dated 26 September 1907 reads:

Owing to the dryness of the cave and the total exclusion of atmospheric influences the contents of this great hoard had all remained absolutely unaffected by their hiding for long centuries.

This fortunate circumstance adds greatly to the archaeological value of the multitude of beautiful paintings on silk, flags of embroidered silk and other fabrics which were found deposited here. They must have originally served as ex-votes and for the decoration of the temple at different periods. Owing to the great size of many silk pictures, the delicacy of the material and other reasons only a portion of these could be opened up and examined on the spot. But this examination has sufficed to prove that their importance for the study of early Buddhist pictorial art in China is quite as great if not greater than that of the frescoes of 'The Thousand Buddhas'. The dates recorded in some of the silk paintings and the more numerous dates which by rapid examination could be gathered from Chinese documents, belong all to the 9th–10th centuries AD. This and other antiquarian indications make it appear very probable that this great deposit of a sacred property was walled up about the close of the 10th century or soon after evidently on the approach of some invasion...

It is desirable to prevent the premature disclosure of information concerning these antiques, and I request, therefore, that this part of the present report may be treated as confidential.<sup>14</sup>

This account reveals several important points. First of all, Stein was evidently hoping to go back to Dunhuang to secure more manuscripts and paintings. This was the main reason for requesting confidentiality. Second, it was written only a year after Stein had first seen Dunhuang and its unique material, and his account of what he found there is very good, although it later became clear that there were substantially earlier manuscripts and paintings in the find. Stein's later accounts of his discoveries at Dunhuang were, of course, much more detailed. On the Second Expedition Stein had also found the famous wall paintings at Miran that were especially close to his heart, as they provided ample evidence of the strength of Graeco-Roman influence along the Silk Road.

Back in India, Stein continued to juggle his day-to-day work, submitting applications for extended leave and planning his Third Expedition. In 1912, just a year before he set out on his Third Expedition, his popular account of the Second Expedition was published as *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, in two volumes of 500 pages each. The scientific account of the Second Expedition took much longer to produce owing to the extent and diversity of the finds from Dunhuang and other major sites, such as Miran. It was eventually published as *Serindia*, in five volumes, in 1921. This incorporated substantial lists of the objects compiled by Stein's assistants, including Miss F.M.G. Lorimer and Fred Andrews who had spent long years working on the Stein Collection in the British Museum. In addition, Stein had also invited specialists to work on various aspects of the Dunhuang material. In true international fashion, the French Sinologist Eduard Chavannes worked on the Chinese inscriptions, Paul Pelliot was asked to write an inventory, and Raphael Petrucci worked on aspects of Chinese art. For much of the time prior to the publication of *Serindia* Stein was working outside of Britain. Between 1913–16 he was engaged in his Third Expedition, and when he was not travelling he was based mainly in India, returning to England and Europe only for periods of extended leave that allowed him to work on the manuscripts. The Third Expedition gave Stein a chance to revisit Dunhuang, to secure more manuscripts, and to acquire other objects, such as wall paintings and funerary objects found in the Turfan area.

His correspondence with Lóczy continued during this period, although it was severely disrupted by the First World War, when correspondence between Hungarian and British subjects was forbidden. In October 1919 Lóczy wrote to Stein through the Embassy in Vienna. Written in English, these last letters from Lóczy are sad and disillusioned. He wrote among reports of family events and war casualties:

I am sad to say that neither your great work on Khotan nor that of the Caves of Tsien fu tung comes at present to my sight.<sup>15</sup>

In March 1920 Lóczy wrote a somewhat more optimistic letter in Hungarian:

You caused me the greatest pleasure with the arrival of your latest precious package containing 'The desert crossing of Hsüan Tsang in 630 A.D.' and the fifteenth chapter of your great work in preparation 'The Tung-Huang Oasis and its northern limits'. Grateful thanks for your kind attention and for the generous reference concerning me in the second.<sup>16</sup>

