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## **Sir Aurel Stein's Archaeological Expeditions into Balochistan, Pakistan: An Historical Analysis**

### **Abstract**

*Sir Aurel Stein's archaeological explorations are numerous enough and are characterized by the great socio-political considerations of the time. The present paper deals with one of his thoroughly explored areas namely Balochistan province, Pakistan. It establishes the chronological framework and general historical outline of Stein's various expeditions to the area. Furthermore, some attention has been paid to some of his theories resulting from his investigations. But a more focused analysis has been made of that aspect of Stein's work which reflects his socio-political ideology and interests.*

**Keywords:** Balochistan, Stein, Alexander, British, India, Gedrosia, classics

*In particular his [Alexander] example seems to have inspired men as diverse as Alexander Burnes, William Hunter, Herbert Edwardes and Marc Aurel Stein with a sense of the world-historical import of Britain's presence in India, which in turn supported and inspired both the sense of service to a grand imperial project, and the arrogant self-confidence so central to the subjugation of India and its people.<sup>1</sup>*

### **Introduction**

Sir Aurel Stein was passionately involved in the exploration and investigation of the ancient history and culture of the extended region of Northern India and Central Asia. One of his target areas to survey and study from an archaeological point of view was Balochistan. The result, therefore, was a number of archaeological expeditions and reports in this respect.

Balochistan has long attracted scholars' attention in relation to its ancient history and archaeology. The region enjoys this prominence as a corollary of its geographical position linking South, Central and Western Asia. This significance greatly increased inasmuch as the astonishing discovery of Indus civilization, which was first made in early 1920s.<sup>2</sup> Successive archaeological expeditions within the framework of Archaeological Survey of India were thus sent to Balochistan understandably for exploring traces of transmission of cultural and civilizational elements from Western Asia to the Indus region.<sup>3</sup> Aurel Stein has to his credit a great share in this research activity.

This paper establishes the chronological outline of Stein's works on Balochistan. It also briefly introduces Stein, obviously keeping in view a broader audience, in the context of his scholarly pursuits. Finally, some aspects of his works on Balochistan have been commented upon. A detailed analysis has been made of the

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question as to what extent Stein's work could be contextualized against the backdrop of socio-political and philosophical thoughts of European colonialism.

### **Stein's Life and Career**

Stein studied the ancient languages and antiquities of Iran and India and earned his PhD in 1883. Due to the rich repertoires of ancient Persian texts in Oxford and London and revived linguistic studies in England Stein chose to live in Britain.<sup>4</sup>

While in England Stein developed an interest in Indo-Pakistan and 'to get there became his first objective'.<sup>5</sup> He arrived here towards the closing decades of 19<sup>th</sup> century and served here in various capacities. The ancient history and archaeology of northern India (particularly present-day Pakistan) and Kashmir continuously remained under his vigorous scholarly pursuits. This is clear from the long list of his exploratory tours in and publications about the areas.<sup>6</sup>

### **A Chronological Framework of Stein's Archaeological Explorations**

Aurel Stein carried out four archaeological expeditions to Balochistan. They took place in the financial years of 1904-05, 1926-27, 1927-28 and 1943.

#### ***The Year 1904-1905***

The very first tour took place in the financial year 1904-05. At that time Stein held the dual offices of the Inspector-General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor for the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan and Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeological Survey of India (1902-28), was not so happy with this arrangement. The latter also seems critical of Stein's planning of his Central Asian expedition at that very time.<sup>7</sup> It was in this situation that Marshall intended to dig on Nal and initially he thought to do it himself. However, due to some serious institutional reasons, he asked Stein to do it. The powerful Stein reluctantly acquiesced but '[a]s a classicist and student of Vedic and Avestan writings, he had considered Baluchistan's "maze of gorges and desolate open valleys" devoid of what was germane to his studies'.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, he did not want to let Balochistan play havoc with his Central Asian plans. The result was that '[w]hile promising to examine Nal, he could not promise systematic excavations there'.<sup>9</sup>

In this tour Stein visited and reported archaeological remains from Pashin, Noshki, Kharan, Loralai, Thal and Chalgari.<sup>10</sup> However, due to lack of interest this visit would not prove fruitful in terms of archaeological researches. Still its importance lies in the fact that some of the sites noticed this time were concentrated on in the later visits. One such example is the site of Toji in northeastern Kharan which was excavated and fully described in the report.<sup>11</sup>

