BEGININNG OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN MALAKAND-SWAT (1896-1926)
PROTAGONISTS, FIELDWORK AND THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

By

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CERTIFICATE

This thesis by Rafiullah Khan is accepted in its present form by the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, as satisfying the thesis requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

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I hereby declare that this thesis in its present form is the result of my individual research and it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

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We hereby recommend that the Dissertation prepared under our supervision by **Mr. RAFIULLAH KHAN**, entitled **BEGINNING OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN MALAKAND-SWAT (1896-1926): PROTAGONISTS, FIELDWORK AND THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK** be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

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To the Noble Soul

Contents

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Rafiullah Khan

Chapter 1

Introduction

Archaeology has been widely practiced in Indo-Pakistani subcontinent since the turn of 19th century. This activity might be categorized into field archaeology, theoretical archaeology, legal archaeology, history of archaeology and so on. In British India the interest revolved around field work and preservation through legal protection. Indian archaeology, its development, and empire went hand in hand and both reached Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa by mid-19th century. Subsequently, extensive archaeological activity was seen in the shape of large-scale surveys, excavations and conservation. Swat and Malakand, lying beyond the administrative borders of British India, were not an exception. However, the initial activity here was very poor as it was not motivated by serious academic concerns. This, no doubt, applies to L. A. Waddell and A. Caddy who simply had to collect Gandhara art pieces for Calcutta Museum. But later works done by A. Foucher and A. Stein are more systematic as they are in line with modernist approach to knowledge and epistemology. Major Deane's work also garners importance especially his collection of inscriptions. Other scholars such as Bühler, Lüders, Senart, Rapson etc. contributed to paleographic studies of Uḍḍiyāna. All this activity spreads over the period between 1896 and 1926. This is to be rightly termed as the beginning of archaeological activity in Malakand and Swat.

This research is focusing on the beginning of archaeology in Malakand and Swat, a development which is profoundly correlated with the political events taking place in the area at the turn of the 20th century. It covers the period between 1896 and 1926.

Two factors may be taken into account for the significance of this time-scale, namely 1) the British entrance into Malakand and the creation of the Malakand Agency in

1895 and 2) the formation of the Yusufzai State of Swat (hereafter Swat State) in 1917. The two historical facts need to be posited as the real starting-points for all the archaeological activities in the Malakand Protected Area, parts of Lower Dir and ex-Swat State (i.e. present-day districts of Swat, Buner and Shangla/Ghorband area). However, it should be noted that the area had attracted scholars' attention decades before.

Archaeological researches got started in the subcontinent by the 3rd-4th decade of 19th century and by the end of the century considerable achievements in the field had been made. The services and contributions of James Prinsep and James Todd in the field of ancient Indian scripts and numismatics paved the way for the study and reconstruction of ancient Indian history. They were followed by Alexander Cunningham, who twice served in the capacity of Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (hereafter ASI), from 1861 to 1865 and from 1871 to 1885. Besides having firm footing in the fields of numismatics, epigraphy and architectural and historical-geographical studies, his planning for the future archaeological research in India assigns him a unique standing in the history of Indian archaeology. After Cunningham, James Burgess took the mantle of Director Generalship of ASI. His interest mostly remained in the study of architecture and the field was augmented with interesting researches. The period between 1886 and 1902 witnessed field archaeology as receding into background. However, with the arrival of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India in 1898 a new era in Indian archaeology ushered in. He specified three kinds of archaeological responsibility in India, namely epigraphy, conservation and research. Lord Curzon felt the need for a central advisory authority and, accordingly, proposals were submitted to the Secretary of State on December 20, 1900 in which the revival of the post of Director General was proposed. The Secretary

of State acceded to the proposal on November 29, 1901. It was probably on the recommendation of the British Museum that Sir John Marshall was appointed the Director General of ASI. He took the office on February 22, 1902. Marshall's period got phenomenal achievements in relation to Indian archaeology. He served as the head of ASI for about three decades (for these developments see Roy 1953, 1961; Chakrabarti 1988/2001; Singh 2004).

The study of Indian archaeology and its development is rather a difficult task. It is not just to re/construct a sort of linear story of discoveries of the past marvels within the institutional framework but to shed light, as well, on the ideological and historical contexts which caused shape interpretations of archaeological data and hence imperial/colonial representations. Indian archaeology, against this backdrop, from the beginning till 1947, was done in particular colonial and imperial contexts. It was determined and directed by the principles of Enlightenment and thus in the whole body of archaeological literature European thought and theories of the period bulk large. The concepts of evolutionism, racism and diffusionism might especially be mentioned in this connection. They were, no doubt, the main concerns as well as features of colonialism and imperialism. Gandharan archaeology till 1947, also, does exhibit these characteristic features of colonial archaeology.

However, the point should not be missed that archaeology's role in solving intricate historical problems in Indian history is noteworthy as well. With regard to this knowledge production activity, one can easily discern the process of continuity and internal consistency in the discipline.

Against this backdrop, Gandharan archaeology has a deep colonial background. It needs a thorough investigation so that its internal and external dimensions are brought

to fore. The present study is an attempt in this direction. It is the history of the formative phase of archaeology within the locale of Malakand and Swat.

At this point it seems prudent to highlight the need, the use and the importance of writing a history of archaeology. History of archaeology, in its mature shape, is a comparatively recent entry into the discipline of archaeology. It has garnered a special importance in the context of understanding previous archaeological researches and the development of the discipline together with guidance for future planning.

Histories of archaeology have been written from different perspectives. A number of theoretical assumptions and concepts have been adopted in this respect. The stronger voice is that of subjectivist/relativist/contextualist/externalist school. It, in other words, may be termed as externalist approach to the writing of history of archaeology. This approach relates the development of archaeology (and developments within the discipline) to its socio-political context. The other school, which is indifferent or rather contemptuous towards context, emphasizes on internalist approach to such a study. It focuses on the developments internal to the science of archaeology as a discipline (Abadía 2009).

An important name in such theoretical formulation is that of Bruce Trigger. He deeply and extensively investigates history of world archaeology over the years. According to him (1984) archaeologies fall in one of the three categories of nationalist, colonialist and imperialist. Trigger reveals the specific characteristics of each sort by conceptualizing and contextualizing it against the backdrop of time and space. He brings to fore the particular political, social, economic and intellectual trends to the effect of showing their influences on the practice and development of archaeologies. Nation states and nationalism used, or abused, archaeology in the service of politics

by forging national identities and prides; colonial empires exploited it in empire building processes while imperial powers have been busy in manipulating archaeological knowledge in accordance with their own hegemonic desires. Another hallmark study (Id. 1989/2010) investigates the development of archaeological theories and thoughts. It elaborates the role of racism and evolutionism in the discipline of archaeology and highlights the importance of context in the production of archaeological knowledge. The book sheds light on fundamental conceptual developments in the discipline while making a comprehensive survey of archaeological literature.

One more study (Thomas 2004) establishes a link between modernity and the emergence of archaeology. It investigates all the developments in the field of archaeology in the framework of trends and modalities of Modern Age. This is obviously a contextual approach and discusses the future of archaeology in the recently emerged postmodern age. This book gives clarity about important concepts and perceptions in the field.

Curtoni and Politis (2006) critically analyze the presence of racial element in American archaeology. They relate this kind of archaeology to hegemony and colonialism. The negative effects of such a consideration have vividly been shown in relation to social relations between peoples.

Other subjectivist philosophers of history are Collingwood (1946/2006) and Carr (1961/2001). They also show great use and importance of relativistic/externalist approach in historical writings. Every individual is embedded to his/her society and it is impossible to get rid of influences of socio-political realities. In this way, every

author carries with him/herself some presuppositions and biases which affect and, hence, reflect in his/her approach to historical knowledge/research.

Postcolonial critics have also greatly influenced the field of social sciences. Edward Said (1978/2003) explores the reality of orientalism and its relation with the European empires. Orientalism, according to him, as knowledge about the east was greatly used in the best interest of the empires. This postcolonial critique has added an important dimension to the study of orientalism.

Foucault's (Mills 2003) theory of 'knowledge/power' relationship has gained wide currency in critical approach to historiography. He (1966/2002) examines epistemes (structures of knowledge) and in this way brings out new ways into social science, especially history, research. His theoretical formulations are of great importance in post-colonial critique. Similarly, deconstructionism is also an important development in postcolonial critique and helps studies carried out from an externalist point of view (Stocker 2006; Balkin 1995-1996).

Lorcin (1995/1999) also works out the knowledge/power relation in the context of colonial Algeria. She handsomely brings into light the construction of knowledge and its validation as well as the reification of Algerian social organizations and the vacillation in the imperial policies towards different social and ethnic groups of the land. Context is given credibility in the study.

Similarly, postcolonial criticism has speedily been gaining credence in India. It is clearer in historical studies. Like other parts of the world, history of Indian archaeology has also been now the subject of research and investigation. A number of focused studies and works in form of general surveys have, in the last few decades,

appeared mostly by Indian scholars and a few western and Pakistani writers. They have been written either from internalist or externalist point of view or with a somewhat mixed approach. Some studies are mainly focused on the ever-new archaeological discoveries, the role of individuals and the history of ASI. Others are more critical in their tone and have seen and located development of archaeology in socio-political context. As 'critical historiography' is considered a sign of the maturity of a discipline (Christenson, ed. 1989: 1), Indo-Pakistani archaeology seems to have just got the privilege.

A search for the first pursuit in this respect leads us, roughly speaking, to the initial period of the discipline itself. Markham (1871) writes a very brief summary of archaeological researches from the very inception till 1860s. He covers different aspects of this activity i.e. researches in various parts of India with a classification of it along religious lines. It is a simple description and does not touch the critical issues.

Another study of Indian archaeology appeared in Cumming (ed. 1939). The book covers the themes of history of ASI, conservation, excavation and exploration, epigraphy, museums, publication and archaeology in Indian states as well as in Burma. It contains comprehensive empirical data about different achievements in the field.

Roy (1953) writes about the archaeology of India within the institutional framework of Asiatic Society and ASI. He explores its different and important aspects. Besides the published archaeological material, the author makes a good use of archival data. The article was later on expanded into a book length study (Id. 1961). However, the study is largely done from an internalist point of view.

Dani (1983) also encapsulates the development of archaeology in a very brief article, which is the first attempt on the part of Pakistani scholars. To this topic contributed also Dar (1998, 1999-2000) and particularly Mughal (2011).

Another important work is done by Chakrabarti (1988/2001). It reconstructs the history of archaeological activity in India right from the works left by European travelers since 16th century. A more focused story starts with the foundation of the Asiatic Society by William Jones followed by the phenomenal developments of 19th and 20th centuries. This is a sort of general survey of Indian archaeology and, thus, very briefly refers to archaeological activity in Swat and Malakand.

Singh (2004) subjects the initial period of Indian archaeology to a critical study from a pure externalist point of view. She considers it as the child of imperial thought, nothing less or more. The study focuses on Cunningham, Fergusson and other scholars of their period. It also investigates the role and contribution of indigenous scholars and archaeologists as well as development of archaeology in Indian states. Similarly, Ray (2008) concentrates on the role of Mortimer Wheeler and his legacy in modern India. The work is no doubt a critical study covering wide range of archaeological activities.

Olivieri (2006) makes an important contribution as he deals with the history of archaeology of Swat, even if he keeps himself limited to the activities of the Italian Archaeological Mission and does not cover the initial period, which the present work is all about. The author explores the political background of Italian archaeology in Pakistan followed by achievements in the Buddhist archaeology, pre- and proto-history and historic settlements of Swat. To the study of the same period contributed also Tanweer (2011). However, Olivieri has recently studied the legal and fieldwork

background of the early research in Swat-Malakand on the basis of new documents recovered by him in local archives. The results of his work will be soon published, in a short summary focusing on some neglected aspects of Sir Aurel Stein's life (Olivieri, submitted), and in a form of comprehensive monograph (Id. forthcoming). To these recent works is also linked an interesting research work by K. Behrendt on A. Caddy. The research's results were recently presented in two symposia, at the Drexel University, Philadelphia, in 2012 and at the Oxford University in 2013. Both the authors kindly put at my disposal the proofs and drafts of both their works, from whose insight I largely benefitted.

The present study is largely influenced and guided by the works just mentioned and a still greater number of other scattered materials. It is, therefore, maintained here that the practice of archaeology in Gandhara till 1947 remained colonial in character while equal weightage is attached to archaeological evidence in addressing historical problems. The whole argumentation determines the application of the concept of colonial archaeology and postcolonial critique in this research. This particular nature of the present work necessitates the adoption of descriptive, analytical and critical methods which give fruitful results, of course.

The purpose of this study is to have a critical and historical analysis of the archaeology of Malakand-Swat rather than to produce a commemorative work or write obituaries. 'Obituaries and commemorations by their nature are positive and place little emphasis upon conflict, competition, and other aspects of human behavior that are an important part of any discipline' (Christenson 1989: 1). Hence, it focuses on the factual as well as interpretative and explanatory aspects of archaeology, an approach adopting both externalism and internalism. It aims at serving multi-

purposes: to give an overview of the archaeological literature, to present an alternative indigenous perspective and to create a new discourse as far as possible.

Similarly, historical study of archaeology should serve the purpose of orienting non-archaeologists, with an interest in archaeology, to the discipline, its thought and epistemology. This project keeps the wider public in mind vis-à-vis the Gandharan cultural heritage. Since the heritage is seriously threatened by extinction, potential groups and individuals outside the discipline are in dire need of understanding of the value of this resource (Rafiullah Khan 2013).

Being carried out by a student of history, this study obviously suffers from numerous deficiencies. But as it is historical in nature, a genuine contribution might also be found in this work. History of archaeology and its practice is rather a strenuous job. It could not be successfully done without getting rid of disciplinary biases. Often seen as a multi/interdisciplinary pursuit, such a study needs involvement of archaeologists, historians and anthropologists (see for this standpoint Trigger 1994). Only then the laborious work could be a success. Fortunately enough, both supervisors in this research, Ghani-ur-Rahman and Luca M. Olivieri, are art historian and trained archaeologist respectively and they have persistently guided this researcher with patience. And the fact adds a good strength to the work.

The whole work is divided into five chapters including the present introductory one. The second chapter gives a detail overview of the history, geography and ethnography of Swat and Malakand. Chapter third studies the lives and times of the pioneering scholars and archaeologists within the framework of this study. Major Deane, L. A. Waddell, A. Caddy, A. Foucher and Aurel Stein are the major names in this respect. Furthermore, it investigates the archaeological literature from an externalist point of

view. The activity is situated in the socio-political context of the imperial/colonial age and, to some extent, the Walis' enlightened despotism. Critical theory has been taken help of in order to demonstrate colonial and racial characteristics of the texts. An attempt has been made to deconstruct the texts by showing binary oppositions, Daridian concept, in them; hence some important questions are raised. Perhaps, it is not at present a well-thought conclusion but it is an attempt obviously suggesting a new discourse totally based on an alternative perspective by an indigenous researcher. It is, thus, concluded that there was a dialectical relationship between archaeology of Swat and Malakand and the British empire.

Chapter fourth follows in the footsteps of the pioneers in the archaeology of Malakand and Swat. Their reports have been studied very carefully and the information contained in them, about the cultural heritage sites, has been accrued with latest archaeological knowledge. As it is now more or less one century since these archaeological researches were carried out, new fieldwork seemed necessary and due to this need the present study is augmented by fresh fieldwork. Nearly all the sites mentioned in the reports of the protagonists have been revisited. In this way, some presently unknown sites have been rediscovered, some ascertained as disappeared while some others found either in ruined condition or well-studied and better worked. A comprehensive chart of the sites has also been added at the end of the chapter.

Chapter five studies the legal aspect of Indian archaeology right from the Bengal Regulation of 1810 till the amendment of 1932-1933 to the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. It contextualizes archaeological research in Malakand and Swat against the backdrop of the legal developments.

Chapter 2

Malakand-Swat
Geography, ethnography and history

The geography of Malakand and Swat has been very important in history of South and Central Asia. Due to the fact, ethnography of the area is of vital significance especially in investigation of its social, cultural, religious, economic and political history. This chapter presents an overview of the geography, ethnography and history of Malakand and Swat.

Swat and Uḍḍiyana: identification and extension

Often names of rivers persist for a long time despite the change of populations, languages and cultures. It is notable that they garner special importance due to the fact that the areas they are traversing are usually named after them (Olivieri 1996: 58). "Swat" is the name of the river, which passes through Swat valley. It has variously been mentioned in classical sources. The first reference to the term "Swat", as a river, called Suvastu, occurs in Ṛgveda (RV, VIII 19, 37[1]; Tucci 1977: 39; Olivieri 1996: 60). By the same name it is described in Pānini (Tucci 1977: 39; Agrawala 1953: 42, 69; Olivieri 1996: 60). The Greek sources mention it as Soastos (Megasthenes: *Frag*., 9a; Ptolemy: *Geo*., VII 1, 42-43; Arrian: *Indika*, II 11), Choaspes (Strabo: *Geog*., XV 1, 26; Curtius Rufus: *Hist*., VIII 10, 19-22) or Euaspla (Arrian: *Anab*., IV 24, 1), the latter being respectively a possible Iranian form of Suvastu and its Grecized counterpart (both having the same meaning of "good horses, or good houses"; Tucci 1977: 39; Olivieri 1996: 60). The region was called "Soastene" by Ptolemy (*Geo*., VII

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[1] *RV*, Megasthenes, Ptolemy, Arrian, Strabo and Curtius Rufus are quoted in Olivieri 1996.

1,42; ibid.). The name of the river is quoted also in Chinese sources (e.g. in XuánZàng as "Su-po-fa-su-tu") (Beal 1884/2004: 120). It is after the name of this river that the entire valley has gotten the toponym "Swat" (Olivieri 1996: 60). In later Sanskrit literature the area of Swat is called Uḍḍiyāna (Tucci 1940). In later Buddhist sources this name has been differently spelled. Chinese pilgrims Fǎxiǎn (399-414 CE) and Sòng Yùn (518-521 CE) call it "Ou-chang"[2] (Beal 1869/2003: 26-27, 188) while XuánZàng (629–645 CE) names it as "U-chang-na" (Beal 1884/2004: 119-135). A Korean pilgrim, Hyecho (c. 724-727 CE), writes the name of Swat as "Udyana" (Yang et al., n.d.: 50). In Tibetan literature, Swat is referred to as "Urgyan" and "Orgyan" (Tucci 1944, 1958: 279). Buddhagupta, a Tibetan pilgrim to Swat, 16th century, gives explanation in this respect; 'The name Orgyan is derived from Uḍḍiyāna on account of the similarity [in pronunciation of *ḍ* and *ṛ*]' (quoted in Tucci 1977: 39). Uḍḍiyāna is, beyond any doubt, to be identified with Swat valley and the neighbouring areas (see Deane 1896: 655; Stein 1930: 1; Tucci 1958: 279).

The geographical distribution of Uḍḍiyāna is subject to a great debate. It is generally believed that it included Swat valley, Shangla, Buner and parts of Dir. Sòng Yùn records its limits to the north of the mountains called "Tsung Ling" (Upper Dir) while to its south lies Gandhara (Beal 1869/2003: 188). G. Tucci writes that the real extension of Uḍḍiyāna is difficult to be ascertained, however, 'it appears that Swat approached Chitral and Darel including the Indus Kohistan. To the East the Indus was the natural boundary and to the West the mountains of upper Dhir [Dir] at that time may have been as today the natural limits' (Tucci 1958: 324-325, en. 1).

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[2] The spelling in Legge's translation of Fǎxiǎn is as "Woo-chang" (1998: 28-29).

Aboriginal cultures

Swat valley alternated between a roundabout and a cul-de-sac region. Between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (1200-400 BCE), it had been a converging as well as radiating point for the cultural contacts between Central and South Asia. But sometime before the advent of the Macedonians, it drifted into an eclipse of geographical isolation. At the time of the Macedonians' arrival such contacts were still active – the area was nominally part of the Achaemenian empire. In the meanwhile the valley had evolved an independent culture (Antonini 1969: 115; 1973: 244). During the 4th century BCE to 3rd century CE Malakand and Swat remained at the crossroads by dint of the existence of an 'upper road', linking Bajaur-Swat-Buner. It was this road, which was followed by Alexander and later on by Babur. The importance of the 'upper road' dwindled after the opening of the Khyber road (Olivieri 1996: 70-74). The passes-cum-routes of Swat connected Central and South Asia and played a vital role in the distribution of goods and dissemination of reciprocal cultural and civilizational elements across these regions. The fact reflected vividly during the Kushana empire when Swat was edging the linking-road between Laghman and the Indus passing through Chakdara and Buner, on the one hand, and Central Asia via Chitral, on the other. Swat greatly profited economically from such a position (Tucci 1958: 282). Similarly, Swat and China had also been in economic, political and religious contacts since 6th century CE (Tucci 1977: 84). Swat spearheaded the commercial links, which found impetus through Karakorum, between the Tarim basin, Chinese Xinjiang, and the Indian forts, due to its roundabout nature (Bagnera et al. 2011: 48-49). The legend of Padmasambhava, who went to Tibet 'either directly (Yasin and Gilgit) or through allies (Chitral)', evidences ties with that country (Tucci 1958: 280).

Some scholars consider Swat within the extension of a 'Kafir'-Dardic culture since 6th-7th centuries CE until the arrival of the Yusufzai Pukhtuns (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 138-141). This is generally termed as the late Buddhist period as well as the one which saw the revival of Hinduism and the resurrection of the aboriginal cults. The evidence for this postulate is found in the tradition of tower construction, which is mainly concentrated in Lower Swat and Malakand Agency. This type of architecture is soundly compared by scholars with the tower-houses, known as *kot*, of the present-day Kafir settlements (ibid.). A cultural and economic change ushered in with the establishment of the tower-house tradition. New pottery appeared having no similarity with the Late Kushan age and the Islamic one. The hydraulic system, previously carefully managed, probably did not receive attention anymore and springs and wells went out of use. Evidence may be found for the beginning of pastoral life and new agricultural or gathering doings (ibid.). Another evidence of 'Kafir'-Dardic culture in Swat is seen in the painted shelters which represent horses, human figures, some caprids, hieratic figures, signs of superimposed *stupas* and so on. These examples have similarities with 'the paintings of the Kalash peoples of the Chitral' (ibid.: 141, 147-148; Olivieri 2011). Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic rocks in the valleys of Kandak, Kotah and Saidu also present resemblance with the zoomorphic rock of Gor (Gilgit) documented by Biddulph (1880: 15) and Jettmar (1967: 74) (quoted in Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 141)[3]. The elephant-shaped rock in Ghaligai, recorded and attributed by XuánZàng to King Uttarasena of Swat, is also interpreted as an example in this respect (ibid.). A number of boulders with various forms of basins

[3] The zoomorphic rock of Gor depicts Taiban, 'the male representative of the divine couple in the Dardic pantheon, may be recognized in the form of a black stallion. Forms of anthropomorphization of the landscape are often found in Swat and neighbouring regions, at Ghirai, for instance (Fig. 45)' (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 141).

have been documented by scholars in Swat and are interpreted as having association with the wine production activity (ibid.: 142-146). Wine pressing was linked with the economic activity of a certain marginalized community of the area and the 'final recipients' were possibly the monastic and urban communities (Olivieri 2011a: 136-137). This fact is also compared firmly with the 'Kafir'-Dardic cultural horizon; Middle Swat and Jambil and Saidu valleys are counted as important wine producing areas (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 142-145). It is in the light of these researches that Swat is suggested to be included in 'the area of diffusion of Kafir culture ('Peristan' better than 'Greater Kafiristan') before the latter was reduced to the present enclaves in Upper Chitral ... ' (ibid.: 141-142) (for the most recent research on that topic, see also Olivieri 2011 and Sultan-i-Rome, 2012).

Geography

Malakand region had been very important for the British Indian Government from strategic point of view. It lies in the north of Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa, formerly the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of British India and then of Pakistan. This area, having many historic passes, makes important part of the Hindu Kush mountain range which 'runs almost due east and west along the north-eastern and northern frontiers of the Province [Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa]'[4] (*Imperial Gazetteer* [repr.] 1979: 3).

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[4] NWFP, consisting of the four trans-Indus districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and the cis-Indus district of Hazara, was created as a new province on November 9, 1901. It was headed as Chief Commissioner by a man of high intellectual caliber, the former Political Agent of Malakand, H. Deane. The idea of separating these territories from the former Punjab Province was envisaged by Lord Curzon in the prism of Frontier affairs at the turn of the century and in the light of his "forward policy" (for the political and constitutional developments in NWFP during the first three

Malakand region, excluding Chitral, is generally termed as the highlands (*ghar*) of Yusufzais while the Yusufzai country below Malakand forms lowland or plain (*samah*) Yusufzai. The highlands of Yusufzais comprise Swat valley, Buner, Dir and Shangla. The upper reaches of the Swat river i.e. Swat Kohistan, however, are occupied by the non-Pukhtun peoples known as Torwal and Gawri (commonly designated as Kohistanis).

In the eastern limits of the highlands of Yusufzai is situated the present-day Shangla district, previously part of the Swat State. It has many important valleys such as Kanra, Chakesar and Puran. This part of the country is linked with Swat through Shangla pass. But its different valleys have other lines of communication as well (Rafiullah Khan 2011: 204-209). Chakesar is hyphenated by Gadwa pass between Sonailai and Manglawar (Bellew 1864/1994: 51). The Kotkay pass links Swat and Shangla, on the one hand, through Malam-jaba valley (Stein 1930: 50) and proceeds, on the other, 'in the east towards China, passing through the present-day Northern-Areas [Gilgit-Baltistan], the pass near the mountain of Sar-dzaey at the extreme head of the valley in Swat Kohistan through Chitral to Kashghar […]' (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 17).

The district of Buner, to the south, communicates with the valley of Swat via three passes. These are 1) the Karakar pass, from Daggar to Barikot, 2) Juarai, from Gokand to Saidu, and 3) Gokand, again from Gokand to Mingora. Barikot and its valleys provide more frequented routes into Buner. 'Routes lead up these valleys',

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decades of the twentieth century see Shah 1999-2000: 115-137; 2007: 9-38). 'Lord Curzon had achieved what others had aimed at, but had failed to carry through. The necessity for the change was generally recognised, and his achievement met with almost universal applause' (Ronaldshay 1928: 134).

observes Stein, 'to passes all of which give easy access to Bunēr. One of them, the Karakar pass, is much frequented as lying on the most direct line between Upper Swat and the Central part of the Yusūfzai plain' (Stein 1930: 12). L.M. Olivieri refers to the Karakar pass, mentioned as Qara-kupa in Babur-nama, as 'the most important one in Swat' (Olivieri 1996: 48, 74). Scholars are of the opinion that Karakar is the most probable pass followed by Alexander on his way to the Indus. Caroe observes the probability, in the light of Alexander's advance in Swat as far as Barikot, that 'he would have turned south from there and crossed the Karakar into Buner, whence he would issue into the plain by the Malandari and Ambela passes, one or both' (Caroe 1957: 54). Against the backdrop of Aornos being corresponding to Mount Ilam – a position set forth by the Italian scholars, Eggermont, Badian and Caroe – Olivieri, therefore, concludes that 'it is plausible that Alexander, after having captured the stronghold [Aornos], would have gone through the Karakar Pass on his way to the Indus via Buner and passed the site known to Alexander's historians as Embolima or Ecbolima ... before joining the bulk of the army near the Indus' (Olivieri 1996: 72).

Swat valley, Dir, Buner and Shangla have due large plain lands as well as beautiful side valleys and make the habitation of a medley of people and their cultures. The Political Agency of Dir and Swat was formed in 1895; Chitral was added to it in 1897 (Sultan-i-Rome 2006: 115-116). It comprised 'the territories of Swat, Dēr, Bājaur, Sam Rānizai, Uthmān Khel, and Chitral' (*Imperial Gazetteer* [repr.] 1979: 210).

The southern part of Lower Dir is formed by a series of adjoining minor valleys. Talash valley is situated in the north-west of Swat and in the north of Swat river and Ranizai between the Barangola mountain in the south and the Kamrani range in the north. Panjkora river streams into its west and in the east the Gadkalan ridge separates

it from Swat. Gadkalan is a low spur having connected the various offshoots of the Barangola and Kamrani mountain ranges. The valley is inhabited by the Malizai, a branch of the Yusufzai. Principal villages of the area are Gadkalan, Nasafa, Sarai-kuza, Damdarhal, Kalo-manrai, Banda, Bara-sarai, Ajob, Maloch, Bampokha, Bajowri, Amlukdara, Gumbat, Shamshi-khan, Shago-kas (Shigoh-kas of Bellew) and Guri (Bellew 1864/1994: 46).

Proper Swat valley lies in the north and north-east of Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa between 34° 40' and 35° north and 72° and 74° 6' east (*Imperial Gazetteer* [repr.] 1979: 216). The four boundaries of the valley are as follows: Ilam and Dwasari mountain in the south; Larram, Kamrani and Manja ranges in the north; Kotkay pass in the east; and Uthman-khel (Hatmankhail of Bellew) and Bajawar hills in the west (Bellew 1864/1994: 37-38). This valley is traversed by the Swat river originating 'at the point just below Kalām village where the streams from the valleys of Utrōt [Utror] and Ushu meet to form the head of the Swāt river' (Stein 1930: 58; see also Deane 1896: 656). Major Raverty, however, mentions a place by the name of "Sar-bánddah" (Sar-banda), beyond Kalam, lying close beneath the Sar-dzaey mountain ridge. In its south, at a short distance, there is a marshy place called Jal-gah. Jal-gah has two components of *jal* (Sanskrit) means water and *gah* (Persian) means land; hence 'the place of water or streams'. He considers this point as the source of river Swat (Raverty 1862: 253)[5].

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[5] Raverty gives an interesting description of the course of river Swat. He (1862: 253) writes:

> Flowing south, the stream, called the water of Jal-gah, enters the boundary of the Gárwí tribe; and thence flows on to Ut-rorr, which lies on its western bank. Thence under the name of the river of Ut-rorr it flows down opposite to the entrance of the *darah* of of U'shú with its river, lying in a north-easterly direction, and unites with that stream near the village of Kálám, also on the western bank. Still lower down it receives the river of Chá-yal running through the *darah* or valley of that name, lying in a south-westerly direction, near the village of Shá-grám on the

However, to put it simply, the source of the Swat river is visibly recognized at the point where the streams of Ushu and Utror meet below Kalam. It flows towards Malakand traversing, while changing the course in different directions, the land up to Panjkora where it gets mingled up with the river by the same name (*Imperial Gazetteer* [repr.] 1979: 216). This whole area makes Swat valley/river Swat valley, the river being moving in the mid of the valley dividing it into two halves of the right and left banks.

The elevation of Swat valley, starting at the junction of the Panjkora and Swat rivers, is 2,000 feet a.s.l., while it goes up to 15,000–22,000 feet a.s.l. as the valley rises rapidly. The whole of the valley is divided into two parts: 1) Swat Kohistan and 2) Swat proper. Swat Kohistan starts from Ain, below Baranial (modern Bahrain), and goes northward up to Utror and Ushu valleys. Swat proper is further divided, according to British nomenclature, between Upper and Lower Swat of which the latter's limits stretching between Landakai to Kalangai (ibid.: 216-217).

H. W. Bellew gives a different version of the division of Swat valley. The valley is partitioned into three parts as Ranizai, Kuz (Lower) and Bar (Upper) Swat. Ranizai forms the westernmost tract of the valley having 35 villages of which the chief ones are Thothakan, Matkana, Dherai, Jolagram, Khar, Maway-kalay, Bat-khela, Amandara, Maikh-banr, Aladand and Amankot on the left bank of river Swat and Dherai, Barangola, Kamalai and Badwan on the right bank. The area between

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western bank. East of the Ut-rorr river, as it is termed from Shá-grám downwards, and about half a mile lower is the village of Chúr-rra'í, where its name again changes; and it is then known as the sind, […] or river of Kohistán. On reaching the villages of Pí'á and Tírátaey, it receives the name of the Suwát river, having during its course received, little by little, the small rivulets on either side.

Aladand and Charbagh makes Kuz Swat. It contains many villages along the course of the river and principal among them are Thana, Barikot, Ghaligai, Qambar and Mingawara. The area lying between Charbagh and Churrai (modern Madian) and its blending with Ghwarband and Kohistan is Upper Swat. The chief villages of this part of Swat are Charbagh, Manglawar and Saidugan (Saidu Sharif) (Bellew 1864/1994: 40-41). It is to be noted that the Kohistanis consider the boundary of Kohistan as below as Jinki-khel and some British reports also mention it in the same way (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 15).

Although others suggested a different nomenclature: Upper Swat, from Kalam to Charbagh, Middle Swat from the latter to the junction with Panjkora, and Lower Swat from there to the junction with Kabul river (see Olivieri 2003: fn.1), it is probably better to continue using the more consolidated British nomenclature.

That part of Swat which lies beyond Landakai (the present-day western limit of the Swat district) – Khadakzai, Abazai, Talash valley and Ranizai – did not, however, make part of the Swat state. The area between Landakai and Kalangai, on the left bank of river Swat, was amalgamated with the protected area of the Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitral (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 15). In the north-east of Landakai was established the Swat State while the valley beyond this point in the south-west was already in the British control and remained as it was. Khadakzai, Abazai, Talash valley and Adinzai on the right bank of river Swat came under the sway of the Nawab of Dir as dictated by the Adinzai agreement, 1922. Thus, the area in the north-east of Landakai on the right bank and the boundary line between Adinzai and Shamozai on the left up to the upper reaches of the valley proper formed part of Swat State. Later

on, the expansion campaigns extended the boundaries of the State to Buner, Khudu-khel, Kanra and Ghwarband and part of Indus Kohistan (ibid.: 15-16).

Swat Kohistan is mainly inhabited by Torwals[6] and Gawris ('Gárwí' of Raverty). According to Raverty, the villages occupied by Torwal, in south-north distribution, are Baranial, Haranay, Cham, Gornay, Chawat-gram, Ramett, Chukil, Ajru-kalay and Mankial. The villages belonging to Gawris are Pashmal, Haryani, Ila-hi-kot, Kalam, Ushu and Utror (Raverty 1862: 252)[7]. These areas were gradually brought under control of the Swat State by the first Wali Miangul Abdul Wadud (1917-1949), between 1921 and 1947. Though, these peoples hail from different stocks, they are commonly designated as Kohistanis (for details see Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 115-125). W. R. Hay writes that they 'boast an Arab origin but speak a variety of Dardic languages. The majority in the Swat valley employ a dialect which is known as Torwali, but the inhabitants of one side valley use Khilliwal, the language of Indus Kohistan, while there is at least one village in the extreme north of the main valley which speak Khowar, the language of Chitral' (Hay 1934a: 240). The *Imperial Gazetteer* ([repr.] 1979: 220), however, records that the Kohistani dialects resemble the Hindko dialect of the Gujars of Hazara. Nevertheless, these people have now been recognized linguistically as Dardic. Morant (1936: 19) explains it as follows:

> The uppermost portion of this region [Swat valley], where a Dardic language is still spoken, is
> called Torwal, or, together with the adjoining valleys where the language is not Dardic, Swat

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[6] Torwals are called sometimes Rud-baris as well (Raverty 1862: 252).

[7] All these villages are on right and left banks of river Swat. Raverty (1862: 252-253) also mentions some other villages, further north, belonging to Gujars. He puts down:

> After this, still proceeding north, are three villages of the Gújars, called the *Bánddahs* of
> Gújarán, one of which is Sar-bánddah, inhabited by about fifty families. It is close beneath the
> mountain of Sar-dzáey, the barrier closing the extremity of the valley to the north. The three
> villages contain, altogether, about six hundred houses.

Kohistan. The term Torwal should be restricted to the area where a Dardic language is still spoken. The term Dard may be accepted in an ethnic sense as applying to all the people speaking Dardic languages in valleys to the south of the Hindukush, even though the name in actual use is *now* restricted to a small section of these people living in the Indus Valley below the confluence of the Indus with the Gilgit River. The use of the term Dard in the wider sense was common in antiquity in both Greek and Sanskrit sources. It is doubtful whether its use in a racial sense is justified, the people of Chitral and Kifiristan, for example, being very different in appearance from the Dards proper on the Indus and near Kashmir. Linguistically the term Dardic is applied properly to that sub-division of the Indo-European languages which is intermediate between the Indo-Aryan (Sanskritic) languages and the Iranian languages.

The Yusufzai-held Swat valley is traditionally divided between the sub-branches of the Akozai-Yusufzai. The various tribes lying between Madian and Ranizai on the left bank of the river, except Ranizai, are known as Baizai. They are Khan-khel, Aba-khel and Musa-khel (called Kuz Sulizai), Maturizai, Azzi-khel and Jinki-khel (Bar Sulizai). The right bank tribes are Shamizai, Sebujni, Nikpi-khel, Shamozai, Adinzai, Abazai and Khadakzai. Excluding the last two, the remaining tribes are collectively known as Khwazozai (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 19-20; Bellow 1864/1994: 42-45; for somewhat different account see Raverty 1862: 267-269). The areas allotted to and inhabited by these sub-sections of the Akozai-Yusufzai have, often, geographically been applied with their names probably during the distribution of land (Hay 1934a: 239-240). The valleys of Kana, Puran, Ghorband and Chakesar, are also inhabited by sub-sections of the Yusufzai people (Barth 1985: 72).

The district of Buner lies in south of Swat between 34° 22′ and 34° 37′ north and 72° 15′ and 72° 48′ east. It is bounded on the north by Swat, on the west by Swat and samah Ranizai, on the south by Mardan and Peshawar and on the east by the Black Mountains and Hazara district (*Imperial Gazetteer* [repr.] 1979: 223). Buner once

formed part of the historic Uḍḍiyana. Aurel Stein states, 'The fertile valleys drained by the Swāt river, together with tribal territory of Bunēr south-eastward, had long ago been recognized as corresponding to the ancient Udyāna, a country famous in Buddhist traditions' (Stein 1927a: 417). It remained in isolation due to lack of trade arteries (*Imperial Gazetteer* [repr.] 1979: 223). Buner is linked to Swat valley by the three passes of Karakar, Juarai and Gokand. Chamla makes a tributary valley of Buner and Khudu-khel and Amazai are also its important areas (Bellew 1864/1994: 51-53). Mahaban, Asgram, Girarai, Banj, Panjkotai and Gumbatai are great archaeological sites of Buner.

