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ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae



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Budapest 2018

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Lost Collection from a Lost River: Interpreting Sir Aurel Stein’s “Sarasvatī Tour” in the History of South Asian Archaeology

RITA JENEY

Bhaktivedanta College

rita.jeney@gmail.com

Abstract

Abstract of PhD thesis submitted in 2018 to the Atelier Doctoral Programme, Doctoral School of History, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, under the supervision of Gábor Sonkoly, in co-operation with Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, Pune, India, under the supervision of Vasant Shinde.

Topic and aims of the dissertation

One of the central questions of my dissertation is the unique role of Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943) in the history of South Asian archaeology. The Hungarian born explorer obtained world-fame with his archaeological discoveries on the Silk Road, and in Indian studies he is well-known as the translator of the Sanskrit historical text, *Rājataranṅiṇī*. However, his archaeological activities within the borders of British India are less known and discussed even in the academic literature, despite the fact that from 1904 for almost four decades he was associated with the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). This lacuna inspired me to examine how the Sanskritist born in Hungary became first a part-time, then a full-time archaeologist at the ASI, and what kind of expeditions he led in India from his arrival (1888) until the last year of his life (1943).

Among these expeditions his “survey of ancient sites along the ‘lost’ Sarasvatī River”, as he called his own tour in *The Geographical Journal*,¹ deserves special attention. This was one of his last tours, led for two winter seasons between 1940 and 1943 when he was eighty years old. The Sanskrit word ‘Sarasvatī’ basically refers to two things: a river and a goddess. Etymologically the word means “a region abounding in pools and lakes” in a feminine form, as all the goddesses and rivers are.² It appears in all the important ancient Indian texts.³ Although this sacred river was preserved in the Hindu religious memory, no geographical proof was known of its actual existence in South Asia, and therefore it was considered a mythical river. The discrepancy between the ancient texts and the current geographical features inspired researchers prior to Aurel Stein to locate the “lost” river Sarasvatī; however, Stein was the first approaching the question with interdisciplinary methods, involving the means of philology, geography and archaeology.

1 STEIN 1942.

2 MONIER-WILLIAMS 2002, 1182. *Saras* refers to “a large sheet of water” and the affix *-vat* adds the meaning “abounding in” or “connected with”.

3 See an overview in SÖHNEN-THIEME 2009, 726–728.

The textual basis of Stein's research was a famous hymn from the *Ṛg-veda* (X.75), called *Nadī-stuti* or *Song of Rivers*. By etymologically analysing the names of the rivers listed in the fifth stanza of this hymn and examining maps prepared by the Survey of India, Stein identified the ancient river names with contemporary ones of northwest India with only one exception (*Fig. 1–2*). He concluded that the hymn lists the rivers from east to west in geographical order.⁴

<i>Ancient River Name</i>	<i>Stein's identification</i>
Gaṅgā	Ganges
Yamunā	Jumna (Yamuna)
Sarasvatī	Sarsuti
Śutudrī	Sutlej
Paruṣṇī	Rāwi (Ravi)
Asiknī	Chenāb, Chandrabhāga (Chenab)
Maruṽṛdhā	Maruwārdwan (an affluent of the Chenab from the west in Kashmir)
Vitastā	Jhelam (Jhelum)
Ārjikīyā	? (From the geographical point of view Kishangangā and Kunhār, two affluents of the Jhelam on its right bank, are good candidates but Stein found no evidence for their connection with the word Ārjikīyā.)
Suṣomā	Sohān (Sohan)

Fig. 1. Stein's analysis of the river names from *Ṛg-veda* X.75.5 (STEIN 1917, 91–99).

However, whereas numerous hymns in the *Ṛg-veda* describe the Sarasvatī as a large river,⁵ its present equivalent, called Sarsuti, is only a periodic stream. To solve this contradiction, Stein surveyed the actual geographical area, and during the winter season of 1940–41 he explored almost 400 km along the dry river bed, between Hanumangarh in Bikaner and Derawar in Bahawalpur.⁶ Surveyor Muhammad Ayub Khan from the Survey of India assisted him in topographical observations, and with Khan's help Stein published the sketch map of the whole region (*Fig. 3*). Stein set the following goals:

- understanding the period when the river's water permitted continuous agriculture;
- understanding the chronology of the process which led to water ceasing to flow in the bed;
- collecting new data for the desiccation problem of Asia;⁷
- collecting reliable records for the study of early Indian history.⁸

Based on surface formations of the river bed Stein concluded that the ancient river was much more significant in the past, and therefore could be identified with the abundant Sarasvatī River mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda*.⁹

4 STEIN 1917, 98.

5 See the list of hymns in MACDONELL – KEITH 1912, 435.

6 The modern name of the river in Bikaner is Ghaggar, whereas in Bahawalpur it is Hakra, and together it is often referred as the Ghaggar-Hakra. See *Fig. 2*.