#### ***The Year 1926-1927***

Stein's second archaeological expedition occurred in a sensationalized academic environment. The discovery of the Indus civilization in the early years of the 1920s animated scholars as it fundamentally transformed the current view of Indian history. It added, on the one hand, a new chapter to history as until now the known history could not be traced back before the Vedic age. On the other hand, it opened new vistas for research viz. Indus valley's possible links with other

contemporary civilizations of Mesopotamia and Persia.<sup>12</sup> It was in these circumstances that Stein visited Mohenjo-daro in 1926 where he met John Marshall. Stein writes that 'I could also satisfactorily discuss with Marshall arrangements for my next cold weather survey in Baluchistan and Makran . . . . It is delightful to be once again in these old haunts and to have the trans-border plan before me'.<sup>13</sup> Stein's proposal 'received Sir John Marshall's generous support and on his recommendation was sanctioned by the Government'.<sup>14</sup>

The exploration programme was carried out in the financial year 1926-1927. On 7<sup>th</sup> January, 1927, Stein started his survey from D.I. Khan. He reached Sandeman Fort in Zhob via Waziristan on 25<sup>th</sup> January. All through Waziristan, some archaeological sites were recorded in the company of a Wazir escort.<sup>15</sup> On the Balochistan side, a number of cultural heritage sites were surveyed in Zhob, Loralai and Pashin. They were dominantly prehistoric mounds and prehistoric data was recovered through trial excavations. A Buddhist stupa at Tor-dherai (Loralai), the first ever explored in Balochistan, was also cleared and Kharoshti and Brahmi inscribed potsherds were found which were later on deciphered by Sten Konow.<sup>16</sup> The inscriptions appeared to be of the Kushana type which Stein, as well as Konow, took as evidence for Kushana domination in Balochistan.<sup>17</sup>

By the end of March, the financial year finished and Stein, at the end of April, returned to Kashmir. He 'was kept fully occupied until August by the preparation of a detailed record of the observations made on this tour and of the results of the excavations which had attended it.' The report was to be submitted to John Marshall for publication in the *Memoirs* of the Archaeological Survey of India 'early in September along with the numerous antiques selected for reproduction in twenty-one plates. The photographing of the selected specimens of painted pottery, etc., was satisfactorily effected at the Simla office under the superintendence of Mr. Q.M. Moneer'.<sup>18</sup>

### ***The Year 1927-1928***

On his return from the 2<sup>nd</sup> archaeological tour to Balochistan, Aurel Stein was busy in projecting and advocating for the continuation of the reconnaissance during the next cold season. It would be his third visit in the financial year 1927-1928. Las Bela and Makran were his target destinations this time for two reasons. First, to resume the excavations at Nal and Mastung in the ex-state of Kalat which were previously started by H. Hargreaves. Second, according to Stein, 'it would examine the hypothesis that contact between Mesopotamia and the Indus had followed the coast'.<sup>19</sup>

As the third tour aimed at surveying an 'area of 200 miles from Kalat in the east to the Persian border and 250 miles from Kharan in the north to the sea coast' a five month period was proposed by Stein for the exploration of the area.<sup>20</sup> This programme 'had been planned by him since 1925 in consultation with Sir John Marshall'.<sup>21</sup> This time the exploratory journey was started from Quetta on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1927 by Stein and on the completion of the work returned to the same station on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1928. In this tour, the areas of Kharan, Rakhshan, Parom, Kej (Kech), Dasht, Makran coast, Kolwa, Jhau, Mashkai, Jhalawan and Sarawan were carefully surveyed. Stein 'managed to inspect some 150 sites, to survey 65, and carry out trial excavations at 15 of the most important, when the necessary labour

and a supply of drinking water could be obtained'.<sup>22</sup> This was a large-scale survey and is described by Possehl as 'the only extensive archaeological exploration in Gedrosia'.<sup>23</sup>

On his return from Quetta, Stein visited Marshall at Taxila.<sup>24</sup> They discussed, among other matters, the publication of the report. It was prepared during the summer based on 'the close examination of some thousands of antiques, such as painted ceramic wares, terracotta figurines, stone implements, etc.' recovered through survey and excavation.<sup>25</sup> The report saw the light of day under the title *An archaeological tour to Gedrosia* in 1931.

### ***The Year 1943***

The last visit to Las Bela took place between January and March 1943. It was a continuation of the work which he had previously left unfulfilled. For the purpose, 1500 rupees were awarded by the Director General of Archaeological Survey of India. During this expedition, prehistoric sites were examined and excavated. But the main thrust of the activity was to determine Alexander's route 'from the Las Bela plains across the western bordering hills into the Kej [Kech] valley of Makran'.<sup>26</sup> Stein collected topographical evidence which rejected the accepted view of the Malan route followed by Alexander in favour of the pass from 'Jhau to Bela to be the more likely route as this is fairly broad besides being along the shortest route from Bela to Makran'.<sup>27</sup> However, latter scholars have critically studies some of Stein's geographical reconstructions.<sup>28</sup>

### **Thematic Analysis**

Aurel Stein's four archaeological expeditions into Baluchistan resulted in his varied comprehensive reports and articles. These texts present a fertile source-material for nuanced analysis from historiographical and socio-political perspectives in a variety of ways. Subsequent studies have shown both elements of validity and fallibility in Stein's historical reconstructions. In this respect, three themes have been referred to below. The third one has been highlighted in a detailed way as, in contrast to the first two, it has not been subjected to critique by scholars.