Similarly, Ambela, lying between 34° 24' north and 72° 38' east of Buner, is very famous in the British campaigns against the Pukhtuns. It was here that the "Hindustani *mujahideen*" aka "Hindustani Fanatics" made their stronghold during the 19th century. The "Ambela Campaign" (1863) against this group of people was undertaken in order to drive them out of the area (for details see, *Imperial Gazetteer* [repr.] 1979: 224-225; Caroe 1957: 360-369).

The present-day Buner district is inhabited by the Ilyaszai branch of the Yusufzai. It consists of Ashizai, Salarzai, Nurizai, Daulatzai (also known as Panjpai), Gadezai, Makhozai and Chagharzai. Chamla, Khudu-khel and Amazai also make important part of Buner (Bellew 1864/1994: 51–52). Malizai is also a tribe living in Buner, which might not be confused with the Malizai of Panjkora valley (Hay 1934a: 236). Gokand is an important valley of the area as well (ibid.: 236).

The present-day Shangla district in the east of Swat has many fertile valleys of which the important ones are Ghorband, Kana, Chakesar and Puran. These areas lie 'between the Swāt watershed and the Indus. All these territories are closely linked to

Swāt by geographical relations and history' (Stein 1927a: 421). Stein (ibid.: 421) further writes:

> There is a number of large and for the most part very fertile valleys comprising the tracts of Ghōrband, Kāna, Chakēsar, Pūran, and Makhozai stretch down to the Indus from the Swāt watershed. They can be reached by several easy passes, none much over 6000 feet in height. All are throughout the year practicable for laden mules and ponies, from the open side valleys which leave the Swāt river at the large valleys of Manglawar, Chārbāgh, and Khwāja-Rhela [Khwaza-khela], respectively. A single day's march from the riverine plain of Swāt suffices to bring the traveler over any of these passes to the head of the Ghōrband valley, whence access is easy to the rest of those valleys. In addition there are routes from Mingaora, more direct if not quite so easy, connecting that important place in Central Swāt with Pūran and Kābalgrām on the Indus.

He (1927b: 520) proceeds to put down:

> Our route starting from Khwāja-Khe [Khwaza-khela] in Upper Swat led first across the Karōrai pass into the northern portion of the Ghōrband tract. Thence over the Shalkau pass, close on 10,000 feet in height and still deeply covered with snow, the head of the large and fertile valley of Kāna was gained.

Stein (ibid.: 526) writes about Pir-sar: 'Its central position would make Pīr-sar a particularly convenient place of rally for large and fertile hill tracts such as Chakēsar and Ghōrband, as well as for that portion of the Indus lying close below where the space available for cultivation is wide and villages accordingly large and numerous.'

H. W. Bellew describes Kana as the largest district of Shangla having Ghorband as its tributary or glen. It has, according to him, thirty villages and three large towns of Kormang, Kanra and Upal. The Chakesar valley is narrower than the Kana valley and has twenty four villages. It is linked with Swat by the Gadwa pass. Puran is hyphenated to Makhozai and Chagharzai glens (Bellew 1864/1994: 50-51) and it is 'a

region situated very near Swat but, at the same time, very difficult to reach because of the absolute lack of roads that are usable all year round ... ' (Olivieri 1994: 474). Stein writes, 'Buner can be reached from the side of Pīr-sar and Chakēsar by several routes leading through Pūran and the Mukhozai and Chagharzai country' (Stein 1927b: 536). Makhozai and Chagharzai, presently, form part of the Buner district.

History

The valley of Swat and the adjacent areas of Dir, Buner and Shangla have been the scene of important developments in the history of Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent, Central Asia and China. For centuries this part of the world has remained central to civilizational processes in this extended geographical area. 'The conditions prevailing in Swat', observes Tucci, 'were very favorable to the convergence of ideas, situated as it was on the margin of the great thoroughfares which brought the West into contact with the East, with Central Asia and India […]' (Tucci 1958: 282). Various civilizations and cultures, world-views and philosophies of life and legacies got here as fused. Tangible and intangible traces of the Indo-Iranian people (Achaemenians, Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Kushanas, and Hunas) may conveniently be observed by the keen eye. This story is taken as back as to 3000 BCE by the archaeologists and historians.

Traces of prehistoric man have been found in Swat valley. The bifacial tools and pebble tools found in Swat point to the fact of Swat being a habitat of man in prehistoric times. According to R. Micheli, the lithic tools from Lower Kandak valley may chronologically and culturally be attributed to the Acheulean techno-complex of the Peninsular India and the Soan traditions (Micheli 2006).

The protohistoric cultural history of Swat valley is also now known to a certain degree. The Italian Archaeological Mission and the Archaeology Department of the University of Peshawar have greatly contributed in this field. In the result of these researches, a complete cultural sequence has been established from the mid of the third millennium BCE to the historic times. Ethnic, cultural and linguistic relations and affinities of Swat with Central Asia, Iran and northern part of Indo-Pakistani subcontinent is now proved in the framework of comparative and stylistic study of the material cultural of these various areas (Stacul 1987). These researches basically aim at finding out answer to the question of the Indo-Iranian migrations/invasions. The cultural phases relating to these protohistoric epochs are termed as Gandhara Grave Culture by Ahmad Hasan Dani (Dani 1967, 1978). This labeling is not followed by other scholars (Stacul 1970, 1996; Antonini 1969, 1973).

Both archaeological and historical evidence is conspicuous by its absence vis-à-vis the relationship between Swat and Achaemenian Persia. It is not clear whether the Achaemenian rulers had brought Swat under their control or not or the latter's cultural horizon got influenced by the former or not? However, keeping in view the expansionism of Persia which brought it into the effective control of 'regions and populations from Central Asia to Egypt and from the west of Asia Minor to the South Asian subcontinent' (Petrie and Magee 2007: 3), it may rightly be hypothesized that Swat could not withstand the pressure of this military hegemony. In terms of political and administrative set up Swat, according to Olivieri (1996: 65-66), was part of the Achaemenian province of Gandhara while, simultaneously, having an autonomous position (see also Petrie and Magee 2007). By this way, it remained integrated to the Achaemenid Empire between the end of the 6th and the middle of the 4th centuries BCE. At the time of Alexander's arrival in the present-day Northern Pakistan, he

encountered autonomous and powerful principalities presenting the picture of "client states" of the Achaemenian. The possibility of cultural interaction between the two people has remained subject to controversy as scanty evidence, showing the Iranian influence over the material cultures of the eastern provinces of Achaemenid empire, is available. Others (Petrie and Magee 2007: 16) have taken into account skimpy evidence for the direct Achaemenian control over the area regarding the phenomenon.

Zoroastrian cultural traces, however, have also been reported in Swat valley and the adjacent areas. A. H. Dani supposes some *pyraea* found in Balambat, Dir, as "fire altars" and compares them with those from Dahan-i-Ghulaman (Dani 1967: 41). This shows a sort of connection with Achaemenid Persia. But G. Tucci does not agree with this suggestion and deals the finds in terms of ordinary uses (Tucci 1977: 12). However, later on, the excavation at Aligrama presented a "temple building" which is considered as dedicated to "fire-worship" and some materials from the site, which are suggested as showing resemblance with Persia (Olivieri 1996: 66). Depiction of dogs in the petroglyphs of Gogdara I, suggested by Brentjes and supported by Tucci, 'indicates the presence of Indo-Iranian authors' (Tucci 1977: 93). Later on, this identification of these carvings was dismissed by other scholars (Olivieri 1998: 82-88).

The more pronounced history of Swat begins with the adventure of Alexander the Great. His historians have left valuable records of the period. 'For the historical student this region derives an additional interest, and one likely to appeal to a wider public, from the fact that it can be shown to have been the scene of important events in that arduous campaign by which Alexander the Great prepared his way west of the

Indus for the triumphant invasion of the Punjāb' (Stein 1930: 2). Since 1956, an archaeological context has been corroborating this literary evidence[8].

Massaga was the first place invaded and conquered by Alexander, probably in Autumn 327 BCE. It was the big city and the capital of the Assakenoi. The site is variously identified by scholars as being 'in lower Swat' (Stein 1929: 44), 'between the valleys of Talash and Adinzai' (Caroe 1958/1985: 52) and in Nikpi-khel (Tehsil Kabal), most probably Aligrama (Tucci 1958: 41; Olivieri 1996: 61-64). The conquest of Massaga was followed by the invasion of Bazira identified at the present-day Barikot (Stein 1929: 27-29; Tucci 1958: 296, n. 28). Next came Ora identified with modern Udegram (Stein 130: 40; Tucci 1958: n. 8) and then Aornos, a place now correctly identified with Mt. Ilam (Eggermont 1984; Olivieri 1996; Rahman & Nazar Khan 2008). After subduing Aornos, 'The regency of this and of the surrounding regions was entrusted to Sisicottus (Sandrakottus), an Indian ally' (Olivieri 1996: 69). But soon after, even when Alexander was in Punjab, the people of Swat challenged and threw off Macedonian hegemony (quoted in Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 22).

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[8] The credit goes to Sir Aurel Stein for taking initiative for the first time in this respect as he surveyed Swat valley and the neighbouring areas in order to establish a clear account of Alexander's campaign in this region. Later on, some of his identifications and suggestions were dismissed by scholars in the result of new extensive archaeological researches. See, Tucci 1977: 9-102; Eggermont 1984: 73-123; Caroe 1983; Olivieri 1996: 45-78. Other major works on the Alexander's campaign in Swat, especially regarding the Aornos' problem, are the following: E. Badian, 'Alexander at Peucelaotis', *The Classical Quarterly*, 37, 1, 1987, 117-128; P. Callieri, rev. E. Errington and Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, *From Persepolis to the Punjab. Exploring ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan*, London 2007 (Errington/Sarkhosh Curtis 2007), in *East and West*, 58, 1-4, 2008, 465-479; Abdur Rahman and Shah Nazar Khan, 'Alexander's Route and Stein: Massaga to Ora', *Ancient Pakistan*, XIX, 2008, 49-54; Gohar Ayub Khan, 'Is Pir Sar Alexander's Aornos?', *Dawn*, 14th February 2011.

Alexander's death was followed by the division of his empire between his generals. The rivalry between the Greeks is summarized in the following passage:

> Besides rivalry between the Greeks and the Macedonians, the Macedonian soldiers and satraps themselves were divided in several factions. The generals of Alexander, who fought after his death for possession over the parts of his empire, were divided into several groups having their respective following among Macedonian soldiers and officers of India. Some of these soldiers and officers might have been much more devoted to their groups, rather than to Macedonian empire in India, which they must have left to join their groups in the west (Ojha 1968: 42).

It was in these circumstances that the foreign yoke was no more brooked and the Indians threw it away under the leadership of Chandragupta Maurya. After a protracted struggle between Nikator Seleucus and Chandragupta, the former, at last, ceded his eastern satrapies to the latter in 305 B.C.

> According to Eratosthene quoted by Strabo they [Seleucus and Chandragupta] concluded a treaty in 305 BC., under which Seleukus ceded to Candragupta the former Persian empire, that is whole of Indian Paropanisade west of the Indus along with, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia. Some doubt has been raised as to whether Candragupta actually annexed the Kandahar region, or indeed any territory beyond the frontiers of British India. With the discovery of his grandson's bilingual inscriptions in Kandahar, Candragupta's acquisition of these territories can no longer be doubted (Majumdar 1973/1992: 150).

The annexation of Swat might also was effected during this time, the probable era of Chandragupta's reign, according to Majumdar (ibid.: 151), is *c*. 320-296 BCE.

To Chandragupta succeeded his son, Bindusara, who ruled for 25 years. Aśoka ascended the throne after Bindusara's death and, according to Tibetan tradition, died in *c*. 236 BCE in Taxila. With his death the vivid phase of the Mauryan history comes to an end as differences in opinions have often been found in regard to his successors. 'The Pālī chronicles in general and the *Sāmanta Pāsādikā* do not carry the Maurya

history beyond Aśoka. They rather create the impression that the whole glory of the dynasty vanished with him' (Mohan 1974: 55). Some other sources like the *Divyāvadāna* take the story further and give but an unreliable record of Aśoka's successors (ibid.). Notwithstanding the dearth of sufficient historical evidence, according to many scholars, the protracted struggle for the throne amongst the Mauryan princes, at last, caused the disappearance of the dynasty. In such a chaotic situation, Demetrius, the king of the Bactrian Greeks, set out to expand his empire in the west (ibid.: 102-105). The last Mauryan King, Śāliśūka, suffered great losses at his hands and was assassinated by his own commander-in-Chief, Pushyamitra and with it the 137 years rule of the Mauryan family ceased to continue (for details see Majumdar 1973/1992: 165-166; Mohan 1974: 55-67). Though, Pushyamitra did not let Demetrius get a sound footing in the Punjab and beyond it, the latter successfully added Gandhara to his dominion during his campaigns (ibid.: 105-107).

The Indo-Greeks, suggests A.K. Narain, have to be studied against the backdrop of the dismemberment of Achaemenid empire in the east and the advent of Alexander and the disintegration of the Mauryan power (Narain 1957/1962: 7). The political chaos and crisis in the Maurya empire after the death of Aśoka led the Bactrian Greeks to conquer the western parts of the empire (ibid.: 10.) This makes it clear that the Indo-Greeks followed the Mauryans in Swat and the adjacent areas. Numismatic evidence shows that Swat was included in Menander's kingdom and was ruled on his behalf by Viyakamitra, probably a prince of Indian blood (ibid.: 79). Antimachus II, who is counted as one of the sub-kings of Menander and is supposed to have declared his independence in Arachosia after the latter's death, also governed Swat for which evidence may be found in the distribution of his coins (ibid.: 96, 112). A.K. Narain counts Swat valley/Uḍḍiyana as one of the seven regions of the Indo-Greek kingdom

(ibid.: 103) and suggests that it remained under the control of the four Indo-Greek kings namely Menander, Antimachus II, Zoilus I and Apollodotus (ibid.: 115). He even, on the basis of the Bajawar hoards, the Swat relic vase of Theodore and the Bajawar seal of king Theodamus, proposes Swat valley as being the capital of Menander's kingdom (ibid.: 172-173). It was during the rule of Zoilus II that the fortified city of Barikot (Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai) was founded (Callieri 1992; MacDowall & Callieri 2004).

The Indo-Greeks were followed into Swat by another people who were known to the Greeks as 'Skuthoi (Skythians or Scythians), and later they became known to the Indians and Persians as Śaka or Saka and to the Chinese as Sseu, pronounced in ancient times as 'Sseuk'' (Majumdar 1973/1992: 181-182). They, under their king Maues, reached Swat in the first century BCE (Narain 1957/1962: 144-145). He, after this, led a successful campaign against Taxila and occupied it (for details see Widemann 2003).

Swat might have remained as a tributary of the Kushanas[9] but concrete evidence in this respect is wanting in. However, as suggested by Tucci (1977: 67), it made great progress, both economically and culturally, at this time. Later researches added further evidence to the fact:

> One of the most interesting markers as far as pottery is concerned is the spread of the 'paddle and anvil' technique which, in the Kushana age, paralleled and then almost replace[d] the wheel turning technique. Since 'paddle and anvil' pottery is known to be typical of the Indo-Gangetic area, in this phase, we are apparently witnessing a process of 'Indianization' of part of the

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[9] In its later history 'Uḍḍiyāna-Swāt presents itself, in the different periods of its history, with its own petty rulers (perhaps many of them), or under the domination of the Kusānas ... ' (Tucci 1977: 11).

material culture brought about by the Kushana state (see Table 1). This phenomenon is not surprising as it was precisely during this phase that we find the most important evidence of inter-regional trade, principally with the Mathura area (see Taddei 2004) (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 136).

Evidence of the Sassanians and Hunas' entrance is also found in Swat (Tucci 1977: 67).

Buddhism entered Swat during or shortly after the time of Aśoka the Great (Tucci 1958: 281; Muncherji 1959: 40). Initially Hinayana school prevailed here as described by Fǎxiǎn at the turn of the fifth century CE (Legge 1998: 28-29; Beal 1869/2003: 27). But Buddhism, gradually, underwent a great many changes over the next two centuries due to no ordinary reasons. XuánZàng found Mahayana Buddhism here as greatly revered by the people (Beal 1884/2004: 120). This development from Hinayana to Mahayana, according to Tucci, ought to be attributed to the roundabout nature of the Swat valley. He (1958: 281) observes that 'there was hardly any other place where so favourable a situation could develop for Mahāyāna to take a more definite shape than this part of the Indian subcontinent along the routes linking east and west, so well illustrated by Foucher. It was here that Buddhism became in a certain sense westernized and was translated into terms artistical as well as dogmatical more universally accessible, without losing of course the fundamental inspiration of the Master'.

That Swat was one of the great centres of Buddhism is vividly evidenced from the Chinese sources. Fǎxiǎn mentions 500 *sangharamas* in the valley (Legge 1998: 28; Beal 1869/2003: 27) while XuánZàng gives the number as 1400 all situated along the river Su-po-fa-su-tu (Swat) (Beal 1884/2004: 120). It should be noted that at the time

of the former's visit Buddhism was flourishing here but the latter found it in a state of decline, the *sangharamas* being 'waste and desolate' having a negligible number of monks without understanding of the sacred texts (ibid.). An eight-century Korean pilgrim to India, Hyecho, also visited Swat. He mentions its king as follower of the Three Jewels, most of his villages and their people in service of the monasteries, a great number of monasteries and monks and the number of monks as exceeding that of the laity (Yang et al. eds., n.d.: 50)[10].

A still unique development regarding Buddhism in Swat is the emergence of Vajrayana school and aboriginal cults. Vajrayana Buddhism was an exotic tradition with elements of tantrism. Indrabhuti, king of Uḍḍiyāna, and his legend son, Guru Padmasambhava, are said to have been its pioneers. G. Tucci seeks a link between the decline of the traditional Buddhism and the development of Vajrayana. He states that beliefs and practices, which preceded Buddhism in Swat were never completely wiped out but, however, kept in control for the time being by the all-encompassing Buddhism. When these aboriginal undercurrents did find an opportunity in the wake of the collapse of traditional Buddhism in the valley, they at once resurrected and prevailed (Tucci 1958: 281-282; 1977: 67-70). This fact is also recorded by XuánZàng, as he refers to the progress of Brahmanism and the presence of 10 *deva* temples (Beal 1884/2004: 121). Such radical developments took place 'after a phase of great crisis for Buddhism in the region: between the 6th (?)-7th and 8th A.D.' (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 136).

Archaeological evidence has now been added to this literary account by the Italian scholars' researches in Swat. But, in fact, it makes a minor part of the entire material

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[10] For interesting details about Buddhism in Swat see: Tucci 1977: 56-67; Sultan-i-Rome 2012.

cultural horizon of the time. The three valleys of Saidu, Jambil and Ugad (Malam-jaba) were associated with the new schools of Tantrayāna and Vajrayana. Remains of two *deva* temples are now located at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai and Hati-dara. The rock shelters at the upper Kotah valley present signs of Brahmanic religious themes, important among them the depiction of *triśula* (ibid.: 140). Symbols of aboriginal cults are also found in the painted rock shelters (Olivieri 2011), which give credence to Tucci's proposition that aboriginal cults developed alongside Tantrayāna and Vajrayana (Tucci 1977: 68).

It is mainly due to Vajrayana Buddhism that Swat got a great fame in Tibet. It was in a peculiar political milieu that King Khridron-lda-btsan invited Padmasambhava, on the advice of monk Acharya Shantarakshita, for the promotion of the cause of Buddhism. Padmasambhava accepted the invitation and reached Tibet in 747 CE. With this Buddhism got impetus in Tibet and the Nying-ma-pa sect did start in that country (Banerjee 1965: 17-25).

Though it was from Swat that Vajrayana Buddhism expanded to Tibet and other parts and there has been a great mention of Urgyan or Orgyan (Swat) in Tibetan sacred literature (Tucci 1958: 279) but the Buddhist art of the former area had till recently no evidence in this respect. It was basically this lacuna which instigated Benoytosh Bhattacharya to expound his theory of Uḍḍiyana being identified with Orrisa (Bhattacharya 1924: xxvii). But recently the studies of the Italian scholars have brought into light some Vajrayanic themes in the rock art and painted shelters of Swat (Filigenzi 2003, 2006, 2011; Olivier & Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2011) which may also answer the question posed by Tucci that 'what then, we may enquire, are the traces left by this esoteric Buddhism in a country which took so active a part in it . . .'

(Tucci 1958: 283). Vajrayana Buddhism belongs to the post-Gandharan period of the history of Swat, which corresponds to the Turki Shahi and Hindu Shahi periods.

Turki Shahi/Early Shahi or Kabul Shahi (8th-9th) and Hindu Shahi or Late Shahi (9th-10th) rulers established their hegemony in Swat valley (Tucci 1977: 11; Rahman 1979). Their traces are abundantly found in the valley helping handsomely in the reconstruction of its history. Structural evidences, related to this period, have been recovered, *inter alia*, from Trenches 6-7 and 9 of the Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai during the 1998-1999 excavation campaign (Callieri et al. 2000). During that time, Swat underwent social and cultural changes. Archaeological data shows that large cities were abandoned in favour of 'protected dwellings in the mountains'. Buddhist monasteries, as recorded by Chinese pilgrims, presented a desolate view save those associated with the late Buddhist school (Tantrayāna and Vajrayana) (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006). Likewise, this period also saw revival of Hinduism in Swat. Anna Filigenzi gives new interpretations of some rock carvings, attributing them to a cultural horizon. A rock art site in Tindo-dag, where Stein (1930: 32-33) saw the representation of king Uttarasena of Swat and Tucci (1958: 299-302) a local deity of a Kushan king, is now seen by Filigenzi (2011: 192) as 'a 7th-8th century representation of Sūrya with his assistants and wives, accompanied by Ganeśa (Filigenzi 2000)'. Similarly, the Hindu temple of Barikot, Trench 6, is another example of the revival of Hinduism at this time. It was, as the archaeological context demonstrates, 'probably dedicated to Visnu' and makes the first 'important witness to non-b[B]uddhist cults' of the period (ibid.: 197-198). Thus, the general picture of the period may be presented as the one in which traditional Buddhism gave way to new schools of Tantrayāna and Vajrayana, the resurrection of aboriginal cults and the revivalism of Hinduism.

The forces of Mahmud of Ghazni defeated the Hindu Shahi ruler of Northern Pakistan at the turn of the 11th century CE. Arslān Jādhib, a general of Mahmud, is thought as the first Muslim conqueror of Swat, probably, in 1001-1002 CE (Rahman 1997-1998: 37-38; 2002: 14).

The remains of the first Islamic period in Swat consist of the Udegram Mosque, built in the first decade of the eleventh century, some dwelling structures, most likely inhabited till the end of the 13th century, and an Muslim graveyard (Bagnera 2006, 2011). Pottery from the Muslim settlement of Udegram, as well as the coins belonging to Muslim dynasties recovered from the same site, have been recently published (Manna 2006; Giunta 2006).

In the wake of the Muslims' victory, 'people from different Afghan tribes also settled in Swat, and came to be known as Swati Pukhtuns, but information about their longstanding rule is scarce. In practice, they remained independent and outside the sphere of influence of the neighbouring Muslim rulers of Afghanistan and India throughout their occupation' (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 24). This view, mainly based on oral tradition, is disputed by others scholars. They believe that this first Islamization of Swat was short-lived as the evidence from Udegram, which ceased to be a Muslim settlement at the turn of the 14th century, shows. The Tibetan pilgrims of the succeeding centuries refer to Hindu *rajas* and make no mention of Islam. The second wave of Islamization of Swat started with the coming of the Yusufzai in the region (personal communication with Olivieri).

At the turn of the 16th century, Ulugh Beg, the Timurid king of Kabul, betrayed 700 Yusufzai elders to massacre, which resulted in their mass migration towards Peshawar valley and were well received by the tribes here. Initially the Yusufzais remained

engaged in trade relationship with Swat and during the time the Swati ruler, Sultan Owais, expressed his wish to marry Malik Ahmad's, chief of the tribe, sister. The Yusufzais conceded to the proposal and they entered in a matrimonial relation with the Swatis. Later on, the Swatis felt threatened of the increased movements of the Yusufzais into Swat. As a preventive measure, the former thought it apt to put Malik Ahmad's sister to sword in order to undo the ties with the latter. Historians consider this malicious act as the immediate cause of the successful Yusufzais' campaign against Swat. Olaf Caroe suggests the year 1515 for this occupation (Caroe 1958/1985: 181; for more details see 172-184; Elphinstone 1815/1972: 1-34; Muazzam Shah 1971/1987: 1-81; Roshan Khan 1983).

After the conquest of Swat, the Yusufzais came again in contact with the Mughals. Babur made his attempt to subjugate them. But, shortly, he entered in matrimonial relations with the enemy by marrying Bibi Mubaraka, cousin of Malik Ahmad and sister of Shah Mansur. With this a serious threat to the yet to be settled Yusufzais ended (Muazzam Shah 1971/1987: 82-107; Caroe 1958/1985: 159-160). It was not until Akbar's time that Swat again witnessed the Mughal's invasion but without any success. Jahangir and Shah Jahan restrained from such a venture and it was Aurangzeb who sent a punitive expedition in 1667 against the Swat Yusufzais. Durranis and Sikhs also did not insert their authority on the valley (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 25).

Having settled in the valley, the Yusufzais developed a social organization in which the central authority was conspicuous by its absence. This system 'continued to function for over four centuries until it was altered fundamentally by Miangul Abdul Wadud after his rise to power' (ibid.: 37). It had its own mechanism for violence and

peace as the element of equilibrium may be seen in its chief characteristics i.e. periodical re-allotment of land, the fighting role of the chiefs, the sacrality of the saints and the subjugation of the Gujars (quoted in ibid.: 37)[11]. This period is commonly designated as the "Era of Pukhto".

One of the great watershed events in the history of Swat is its contact, for the first time, with British India. The annexation of the Punjab by the British in 1849 sent a wave of unease to the Swat Yusufzais. As they were worried by such proximity of the new aggressionist power, a response to the threat was found in the formation of a state. In consultation with Abdul Ghafur, the Akhund of Swat, Syed Akbar Shah of Sithana, a scion of the Pir Baba's family, was enthroned as king of Swat in 1849. He ruled the valley until his death in 1857 (Hay 1934b: 4). In the ensuing anarchy, a multi-faceted power struggle got started. Chief figures of the valley – powerful Khans and the Akhund's descendants called as Mianguls – were coveting the overlordship of Swat. Miangul Abdul Hanan, elder son of the Akhund, allied himself with Saadat Khan of Aladand-dherai against the powerful Khan of the same area, Sherdil Khan, the latter being in companionship with Rahmatullah Khan of Dir. Abdul Hanan also made alliance with Umara Khan of Jandul and in 1880 occupied part of Adinzai with his assistance but soon afterwards developed differences with him and was deprived of his possession in 1882. This led him to turn to Rahmatullah Khan (ibid.: 1; *MIS* 1934: 161).

Similarly, the Nawabs of Dir subjected the right bank of river Swat to continual attacks and occupation as they claimed these territories. Muhammad Sharif Khan

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[11] For valuable information about society and social organizations see: Barth 1975, 1981; Ahmad 1976; Lindholm 1996.

occupied the tribes of Upper Swat along the right bank of river Swat in 1897 (ibid.: 156). In 1907, the tribes of the right bank of river Swat repudiated Aurangzeb Khan's, popularly known as Badshah Khan, successor of Muhammad Sharif Khan, authority. He attacked Nikpi-khel in 1909 but on the insistence of the British withdrew. However, in 1910 and 1911 he made himself master of the right bank of river Swat (ibid.: 157). The tribes of Upper Swat once again rose up, in 1915, against the Nawab of Dir, this time under the leadership of Sandakai Baba, and drove away the forces of Dir. In the wake of this victory, the tribes formed a 'Council of Five Members' with real power in the hands of the Sandakai Baba. They made a contact with Miangul Abdul Wadud, popularly known as Badshah Sahib, and offered him the rulership but, due to some reasons, he could not concede to the offer. At last, the people resorted to Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah, grandson of Syed Akbar Shah, and enthroned him as the 'king' of Upper Swat (ibid.: 157; Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 52-56).

The British also entered this arena of power struggle in the later decades of the nineteenth century as they had their own stakes. At one time they supported one faction and at other time the other faction. They gave tacit approval to some of actions of the Nawab of Dir while sometimes the Walis of Swat were let free to do what they wanted to do. Similarly, Umara Khan of Jandul also entered into correspondence with the British soliciting their approval. Some tribes of Swat, as well, communicated with them as against the intensions of the Afghan Amir, Abdur Rahman Khan, and Umara Khan. It was against this backdrop, or to be more concise the Forward Policy, that the colonial masters had an involvement and influence in the local politics of the region (for details see, Hay 1934b; Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 42-46).

The British were much concerned, in the framework of the Forward Policy, about their strict control over the Passes of Hindu Kush. Chitral garnered much importance in this respect in 1895. Aman-ul-Mulk, Mehtar of Chitral, died in 1892 and there followed a rapid succession of Afzal-ul-Mulk, Sher Afzal, Nizam-ul-Mulk and Amir-ul-Mulk. This dynastic dispute exacerbated the situation 'culminating, in March 1895, in the British Agent and his escort being besieged in the Chitral Fort by Umra Khan, late Khan of Jandol, and Sher Afzal, brother of Aman-ul-Mulk' (*MIS* 1934: 152). As a result, the British designated Shuja-ul-Mulk, the youngest son of Aman-ul-Mulk, as provisional Mehtar on 3rd March 1895 (ibid.) and a rescue campaign of the Chitral Relief was carried out and its force 'left Nowshera on 1 April 1895' (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 26). As per policy, 'it was decided not to use the Mora Pass, with the idea of not disturbing unnecessarily possibly hostile tribes on that flank. There remained the Shahkot and Malakand Passes' (Younghusband & Younghusband 1895/1976: 83). The British applied the policy of mere threatening the Shah-kot and Morah passes and the focal point of their attack remained the Malakand pass (ibid.: 84). This strategy was applied by the Yusufzais themselves against the Swatis in their campaign into Swat (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 27). The Government proclaimed that it had no intensions of conquest or other detrimental acts vis-à-vis the people of Dir, Swat and Buner provided they observed neutrality. The tribes, however, resisted the British and blocked the above-mentioned three passes (Younghusband & Younghusband 1895/1976: 83-84). They were defeated and the colonial power 'established garrisons in Malakand and Chakdara' (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 27). The British forces under the command of Sir Robert Low and Colonel Kelly raised the siege in April 1895 (*MIS* 1934: 152).

The British instituted the Political Agency of Dir and Swat with its headquarters at Malakand 'under the direct control of the central British Indian government due to its strategic significance' (Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 27). They, on the completion of the Chitral campaign, concluded an agreement with the Khan of Dir, Muhammad Sharif Khan. It was made incumbent upon him, in return for an annual subsidy of Rs. 10,000 and 400 rifles and ammunition, to maintain the Chitral road, from Chakdara to Ashreth, open, to keep it in good repair, to provide levies for its protection, to make arrangement for the required postal service and to protect the yet to be established telegraph communication (*MIS* 1934: 156). The maintenance and protection of the Chitral road also made an important point of agreement between the British and Badshah Khan, after the death of his father on December 8th 1904 (ibid.: 157).

The formation of Malakand Agency was shortly followed by another hallmark development in the political arena of highland Yusufzai e.g. the advent, for the second time, of the Swat State in 1915 with Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah being its ruler. The strange political developments of the period caused the expulsion of the King from Swat on September 4, 1917. The causes counted by W. R. Hay for his dethronement run as follow; his inability to overcome the difficulties especially those created by the Nawab of Dir, failure to raise a standing army, being follower of Ahmadi sect and the Mianguls' activities against him (Hay 1934b: 6; see also, Sultan-i-Rome 2008a: 80). Resultantly, Miangul Abdul Wadud, grandson of Akhund of Swat, succeeded to the throne by the third week of September 1917 (*MIS* 1934: 162; Hay 1934b: 6).[12] He ruled till 1949 and resigned that year in favour of his son and heir-apparent, Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb, popularly known as Wali Sahib. In 1969 Swat State was merged

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[12] Sultan-i-Rome (2008a: 87-88), however, gives the second week of September for this accession.

into Pakistan out of which, with the passage of time, three districts namely Swat, Buner and Shangla-par emerged.

The relations between the British and the Akhund's family have been subject to controversy. Contra to the popular view that the Mianguls, except the last Wali, Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb, were antagonistic to the British is the thesis presented by Sultan-i-Rome. He argues an intimate relationship between the Mianguls and the British (Sultan-i-Rome 1992, 2005, 2008a: 96-98, 129-141). It seems here pertinent to resort to some contemporary sources, which will help a great deal in depicting the real picture of the story.

The Akhund of Swat, the great ancestor of the Miangul family, had a sort of hate-love relations with the British. Though, he led the Pukhtun tribes against the British in 1863[13] and never restrained them from misconduct still he was believed as a 'well-disposed' person (*RBGT*: 9[14]). He has already proved himself of great use to the British as during the 1857 he had drove out Mubarak Shah, son of Syed Akbar Shah,

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[13] It was under political expediency that the Akhund of Swat opposed the British in 1863. McMahon and Ramsay (1901/1981: 74) observe:

> The Akhund probably had no very great desire to be drawn into direct opposition to us, but, owing to circumstances beyond his control, he was involved in the business. The people of Mahaban and Boner called on him for help, and to refuse would have been to risk the chance that Said Mubarak Shah, the son of Said Akbar, might usurp a large amount of the influence which the Akhund then held over the Yusafzai. To join in the movement and not do his best to bring it to a successful conclusion would have been to lower his prestige. That he was moved by some strong motive is clear from the fact that on this occasion he threw in his lot with the Hindustani fanatics, a sect whom he abhorred and frequently openly denounced. Not only did he himself join, but by his influence indeed thousands of others to join in also.

[14] *Report Showing the Relations of the British Government with the Tribes on the North-West Frontier of the Punjab: From Annexation in 1849 to the Close of 1855. And Continuation of the Same to August 1864. Memorandum on the Dera Ismail Khan District (*abbr. *RBGT*).

and some mutineers of the 55th Native Infantry (McMahon & Ramsay 1901/1981: 74). Similarly, as per his influence, the people of Buner ousted some Hindustani *mujahideen*, in 1868, of their country (ibid.: 75). W. R. Hay (1934b: 1) also puts down that 'it does not appear that he [the Akhund] was fanatically anti-British'. It shows that the Akhund was very careful and articulated in his relationship with the British. His successors also followed his example. For the association between Miangul Abdul Wadud and the British a resort may be made to W. R. Hay. He (1934b: 14), in this respect, observes:

> It is now necessary to turn back and say something about Miangul Gulshahzada's relations with Government, and the internal affairs of his State. Immediately after his conquest of Buner in May 1923 he held a Durbar at Saidu and... express[ed] his loyalty to the British Government and his hatred of Bolshevism... Ever since he had reached years of discretion he had shown himself consistently friendly to Government. He had frequently visited the Political Agent at the Malakand had usually been ready to comply with Government's orders or advice and had on occasions returned stolen rifles and performed similar minor services. It was eventually proposed that he should be recognised as Badshah of Swat and given a subsidy of Rs. 10,000 a year in return for an agreement which was to include amongst other things an assertion of his loyalty to the British Government and the recognition of certain limits to his dominions... Accordingly at a Durbar held at Saidu on May 3rd, 1926 the Chief Commissioner announced the recognition by Government of Miangul Gulshahzada as Wali of Swat and tied the pagri of rulership on his head.

He (ibid.: 14-15) further writes:

> Since his recognition the Wali has continued to render assistance to Government on every possible occasion, while the peace and order he has preserved in his State has relieved Government of all anxiety on an important and erstwhile trouble portion of the Frontier... During the troubles of 1930 he offered the services of his cavalry and by the strongest possible measures prevented any Red Shirt intrigue in his territory. He has also accepted Government control of the Swat Kohistan Forests, has allowed the Survey Department to map the whole of

his dominions and in every possible way has shown his readiness to cooperate with Government. Finally on all occasion he has shown the greatest hospitality to Government officers; he has invited large numbers of them to shoot the small game which abounds in the Swat valley, and has permitted them to tour in all the more accessible portions of his State.

In the light of Hay's observations, it seems that Miangul Abdul Wadud did not have a strained relationship with the British. He had successfully made them believe in the efficiency and strength of his rule (*MIS* 1934: 163). He was, thus, posited as the one having the enlightened spirit (Stein 1929: 6; 1930: 3). This notion of enlightened spirit, in the context of Swat, might bear on the concept of enlightened despotism of the 18th century Europe in a best possible way (see Toynbee 1961: 144-148; Rafi Ullah 2009).

Chapter 3

Scholarship in context

Organic intellectuals and imperial representations

Archaeological activity in Malakand-Swat between 1896 and 1926 ought to be termed as the result of British colonialism/imperialism and the associated phenomenon of the enlightened despotism of the Walis of Swat. This chapter intends to dwell upon the scenario of colonialism/imperialism in relation to Malakand-Swat while focusing on the lives and times of pioneers in the archaeology of the area, the intellectual/academic discourse and the representations worked out by them within the framework of this study as well as the development of enlightened despotism. Recourse would, therefore, be made to critical theory in order to present an analysis of the subject matter of this historical/archaeological literature.

Critical theory needs to be contextualized against the phenomenon of postcoloniality. The definition of the latter has caused much controversy. Heated debates have also surfaced about the 'when', 'where', 'whom' and 'what' of postcolonialism (Childs & Williams 1997: 1-25). But before detailing on this issue, it is necessary to explain colonialism/imperialism and enlightened despotism, which will better equip us for the development of theoretical formulation.

Definition of imperialism/colonialism

Various and scattered episodes of colonialism but structurally consistent examples of imperialism are abundantly available in the history of mankind. Colonialism without imperialism and vice versa can hardly be understood and explained. Both have complementary dimensions and give impetus to each other's development. Still the

distinction between the two can easily be made by understanding imperialism as an all-pervading whole both in terms of idea and practice and colonialism the practical manifestation of that idea in the varying frameworks of time and place. Furthermore, Ronald J. Horvath makes an interesting differentiation in this respect. He (1972: 47) writes:

> The important difference between colonialism and imperialism appears to be the presence or absence of significant number of permanent settlers in the colony from the colonizing power. . . . Therefore, colonialism refers to that form of intergroup domination in which settlers in significant numbers migrate permanently to the colony from the colonizing power. Imperialism is a form of intergroup domination wherein few, if any, permanent settlers from the imperial homeland migrate to the colony.