7 Stein addressed the problem of desiccation in 1911 in Hungarian (STEIN 1911), and later in English also (STEIN 1938).

8 STEIN 1942, 173.

9 STEIN 1942, 182.

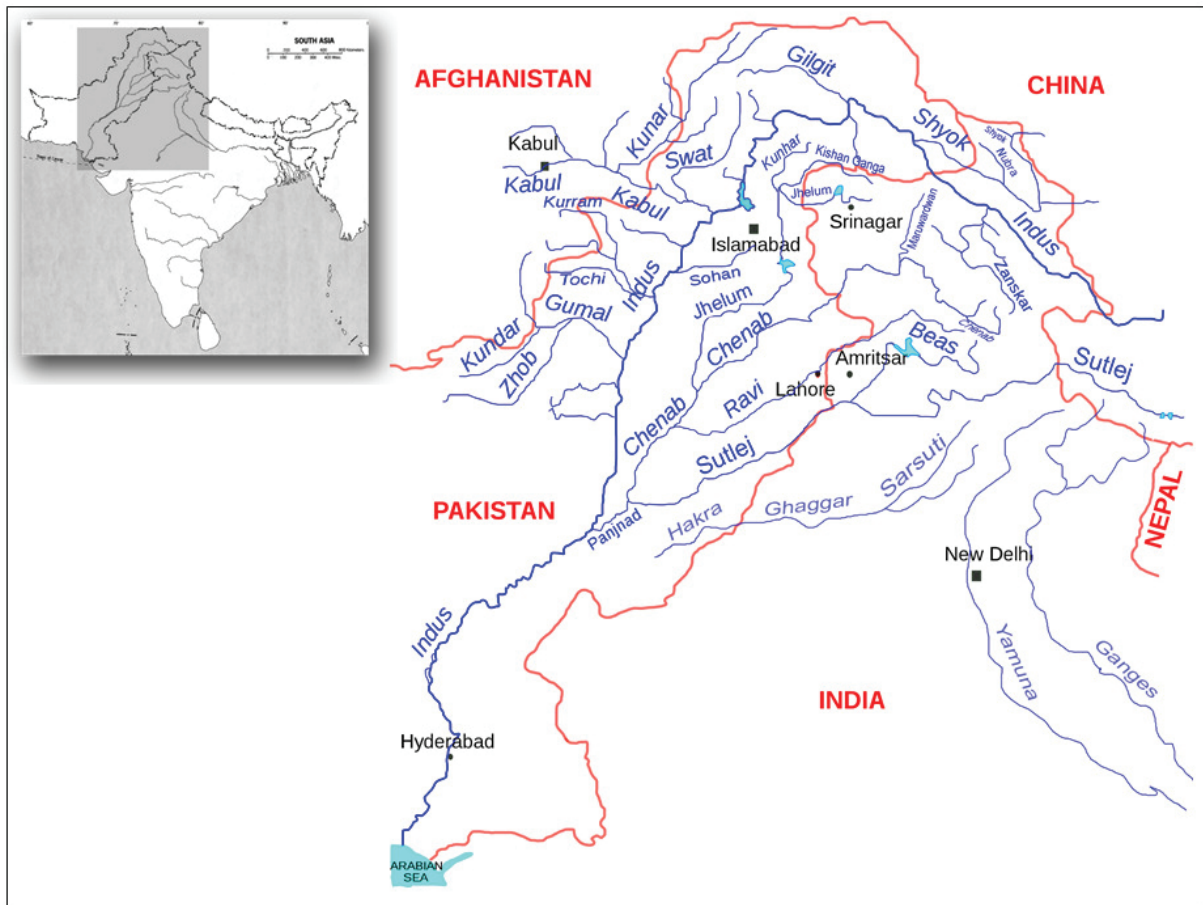


Fig. 2. Modern rivers of northwest India and Pakistan.