First, Stein shows that gradual desiccation took place in Balochistan due to climatic change. Later on scholars disagreed with this hypothesis as their botanical, hydrographical, zoological, architectural and archaeological data did not substantiate the hypothesis of climatic change.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, a number of his propositions have been assigned validity and augmented by further researches over the decades by scholars. It is pertinent to point out that the whole model of explanation of the first half of the twentieth century in relation to Balochistan archaeology was questioned and altered in the wake of theoretical upheavals in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>30</sup>

Second, another aspect of Stein's historical investigations in Balochistan is the methodological concept of diffusionism. He saw cultural material from the area as having close affinities with the areas of cultural genesis i.e. Persia, Mesopotamia and Mohenjo-daro. Pottery pieces from various sites of Balochistan have been compared with finds of similar traits from not only Persia and Central Asia but also from Egyptian and Roman cultural areas.<sup>31</sup> In this sense, his texts demonstrate

that he worked within the theoretical framework of culture-historical archaeology. However, recent scholarship about Balochistan and the Indus valley puts great emphasis on the indigenous potentials of cultural developments in the area demonstrating ecological relationship between humans and the environment.<sup>32</sup> A plausible methodological critique has been made by Possehl in this respect:

Stein's latter exploratory ventures all share a common problem orientation and methodology. He was, on the whole, interested in extensive reconnaissance which would begin to outline the early history of the regions he chose to address. His exploration, therefore, took the form of linear tracks, guided by his own keen sense of geography. This approach to explanation consistently yielded a large number of sites, but because of the configuration of his track these settlements are presented to us as points of human activity unassociated in space, and therefore not amenable to most forms of settlement pattern analysis.<sup>33</sup>

On occasions Stein also excavated large sites in a limited way. 'In Gedrosia this digging was confined to shallow probings without stratigraphic control, which means that much of the material is of limited use'.<sup>34</sup>

Another instance of diffusionary understanding in Stein with respect to Balochistan is seeing the area through the prism of Aryanism. He says that some inhospitable areas were left unmolested. According to him the Brahui speaking people around the Jhalawan and Sarawan hills and their 'barren region affording neither attraction nor room for settlement to any invader' probably remained undisturbed. They 'thus could escape the fate of "Aryanization" which their congeners in more favoured lands have undergone'.<sup>35</sup> Such an understanding of Stein may be assessed in the light of the invalidity of the Aryan invasion theory in recent decades.<sup>36</sup>

Lastly, being a classicist Stein nearly always did archaeology from a textual perspective. Equally geography has been taken as a crucial factor in historical processes.<sup>37</sup> In his explorations of Balochistan he has made some such observations. All of this solemnly adds a strong colonial context to his work. Seeing and explaining both landscape and topography alongside related historical events in the light of classical sources emanates from what is to be appreciated as a socio-political and philosophical thought processing during the period of European colonialism.<sup>38</sup> From the moment Stein came into India, he directed his energies into providing topographical and geographical evidence to Alexandrian narrative. This also happened during his archaeological campaigns in Balochistan. At least three strands of intellectual representations can be delineated in this respect namely, Alexander's itinerary through Balochistan, assumptions about socio-cultural and environmental immutability and disparaging indigenous people.

During the colonial period, the narrative of Alexander was rhetorically structured and essentially romanticized. It was carefully constructed in the best interest of political ideologies of the time. Alexander turned out to be a role model in the process of empire building. If he was seen as a predecessor by imperialists in India, simultaneously he was presented as a legend to the general public in Europe. It is against this backdrop that Stein's singular fascination with Alexander's presence in the east gains particular significance for investigation.