Imperialism and colonialism has both inter- and intra-regional dimensions. The practice can be traced back to the ancient world i.e. Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome. The most vivid and persistent phenomenon of imperialism/colonialism is to be found in the historical interactions between the orient and the occident. It is vivid because it is well documented. It is perennial as it has been over there since Alexander's adventure (European colonialism in Modern Age and western neo-colonialism in postcolonial world) (Elton 1945; Aziz 1976; Said 1978/2003; Millar 1998; Young 2003).

Imperialism/colonialism is all about dominance, hegemony and power. It is 'agreed that colonialism is a form of domination – the control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behavior of other individuals or groups. . . . The idea of domination is closely related to the concept of power' (Horvath 1972: 46). Similarly, imperialism is also associated with power politics. 'Briefly stated,' writes Johan Galtung, 'imperialism is a system that splits up collectivities and relates some of the

parts to each other in relations of *harmony of interest*, and other parts in relations of *disharmony of interest*, or *conflict of interest*' (Galtung 1971: 81). Imperialism and colonialism have diverse manifestations in human history. Three types namely '(1) extermination, (2) assimilation, and (3) relative equilibrium, i.e., neither extermination nor assimilation', in this regard and largely based on the nature of the relations between the dominant and dominated peoples, have been specified by Horvath (1972: 47-48).

Modern European imperialism/colonialism spreads over a longer period of history, from the second half of 18th century to the closing years of 20th century. A number of great powers such as France, Germany, Italy, England, Russia, etc. were involved in the process of colonization. Among them British imperialism/colonialism was more demanding and repressing as well as more pervading and persisting (McGowan & Kordan 1981). There was a fine number of advocates of the empire who intellectually represented it, justified it and idealized it. Empire building was seen as a *civilizing* mission within the framework of the White Man Burden. The paragon of such a racial superiority might be found in the person of Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) who established himself in southern Africa. His *Confession of Faith* (1877) is a representative piece of writing in this respect (in Perry et al. 2008: 242-244)[15].

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[15] He writes in the *Confession of Faith*:

> I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race… We know the size of the world we know the total extent. Africa is still lying ready for us it is our duty to take it. It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory and we should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes that more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race more of the best the most human, most honourable race the world possesses (Rhodes 1877 in Perry et al. 2008: 243).

Belief in racial superiority and moral authority was also like blood in veins of British empire. It was nothing more than a mere justification for colonization. The colonized people and their cultures were greatly maligned so that their occupation appeared as a moral and human obligation of the British. Besides the steps taken in the economic sphere of life of British India, the government also took immense interest in social and cultural aspects of India. Social institutions and cultural life did not escape intentional degeneration but, simultaneously, some reforms and positive policies also took place. One determinant of the concern about the cultural heritage of India was the impulse to study and, thus, to have a familiarity with the Indian history and hence with its present. This fact leads us to the 'knowledge/power' concept as has been presented by Michel Foucault (Mills 2003/2005: 67-79) and Edward Said (1978/2003).

One important feature as well as result of this 'knowledge/power' relation was the negative representation of the native peoples. This is truer in the case of Pukhtuns of the North-West Frontier of India. Their image was presented in a much more distorted shape and their social and cultural systems were extremely maligned and denigrated[16].

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[16] There might be found some exceptions to this rule. Both liberals and conservatives were of the view that India had serious deficiencies in terms of culture and society. While the former 'prescribe[d] often cathartic remedies for its ailments' the latter opted for involvement 'with the country and its people'. Conservatives alarmed that transformation of India under rationalist consideration, like the experience of French Revolution, would certainly cause disruption and chaos. To them it was apt to rule India according to its own cultural systems. Moreover, conservatives were also conscious about 'the virtues of Indian society, religion and institutions', obviously under the spell of 'contemporary Romanticism, which made them highly susceptible to the wonders of Indian architecture, history and literature'. Edmund Burke was the principal protagonist in this respect. His romance 'for the past and respect for whatever was rooted in it was shared by the Marquess Wellesley and the knot of young proconsuls who enjoyed his patronage – Charles Metcalfe, Montstuart Elphinstone and John Malcolm.' Since conservatives were steeped in the traditional Indian cultures and societies they were disturbed by

It is to be noted that politico-military designs and literary intellectual representations worked in a dialectical manner in this respect.

The enlightened despotism of the Walis of Swat

Enlightened despotism represents an historical epoch in eighteenth century Europe. Principles of Enlightenment were adopted in statecraft and were, in turn, applied in public administration. But enlightened despotism, as is maintained by L. Krieger, 'has survived the institution of monarchy, on which it first battened, to become a permanent category, a continual option, and a recurrent choice in our politics' (Krieger 1975: x). Once Krieger's interpretation is accepted the occurrence of enlightened despotism in Swat under the Walis does not seem something unusual and anachronistic, of course. Krieger (ibid.) deals it in a way as it follows:

> Enlightened despotism, moreover, gets to be more than a purely historical problem when it is viewed as a comparatively credible recourse against confusion rather than as a dubious and evanescent stage in the history of autocracy. For who will deny that periodically, down to and including our very own day, men have submitted themselves to a political power bound only by the discretion of the rulers who exercise it and that men continue to submit to such power whenever, confused and divided about their own interest and values, they attribute to rulers, precisely because of their position as rulers, the information and wisdom that transform the old adage, "knowledge is power," from an ambivalent description of actuality to a perilous principle of authoritarian morality?

If a careful analysis of the political and social milieu of Swat, at the time of the formation of the state and of the state period, is made it would become obvious that a great deal of confusion and disorder prevailed. The causes for this state of things may

disappearance and decline in this regard (James 1997/2001: 176-178). In this whole context, it is now not difficult to understand the admiration of Pukhtun culture and society by Elphinstone, Major Raverty and the likes.

be counted as the threat of the Nawab of Dir, Umara Khan of Jandul and the British on the one hand and the faction feuds of the Khans as dictated by the *dala* system, alliances and coalitions with small and distant collateral groups against the immediate ones, on the other (as briefly discussed in chapter 1). In such a situation the people offered their submission to a ruler (as shown in chapter 1). Thus an authoritarian morality, as expounded in the laws for the state, began to reign supreme. As the people were bound to it, the Walis through the interaction of tradition and innovation, as an inherent feature of enlightened despotism (ibid.: ix), smoothly addressed social and economic problems[17].

The authoritarian morality of the time and the people's acquiescence in this regard showed the way ahead. Swat, thus, plucked from being a tribal and acephalous society to a modern bureaucratic state. Against this backdrop, education and researches got momentum and the Walis rendered valuable services in these arenas (Sultan-i-Rome 2008b). The generous initiation in the antiquarian heritage has now given Swat the same footing as has been enjoyed by a few archaeologically rich regions of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. As early as 1934, the British attributed this successful commencing to the genius of Miangul Abdul Wadud:

> The strength and efficiency of the Mian Gul's rule has been illustrated already. The whole of
> Swat and Buner has with his consent and co-operation been surveyed in detail by parties of the
> Indian Survey Department. In the spring of 1926, Sir Aurel Stein was able to carry out as the

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[17] Well-known British historian, Arnold Toynbee, visited the area between Oxus and Jumna in 1960. In this itinerary he also had been to Swat and Dir. His (1961: 144-148) observation about the former almost corresponds to the thesis presented by this researcher (Rafi Ullah 2009), the practice of enlightened despotism by the Walis. Interestingly, this researcher developed the viewpoint independently as he came to hear about Toynbee's book much later and still later (in 2013) he got its copy from the Central Library of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

guest of the Mian Gul a prolonged archaeological survey of Upper Swat and Chakesar and visited places where hitherto no European had penetrated (*MIS* 1934: 163).

All these developments in Malakand-Swat paved the way for the systematic and scientific archaeological activities in Swat valley and the surrounding areas. There could be found more than one point of views about the Orientalists' antiquarian interest in India in relation to the British political programme but the start of archaeology in Malakand-Swat is merely a consequence of their entrance to the area in 1895. Following are the pioneering protagonists in this respect.

Development of archaeology in Malakand-Swat: role of pioneering protagonists

Malakand-Swat preoccupied scholars and British officials long before the systematic beginning of archaeology. Alexander Cunningham stands as foremost among them. He (1871/1979: 68-70) identifies Swat valley with Uḍḍiyana of the Chinese travelers' accounts. However, a more steady and well-thought research in the antiquities of the area got started with the works of Major H. A. Deane, L. A. Waddell, A. Caddy, A. Foucher and Aurel Stein. They made valuable and seminal contributions to the archaeology of Malakand-Swat.

Harold Arthur Deane

The credit goes to Major Harold Arthur Deane (1854-1908) for taking initiative in regard to archaeological research in Swat and Malakand. He had intellectual pursuits in tandem with a career in the British-Indian administration. Deane entered British army in 1874 and, in 1877, the Indian Staff Corps. Till 1895 he served as Assistant and Deputy Commissioner in Punjab and accompanied, the same year, the Chitral Relief Force as Chief Political Officer and, subsequently, was appointed as Political

Agent of the Political Agency of Dir, Swat and Chitral in 1895 (Buckland 1906: 114; see also McMahon & Ramsay 1901/1981: 100-101). He 'did great work in the creation' of this Agency (Caroe 1958/1985: 422). The formation of the NWFP in 1901 got the offices of Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General for Major Deane. One person would hold these offices and 'as Agent to the Governor General, he controls the political relations with the tribes in direct communication with local political officers; and, as Chief Commissioner, he exercises in the settled districts taken from the Punjab the functions which the Punjab Government relinquish' (quoted in Spain 1963/1985: 142). Curzon maintained a high thought about him as 'to be the best officer outside the Punjab Commission to head the new Province. . . . Deane was "highly thought of" in the India Office; and there his proposed appointment was received favourably' (Baha 1978: 24). Lal Baha (ibid.: 28) observes that

> Deane's long record of service among the Pathans enabled him to know the people well, to speak their language and to command their respect and confidence. His political experience, combined with his strong personality and fearless character, had influenced Curzon's decision to give him the charge of the Province in preference to his seniors in the service. Curzon regarded him as "an ideal ruler" of the new Province, who was "modest, cool, alert, well-balanced, a master of his subjects and his men", and who inspired "both affection and respect".

Major Deane was more than merely a political officer. He was a learned person with a sound shade of philosophy and linguistics[18]. He knew the Pukhtuns, their country and

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[18] 'The title "Political" officers is one of the ill omen in the Indian Army, but in Major Deane the force [Chitral Relief] had a guide, philosopher, and friend whose services throughout were simply invaluable. Added to an intimate knowledge of the country, its people, and language, he added a shrewd knowledge of how to deal with them' (Younghusband & Younghusband 1895/1976: 112). However, Churchill is critical about his role as political officer (see Hogben 1976: 123-146). Civil-military relations have always been strained in the North-West Frontier of British India. Both sides were at variance vis-à-vis 'frontier and tribal matters'. They had different 'tasks and perspectives' in this respect and hence continuous mutual 'recriminations and accusations of ignorance on the part of

even the languages of the area. Olaf Caroe counts him as one of the three great men who have gone deep in the Pukhtun history[19] and describes his familiarity with and understanding of the Pukhtuns and their culture. 'To know and respect, and be known and liked by, the leaders of Yusufzai society means that a man has entered into a sort of Pathan freemasonry, and has reached a position in which the very quintessence of the Pathan spirit begins to be revealed to him. Deane was such a man' (Caroe 1958/1985: 421). He further writes, 'Tall and spare, with a commanding presence and searching dark-blue eyes, he made just the impression of resolution and assurance that Pathans look for in a man' (ibid.).

However, it should be pointed out that like other colonial political and military officers, Deane's deep acquaintance with Pukhtuns and their culture and society was a liability by virtue of being servant in Foreign and Political Department (hereafter FPD). Familiarity with native cultures, especially vernacular languages, was compulsory for the officials of FPD by the turn of 20th century[20]. 'Each candidate would have already passed certain exams in this respect, usually Urdu although some added Persian, Pashtu or Brahui to their repertoire, while those entering from the ICS

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the military, and tribal bias on the part of the Politicals' (Tripodi 2011: 39). But something deep were also at work in this regard. Military officers who would decide to join the 'Political Department' were considered by military officers as mercenaries and untrustworthy because of the 'higher wages offered by civilian service' and support extended to the 'tribes against the army' (ibid.). The Politicals, on the other hand, thought that 'former military colleagues might appear stuck in their conservative, humdrum and unenlightening regimental existence, engaged in fruitless and repetitive exercises and ignorant of the delicate manoeuvring required for tribal administration' (ibid.). This kind of hostile civil-military relations 'should not be underestimated in its hidden effects on frontier policy' (ibid.).

[19] The other two, according to Caroe, are George Roos-Keppel and Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum (Caroe 1958/1985: 421).

[20] 'After all, Haileybury [college] was meant to provide the practical knowledge and skills – in addition to ethos – required for members of the ICS' (Hagerman 2009: 356).

[Indian Civil Service] were required to have passed their own departmental examinations and would possess similar linguistic ability' (Tripodi 2011: 31). For major part of the second half of 19th century, Arbabs of Peshawar served as intermediaries between British officials and local population. But due to the former's involvement in local conspiracies, there was a growing realization towards the need 'for Politicals to be equipped with the ability to communicate one and one with tribesmen and maliks' (ibid.). In this way, there emerged notable linguists in FPD who even knew 'those nuances that were implied but not expressed. By all accounts, the language training was grueling, realistic and effective' (ibid.: 31-32).

It is now obvious that Major Deane's amiability towards Pukhtuns was duty-determined rather than motivated purely by his altruistic behaviour towards them. His very appointment as Chief Minister of the newly constituted NWFP was decided under political expediency as Curzon was sure of his abilities in dealing successfully with Frontier affairs. Of course, Deane strived hard to come up to these expectations. He acted in the best interest of the empire and made use of every means and strategy under consideration of effecting control and consolidation of the province. As regards the construction of strategic railways and roads[21], Deane strongly argued in its favour, no matter, whatever the result might be (Baha 1978: 107-131). Similarly, irrespective of his cordial relationship with the tribes, his representations of them are hardly

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[21] Lal Baha (1978: 107) writes:

> There were three main considerations behind the British Government's construction of strategic railways and roads in the Frontier regions. First, the steady advance of Russia in Central Asia since the 1860s; second, the uneasy relations between the Governments of India and Afghanistan, especially in the last decade of the nineteenth century; third, the disturbed situation in the tribal territory.

different from the ones by other colonial officers and administrators. It better reflects in the following abstract:

> It was hopeless to expect that there should be no trouble with a tribe whose record from all time has been one of *thieving and raiding* and who for years past have terrorized their neighbours, and it may be that *the restless and turbulent spirit* in the tribe may again prevail (researcher's italics) (Deane to Govt. of India, 27 March 1902, Political and Secret Letters from India, Vol. 144, Reg. No. 618 quoted in Baha 1978: 39).

It might, thus, be inferred that though Deane had an intimate relationship with Pukhtun tribes but, primarily, he was a colonial officer/administrator. His services in expansion and consolidation of the empire are valuable. He used both sword and pen in this respect as has been demonstrated above, especially in the framework of Curzon's Frontier Policy of indirect rule (for Curzon's Frontier Policy see Fraser 1911).

Major Deane's contribution to ancient history and archaeology of KP are also to be appreciated as an initiation in the field. In addition to his personal observations, Major Deane hired some local agents for collecting information about the ancient remains of the area and recorded a large number of archaeological sites as reported by his informants from Swat. He also wrote about the sites of Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhara and presented important propositions and assumptions (Deane 1896: 655-675). He describes 30 sites, in total, of different archaeological nature in Uḍḍiyāna. Some of his interpretations have been supported by Stein's archaeological works while some others have gone into oblivion. A special reference in this connection is to be made to the identifications of Mêng-chʿieh-li with Manglawar and Shingardar stupa with King Uttarasena's stupa as is mentioned by Chinese pilgrims. First offered by Deane, Aurel Stein agrees with these suppositions. However, Tucci and other Italian archaeologists

have now shown that Mêng-chʿieh-li corresponds to Mingawara (Tucci 1958: 285-288). Tucci also suggests an alternative location of Uttarasena's stupa in Kota area (ibid.: 300).

Deane was particularly interested in the 'strange inscriptions carved on rocks in Swat' (Mirsky 1977: 64). He collected many inscriptions and sent them to scholars for specialized studies. 'Before leaving Mohand Marg', writes Stein in a letter, 'I completed a short essay on the sixty new inscriptions written in unknown characters which Major Deane had sent to me last year' (in ibid.: 64). The sites of these inscriptions are also of archaeological importance which need further archaeological surveys and researches.

Major Deane also conducted excavation at Sikri, Mardan, in 1888. It included the excavations of Buddhist sites, carried out in 1880s, 'for which plans were drawn, and from which the recovered sculpture is still known today' (Behrendt 2003: 17).

Laurence Austine Waddell

L. A. Waddell's career in the Indian Medical Service, which he joined in 1880, provided him the opportunity to join various British military expeditions especially those dispatched to Burma (1886-87), Chitral (1895) and the Mehsud Blockade (1901-02) of South Waziristan. He remained as Medical Officer in Malakand in 1902. It was during the Burma campaign that Waddell, serving as Sanitary Commissioner, developed interest in the ancient remains of Buddhism (Thomas 1939: 500). He also accompanied British campaign of 1903-04 against Tibet in which he took possession of 'Tibetan manuscripts . . . which contributed largely to his being put in the

limelight…' (Preston 2009: ix)[22]. What followed was his complete dedication to archaeology and the studies of Buddhism especially Lamaism[23].

Waddell's fame greatly rests on his contribution to Tibetology. Christine Preston (ibid.: ix), the biographer of Waddell, writes that 'At the turn of the 20th century, the media referred to L. A. Waddell . . . as the first scholar to have penetrated the mysteries of Lamaism and an authority on Buddhism . . . .' Being a linguist and philologist, he laboriously studied and deciphered both contemporary and ancient languages with a pursuit of Aryan theme. His approach to the study of history and civilization was also solely determined by Aryan obsession. And this fact is held responsible for the recession of his works into oblivion (ibid.: xii). Waddell 'did not give up the quest for the Aryans in terms of racial origins when it was abandoned in the 1870s, and this quest was very influential in his choice of career' (ibid.).

Waddell has extensively written about archaeology and ancient history. He has made fetish of the superiority of Aryan race[24] and it bulks large in his works such as *The Phoenician origin of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons* (1924), *The Indo-Sumerian seals deciphered* (1925), *A Sumer-Aryan dictionary* (1927), *The makers of civilization in race and history* (1929), *Egyptian civilization: its Sumerian origin and real chronology* (1930) and *The British Edda* (1930) (Moshenska 2010). Moshenska

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[22] The Tibetan expedition was 'an exercise in colonialist brutality during which Waddell is alleged to have looted a prodigious quantity of Tibetan Buddhist texts and relics…' (Moshenska 2010: 49).

[23] Besides the numerous articles contributed to the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal about Tibetan Buddhism, Waddell produced a voluminous work, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, with its mystic cults, symbolism and mythology, and in its relation to Indian Buddhism*, published in London in 1894 of which the 2nd edition was published in Cambridge in 1934.

[24] Waddell's 'interest in the Aryans can … be traced back to 1880' (Preston 2009: 3).

(2010: 49) makes deep analysis of these books and comes to the following conclusion:

> From 1917 until his death, aged eighty-five, in 1938 Laurence Austine Waddell wove an elaborate and painstakingly detailed narrative of old world prehistory that identified the Aryan race as the root of all progress, innovation and civilization in the past five thousand and five hundred years. Waddell's hyperdiffusionist and virulently racist writings on archaeology and ancient history were widely read in Britain, influencing the works of Fascist intellectuals. . . . Today his works, particularly his book *The Phoenician origin of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons* (1924), circulate among far-right groups, and can be found on the internet.

One of Waddell's landmark contributions was his accurate study of the remains of the modern Patna in 1892[25]. Thus, the site was identified as ancient Pataliputra[26]. Taking help from the Chinese accounts, he made some very precise identifications such as the sites of the stupas built by Aśoka. In a later inscription, he found in a Jaina temple

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[25] G. Bühler (1895: 658) observes about the importance of this study:

> The most important historical site in the whole of India is, without a question, Patna - Pāṭaliputra, which was the seat of the Government of India in the days of the Nandas and Mauryas (between *ca*. 420-195 B.C.), and probably the capital of an important kingdom even in much later times. It seems most wonderful that the numerous ruins in such a place should have remained unexcavated for so long a time. The reason probably is that the first surveyors believed the ancient buildings to have been swept away by the river. But now both Sir A. Cunningham and Dr. Waddell, the latest authorities on the historical remains of Patna, though differing in details, agree that the ruins of the palaces of the Nandas and of Aśoka, and those of the other buildings described by the Chinese pilgrims, are traceable. Moreover, Dr. Waddell points out a number of workable places, in which ancient sculptures have been found and are still being found. This is sufficient to justify an attempt at thorough excavation, which, if carried on with the necessary care and perseverance, will no doubt place the ancient history of India on a much sounder and more solid basis.

In a footnote to this paragraph Bühler writes, 'I am glad to see that Dr. Führer's Progress Report for 1893–94, which came into my hands after the above notes were written, holds out the prospect of an excavation of Aśoka's palace during the next season' (ibid.).

[26] Singh (2004: 7, fn. 12) writes that 'Rennell was the first to correctly identify ancient Pataliputra with modern Patna.'

here, Pataliputra was named as "Padali-pura". Parts of the wooden walls of the city, as described by Megasthenes, were also observed during the visit. Waddell submitted his report to the Government of Bengal and excavations of the site were carried out in 1894 and 1895 (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 114-115). He could not participate in these excavations as he was busy in his Malakand mission on behalf of the Government of Bengal (personal communication with Olivieri). Preston writes that 'Waddell's interest in Pataliputra was probably increased by the fact that the Saka Race was of Scythian origin and "Aryan"' (Preston 2009: 49). It clearly shows Waddell's obsession with Aryanism, which was the dominant characteristic of writings during 19th century, especially in Britain, directing the politics and nationalisms of Europeans (for Aryanism see Ballantyne 2002).

Waddell's mission (1895) to Malakand during the Chitral Expedition seems to have been organized either by the Calcutta Museum or by the Government of Bengal. But it was obviously directed in the best interest of the Calcutta Museum. Waddell himself opines that having been introduced by Sir Robert Low to Major Deane '… I pleaded [to Deane] the need in which the Indian Museum of Calcutta stood of specimens of Buddhist sculpture of the Gandhara type' (Waddell)[27]. Major Deane cordially responded that 'he would make over to me [Waddell] all the numerous sculptures found in the Swat valley, of which he had already got possession, and also all the inscribed stones obtained in this expedition, including several in the new character which he has already discovered, and which still remain undeciphered' (ibid)[28]. In the

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[27] 'Greco-Buddhistic sculptures in Swat,' http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/woking-england-oriental-university-institute/the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo/page-22-the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo.shtml, (accessed: July 7, 2012).

[28] Ibid.

result of the expedition, Waddell made a great collection of pieces of Gandhara Art from Swat, which was later on preserved in the Calcutta and Peshawar Museums (Waddell 1922: 126). A competition like situation seems to have existed at that time between the Museums of Lahore and Calcutta (personal communication with Olivieri). Generally speaking, all such earliest archaeological missions aimed 'to gather antiquities that could be displayed in the major colonial museums in Calcutta, Bombay, and London. The recovery of several thousand schist and stucco sculptures led to the establishment of the Peshawar and Lahore regional museums to house this material' (Behrendt 2003: 18).

The story of this mission of Waddell is well reflected in his works such as *Report on Archaeological Tour in Swat*. Calcutta: 1895; 'Newly Excavated Greco-Buddhist Sculptures from Swat Valley', *Trans. of the Oriental Congress*, 1896, sect. i, pp. 245-47; 'Græco-Buddhist Sculptures in Swat', *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1897, 3, 1, pp. 192-94; s. v. 'Swāt or Udyāna', in J. Hastings, J. A. Selbie and L. H. Gray. (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, vol. XII, New York: 126-127.

Waddell is to be considered one among the first who concedes to the identification of Swat valley with Uḍḍiyana. 'We came to the conclusion', writes Waddell, 'that the Swat valley is certainly the land of Udyana, but that most of the sites described by Hiuen Tsiang and others lie in Upper Swat, and though almost all of them can be approximately identified with places already found on our latest map, still there is no hope of reaching those places at present, for Upper Swat is not occupied by our troops, and Government has pledged itself not to intrude there' (Waddell)[29]. He further explains the programme of this visit which was to be followed; 'We therefore

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[29] Ibid.

decided that exploration, for the present, would be most usefully confined to examining the ruins in the Shahkot and Mora passes, to the south of Thana, especially as the Mora pass, if not the site of the Mora stupa of Hiuen Tsiang, is probably related to the Mora or Moriya (Maurya) dynasty, the ancestors of Asoka, whom history places in this valley. The Buddhist remains in the Panjkora valley appear to be insignificant' (ibid.). Aryanism also reflects in Waddell's writings on Swat as he terms the land as 'Indo-Scythian country' (Waddell 1922: 126) and Gandharan sculptures as 'Græco-Buddhist' (ibid.) or 'Indo-Scythian Buddhist' (Preston 2009: 46).

This survey may be counted as one of the pioneering works in the history of archaeological research in Swat valley and Malakand. And Waddell might be situated among those first scholars who attribute remains of Gandhara to the so-called Aryan stock.

Alexander E. Caddy

A Hamilton newspaper published an undated obituary of Caddy in these words:

> *The Englishman*, published at Calcutta, India, has in a recent issue, the announcement of the death of Alexander Edwin Caddy, the well-known painter. It says: 'As an artist and antiquarian he did valuable work, and was an acknowledged authority on Indian archaeology. At one time he was connected with the Education Department and the survey of India, but of late years he was engaged on independent commissions as an artist. His researches on the Northwest frontier greatly enriched the museum with specimens of Buddhist remains, and his knowledge of the folklore of the district was remarkable . . . . Mr. Caddy quite recently commenced the work of re-sorting the pictures belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and also completed the paintings of a series of pictures of Bengal scenery (Caddy family history).

Alexander Caddy was deputed to Gandhara and Swat by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He arrived into Malakand-Swat in 1896. As per purpose of this expedition – the collection of the Gandharan art pieces and the photographic documentation of the region – he started surveys and excavations in the company of British officials of Malakand Agency of which the excavation of Loriyan-tangai bulks large. A very great number of sculptures was retrieved from the site and sent to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. Caddy submitted his report entitled as 'Deputation of Mr. A. E. Caddy to the North West Frontier for collecting Buddhistic remains in the Swat valley and its vicinity' to the Government. This report was lost but, fortunately, a copy was found in the Swat valley Malakand archives recently which is helpful in the reconstruction of this rather obscure episode of the Indian archaeology. The report is currently being studied by Kurt Behrendt (forthcoming).

The photographic documentation by Caddy of the sculptures from various Gandharan sites is held in great importance. A special mention, in this respect, is to be made of the sites associated with the names of Major Deane and H. H. Cole (Behrendt 2003: 17). As a great confusion prevails about the origin and chronology of, especially, the early finds in Gandhara art, Caddy's photographic documentation having labels, mostly in the last two decades of the 19th century, help scholars overcoming the problem to a certain extent (ibid.: 112)[30]. Similarly, Caddy's and Senart's photographs garner more value against the backdrop of the famous story of Cunningham's collection of Gandhara art, which was being sent to England in 1885 on streamer

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[30] The other prominent name in this connection is that of M. Senart. 'Caddy's name appears on many of the Archaeological Survey of India Indian Museum Series photographs held in the India Office of the British Library, but much earlier H. H. Cole mentioned that he employed M. Senart to take 32 photographs of sculptures from Sanghao, Mian Khan, and Nathu for his publications . . . . The photographs taken by Senart were later attributed to Caddy' (Behrendt 2003: 113).

Indus which drowned near the coast of Sri Lanka and the material were lost. Behrendt thinks that probably 'some of the sculpture photographed by Caddy and Senart was on the Indus…' (ibid.: 113).

The archaeological campaign carried out by Caddy has both disciplinary and imperial contexts. The former is to be termed as the happy marriage between the Archaeological Survey of India and museums. The initial phases of the history of Indian museums were dominated by a concern for and an interest in the preservation of natural history and industrial arts. 'Well before archaeology marked out its sprawling field in India, India's natural history had begun to emerge a prime subject of scientific knowledge within the institutional sites of museums' (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 48). Similarly, efforts were directed towards collecting and documenting 'the products and manufactures of the empire, spreading into the same space of the museums' (ibid.: 49). Correspondingly, there developed an interest in Indian fine art and hence collections and exhibitions in this regard (ibid.: 49-51). Furthermore, mid-19th century is also marked by elevation of archaeology 'as the other major constituent field of knowledge within the museum' (ibid.: 52). In this way, there developed a subtle interplay of museums and archaeological researches clearly reflecting in the development of the legislative aspect of Indian archaeology (see chapter 4).

Indian Museum, Calcutta, was an institution with imperial clout. 'By the early 1880s the museum authorities were pressing hard to make the ethnology and archaeology collections in Calcutta "worthy of a Museum which claims to be Imperial" . . . . In particular, they urged a close link and cooperation between the Indian Museum and the Archaeological Survey of India, requesting that the former be made a necessary depository of all objects excavated, preserved, and studied by the latter' (Guha-

Thakurta 2004: 55). Caddy's Swat campaign is to be better appreciated against this backdrop. As stated above, he excavated Buddhist sites, collected a great number of sculptures and deposited it to the Indian Museum.

Caddy's expedition was also buttressed by the archaeological legislation. Resolutions of 8th June, 1882 and 8th November, 1888 (see chapter 4) emphasize upon the importance of preserving monuments and antiquities as they were facing various threats. They call for removing the threatened antiquities to safe places. Resolutions of 8th June, 1882 was categorical in tone especially with reference to Gandhara. It speaks of the removal of 'isolated figures … to some safe places of deposit, such as the Indian Museum, where they could be seen and studied by all persons who take an interest in Indian art' (Resolution, Cir. No. 21/4.2 Arch). It particularly mentions the Buddhist remains of Gandhara as threatened by the 'Yusufzai Afghans, whose custom is believed to be to mutilate such remains, unless this is prevented by their prompt removal to a place of safety' (ibid.).

Guha-Thakurta (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 62) puts down in this respect that

> Such was the case, for instance, with the large numbers of sculptures that were found scattered among the Buddhist ruins of the ancient Gandhara region in the northwest (see fig. 2.8 [belonging to Loriyan-tangai]). The authorities voiced immense consternation in response to a series of threats these sculptures faced: their mutilation by the local community of Yusufzai Afghans; their free appropriation by officers, civil and military, for private use and sale; their attraction also for native pilferers as their demand and prices mounted in the open market. And it was to counteract all these that museums were seen as the only proper destination for these sculptures, for only there could they be "of real importance" and "gratify all artistic and historical curiosities." [. . .] What remained open to debate, however, were issues concerning which museums were entitled to which selection of sculptures. It is from these years that the claims of local and site museums came to pitch against those of a central body such as the

Imperial Museum, Calcutta, even as the rights of the latter would be constantly asserted over those of the British Museum or the Louvre.

She (ibid.: 62-63) also points out the concerns expressed about the deportation of native cultural heritage and loss of archaeological context of the objects excavated and collected in an unethical manner for museums.

If safekeeping was a priority, an equal concern was not to deprive a locality or a community of its property: not to remove the objects from a site to museums "where not a fraction of the Native public can ever see it." At the same time, objections were raised against the scattering of a collection of sculptures over a number of museums (as had happened with the Gandhara pieces, which Major Cole had distributed among five museums stretching from Lahore to Madras), for such divisions, it was alleged, led to a breaking of the series, thus emptying them of all "scientific value."

The last two decades of 19th century also saw a new policy of photographic documentation, copying and drawing of the *in situ* specimens of art and architecture aiming at preserving cultural heritage in its original shape (ibid.: 55-60). And the photographs, copies and drawings would be both preserved in museums and distributed for knowledge purpose in India and abroad. Caddy, in line with this policy, also prepared a photographic documentation of certain archaeological sites in Swat valley.

It is now clear as where should be placed Caddy's Swat expedition in the framework of the approaches of externalism and internalism. His work, from the point of view of internalism, is in conformity with the legislative system of Indian archaeology and, perhaps, does not fall wide of the mark against the background of disciplinary trends. But at the same time it has a context, external to the discipline of archaeology. The Imperial Indian Museum, as a symbol of British imperialism, was in need of cultural

heritage specimens which, in turn, aimed serve the purpose of evincing and demonstrating the cosmopolitanism of the empire. Caddy's expedition was no doubt an act fostering and serving the cause.

Alfred A. Foucher

A. Foucher, a French scholar, has contributed enormously to Indian art and archaeology. 'His numerous studies', observes F. W. Thomas in the Preface to the English translation of Foucher's *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, 'devoted to these subjects, and particularly his comprehensive treatise on the Græco-Buddhist Art of Gandhâra, have fully established his position as a leader in this sphere' (Thomas' Preface to Foucher 1917/1994: VII).

Foucher was the pupil of Sylvain Lévi (Iyengar 1922/1991: 372) and succeeded him as Maître des Conférences at the Ēcole des Hautes Ētudes just before leaving for India (Mirsky 1977: 63). He had to visit India as 'the French know that one cannot become an Indologist without having seen the land and its people' (ibid.). French intellectual interest in India might be traced back to Anquetil Duperron 'who joined the French East India Company to come over to India and realize his ambition to acquire some genuine records of Indian culture' (Iyengar 1922/1991: 370). This was the beginning of a new school in orientalism and well-known names such as Burnouf, Bergaigne, Julien, Chavannes, Senart, Chezy and Levi were associated to it (ibid.).

Soon Foucher arrived into India and visited important historical places. Major Deane had made arrangements for his and Stein's stay at Malakand during the Christmas of 1896. They saw a number of sites which were in miserable condition (Mirsky 1977: 64, 68).

Foucher came into India, for the second time, at the end of 1918 in order to work with the Archaeological Survey of India; the hope he had divulged to Stein when the latter made a halt at Paris while back on his way to India. Stein was happy with the idea and communicated it to Sir John Marshall who also welcomed it (ibid.: 401). Foucher, this time, participated in Marshall's excavation at Taxila (ibid.: 402)

After the third Anglo-Afghan war, Foucher proceeded to Afghanistan and visited all sites of historical and archaeological importance. This was Stein's long-cherished idea and the conclusion of the third Anglo-Afghan war revived this dream of his. 'True, the altered conditions did not declare themselves quickly – there was time enough for Foucher to insinuate himself in Stein's dream and hope. That was still in the future; in 1919 Stein's concern was directed to other matters' (ibid.: 405). All this precipitated relationship between the two into bitter experiences (for details see ibid.: 410-412). However, H. P. Ray gives a somewhat different description. She (2008: 223-224) puts down:

> As mentioned earlier, Stein's abiding interest was in the archaeology of Afghanistan and this interest seemed workable after the end of the Third Afghan War in 1919. Alfred Foucher, whom he first met in 1896, encouraged him in this venture and also sent a proposal for work in Afghanistan to orientalists in France. It is another matter that Stein's name did not figure prominently in the project and when the Amir of Afghanistan visited Europe to invite foreign expeditions to the country, British archaeologists were kept out of it. Foucher himself was eager to escape wartime Paris . . . . In 1921, Foucher left India for Iran and the following year, though Stein's request to visit Afghanistan was turned down, the French signed an agreement in May 1923 with Afghanistan that gave them monopoly of all archaeological work in Afghanistan.

It shows that besides Foucher's alleged infidelity other political factors, such as Amir's of Afghanistan antipathy towards England and the cordial relationship between France and Afghanistan especially in the field of education and research,

were instrumental in Stein's failure to get entered into Afghan territories for archaeological surveys and researches.

As Foucher had 'unequalled iconographic knowledge of Gandhara art' (Mirsky 1977: 401), he has to his credit valuable studies in this respect. *Sur la frontière indo-afghane* (*Indo-Afghan Frontier*) is an important book, in French, for the history and archaeology of Gandhara. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology* may be termed as his magnum opus. Similarly, *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara*, a commentary on a chapter of XuánZàng, is an essay of great 'scientific value'. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* No. 46 is dedicated to Foucher's 'On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity'. *Preliminary Report on the Interpretation of the Paintings and Sculptures of Ajanta* is published in the *Journal of Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1919-1920. Foucher also contributed a detailed account on the reliefs of the Sanchi to Sir John Marshall's *The Monuments of Sāñchī* (in three volumes) (Sahni in Cumming, ed., 1939: 123)[31].

M. Aurel Stein

The credit for the seminal antiquarian studies in Swat valley and Malakand goes to the "European nomad",[32] Sir Aurel Stein (1862-1943). A Hungarian by birth, he got

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[31] N. Lahiri (2004: 70) opines that

> The idea of publishing such a volume first came up in the course of a meeting between Marshall and Sultan Jahan Begum in 1912, when she expressed a desire to see the publication of a complete monograph on the Buddhist monuments of Sanchi. On Marshall's suggestion, she agreed to bear the cost of printing the volume and the payment of a small honorarium to Alfred Foucher. At this stage, Marshall visualised that "M. Foucher will make himself responsible for the description of all the sculptures; M. Senart for the inscriptions; and I shall write the chapters on the site and the architecture and the art of the monuments".

[32] Ikle (1968: 153) writes:

British nationality in 1904 (http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/s/sir-aurel-stein/).

At the University of Vienna, Leipzig and Tübingen, he studied ancient languages and antiquities of Iran and India and did doctorate in 1883. Stein got a grant for postdoctoral studies form the Hungarian government and moved to Britain. He further carried out his research on Iranian philosophy and ancient Indian history and published his first paper in 1885 (Buckland 1906: 400-401; Mirsky 1977: 7, 24-25). For him the fascination of England may be found in the facilities for linguistic studies and availability of ancient Persian texts in Oxford and London (Ikle 1968: 145). Ikle also points out another possible factor in this regard; that Stein too 'like many educated Magyars of his social background, became an anglophile as a reflection of opposition to Austrian predominance' (ibid.: 145). His 'family's allegiance to nationalistic aspirations' is described by Mirsky in detail (Mirsky 1977: 5-6, 25). This point, if put in the context of the nationalistic fervour of the time, would present an interesting aspect of Stein's personality and scholarship.