During his survey, thus, Stein personally observed the riverine belt over an extended area and gave a topographical interpretation of the surface formations. Moreover, he made a serious attempt to date the occurring changes of the river by the archaeological exploration of the region. Along the river bed he noticed smaller or bigger mounds (locally known as *theris* and *thers* respectively),¹⁰ which were bare of all vegetation and covered with pieces of broken pottery, due to the erosion of wind and rain. These abandoned sites were easily recognisable and well known by the local people, whereas those on which occupation had been continuous were less detectable.¹¹ Stein collected pottery and other small finds from the surface of the sites and conducted trial excavations on some of them. His assistant from the Archaeological Survey of India was the young but promising archaeologist, Dr. Krishna Deva. By studying the stylistic features of the collected potsherds Stein set the following chronological frame for the river's drying up: He concluded that the lower part of the Hakra (between Walar and Derawar), due to the changes in the course of the Sutlej, dried up some time in the early third millennium B.C., causing the abandonment of settlements during prehistoric times. However, the upper part, called Ghaggar (between Hanumangarh and Anupgarh), continued to exist, and its floods made agriculture possible even in the early historic period (1st–3rd century A.D.). Then the drying up was gradual, caused probably by diversion of flood water for irrigation.¹²

10 Stein defined the notion as follows: "mounds marking village sites which have been abandoned as no longer supporting an agricultural population" (STEIN 1989, 27).

11 STEIN 1942, 176.

12 STEIN 1942, 177–182.

The area of Stein's research was divided just a few years after his survey, during the partition of India in 1947, and therefore he was the last researcher examining the region as one geographical unit. Since then the directions of research have been completely separated between Pakistan and India. Stein's survey and its results, thus, have a special importance in the history of South Asian archaeology, as well as in Vedic studies concerning the date and authorship of the *R̥g-veda*. However, in spite of its importance, the tour has never been fully published. My goal in the dissertation, therefore, was to draw a complete picture of the history and results of the Sarasvati tour based on published and unpublished sources.

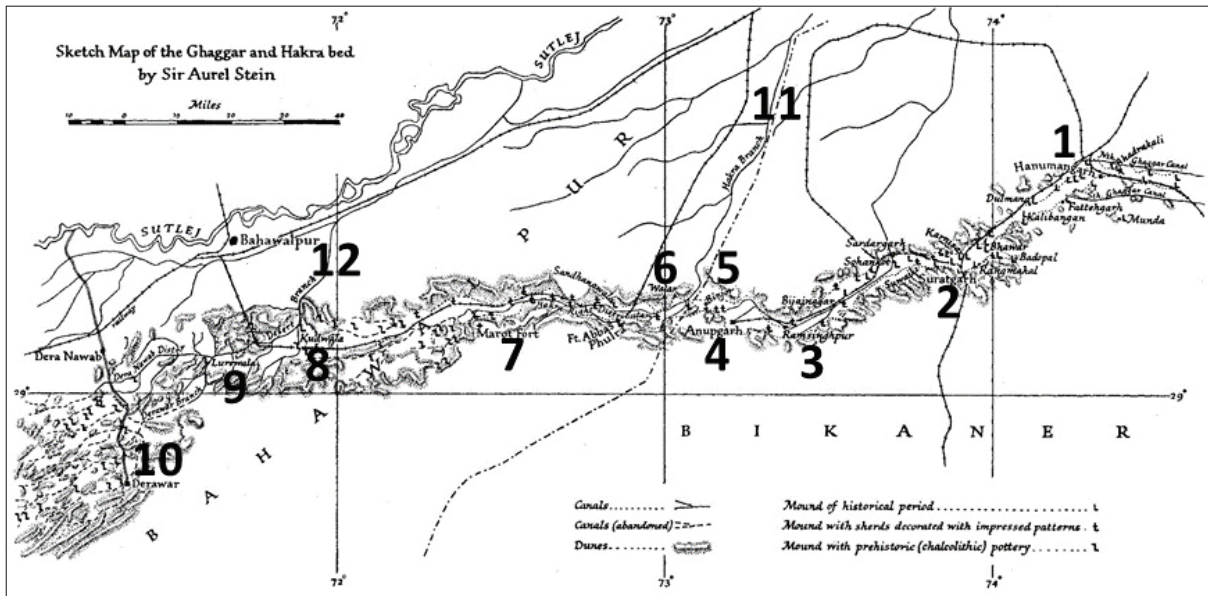


Fig. 3. Sketch Map of the Ghaggar-Hakra tour: 1 – Hanumangarh, 2 – Suratgarh, 3 – Ramsinghpur, 4 – Anupgarh, 5 – Binjor, 6 – Walar, 7 – Marot, 8 – Kudwala, 9 – Lurewala, 10 – Derawar, 11 – Hakra Branch, 12 – Desert Branch (STEIN 1942, 174).