For the purpose of exploring Alexander's campaign from a geographical perspective, Stein particularly chose Arrian to be followed.<sup>39</sup> Curtius Rufus and Strabo were also consulted at times. Arrian was Alexander's historian who belonged to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Stein greatly relied on him. No doubt, the strength of his works has long been recognized. However, recent scholarship has shown a great many scholastic and methodological problems in Arrian's works. A.B. Bosworth observes that 'Arrian is prone to misread and manipulate his primary sources, and the smooth flow of his narrative can obscure treacherous quicksands of errors.' He also argues that '[t]here are, however, more complex problems created by faulty manipulation of two or more sources.'<sup>40</sup> Arrian has failed to deal with differences found in different sources in a prudent and cogent way. He has tried to follow the source seemed to him more credible but his familiarity with other sources did not let him give an uncontaminated version. Moreover, he lacked the ability to nuancedly assess if an event occurred differently in more than one source. 'In these circumstances Arrian may use both descriptions from both sources and retail them as separate incidents.'<sup>41</sup> This problem of inconsistencies has particularly been demonstrated by Luca M. Olivieri with regard to the Indian Aornos. Stein, while following Arrian, identified Aornos with Pir-sar. Recent scholarship has shown that Aornos is rather the Ilam Mountain. Olivieri observes that had Stein chosen Curtius Rufus<sup>42</sup> instead of Arrian he would not have gone astray in this matter.<sup>43</sup> The latter 'has been found to be unreliable at least as far as the reconstruction of the topography of the area is concerned'.<sup>44</sup> Another negative point of Arrian is that he had declared Alexander as his hero. It follows that he is apologetic regarding many weak acts and decisions of his hero in his narrative history.<sup>45</sup> Stein followed in the footsteps of Alexander throughout northern India while Arrian served as his guide in this pursuit. It implies that Arrian's declared hero was also the avowed hero of Aurel Stein. As the former had made good use of rhetoric in his history of Alexander,<sup>46</sup> the latter, on the one hand, could not escape the related errors while, on the other, he himself committed serious mistakes by means of the rhetorically structured cult of Alexander. The choice of words by Stein in this connection sound interesting. He terms Alexander's adventure as a 'bold enterprise', designates him as an 'indomitable king and leader', 'incomparable king and leader',<sup>47</sup> 'great conqueror' and having 'incomparable genius as a leader'.<sup>48</sup>

When it comes to deal with the great sufferings Alexander bore during his march through Balochistan, Stein seems to be suppressing the details. He refrains from censuring the unwise decision of following that route. And, at the same time, the cursory treatment of the matter further exaggerates Alexander's legend in rhetorical terms. He writes that 'Alexander's success in overcoming such formidable obstacles, even though at the cost of heavy sacrifices, was in truth but the exception that proves the rule, while at the same time a proof of his incomparable genius as a leader'.<sup>49</sup>

Stein is right when he observes that 'we cannot hope ever to receive full light on all the reasons military, geographical, political' which motivated Alexander to take the route through Balochistan for his return. He is also near the point in stating that this was 'the nearest way by which they [the Macedonian forces] could hope to return with their rich spoils of war to the distant homeland across the vast

[Hellenic] empire.<sup>50</sup> But the apology he makes for the decision about following the route through Gedrosia in his public writings should be read between the lines. It is quite pertinent to quote such apologetic statements from Stein here.

We may assume that the other very serious physical difficulties besetting a march through Gedrosia which apart from want of food account for all the great sufferings undergone by the army, must also have been known before that route for the retreat was decided upon; such were the scarcity and badness of water, the trying climatic conditions, the scantiest of grazing suitable for horses and mules. But if no adequate regard was paid to all these difficulties before that risky decision was taken, it may be well accounted for by the confidence which knowledge of all the hardships and dangers successfully overcome before by this army of conquering veterans must have inspired in their incomparable king and leader.<sup>51</sup>

He proceeds on to state:

This safe return of an army through so great an expense of inhospitable wastes was indeed an achievement for which history may well give credit to the pluck and endurance of Alexander's hardy veterans and to the mastery exercised over them by their indomitable king and leader.<sup>52</sup>

What does all this mean? This is nothing short of making a romance of Alexander's legend in the age of British imperialism. The empire needed all these constructions and representations. While in their private sphere, people like Stein appear quite critical of the shortcomings of Alexander's leadership. In a letter Stein calls the retreat through Gedrosia as a 'great strategic blunder . . . attended by severe human sufferings and losses'.<sup>53</sup>

It has recently been shown that scholars, administrators and explorers during the nineteenth century had placed considerable value on the classics in so far as to enable an understanding of contemporary India in terms of both natural as well as socio-cultural phenomena. Some entertained a retrograde view while others saw Indian history and civilization as stagnant. Such an approach had serious implications to the extent of providing legitimacy to Britain's possession of India. They were presented as the agents of change and progress in a society which otherwise was suffering either from stasis or degeneration.<sup>54</sup> Passages from Stein's reports are produced below so as to show that nineteenth century thought had also gone deep into the twentieth century concerning the centrality of the ancient classics with regard to modern India. About Gedrosia he writes:

Notwithstanding much learned speculation concerning the exact route followed by the great conqueror, some topographical details may continue to baffle the critical student even when examined on the ground. But the *comparatively ample and trustworthy accounts in our classical sources of the observations* made on that hazardous exploit could not fail to be of distinct geographical interest *if compared with the present conditions of that region* or with those which archaeological evidence might reveal as prevailing in far earlier time (my italics).<sup>55</sup>