While still in England, Stein developed interest in India and 'to get there became his first objective' (ibid.: 24). His scholarly pursuits brought him India and he was appointed in 1888 both Principal of the Oriental College and Registrar of the Punjab

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In an amusing footnote to his career, lawyers representing the country of his birth and the several countries in which he had resided and worked, claimed him as their own when it came to the disposition of his fairly sizable estate. The decision finally arrived at in the record of the Probate Court in London was to declare him a "European nomad," an apt characterization if *nomad* subsumes the nineteenth century supranational individual whose ability and eminent courage had found full scope on the vast stage provided by the British Empire. It was given to few explorers to discover so much; his travels and his published records in terms of versatility, actual quantity, and scientific accuracy seem hardly credible as the life-work of one man.

University[33], Lahore, which he retained up to 1899. In his free time here, he would study ancient history and geography of Kashmir and antiquities of north-west frontier of India. At his leisure, Stein would visit Kashmir in search of *Rajatarangini* and other manuscripts; he was destined to get success in this regard (ibid.: 33-39). He also prepared a volume, *Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, about the 'old topography of Kashmir and he discussed the sources of the Classical, Chinese and Muhammadan writings and Kashmir chronicles in this regard. This treatise was based far more on literary sources than on archaeology' (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 166).

Besides Kashmir, Stein made three expeditions to Central Asia between 1900 and 1916. The pronounced aim of this exploratory work is self-reflected from the proposal submitted by him in September 1898:

> The object of my application is to secure the assistance of the Local and Supreme Governments towards a tour of archaeological exploration planned by me for *Khotan*, Chinese Turkestan, and the ancient sites around it. . . . It is well known from historical records that the territory of the present Khotan has been an ancient centre of Buddhist culture . . . distinctly Indian in origin and character. . . . The discoveries of ancient manuscripts, coins, sculptures, etc. made during recent years show beyond all doubt that these old sites, systematically explored, promise to yield finds of great importance for Indian antiquarian research. . . . The object of the tour proposed by me will be, therefore, to explore the ancient sites at and around Khotan from an archaeological point of view, to search for such data as will throw light on their history, and to make collections of ancient remains on which full reliance can be placed (quoted in Mirsky 1977: 79).

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[33] It were Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Henry Yule, Stein's patrons in England, who suggested and endorsed him, respectively, as 'eminently qualified' for the said dual vacancy (Mirsky 1977: 31-32).

Amongst Stein's other explorations and surveys are included those carried out in South Bihar (1899), in NWFP and Baluchistan published in 1905, Swat valley March-April 1926, Waziristan and northern Balochistan 1927, Central and South Balochistan and Makran (1927-1928), Ghaggar-Hakra (1942) and Las Bela (1943) (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 166-168).

NWFP (present-day Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa) had been one of Stein's frequently visited hunting grounds for surveys and explorations. As early as December 1891, he arrived in Swabi and visited important sites such as Hund (Und of Stein), Ranigat and Shahbazgarhi (Mirsky 1977: 46-47). It was followed by another trip to Malakand and Swat in 1896 in the company of A. Foucher and his aunty Mme. Michel (ibid.: 68). Stein accompanied General Blood's Field Force, a punitive expedition, to Buner in 1898 and for the first time surveyed this area (Stein 1898; Ikle 1968: 145-146; Mirsky 1977: 70-73; Rienjang n.d.: 1-4). In 1902, he went back to England and then returned to India in 1904. The same year Stein 'was appointed as the Inspector-General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor for the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan' as 'Deane had asked the Supreme Government for the appointment of an officer of the Indian Educational Service to take charge of the Education Department' (Baha 1978: 199)[34]. It was also during this very year that he surveyed the Mahaban

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[34] Lal Baha (1978: 199) writes:

> A famous archaeologist, Aurel Stein had hardly been in the Province for two years when, in the beginning of 1906, he was sent to Turkestan on an archaeological expedition; and, therefore, his duties were performed by officers of the Punjab Educational Service until 1910. . . . The combination of the two responsibilities – supervision of archaeology and management of education – by the same officer had been a blunder; for Stein was far too occupied in archaeological excavation and exploration in distant areas to find time for the development of education in the Province. The result was that "while research gained, education languished".

mountain and disagreed with its previous identification as being corresponding to the historic Aornos, the scene of Alexander's exploits. Afterward, he identified the latter site with Pir-sar in Shangla-par (Stein 1929: 143-148; Mirsky 1977: 212-213)[35]. The problem of Aornos had long preoccupied Stein. He thought it as being corresponding to Pir-sar even years before his survey of the mountain in 1926. This position is maintained by Olivieri on the basis of forthcoming archival study in relation to KP archaeology (Olivieri, forthcoming).

The highland Yusufzai country attracted Stein mostly for two obvious reasons. First, that it was the important scene of Alexander's adventure in Persia and India. Second, the mention of Uḍḍiyana in the accounts of the Chinese travelers committed him to the antiquarian researches of the area. Stein (1930: 1-2) writes:

> The great fame attaching to this country in Buddhist tradition is amply attested by the records of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who eagerly visited its numerous sacred sites, as well as by manifold notices in the literature of Northern Buddhism. The worship and culture flourishing here for centuries were long ago known to have left behind their traces in numerous ruins. . . . For the historical student this region derives an additional interest, and one likely to appeal to a wider public, from the fact that it can be shown to have been the scene of important events in that arduous campaign by which Alexander the Great prepared his way west of the Indus for the triumphant invasion of the Punjab.

It was, by no means, all of a sudden that Stein developed interest in the Hellenistic history of Gandhara as well as in its Buddhist studies. In the former case, he was impressed long before. 'It was during his school years in Hungary' states Ikle, 'that he

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[35]Aurel Stein carried more extensive archaeological expeditions in China, Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, Indian subcontinent and even in Iraq (see his Obituary 1944: 158-159; Buckland 1906: 400-401; Ikle 1968: 144-155).

became fascinated with the first of his great heroic figures, Alexander the Great. His attention had also been drawn to Central Asia as a result of his personal acquaintance with Arminius Vambery, a noted Hungarian traveler in Inner Asia, and his knowledge of the work of Csoma de Körös, another Magyar Oriental scholar who had searched for a Central Asian origin of his people' (Ikle 1968: 144-145). All this followed Stein's own determination to explore and pluck Alexander's oriental campaigns from obscurity (ibid.: 145). Similarly, the Chinese travelers' accounts had also created a storm early in the first decades of nineteenth century. The translations of the records of Fǎxiǎn and XuánZàng led to the promotion of the archaeology of Buddhism. This field was augmented, especially, by the special interest and contribution of Alexander Cunningham (Imam 1963, 1966).

At the beginning of nineteenth century, western scholars were not acquainted enough with Indian Buddhism as it was no more a practicing religion of South Asia. That is why it was not treated as a native religion. However, the period between 1830 and 1861 saw an increase in archaeological activities in India especially in relation to Buddhism (see Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 32-47)[36]. But the epoch-making publications of the Chinese sources further made the phenomenon conducive for the studies of Buddhism. 'For Cunningham and others, additional interest was fueled by the translation of two Chinese pilgrim accounts: by fifth century AD pilgrim Fa-Hsien [Fǎxiǎn] (published 1836) and seventh century traveler Hsuan-tsang [XuánZàng]

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[36] Two factors may be taken into account in this regard. First, James Prinsep's personal interest and enthusiasm paved the way for newly guided studies and activities. Second, it was during this period that ancient Indian scripts were deciphered. Prinsep himself made valuable contributions in this field. He deciphered the Asokan edicts in 1837. The study of ancient Indian numismatics also got started by the time. James Tod was a major numismatist of the time and his study of coins enriched historical knowledge about India. He was soon joined by Prinsep and others in this task.

(published by S. Julien in three volumes from 1853-1858). These pilgrims provided a geography of Buddhist South Asia, describing the sacred places they visited and their associations with the life of the Buddha and providing some information on the contemporary kingdoms in which they were located' (Trautmann & Sinopoli 2002: 499; see also Imam 1963: 198). In such a milieu, Stein extensively surveyed, among others, Swat valley, Shangla-par and Buner in 1926. He was guided by the sources left by Alexander's historian, Arrian, and the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims[37]. It is necessary to note that Stein's tour into Swat, which lasted for two and a half months (between March and May), was discussed between the officials of the then NWFP and the ruler of Swat state (Stein 1930: 3; Mirsky 1977: 423)[38]. The latter was formally recognized by that time, 3 May 1926, by the British as Wali and the relationship was friendly (Sultan-i-Rome 2005; 2008a: 96-98)[39].

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[37] Despite the fact that Stein took help from both classical and Chinese historical sources in his archaeological in Swat valley, his main interest was in the romance of Hellenistic traces. 'May the sacred spirit of old Hsüan-tsang, the most famous of [. . . the Chinese] pilgrims and my adopted "Chinese patron saint", forgive the confession: what attracted me to Swāt for more than such pious memories was the wish to trace the scenes of that arduous campaign of Alexander which brought the great conqueror from the foot of the snowy Hindukush to the Indus, on his way to the triumphant invasion of the Pujāb' (Stein 1929: 2).

[38] With Lord Curzon, as the Viceroy of India in 1900, a new era in Indian archaeology ushered in. He identified three types of archaeological responsibility in India namely epigraphy, conservation and research. Lord Curzon felt the need for a central advisory authority and, accordingly, proposals were submitted to the Secretary of State on 20th December 1900 in which the recreation of the post of the Director General was proposed. On 29th November 1901 the proposals were sanctioned by the Secretary of State. Probably, on the recommendation of the British Museum, John Marshall was appointed the Director General. He took the office on 22 February 1902 (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 121-172). It can safely be inferred that the archaeological activities were boasted by the coincidental appointment of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India and the selection of Sir John Marshall as the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

[39] It is interesting to mention that the agreement of the Wali's recognition does not contain any reference to the archaeology of the state (Govt. of N.W.F.P., File No. 9 – St. S, 1926; personal

Stein made three other abortive attempts aiming at survey and excavations in Swat in 1928, 1931 and 1933. The first two were declined by the British officials while it was in 1933 that he got entered into Swat. This time he could not keep the mission continued as he 'fell off his horse' in Kabal and received injuries (Olivieri, submitted).

Stein's archaeological surveys and writings in the field of Malakand-Swat archaeology are driven by important historical problems, Hellenistic and Buddhistic. This fact gives internal consistency to his various expeditions and provides coherence to the argument he makes. The reconnaissance of Buner, Lower and Upper Swat valley and the study of inscriptions from the area can only be appreciated when he is first located within the intellectual and socio-political framework of his times.

The methods of investigation adopted by Stein in his study of antiquities and ancient history of Malakand-Swat include the use of historical sources and ethnology, linguistic analysis, topographical examination and perusal of coins and inscriptions. Through such a diverse approach, he made deep observations of the antiquities and comprehensive analysis of classical sources and Chinese pilgrims' accounts. The result was the successful identification of some Hellenistic sites and some suggestions in this respect about a number of Buddhist sites mentioned by Chinese pilgrims.

An important point to be noted here is the fact that Stein's concerns and interpretations about the problems of ancient history of Swat valley, especially in relation to the Hellenistic period, were the result of simple rather than complex

communication with Sultan-i-Rome). Similarly, the agreement with the Nawab of Dir is also deficient of allusion to ancient remains (Chief Commissioner Office, N.W.F., Dir 33, 1905). Interestingly, both the documents include preservation of forests as one of the points of agreements.

research question. It was the need, like for William Woodthorpe Tarn (1869-1957) and Edywn Robert Bevan (1870-1943), 'to stress to a western audience how "Greek" the Hellenistic world actually was' rather than 'to look at the various interactions between ethnic groups' (Rossi 2011: 2). It was, as it appears to be, nothing short of using (or abusing) history in the best interest of British imperialism with Hellenistic east as its precursor. And it is here that Stein's choice of language in his works can be better appreciated as biased in favour of the Greek and Buddhist communities of the past and the non-Pukhtun ethnic and religious groups of the present-day Malakand-Swat[40].

The story of Stein's life and career is intriguing due to its complex nature. Being a Jew he was baptized into Christianity and being a Hungarian he got British nationality. The raison d'être behind both the acts, when contextualized against the general tenor of anti-Jewish sentiments and the Magyar nationalism against the Austrian empire, was social acceptance, which in turn would ensure prospects of great career. Stein had divested himself of Jewish identity to the extent that 'When in 1943 he was dying in Afghanistan . . . he asked on his death-bed for a Church of England burial service' (Hopkirk 1984: 69)[41]. Likewise, he 'had become the very model of the perfect English gentleman of his times' (Ikle 1969: 149). He was the embodiment of elitist Victorian ideals. Stein loved 'flowers and dogs', showed benevolence towards servants and was 'invariably courteous'. He observes in a letter that '"the British are more impressed by energy and personal effort than by scientific results." He lacked

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[40] For an interesting recent study of Alexander's eastern campaign and the investigation of the episode with a sort of missionary and nostalgic spirit in the colonial cultural and political context, see (Hagerman 2009).

[41] 'He was buried with Anglican rites three days later, having been baptized earlier into the Anglican Church' (Ikle 1968: 153).

none of these qualities . . . and it was this which won him acceptance and admiration'
(ibid.). Like British, he thought imperial. He disliked 'Slavs or Germans' in addition
to being 'anti-Semitic toward most Jews with the exception of especially
distinguished individuals' (ibid.). Like well-known conservatives, Stein considered
introduction of democracy in India detrimental to the British empire. He writes in 'a
letter to Lionel D. Barnett, dated 5 March 1939 (British Museum, London) [. . . that]
"British statesmanship is difficult, due to the limited outlook of millions of the British
demos," or, again, letter dated 4 June 1940: "the freedom accorded to the Indian
intelligentsia openly to discuss severance from the British Empire, partition of the
country etc., is a risky price to pay for Western democratic ideals, so foreign to the
Indian mentality"' (ibid.: 155, fn. 40).

It seems that Stein's archaeological surveys and writings, consciously or
unconsciously, were aimed serve British empire or were, perhaps, manipulated in this
regard. As pointed out above, he had made fetish of Alexander's campaign in the east,
an historical episode used by imperialists in the best interest of the empire. It is
evident from the fact that he had powerful colonial officials as his patrons. Notable
among them were Dr. Rudolf Hoernle, 'a powerful ally in Calcutta's corridors of
power', and viceroy Lord Curzon, a hardcore imperialist. Both were enthusiastic
enough to support Stein's expeditions to Chinese Turkestan (Hopkirk 1984: 71-72)[42].

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[42] Hopkirk (1984: 72) details the point:

> In April 1899, when Lord Curzon was visiting the Punjab, Stein was asked to conduct him
> around the Lahore Museum. In the course of their tour Stein explained to him the significance
> of Gandhara art, simultaneously seizing the opportunity to tell him of his plan to solve the
> mysteries what lay beyond the Karakoram. Curzon, still only forty, had himself written a book
> on Central Asia, albeit on Russian ambitions there, and was keenly interested in what Stein had
> to say. He instructed the British Minister in Peking to seek from the Chinese authorities a
> passport allowing Stein to enter Chinese Turkestan via the Karakoram route. In due course this

A major share of funding in all his three such expeditions (1900-1901, 1906-1908 and 1913-1916) was contributed by the government of India (for, one can conjecture, imperialist designs) (Sir Aurel Stein, at http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/s/sir-aurel-stein/).

Being a non-British, Stein might not be termed as a racist. However, his archaeological interpretations especially in the context of Malakand-Swat, in addition to colonial constructs, are tinged with racist element. They vividly reflect the language of racism during the Victorian Age[43].

From the above concatenation, the beginning and development of archaeology in Malakand and Swat got started. Orientalists' interest in the Indian antiquity, the decipherment of ancient Indian scripts, the translation of Chinese sources, the contributions of Alexander Cunningham and John Marshall and other scholars promoted Indian archaeology to a great extent. The personal interest of the British

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arrived, together with authorisation from the Indian Government for the expedition to proceed. The Chinese document ordered the local ambans, or chief magistrates, to protect Stein and, perhaps more important, in no way to hinder him.

[43] For racism in the Victorian Age see (Anthony S. Wohl, Race and class overview: parallels in racism and class prejudice, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rcov.html, Phrenology and race in nineteenth-century Britain, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc3.html, Race and class prejudice and the childlike, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc4.html, Victorian racism, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc5.html, Filth and Class, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc6.html, The irreligion of the poor and of savages, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc7.html, The supposed excessive sexuality of lower classes and tribal cultures, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc8.html, Perceptions of the poor: criminality, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc9.html, Mayhew's London labour and the London poor, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/rc10.html, The function of racism in Victorian England, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/race/victor9.html; George P. Landow, Newman on the gentleman, http://www.victorianweb.org/vn/victor10.html, The political function of the gentleman, http://www.victorianweb.org/history/gentleman2.html, accessed: July 5, 2013).

officials like Lord Curzon and Major Deane further augmented the field. In highland Yusufzai country such developments as the Chitral Relief Force, the formation of the Malakand Agency and Swat state led to the initiation of the antiquarian and archaeological researches in the area.

Imperial representations in archaeological literature

Indian archaeology, in line with tenor of postcolonial critique, might safely be termed as a colonial product. Colonizers needed archaeology both as a source of geographical and cultural knowledge, in advance, for expansion and as a repository of indigenous wisdom for control in the wake of occupation. In other words, hegemonic concerns brought archaeology into being. In this perspective, archaeological knowledge is difficult to be recognized as a pure knowledge. Rather, it comes to us as contaminated. Power politics, cultural divergences and racial prejudices reflect in such a literature. This kind of archaeology is rightly designated by Bruce Trigger (1984)[44] as colonialist archaeology which aims create, almost negative, intellectual representations of indigenous people. In order to sort-out this aspect of the archaeology of Malakand-Swat between 1896 and 1926, it seems pertinent to have a recourse to critical theory.

It is now a common practice in and about the once colonized societies that correctives are vehemently put to the colonial/imperial constructions. The opportunity is provided by postcoloniality. As pointed out above, postcolonial/postcoloniality is an opaque term and concept. There prevails much controversy about the actuality of the phenomenon. Nonetheless, for the sake of simplicity it is to be termed as a state of life

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[44] Beside colonialist archaeology, he identifies two other types of archaeology i.e. nationalist and imperialist (Trigger 1984).

(in the wake of the end of colonialism?) and an intellectual response to colonial representations and constructions. Robert Young (2003: 2) argues, 'Postcolonialism claims the right of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being. The reality, though, is that the world today is a world of inequality, and much of the difference falls across the broad division between people of the west and those of the non-west.' He explains that 'Postcolonial cultural analysis has been concerned with the elaboration of theoretical structures that contest the previous dominant western ways of seeing things' (ibid.: 4).

By the mid-20th century new trends emerged in the study of culture and society as well as literature. It was a challenge, no doubt. The new theorists expressed doubts regarding the certainty and the confidence of the Modern Age (Modernity). First and foremost attack was made on the deity of 'objectivity'. The second was directed towards the temple of 'scientism' and 'centrism'. The intension was not to demolish something without purpose. It was/is, rather, a 'long-term strategy [. . .] to effect a radical restructuring of European thought and, particularly, historiography' (Young 1990/2003: 119). Some of the leading names in this connection are those of Jacques Derrida (Stocker 2006), Michel Foucault (Mills 2003/2005), Edward Said (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia: 1999/2001), Jean-Francois Lyotard (Malpas 2003), Ronald Barthes (Allen 2003), Gayatvi C. Spirak (Morton 2003), Hayden White (Munslow 1997/2003: 140-162), R. Guha, etc. Their diverse theories and concepts, a valuable epistemological contribution, might collectively be designated as critical theory.

A selective approach to critical theory for the purpose of this chapter seems useful. The concepts of orientalism, deconstructionism and postmodernism are apt to be adopted here.

Edward Said argues that during the last more than two centuries, East and West had a relationship of inequality in which the latter held a privileged position due to the knowledge, i.e. orientalism, it had about the former. It made it easy for Europe to keep control of east and this concept and practice of domination was buttressed with the idea of moral obligation to rule (Said 1978/2003). European domination and orientalism was a reciprocal activity. Power was to produce knowledge that, in turn, was supposed augment colonialism both geographically and administratively. Knowledge was constructed and manipulated and it, under political expediency, was also used as an orchestrated malice campaign against the indigenous peoples. British behavior towards the local peoples was mostly determined by the ever changing images of the latter in orientalist writings. One local ethnic/social/religious group would often be looked at with favour in order to malign and subjugate the other one. Once the purpose would get served that privilege would be withdrawn in favour of still another people. There was no end to this practice and it was a common feature of colonialism everywhere (see for example Lorcin 1995/1999).

Similarly, deconstruction is also a helpful methodological tool for questioning orientalism, and the epistemology of Modernity at large. It is 'a series of techniques for reading texts developed by Derrida, Paul de Man, and others' (Balkin 1995–1996) that basically deals with question of reality and representation and the problem of objectivity (Stocker 2006). It 'is now often used more broadly as a synonym for criticizing or demonstrating the incoherence of a position' (Balkin 1995-1996). Derrida gives the concept of 'binary oppositions' which establishes a link between a privileged and a suppressed or deemphasized word/feature in text. Deconstruction aims to deconstruct the privileged either by ascertaining similarity between oppositions or by demonstrating the dependence of privileged over the marginalized

opposite. 'The goal of these exercises is to achieve a new understanding of the relationship between A and B [oppositions], which, to be sure, is always subject to further deconstruction' (ibid.). Likewise, the relationship between text and context has also added a significant dimension to modern scholarship (Stocker 2006). Despite the fact that deconstruction is much criticized by the self-proclaimed serious scholars it is also welcomed by others as 'an ethical relationship to others' (Balkin 1995-1996). It is both the recognition of the 'others' and the acceptance of 'their perspectives'. It enjoins upon us to 'question our own beliefs and to understand the situation and views of others' (ibid.).

Like deconstructionism, some basic concepts of postmodernism also help prepare an indigenous counter narrative. It rightly and successfully challenges two fundamental principles of modernist knowledge. They are scientism and centrism, which represent a belief in objectivity and a privileged standing. It is observed that ''scientism' in the context of history implies a belief that historians need emulate scientists (to adopt their professional procedures and even their assumed moral characteristics), [and] 'centrism' … can be defined as the related *presupposition* that it is possible to adopt one single (central) position (standpoint) – both geographical and chronological – from which science or history (or theology or anything else) may be properly done' (Southgate 2003: 36). Dismissing scientism and centrism usher in a new era of relativistic and subjective approaches which entail the existence of alternative and multiple truths. With this, the concepts of categorization of knowledge, consistency in meaning and coherence in description of external reality lose validity. It has caused the myth of meta-narrative burst.

Colonialist archaeology is difficult to understand out of context. Gandhara is one such example. The very beginning of Gandharan archaeology was an accidental happening. It were largely British agents on political missions to Central Asia during the first half of 19th century that a first encounter with Gandharan remains took place. A proper way for investigation of Gandhara was opened by British occupation of Punjab in 1849 (Dar 1998). The ensuing presence of British in KP led to the development of Gandharan studies. But it should be kept in mind that this period was one of the most turbulent periods in the history of the area.

Pukhtuns and British were in constant warfare and hardly a year would pass without resistance at one place or another. British could not tolerate the so-called seditious activities as they were much obsessed by the ever devouring Tsarist/Soviet threat[45]. The whole situation is characterized as the Great Game. International developments of the time would dictate both British and Tsarist/Soviet policies towards Central Asia. British policy alternated between Close Border Policy and Forward Policy. And relation with Pukhtuns was greatly determined by such a vacillation in international affairs (Caroe 1958/1985; Dupree 1973/1978; Baha 1978).

A number of battles and encounters between Pukhtuns and British took place immediately after 1849. The first and foremost, in addition to the three Anglo-Afghan

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[45] Both England and Tsarist/Soviet Russia, as colonial powers, were arch-enemies. Russia had in its possession Central Asia while England was mostly in control of South Asia. Both felt threatened of each other's expansionist designs with regard to their respective colonies. They were preoccupied by the security paradigms and NWFP and Afghanistan were seen through this prism; hence special policies towards them. The whole process is known as the Great Game. British policy in this connection vacillated between Forward Policy – extension of its borders as far as NWFP and Afghanistan – and Close Border Policy (also known as Back to the Indus) which envisaged Indus river as the natural boundary of India; hence trans-Indus control through indirect involvement rather than establishing direct rule there.

Wars (Dupree 1973/1978: 343-457), in this connection is the Ambela Campaign (1863) followed by the Chitral Campaign (1895), the uprisings of 1897, the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement since 1930 and the resistance of Faqir of Ipi from 1936 to 1940 (Thomson 1981; Nevill 2003; Caroe 1958/1985: 360-369; Ahmad 1979; Spain 1963/1985; Hauner 1981; Sultan-i-Rome 1994, 1995; Shah 1999; Banerjee 2000; Haroon 2007). This encounter of conflict shaped British attitude towards Pukhtuns in extremely negative way and thus, unlike the pre-1849 image, their national character was systematically maligned. Charles Lindholm has aptly described this changing image of Pukhtuns, as it reflects in colonial literature, in accordance with changes in political relationship. He (1996: 11) observes:

> The evidence we have presented shows that the image of the Pathan varied according to the vacillations of colonial policy. We may discriminate several views: the emissary/guest, represented by Elphinstone and Masson; the naive imperialist view of Burnes; the treacherous and greedy portrait painted by direct administrators of the Forward Policy; the savage but honourable warriors seen by soldiers of the British army in the wars of expansion; the loyal and gentlemanly Pathans presented by the agents of indirect rule. These pictures are drawn by distinct individuals, but they are also obviously a reflection of particular historical colonial situations.

It is under this consideration that archaeological literature, which appeared during 1896 and 1926, is critically examined here with the help of critical theory. The main features/points in these works, besides the seminal archaeological knowledge, which concern us here, are the Muslim/Hindu/Buddhist division, Pukhtun/Gujar/Dard oppositions, barbarian/fanatic/ignorant/intolerant attributes and a tacit reference to race and evolutionism. All these oppositions are to be termed as colonial constructs used, beyond doubt, purposefully. It aimed to serve empire and hence one has reason to designate the pre-1947 archaeology of Swat-Malakand as colonialist archaeology.

Before subjecting the above features/points to critical analysis, it seems pertinent to quote Trigger as how he defines colonial archaeology. He (1984: 360) writes:

> By colonialist archaeology I mean that which developed either in countries whose native population was wholly replaced or overwhelmed by European settlement or in ones where Europeans remained politically and economically dominant for a considerable period of time. In these countries, archaeology was practised by a colonizing population that had no historical ties with the peoples whose past they were studying. While the colonizers had every reason to glorify their own past; they had no reason to extol the past of the peoples they were subjugating and supplanting. Indeed, they sought by emphasising the primitiveness and lack of accomplishments of these peoples to justify their own poor treatment of them. While history and the specialised social sciences, such as economics and political science, studied the accomplishments and behavior of white people in Europe and around the world, the study of colonised peoples, past and present, became the domain of anthropology. Modern native peoples were seen as comparable only to the earliest and most primitive phases of European development and as differentiated from Europeans by possessing no record of change and development and hence no history.

In this perspective, it appears that Stein and Foucher dehumanized Pukhtuns by the use of the above-mentioned terms/words or binary oppositions, to use Derrida's concept. The choice seems careful and purposeful. Pukhtuns were stigmatized as barbarian[46], fanatic, ignorant and intolerant[47]. It implies that they were not civilized,

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[46] Stein uses the word 'barbarian' also for those who fought Alexander in Swat valley. No doubt, classical sources also mention those native people by the same designation. The word 'barbarian' in classical context denotes those who did not know Greek or Latin languages. In modern times, it has negative connotations of uncivilized, brutal and vandal (Pocock 2005: 1-16). However, the term has a long history and theory and its use by Stein without explaining that in what sense he adopts it makes confusion. Most probably, his use of 'barbarian' seems purposeful and it gives the impression of establishing a link between the past and the present with a negative connotation.

[47] Foucher's terms and phrases for Pukhtuns and their culture: 'the Sunni fanaticism of the Yusufzai Afghans', 'their characteristic Mussalman indolence', 'barbarous denominations' (Foucher 1915/2005:

pluralist, enlightened and tolerant. By such a characterization, the cultural value of Pukhtuns is suppressed and vanished away. It does not simply stop here as it gives credence to other ethnic groups of the area such as Gujars, Kohistanis and Torwalis as being the opposite of Pukhtuns. Again, as Pukhtuns are Muslims another stigma is attached to them and that is the so-called Muslim fanaticism, barbarianism, intolerance and ignorance. At the same time, it means that non-Pukhtun Muslim population is not such a negative people. Similarly, Hindus' exaggerated marginalization is also a privileged feature of the texts exhibiting the concocted callousness of Pukhtuns and their worldview.

The texts not only present Pukhtuns' negative image as an abstract idea but also situate it in the ruination of the pre-Muslim tangible cultural heritage. Wherever archaeological sites are found in ruined conditions, the blame is accorded to Pukhtuns. However, it is now a recognized fact that the dilapidation of Buddhist sites and rock carvings is not solely the *mischievous* activity of Pukhtuns. Weather and environmental effect is also considered now as a vital factor in this connection (Tucci 1958: 281-282; Dani 1968-69: 254). Besides, political and religious disturbances by the close of first millennium CE might also have caused damages to the Buddhist cultural heritage of Uḍḍiyana (see i.e. Tucci 1958: 281-282; Rahman 1993). Last but not the least, a wholesale destruction of Gandharan cultural heritage took place in the wake of British arrival into northern India, present-day Pakistan due to the lucrative transaction in Gandhara art (Dani 1968-69: 34; Zwalf 1997; Dar 1998; Behrendt 3003). Stein himself has a dubious character in this respect (Hopkirk 1984). Similarly, Waddell is also accused 'to have looted a prodigious quantity of Tibetan Buddhist

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3); and Stein's selection of words: 'Their combined fanaticism and ignorance', 'a population as fanatical as the Bunérwáls', 'the semi-barbarous Pathān tribes'.

texts and relics … (Moshenska 2010: 49). Keeping in view this, Foucher's and Stein's allegations do not hold ground. Moreover, Foucher even attributes environmental degradation to Pukhtuns' national character. He (1915/2005: 3) writes that they have changed the 'face of the country' due to 'their characteristic Mussalman indolence.' Furthermore, they have been held responsible for forest cutting, as Muslims were wood-burners as compared to the cow-dung burner *kafirs*, and the resultant shortage of water, and hence negative impacts on cultivation (ibid.: 4). This position is spurious due to two facts. First, Muslims/Pukhtuns of Swat even till now burn dung, known as *sapyake*, alongside wood throughout Swat and Malakand. Second, it is impossible even today, not to speak of ancient times, to depend only on the use of dung during the severe winter of Swat. So this oversimplified explanation seems just a privileged position in order to bring Pukhtuns as a nation down in the face of advancing British empire.

Another dominant feature of the texts concerned is a tacit, but ubiquitous, reference to race. Racial consideration generally dominates colonial archaeology. Present inhabitants have almost everywhere looked upon down in such sorts of projects. The most important example in this regard is colonialist archaeology of America where indigenous population is vehemently denied as the builders of the Mounds. Cultural change is always attributed to diffusionism and in this way indigenous Americans are considered as primitive people and without any share in historical achievements. This act was nothing more than a mere justification of their subjugation (Trigger 1989/2010: 166-210; Curtoni & Politis: 2006; Kuklick 1991). The same seems true in the case of Malakand-Swat archaeology.

It is not so strange that Pukhtuns have been denied any share in the development of Gandhara civilization but it is, rather, irony that they have arbitrarily been dubbed as the destroyers of Gandharan cultural heritage. It is also astonishing that the whole credit, as being originators and inheritors of Gandhara, has, tacitly or overtly, been given to Gujars, Torwalis and Kohistanis as well as to the scattered Hindu families. This position suffers from incoherence as it is not in line with orientalists' claims that Gandhara art was solely the work of Greek- and Roman-origin artists. This view should rightly be questioned, as well, due to the geographical position of Gandhara and Uḍḍiyana as being a 'frontier' area which had been the scene of activities of a medley of peoples.

The roundabout[48] nature of Uḍḍiyana, as well as Gandhara, has destined them to effect syncretic and dialectic processes (see Banerjee 2000: 21-28). This fact invalidates any viewpoint, which should be termed as the 1st myth, crediting a single ethnic group for such a phenomenal achievement as is Gandhara civilization. It can be handsomely compared to the Kabyle myth of Algeria where the Algerian Kabyles were favoured against the Arabs and then later on the former did lose all privilege (Lorcin 1995/1999: 1-34)[49]. The concept of 'frontier' also does not conform to the idea of an immutable social or cultural set-up, the 2nd myth, over the innumerable years as is maintained, by Foucher and others, in the case of Gandhara/Uḍḍiyana as being solely Indian in character (Foucher 1915/2005: 2). It is to be argued that the 1st

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[48] Toynbee (1961: 2) observes that 'The roundabouts are regions on which routes converge from all quarters of the compass and from which routes radiate out to all quarters of the compass again.'

[49] 'The Kabyle Myth was that the Kabyles were superior to the Arabs; it was not that they were different, which they were. The French used sociological differences and religious disparities between the two groups to create an image of the Kabyle which was good and one of the Arab which was bad and, from this, to extrapolate that the former was more suited to assimilation than the latter' (Lorcin 1995/1999: 2).

myth aimed at discrediting Pukhtuns against the backdrop of advancing colonialism and the native resistance while the 2nd one was used legitimize inclusion of KP into British empire and simultaneously repudiate any irredentist claims by Afghan government.

In retrospection, it seems that the colonialist archaeology of Malakand-Swat and its development is better understandable through an externalist and contextual approach in addition to the varied strands of critical theory. As is shown above, these researches were manipulated in the best interest of the empire. Malice campaigns against ethnic and religious groups, severe stigmatization and the acts of crediting and discrediting all were dictated by power politics. In this sense, there seems an intimate knowledge/power reciprocal relationship structurally and systematically carried out in the framework of hegemonic designs. It seems very pertinent to conclude this chapter with long quotations from Curtoni and Politis who elaborate the racist/colonialist character of archaeology and cautious us about its dangers. They (2006: 103-104) arrive to the conclusion that

> Archaeology and the construction of past narratives are no exception [to race and racism]. Archaeologists must be aware of the danger in using contemporary categories and concepts uncritically, with subsumed implications related to thoughts and ideas derived and imposed from political and economical [economic?] orders, such as colonialism and imperialism. In a similar vein, the reification of cultural differences can promote the segregation of particular human groups, generating xenophobia and social exclusion. Academic doctrines, such as diffusionism tied together with ethnocentric and neo-colonial scenarios, provide and constitute efficient contexts to originate and promote opinions and values related to racist feelings, legitimating, among other things, cultural discrimination and political domination. . . . At first glance, it would seem that racism holds an omnipresent status, permeating all the subterfuges of human reasoning and thinking, considering racism as a basic and unavoidable idea that is later naturalized in existence. What is naturalized is not racism *per se* as a concept, because it has

been politely and politically vanished, but rather the implications of the idea that are acting and affecting different social, cultural and political settings. Thus, racialized ideas posited in scientific discourse seem to operate by hiding political interests, power relationships and cultural discrimination, delegitimizing and neglecting present-day indigenous claims and rights.

They (ibid.) show the way out of racist entanglement in archaeology:

A possible way to identify and subvert racist thinking is to situate archaeological research in postcolonial perspectives trying to deconstruct the ideas of globalization and naturalization that constitute modern neoliberal society. Moreover, a symmetrical dialogue between archaeologists, indigenous, *mestizos*, blacks and other subordinated people would de-colonize archaeological practice … therefore helping to remove the racist elements still present in current thinking. The contradictory essence of concentrating on analysis of racism as operating only in subtle manner, and disguised through different notions, reinforces the powerful effects implied in the idea beyond the discussion of concepts. Therefore, not only must we be alert to the use of conceptual tricks in thinking and constructing racist feelings and ideas, but we should not allow or facilitate the development of contexts (e.g. neo-colonial, scientific, academics or social) in which those effects can be achieved.

Chapter 4

The Archaeological profile of Malakand-Swat
A study in early reports

In this chapter a list of all the archaeological sites discovered within the chronological framework of this study is presented. The first part of the chapter is presenting that list in form of Site Gazetteer, with description - as it is available in primary sources - and present conditions as observed by the present researcher when/wherever possible. In the second part these information will be arranged in the form of a chart, along with the AMSV[50] No. given to each site by the Italian archaeologists (see Olivieri & Vidale 2006).

Site Gazetteer

1. Loriyan Tangai (Shahkot), Malakand (Figures 1-3)

Caddy 1898 in Behrendth forthcoming; Foucher 1901: fig. 30.

In the vicinity of Shahkot is situated Loriyan-tangai which was excavated by A. Caddy in 1896. The site is a Buddhist sacred place and a great number of pieces of Gandhara art 'were removed and taken to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. Stupas are hemispherical monuments made of earth and usually encased in brick or stone'

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[50]The Archaeological Map of Swat Valley is a project carried out in 2000-2010 by the Italian Archaeological Mission and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, which was aimed at documenting all the archaeological sites of Swat valley. So far, the areas around Barikot (i.e. Kotah, Kandak, Najigram and Karakar see Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006), as well as the other side valleys of the left bank of the river Swat, from Barikot to Manglawar, have been surveyed.

(Basement of stupa, after excavation, Loriyan Tangai, Peshawar District 10031033, British Library, Online Gallery)[51].

It is interesting that some statues and bas-reliefs from Loriyan-tangai bear important inscriptions, which provide information about the donors and the chronology of the stupa[52].

Alfred Foucher revisited the site (Foucher 1901: 164-167) and published some of the sculptures lying in the Calcutta Museum (Foucher: 1917/1994: 169-178, pls. XXIV 1-2 & XXV 1-2). He assigns the probable period of second century CE to the stupa (quoted in Konow 1929: 106).

The present researcher made his fieldwork in the area but could not be able to locate a site known as Loriyan-tangai. However, it was reported to him that a place called Dodyal-tangai in Palai, Morah, certainly exists (personal communication with Sharif Kaka). Still it does not mean that the site by the name of Loryan-tangai has no existence as other local people know about its whereabout.

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[51]   http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/b/019pho000001003u01033000.html, accessed: June 04, 2012.

[52] The inscriptions have been read as it follows (for detail see Konow 1929: 106-110):

  a) Statue no. 4901, Calcutta Museum: 'Anno 318, the 27. d. of Praushṭhapada, gift of Buddhaghosha, the companion of Saṁghavarma' (ibid.: 107).
  b) Statue no. 4860, Calcutta Museum: 'Gift of Buddhavarma, in the Khaṇḍavana stūpa' (ibid.: 108).
  c) Statue no. 4871, Calcutta Museum: 'Gift of Buddhamitra, the companion of Buddharakshita' (ibid.: 109).
  d) Statue no. 4995, Calcutta Museum: 'Gift of Akshayika, the companion of the Śramaṇa Saddharmarata' (ibid.: 110).
  e) Fragment of bas-relief no. 5095, Calcutta Museum: 'Gift of Siṁhamitra, the companion of Sihilika' (ibid.: 110).