Among the published sources only one appeared during Aurel Stein's life: a shorter report in the columns of *The Geographical Journal* in 1942.¹³ However, four decades after his death the text of his detailed report was also published.¹⁴ Nevertheless, his original illustrations and the actual artefacts collected by him were generally considered lost, and thus the archaeological aspect of his work remained inaccessible. In order to bring new sources of evidence into the academic discussion I visited different institutions in India, England and Hungary, as the legacy of Aurel Stein is scattered mainly among these countries. As a result, I widened the sources of information regarding Stein's Sarasvatī tour with the following categories:

- notebooks, manuscripts and letters of Aurel Stein;
- photographs taken by Aurel Stein;
- artefacts collected by Aurel Stein.

My goal was not only to describe these unpublished sources but also re-examine them and interpret Stein's terminology and chronological observations in the light of new results in South Asian archaeology.

13 STEIN 1942.

14 STEIN 1989.

Structure and methods of the dissertation

Based on its topic the dissertation can be divided into two parts: Chapter 1 and 2 discusses the context, whereas Chapter 3 and 4 focuses on the Sarasvatī tour itself. In the First Chapter I present a short overview of the institutionalization of Indian archaeology and its main personalities, as by the time of Stein's arrival, archaeology in India as a discipline had already developed and obtained its institutionalized framework. This institution formed the background of Stein's archaeological activities, not only within the borders of British India, but in many cases, outside also. Stein's methods were rooted in the legacy of his predecessors in Indian archaeology, and his dealings with his colleagues often shaped the direction of his research. The academic literature published on Aurel Stein is also reviewed in this chapter.

In the Second Chapter I present a biography of Aurel Stein's professional life from the perspective of Indian archaeology, along with the personal aspects of his choices and goals. The structure of this chapter is chronological, and it is based primarily on Aurel Stein's own publications and his biographies. Here I systematically present all of his archaeological expeditions led within the borders of British India by answering the following questions: What were the regions he surveyed and why did he choose them? What methods did he use in surveying, documenting and dating? How did he publish his results, and how did he describe the archaeological features and artefacts? And finally, what importance did he attribute to a particular site? As the goal of this chapter is to show the role of Aurel Stein's expeditions in the history of South Asian archaeology, in each case I examine the future significance of the visited sites, and I present the revisions by later scholars of Stein's results. This analysis allows me to describe the main characteristics of Aurel Stein as an archaeologist in India and helps me contextualize the one particular expedition I examine in the light of newly discovered sources: the Sarasvatī tour.

The topic of the Third Chapter is the description of the four kinds of sources used in the interpretation of the Sarasvatī tour. First the published literature is reviewed, and Stein's interdisciplinary approach is presented: incorporating his philological approach, his geographical approach and his archaeological approach. Second, Stein's handwritten legacy is described: notebooks, manuscripts and letters in connection to the Sarasvatī tour, housed mainly in the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.¹⁵ This material (approx. 2000 pages) includes daily diaries of the surveys and field notebooks, manuscripts of planned publications and Stein's so-called "Personal Narratives", and official as well as personal correspondence. Together they allowed me to draw the broader history of the Sarasvatī tour from its preparations until the arrangements for the publication of the results. The third kind of source is the photographs Stein prepared during his expedition, housed in the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.¹⁶ The importance of these pictures is that they show the "lost" artefacts Stein collected during his Sarasvatī tour arranged by him for a planned publication. The photographs of 24 terracotta reliefs and nearly 300 pottery fragments and other minor objects allowed me to reconstruct the archaeological aspect of Stein's tour; however,

15 I thank the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, for giving me permission to study Stein's original manuscripts.

16 I thank the head of department and curator of the Sir Aurel Stein Collection at the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Ágnes Kelecsényi, for providing me access to Stein's photograph collection.

for the re-examination of the finds the study of the original artefacts was required. These artefacts constitute the fourth group of sources. The terracotta reliefs pictured in Stein's photographs were found in the exhibition of the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum in Bikaner, whereas the pottery and minor object collection was in the care of the Archaeological Survey of India in Delhi.¹⁷ The number of objects in their care exceeds the number in Stein's photographs. I documented and analysed more than 1500 objects belonging to Stein's Sarasvatī expedition.