There can be discerned an implicit desire in Stein to identify himself with Alexander. It evidences from his description of severe rain and flood in Gedrosia on 10 January 1928 which caused much difficulty in movement of his

archaeological caravan. He illustrates his own experience with the climatic character of Balochistan and the resultant difficulties followed by its comparison with the one recorded by Arrian in relation to Alexander's passing through the area.<sup>56</sup> The whole narration essentially fits in the discourse of vitality of the classics in shaping European attitudes towards India especially 'the conflation of past and present'.<sup>57</sup> 'Spates of this kind and volume are known to descend into the valleys of Makrān even while the sky above keeps clear. This fully confirms the correctness of the record preserved by Arrian'.<sup>58</sup>

Furthermore, like others who saw socio-cultural patterns of India as immutable all through millennia in the result of their study of classics,<sup>59</sup> Stein also more often than not made similar observations about Balochistan. The fishing communities of Makran did not seem to him different from the ones met by the Macedonians. At Take-dap the objects found were associated with 'a small settlement of fishing folk of primitive ways such as the Ikththyophagoi whom Alexander's fleet encountered on its voyage along this coast'.<sup>60</sup> At another place he makes similar observations about subsistence of people along the Makran coast. They were seen to have been making 'their living in ways not essentially very different from those of the primitive Ikththyophagoi whom Alexander's troops met on their passage through these arid wastes'.<sup>61</sup> In the same vein some bones found on the Lak plateau were viewed in light of Diodorus' account that the Oritai people had the tradition of exposing their dead in open areas so as to be devoured by wild animals.<sup>62</sup>

No less important are Stein's views about indigenous people. They have been attributed as having sheer incompetence and such expressions make another interesting feature of Stein's texts. He has left no stone unturned in maligning local people which sometimes gives the impression of a retrograde or static view and at times as dissociating the present inhabitants from whatever of any worth belongs to the bygone ages of the area. The *gabbar-bands* (embankments) of Balochistan have been assigned to the Zoroastrians. This may not seem spurious as such but the obnoxious intentions become obvious when the sturdy construction is contrasted to the assumed biological and cultural poverty of the present population. In line with negative colonial representations of local people Stein puts down, 'That the construction of such solid stone dams is entirely beyond the capacity of the present inhabitants of this region is certain'.<sup>63</sup> It is not surprising that exactly similar views have also been expressed about Pukhtuns of Swat.<sup>64</sup> Stein is also much articulated in portraying locals in such a way so as to contrast their backwardness with the advanced civilization of the colonial masters. He uses such words and expressions like predatory, barbarian, raiders, fighters, lawless etc. for the indigenous population.<sup>65</sup>

### **Concluding Remarks**

Marc Aurel Stein's exploratory tours to Balochistan are greatly meaningful in many ways. The pursuit appears partially puzzling and partially entails a vivid purpose. As the archaeology of Balochistan is predominantly prehistoric it is very difficult to embed results of his laborious explorations in the huge body of knowledge he produced about historical periods. That is why that he probably deliberately left the work unfinished. Stein rather makes a bold confession of it. It



was lack of time and competent knowledge that barred him to present 'a systematic analysis' of the vast amount of archaeological material. He expresses his contentment by making an 'endeavour to give a full account of all [. . . he] was able to observe and note at each surveyed site and by description and illustrations adequately to represent the general character of the archaeological material secured there'.<sup>66</sup> It seems that throughout his survey he was more fascinated by encountering historical landscape as it reflects from his lively observations – applying classics to geography, environment and society, taking notice of Muslim shrines etc. – documented in both the detailed reports.<sup>67</sup> It has aptly been observed that 'Stein's work was preliminary in nature he did not publish his finds in any detail'.<sup>68</sup> But this does not answer the question that if Stein did not have the level of aptitude required for prehistoric archaeological investigation then why did he venture into the field? The answer can be revealed in two ways.

First, it is easy to understand Stein's intellectual interest in exploring Balochistan in the sensational context of the discovery of the Indus civilization. Anyone engaged in studying the ancient history of Indo-Pakistan would have liked to get firsthand information and an acquaintance with the whole phenomena of that urban and developed society. So no wonder that Stein tried to avail himself of such a golden opportunity. Second, it can still be argued that it was on these expeditions that he essentially piggybacked his real and long-lasting interest i.e. following in the footsteps of Alexander through Makran. Throughout his various journeys he was mesmerized by the landscape, climate and ways of life which looked to him as consistent with the descriptions left behind by Alexander's writers. The exploration along the Makran coastal area in 1927-28 was starkly fantasized as is clear from the passage below:

But a motif quite as strong, perhaps, was the wish to gain some personal acquaintance with at least a portion of that coast of the Ikthiophagoi along which Alexander's fleet under Nearchos had slowly made its way from the mouth of the Indus towards the Persian Gulf and which at more than one point had seen the great conqueror himself pass by. The stretch of the coast between Gwādar and Jīwanrī which my tour allowed me to see, did indeed give me some personal impressions of the inhospitable nature of the ground and enabled me to visualize as it were the difficulties and trials which attended this concluding phase of Alexander's Indian enterprise. But the portion of the coast actually seen was too short to justify in this place any attempt to review the much-discussed questions raised by this famous retreat.<sup>69</sup>

This unfulfilled wish at last met its ultimate success in 1943 just a little before Stein's death. He minutely acquainted himself with all the topographical features of Makran and presented his conclusions about Alexander's retreat through the area in his last article about Balochistan.<sup>70</sup> Is it not apt to quote Mirsky's prudent analysis concerning Stein's intellectual interest?