2. Kafir-kot A (Bajawro, Talash), Lower Dir

Waddell 1895.

Kafir-kot (A) is situated in the SE of Uch. It lies on the boundary – and on the right side of the road from Chakdara to Talash – of Adinzai and Talash but is actually within the administrative domain of the later. From this place, writes Waddell, 'about two miles up the hill on the right, is said to be a stone or rock with several scroll-like markings, probably inscriptions …' (Waddell)[53]. Kafir-kot (A) has also ruins of considerable importance.

3. Uchh (Adinzai), Lower Dir

Waddell 1895; Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming.

Uchh, also as Uch (Stein 1921/1980: 4) and Wuch (Stein 1930: 25),[54] lies in the N and NW of Chakdara at a distance of about 9 km. It was visited in 1895 by L. A. Waddell and there was a stupa to the S of the village in a better condition (Waddell)[55]. Caddy visited Chakdara in 1896 and found the area rich in archaeological material. He took photographs of important remains. The village is said to have been built on the ruins of bygone times (Dani 1968-69: 8).

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[53] 'Greco-Buddhistic sculptures in Swat,' http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/woking-england-oriental-university-institute/the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo/page-22-the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo.shtml (accessed: July 7, 2012).

[54] Waddell writes the name as Uchh or Uchina (ibid.). Dani puts it as Uchh but observes that it is 'Ushk or correctly Sushka, meaning dry' (Dani 1968–69: 3).

[55] 'Greco-Buddhistic sculptures in Swat,' http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/woking-england-oriental-university-institute/the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo/page-22-the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo.shtml (accessed: July 7, 2012).

4. Ramora (Chakdara), Lower Dir (Figure 4)

Waddell 1895; Stein 1898b: 6; Dani 1968-69a-b.

Remora, Amora by Waddell, is situated in the NE of Chakdara at a distance of about 3 km. Waddell mentions that there were some inscriptions in the area seen by the British officers. He further says that 'Major Deane is sending a man to take 'squeeses' of these inscriptions' (Waddell)[56]. Caddy also photographed an inscription near Ramora. It is lying in the 'Online Gallery' of the British Library under the heading 'Rock inscription in unknown characters, Swat Valley'. Its description points out that 'The markings on the rock shown here are unidentified and whether the picture was taken in the lower or upper Swat valley is also unknown'[57]. Stein (1898b: 6) also writes that impressions of six inscriptions, nos. 55-60, were acquired 'just above the Ramora Fort'.

Presently there are to be found two sites by the name of Ramora i.e. 1 and 2. Ramora 1, on the eastern side of the Ramora hill and facing Goragat hill, was surveyed and excavated by A. H. Dani. He writes:

> On the surface the pot-sherds indicate early historic period association. On the slope of the hill the stupa ruins and monastic area are located. One of the stupa was robbed by the local people. Another stupa was partly excavated and a few sculptures found here have been described below in section II as an appendix to the excavation of Andandheri (Dani 1968–69a: 10, for the description and the sculptures from Ramora see Dani 1968-69b: 61-62, pls. 27-29).

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[56] 'Greaco-Buddhistic sculptures in Swat,' http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/woking-england-oriental-university-institute/the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo/page-22-the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo.shtml, (accessed: July 7, 2012).

[57] http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/r/019pho000001003u01156000.html, (accessed: June 5, 2012).

The relative chronology of the site with the help of the sculptures, of which a comparative study with the sculptures from Andandheri was done by Dani, is proposed that Ramora corresponds to 'period III' of Andandheri i.e. the end of the 3rd and the start of the 4th century CE (Dani 1968-69b: 37, 61). This site is now completely destroyed and is used for cultivation.

Remora 2 is situated in the N of Gul-muqam, Ramora, and NW of Ramora village at a distance of about 2 km. The site has pockmarks due to illegal digging. It is locally known as Obo-dada and is also called Chinar-tangai. Previously there was a spring which is now dried.

5. Tirat (Madian, Jinki-khel), Swat

Deane 1896; Stein 1921/1980, 1930: figs. 40-41.

Tirat is a very important Buddhist site in Swat with which important Buddhist legends are associated. Besides the prodigy related to Naga Apalala, it has rock carvings in the form of Buddha's foot-prints, a boulder which has some kinds of graffiti and scribbles and other ruins and mounds. One of the sacred spots is the inscribed rock of considerable size. This boulder has some scribbling 'in Brahmanic characters of a type resembling Śāradā and the rest [are] in Arabic' (Stein 1930: 56). The inscriptions in Brahmi have not yet been progressed with. Aurel Stein identifies this boulder with the one which a pious legend, as mentioned by Fǎxiǎn, Sòng Yùn and XuánZàng, relates with Buddha's cloth-drying after crossing the river.

At a little distance, there is mentioned by the pilgrims a stone which contains Buddha's foot-prints. Stein discovered this stone in a field. In addition to the foot-prints, it also has an inscription which was translated by Prof. Bühler as 'The feet of

Buddha, the Śākya ascetic' (Stein 1930: 60). Major Deane obtained its estampage long before. There are also reported some mounds representing stupas and other shrines.

The present researcher gave a visit to Tirat and extensively sought after the archaeological remains mentioned by Stein. He, however, failed to locate the various inscriptions and mounds in this regard. The Buddha foot-prints are now lying in Swat Museum. The cloth-drying rock is said to have been blasted some years before (personal communication with Ashraf Khan).

6. Mahaban (Chamla), Buner

Deane 1896; Stein 1898a, 1905; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Mahaban once invited the attention of scholars and explorers. It has important ancient remain. Cunningham considered the Mahavana monastery as situated on this mountain[58], a suggestion also accepted by Deane (Deane 1896: 656). Deane mentions the ruins of Shahkot, Mahaban, as of a great importance (ibid.: 673-74) and ruins at different points throughout the mountain are found in Stein (1905: 21-28). Deane also obtained part of an inscription from here, which mentions the 'deposit of a relic' somewhere on the hill (Deane 1896: 656). Mahaban was also for a long time considered as the probable location of Aornos, a hypothesis, presented first by General James Abbott and accepted by Deane as well, is dismissed by Stein in favour of Pir-sar (Stein 1898a: 45-47; 1905: 19-31; 1930: 75-94).

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[58] Stein, however, contends this identification and identifies the monastery with the ruins of Panj-kotai, Buner (see below).

7. Kaldarra (Dargai), Malakand (Figure 5)

Deane 1895; Bühler 1896; Stein 1898b; Konow 1929.

Kaldarga/Kaldarra, or more correctly Qaldara, is a large and famous village. It is situated in the NW of Dargai. Waddell found here a Kharoshthi inscription, which Deane, later on, gave to the Lahore Museum, no. 1. 77 (Konow 1929: 65). Caddy took its 'plaster-cast' (Statue of a Bodhisattva and plaster-cast of Kharoshthi inscription from Kaldarga near Dargai, Swat Valley, British Library, Online Gallery)[59]. 'The plaster cast is one of the longest Kharoshthi inscription … and was inscribed on a rough block of stone measuring about 27" by 9"' (ibid.). The inscription is about the building of a tank by a person, Thaidora. Konow (1929: 66) translates it as follows:

'By Thaïdora, the Datiaputra, (this) tank was caused to be made in honour of all beings, in the 113. year, on the 20. of Śrāvaṇa.'

This inscription is also read and edited by other renowned scholars such as Bühler[60], Senart and Banerji (ibid.: 65-66). Stein also included it in his article (Stein 1898b: 6, 10, no. 46).

8. Chānai (Surkhavi) and Narinji valley, Mardan

Deane 1896.

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[59]   http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/s/019pho000001003u01159000.html, (accessed: June 05, 2012).

[60] In his article George Bühler (*The Indian Antiquary* XXV, May 1896, p.141) translates the inscription as follows: "By the son of Dati, the Thera Nora, a tank (pushkarini) was caused to be made for the worship of all snakes (in) the year 113, (in the) bright half (of the month of) Sravana"'. Statue of a Bodhisattva and plaster-cast of Kharoshthi inscription from Kaldarga near Dargai, Swat Valley, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/s/019pho000001003u01159000.html, (accessed: June 05, 2012).

Chanai on the hill of Surkhawai (Stein's Surkhavi) and the Narinji valley have ancient ruins. Sculptures were recovered from these areas by the local people. Major Deane seeks here for the stupa, attributed to Ashoka, mentioned by XuánZàng 60 or 70 li in the W of Mo-su monastery[61] (Deane 1898: 656-57). However, Stein does not agree with this identification (see below).

9. Suma 1 (Adinzai), Lower Dir

Deane 1896; Foucher 1901: fig. 29; Stein 1921/1980.

There is a series of ruins situated at a little distance in the N of Chakdara. Deane believes that there was once a stupa, mentioned by XuánZàng, by the name of Suma[62]. According to him the place is still know by the same name. Nearby there lie remains of another stupa. Gandhara style objects were recovered from the area (Deane 1896: 657-658; Foucher 1901: 155-56). Stein, however, is not contented with Deane's identification. He observes that after his visit to the site he came to know that 'the supposed name of Sūma was not known locally' (Stein 1921/1980: 17). The present researcher also could not obtain any information about a site or village by the name of Suma.

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[61] XuánZàng records (Beal 1906: 125):

> Going west 60 or 70 li from the Mo-su *saṅghârâma* is a *stûpa* which was built by Aśoka-râja. It was here that Tathâgata in old time, practicing the life of a Bōdhisattva, was called Śivika (or Sibika) Râja. Seeking the fruit of Buddhaship, he cut his body to pieces in this place to redeem a dove from the power of a hawk.

[62] XuánZàng mentions (Beal 1906: 125–26):

> By the side of this *stûpa* [stupa of the Sa-pao-sha-ti convent in Shan-ni-lo-shi (Adinzai)] and not far off is the great *stûpa* of Sûma. Here in old times when Tathâgata was Lord Śakra, filled with concern for the world, afflicted with every kind of disease and pestilence, with his perfect knowledge of the case, he changed himself into the serpent Sûma; none of those who tasted his flesh failed to recover from their disease.

10. Suma 2 (Adinzai), Lower Dir

Deane 1896.

Near the Suma stupa there are also some other structures mentioned by Deane, named as Suma 2 in this chapter. Deane writes, 'Amid the debris on the rock were also found two oval stones, weighing about 5lbs. each, which appears to have been artificially shaped, and which are suggestive of Alexander's military engines; also the iron head of an axe . . .' (Deane 1896: 657-658).

11. Badshah Dherai (Adinzai), Lower Dir

Deane 658.

In the NE of Suma (and of Chakdara and in due N of Ramora) lies Badshah Dherai where there is a mound. It is probably the ruined stupa mentioned by XuánZàng[63] (Deane 658: 658). This site corresponds to the next one mentioned by Deane in the locality of 'Gudia Khwar'. There is also another site lying between these two sites.

A. H. Dani terms it as a settlement site which is presently a cultivable land. He writes, 'The stone walls have mostly been removed. But off and on coins of the Hindu Shahis are found at the site. A broken inscription on a stone of this period in Śāradā character was also found by us' (Dani 1968-69a: 8).

12. Gudia-khwar (Adinzai), Lower Dir

Deane 1896; Stein 1921/1980.

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[63] XuánZàng (Beal 1906: 126) states that 'To the north of the valley Shan-ni-lo-shi, by the side of a steep rock, is a *stûpa*. Of those who, being sick, have come there to seek (*restoration*), most have recovered'.

Gudia-khwar is said as lying on the southern slope of Larram hill. In this locality Major Deane seeks for a stupa nearby by the spring, which is mentioned by XuánZàng[64] (Deane 1896: 658-659). Stein accepts the probability of this identification with observation that he could not find out the traces of the stupa 'above ground, or the traces of the peacock's feet which pious Buddhists' eyes used to see on the rock' (Stein 1921/1980: 17).

The present researcher searched for the place by the name of Gudia-khwar but failed to locate it.

13. Sado (Timargara), Lower Dir

Cunningham 1875; Deane 1896; Konow 1929.

Sado lies in the SW of Timargara proper along the Larram hills on the left bank of Panjkora river. It bears some minor ancient structures (Deane 1896: 659). Alexander Cunningham obtained copy of a Kharoshthi inscription from the village at the hand of his employee (Cunningham 1875: 62-63). The impression was not clear enough as it was made in hurry. Hence it could not be deciphered properly. However, Cunningham assigns it a period 'not later than the first century of the Christian era' (ibid.: 63). He tries to read it partially[65]; however Konow opines that 'His reading cannot, however,

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[64] XuánZàng records (Beal 1906: 126):

> In old time Tathâgata was the king of peacocks [Mayûra-râja]; on one occasion he came to this place with his followers. Being afflicted with tormenting thirst, they sought for water on every side without success. The king of the peacocks with his beak struck the rock, and forthwith there flowed out an abundant stream which now forms a lake. Those who are afflicted on tasting or washing in the water are healed. On the rock are still seen the traces of the peacock's feet.

[65] Cunningham (1875: 63) reads the first 5 letters as under: 1) '*Masa Chetra di (vasa)*, means 'On the * day of the month Chaitra.' Other letters are read as following: 1) '*Masa Chetra di*. 2) *ru * mudetama*

be maintained' (Konow 1929: 10, for detail of Konow's dealing of the inscription see pp. 9-10).

14. Saidgai (Aushiri/Usherai valley), Upper Dir

Deane 1896; Stein 1921/1980.

Deane identifies the Saidgai hill, situated in the NE of Darora, NW of Peuchar valley and SW of Kalam, with XuánZàng's Lun-po-lu or Lan-po-lo, which according to the later has the 'Dragon lake'. The other spur of the mountain is called Lalkoh. Stories of nagas and jins have been associated with the lake (Deane 1896: 661). Stein, though reluctantly, confirms Deane's identification. 'This mountain tract [Darora] between the Upper Swāt River and the Panjkōra still remains unsurveyed, and I am hence unable to add details to the arguments adduced by Colonel Deane for his very tempting identification' (Stein 1921/1980: 17).

15. Barikot (Patrak), Upper Dir

Deane 1896.

Deane also mentions a site by the name of Barikot, near Patrak, in Upper Dir. It is situated in the NE of Sheringal nearly opposite Peshmal of Swat Kohistan. Ancient structures and a stupa were reported to him by his informants. The stupa, according to Deane, was 'overthrown by one Ilyas Akhund, about two generations ago' (Deane 1896: 663)[66].

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samja. 3) *esa hana * tra a ** nyajoya*. 4) *yegatuheasa * ja*.' Konow writes, 'I refrain from attempting to improve on this reading, though I cannot accept it in all details' (Konow 1929: 10).

[66] Relevant information is found in a report by Godfrey. He (1912: 50) puts down:

16. Tarawar-Badin (Maidan-banda), Jandul

Deane 1896.

From Tarawar, which lies near Badin in the Maidan Banda valley of Jandul, comes another inscription (Deane 1896: 663-64).

17. Kanbat (Samarbagh), Lower Dir

Deane 1896.

There is a hill towards the W of Kanbat (Kambat). It has the ruins of an ancient city. An inscription also comes from its vicinity (Deane 1896: 663).

18. Sapri Kalan-Badin (Maidan-banda), Jandul

Deane 1896.

A village by the name of Sapri Kalan, near Tarawar, is mentioned by Deane. From here he received a Persian inscription (Deane 1896: 664). The present researcher confirmed that the name of the village is not Sapri Kalan but Sapri-kalay (personal communication with Sharif Kaka).

Barikot is reached in an hour from Biar. It is situated on a high cliff on the left bank of the river. . . . Above the terrace-built village a steep path leads up a cliff to the remains of an old fort. This, the villager's state, was held by their ancestor, Baria, a kafir or unbeliever in Islam, who came from upper Swat when his village, Barikot, there was destroyed by the invading army of the Mohammedans eight generations ago. This story is confirmed by the traditions of the Yusafzais who now hold Barikot, in upper Swat, and who gave me a similar account when I visited them. The site of this old fort, of which the trace is plainly visible, occupies an exactly similar position to that of the now deserted houses and forts on the Malakand and Digar passes which connect lower Swat and Peshawar territory. Those houses and forts the Yusafzais of Swat can only now account for by saying that they were built by "Kafirs" and they closely resemble the many similar ruins in the Talash and Dushkhel valleys of Dir.

19. Bishunai (Ilam), Buner

Stein 1898a.

In the NW of Pacha-kalay, Buner, is situated Bayshonai village. Impressions of 4 inscriptions were got by Deane from the neighborhood of this village. Stein tried in 1898 to locate their spots but in vain due to shortage of time (Stein 1898a: 20).

20. Ilam-o-Mianz/Miangam (Ilam), Buner

Stein 1898a, 1898b.

Major Deane obtained impressions of 2 inscriptions from the place, which the notes of his agents called as Ilm-o-mianz. It was indicated as near Padshah and Bichounai/Bishunai, Ilam. It is the same place as Miagan. The inscriptions were published by Stein (Stein 1898a, 1898b).

21. Khazana-gat (Shakhorai, Ugad), Swat

Deane 1896; Bühler 1896-97; Lüders 1901; Rapson 1901; Stein 1930; Filigenzi in press.

Shakhorai is situated in Ugad valley, a little above Manglawar, on the left side of the stream. It makes one of the most important Buddhist sites of Swat. Besides the famous Jahanabad Buddha, it has three rock inscriptions (Deane 1896: 656).

There is a rock inscription found at the place known as Khazāna-ghat (correctly Khazana-gat). It 'contains a Sanskrit rendering of a famous verse attributed by Buddhist canonical texts to Indra at the time of Śākyamuni's death or to the Buddha himself' (Stein 1930: 50). It is translated by Bühler as Text A (see below, Site 22):

'Alas! Transient are the aggregate constituents (*of beings*), whose nature is birth and decay! For, being produced they are dissolved; – their complete cessation is bliss' (Bühler 1896-97: 134).

22. Obo-gat (Shakhorai, Ugad), Swat

Deane 1896; Bühler 1896-97; Lüders 1901; Rapson 1901; Stein 1930: fig. 35; Filigenzi in press.

Two of the rock inscriptions are inscribed on Obo-ghat (correctly Ubo-gat) in Shakhorai (modern Jahanabad) (Deane 1896: 656; Bühler 1896-1897: 133). They 'contain Sanskrit renderings of verses from the Dhammapada' (Stein 1930: 50). They are translated by Bühler as Text B and Text C, which are given below respectively:

'Not to commit any sin, to acquire merit, to purify one's mind, – that is the teaching of Buddha' (Bühler 1896-97: 135).

'(*Let him be one*) who guards his speech, is well-restrained in mind, and commits no evil with his body. Keeping these three roads of action clear, one may gain the path taught by the Sages' (ibid.).

All the inscriptions are attributed to the early Kushana period. But they have, according to Stein, no value in the reconstruction of the history of the area except being pointing to the historical importance of Manglawar (Stein 1930: 50).

The present condition of the inscriptions may be termed as secured from man-made damages; however, the weather effect is the sole agent behind their opacity.

23. Shan-ni-lo-shi (Adinzai), Lower Dir

Deane 1896; Stein 1921/1980.

Major Deane seeks for the Dove-ransoming site in the ruins of Chanai or Narinji valley (Deane 1896: 656-57) whereas Stein suggests the mounds of Girarai, Buner, in this respect (Stein 1898a: 61-62). About 200 li from either place lies in the NW the Adinzai valley, Lower Dir. Deane suggests Shan-ni-lo-shi of XuánZàng as corresponding to this valley (Deane 1896: 657). The pilgrim mentions here a convent by the name of Sa-pao-sha-ti, also called Serpent medicine, and a stupa (Beal 1906: 125)[67]. Andan-dherai and Sapar (Saparuna) seem as the probable sites of these sacred buildings.

24. Odigram (Babuzai), Swat (Figure 6-7)

Deane 1896; Stein 1898b, 1930: figs. 19, 23, 26–27, 29, 31, 33; Tucci 1958; Gullini 1962.

Odigram or Udegram is situated on the left bank of river Swat at a little distance on the road leading from Mardan to Mingawara. Major Deane mentions two inscriptions in the area (Deane 1896: 660; Stein 1898b: 6). Stein made a detailed survey of the place especially of the Udegram mountain, which is rich in remains of ancient buildings (Stein 1930: 34-39). To him, Raja Gira Castle over the steep mountain presented a view of topographical and historical importance in relation to Ora of the

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[67] XuánZàng records (Beal 1906: 125):

> Going north-west from the place where he [Tathâgata] redeemed the dove, 200 li or so, we enter the valley of Shan-ni-lo-shi, where is the convent of Sa-pao-sha-ti. Here is a *stûpa* in height 80 feet or so. In old time, when Buddha was Lord Śakra, famine and disease were prevalent everywhere in this country. Medicine was of no use, and the roads were filled with dead. Lord Śakra was moved with pity and meditated how he might rescue and save the people. Then changing his form, he appeared as a great serpent, and extended his dead body all along the void of the great valley, and called from the void to those on every side (t*o look*). Those who heard were filled with joy, and running together hastened to the spot, and the more they cut the body of the serpent the more they revived, and were delivered from both famine and disease.

Greek sources. With the help of topographical features and philology, Udegram is identified by him with Ora (ibid.: 39-41).

The remains of Raja Gira Castle and the overall position of the hill present interesting information in terms of defense and antiquity (Tucci 1958: 290-92).

Presently the remains of Raja Gira Castle exist but the signs of illegal digging can easily be seen over the top of the hill.

25. Shankardar (Barikot), Swat (Figure 8)

Deane 1896; Stein 1921/1980, 1930: fig. 17.

The stupa of Shankardar, Ghaligai, lies on the right side of the road from Mardan to Mingawara. It was reported to Major Deane by his informants and he identified it with King Uttarasena's stupa (Deane 1896: 660) mentioned by XuánZàng about 60 or 70 li in the SW of Mungali (Beal 1906: 126-27). Later on, Stein visited it in 1926 and confirmed Deane's hypothesis (Stein 1921/1980: 15; 1930: 30-32). However, G. Tucci does not agree with this identification. He is of the opinion that Uttarasena's stupa may be sought for in Nawekalay, Kota (Tucci 1958: 300). Major Deane also infers from the information given by the people that there is also a 'fine Deva temple' near the stupa (Deane 1896: 660).

The present condition of the stupa may be termed as precarious. It is vulnerable to extinction any time as no proper maintenance and care is taken for its protection.

26. Hathidarra (Manyar), Swat

Deane 1896; Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Filligenzi 2011.

The legend, recorded by XuánZàng, says that King Uttarasena was bringing his share of the Buddha's relics, as willed by the latter, on a white elephant to his kingdom, Uḍḍiyana. When the elephant reached to a place 60 or 70 li in the SW of Mungali town, it suddenly fell down and died. It, immediately, turned into a rock which now has the shape of elephant (Beal 1906: 126-27). The site is identified with Hathi-dara by Deane (Deane 1896: 660) and is confirmed by Stein (Stein 1930: 32, fig. 24). An image of which only the head was visible was also seen by Stein nearby (ibid.). It is the famous Ghaligai Buddha (Figure 9) which 'had been unearthed by the order of the Wali Saheb [of Swat]' at the time of Tucci's visit (Tucci 1958: 294, fig. 6).

The present condition of the image is unsafe as it is situated by the right side of the road from Mardan to Mingawara.

27. Velanai (Shankardar, Ghaligai), Swat

Deane 1896.

Velanai is the hill situated in the S of Shankardar. It makes a spur of Mount Ilam and has ancient remains. Tradition associates the remains with king Viru whom Deane identifies with Raja Vara (Deane 1896: 660).

28. Hazara (Kabal), Swat

Deane 1896.

Hazara and Aligrama are important villages, in terms of ancient remains, on the right bank of Swat river in Nikpi-khel (Kabal Tehsil). A standing stupa in the former was reported to Major Deane by the people. He identifies it with the stupa mentioned by XuánZàng in the locality (Deane 1896: 660).

The proper site of the stupa is to be identified with Shaikh-dherai, Hazara. It lies on the right side of the road leading from Kanju to Kabal. The whole area is now under cultivation; however the local people, who have mostly remained involved in illegal digging of the site, reported to this researcher the presence of a *gumbat* (obviously indicating stupa) and other extensive ruins.

29. Gumbat (Talash), Lower Dir (Figure 10-11)

Deane 1896; Stein 1921/1980; Rahman 1979; Meister 2010.

Remains of an old temple dedicated to the worship of Deva are mentioned by Major Deane at Gumbat in Talash valley (Deane 1896: 664). The site is situated at a short distance in the W-SW of Kuz-serai. It has some resemblance in style and plan to the shrines of the Salt range (Stein 1921/1980: 21-23; fig. 3). Meister (2010: 245-254) recently makes a comparative study of this temple with the Hindu temples, which he calls as Gandhāra-Nāgara, of the Salt Range.

Abdur Rahman has made a study of the area based on his survey and trial excavation. He writes that the modern village of Gumbat derives its name from the presence of domes, stupas and temples, here and the 'actual name has been forgotten'. He further writes that the presence and re-use of the 'sculptured stones' in the mosque and tombs of the area suggest the existence of a Hindu temple here. 'It is not unlikely that the mosque is built on the ancient sacred site of a temple' (Rahman 1979: 279-80).

The present researcher made his survey in the area and came to the conclusion that the probable site of the temple is the neighbouring area of the shrine of Syed Jalal-i-Bukhari at a little distance from the Talash bazaar on the left side of the road from Chakdara to Timargara. The ruins of the temple were seen by Sharif Kaka of the Dir

Museum, who hails from Ramora village, when he would visit the shrine in his childhood. Ruins of another temple were reported from Aju on the right side of the road from Chakdara to Timargara, due N of Nasapa, Talash (personal communication with Sharif Kaka).

30. Binshi (Talash), Lower Dir

Deane: 1896.

In the SW of Gumbat there are ruins and inscriptions along the Binshi pass (Deane 1896: 664).

31. Nawagai (Timargara), Lower Dir

Deane 1896.

Nawagai is situated in the NE of Timargara. Major Deane (1896: 664) mentions there remains of a city of considerable size.

32. Kafir-kot B (Thana), Swat

Deane 1896; Stein 1930; Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006.

Following Giroban ravine further up there is a site by the name of Kafir-kot (B), in the N of Morah. It has remains of monastery and stupa. Sculptures got from the place are lying in the 'Imperial Museum, Calcutta'. In its vicinity there are remains of other stupas also (Deane 1896: 664).

There were found remains of a tower built over a strategic location. A little further up there are remains of habitation of Kafir-kot, Thana. The remains bear Gandhara type masonry and, according to Stein, resemble the ruins over Kotah (Stein 1930: 6).

Zwalf in his *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum* has traced the provenance of 56 objects of Gandhara art as from Kafir-kot (Zwalf 1996: object nos. 42, 45, 88, 102, 115, 121-24, 152, 206, 218, 224-25, 250, 279-82, 284-86, 288-89, 296, 338-39, 349-51, 385-86, 398-99, 428, 433-34, 442, 446-48, 455, 468, 471-72, 474-75, 478-79, 488, 493-96, 518, 528). Marshall has also made the iconographic study of two objects from this site (Marshall 1960/2008: 60, pl. 56, figs. 82-83). Unlike the well-known site of Loriyan-tangai, which has group photos, the sculptures from Kafir-kot were photographed individually (Behrendt 2003: 113).

33. Shahkot S (Palai), Swat (Figure 12)

Deane 1896; Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming.

Shahkot (S) is important in respect of ancient remains. It has ruins of a stupa situated along the ancient route called Hathi-lar (Elephant path). Traces of road are also found all along the hill. There are also, probably, marks of Buddha's feet (Deane 1896: 671-72). A site, called Takht, (throne or platform) is also reported by Foucher (Foucher 1901: 167, fig. 31) and Farooq Swati and others. It lies in a glen which overlooks the historical Hathi-dara. The various ancient structures around show the non-Buddhist nature of the site and seem to have served as check posts (Farooq Swati et al. 2002: 231). The archaeological remains are much disturbed here and are to be found in ruined condition.

34. Shahkot N (Thana), Swat

Deane 1896; Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1899, 1901; Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006.

The N slope of the Shahkot has Zalam-kot valley which has numerous ancient ruins. It is reached from Aladand-dherai, Thana. A bilingual inscription (Rahman 1998:

469-473), an ancient well, ruins known as Koḍalē and the now extinct ruins of the Loe-tangai (Lōe Taṅgē) stupa complex are documented by archaeologists in the area (Farooq Swati et al. 2002: 232). In the hill of Zalam-kot have also been found a 'powerful defensive line' and a massive 'substruction wall running E-W' which has a 'moulded podium with the same orientation'. 'The decoration, masonry technique and layout exclude the likelihood of its being a Buddhist building. On the other hand, the orientation and indeed the decorative and moulding typology suggest the features of the Shahi temple of Bir-kot-Ghwandai . . .' (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 120).

35. Banj (Mahaban), Buner

Stein 1905, 1921/1980.

Mount Banj is a 'rugged peak rising precipitously not far from the Indus' on an important spur of the Mahaban range which is 'running down to the south-east towards the Indus showed a far more broken appearance' (Stein 1905: 21). Stein traces here the 'Four great Stūpas' mentioned by Fǎxiǎn and visited by XuánZàng. This mount has extensive ancient remains. 'The fact that this famous sanctuary occupied an isolated position to the south of the watershed, which separates the ancient Udyāna (including Bunēr) from Gandhāra, may explain why both Hsüan-tsang and Fa-hsien mention it not in connexion with Udyāna, but with the territory of Takṣaśilā which faces it across the Indus' (Stein 1921/1980: 13). He gives a detailed account of the ancient remains of Banj (Stein 1905: 33-38, plans III & IV). Deane also got a Kharoshthi inscription from the area which was published by M. Senart (ibid.: 33).

36. Asgram (Panjtar, Totalai), Buner

Deane 1896.

Asgram lies on a spur of Mahaban mountain in the extreme S of district Buner, in the Panjtar area of Tehsil Totalai. Deane identifies Asgram with Ptolemy's Asigramma (Deane 1898: 674). He also obtained two inscribed stones from the area one of which was found in the ruins. The inscriptions are mentioned by Stein (Stein 1898b: 5).

37. Morah (Palai), Swat

Deane 1896.

Major Deane mentions rock carving in the S of Morah (Deane 1896: 672). The present researcher failed to locate the site. However, ruins of importance were found in the area of Morah-banda in the NW of Morah village, Charat-tangai.

38. Malakand pass, Malakand

Rapson 1898.

The inscription was brought by Captain Fox-Strangways from Malakand which then went into the possession of Rev. Canon Edwards. It is similar to the inscriptions, written in unknown characters, collected by Major Deane (Rapson 1898: 619).

39. Elai (Dagar), Buner

Stein 1898a, 1898b.

Elai village is situated at the junction of the rivers of Pacha and Barandu. From the hill close to the village are obtained some minor inscriptions, now lying in Lahore Museum, by Major Deane. No surface ruins were reported from the place, which

Stein also confirmed during his archaeological tour with the Buner Field Force (Stein 1898a: 29). Stein also publishes two inscribed stones from the Elai hill of which there are no ruins around the find spot of the no. 24 while no. 25 was found 'near an old spring' (Stein 1898b: 4).

40. Malandari valley, Buner

Stein 1898b.

At Krapa-kandao the road bifurcates into two; one leading to Mardan through Suwarai and Ambela pass while the other via Mulla-isaf, Nawe-kale and Malandarai pass to the same district. Impression of an inscription was obtained by Deane from Malandari (locally pronounced as Malandarai) valley (Stein 1898b: 4).

41. Padshah (Daggar), Buner

Stein 1898b.

Padshah or Pacha-kale is situated in the Daggar Tehsil, close to Mount Ilam. Impression of a fragment of an inscription was obtained from this area by Major Deane (Stein 1898b: 4-5).

42. Tangi (Miangam, Ilam), Buner

Stein 1898a, 1898b.

Tangi (Tangai) is situated near Miangam (correctly Miagan), Ilam. Miagan lies on a spur descending from Mount Ilam towards Buner (Stein 1898a: 19-20). Deane obtained impression of an inscription from this place (Stein 1898b: 4).

43. Chargam, Puran

Stein 1898b.

Chargam (correctly Chagam), Puran valley, is situated in due S of Yakh-tangai and SW of Chakesar. Impressions of three inscriptions were secured by Deane from this place (Stein 1898b: 5). His note reads as, 'The three inscriptions are on separate slabs, and the three of them had been fastened together with hasps in order evidently to remove them. As the fastening had been made by the stones having been bored through, I can only conjecture that they were put together by the original inhabitants of the country and they must have lain a long time in the place where they were found' (quoted in ibid.).

44. Shera (Nawagai, Chamla), Buner

Stein 1898b.

Shera is mentioned by Stein as 'a locality of uncertain position in Amazai territory'. A map, 'Pakistan: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa – Buner District, October 2011'[68], puts a place by this name in the SE of Koga, right on the administrative border between Chamla and Totalai Tehsils. Presently, Shera lies in the Nawagai area within the domain of Tehsil Chamla. Impression of an inscription comes from this place which has signs of writing on both sides (Stein 1898b: 5, 9).

45. Palosdarra (Boka [Koga?]), Buner

Stein 1898b.

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[68] http://pakresponse.info/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=oRYWXq0de2o%3D&tabid=76&mid=581 (accessed: July 31, 2012).

Stein mentions Palosdarra (Palos-dara) lying near Boka village which in turn is situated in the vicinity of the Khudu-khel area. It is difficult to locate a village by the name of Boka; however it sounds similar to the well-known Koga, Tehsil Chamla. If modern Koga is the Boka of Deane and Stein, then Palos-dara might be sought for in its neighbourhood. From the place of this very name come 4 inscribed stones of Major Deane (Stein 1898b: 5–6, 10).

46. Suludheri (Boka/Koga?), Buner

Stein 1898b.

Suludheri (or Salo-dherai) is said to have situated in the N of Boka (Koga?) at a distance of about 3-4m. An inscription comes from this place (ibid.).

47. Khudukhel (Totalai), Buner

Stein 1898b, 1899.

Khudukhel (Khudu-khel) area lies in the Totalai district of Buner. An inscription is obtained from this locality by Major Deane (ibid.: 6). Stein published another inscription from this area in a latter article and identified it with the Mahaban group of inscriptions (Stein 1899: 897).

48. Sarpatti (Amazai, Chamla), Buner

Stein 1898b.

Sarpatti (correctly Sar-patai) makes a spur of mount Mahaban in the S of Chamla Tehsil. It dominates the latter place and joins the administrative border between this Tehsil and Tehsil Totalai. An inscribed stone was recovered from it by Deane (Stein 1898b: 6).

49. Zangi Khan Banda (Nurzai, Gagra), Buner

Stein, 1898a, 1898b.

Zangi Khan Banda is in the Nurzai area of Gagra Tehsil towards the Malandarai pass. An inscription was found there in the wall of a mosque, the provenance of which might be Bughdarra/dara (Stein 1898a: 43; 1898b: 6, 10-11).

50. Bughdarra (Nurzai, Gagra), Buner

Stein 1898a, 1898b.

Bughdarra (Bagh-dara) is mentioned as a ravine near Zangi Khan Banda. Numerous inscriptions were secured by Deane from this area (Stein 1898a: 43, fn.; 1898b: 6, 10-11). 'According to the information supplied with them these stones were "dug up from what appears to be an old Memorial Stúpa completely buried in the ground at *Bughdarra . . .*"' (Stein 1898a: 43, fn.).

51. Khrappa (Daggar/Gagra), Buner

Stein 1898b.

There are two places by the name of Khrappa (Krapa); one which has the famous Krapa-kandao in the W of Sunigram, Gagra Tehsil, while the other lies in Daggar Tehsil between Nawe-kale and Banda in the W and SW of Mulla-isaf. Stein refers to the latter one in his article as 'some 7 miles in a direct line to the north-west of Zangi Khan Banda and not far from Elai' (Stein 1898b: 11). An inscription comes from this place in the Panjpao/Panjpai plain (ibid.: 6).

52. Kanai (Kana, Ghorband), Shangla-par

Stein 1898b.

Impression of an inscription found in Kanai (Kana), Shangla-par, was obtained by Deane and published by Stein (ibid.).

53. Boner (Buner)

Stein 1899.

An inscription is published by Stein which was got from an unknown area by Deane. By its comparative study, Stein attributes it to the Buner group of inscriptions (Stein 1899: 896-97).

54. Gogdar(r)a (Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1899.

Gogdara is situated on the main road leading from Mardan to Mingawara, in Tehsil Babuzai. An inscription was obtained from the ruins of this village (ibid.: 896-98) which has close affinity with the ones coming from the neighbouring village of Udegram (ibid.; 1898b: 6).

55. Upper Swat (unidentified), Swat

Stein 1899.

Stein publishes another inscription, which was received from an unknown place in Upper Swat. It has some similar characters with those of Udegram and Gogdara inscriptions (Stein 1899: 899-901).

56. Kahun (Gabrial, Kandia), Swat Kohistan

Stein 1899.

Kahun is a hill in the S of Gabrial (Gabral) village in the area of Kandia, Upper Swat. Major Deane's agent got an inscription found by a local person in an old fort built on this hill. Stein writes that some characters of the find have affinity with the inscriptions from Upper Swat while some others are similar to those from Zangi Khan Banda (ibid.: 901-02).

57. Jabar Tangai (Cherat), Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming.

Jabar-tangai is mentioned as having archaeological remains which are in ruined conditions due to treasure hunting.

58. Inzare (Cherat), Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming.

Inzare is situated in Bazdara, E of Palai. It is a mountain and has ancient remains.

59. Cherat, Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1899, 1901, fig. 27.

Foucher (1899: 148-150) documents a tower in Cherat.

60. Chakdara, Lower Dir (Figure 13)

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1899, 1901; Olivieri forthcoming.

In the plain field at the foot of the Damkot hill, E of the main road, during the construction of the Malakand-Chitral road in 1896, were recovered and immediately demolished conspicuous traces of a so-called Ionic temple. Caddy, who accidentally was present at the moment of the discovery, managed to take some pictures later on published by Foucher in the first volume of his monumental work on Gandharan art and architecture (1905/1951; for the study of the structure see Beherendt forthcoming)

61. Badwan-Lulian (Barangola, Chakdara), Lower Dir

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1899, 1901; Filigenzi in press.