The 'generous reference' appeared in *Serindia*. It is very similar to the one in *Ruins of Desert Cathay* quoted above, and ends:

His [Lóczy's] glowing description... had aroused my deep interest and supplied the main cause for the extension of my expedition so far eastwards.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the events came full circle after eighteen years. Owing to Stein's systematic methods it was possible to complete the work initiated possibly in a casual conversation between two fellow countrymen at a conference in 1902. The action taken eventually led Stein to the most important find of his career. On the basis of his letters and the notes he made in Dunhuang and elsewhere, Stein then spent long years, with the help of his assistants, making this unparalleled find available to all, never forgetting to acknowledge Lóczy who had first directed his attention to the caves at Dunhuang. As always, he thoughtfully sent off-prints and even unpublished work to those contacts who had helped him along the way. In this case it proved even kinder than usual, as Lóczy died in May 1920 at the age of seventy one, before he could see the publication of *Serindia*.

Stein continued to work on the material collected on his Third Expedition (1913–16), during the course of which he had a second chance to go to Dunhuang. The results of investigations from the Third Expedition were published in *Innermost Asia* in 1928. Although Stein made a Fourth Expedition, it was not successful, and in his sixties Stein's attention shifted to the Middle East, making his first visits there in 1924–25, followed by many more in following years.

Work on the huge amount of material brought back from Chinese Turkestan, as Stein called it, continues to the present day at the British Museum. Over two hundred paintings collected in Dunhuang were published by Roderick Whitfield in two substantial volumes, and over 2,000 smaller objects were published in a third volume in the 1980s. These books are now out of print, and collectors' items in their own right.<sup>18</sup>

The UK-Hungarian Project to catalogue the Stein Collections at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has also brought new results. For me, it was particularly interesting to look through Stein's photographs and sketches relating to the important paintings he found at Dunhuang and another cave temple site at Bezeklik. The photographs showed his work in progress very clearly. There were photographs of the bundles of fragile manuscripts written on thousand-year-old paper as found in Dunhuang; photographs of ten important paintings from Dunhuang sent to Chavannes in Paris; small photographs of banners, some of which are now in New Delhi and some in the British Museum.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, the banners in New Delhi have never been published.

Another major new development promises to bring together the paintings and finds from Dunhuang. The Mellon Foundation is supporting various institutions around the world in producing digital images of the paintings and objects from Dunhuang. For the first time, it has been possible to record all the objects in their entirety, including those scrolls measuring over six metres in length and other large objects. The paintings have been photographed with a high quality traditional camera with a digital scanning back. The resulting images are of very high quality and allow us to zoom in to

twice the original size, making this an unparalleled research tool for specialists. Through the Mellon International Dunhuang Archive (MIDA) these images will also be linked to other objects from Dunhuang in collections all over the world, and to the MIDA site itself. Virtual tours of the caves at Dunhuang are also being constructed. A selection of the British Museum images is now available on the British Museum website, and the digital images can be studied by appointment in the Study Room of the Asia Department.<sup>20</sup> These developments complement the British Library's International Dunhuang Project (IDP) web-site which contains 30,000 manuscripts available for online viewing, as well as background notes and maps relating to Stein's expeditions.<sup>21</sup>

We can therefore confirm that the work that was started by Stein in true international fashion is continuing today. The contents of the Stein collections, in terms of volume and condition, offer unparalleled sources for the study of medieval China and Central Asia. International interest in Dunhuang is growing. Current work on the digitization project, prepared as part of MIDA, will facilitate future scholarly exchange and collaboration with researchers everywhere.