These last tours restate Stein's old abiding interests. Intellectually, he could appreciate the importance of the prehistoric sites, but his heart and imagination and energy were still caught up in his earlier loves; the Buddhist pictures and inscriptions laboriously scratched into the rock walls of the Indus gorges, the river

lost since Vedic times and the clarification of Alexander's tracks into and though Baluchistan. All declared his passion for historical topography.<sup>71</sup>

In retrospection, it may be said that Stein's explorations in Balochistan and the data he has amassed are of great academic worth in the context of pre- and protohistoric archaeology of South Asia. The materials still demand scholars' attention for presenting new perspectives as it has somewhat been done by Possehl.<sup>72</sup> But being a classicist Stein has made singular representations concerning Alexander's campaign through Gedrosia. Whatever he has done in this connection makes part of the wider intellectual phenomenon embodying imperial, political and cultural ideologies of European colonialism.

### Acknowledgements

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher A. Hagerman, "In the Footsteps of the 'Macedonian Conqueror': Alexander the Great and British India", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 16, Nos. 3-4 (2009), pp. 344-92 [p. 392].

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that Sir John Marshall had at an earlier date, as early as 1903, developed keen interest in the archaeology of Balochistan. This is obvious from his intensive correspondence with Hughes Buller, an I.C.S. officer. The latter's finds were considered by Marshall of extreme importance as they seemed to him having similarities with elements of the Mediterranean world. He observed that 'they are closely allied to a type found in Cyprus, Phoenicia etc. about the 8th century BC, which show a decadent Mycenaean technique and design combined with more purely Asiatic influences... I want very much to have some more excavations done in the mound at Nal. I believe that we shall probably get most important results from it, perhaps some of the most important that have every [ever] been obtained in this country.' (Nayanjot Lahiri, "Coming to Grips with India's Past and Her 'Living Present': John Marshall's Early Years (1902-06), Part II", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2000, pp. 89-107 [p. 94].

<sup>3</sup> H. Hargreaves, "Frontier Circle", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1924-25* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1927), pp. 50-60; see also "Officers on Special Duty: Sir Aurel Stein", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927-28* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1931), pp. 163-78.

<sup>4</sup> It is also to be noted that the nationalistic fervour of nineteenth-twentieth centuries also stirred a wave of opposition and resistance in Hungarians against supremacy of the Austrians. Resultantly, many educated Hungarians became anglophile and Stein was one among them (Frank W. Ikle, "Sir Aurel Stein: a Victorian Geographer in the Tracks of Alexander", *Isis* Vol. 59, No. 2, 1968, pp. 144-155 [145]). His family was involved in nationalistic politics (see, J. Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein: Archaeological Explorer* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 5-6, 25). Stein, in such circumstances, got British nationality in 1904.

<sup>5</sup> Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Stein's archaeological campaigns to Central Asia between 1900 and 1916 and their detailed reports were passionately welcomed by scholars from across the world. His other explorations and surveys deal with South Bihar, North West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa), Waziristan, Baluchistan, Swat valley, Ghaggar-Hakra and Balochistan. It is to be noted that a recent archival study about Stein's work in Swat valley is a valuable addition to the history of Indo-Pakistani archaeology (see, Luca M. Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the 'Lords of the Marches': New Archival Materials* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2015a).

<sup>7</sup> Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the 'Lords of the Marches'*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>8</sup> Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 448.

<sup>9</sup> Lahiri, "Coming to Grips with India's Past and Her 'Living Present'", p. 95.

<sup>10</sup> Aurel Stein, *Report of Archaeological Survey Work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the Period from January 2<sup>nd</sup> 1904 to March 31<sup>st</sup> 1905* (Peshawar: 1905), pp. 48-56.

<sup>11</sup> Aurel Stein, "An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 43 (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1931/1990), pp. 21ff.

<sup>12</sup> It was in the financial year 1924-25, before Stein's started his explorations, that Hargreaves started his research in Balochistan. It definitely aimed at ascertaining 'Indo-Sumerian' evidence in the area. The various sites he studied were declared as 'unlikely to throw any light upon Indo-Sumerian history or art.' This failure notwithstanding, he optimistically observed that 'Baluchistan is however of great extent and the mounds of Jhalawan, Las Bela, Makran and the Kachhi have yet to be explored' (Hargreaves, "Frontier Circle", 50- 60). He next year continued his work and dug up some sites.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 423.