In the Fourth Chapter I present the interpretation of the Sarasvatī tour by examining the four sources of information together. The different collections of the Sarasvatī tour (housed in different institutions of different countries) do not bear the same information when studied separately rather than together. For example, Stein's photographs show the artefacts he collected, but the names of the sites they are from become clear only from his handwritten notes. And although the best source for describing Stein's finds is the original artefacts, when the labels he wrote on them are worn off, the photographs help to identify the objects as part of Stein's collection. Thus, this methodology, which I call cross-collection comparison, allows a comprehensive interpretation of the Sarasvatī tour.

Results

Sir Aurel Stein: the archaeologist in British India

During Aurel Stein's archaeological career in India, almost always the northwestern part of the Subcontinent was the centre of his interest (*Fig. 4*). Here he searched either for the traces of the conquests of Alexander the Great or for the remains of Buddhist pilgrimage sites of ancient *Gandhāra*. One exception was his tour to South Bihar and Chota Nagpur in 1899.¹⁸ Although this may differ in territorial aspect, regarding the studied material, namely Buddhist art, it fits into the nature of the northwestern expeditions. Till the 1920s Stein studied historic remains; however, after the discovery of the Harappan Civilization, his interest in prehistoric sites arose. He surveyed a vast area in order to identify settlements belonging to the era of South Asia's first urbanized cultural complex, and he discovered a large number of sites in Baluchistan and along the dry bed of the Ghaggar-Hakra River. During his archaeological reconnaissance he primarily focused on exploring hitherto unsurveyed regions and gave a programme for large scale excavations of the discovered sites for generations of future archaeologists. Written sources had a great significance in his research. Whether it be some ancient Sanskrit texts, the descriptions of Chinese pilgrims or Greek historical sources, most of the time they provided the basis for his field research. On his expeditions he compared the descriptions with the actual geography of the area. According to him, the geography of a region has always played a crucial role in the history of its inhabitants, and therefore he usually approached a historical problem from a geographical standpoint.¹⁹ In order to confirm his hypotheses, in many cases he was able to etymologically analyse the modern place names and show convincingly how they derived from the names mentioned in the ancient sources. He liked to look for existing local legends or other traces in oral tradition that supported his ar-

17 I thank the Archaeological Survey of India for granting me permission to study its stored archaeological material. This research was supported by the European Union and co-financed by the European Social Fund (grant agreement no. TAMOP 4.2.1/B-09/1/KMR-2010-0003).

18 STEIN 1901.

19 DEVA 1982, 392.

gument. Then, to prove the existence and antiquity of human activity he searched for archaeological remains. He developed the interdisciplinary method of using text, geography, oral tradition and archaeology during his very first antiquarian tours in Kashmir,²⁰ and practiced it until his last expeditions, such as the Sarasvati tour. His early interest in protecting cultural heritage is notable, and the accuracy of his results in the light of later research is remarkably high. The number of his publications on the subject of South Asian archaeology exceeds two dozen, among which several are detailed reports and separate monographs.



Fig. 4. Political Divisions of the Indian Empire (MEYER et al. 1909, Vol. 26, 20) showing the regions Aurel Stein explored. 1 – Kashmir (1888–1896), 2 – Salt Range (1889–1890 and 1901), 3 – Swat and Buner (1896–1898), 4 – South Bihar and Chota Nagpur (1899), 5 – Indus (1900), 6 – North-West Frontier Province (1904 and 1912), 7 – North Baluchistan (1904 and 1927), 8 – Upper Swat (1926), 9 – South Baluchistan (1928), 10 – Punjab (1931), 11 – Ghaggar-Hakra (1940–1943), 12 – Indus Kohistan (1941), 13 – Las Bela (1943).

The Sarasvati tour

Stein's survey along the Sarasvati River fits well into the general characteristics of his expeditions. It is a quintessential example of the parallel use of text, geography and archaeology, and the style of the tour also shows his usual method: exploring a large area, collecting mainly surface finds along with the results of a few trial excavations, and giving a large number of newly discovered sites for future research. However, this tour has several differences. Its topic is not about tracing the conquered places of Alexander the Great, nor about following the descriptions of Chinese pilgrims among the ruins of Buddhist sites. It is about confirming

20 ZUTSHI 2011, 110.

geographically relevant references of the *R̥g-veda*. The location of the tour (Rajputana and the eastern part of Punjab) also differs slightly from Stein's usual expedition areas. Finally, in spite of Stein's thoroughness in publishing, this tour has not been completely published.

The reconstruction of the broader history of the Sarasvatī tour from Stein's diaries and letters shows that Stein did complete a detailed report of the tour along with its illustrations for a publication by the Archaeological Survey of India; however, the regulations in publishing during World War II prevented it from appearing. Then, due to Stein's death, the publication was not pursued, and the legacy got scattered. In my dissertation, I not only re-join this legacy and give a detailed description of its preserved part, but I make an attempt for its reinterpretation.