This is a Buddhist sacred area in the vicinity of Dam-kot mentioned by Caddy and Foucher. Badwan is locally known even today by the same name, which is situated on the right bank of river Swat, just opposite Bat-khela. Lulian presents some difficulty in identification. However, there is a place by the name Ramial at a little distance in the NE of Badwan, which may be identified with Lulian. The proximity of the two sites seems convincing in establishing the view that both these sites are referred to by early archaeologists by the compound name *viz*. Badwan-Lulian.

62. Bagh-a-radj (Totakan, Bat-khela), Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1901.

Bagh-a-radj is a ravine situated in Pir-khel, Totakan, in the W of Bat-khela, SW of Chakdara and Ouch. It is a Buddhist site, which is rich in ruins and pieces of Gandhara art. It was, according to Foucher, a grand Buddhist monastery having remarkable architecture (Foucher 1901: 134). Presently, the name is locally pronounced as Bagh-rajai.

63. Gunyar (Thana), Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1901.

Gunyar lies in the NW of Zalam-kot and SE of Aladand, Thana. It is a Buddhist sacred area with remains of a stupa. But long before, even at the time of Foucher's visit, the site has borne damages and destruction (Foucher 1901: 163–4).

64. Jalal-Banda (Morah), Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1901.

Jalal-Banda or Jamal-bandah is situated in Morah. Here are ancient remains of a sacred area (Foucher 1901: 167).

65. Tor-kamar (Cherat), Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Others have recently mentioned of ancient remains of the area (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 8).

66. Tangai-Chini (Cherat), Swat

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming.

Not individuated.

67. Chatpat (Chakdara), Lower Dir (Figure 14)

Caddy 1896 in Behrendt forthcoming; Foucher 1901; Dani 1968-69c.

Chatpat (Foucher's Chakpat) is situated in the W of Chakdara, Chakdara. It is a ravine, which has remains of stupa. The site was first visited by A. Foucher by the

close of the 19th century. He terms its remains as curious and its better state of preservation is attributed to its remoteness from the road (Foucher 1901: 141–42, fig. 26). Chatpat is excavated by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, under the leadership of A. H. Dani in 1968. By this time the site had suffered much as compared to the comment of A. Foucher. It was turned into cultivable fields in terraced form in addition to the damages caused by treasure hunting. The stones of the stupas were used in the supporting walls of the terraced fields. Fragments of Gandhara art as scattered would also be found all around the site (Dani 1968-69c: 66). Three phases of occupation were identified at Chatpat; 1) the pottery indication of the Scytho-Parthian and early Kushan, with a further corroborating evidence of a Kharoshthi inscription, takes the earliest construction of the sacred buildings back to the last part of the 1st century CE; 2) the second phase is marked by the construction of votive stupas and the lack of internal evidence does not let to establish an absolute date; 3) again due to the lack of internal evidence, a relative chronology is established by comparing the construction style of some votive stupas and niches to those of stepped stupa at Dam-kot, the last phased stepped stupa of Andan-dherai and the niches belonging to the last phase at Bambolai. This gives us the 4th century CE as the probable date for the buildings of the 3rd period of Chatpat (ibid.: 67, for detailed report see ibid.: 65-102, pls. 31-65).

68. Top-dara (Thana), Swat (Figure 15)

Foucher 1901; Stein 1930.

Top-dara (Foucher's Top Darra) valley is located in the SE of Haibatgram, Thana. It once had interesting ancient, especially Buddhist, remains. At a little distance in the S of Haibatgram is mentioned a stupa mound, called Babujan, by Stein (Stein 1930: 6-

7). A little ahead signs of settlement were found and a place known as Damozai had remains of walls having Gandharan masonry (ibid.: 7). A ruined stupa similar in structure to other stupas of Swat was noted at the mouth of two hill torrents in the same valley which is known as Top-dara stupa (Foucher 1901: 153, fig. 28; Stein 1930: 7, fig. 1). To its SE monastic complex and SW a tower house were found as well (ibid.).

The present condition of the site is but the nearly total extinction of the Top-dara stupa. Other remains mentioned by Stein are also not traceable except the tower house, which is intact over the high ridge.

69. Tange Pass (Ab-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a.

Tange is a narrow and steep valley and it is situated in the W of Nanser. Its pass bears ancient remains, which Stein takes as a probable little fortification. It represents 'a semi-circular platform built of rough masonry. The outside wall supporting it was found traceable for a length of 20 feet' (Stein 1898a: 4). As compared to Malakand and Shahkot passes, Tange pass has negligible ruins (ibid.: 5).

70. Nawedand Pass (Ab-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

In the NW of Kingargalai lies Nawedand pass and the stony ridges of this valley have numerous groups of ancient ruins. Stein observes that these remains give the view of ancient dwellings, more probably places which would be used as resorts to in times of crises. They are not convenient locations for living in normal situation (Stein 1898a:

5-8). Latter scholars studied the site, naming it properly as Khato-tangai, and the remains were identified as belonging to Buddhist period (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 10-11).

71. Manora (Ab-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

In the W there is a little ridge facing Manora (Munara of Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 9-10) valley. It bears ruins similar to the ruins of Nawe-dand pass. In the direction of the latter the Manora-nallah on its opposite side has other remains of ancient dwellings (Stein 1898a: 8). The site has recently been shown as a Buddhist sacred area having stupas and other structures (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 9-10).

72. Kingargalai–Tange Pass (Ab-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

On his return from Manora to Kingar-galai Stein found numerous ruins. He describes them as scattered over many spurs between Manora and Tange pass on the one hand and between the latter and Kingargalai on the other. He could not find out the exact name of this site due to the fact that the local population had left their habitations in face of the advancing punitive expedition (Stein 1898a: 8).

There were seen two spurs in a valley close to Kingargalai, which bear ruins. Another minor spur in the E, at the junction of Kingargalai valley and another small one which proceeds to the bottom of Tange pass, was is described as an ancient site. Nearby there are other remains, which most probably is the site of a small stupa. Adjacent to

its eastern base are remains of 'two square rooms' and the floor has two wells similar to the ones found at Takht-bhai (ibid.: 8-9).

The structures are analogous to those of the Nawe-dand and Manora remains. All this coupled with the network of routs show the importance of the area in pre-Muslim period (ibid.: 9-10).

73. Nanser (Ab-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Nanser village lies in a small side valley close to Kingargalai in the SE. There is a stony spur, which has ancient structures. They consist of traces of terraces, which were obviously intended for defense. There are also small mounds giving a view of superstructures (Stein 1898a: 10-11).

74. Bazdarra (Palai), Swat

Stein 1898a.

A *spingiray* (old person) reported a *gumbaz* (gumbat, stupa) to Stein in the W of Kingargalai. Stein followed him in that direction. He, however, came to realize that actually the stupa is situated 'beyond the range which forms the watershed towards Bāzdarra'. Bazdara is located in the NE of Palai and SE of Nal/o, Thana, (Swat valley) in the Malakand Agency area. Hence the visit was left unfulfilled (Stein 1898a: 11-12).

75. Kingargalai-Pirsai (Ab-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a.

The streams from Kingargalai and Pirsai pass join, a little below the former, before Bampokha. Near this point, there is a minor separate ridge having extensive remains similar to the ruins of Kingargalai (Stein 1898a: 12).

76. Laka-tiga (Mali-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

At a little distance from Charai village (Mali-khel), in the NE of Juwar, is a spur falling down from mount Ilam. It has a rock called Laka-tiga (standing rock), which bears cup-marks, most probably artificial (Stein 1898a: 12)[69]. In a recent survey the researchers were reported the presence of writing on Laka-tiga but due to one or other reason the site could not be found (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 6).

77. Tange (Mali-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Olivieri 1994.

Near Charai, and in the NE of Juwar, lies a glen called Tange. The small spurs along this gorge bear remains of ancient dwellings. As compared to the ruins of Kingargalai, these remains are much crumbled (Stein 1898a: 13).

Rock carvings and remains of old walls were found on another spur in the glen. There was also noticed a niche in a rock bearing some images (ibid.). Stein terms them as Hindu gods (ibid.), however, later studies have proved their Buddhist themes (Olivieri 1994; Filigenzi 2011: 186-87).

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[69] For interesting information about the meaning of Laka-tiga and sites known by the name (see Rahman 2011: 25-26).

78. Bhai (Gadaizai, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Olivieri 1994; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Near the spring called Jurjurai, close to Bhai in Gadaizai, were found remains of numerous stupas. At some distance, on precipitous crags there was seen a 'large overhanging mass of rock'. A series of images depicted on it are mentioned by Stein, like those of the Charai, as Hindu gods (Stein 1898a: 22-23). But later studies have proved their Buddhist themes (Olivieri 1994; Filigenzi 2011: 186-87). The remains of stupas and rock carvings were, later on, found in much ruined conditions and disfigured respectively (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 15).

79. Nil Derai (Mali-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Near Tangai there is a hillock known as Nil Dherai (Neel Dherai in Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 6), which goes along the 'road from Tangai to Juvur on the east' (Stein 1898a: 14). The place is rich in ancient structures. Ancient walls and other debris were observed all around. Its top had signs of walls and probably traces of fortification (ibid.: 14-15).

80. Ghund (Mali-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a.

Ghund (or Ghwand?) lies opposite Nil-dherai (Neel-dherai) on the western side and has remains of the same nature (ibid.: 15).

81. Bakhta (Mali-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a.

A place by the name of Bakhta lies about halfway between Juwar and Girarai. It is an isolated spur in the N and bears ancient structures like those found at Kingargalai (ibid.).

82. Ali Khan Kote (Ab-khel, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1898a.

The locality of Ali Khan-kote lies in the W of Girarai, Ab-khel, in the bottom of the hill. The various spurs here have important ruined structures. Stupa mounds were also found in the area (ibid.: 16).

83. Tursak (Tor-warsak, Daggar), Buner

Stein 1898a, 1898b; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Tursak (or correctly Tor-warsak) lies in Daggar Tehsil having Angha-pur in its SE. At a short distance in its N there is recorded a mound by Stein. A small mound in its S appeared as a ruined stupa. Some other structures were also found near the mound (ibid.: 17). From this village Deane had obtained the impression of an inscription, which was said to have been in the wall of a Mulla's house. Stein paid a visit to the village so that the inscription might be seen. But he failed in this pursuit (ibid.: 17-19; 1898b: 4).

Presently, there are scattered all along the neighbourhood ancient remains but in ruined condition.

84. Girarai, Buner

Stein 1898a, 1921/1980; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Girarai and Girarai valley are situated in the SW of Juwar. In the E of Girarai there are also remains of ancient walls and a 'stupa-like structure in the centre' (Stein 1898a: 16-17). The ruined site of Girarai is identified by Stein with Făxiǎn's Su-ho-to. Here Buddha 'had sacrificed his body to ransom the dove' in the possession of a hawk. The direction and measurements given by the Chinese pilgrims, according to Stein, agree in bringing us to the remains of Girarai for the stupa of Dove-ransoming[70] (ibid.: 61-62; 1921/1980: 9).

85. Jaffar hill (Daggar), Buner

Stein 1898a.

Jaffar is an important hill in the NE of which lies Tor-warsak. It has remains of dwellings on its various stony spurs having similarity with the ruins of Kingargalai and Juwar (Stein 1898a: 24). The spots of these ruins are locally known as Aman-dara (*daftar* of Angha-pur), Mian-sonrai and Gumbatai.

86. Gumbatai (Tor-warsak, Daggar), Buner (Figure 16-18)

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Gumbatai lies at the bottom of Jaffar hill on the right side of the road leading from Daggar to Juwar. It is situated between Tor-warsak in its W and Elai in the E. The nearest locally well-known place is Payi-china (Buner-Paya-China in Saeed-ur-

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[70] See fn. 14 for XuánZàng account of this stupa. For Deane's identification with Chanai (Surkhawai) and Narinji valley of Mardan in this regard see above.

Rehman et al. 1996: 12). Angha-pur (Stein's Anrapúr) is located in due S on the left side of the river (Barandu). Stein assigns much importance to Gumbatai in terms of its Buddhist remains.

Gumbatai is 'a broad open glen at the south foot of the Jaffar hill, enclosed in a semi-circle by rock ridges' (Stein 1898a: 25). Stein groups its remains into two; one at the mouth of the glen, which is larger, lies on a 'terraced-like plain' while the second one 'is built on the hillside to the north' (ibid.). The former group has a stupa mound at its E and ground in the W of the stupa is 'flanked on the north and south sides by two thick walls, 60 feet long, which form a kind of court [A] . . .' (ibid.). In the W of 'each wall is a small circular structure containing a round chamber of 14 feet diameter' (ibid.). These circular structures have no remains over them. Stein infers their use in terms of serving 'as chapels for the reception of more important images' (ibid.). There is another 'enclosing wall of a great quadrangular court [B]' to the W of court A (ibid.). The size of this court B, 135 ft. in width and 136 ft. in length, and the huge walls, having varied thickness of 4 ft. in the N and S and 16 and 15 ft. in the S and E respectively, mark the importance of this court. The colossal portions of the walls, according to Stein, might have been built for 'the purpose of providing room for small cells, such as are found around the courtyards of several of the Gandhára monasteries and of most of the great Kashmír temples' (ibid.: 26). Remains of a 'small chapel-court or a dwelling place' also exist at NE and SW corners of this court (ibid.).

The other group of remains, as recorded by Stein, lies up on the hillside. Here a 'walled-up terrace', measured as nearly 60 ft. wide and having the chapels similar to the stupa cpurt A, was seen on the southern side. At the rear of this terrace remains of small rooms were also found. Similarly, at the mid-point of the two groups of ruins

was seen 'an isolated block of masonry about 20 feet square forming a terrace. . . .' At the centre of this structure another mound, probably a votive stupa, was found (ibid.: 26-27).

Stein carried out trial trenches at the mound, which was already disturbed by the illegal diggers. An ornamented 'solid block of closely grained stucco', measuring as 9 inches square and 13 inches high, was recovered from the western side of the stupa. Excavation towards the E side of the stupa unearthed a wall 'running flush with south face of the stucco-pilaster and its base'. Other fragments of stucco were also found around obviously used for decoration (ibid.: 27-28).

The monastery mentioned by XuánZàng by the name of Mo-su[71], in the NW of Mahavana Sangharama at a distance of 30 or 40 li, is identified by Stein with this site. He opines that the calculation of the direction and measurement given by the pilgrim exactly correspond to this identification (ibid.: 61).

Today the site of Gumbatai is a residential area making a kind of a small hamlet (mentioned by Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. (1996: 12) as Gumbat Colony and the remains as non-extant in the early 1990s). The material of the sacred buildings has been re-

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[71] XuánZàng records (Beal 1906: 124):

Going north-west from the Mahâvana *saṅghârâma* down the mountain 30 or 40 li, we arrive at the Mo-su *saṅghârâma*. Here there is a *stûpa* about 100 feet or so in height.

By the side of it is a great square stone on which is the impress of Buddha's foot. This is the spot where Buddha in old time planted his foot, (which) scattered a kôṭi of rays of light which lit up the Mahâvana *saṅghârâma,* and then for the sake of Dêvas and men he recited the history of his former births (*Jâtakas*). Underneath this stûpa (or at the foot of it) is a stone of a yellow-white colour, which is always damp with an unctuous (*fatty*) moisture; this is where Buddha, when he was in old time practicing the life of a Bôdhisattva, having heard the words of the true law, breaking a bone of his own body, wrote (*with the marrow*) the substance of a book containing the words he had heard.

used in the recently constructed houses here. The remaining and larger part of the site is used for cultivation. The present researcher could only traced portions of the northern and southern walls in the W as are mentioned by Stein. Virtually, the sacred site of Gumbatai is now lost for every reason.

87. Karapa road (Daggar-Gagra), Buner

Stein 1898a.

Karapa defile lies on the left bank of Barandu river connecting the various parts of Buner in S and N. It links through the Malandarai and Ambela passes Buner with Mardan and Hund. This road makes one of the important trade routes of ancient Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa. Its ancient construction resembled the routes over the Shahkot and Malakand passes (Stein 1898a: 29-30). 'It is cut either into the rock or carried on walled-up foundations of ancient masonry along the cliffs' (ibid.: 30).

88. Sunigram (?) (Rega, Gagra), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

One point needs to be made clear before proceeding to give description of the ancient remains here. This clarification concerns about the obvious mistake done by Stein in assigning the remains of Bahai (Maira), *daftar* of Rega, to the village of Sunigram. Both the villages are situated, respectively, on the right (S) and left (N) sides of the road leading from Krapa-kandao to Suwarai. Sunigram lies at the eastern bottom of the Krapa mountain and extends towards SE. The village of Rega has at its rear in the S a mountain called Dambar-dara. The southern side of this mountain is known as

Bishpur[72]. Both the sides have abundant ancient remains especially the side to the S (personal communication with Ghafur Rahman). Others have also reported ancient cultural heritage from the area (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 43-44).

The exact spot of the remains of a stupa mound (stupa of Sunigram by Stein) and a well (near Sunigram by Stein) is called Bahai, situated in the Maira of Rega. They do not belong to the *daftar* of Sunigram.

At Bahai a stupa mound, measuring *c*. 240 ft. E-W and 200 ft. N-S, was found by Stein. He maintains that 'this Stúpa must have been by far the largest of all those examined in Búner' (Stein 1898a: 31). Deducing from the much decayed ruins of the site he suggests that 'it [the stupa] may also be looked upon as one of the oldest' (ibid.).

In the S of the stupa numerous 'low heaps of debris' were found which probably belong to the buildings once associated with the stupa.

A short distance in the SE of the stupa is an old 'stone-lined well', having 8 ft. diameters (Figure 19). It has been in a better 'state of preservation', as observed by Stein, due to its continued use till the present. It is 'enclosed by a circular wall, 5 feet thick, of carefully set masonry. . . . [A]nd [it] is reached by 23 steps' (ibid.: 32, plan V). Repairs produced at later times can also be seen. Local tradition assigns the construction of the well to Raja Birbal, Akbar's famous general. However, Stein considers that the well belongs to much olden days and its association with Birbal's

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[72] It is interesting to find that Stein makes a cursory reference to Bishpur. He puts down: 'I passed the opening of the valley known as *Béshpúra*, evidently an old name of Hindu origin to which Captain F. S. Robertson, of the Survey Department, had been kind enough to draw my attention. The valley is now practically inhabited' (Stein 1898a: 41).

name 'cannot refer to anything more than a clearing of the ancient well which may have become disused and filled up with earth' (ibid.).

Other scholars (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 56-57) in the 1991-1992 and 1992-1993 surveys carefully studied the remains of the site. They report the remains under the sub-heading, Bakhai (Gumbat Colony) near Krappa. The stupa was found in a 'diminishing' state as the owners were involved in turning the area into cultivable land. The condition of the well was also precarious. The scholars suggested systematic study of the site due to its considerable significance. It is also noted that the 'land-lord has shown willingness to hand-over the site to the Government provided he is suitably compensated' (ibid.: 57).

Unfortunately, the present researcher found the remains extinct save the well. The stupa mound was totally demolished by the owners in the process of making the area cultivable. Only an underground wall could be seen and the rest of the remains over the surface are no more traceable. According to the owners, they came across the structures of rooms when they were leveling the mound. An inscribed flat stone of considerable size was also unearthed by them from the site which is now lost somewhere in their house. Beneath the inscribed stone was found a pot which had two coins (personal communication with Ghafur Rahman).

The well was found still in good condition. Only the staircase was in a state of dilapidation as the soil has fallen inside it. The end-point of the staircase is blocked now. Shrubs of greater size are growing by the side of the well which can cause harm to the well in future. It may also be pointed out that the use of the well is recently stopped as a tube-well is built by the owners for their need. Due to this fact, in the recent visit of the present researcher the well presented a deserted view, a fact which

threatens the maintenance and preservation of this ancient work. It is, therefore, suggested that proper steps must be taken by the concerned authorities in this regard.

89. Panjkotai (Sunigram, Gagra), Buner

Stein 1898a.

In the W of Sunigram, and close to it, is a hill which runs as from the NE to the W towards the Krapa defile. It has a spur, stretching in a SE and NW direction, of considerable size which is mentioned by Stein as Panjkotai (however, locally known as Pinz-kote means 5 cells/rooms). It has leveled top which bear important ruined buildings having affinity in 'construction and character' to those found in the vicinity of Kingargalai and Juwar (Stein 1898a: 33).

On the western slope and in its NW side of the Panjkotai hill were found important remains, in a better condition, by Stein. There were extensive terraces 'built against the hill side' which had 'strong supporting walls' (ibid.: 34). They measured about 300 ft. in N-S direction and more than 160 ft. in width. The southern side of the terraces bore a group of 'vaulted rooms' and courts with a good masonry (shown as *A* in pl. VI). The terraces in the N held other smaller structures in ruined condition. There is one among them towards the E, marked as *C* in pl. VI. It is a 'square block of masonry' which bears 'a small circular mount over it. . . .' Stein terms it as the remains of a small stupa. Structure *B* also seems as a ruined stupa. Structure *D* in the NW of, and adjoining to, *B* is a much damaged rectangular enclosure.

According to Stein, the better state of preservation of structure *A* gives interesting information about the architectural style of Buner (see pl. VII) of which the much

injured condition of the building remains elsewhere in the valley restrain us to get familiarity with.

This building (*A*) consists of 3 rooms, marked as *E*, *F*, and *G* in pls. VI and VII, located in W and S, a 'central court', marked as *H* and an 'adjoining room' shown as *I* in the plates. The measurement of these structures is given as follows: rooms *E* and *F* have 31 and 35 ft. length respectively, the smaller room *G* is 12 ft. long and the central court *H* is 35x16 ft. and hence the largest one (ibid.: 34–35). The rooms here 'show high pointed vaults of overlapping stones which spring from a projecting cornice of the longer side walls' (ibid.). The flight between the cornice and the arch is measured as little more than 10 ft. while the width of the vaults of rooms (*E* and *F*) is 11 ft. and that of room (*G*) more than 8 ft. The rooms and the central court 'communicated with each other . . . by means of passages of varying width surmounted by pointed arches of overlapping stones' (ibid.: 34–35). Rooms (*E* and *F*) have also windows, obviously for providing light inside. They happen in the 'centre of the walls and end in pointed arches', having 2 ft. width and 5½ ft. height (ibid.).

The central court (*H*) 'has no direct entrance from outside'; it rather would be approached from another parallel room in its S, measuring as 35 ft. long and a little more than 9 ft. wide. This latter structure is marked in pls. VI and VII as *I* and probably was without any roof. It bears a staircase in its SE wing leading to another structure shown as *J* in pl. VI, lying to the E of room *I*. Stein suggests this room (*I*) as a 'kind of ante-room to the whole block' (ibid.)[73].

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[73] Interestingly, such a room would even till recently make an integral part of the important buildings, such as houses of leading persons, of Swat valley. Known by the name of *dewdai*, means porch (?). They would be used for multiple purposes. Pashto folklore has also references to it.

Structure (*J*) is a quadrangular terrace '55 feet deep and 50 feet broad, built against the rising slope of the ridge and screened on the east and south by strong walls 7 feet thick' (ibid.: 35). This huge structure, according to Stein with an element of uncertainty, might be taken as having niches/cells. He also suggests that, due to its close affinity with the monasteries of Takh-i-bhai and Jamal-garhai, 'it might be conjectured that it [*J*] served . . . as a meeting place for the fraternity of monks' (ibid.).

In the N of structure *J* is another 'large platform (K)', having a length of 110 ft. and is without any superstructures. It has seven steps going down to the 'artificially leveled ground on which the main block of the building stands.' Another large terrace, measuring as 103x88 ft., lies in the N of the leveled ground and is 'supported on the sides facing the downward slopes of the hill by basement walls over 30 feet high' (ibid.)[74].

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[74] It seems pertinent to point out here some minor but important mistakes occurred in the description/text, by Stein, of the remains of the northern side of the terraces. There is a contradiction in the descriptions given about the structures marked as B, C and D on pages 34 and 37. It goes like this:

1) Page 34:
   i) There are in the N the 'much injured remains (*B*) of some smaller structures'.
   ii) One of them is a 'square block of masonry (*C*)' which seems a small stupa.
   iii) To the E is another 'little square structure (*D*)' which may also be a small stupa.
2) Page 37:
   i) Here mark (*B*) is specified for a single structure with an 'extant base, 25 feet square'.
   ii) 'The oblong enclosure *D* . . . which adjoins the Stúpa of Panjkótai [*B*] on the north may like the small 'Chapel courts' . . . have served for the placing of Buddha statues.'

Analysis:

In the first instance, Stein does not specify mark (*B*) for any single structure; rather it identifies the whole group of the remains towards the N. And this makes the whole confusion and difficulty to relate his description, especially on page 34, to the sketch plan of plate VI. By contrast, on page 37, this very

The huge construction of the Panjkotai buildings suggest that the site garnered special importance in the days gone. The blocks of stones used here are large enough, 4 ft. long and 1 ft. thick, and, according to Stein, such huge building blocks were not used elsewhere in Buner. The stones here are rough but 'yet special care has been taken to arrange them in even and regular courses' (ibid.: 36). The use of 'closely packed columns of small flat pieces', in order to fill the gaps of the courses, coupled with the 'thin mortar' have given solidity and thus longevity to these structures. Another importance of this construction is the 'comparatively great span of the overlapping domes' measuring as 12 ft. Such a great distance had not, till this site, been seen in Gandhara and Uḍḍiyana (ibid.).

Panjkotai ruins, Stein maintains, can safely be compared to the site of Takht-i-bhai and Jamal-garhi. He, however, puts down, that 'the size of the structures still above ground at Panjkótai is decidedly more imposing' (ibid.: 37). Other mounds of debris all along the terraces of the Panjkotai may hold true in regard to its importance as being similar to the above mentioned great sites of Gandhara (ibid.).

The stupa of Panjkotai (marked as *B* in pl. VI) is nearly equal to those of Takht-i-bhai and Jamal-garhi. Similarly, the rectangular structure, marked as *D*, has affinity with

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mark is meant for the main stupa of Panjkotai, situated due N of room (*I*) and central court (*H*) of the main building (*A*) in the S (see pl. VI). The latter one is clearer and, thus, the correct one.

Similarly, the description about the isolated structure in the E of the northern terraces is also not clear. It is marked on page 34 as (*D*) and, on the contrary, this very (*D*) is used on page 37 for the 'oblong enclosure' attached to stupa (*B*). In fact, the use of (*D*) on page 37 seems relevant and matches the sketch plan of plate VI. In the same way, mark (*C*) on page 34 is also not used correctly as it should be for the structure which is, mistakenly, pointed out as (*D*) on the same page; instead it is used here for the stupa of Panjkotai correctly marked as (*B*).

the 'Chapel courts' of these monasteries, for the purpose of putting here Buddha's statues (ibid.).

Stein proposes the identification of the Panjkotai remains with the Mahavana monastery, mentioned by XuánZàng, which was previously supposed to be situated on Mount Mahaban. Stein argues that Sunigram lies in the S of Manglawar, the direction shown by the Chinese pilgrim for the Mahavana monastery. In addition, the road measurements given by XuánZàng correspond to the distance between the two places. The location of the monastery as on 'the side of a great mountain', according to Stein, also goes in support of this new identification. Similarly, the absence of any reference to a stupa in the pilgrim's record also gives credence to this fresh supposition as no remains of a great stupa were found at Panjkotai (ibid.: 61-62).

Presently the site is in dilapidated condition.

90. Takhtaband (Gagra, Gagra), Buner (Figures 20-21)

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Takhtaband village (Takhta-band) is located in the SE of Sunigram and NE of Rega on the left bank of Barandu river. Part of its *daftar* lies on the right side of the Barandu in the N and it is here that the stupa mentioned by Stein by the name of 'Takhtaband' is situated. This place is called Gumbat, obviously due to the presence of the stupa here (Pashto gumbat). It is, therefore, plausible to call the stupa as 'Gumbat stupa of Takhta-band' or as 'Manrai Gumbat' of others (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 69) rather than simply stupa of Takhta-band. Otherwise, it becomes difficult to elicit information about the whereabouts of the site as the present researcher himself experienced.

This stupa was found by Stein much injured but it, still, 'retained its original appearance than any other structure of this type in Bunér' (Stein 1898a.: 39). It had a bulb-like dome which measured as 26 ft. over a base of 25 ft. high and making 84 ft. square (ibid.: pl. VIII). The stripes were mentioned as long before removed from both the base and the dome. Similarly, 'inner masonry has also been cut away to some depth round the foot of the Stúpa, the upper portions of which in consequence are now overhanging' (ibid.).

A shaft was also observed in the centre of the stupa going towards the eastern side and about 8 ft. deep into its base. Stein surmises that the relics, thus, seem to have been reached and taken away. This cutting has exposed a small room, measuring 7 ft. high and having 7x7 dimensions, 'in the centre of the Stúpa' made up of carefully hewn stones. No decoration or inscriptions were found on these slabs. Its eastern side was missing. Stein thinks it as a receptacle for the relic casket.

Stein also suggests the existence of a procession-path around the stupa, as appeared to him from its reproduced elevation, and was to be accessed from the eastern side. Due to the falling night, he could not be able to discover other remains in the surrounding of this stupa. Latter researchers found the stupa as 'gradually diminishing' and observed 'some signs of ruins on the hills towards north-east' (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 69).

Presently, the stupa of Gumbat, Takhta-band, is almost non-existent. Only portion of the side facing Shal-bandai in the N can be seen over-ground. The southern side, towards Takhta-band, has recently been dug up to the level of the ground for construction purposes. The present researcher found here a house under construction.

The inhabitants answered in affirmative when they were asked about underground structures all around the stupa in the cultivated fields.

91. Surkhau Kandar (Krapa, Daggar), Buner

Stein 1898a.

In a south-westerly direction of Krapa lies Nawakili (correctly as Naway-kalay). At a little distance in its S is a mound known as Surkhau Kandar which has terraces all around. Its crest has ancient walls and there is a 'square of old masonry' 34 ft. square 'rising only one or two feet above the ground' (Stein 1898a.: 42). Another wall in the W which is running to the S measures 22 ft. and is 'approached by a kind of terrace sloped as for stairs' (ibid.). Major Deane also got some inscriptions or impressions of inscriptions from this place; an inscribed stone 'from below the north face of the mound' and an impression 'further down the slopes' (ibid.).

Stein in his visit to Buner in 1898 made efforts to locate the find spot of an inscription of which an impression was obtained earlier and published by him. However, he failed to fare in this pursuit due to, as a typical orientalist expression, the 'combined fanaticism and ignorance' of the villagers 'to keep from the 'unbeliever,' in particular when he appears as one of the invaders, information about records which might be supposed to lead to the discovery of hidden treasures or similar advantages' (ibid.: 42-43).

92. Mullaisaf (Nurzai, Gagra), Buner

Stein 1898a; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Mullaisaf lies between Krapa (SW) and Naway-kalay (NE) in the Nurzai territory. Two impressions of inscriptions were previously received by Stein from this locality. Nevertheless, his search for their find spot here too could not get on (ibid.).

Though not referred to by Stein, there are extensive remains in the area as well (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 53).

93. Sura (Nawagai, Chamla), Buner

Stein 1898a, 1898b.

Sura (also Surah of Stein 1899) lies in the SW of Nawagai village, Tehsil Chamla. The Sarpati (Sarpatti of Stein 1899 and correctly as Sar-patai) range has a little spur which bear an ancient sacred site. A spring here 'enclosed in a square basin of ancient masonry' is termed by Stein as a Tírtha (Stein 1898a: 47). 'This is visited as a Tírtha by the Hindús of the neighbourhood' (ibid.). There was also found a mound in terraced shape, having 20 ft. height, of which the upper division 'appeared artificial'. Remains of ancient walls were seen scattered on its top, which itself was measured as 200 ft. long in E-W direction and 100 ft. wide. Traces of terrace, measuring as 15 ft. broad, were also observed around the lower level of the mound in addition to the presence of pottery all around (ibid.).

The importance of Sura is also evidenced by the discovery of an inscription from its vicinity of which an impression was obtained by Major Deane (Stein 1898b: 5).

94. Sare-manai (Adinzai), Lower Dir

Stein 1921/1980.

In the southern vicinity of Katgala pass were seen 'the picturesque ruins of ancient fortified dwellings', called as Sarē-māṇai (correctly Sre-manrai means 'red houses'). The remains, according to Stein, are associated with the Buddhist period (Stein 1921/1980: 21).

Presently, the remains are in worst condition and, probably, in far less quantity than those found by Stein.

95. Jalāl Bāba Bukhārī's Ziārat (Talash), Lower Dir

Stein 1921/1980.

Ziarat-kalay is situated on the left side of the Chakdara-Talash road in Talash valley. The village derives its name from the shrine of the well-known saint, Syed Jalal-i-Bukhari (see appendix 1). Stein visited the place and observed a wall having Gandhara type masonry. Traces of terraces of cultivation fields were also noted over there (ibid.).

Presently, this place makes a congested residential area; therefore, the present researcher found it difficult to the impossible extent to trace the remains documented by Aurel Stein. However, he saw pieces of Gandharan masonry, decorated with lotus flower, as re-used in the graves in front of the gate of the Shrine. It shows that there were once important Buddhist remains nearby the Shrine within the premises of the village. Still interesting is the fact that the gravestones of some of the graves appeared like human head and face pointing to anthropomorphic considerations.

96. Khazana (Thana), Swat (Figure 22)

Stein 1930.

Nal (locally called Nalo) is situated in the SE of Thana at a little distance. In its vicinity is a place by the name of Khazana, lying in the W of the village graveyard. A small mound here once bore Buddhist remains. The site was long before disturbed in pursuit of treasure. But most importantly, it was dug out under the instructions of the Political Agent and bulks of sculptures were extracted from the site, which were then sent to the Calcutta Museum (Stein 1926: 5). Stein writes, 'The site does not appear to have been surveyed or described on that occasion; nor have I been able to trace any published account of the sculptural remains brought to light there' (ibid.).

The present researcher visited Khazana but no traces of this site were found. The place is nowadays a cultivated field in addition to the entire area being plundered in the treasure-hunting process.

97. Giroban

Stein 1930.

In the SE of Nal (Nalo), and also of Charat-kandao, there is a ravine by the name of Giroban proceeding towards Morah pass. A short distance up, the ravine bifurcates into two, one leading to Morah pass while the other in the SE to a ridge. A 'considerable Buddhist sanctuary' was found here by Stein on the crest of this little ridge formed in NE-SW direction. He counts here two 'completely wrecked Stūpas'. Fragments of Gandharan relief panels were also seen as scattered all around and were also re-used in the walls of the terraces of the fields (ibid.: 5, fig. 4). A fragment relief from the surface collection, which was then delivered to the Peshawar Museum, 'showed the well-known Jātaka scene of Gautama Bodhisattva propping up the broken pillar of a building' (ibid.: 5-6). To the E of the sanctuary is another 'small ridge' which bore a much ruined 'monastic structure' (ibid.: 6).

Here excavations were carried out by Mr. Spencer, Political Officer at Malakand, under the instruction of Major Deane. The objects of Gandhara art from the site were then sent to Mardan (Waddell[75]; see also Zwalf 1996: 27, 29, fn. 21).

The site is now locally known as Giro-banda. The present researcher could not visit the place due to shortage of time but his informants did not confirm presently the presence of ruins there (personal communication with Sharif Kaka).

98. Ghwaghawar (Jalala, Thana), Swat (Figure 23)

Stein 1930.

Near the village of Jalala there is a site called Ghwaghawar and it stretches over an area of about 2 km. It consists of the separate ridges known as Barghōle-ghund (Bargholay-ghwand), Narai-khpā/a and Loē-khpā/a. All these spots were found as having ruins of houses with Gandhara masonry. The remains are termed by Stein as associated with the pre-Muslim inhabitants of the area (Stein 1930: 7).

Presently the site bears the remains but in a more ruined condition.

99. Skha-china and Randukai (Kotah), Swat

Stein 1930.

In the SW of Kotah, there are groups of ruins of dwellings over some spurs of which the northernmost one and another to the SW are known as Skha-china, named after the spring. The ruins of the third group, known as Randukai, are situated further to the

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[75] 'Greco-Buddhistic sculptures in Swat,' http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/woking-england-oriental-university-institute/the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo/page-22-the-asiatic-quarterly-review-goo.shtml, (accessed: July 7, 2012).

S. Each group comprised 'half a dozen or more of isolated dwellings ... along the crest lines of rocky ridges' (ibid.: 9, fig. 12). All the remains have similar 'characteristic structural features'. The masonry used in the construction is Gandhara type (ibid.).

A watch-tower, measuring as 10 or 12 ft. high, in a betterly preserved condition due its solid masonry was found (ibid.: fig. 13). It is often found connected to other rooms of varying sizes. The thickness of the wall is about 3 ft. The stone blocks used here are very rough and mortar or other plasters have also not been used. This has caused much damage to the remains; hence the entrances of the rooms are difficult to be seen. Holes used for locking doors with 'wooden cross-bars', as was till recent times in vogue in Swat, from inside were also found (ibid.).

 The structures at these ridges have such special features as the presence of loop-holes, 18-26 inches high and 4½-14 inches broad, in the walls for defense in Randukai, narrow openings in wall of 'dwelling rooms' which might have been used for receiving light and air and the 'stone-faced pits' which were definitely used as storages. The sites are mentioned as 'tower-house complexes' by the Italian archaeologists (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 118), no doubt in accord with Stein's description of the defensive character of the structures (Stein 1930: 9-10).

Nowadays, the remains exist but they are in a precarious condition.

100. Gumbatuna (Barikot), Swat (Figure 24)

Stein 1930; Barger & Wright 1941: Tucci 1958; Ashraf Khan 1993, 1996.

Gumbatuna, at the bottom of hill and on the left side of the torrent, is a Buddhist site lying on the right bank of river Swat near Shamozai. It is the *daftar* of Barikot and lies

about 6 km in its W across the river. Stein visited it in 1926 and reported a number of remains from this sacred area. A very damaged huge stupa surrounded by small stupas, one to the N and another to the SE, was found here. A ruined 'massive square' was also seen near the stupa, which, according to Stein, 'may have carried a Vihāra'. The main stupa consisted of the 'usual three bases', the lower two were measured 52 ft. while the size of the dome '34 feet in diameter'. It was dug up, obviously, for treasure at the time of Stein's visit (ibid.: 10).