<sup>14</sup> Aurel Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 37 (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929/1991), p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Aurel Stein, "An Archaeological Tour along the Waziristan Border", *The Geographical Journal* Vol. 71, No. 4, 1928, pp. 377-380; Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan", pp. 5-31.

<sup>16</sup> According to Sten Konow, 'The Brāhmī fragments do not allow us to form an opinion about the contents of the inscriptions. They present so much difference that they cannot all belong to one and the same record. . . . The Kharoshthī fragments likewise belong to different jars and inscriptions. It is, however, possible to piece them together to one connected legend, which seems to have been repeated on several jars, only with slight variation in the wording and with a somewhat shortened text on some of them' (Sten Konow, ed., "Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka", *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II (I)* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929), pp. 173-74). The text is, thus, translated as follows: 'Of the Shāhi Yola Mīra, the master of the vihāra, this water hall (is) the religious gift, in his own Yola-Mīra-shāhi-Vihāra, to the order of the four quarters, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers. And from this right donation may there be in future a share

for (his) mother and father, in future a share for all beings and long life for the master of the law' (Ibid. 176). Stein appreciates the practical utility of the water-tanks in the geo-climatic context of Balochistan (Aurel Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan", p. 69).

<sup>17</sup> Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan", pp. 68-69; Sten Konow, "Appendix: Note on the Tor-dherai Inscriptions", in, Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan", pp. 93-97; Konow, ed., "Kharoshthi Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka", pp. 173-76; see also, Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 452.

<sup>18</sup> "Officers on Special Duty: Sir Aurel Stein", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1927-28* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1931), pp. 163-78 [p. 163].

<sup>19</sup> Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 453.

<sup>20</sup> Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 453.

<sup>21</sup> "Officers on Special Duty: Sir Aurel Stein", 1931, p. 163.

<sup>22</sup> C.E.A.W. Oldham, "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. No. 43: An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia by Aurel Stein", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 2, April 1933, pp. 425-429 [p. 426]; see also, Stein, "An archaeological Tour to Gedrosia".

<sup>23</sup> Gregory L. Possehl, *Kulli: An Exploration of Ancient Civilization in Asia* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1986), p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> A photograph published by Sudeshna Guha ("Introduction: Archaeology, Photography, Histories", in, Sudeshna Guha, ed., *The Marshall Albums: Photography and Archaeology* (London: Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd, The Alkazi Collection of Photography and Archaeological Survey of India, 2010), pp. 10-67, fig. 19) shows Stein with Marshall, his wife and another lady. It has been studied as 'Marshall's august contemporary and colleague Aurel Stein . . . who came to Taxila in 1928 to seek his permission to visit China. . .' (Ibid., p. 30). It seems that it was the occasion when Stein came back from his third visit to Balochistan. Many issues were discussed by them in which probably one was about Stein's visit to China. However, Mirsky mentions publication of report of the third archaeological visit to Balochistan and 'most particularly, Stein's retirement' the same year. He states by that time he carefully considered two tours to Swat-Kohistan and Mesopotamia and Levant. There is no mention of China as such (Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, p. 457ff.). However, Stein's fourth visit to Central Asia/China took place in 1930 with the help of some American funding. It, however, could not be a success due to growing awareness and concerns in relations to cultural heritage of the country and the related problems in foreign explorers' expeditions. It is, therefore, presumed that Stein's above-mentioned picture belongs to the occasion of the short halt at Taxila on the way back to Kashmir.

<sup>25</sup> "Officers on Special Duty: Sir Aurel Stein", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1928-29* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933), pp. 148-50.

<sup>26</sup> Aurel Stein, "On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia: An Archaeological Tour in Las Bela", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 102, Nos. 5-6, 1943, pp. 193-227.

<sup>27</sup> Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, pp. 540-41.

<sup>28</sup> P.H.L. Eggermont, *Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 3 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1975), pp. 57ff.

<sup>29</sup> Stein, "An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia"; Robert L. Raikes and Robert H. Dyson, Jr., "The Prehistoric Climate of Baluchistan and the Indus Valley", *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 63, No. 2, Part I, 1961, pp. 265-281.

<sup>30</sup> Walter A. Fairservis, *The Roots of Ancient India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971/1975); Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1950); Jim G. Shaffer, "The Prehistory of Baluchistan: Some Interpretative Problems", *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 11, 1974, pp. 224-35.

<sup>31</sup> Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan"; Stein, "An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia".

<sup>32</sup> For a special reevaluation of the material recovered from Kulli by Stein see Possehl, *Kulli*; for a general framework of the archaeology of Balochistan see J. Mark Kenoyer and Richard H. Meadow, "Fifty Years of Archaeological Research in Pakistan: The Prehistoric Periods", in, Craig Baxter, ed., *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics, and Society* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004), pp. 191-219 and Robin Coningham and Ruth Young, *The Archaeology of South Asia: From the Indus to Asoka. C. 6500 BCE-200 CE* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> Possehl, *Kulli*, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Possehl, *Kulli*, p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> Stein, "An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia", p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> For the Aryan debate see, Sudeshna Guha, "Negotiating Evidence: History, Archaeology and the Indus Civilization", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2005, pp. 399-426.