The archaeological collection of the Sarasvatī tour

Stein's rediscovered archaeological collection consists of three main categories of artefacts: terracotta reliefs, pottery and minor objects, housed in the exhibition of the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum in Bikaner and in the store-rooms of the Archaeological Survey of India in Delhi. Nevertheless, the collection is not complete. Stein recorded 97 archaeological sites during his survey, but archaeological material is available only from 51 sites in these institutions. Moreover, the collection is incomplete even from the sites that have preserved artefacts. I have no explanation for the uneven distribution of the preserved finds. It is possible that some parts are stored in other institutions, or the rest is simply lost. I am aware of the limitations of the conclusion that can be drawn from such data. However, the preserved part of Stein's "lost" collection is still representative, and its publication contributes not only to the conservation and accessibility of Aurel Stein's legacy, but also to the preservation of the archaeological heritage of the sites along the Ghaggar-Hakra, among which many are not visible anymore, due to the human and natural causes of site erosion.

In the exhibition of the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum in Bikaner I identified 11 terracotta reliefs that belonged to Stein's Sarasvatī Tour, based on Stein's 24 archival photographs in the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These terracottas belong to three categories: panel, frieze and figurine. The panels originally belonged to the facade of buildings. Their design can be human, animal, floral or geometric. The friezes have animal, floral or geometric design (Fig. 5–6). The figurines (mostly showing the head) did not necessarily had an architectural role; they could belong to other objects, like pots, for example. Based on their style, they were dated to the late Kushan, early Gupta age, i.e. between the 3rd and the 5th centuries A.D.²¹



Fig. 5. Example of terracotta relief panel. Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Exhibition No. 230.

21 SANT 1997, 171–188.



Fig. 6. Example of terracotta relief frieze. Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Exhibition No. 292.

At the Archaeological Survey of India in Delhi I documented 1522 artefacts in the preserved collection of Stein's Sarasvati tour. The great majority of the documented artefacts are pottery fragments (1226 pieces), whereas the rest are other minor objects (296 pieces). These minor objects include different small tools, ornaments and toys. A common feature of early settlements is worked stones such as flints, lithic cores or polished stones. Ornaments include broken pieces of bangles made of terracotta, shell or faience, terracotta rings worn as pendant or other decoration and different beads (Fig. 7). Terracotta figurines (Fig. 8) representing human or animal forms might have served as ritual objects, or they were simply toys, just as the small terracotta models of carts and game pieces used for board games. Some of the terracotta objects such as lids, handles, feeding cups and moulds were categorized as minor objects instead of pottery in order to keep the pottery classification simpler. Other terracotta tools include sling balls and terracotta cakes. Sling balls are special missiles released by means of slings or thrown by hand.²² Terracotta cakes are common in the Harappan assemblage (Fig. 9). These flat objects with triangular, oval or round shape are 4 to 10 cm in size. The round ones usually have a finger impression on their flat surface. Their use is not evident, they might have been served as soling material of roads or floors, or maybe they had some role, even ritualistic, around fire-places.²³

As the collection consists mostly of surface finds, age determination of the artefacts was possible on the basis of stylistic features with the help of analogous finds from later excavations. Among the pottery the two main categories are historic and protohistoric pottery. In the Indian subcontinent the historic age starts with the inscriptions of King Aśoka (3rd century B.C.), as these are the first documents that can be used as historical sources.²⁴ The term protohistory was first used in the Indian context by Henry Heras.²⁵ Although it has been a controversial term, in the 1970s H. D. Sankalia defined it as a period between 3500 or 3000 and 300 B.C., in

22 GHOSH 1989, Vol. 1, 187.

23 GHOSH 1989, Vol. 1, 188; MANUEL 2009, 41–45.

24 ALLCHIN – ALLCHIN 1968, 27.

25 SANKALIA et al. 1973, 512. Henry Heras, Jesuit priest, studied the remains of Harappan Civilization and tried to read its script also. See POSSEHL 1996, 110–115.

other words, following the Mesolithic cultures, and presiding the Mauryas.²⁶ Similarly, Jerome Jacobson included all cultures in South Asia “from the time of the earliest known pre-Harappan pottery marks of roughly 3000 B.C., which are genetically related to the Indus script, until the beginning of known early historic writing about 300 B.C.”.²⁷