A 'walled-up terrace' high up the 'Stūpa plateau', having a mosque and some small houses at the time of Stein's visit, might have once the monastery of which no traces were found by him. It was in another little ravine in the NE of the mosque that Stein found 'a small circular shrine in comparatively fair preservation' (ibid.: 11, fig. 5). The diameter of its interior measured about 15 ft. having a 'flat dome partly intact', the thickness and height of the walls was found as 3 ft. and 16 ft. respectively. There is the likelihood, as Stein observes, of the Buddhist gods in stucco once put inside this shrine. On another stony crest to the N was found the remains of a little 'circular Stūpa' with a diameter of more than 12 ft. and about 4 ft. intact in height (ibid.).

Gumbatuna was revisited by Barger and Wright who showed their special interest in the above mentioned shrine. Its interior was found cleared up and they were reported of the activity of a British officer who had recovered from the debris the 'only piece of sculpture it contained' (Barger & Wright 1941: 27). G. Tucci also gave a visit to Gumbatuna (Tucci 1958: 318). However, the site was properly excavated by M. Ashraf Khan in 1992. A number of votive stupas were unearthed during the excavation having diaper masonry and lime plaster. Some stupas were also found decorated with Corinthian pilaster (Ashraf Khan 1993: 53-57; 1996: 96-106).

The present researcher visited the site in 2010 and found it in dilapidation. The main stupa was in much ruined condition and left on the mercy of the people. The votive stupas were conspicuous by their absence by that time. Children of the surrounding houses were found playing inside the site. A pitch made for playing cricket inside the stupa complex was also noticed (Rafiullah Khan 2011b: 180). Presently, Gumbatuna site is in more ruined condition.

101. Bīr-koṭ-ghuṇḍai (Barikot), Swat (Figure 25)

Stein 1930: figs. 20–22; Barger & Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Olivieri 2003; Colliva 2011.

Bīr-koṭ-ghuṇḍai is an isolated hill situated on the left bank of river Swat and in the W of Barikot village. It is of a 'crescent-shaped' having its 'convex side' towards Swat river and the concave one faces the three important valleys of Karakar, Najigram and Kandak in the S. The different sides and slopes as well as the top of the hill are rich in ancient remains.

The margin of the hill in SE, a 'rocky crest and . . . also very steep', has terraces which presented the view of a habitation area as remains of walls and potsherd were observed by Stein here (Stein 1926: 20). Traces of the fortification wall were also seen higher up. Un-hewn stones were used in a careful way in this wall of about 50 ft. elevation. The need of such a massive wall is clearly shown by the absence of natural difficulties here for the invaders. The northern end of this wall bears a 'bastion-like projection' (ibid.: 21, fig. 21). Other remains of towers and the presence of pottery were also found here and there which point out great defensive nature of the site. Due to the reason Stein thinks Bīr-koṭ-ghuṇḍai a 'kind of citadel [. . . which was] occupied for a long time' (ibid.).

On the circumvallated section of the hill top, measuring more than 600 ft. long and 300 ft. broad, were found ruined habitations and two small mounds. The mounds are termed by Stein as ruined stupas in addition to the find of some 'decorated potsherds' as attributed to the Buddhist period (ibid.)[76]. The northwestern edge of the circumvallation wall was also found of considerable interest. Here the ammunition of the olden days was noticed in the form of 'round water-worn stones of different sizes, undoubtedly brought from the river-bed, such as would be used for slings or as heavier missiles' (ibid.).

Another interesting feature of the antiquity of Bīr-koṭ-ghuṇḍai was the two passages built for the safe supply of water from the river. Throughout their length these passages were lined up with Gandharan masonry but the occasional fallen stones were but to block them presently (ibid.: 22).

A large number of coins, struck in different material such as gold and silver and belonging to the succession of the ruling families i.e. Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian, Indo-Scythian, Kushana and Hindu Shahi, were found scattered across the site. On the basis of such finds the site appeared to Stein as inhabited continuously for a longer period of history (ibid.: 22-23).

Stein was followed to Barikot by Barger and Wright in 1938 who carried out survey and excavation in the area (Barger & Wright 1941: 14-28). Tucci also undertook an extensive and careful study of Barikot in 1956. He confirmed some of Stein's propositions while disagreed with other ones (Tucci 1958: 295-99). In the subsequent

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[76] However, latter researches do not confirm these mounds as being Buddhist stupas. Accordingly, one of the mounds belongs to the early Muslim period of Swat while the other one may be associated with Turki Shahi or Hindu Shahi era (see Callieri et al. 2000; Colliva 2011).

years the Italian Archaeological Mission in a series of archaeological campaigns has brought to light more historical facts about Barikot.

102. Gumbatuna 2 (Karakar, Barikot), Swat

Stein 1930.

Stein (1930: 17) mentions an ancient well having Gandharan masonry at a distance of a mile from Barikot towards the Karakar valley. It was measured as 9 ft. in diameter. Later scholars mention it as pit-well and document it as Gumbatuna 2 (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 101). The pit-well is presently visible in the garden of the residence of Mr. Mushtaq Khan, a landlord of Barikot (personal communication with Olivieri).

103. Gulingaso-dherai (Kandak, Barikot), Swat

Stein 1930; Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006.

Stein mentions two large stupas (Stein 1930: fig. 2) at the mouth of Kandak valley, just opposite the Barikot hill. They are situated at a point where a little ridge separates Kandak and Najigram valley. The stupas were found in ruined condition due to quarrying and at the hands of those agents who were employed for sculptures at Nal/o (ibid.: 12).

The place where the stupas were found is called Gulingaso-dherai, situated in Malkidam area. This site is mentioned as Gumbatuna 1 by Olivieri and Vidale et al.

(2006: 101)[77]. The information collected about the two stupas of Gulingaso-dherai and the account given by Stein of them as built in the wide open mouth of the Kandak valley towards the Barikot hill as well as the description of Gumbatuna 1 by Olivieri and Vidale et al. led the present researcher to recognize in the two versions, supported by the now perished ruins, by the scholars the same sacred site viz. Gulingaso-dherai. The stupas are no more over there.

104. Gumbat (Kandak, Barikot), Swat (Figure 26)

Stein 1930: figs. 6-7; Barger & Wright 1941; Rahman and Mohammad 1984; Meister & Olivieri 2012.

Kandak valley (Stein's Kandag) is the westernmost in the three valleys of Barikot. It faces the western part of Bir-kot-ghwandai. Balo-kile lies on the western side of the valley at a distance of about 7 km from Barikot. Up this village there is a fairly preserved Buddhist site consisting of a vihara and ruined stupas.

Stein found the vihara as comprised a cella and a 'narrow vaulted passage' around it. Large blocks of stone have been used in the construction of this building using the Gandharan masonry style. The eastern side of the shrine, which also makes the entrance of the building, was noted as having received damages. All the walls were found in a better state of preservation (Stein 1926: 12-13).

To the S of the shrine was noticed a terrace, which, according to Stein, seemed to have once bore small stupas. And it was here that traces of illegal digging were

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[77] 'No traces exist of the site today. It was a large monastery complex of which, until the 1990s it was possible to visit the vaulted cells and various chambers. The monastery faced on to a sacred area, of which two *stūpas* were still visible in the 1960s . . .' (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 101).

observed, probably on behalf of Major Deane. In the NE of vihara a little mound was also found dug up in pursuit of treasures (ibid.).

Barger and Wright made excavation at the N side of the shrine and extracted a great number of sculpture and architectural pieces of art (Barger & Wright 1941: 16-18). Recently, Pakistan Army has rendered some repairing work on the shrine. The site is presently under excavation in the framework of the ACT Project. Two stupas of considerable size have been exposed (Meister & Olivieri 2012).

105. Kanjar-kote (Kandak, Barikot), Swat

Stein 1930; Barger & Wright 1941; Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006.

In the SW of Malkidam, Kandak, and Barikot up in the hill lies Kanjar-kote. It is to be reached after a journey of about 4 km from Barikot. The site is a walled up terrace and bears extensive ruins as observed by Stein. The lowest of the terraces was noted as situated above the Malkidam plain. The main group of the terraces is mentioned in NW and SE orientation with a length of more than 325 ft. It bore remains of Buddhist monastery. Terrace *A* here was termed as the probable court bearing small stupas. Around it were observed small 'chapel-like niches' obviously for containing images of Buddhist divinities in the pattern of Takht-i-bahi. A mound with a diameter of 21 ft. was also seen near the chapels, which was taken for the existence of a ruined stupa. Remains of another smaller stupa were noted at the western end of this terrace. Both the terraces *A* and *B*, the latter contiguous to the former in the W, were found full of the remains of ruined structures of which some were of considerable size and, probably, are 'monastic halls and dwellings' (Stein 1926: 14).

In the NW of this series of remains was found another 'group of massive ruins' about 80 ft. up. A number of vaulted cells were noticed here which were, due to the difficult nature of the path, in a better preserved condition (ibid.).

Presently, the site of Kanjar-kote is in a state of dilapidation. Many of the remains have perished away due to a number of reasons ranging from treasure-hunting to quarrying and cultivation.

106. Natmira (Najigram, Barikot), Swat (Figure 27)

Stein 1930.

Natmaira (Natmira of Stein) is situated at a distance of over 2 km from Barikot on the Najigram road. Walled-up terraces used for cultivation were seen by Stein here and there. A niche (or 'large pointed recess') was observed in one of the walls. It measured 30 ft. in height and, according to Stein, probably, was aimed for containing Buddha's image of a huge size. Ruins were found scattered all around which resembled the ruined structures of Kotah valley. However, due to the shortage of time Stein could not make their 'closer examination' (ibid.: 14-15).

Nowadays, very few parts of these walls can be seen[78].

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[78] I would like to take this opportunity for recording an interesting historical event which might augment the history of archaeology in Swat and also might help in the solution of some problems in relation to the un-provenance pieces of Gandhara sculpture from the Swat valley, especially the study of the Wali Swat Collection in Swat Museum. Though, Dr. Tahira Tanweer, Deputy Director, National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, has already completed her PhD Thesis on the topic.

During his fieldwork this researcher also tried to collect information about the public perception of archaeology in Swat and record oral history about the archaeology of the area. In Natmaira it was told him that during the reign of the second Wali a resident, Sardar Kaka, found a huge sculpture in the *gumbat* of the village. The image was sculpted over a throne. The news reached to the office of the

107. Najigram (Barikot), Swat

Stein 1930; Barger & Wright 1941; Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006.

Najigram village lies due S of Barikot at a short distance from the latter named place. Interesting Buddhist remains have been referred to by Stein in this locality (ibid.: 14). Barger and Wright (1941: 24) and Tucci (1958: 316–17) also surveyed Najigram during their fieldworks. A resort in this regard should be made to the vivid description by Olivieri and Vidale et al. They (2006: 99) write:

> This is a huge complex (*c*. 2,000 m²) spread over several pairs of artificial terraces. To the N at least 4 terraces are visible, each of which containing a sacred area (relatively well conserved traces of *stūpa*). To the [. . .] S there are at least 3 other terraces with relative, badly disturbed, sacred areas. Between the two pairs of terraces runs a small stream alongside which lie the remains of a large section of wall. This sloping wall presents a large number of drainage holes and so, owing to its position and structure (as well as in comparison with the similar structure at Tokar-dara 2), may have had the function of water control.

108. Nawagai (Karakar, Barikot), Swat (Figure 28)

Stein 1930; Barger & Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Qamar 2004.

Nawagai lies at some distance in the SE of Barikot on the road from the latter place through Karakar valley to Buner. Stein mentions nothing of archaeological importance except a spring at this place, which was found in a 'walled conduit undoubtedly ancient' (Stein 1926: 18).

Tehsildar of Barikot. He confiscated the find and was presented to the Wali Sahib. What happened then was that the Wali Sahib ordered the people of Natmaira, Nawagai and Najigram to carry out an extensive search in the *kafiri-abadi* (pre-Muslim monuments) of the area for other such prospects. The latter had to explore the surroundings in this pursuit for two to three days consecutively but failed to recover any kind of treasure (personal communication with Shtaman).

Nawagai, notwithstanding this fact, is a famous and large Buddhist complex excavated by Barger and Wright (1941: 26-27) and recently by Mian Said Qamar (2004).

109. Kotanai (Karakar), Swat

Stein 1930; Barger & Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006.

In the premises of Natmaira village (Natmera of Tucci and Naitmara of Olivieri and Vidale et al) Stein (1930: 17-18) mentions a huge terraced up wall as containing a stupa, the place was locally known as Kotanai. The casing of the stupa had long been completely removed and was badly damaged. This site is mentioned by the entry list of the Italian archaeologists by the name of Naitmara 1 (Olivieri and Vidale et al. 2006: 202). Tucci in his reconnaissance of the area found a large wall at this place which, according to him, 'might well have been the plinth of a stūpa' (Tucci 1958: 316). It seems probable that both Stein and Tucci refer to the same ruins. Keeping in view that 30 long years had elapsed between the survey works of the two scholars, it may be conjectured that by 1956 the 'injured stupa' of Stein was found by Tucci as perished except the remains of the plinth.

110. Tokar-dara (Najigram, Barikot), Swat (Figure 29)

Stein 1930: figs. 8-11, 14; Barger & Wright 1941; Nasir 2005; Ashraf Khan & Swati 2012.

Tokar-dara lies about 1 km in the W of Najigram and 5 km from Barikot. This scenic glen is one of the most significant Buddhist sites of Swat. The architecture of this site has attracted much attention and been studied in detail.

This Buddhist complex lies, mainly, on the left side of the torrent. It consists of a main stupa, monastery and other structures. Stein groups these remains in two[79]. On the lower terrace rests the main stupa consisting of three bases, a drum and a dome. The lowest base was measured 66x68 ft., the succeeding one was square while the last base was circular. The 35 ft. diameter of the drum was found adorned 'with two cornices' and a hemispherical dome was built over it. A staircase of 8 ft. width was built at the eastern side of the stupa and it approached to the 2nd base of the stupa. The masonry is of Gandhara type.

A quadrangular structure of monastery[80], of considerable size as measuring 270 ft. square within the walls, was found to the W of the main stupa on another high terrace. Each side of this building had 6 domed cells[81] measuring as 11x11 ft. Above it was seen another rectangular building which was supposed to be an assembly hall. To the E of the assembly hall was noticed another 'rectangular walled enclosure' having the size of 100x90 ft., which, in turn, bore within it a terrace measuring as 16 ft. in height. The latter structure had steps to its N and a 30 ft. square base of 2 ft. height. Stein does not attributes this to a stupa remains. A relief panel, depicting a standing Buddha and a vajra-bearer, was recovered from this structure (Stein 1930: 15-16).

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[79] Abdul Nasir, in his report of the excavation of the site, counts the whole area as consisted of 3 terraces. The lowest one bears the main stupa and votive stupas, the middle terrace holds monastery and assembly hall and the upper one contains medium stupa and other structures of unknown nature (Nasir 2005: 58).

[80] The monastery has 2 entrances; one in the N from the main stupa and the other from the assembly hall from the S (Nasir 2005: 61).

[81] In 1995 the excavators of Tokar-dara exposed 14 domed cells. They are covered from the three sides, and the southern side of the monastery is open to the assembly hall. 'These cells are square in shape measuring 3.20 m. and 4.45 m. high. . . . These cells have ventilators and small niches' (Nasir 2005: 61).

Higher up in the southern direction, Stein found a 'conical mound' which he took for a ruined stupa. Still further up other structures – 'remains of ruined swellings' – were observed (ibid.: 16). These remains are marked by the Italian scholars as Tokar-dara 2. A well-written excerpt might be resorted to in this regard:

> Like Tokar-dara 1, also Tokar-dara 2 is spread over various heights; in this case however they are such as to determine a quite different overall configuration. Because of the very steep slope, here everything is spread over two single large terraces that are very far apart, partly dug out of the rock and partly consisting of masonry substructions. The first, lower down, is for a complex of *vihāra* and a small *stūpa* along a track and immediately below; the second is much higher and acts as a flat surface for the monastery; it is partly of masonry and partly dug out of the rock and in any case lacks the square courtyard owing to the very steep slope. Much less significant minimal terraces have been made for smaller *stūpa* and *vihāra* lower down the track (Spagnesi 2006: 162).

An interesting feature of the Tokar-dara site is the remains of the water system. A water reservoir was seen by Stein below the main stupa. The water channel to it was of interesting architectural design and engineering. It was a long double wall on the right bank of the torrent leading to the reservoir. Stein describes it that '[t]his double wall is preserved for a length of close on 120 feet and leads, as the sketch plan, Pl. 3, shows, to the barrage proper which stretches across the Nullah for a distance of upwards of 160 feet. In the middle where it crosses the torrent bed itself it has been completely broken for a distance of about 30 feet' (Stein 1930: 16). On the eastern side the elevation of the remaining part of the dam was measured about 28 ft. The breadth of the walls, which were supposed to hold water up, was 10 ft. The thickness of the 2nd, or outer, walls was 6 ft. (ibid.). The great labour invested in such an engineering work points out to the public need, which required this well-considered management of water. According to Stein this complex and detailed water regulation

shows that besides the 'domestic use and ablutions' this reservoir was meant also for irrigating the terraced fields below' (ibid.: 17).

The point which is raised by Stein about the water management is studied by the Italian scholars in much detail. Selected part from their study regarding Tokar-dara need here to be quoted (Olivieri & Vidale et al. 2006: 132-33):

> Also the control and management of the water and irrigation must have been essential [in ancient Swat]. . . . However, the idea may well be present that efficient hydraulic control and the agricultural potential of the entire valley depended in the past on the work of complex social organization (from the Late Bronze Age on?), while periods of political and organizational crisis may have exposed the communities to disastrous events.
>
> In this light the Buddhist communities seem ideally to be candidates for restoring an earlier order, at the same time acknowledging the marginal positive effect of flooding in regenerating the potential of its valley floor farmland. They were certainly responsible for the creation of a hydraulic panorama of unprecedented complexity. The numerous masonry wells still visible on the plain or the hillsides, such as the tanks for collecting spring water, seem to be lined with walls similar to those of the better quality masonry of the religious complexes. . . . The monasteries' interest in water supplies in the country was not limited to digging and maintaining wells, cisterns and springs. Several important complexes, such as Tokar-dara 1, Najigram and Tokar-dara have huge building works to dam, convey, collect and distribute water from streams, also using bold technical choices, such as aerial aqueducts which extended transversely across the beds of the local *tangai*. These infrastructures may have been used both to control the flooding and torrential rainfall episodes and for the accumulation of water energy to drive the water mills. . . .

Other remains of ruined stupa, measuring 10 ft. in height, were also found close to the water reservoir. Illegal digging had disturbed this structure to a great extent (Stein 1930: 17).

Tokar-dara was excavated by Barger and Wright during their campaign to Swat (Barger & Wright 1941: 24). In 1995, the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Pakistan, carried out excavation work on the site under the direction of Saeed-ur-Rahman. This time important architectural remains were exposed and a number of fragments of Gandharan relief were recovered (see Abdul Nasir 2005; Ashraf Khan & Swati 2012). Presently, Tokar-dara is on the ACT list and excavation work will be started here soon. In this way, the much threatened archaeological site of the Swat valley will be rescued from further dilapidation.

111. Jrandu-gumbat (Najigram, Barikot), Swat (Figure 30)

Stein 1930.

Above the village of Najigram, about 1 km ahead, there were found 2 stupa mounds in a badly disturbed condition. Further up, another more than 2 km, was found a damaged stupa known by the name of Jrandu-gumbat. Digging and quarrying has caused this stupa suffered much. However, Stein measures it as 18 ft. high in the light of the 'two circular bases' and the 'partly surviving drum' (Stein 1930: 17).

112. Amluk-dara (Karakar, Barikot), Swat (Figure 31)

Stein 1930: figs. 16, 18; Olivieri et al. forthcoming.

Amluk-dara is a side-valley of the Karakar valley. It lies in the SE of Barikot at a distance of about 10 km. This place makes a Buddhist sacred area of great importance, the conspicuous sign in this respect being a great stupa. A rock carving, representing a seated Buddha, is mentioned by Stein just before entering the village of Amluk-dara (ibid.: 18).

The stupa is built over a raised ground at the junction of two routes; one leading to Mount Ilam and the other one proceeding to Sarbab, the northern spur of the sacred Mount. This stupa was found by Stein as 'in a better state of preservation than any ancient Stūpa . . . and constructed with remarkably careful masonry (Fig. 16, 18)' (ibid.). Its base was measured 113x113 and 28 ft. in height. This base bore two other circular bases of which the lower one, including the height of the plinth, was found of 9 ft. elevation. The diameter of the drum, which carried the hemispherical dome, was measured 71 ft. All these measurements make the 'Stūpa proper the largest of all I [Stein] surveyed in Swāt'. To add the height of the dome will give height of about 29 ft. more to the stupa, hence the total elevation about 100 ft.

Staircase of about 40 ft. width was found adjoining the stupa in the N. A burrow, about 15 ft. wide, was observed at the 'first circular base' of the stupa. The drum and dome of the monument were built of 'roughly dressed slabs' in careful manner. The use of columns, made of small dark stones, between the courses shows the 'Gandharan type masonry in unusually neat execution'. Stein conjectures the use of plaster in the monument as well (ibid. 18-19).

A unique trait seen only here was the 'presence in the upper cornice of large stone slabs showing semi-circular hollows on their projecting edges' (ibid.: 19). Stein writes that 'flat pilasters projecting about 8 inches' decorated the square base and probably the lower circular base of which ruined terraces appeared to him. Four umbrellas were found as lying on the 'eastern side of the square base', the largest one being 14 ft. and the smallest one a little more than 5 ft. in diameter. Another 12 ft. rectangular piece of stone was also found at the site (ibid.).

Other ruins scattered all around were also observed. Five ruined stupa mounds to the E of the stupa, ruined structures in its SE end and W, perhaps related to the monastery, were seen as well. Coins each one of Kushana and the Turki Shahi were recovered from the site too (ibid.). Stein appreciates the significance of the Amluk-dara sacred site in relation to the sacrality of Mount Ilam[82].

Amluk-dara is presently being excavated by the Italian archaeologists in the framework of the ACT-Project under the direction of Dr. Olivieri. Olivieri (personal communication) thinks that this Buddhist complex was built in the 3rd century CE and continued to be the spot of the Buddhist activity till 10th or 11th century.

113. Hindughar (Tindo-dag, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930: fig. 25; Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2006, 2011& in press.

Important images have been found depicted in the Hindughar. The central figure of the group is termed by Stein as king Uttarasena dressed in Central Asian costume (Stein 1930: 32-33). However, Tucci does not agree with Stein and sees in the relief a local deity or a king of the Kushan period (Tucci 1958: 299-302). Anna Filigenzi, in her recent study, identifies the figure as Surya along with his wives and attendants (Filigenzi 2006, 2011 & in press).

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[82] Unfortunately, no available translation of XuánZàng account so far has any reference to this important sacred Buddhist site. However, scholars are looking forward to Max Deeg's, Carolff University, forthcoming translation in this regard.

114. Hassan-kote (Gogdara, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930; Makin Khan 1998[83].

In the SE of Gogdara there are ruins of a small Buddhist monastery in a glen. Stein mentions the name of the place as Hassan-kote while Makin Khan writes it as Asan Kote; however, the present researcher was told by the local people that actually the name is Saan-kote.

Stein found this sacred building built above a spring over a terrace of E-W orientation. On the southern corner of the terrace a series of small rooms of varying sizes and their vaults were noted in a good condition. The wall had interesting windows, 6 inches square externally and upto 2 ft. wide internally, which were meant for providing light. Steps were seen at the eastern side of the rooms which connected another structure in that direction. Another large room near the western end of the rooms, having vaults, was observed which, as Stein thinks, contained 'monks' quarters'. In the NW end of the rooms remains of another rectangular structure, having the size of 36x25 ft., were noted as assembly hall. Ruins of a small stupa were also found opposite to the terrace of the rooms. In the eastern side of the terrace two narrow rooms and remains of another structure, which according to Stein may be a shrine, were found. Ruins of dwellings were also noticed here and there (Stein 1930: 34).

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[83] It seems that Makin Khan is not familiar with the fact that the site of 'Asan Kote' was first discovered by Stein. His bibliography does not include Stein's report of the 1926 Survey. He, even, claims the credit for the discovery as he writes, 'As such one Buddhist site ASAN KOTE is explored recently by the curator Swat Museum' (Makin Khan 1998: 179).

Presently, this archaeological site is in a decaying condition. This researcher was apprised by the local informants that the Saan-kote remains have long been at the mercy of the illegal diggers. Every now and then treasure-hunters are to be seen excavating the site. The site, as it was found by Stein about 8 decades ago, could not be found by the present researcher during his fieldwork.

115. Udegram-dherai (Udegram, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930.

Udegram-dherai is situated at a short distance in the N of the Udegram village. It rises in the inundated fields along the Swat river and, according to Stein, presents a view of buried settlement (ibid.: 41). The present researcher could not trace out the site.

116. Shah Hussain-patai (Mingawara, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930.

A ruined stupa to the E of Mingawara city is reported by Stein (ibid.: 42). Presently, the identification of this site seems a thorny job as the city has enormously expanded in all directions. The present researcher asked a number of people for a site of this name but to no avail.

117. Rangmala (Mingawara, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930; Filigenzi in press.

There was a stupa in a much decayed condition reported by Stein in Rangmala. It was standing along the route leading to Manglawar through Shamelai-kandao (ibid.: 42). Presently, the site is occupied by a modern house; hence no remains of the stupa.

118. Butkara (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat (Figure 32)

Stein 1930; Faccenna 1980-1981; Filigenzi in press.

A much ruined stupa mound, on the left side of the stream coming out of the Kalel pass, is recorded by Stein at Butkara (ibid.: 43). Butkara 1 of the archaeological map of Swat valley is now identified with T'o-lo of XuánZàng, which Stein believes to be sought for in Manglawar (Stein 1921/1980: 13). G. Tucci writes:

> Butkara was therefore the place where our excavations should start; characterised as it was by extensive and striking ruins it might well be the site of that T'a-lo monastery mentioned by Sung Yün: the largest and richest of the whole region, where each year the king assembled the monks who came there in large numbers from all parts of the country. In that monastery, the same pilgrim tells us, there were six thousands gold statues (Tucci 1958: 288).

The site is, thus, extensively excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Swat. A handsome number of archaeological and art objects have so far been recovered from the site (see Faccenna 1980a, b, 1981).

The site of Butkara 1 is in good condition. However, the monumental lion in the centre of the site has received damages during the 2007-2009 crisis (Rafiullah Khan 2011b: 176-77, pls. 3-4).

119. Kanchai-kanda (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930.

Stein mention a ruined stupa in Kanchai-kanda which is situated 'above a small gully which descends from the spur to the east, about halfway between Saidu and the mouth of the Jambil valley' (Stein 1930: 43).

The present researcher could not trace out this place during his fieldwork.

120. Shinasi-gumbat (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat (Figures 33-34)

Stein 1930: fig. 34; Tucci 1958; Qamar & Ashraf Khan 1991; Rahman 1993.

Shinasi (correctly Shnai-sha or Shna-sha) is situated near Batera village, above Guligram, on the left side of the stream. Here Stein found well-preserved stupa having a 'distinctly hemispherical' dome. Only in its northern side a cutting was found caused by treasure hunting. Its masonry was described similar to that of the Shingardar and Amluk-dara stupas but as comparatively rough. Remains of small stupas and monastery were also reported (ibid.). Stein was followed by Tucci to Shnai-sha who added the discovery of a rock carving to the description already available in Stein's report (Tucci 1958: 313).

The site was excavated two times; first by the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Pakistan, of which the report is not published. It was then excavated by the University of Peshawar under the direction of Abdur Rahman. This time the site proved as very helpful in the reconstruction of the ancient history of Swat valley (see Rahman 1993: 1-124; Qamar & Ashraf Khan 1991: 173-234; Taddei 1998: 171-88, for the analysis of some material from Shnai-sha see also Farooq Swati 2007).

Presently, the site is threatened by extinction. The present researcher visited Shnai-sha and found the main stupa in dilapidated condition. No traces of other features and structures of the site, exposed during the two excavation campaigns, were found above ground. Similarly, the rock carving mentioned by Tucci was also not found by this researcher.

121. Kukrai and Spālbāndai (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930 fig. 32; Tucci 1958; Filigenzi in press.

There are two groups of rock images at Kukrai village (Figures 35-37) along the route which leads up the hill. Stein records them as much damaged. Near the village of Sapal-bandai (Stein's Spālbāndai) there was another much damaged figure noted by the explorer. A little further up another image of the same size was seen (Stein 1930: 43-44). Tucci also visited the site during his reconnaissance in 1956 (Tucci 1958: 313).

The present researcher visited the places of these rock carvings. The reliefs of Kukrai, though badly rubbed, were found as still present. The second mentioned image at Sapal-bandai, which was accessed through Gul-bandai hamlet, is intact till now but it is situated just beneath the foundation wall of the courtyard of a recently constructed house. During the conversation with the owner, he threatened that soon they were going to build a *hujra* (guest house) and hence they would blast the boulder which bears the relief. The researcher failed to trace out the first mentioned carving in the locality of Sapal-bandai.

122. Miana (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930.

Miana (locally known as Maina), modern Marghuzar, is situated at a strategic point between Swat and Buner. Stein found here two groups of Buddhist remains, one of which was a dwelling place and the other was the site of a small shrine (Stein 1930: 44-45).

Presently, it is difficult to make out the location of these remains as even at the time of Stein's visit they did not make significant ruins.

123. Baringan (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat (Figure 38)

Stein 1930.

Baringan (locally called Baringal) valley lies on the route between Saidu and Salampur (Stein's Islampur) and the Juwarai pass. Here a series of rock carvings consisting of Bodhisattva images and a stupa are mentioned by Stein. They were found badly injured. At a short distance, there are other four Bodhisattvas. At a small distance from Saidu, there are ruins of defensive wall which the local tradition attributes to the Raja Gira Castle (Stein 1930: 45).

This researcher visited the place which once contained these carvings. The huge boulders on which the images were depicted made part of a large mountain near the shrine of the first Wali of Swat, Miangul Abdul Wadud. A local informant told this researcher that about 20-30 years ago members of the ex-royal family of Swat state blasted the archaeological site as they needed stones for the construction of a new station for wagons/vehicles.

124. Shararai (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat (Figures 39-45)

Stein 1930: figs. 30, 38; Tucci 1958; Sardar 2005; Filigenzi in press.

A stony ridge leads from Baringan/l valley to Jambil valley. Shararai, towards Pan, has a number of stupas which were found by Stein much injured. There was also recorded a completely destroyed shrine and it had a great number of potsherds. A great boulder along the route proceeding to Loe-band bore images of Buddhist divinities (Stein 1930: 45-46). The site is now locally known as Arap/Arab Khanchina (see also Tucci 1958: 310).

Presently, the stupas are in a much deteriorated condition. As lying in the cultivated field they are much threatened by extinction. The rock carvings in this locality are intact, of course. Though Stein mentions one large boulder bearing rock reliefs but there is a great number of such reliefs.

125. Jurjurai (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat (Figures 46-48)

Stein 1930: fig. 28; Tucci 1958; Sardar 2005; Filigenzi in press.

Jurjurai is situated opposite to Dangram vallage. Here Stein found a large ruined stupa at a little distance from the one located above Loe-band in a small ravine. He also mentions rock carvings in the area (ibid.: 46; see also Tucci 1958: 309-10).

The present researcher gave a visit to the area and found that the stupa of Loe-band was non-existent while the Jurjurai stupa was there but in a decaying state.

126. Pan (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat (Figures 49-50)

Stein 1930; Faccenna et al. 1993; Filigenzi in press.

Pan (or Panr) is situated by the historic path from Kalel pass and is very near to Mingawara. Stein found here a number of ruined stupas (Stein 1930: 46). Later on this site was visited by Tucci and highlighted its great importance (Tucci 1958: 309). It was in the light of this fresh evidence added to the archaeological importance of Panr that the Italian Archaeological Mission in collaboration of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, excavated the site between 1969 and 1964 under the leadership of D. Faccenna. In the result of such an extensive work, Panr makes an important Buddhist site (Faccenna et al. 1993).

Nowadays, the archaeological site of Panr is almost extinct. No proper care of the site is being taken into account. Sooner rather than later the site will be lost forever (Rafiullah Khan 2011b: 178, pl. 6).

127. Sangotaparkha (Sangota (Manglawar), Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930.

Shamelai mountain served as a route between Saidu and Manglawar, and the areas beyond the latter, in olden days. A number of rocky ridges and spurs are found all along the route, the last of which towards Manglawar, according to Stein, is known as Sangota-parkha which reaches down to the river (Stein 1926: 47). He noticed here the remains of a 'watch-station', pieces of pottery and traces of foundation walls on the 'flat top of a commanding knoll to which broad steps hewn in the rock lead up from the path below' (ibid.).

The present researcher identified the site with the help of Fainda Mand of village Ser. It is situated about half way between Mingawara and Manglawar. Sangota village lies in its E and Ghwara-marghai, near Qaza-gat, in its W. This offshoot of the Shamelai hill exactly corresponds to the description given by Stein with the only exception that during the construction of the road the spur was cut at the extremity towards the river in the N. The road was built probably during the reign of Miangul Abdul Wadud (1917-1949), the first Wali of Swat. This researcher visited Sangota-parkha and found some traces of ancient remains, especially on the top of the spur as the rest of the area is now covered by the extensively newly built houses. The steps made in the rock, as mentioned by Stein, could not be traced out, probably, destroyed during the construction activity. However, a cup-mark and some other mysterious rock boulders were seen here and there.

It might be noted here that an extensive construction activity has been going on in the area and the site now virtually makes a habitation quarter.

128. Rasho-dherai (Manglawar-Landai, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930; Filigenzi in press.

In the plain fields of Manglawar, on the left bank of the stream immediately after the junction of the *khwars* of Landai and Ugad valleys, there was a mound of considerable size which is mentioned by Stein as Rāsho-dhērai. The local memory still recalls it as Dherai, mound of a huge size. Stein mentions it in E-NE of Manglawar village. Only the 'square base about 240 feet long' was made out by him. The mound was measured 63 ft. high and having 35 ft. diameter at the top (ibid.: 48-49).

Due to the huge size of the mound it is suggested by Stein to be identified with the 'great Stūpa' mentioned by XuánZàng 4 or 5 *li* in the E of Mêng-ch'ieh-li, where the 'Buddha in a previous birth as the "Patiently-enduring Rshi" was believed to have been dismembered by the wicked king Kali' (ibid.: 49).

Presently, Rasho-dherai is conspicuous by its absence and the site makes cultivable fields and habitation area. When Stein was busy in the reconnaissance of Swat in 1926 he found this mound in the E-NE of Manglawar village; however, the village has expanded over time. The expansion has now reached the once sacred area and some buildings were seen by this researcher as built over the exact location of the mound, the most conspicuous of which is the mosque and the adjacent houses.

Important Buddhist rock carvings are also noted in the N and NW of Rasho-dherai, along the hill, by Stein. Though, they have long disappeared but with the help of

Stein's description and the information collected from the local *masharan* (grey-bearded men) these images may be divided into three groups due to the distances which separated them. The location of the first relief, mentioned by Stein in the N of the mound, was identified by this researcher in the NW of Rasho-dherai and Chalgut-khwar, on the left side of the road from Salanda (Manglawar) to Malam-jaba and above the newly built inhabited area called Serai. The distance from the road might be 300 ft. This rock relief does not exist anymore as it is, probably, destroyed during the house construction activity. It is said that the second Wali of Swat, Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb, along with Europeans would give occasional visit to the site (personal communication with Aurangzeb). Interestingly, this rock carving was facing the Nangrial rock reliefs (personal communication with Khanuno).

Proceeding in the same direction, another isolated image of 'small Buddha' is mentioned by Stein (1930: 49). This relief was carved out on the face of the western limit of Maizaro-dherai, nearby which was also found by this researcher a cave of considerable size. The image has long been destroyed due to unknown reasons (personal communication with Aurangzeb). A little further ahead, at the eastern side of this spur, there was noticed by Stein a group of small rock reliefs. 'The whole measures 5 feet in length and shows on the left a seated Bodhisattva 1½ feet high, carrying a lotus stem in the left hand, and to the right a seated Buddha between two small Bodhisattvas (?)' (Stein 1930: 49). This group of images is now remembered by a *mashar* (grey-bearded) of Ser village, Fainda Mand. He told the present researcher that the group comprised 4 images, a fact also clear in Stein's description. It is, beyond any doubt, destroyed during the road construction during the reign of the second Wali of Swat (personal communication with Fainda Mand). The whole

locality is now known by the name of Chalgut[84]; and it is, therefore, suggested to call the above mentioned three groups of reliefs as the Chalgut rock carvings, though they do not exist anymore.

129. Maizere (Landai-Manglawar, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930.

Maizaro-dherai (Stein's Maizare) is a steep rocky spur of the Dharmāla mountain on the left side of the road from Salanda, Manglawar, to Malam-jaba (and on the right bank of the stream at the junction of the Landai valley and Ugad valley tributaries, just opposite Rasho-dherai). Remains of ancient dwellings with the Gandhara type masonry were noticed by Stein as scattered over its top. Pottery pieces similar to those from Udegram and Barikot were found all around (ibid.: 49).

The present researcher visited the site and observed a variety of pottery as well as ruined structures at the site. Aurangzeb, who has his house built over the top of Maizaro-dherai, reported about the pieces of grinding stones found from time to time at the site. He also informed this researcher about the presence of a spring in a ravine

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[84] Fainda Mand gives an interesting reconstruction of the name Chalgut. He says that originally the word was Chahār-but (Persian) meaning four images; but with the passage of time it took the present form Chalgut (personal communication with Fainda Mand). The etymology of Chalgut in Pashto may also be dwelt upon here. It is a compound noun consisting of *chal* and *gut*. The first word has two possible meanings and both seem consistent with the topography of the locality. First, *chala* is called to that increase in the water of a stream or river which occurs due to the snow-melting, during summer, especially at their sources and *gut* might be the Pashto word *gwat* means corner, curve and angle. In this way, Chalgut might mean the place (like *gwat*) where the *chala* takes turn, a hypothesis which is also confirmed by the topography of the place as the water of the Ugad valley *khwar* and the Landai valley *khwar*, after being met in the NE of Rasho-dherai, flows into a western direction for a while and then immediately turns towards S and then again in the W. Another possible interpretation might be found in the word *chal* means hanging over. Again the topography corresponds to this meaning of 'the corner of the hillside' which is hanging over along the stream and the path thereof.

in the NW of Maizaro-dherai, which is not mentioned by Stein (personal communication with Aurangzeb).