#### Notes

1. Jeannette Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein, Archaeological Explorer*, Chicago and London, 1977. Annabel Walker, *Aurel Stein, Pioneer of the Silk Road*, London, 1995.
2. Gyula Antalffy: *A Himalájától a Balatonig* [From the Himalayas to the Balaton], Budapest, 1964, *passim*.
3. Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, London, 1912, p. 20.
4. Walker, *Aurel Stein*, p. 155.
5. Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 15.
6. Walker, *Aurel Stein*, pp. 160–61.
7. C.E.A.W. Oldham, 'Sir Aurel Stein, Obituary', *Proceedings of the British Academy XXIX* (1943), pp. 453–65, also quoted in Helen Wang (ed.), *Handbook to the Stein Collections in the UK*, British Museum Occasional Paper 129, London, 1999, p. 37.
8. His title was K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire). Walker, *Aurel Stein*, p. 204; Wang, *Handbook*, p. 58.
9. Translated from the Hungarian by the author. *Földrajzi Közlemények XXXV* (1907), p. 277.
10. Translated from the Hungarian by the author. *Akadémiai Értesítő XIX* (1908), pp. 93–95.
11. M.A. Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol 2, p. 160.
12. *Ibid*, p. 231.
13. *Ruins of Desert Cathay* vol. 2, p. 85.
14. British Museum Central Archives [CE32/23/16/2].
15. Translated from the Hungarian by the author. [Bodleian Library, Fol. 120].
16. Translated from the Hungarian by the author. [Bodleian Library, Fol. 120].
17. M.A. Stein: *Serindia*, Oxford, 1921, vol. 2, p. 585.
18. Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vols 1–3, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982–85.
19. Recently another box of about 2,000 uncatalogued Stein photographs came to light at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Among these is a unique group of 255 photographs, which appears to be an inventory of the Dunhuang banners. Cataloguing them along with all remaining photos is currently being planned as Phase Two of the UK-Hungarian project.
20. The author co-ordinated the digitization of the Dunhuang paintings in the British Museum (2001–2002) and designed a tour entitled 'The Cave of the Thousand Buddhas' for the Compass section of the British Museum's website (<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/>). A small demonstration of the digitization project was held at the Stein Study Day.
21. <http://idp.bl.uk>



Plate 3 Stein's manuscript for Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan (Stein Collection, LHAS)

		MEMORANDA		OR EXPOSURE RECORDS	
2/27	4 <sup>NG</sup> BB.3	1	dull 16	1/3	Graves first examined from W. (two parties) <b>over</b>
3/27	iv <sup>NG</sup> BB.6	12	cl. 16	1/3	Wall above excavated area, W. of Periano-gh (12 was small cups & saucers from P. C. + 5 (12 together) <b>ok. under</b>
	v <sup>NG</sup> BB.4	3	cl. 16	3/4	Slope below SE top of mound (1 man) <b>good</b>
	vi <sup>NG</sup> BB.5	2	cl. 16	1/2	do. seen from S.W. (Abdullah Chafar on even) <b>good</b>
4/27	10 <sup>NG</sup> BB.7	2	br. 11	1/3	snow-covered hill SE of spot. Fork boundaries from top
	11 <sup>NG</sup> BB.8	"	8	1/3	Top of bar. mound, with digging at SE & NE trenches
5/27	12 <sup>NG</sup> BB.9	11	br. 16	1/6	Remor. from Periano. looking (1) NW across 3rd Nestles <b>good</b>
	1 <sup>NG</sup> B.B.11	"	16	1/12	(2) contol. N, direct in fore <b>good</b>
	2 <sup>NG</sup> BB.10	"	16	1/10	(3) contol. NE, trench NE at work <b>good</b>
	3 <sup>NG</sup> B.B.13	30	16	1/4	Basal pot No. 3 with side basin P. SW <b>good</b>
	4 <sup>NG</sup> B.B.5	"	16	1/2	do. do with book <b>v. good</b>
	5 <sup>NG</sup> BB.6	"	11	1/2	NE trench with digger
	5 <sup>NG</sup> B.B.5	"	16	1/4	In ordering, always say or write Hills of Fort TABLOID distinctly

Plate 4 Pages from Stein's negative notebook (Stein Collection, LHAS)