The protohistoric pottery discovered at the sites of the Harappan Civilization is referred to as Harappan pottery (*Fig. 10*), named after the type-site where it was first discovered and identified.²⁸ Harappa was excavated from the 1920s, and a monograph was published by 1940.²⁹ The other main settlement, Mohenjo-daro, was also excavated during this time, and the first results were published by 1931.³⁰ Although initially the ceramic industry of the Harappan Civilization was considered uniform, later research showed its regional differences.³¹ The most thorough research of the Hakra region in the Cholistan Desert was led by Mohammad Rafique Mughal,³² who divided the Harappan era into four periods: Hakra (between 3500 B.C. and 3100/3000 B.C.), Early Harappan (between 3100/3000 B.C. and 2500 B.C.), Mature Harappan (between 2500 B.C. and 2000/1900 B.C.) and Late Harappan (between 2000/1900 B.C. and 1500 B.C.).

Pottery belonging to the Iron Age in the Ghaggar-Hakra region is called Painted Grey Ware (PGW). Painted Grey Ware pottery was first identified at the site of Ahichchhatra, Uttar Pradesh, and it was published in 1946.³³ At the excavations of Hastinapura in the 1950s B. B. Lal classified the site’s second period as PGW, and described its pottery in detail.³⁴ He dated it between 1100 and 800 B.C.³⁵ It was A. Ghosh who identified the PGW pottery in the Ghaggar area and determined its relative chronology as preceding the Rang Mahal culture.³⁶ The typical pottery of PGW is a grey ware produced by reduced fire. It is either undecorated or painted with black. However, PGW sites yielded a great number of associated red ware, which usually has shallow impressed design (*Fig. 11*).³⁷

The historical pottery of Rajasthan is called Rang Mahal ware (*Fig. 12*). It was defined by the Swedish archaeologist, Hanna Rydh, after excavating the site of Rang Mahal in Rajasthan between 1952 and 1954. She dated the site to the late Kushan period, between 200 A.D. and 600 A.D.³⁸ A. Ghosh observed the spatial distribution of this pottery type mainly in Rajasthan; however, some decorations are more wide-spread and have parallels in North India (e.g. Hastinapura) and Gujarat, as far as to the Greco-Bactrian site of Sirkap (Punjab, Pakistan).³⁹ The chronological frame of Rang Mahal culture was revised by Akinori Uesugi in the light of newly excavated material from Farmana (Haryana). The historical pottery excavated from pits overlapping the Harappan deposits are defined as Rang Mahal pottery by Uesugi, based on

26 SANKALIA et al. 1973, 515.

27 JACOBSON 1979, 474.

28 SHINDE et al. 2006, 65.

29 VATS 1940.

30 MARSHALL 1931.

31 SHINDE et al. 2006, 65.

32 MUGHAL 1997.

33 GHOSH – PANIGRAHI 1946.

34 LAL 1954–1955, 11–15, 32–50.

35 LAL 1954–1955, 23.

36 GHOSH 1953, 34.

37 GHOSH 1953, 33.

38 RYDH 1959, 178–181.

39 GHOSH 1989, Vol. 2, 369–370.

forms, shapes, manufacturing techniques and decorations. The dates of this and some further evidence from the surrounding regions led Uesugi to widen the chronological frame of the Rang Mahal pottery. He stated that although the transition to Rang Mahal pottery may have started in the late Kushan period, it continued into the last centuries of the first millennium. He proposed the time range from the 4th to the 10th centuries A.D. as the major time-period for the Rang Mahal pottery.⁴⁰

The parallel examination of Stein's descriptions of artefacts, the preserved material and later publications allowed me to interpret Stein's terminology, reconstruct his illustrations and revise his chronology. In his report Stein himself presented a chronology for the discovered sites on the basis of his collected finds.⁴¹ Although he gave wide chronological frames, his accuracy in determining the relative age of the artefacts is notable, especially if we consider that his survey preceded the archaeological determination of the PGW and Rang Mahal cultures, and the Harappan civilization was known only for two decades. In my dissertation I give an analysis of Stein's chronological observations in relation with the results of later research, and I point out the agreements and differences.

Presenting the comprehensive study of Sir Aurel Stein's Sarasvatī tour contributes to the history of archaeology by bringing its results back into the academic discourse. It is also a contribution to the studies about the legacy of Sir Aurel Stein conducted in every country which he surveyed, or which holds parts of his collection.

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Fig. 7. Selection of beads from Stein's Sarasvatī collection: 1-6 – stone beads, 7-9 – faience beads, 10-19 – terracotta beads.