<sup>37</sup> See for example, Aurel Stein, "The Indo-Iranian Borderlands: Their Prehistory in the Light of Geography and of Recent Explorations", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 64, July-December 1934, pp. 179-202.

<sup>38</sup> Hagerman, "In the Footsteps of the 'Macedonian Conqueror'"; Phiroze Vasunia, *The Classics and Colonial India: Classical Presences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>39</sup> For Stein Arrian has produced a 'concise narrative, as always critically more reliable than the notices of Alexander's other historians. . .' (Stein, "On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia", p. 216). But he does not measure the presumed greater reliability of his predecessor against any specific criteria.

<sup>40</sup> A.B. Bosworth, "Errors in Arrian", *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* Vol. 26, No. 1, 1976, pp. 117-39 (p. 124).

<sup>41</sup> Bosworth, "Errors in Arrian", p. 125 (for details pp. 125ff.).

<sup>42</sup> Olivieri believes that "Curtius Rufus is by far the most logical and plausible in light of his knowledge of the local topography and the strategy chosen" (Luca M. Olivieri, "Notes on the Problematic Sequence of Alexander's Itinerary in Swat: A Geographical Study", *East and West*, Vol. 46, Nos. 1-2, 1996, pp. 45-78 [pp. 69-70]).

<sup>43</sup> Olivieri, “Notes on the Problematic Sequence of Alexander's Itinerary in Swat”; Luca M. Olivieri, “‘Frontier Archaeology’: Sir Aurel Stein, Swat, and the Indian Aornos”, *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 2015b, pp. 58-70.

<sup>44</sup> Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the ‘Lords of the Marches’*, p. 231.

<sup>45</sup> A.B. Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander: Studies in Historical Interpretations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

<sup>46</sup> Bosworth observes, ‘In the finale, he [Arrian] speaks as enthusiast and apologist, and the Alexander he creates is as fictitious as the philosopher in action of Plutarch’s first treatise *On the Fortune of Alexander*. As rhetoric it is impressive.’ (Bosworth, *From Arrian to Alexander*, p. 155).

<sup>47</sup> Stein, “On Alexander’s Route into Gedrosia”, pp. 212, 225, 227.

<sup>48</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 2, 11.

<sup>49</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> Stein, “On Alexander’s Route into Gedrosia”, pp. 224 and 225.

<sup>51</sup> Stein, “On Alexander’s Route into Gedrosia”, pp. 224-225.

<sup>52</sup> Stein, “On Alexander’s Route into Gedrosia”, p. 227.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, 456.

<sup>54</sup> Hagerman, “In the Footsteps of the ‘Macedonian Conqueror’”.

<sup>55</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, pp. 57-58. Stein was not alone in entertaining such a heroic sense about himself. Much before ‘[. . . Alexander] Burnes believed that his travels created a strong tie between himself and the last European known to have accomplished such a journey, Alexander. But the sense of identification did not end there. Following the routes used by Alexander, crossing the rivers and mountain passes he traversed, was only one aspect on Burnes’ connection to his Macedonian predecessor. The connection deepened with every experience in which Burnes saw echoes of stories recorded in the histories of Alexander. So an event that probably ought to have been a source of frustration – finding two of the boats in his flotilla grounded by the extreme tides in the lower reaches of the Indus – was in fact cause for excitement because Alexander’s fleet had been severely damaged by the same tides and currents’ (Hagerman, “In the Footsteps of the ‘Macedonian Conqueror’”, pp. 382-383).

<sup>57</sup> Hagerman, “In the Footsteps of the ‘Macedonian Conqueror’”, pp. 354-366.

<sup>58</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 58.

<sup>59</sup> See, Hagerman, “In the Footsteps of the ‘Macedonian Conqueror’”; Vasunia, *The Classics and Colonial India*.

<sup>60</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, pp. 76-77.

<sup>61</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 8; see also, Stein, “On Alexander’s Route into Gedrosia”, p. 197.

<sup>62</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 82.

<sup>63</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, MASI (Calcutta: Government of India, 1930).

<sup>65</sup> Such references can be found throughout his texts, see Stein, “An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan”; Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”.

<sup>66</sup> Stein, “An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia”, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan"; Stein, "An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia".

<sup>68</sup> Possehl, *Kulli*, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> Stein, "An Archaeological Tour to Gedrosia", pp. 71-72.

<sup>70</sup> Stein, "On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia".

<sup>71</sup> Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein*, pp. 541-42.

<sup>72</sup> Possehl, *Kulli*.