Fig. 8. Selection of terracotta figurines from Stein's Sarasvatī collection: 1–5 – animal figurines, 6–8 – human figurines.



Fig. 9. Selection of terracotta cakes from Stein's Sarasvatī collection: 1-2 – triangular shape, 3 – oval shape, 4-8 – round shape.



Fig. 10. Selection of Harappan painted pottery from Stein's Sarasvatī collection.

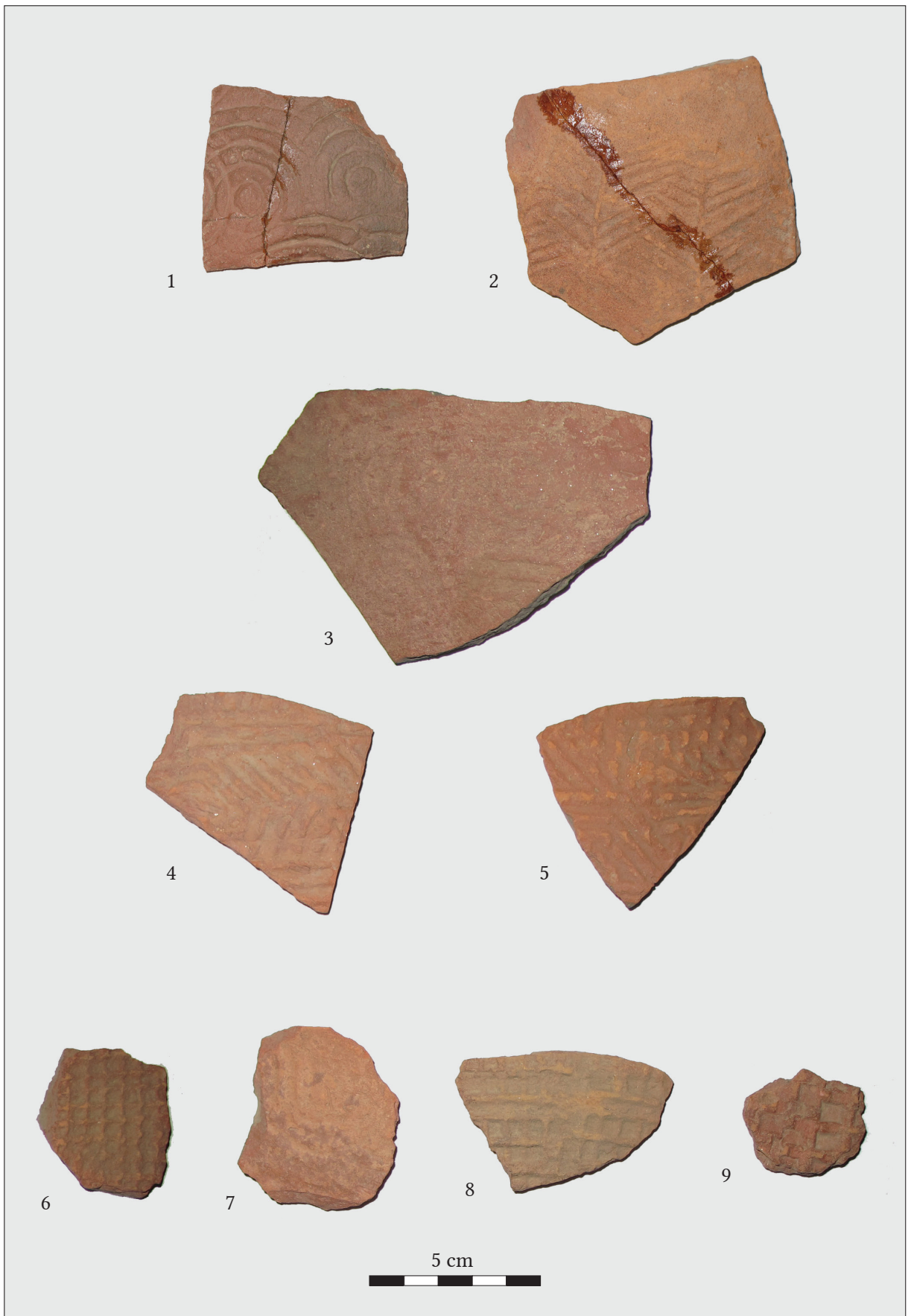


Fig. 11. Selection of PGW associated red ware from Stein's Sarasvatī collection.



Fig. 12. Selection of Rang Mahal painted pottery from Stein's Sarasvatī collection.