Extensive traces of treasure-hunting were also noticed here and there.

130. Shakhorai (Ugad-Manglawar, Babuzai), Swat (Figure 51)

Stein 1930: figs. 37; Tucci 1958: fig. 11; Rafiullah Khan 2011a; Filigenzi in press.

The well-known Jahanabad Buddha depicted on a huge rock was found by Stein as one of the beautiful monuments of Buddhist Swat. Its presence posits the importance of the place (ibid.: 50). G. Tucci seeks for the Adbhuta (Marvelous stone) stupa here (Tucci 1958: 306). The Buddha got serious damages during the recent crisis in Swat. Another nearby Avalokiteśvara/Padmāpāni was also blasted (Rafiullah Khan 2011b: 184-185, pls. 21-22). Recently, the Buddha image has been restored by the Italian colleagues in the framework of ACT-Project.

131. Nangrial (Ugad-Manglawar, Babuzai), Swat (Figure 52-53)

Stein 1930: fig. 36; Olivieri in Faccenna et al. 1993; Nazar Khan 1996; Rafiullah Khan 2011a.

The high spur of Nangrial[85] separates Bishband valley and Ser-Talegram. It has Buddhist rock images and other structures. The site is known to the Italian scholars as Kala/Qala. Stein visited it and documented the rock carvings of the place (Stein 1930: 51).

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[85] The meaning of Nangrial is an issue of debate, of course. However, local tradition gives an interesting account about the site. It is said that Nangra was the name of the ruler of this area and Nangrial, as was known after his name, was the seat of his dominion. It, thus, seems that Nangrial is a compound name consisting of *Nangra* and *Āla* (the latter is a Sanskrit word which means place); hence Nangrial means the place (dominion) of King Nangra. This meaning and the local tradition, no doubt, complement each other.

Two huge representations of Avalokiteśvara/Padmāpāni and a minor image of Buddha make the prominent scene of the site. Other such reliefs have also been documented by other scholars (Olivieri in Faccenna et al. 1993: 263; Sardar 2005: 109-115; Rafiullah Khan 2011a: 219).

Nangrial has also been a settlement site and is one of the attractive hunting scenes of the treasure seekers. Extensive structures are found all around and antiquities of various types have been recovered from the area by the inhabitants. A resident of the neighbouring hamlet, Sulti-bandai apprised this researcher of the discovery of terracotta (clay) pipes having one end narrower so that it can tightly fit in the broad mouth of another one. It seems that water was provided to the Nangrial settlement through this pipe system from Warha-sar/Dobrhao. More importantly, the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, excavated three graves in Nangrial in 1982 under the leadership of Shah Nazar Khan. He, later on, published a very brief report of which the following long, but most important, passages may be quoted (Nazar Khan 1996: 2-3)[86]:

> The site was divided into a grid, and the central trench, measuring 6 x 6 metres was selected for excavation. A total of three graves were exposed in the course of digging: one male, one female and one child, perhaps making up a family unit. The graves are all rectangular, spaced about one metre apart, and covered by rout, undressed slabs which were brought from the western spur of the hill. The two adult graves are oriented east-west and the grave of the child oriented north-south (Fig. 4). The covers were no longer in situ, perhaps as a result of disturbance from the constant ploughing of the site. The graves are filled with loose soil, and have a hard floor of rammed earth, without any stone paving. It is on this floor that the grave goods ---- consisting of

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[86] The report is published in a not very well-known journal, hence the need of this long quotation. It contains six photographs, including two of the famous rock carving, which cannot be reproduced in this work.

various bronze objects ----- were placed. The graves were covered with a layer of compact, alluvial soil and then capped in the manner already indicated.

Specific detail[s] of the excavated graves are as follow:

1. The grave of a child, containing only a few decayed small bones. The rectangular grave chamber (90 x 40 cm) is lined on each of the four sides by a large stone slab. Smaller stones were used to support the larger slabs from the outside. As already indicated, there was no cover in situ, but several large slabs which could have been used for this purpose were found were found in the vicinity. The grave is oriented north-south and the skeleton was lying fully extended on its back. The grave is located at right angles to one of the adult graves, with the head of the child pointing towards the feet of the adult.

2. The grave of an adult, nearest to that of the child. The grave chamber (180 x 40 x 40 cm) is again rectangular. It is lined with eight large slabs, one at either end and three along each side. Once again smaller stones support the slabs, while the covering slab is missing. As before, the skeleton is lying on its back, in a fully extended position, with the head of [to] the west and the arms placed on either side of the body. The bones are in a much better state of preservation that in the previous skeleton.

   Grave goods from this grave include a bronze bowl and bronze bangle with floral designs, placed at thigh level. 28 paste beads of various shapes and sizes found scattered around the neck were probably once part of a necklace (Fig. 6). Finally, there was an ear ring near the right side of the skull. All these findings indicate that the deceased was female, although no physical examination of the skeleton has yet been carried out to support this assertion.

3. This grave is like the previous one in every respect except that the only artifact was a bronze bowl. This was placed upside down and was of larger size than the bowl found in the female grave. The bones may belong to a male, making thus a complete nuclear family, although this hypothesis still needs to be confirmed by a detailed physical examination.

132. Banjot (Landai-Manglawar, Babuzai), Swat

Stein 1930; Olivieri in Faccenna et al. 1993; Filigenzi in press.

Banjot lies in the S of Manglawar. It has ruins and rock carvings mentioned by Stein (Stein 1930: 51). The present researcher could not visit this site to confirm its present state.

133. Jampure-dherai (Mangwalthan valley, Charbagh), Swat

Stein 1930: fig. 39; Barger & Wright 1941; Filigenzi in press.

Jampora (Jampure-dherai of Stein and Jampure Dherai of Barger & Wright) lies in Mangwalthan valley, at a little distance in the E of Charbagh city. A metaled road nowadays traverses this valley as far as Tuha village, which makes a boundary point between Mangwalthan and Malam-jaba valley. Stein mentions a stupa and other ruined structures by the side of the route going to Ghwarband. The site is known as Jampure-dherai (ibid.: 51-52). Stein terms it the acropolis of Charbagh. Barger and Wright made excavation at the site in 1938 (Barger & Wright 1941: 29-31).

This researcher visited Jampora during his field work. Some important points came to be known as a result. The name of the hamlet is Jampora which now contains two places of archaeological importance. One is the Gumbat area, obviously the place where once the stupa was standing, on the right side of the road to Mangwalthan. The second place is Dherai which lies on the left side of the same road and opposite to Gumbat. The present state of the stupa may be termed as being completely destroyed. The owner of the land has built a house and a mosque over the stupa remains. This researcher found in the walls of the newly built buildings the material once used in the

stupa. Dherai has extensive remains and still presents a view of a rich archaeological site. There were found some ruined structures of unknown character.

134. Zundwala (Mangwalthan valley, Charbagh), Swat

Stein 1930; Filigenzi in press.

Zandwala (Stein's Zundwala) lies next to Jampora towards Mangwalthan village. A ruined stupa in the shape of mound was seen by Stein here. A little further a huge boulder having rock carvings was also found. A standing Buddha flanked by attendants and other haloed figures was depicted here. Some other mythical figures were also observed in the relief. Ruined structures, which Stein thinks as being saṅghârâma, were noticed here and there (Stein 1930: 52).

The present researcher searched for these remains in Zandwala but to no avail.

135. Mingvalthan (Mangwalthan valley, Charbagh), Swat

Stein 1930; Filigenzi in press.

In the NE of Zandwala lies Mangwalthan (Stein's Mangvalthan and Mangalthan of the Italian scholars). Remains of ancient dwellings were found by Stein in this area. Ancient structures were seen in the Chinar-tangai glen here (ibid.: 52-53).

This researcher could not trace out the remains mentioned by Stein at Mangwalthan.

136. Ali Beg-dherai (Dakorak, Charbagh), Swat (Figure 54-55)

Stein 1930.

Dakorak, situated at a little distance from Charbagh further ahead on Kalam road, has in its SE a little stony mound called Ali Beg-dherai. It now lies at the back of a newly

made Muhallah (village ward) known as Malalai. Further, this mound lies due N of Mangwalthan valley.

Ali Beg-dherai was visited by Stein in 1926. He saw here structures of roughly made buildings obviously different from Gandhara type masonry. The site did not provide any kind of Gandharan pottery and hence Stein terms it as being inhabited in post-Buddhist times (ibid.: 53).

The site is intact now but signs of illegal digging can be seen all around the mound. The present researcher was reported the existence of some other similar mounds nearby.

137. Masuman-dherai (Gulibagh, Charbagh), Swat (Figure 56)

Stein 1930.

A mound by the mane of Masuman-dherai lies in Gulibagh on the right side of the road from Mingawara to Kalam. Traces of Gandhara type masonry and ancient potsherds were found here by Stein. He also writes about the importance of the excavation of this site (ibid.).

This researcher found the site as a large flat mound extending over a considerable area. It is known locally as Masuman-maira now. The place is now a cultivable area and the surface is covered with pottery pieces of different styles and types.

138. Sambat-Baidara (Matta), Swat

Stein 1930: fig. 63.

Both these villages lie in succession just opposite Khwaza-khela and Chaliar on the right bank of river Swat. A carved stone was brought to Stein which, according to

him, might make part of a rock-cut relief damaged, probably, during the construction of road by the Wali. In the S of Baidara, there was found a mound as rich in ancient potsherds. The people of Baidara had extracted pottery pieces and earthenware jars from the mound and were brought to Stein, when he was encamped in Shalpin, for investigation (ibid.: 53-54, see also Pl. 1 for the earthen jars).

139. Madar Khan-sarai (Janu, Khwaza-khela), Swat

Stein 1930: 54, 65, fig. 63.

Madar Khan-sarai (correctly Madar Khan-serai) is situated near the village of Janu, Khwaza-khela, on the left bank of the stream known as Michazawar-khwar. Some decorated pottery fragments were brought from the area for the purpose of inspection to Stein when he was in Shalpin. On the basis of stylistic similarity with pottery from Sistan and Northern Balochistan, he associated them to Sassanian period (ibid.: 54, see pl. 1).

This researcher went to the site but found no ancient remains. He, however, was reported that about 2 decades before there were ruined structures in Madar Khan-serai and in its vicinity.

140. Surai-tangai (Baidara, Matta), Swat (Figures 57-59)

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958.

Surai-tangay, a rock hillside, lies in the N of Baidara, Matta. Here the remains of Gandhara type masonry in connection with a spring were found. A well lined with slabs was also seen in the area. Pottery pieces, like those found between Barikot and Mingawara, of Buddhist period are also reported from the place. Various ridges here

bore ruins of ancient times (ibid.: 54-55). Tucci followed in the footsteps of Stein to Surai-tangai. He makes interesting analysis of the site and its archaeology. He considers the area as second in fortification to Udegram. According to him it was an important settlement site. Presently, there are a few houses at Surai-tangai, which shows a change in the climatic condition of the area, especially with regard to water resource (Tucci 1958: 20-22).

This researcher also visited this archaeological site. He ascertained the existence, presently, of the numerous ruins, the well and the masonry of the spring.

141. Kargha-dherai, Ragast (Lalku, Matta), Swat

Stein 1930.

At a short distance in the NW of Landai village, Lalku valley on the right bank of river Swat, is situated Ragast, basically a mountain range. Being a hillside recess, it is surrounded by hilly terraced fields having a Buddhist site known as Kargha-dherai (Figures 60-61). Stein found here a ruined stupa mound and some decayed walls, probably, of a meeting hall of monastery or of vihara. Other stupa mounds were also noted in the area (Stein 1926: 55).

This researcher visited this area and found some very ruined structures, apparently of rooms, over the crest known as Karghano-dherai (Stein's Kargha Dherai). Another site in this range was reported to the present researcher by the name of Ragast-kota which due to shortage of time could not be visited.

142. Chikrai (Jare, Jinki-khel), Swat (Figure 62)

Stein 1930: fig. 62; Tucci 1958: fig. 10.

Close to the large village of Jare lies a place known as Chikrai on the road from Mingawara to Kalam. On the left side of the road and also on the left bank of Swat river there is a famous rock carving visited by Stein. He mentions this Chikrai relief as situated at Jare and since then it has been known as Jare Avalokiteśvara. 'The sculpture, though late work, shows a certain grace and freedom' (ibid.: 65). Tucci also visited this site and termed the image an 'extremely well-executed image to which the pilgrims certainly paid homage before the dangerous crossing, as is still customary in Tibet' (Tucci 1958: 304).

This rock carving is presently intact as the present researcher found during his fieldwork.

143. Kakhi-dherai (Khwaza-khela, Azi-khel), Swat

Stein 1930.

Kakhi-dherai (perhaps correctly Kaki-dherai), as Stein writes, lies below Shalpin. It was found as having a great number of ruins and pottery fragments which led Stein to declare it an old site of village (Stein 1930: 65).

The present researcher made great efforts to identify this site both at Khwaza-khela, Shalpin village, Janu etc. but failed to trace out any site by this name.

144. Bala-dherai (Langar, Khwaza-khela, Azi-khel), Swat (Figure 63)

Stein 1930.

Bālā-dherai (now locally pronounced as Balā-dherai) is an archaeological site of great importance. It lies on the right hand of the Mānawrhay-khwar in the boundaries (and NE) of Langar village, Khwaza-khela. The Mānawrhay-khwar separates Langar from

Janu village. Stein mentions ancient remains at this site which were found similar to the ruins of Kakhi-dherai (ibid.). The site still bears ancient structures all around.

145. Chinkolai (Khwaza-khela, Azi-khel), Swat

Stein 1930.

Chinkolai is situated in the NE of Khwaza-khela. A small figure of seated Buddha, recovered from a 'torrent bed' of this village, was brought to Stein for inspection to Shalpin (ibid.).

146. Babu (Khwaza-khela, Azi-khel), Swat

Stein 1930.

Babu village lies, at a little distance from the Khwaza-khela bazar, on the road from the later named place to Alpurai, Shangla-par. To its S in the hillside ruins were reported to Stein (ibid.). The present researcher could not trace out ruins in this specific direction. He, however, was told that some years ago ruins existed in the Babu-maira on the left side of the same road.

147. Kuch-kandare (Kana-Ghwarband), Shangla-par

Stein 1930.

Kuch-kandare is situated above Bar-Kana. It was found by Stein as having remains of Gandhara type masonry and a lot of potsherds (ibid.: 74).

148. Chat (Kana-Ghwarband), Shangla-par

Stein 1930.

Kana valley is being faced by another valley, which separates 'Ghōr and Chakēsar'. The top of this valley bears Upal village. In its S the ruins of 'Kapur-kandare' (Kafir-kandare) were shown to Stein. He, thus, 'left the stony ravine . . . and guided by Mahmud, an intelligent Gujar potter, climbed up the steep spur of Chāt' (ibid.).

Chāt lies just opposite in the S of Upal. There were few Gujar houses and terraced fields. In its southern direction, remains of ancient fort were also documented. Pottery, like the Buddhist sites of Swat, was reported from here. A 'bronze bracelet' having two heads of snake was found at this place as well (ibid.: 74-75).

149. Pir-sar (Kana-Ghwarband), Shangla-par

Stein 1930: figs. 46-49, 52-54, 56-59.

Pir-sar is situated in the E and SE of Una-sar which has numerous ruins of historical importance. It lies in the eastern portion, just above the Indus river, of the present-day Shangla-par district, PK. Stein identifies Pir-sar with Aornos of the classical writers (Stein 1929; 1930: 75-94), a hypothesis which is rejected by many scholars in favour of Mount Ilam (see Tucci 1977; Eggermont 1984; Olivieri 1996).

150. Serai, Chakesar

Stein 1930.

Chakesar makes one of the important centres of Swat and Shangla. Due to its central position, where routes from Kana, Ghwarband, Buner and the Indus valley converge, it might have a greater number of antiquities. Terraced fields of the olden days were found here scattered here and there by Stein. Similarly, ruins from Serai, Chakesar, were reported to Stein as recently being quarried for new buildings (Stein 1930: 95).

151. Kotkai (Gokand), Buner

Stein 1930.

Kotkai lies on the left side of the road from Kalel-kandao to Gokand and in the N of the latter. There is a separate small mound over which settlement ruins were noted by Stein. In its SE structures, similar to that of Kotah, Swat, were also found (ibid.: 95-96).

This researcher visited the locality and found separate ruined structures all around.

152. Dumchaka (Gokand), Buner

Stein 1930.

Dumchaka (correctly Dunkacha) is situated next to Kotkai in the N of Gokand and on the left side of the road from Kalel-kandao. Ruins like that of Kotkai were also found here (ibid.: 96). The present researcher also visited the place and found little structures scattered all along the locality.

153. Kandao-gai (Gokand), Buner

Stein 1930.

There is a little ridge by the name of Kandao-gai in Gokand, situated on the right side of the road from Kalel-kandao. Ruins similar to those of Kotkai were noted here (ibid.).

This researcher gave a visit to the area and found the site as resembling a stupa mound. It is much injured; however, it still presents a view of having something very important from the archaeological point of view. On the eastern side of the mound

was found the now deserted small check post. The mountain in the E of Kandao-gai is called Karkan-delai.

154. Buth-china (Top-dara, Gokand), Buner (Figure 64)

Stein 1930.

Before entering Top-dara village from the Bagra side, Stein mentions a rock carving, probably Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, depicted on a rock (ibid.).

The present researcher identified the location of this rock carving. But the relief itself was destroyed long before when the road, about 20-30 years ago, was being built from Kalel-kandao to Gokand. The site of this image is just on the left side of the road from Kalel-kandao and also on the left bank of the Gokand *khwar*. It is locally known as Buth-china as well as Buth-dand (personal communication with Manje and Olate).

155. Top-dara (Gokand), Buner

Stein 1930: fig. 55; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

In the S of Bagra, Gokand, on the left side of the road from Kalel, a side valley called Top-dara makes an important Buddhist site. Here Stein saw the remains of a large and some small stupas (Figure 65) in addition to a spring. Ruined walls, probably, of a hall or vihara were also found. This stupa appears as very similar to that of the Shnai-sha stupa of Saidu valley, Swat (Stein 1930: 96-97).

The present researcher visited this archaeological site and confirmed from the local people that the proper site of this Buddhist complex is called Dara-china. It is a narrow valley surrounded by mountains; Pitao on the E, Baila on the E, Babu on S,

SE and SW and China-soray on S and SW[87]. The W side is open to the Top-dara village. If compared to other archaeological sites of Buner, Top-dara might be called as the better preserved one. This, however, does not mean that it is totally intact. Illegal digging has much disturbed the main stupa, the votive stupas and other structures[88].

156. Pir-dara (Gokand), Buner (Figure 66)

Stein 1930.

Pir-dara lies due opposite Top-dara on the right bank of the Gokand stream. Ruins of dwellings were reported to Stein which he could not visit due to the last hours of the day (ibid.: 97).

This researcher visited Pir-dara and saw that there were a series of terrace-like structures extending over all along the hillock locally known as Dherai. Unfortunately, due to the opposition by the owners the remains could not be surveyed in detail. However, some oral traditions and information were shared by the natives. It was reported that there is a spring in Pir-dara and its water is channelized to Dherai-khwa. There were also found nearby some huge pieces of stones believed by the locals as millstones. The stones were taken as an indication towards the presence of water-mill here and the water of the spring much enough to make the water-mill function. The spring was considered to have been closed by the Kafirs and signs of

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[87] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. (1996: 18) give different information about the surroundings of the site. 'To the south of this majestic stupa in a beautiful valley is China-Sar (peak of the spring), to the east is Lande Pitao, to the north-east is Jabagai, and to the north is Kinra Dara'.

[88] This researcher was also reported ruins of a site by the name of Kafaray in the Chagharzai area as having extensive ruins, ruined fort, etc. It was said as being in dilapidated condition now (personal communication with Saifur Rahman).

the activity were also found. Traces of ancient path were also reported by the people (personal communication with Akbar Khan).

157. Bingalai (Pacha, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1930; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Between Pacha-kalay and Kuz-Gokand, there is a ravine by the name of Bingalai. Stein (97) found here a ruined stupa. Others have also reported such remains from the area (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 35).

158. Ramanai (Pacha, Gadaizai), Buner

Stein 1930: figs. 60-61; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

Alak-sar, an extension from Ilam, has a spur towards Balo-Khan in the SE. Here were found ancient remains related to cultivation and dwellings (Stein 1926: 98-99). Scholars have recently surveyed this site and have reported a bulk of varied ancient remains, mostly stupas and monastic complexes (Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 48-50).

159. Bizo-sar (Ilam), Buner

Stein 1930; Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996.

To the W of Pacha-kalay there are many spurs and outliers of Mount Ilam. These places have some important villages, which may also prove useful from archaeological point of view. One such locality is situated next to Jobra, called Bizo-sar. Stein reported ruins from this place. In its vicinity other ruins of dwellings were also found (Stein 1926: 99).

160. Gumbat (Ilam), Buner

Stein 1930.

There is a mound named by Stein as Gumbat nearby Bizo-sar. It was found as having ruins of structures and superstructures, which, according to Stein, were probably used for defense purposes. Terraced fields were also seen scattered here. The site shows a continuous occupation (ibid.: 99-100).

161. Ilam-sar, Swat-Buner

Stein 1898; 1921/1980; 1930: figs. 64-66.

Mount Ilam is sacred for Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims alike. Foucher identifies it with the Hi-lo of XuánZàng, which Stein confirms. It has important ancient remains. Ilam-sar makes the most important summit of the area, which is associated with some pious traditions. It has interesting topographic features such as Ram-takht and Amara-kunda/Amara-kanda, the latter being famous for having three pools in succession making an object of Hindu worship during the annual congregations at Ilam (Stein 1898: 21-22; 1921/1980: 16; 1930: 99-104).

Chart[89]

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
1	Waddell Caddy Foucher	1895 1896 1896	Swat (Shah-kot) (Palai, Morah?)	Loriyan-tangai	sacred area (hereafter sa)	Caddy 1896 Foucher 1899, 1901 Konow 1929	1894-95/1
2	Waddell	1895	Swat (Bajawro, Talash)	Kafir-kot A	ruins inscription (hereafter	-	1894-95/1bis

[89] Senior colleague and Co-supervisor of this researcher, Luca M. Olivieri, has extended help in individuating and preparing this chart.

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
					inscr.)		
3	Waddell Caddy	1895 1896	Adinzai	Uchh (Wuch)	sa	Caddy 1896	1894-95/2
4	Waddell Caddy Deane	1895 1896 1895	Swat (Adinzai)	Amora (Ramora)	rock carving (hereafter rc) inscr.	Caddy 1896 Stein 1898b	1894-95/3
5	Deane Stein	1894-5 1926	Swat (Kalam)	Tirat	sa rc ruins	Deane 1896 Stein 1930	___
6	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Chamla)	Mahaban	sa inscr. ruins	Deane 1896 Stein 1898a Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	
7	Deane Waddell	1894-5 1895	Malakand (Dargai)	Kaldarga Kaldarra	sculpture inscr.	Buhler 1896 Stein 1898b	___
8	Deane	1894-5	Mardan	Chanai (Surkhawai) and Narinji valley	sa	Deane 1896	__
9	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir (Adinzai)	Suma 1	sa	Deane 1896	1894-5/15
10	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir (Adinzai)	Suma 2	ruins	Deane 1896	1894-5/16
11	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir (Adinzai)	Badshah Dheri	fort	Deane 1896	1894-5/17
12	Deane Stein	1894-5 1906	Lower Dir (Adinzai)	Gudia-khwar	sa lake	Deane 1896 Stein 1921	___
13	Cunningham Deane	- 1894-5	Lower Dir (Timargara)	Sado	ruins 1 inscr.	Cunningham 1875 Deane 1896	____
14	Deane	1894-5	Swat (Aushiri)	Saidgai	lake	Deane 1896	____
15	Deane	1894-5	Upper Dir (Patrak)	Barikot	ruins sa	Deane 1896	__
16	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir Jandul (Maidan-bandai)	Tarawar-Badin	1 inscr.	Deane 1896	1894-5/6
17	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir (Samar-bagh)	Kanbat	ruins 1 inscr.	Deane 1896	1894-5/8
18	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir Jandul (Maidan-bandai)	Sapri Kalan-Badin	1 inscr. (Persian)	Deane 1896	___
19	Deane Stein	1894-5 1898	Buner (Ilam)	Bichunai	4 inscrs.	Stein 1898a	1894-5/9
20	Deane Stein	1894-5 1898	Buner (Ilam)	Ilam-o-Mianz (Miangam)	2 inscrs.	Stein 1898a Stein 1898b	1894-5/10
21	Deane	1894-5	Swat (Ugad)	Khazana-gat (Shakhorai)	1 inscr. rc sa	Deane 1896 Bühler 1896-97 Filigenzi in press	027
22	Deane	1896	Swat (Ugad)	Ubo-gat	2 inscrs.	Deane 1896	030

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
	Stein	1926		(Shakhorai)	rc	Bühler 1896-97 Lüders 1901 Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	
23	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir (Adinzai)	Shan-ni-lo-shi (Gumbatuna?)	fort Hindu temple ruins	Deane 1896 Abdur Rahman 1979	1894-5/118
24	Deane	1894-5	Swat (Babuzai)	Odigram (Udegram)	inscr. fort ruins	Deane 1896 Stein 1898b Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	035
25	Deane Stein	1894-5 1926	Swat (Barikot)	Shankardar	sa	Deane 1896 Stein 1930	__
26	Deane	1894-5	Swat (Manyar)	Hathidarra	Hindu temple	Deane 1896 Filigenzi in press	038
27	Deane	1894-5	Swat (Shankardar, Ghaligai)	Velanai	ruins sa	Deane 1896 Stein 1930	1894-5/19
28	Deane	1894-5	Swat (Kabal)	Hazara	sa	Deane 1896	1894-5/20
29	Deane Stein	1894-5 1906	Lower Dir (Talash)	Gumbat	Hindu temple	Deane 1896 Stein 1921/1980 Rahman 1979 Meister 2010	1894-5/21
30	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir (Talash)	Binshi	ruins inscr.	Deane 1896	__
31	Deane	1894-5	Lower Dir (Talash)	Nawagai	ruins	Deane 1896	__
32	Deane Stein	1896 1926	Swat (Thana)	Kafir-kot B	sa rc	Deane 1896 Stein 1930 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	350, 396
33	Deane Caddy	1894-5 1896	Swat (Palai)	Shahkot (S)	ruins road sa	Deane 1896 Caddy 1896	393
34	Deane Caddy	1894-5 1896 1932	Swat (Palai)	Shahkot (N)	sa ruins well	Deane 1896 Caddy 1896 Foucher 1899, 1901 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	1894-5/22
35	Deane Stein	1894-5 1904	Buner (Mahaban)	Banj	ruins sa inscr.	Deane 1896 Stein 1905	___
36	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Panjtar, Totalai)	Asgram	ruins 2 inscrs.	Deane 1896 Stein 1898b	___

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
37	Deane	1894-5 ff.	Swat (Palai)	Morah	rc	Deane 1896	1895/24
38	Fox-Strangways	-	Malakand	Malakand pass	inscr.	Rapson 1898	___
39	Deane	1894-5 ff.	Buner (Daggar)	Elai	inscr.	Stein 1898a & b	1895/25
40	Deane	1894-5	Buner	Malandari valley	1 inscr.	Stein 1898b	
41	Deane	1894-5	Buner	Padshah	1 inscr.	Stein 1898b	
42	Deane	1894-5 ff.	Buner (Ilam)	Tangi (Miagam)	1 inscr.	Stein 1898b	1895/27
43	Deane	1894-5 ff.	Puran	Chargam	3 inscrs.	Stein 1898b	1895/28
44	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Nawagai, Chamla)	Shera	inscr.	Stein 1898b	
45	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Boka)	Palosdarra	4 inscrs.	Stein 1898b	
46	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Boka)	Suludheri	inscr.	Stein 1898b	
47	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Totalai)	Khudu Khel	inscr.	Stein 1898b & 1899	
48	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Amazai, Chamla)	Sarpatti (Sar-patai)	inscr.	Stein 1898b	
49	Deane	1894-5 ff.	Buner (Nurzai, Gagra)	Zangi Khan Banda	4 inscrs.	Stein 1898a & b	1895/29
50	Deane	1894-5	Buner (Nurzai, Gagra)	Bughdarra (Bagh-dara?)	inscr.	Stein 1898a & b	
51	Deane	1894-5 ff.	Buner (Panjpao)	Khrappa (Krapa)	1 inscr.	Stein 1898b	1895/30
52	Deane	1894-5 ff.	Ghorband	Kanai (Kana)	1 inscr.	Stein 1898b	1895/31
53	Deane	1894-5	Buner	Boner	1 inscr.	Stein 1899b	
54	Deane	1894-5	Swat	Gogdarra	1 inscr.	Stein 1899b	
55	Deane	1894-5	Swat	Upper Swat	1 inscr.	Stein 1899b	
56	Deane	1894-5	Swat Kohistan (Gabrial/Gabral–Kandia)	Kahun	1 inscr.	Stein 1899b	
57	Caddy	1896	Swat (Cherat)	Jabar Tangai	sa	Caddy 1896	1896/32
58	Caddy	1896	Swat (Cherat)	Inzare	sa	Caddy 1896	1896/33
59	Caddy Foucher	1896 1896	Swat (Cherat)	Cherat	Sa tower	Caddy 1896 Foucher 1899, 1901	1896/34
60	Caddy Foucher	1896 1896	Swat	Chakdara	iconic temple	Caddy 1896 Foucher 1899, 1901	1896/35
61	Caddy Foucher	1896 1896	Lower Dir (Chakdara, Barangola)	Badwan-Lulian (Damkot Mane-tangai)	sa	Caddy 1896 Foucher 1899, 1901 Filigenzi in press	041, 042
62	Caddy Foucher	1896 1896	Swat (Totakan, Bat-khela)	Bagh-a-radj (Baghrajai)	sa	Caddy 1896 Foucher 1899, 1901	1896/36
63	Caddy Foucher	1896 1896	Swat (Thana)	Gunyar	sa	Caddy 1898 Foucher 1901	1896/37
64	Caddy	1896	Swat	Jamal-bandah	sa	Caddy 1898	1896/38

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
	Foucher	1896	(Cherat)	(Jalal-banda)		Foucher 1901	
65	Caddy	1896	Swat (Cherat)	Tor-kamar	sa	Caddy 1896 Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1896/39
66	Caddy	1896	Swat (Cherat)	Tangai-Chini	sa	Caddy 1896	1896/40
67	Caddy Foucher	1896 1896	Lower Dir (Chakdara)	Chatpat Tangai (Chakpat)	sa	Caddy 1896 Foucher 1901 Dani 1968-69	1896/41
68	Foucher Stein	1896 1926	Swat (Thana)	Top Darra (Top-dara)	sa	Foucher 1901 Stein 1930	1896/43
69	Stein	1898	Buner	Tange pass	fort	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	1898/45
70	Stein	1898	Buner (Kingargalai)	Nawedand pass	tower houses ruins	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/46
71	Stein	1898	Buner (Kingargalai)	Manora	tower houses	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/48
72	Stein	1898	Buner	Kingargalai–Tangai pass	tower houses sa pit wells	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/47
73	Stein	1898	Buner	Nanser	ruins	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/49
74	Stein	1898	Buner	Bazdarra	ruins sa	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	___
75	Stein	1898	Buner (Juvur)	Kingargalai-Pirsai rivers junction	ruins	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	___
76	Stein	1898	Buner (Charrai, Juvur)	Laka-tiga	cup-marks	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	__
77	Stein	1898	Buner (Juvur)	Tangai	rc ruins road	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Filigenzi in press	043
78	Stein	1898	Buner	Bhai	rc sa	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Filigenzi in press Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	044
79	Stein	1898	Buner (Juvur)	Nil Derai (Neel Dherai)	ruins	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/50

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
80	Stein	1898	Buner (Juvur)	Ghund	ruins	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	1898/52
81	Stein	1898	Buner (Girarai)	Bakhta	ruins	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	1898/53
82	Stein	1898	Buner (Girarai)	Ali Khan Kote	ruins	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	1898/54
83	Stein	1898	Buner	Tursak (Tor-warsak)	ruins inscr.	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	__
84	Stein	1898	Buner	Girarai	sa	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/55
85	Stein	1898	Buner (Tursak)	Jaffar hill	fort	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	___
86	Stein	1898	Buner (Tursak)	Gumbatai (Gumbat Colony)	sa	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/56
87	Stein	1898	Buner	Karapa road	road	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	1898/57
88	Stein	1898	Buner	Sunigram? (Bahai)	sa	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/58
89	Stein	1898	Buner (Barandu)	Panjkotai	ruins sa	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	___
90	Stein	1898	Buner (Barandu)	Takhtaband (Manrai Gumbat)	sa	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1898/59
91	Stein	1898	Buner (Karapa)	Surkhau Kandar	sa inscr.	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899]	___
92	Stein	1898	Buner (Karapa)	Mullaisaf	inscr.	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	___
93	Stein	1898	Buner (Chamla)	Sura/Surah	sa 1 inscr.	Stein 1898a [repr. 1899] Stein 1898b	___
94	Stein	1906	Lower Dir (Adinzai)	Sarē-māṇai	ruins	Stein 1921	___
95	Stein	1906	Lower Dir (Adinzai)	Jalal Baba Bukhari Ziarat	ruins	Stein 1921	___
96	Stein	1926	Swat (Thana)	Khazana	sa	Stein 1930	__
97	Stein	1926	Swat (Thana)	Giroban (Nal)	sa	Stein 1930 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	432, 433

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
98	Stein	1926	Swat (Jalala, Thana)	Ghwaghawar	tower houses	Stein 1930	1926/60
99	Stein	1926	Swat (Kotah)	Skha-china & Randukai (Hisar)	ruins tower houses	Stein 1930	__
100	Stein Barger/Wright	1926 1938	Swat (Barikot)	Gumbatuna	Sa	Stein 1930 Barger & Wright 1941 Tucci 1958 Ashraf Khan 1993, 1996	1926/61
101	Stein Barger/Wright	1926 1938	Swat (Barikot)	Bīr-koṭ-ghuṇḍai	fort tower houses	Stein 1930 Barger & Wright 1941 Olivier 2003 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	001c–d
102	Stein	1926	Swat (Karakar, Barikot)	Gumbatuna 2	pit well	Stein 1930 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	327
103	Stein	1926	Swat (Kandak)	Gulingaso-dherai (Gumbatuna 1)	Sa rc	Stein 1930 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	__
104	Stein Barger/Wright	1926 1938	Swat (Balo-kalay, Kandak)	Gumbat	Sa	Stein 1930 Barger & Wright 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	139
105	Stein Barger/Wright	1926 1938	Swat (Kandak)	Kanjar-kote (Kanjar Kote)	Sa	Stein 1930 Barger & Wright 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	116
106	Stein	1926	Swat (Karakar)	Natmira (Naitmara)	ruins sa	Stein 1930	
107	Stein	1926	Swat (Najigram)	Najigram	Sa	Stein 1930 Barger & Right 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	203
108	Stein Barger/Wright	1926 1938	Swat (Karakar)	Nawagai	Sa	Stein 1930 Barger & Wright 1941 Qamar 2004 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	385
109	Stein Barger/Wright	1926 1938	Swat (Karakar)	Kotanai (Natmera) (Naitmara 1)	Sa	Stein 1930 Tucci 1958 Olivieri,	303, 322, 327

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
						Vidale et al. 2006	
110	Stein Barger/Wright	1926 1938	Swat (Najigram)	Tokar-dara (Tokargumbat)	Sa	Stein 1930 Barger & Wright 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	201, 301
111	Stein Tucci	1926 1956	Swat (Najigram)	Jrandu-gumbat (Jrando-dag) (Masum Shahid)	sa	Stein 1930 Tucci 1958 Olivieri & Vidale 2006	___
112	Stein	1926	Swat (Karakar)	Amluk-dara	Sa	Stein 1930 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006	314
113	Stein	1926	Swat (Tindo-dag)	Hindughar	Rc	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	037
114	Stein	1926	Swat (Gogdara)	Hassan-kote (Asaan-kote)	Sa	Stein 1930 Tucci 1958	1926/63
115	Stein	1926	Swat	Udegram-dherai	ruins	Stein 1930	__
116	Stein	1926	Swat (Mingora)	Shah Hussain-patai	Sa	Stein 1930	1926/65
117	Stein	1926	Swat (Mingora)	Rangmala (Ramgala-gumbat)	Sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	005
118	Stein	1926	Swat (Jambil)	Butkara	Sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	013
119	Stein	1926	Swat (Jambil)	Kanchai-kanda	Sa	Stein 1930	1926/66
120	Stein	1926	Swat (Saidu)	Shinasi-gumbat (Shnaisha)	Sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	024
121	Stein	1926	Swat (Saidu)	Kukrai and Spālbāndai (Sapal-bandai)	Rc	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	025
122	Stein	1926	Swat (Saidu)	Miana (Marghuzar)	Sa	Stein 1930	501
123	Stein	1926	Swat (Saidu)	Baringan (Guligram)	Sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	018
124	Stein	1926	Swat (Jambil)	Shararai (Arabkhan-china)	sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	014
125	Stein	1926	Swat (Loebanr, Jambil)	Jurjurai	-	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	015, 016
126	Stein	1926	Swat (Jambil)	Panr	sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	006
127	Stein	1926	Swat Manglawar	Sangotaparkha	ruins tower house	Stein 1930	___
128	Stein	1926	Swat (Manglawar, Landai)	Rasho-dherai	Sa rc	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	027

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
129	Stein	1926	Swat (Landai)	Maizere (Maizaro-dherai)	Sa	Stein 1930	1926/67
130	Stein	1926	Swat (Ugad)	Shakhorai (Jahanabad)	Rc	Stein 1930	___
131	Stein	1926	Swat (Ugad)	Nangrial (Kala/Qala)	ruins rc	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	031
132	Stein	1926	Swat (Landai)	Banjot	Sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	029
133	Stein Barger/Wright	1926	Swat (Charbagh)	Jampure-dherai (Jampur Dherai) (Jampora)	Sa	Stein 1930 Barger & Wright 1941 Filigenzi in press	1926/69
134	Stein	1926	Swat (Charbagh)	Zundwala	Rc	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	033
135	Stein	1926	Swat (Charbagh))	Mingvalthan (Mangalthan)	ruins	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press	1926/70
136	Stein	1926	Swat (Dakorak, Charbagh)	Ali Beg-dherai	ruins	Stein 1930	___
137	Stein	1926	Swat (Gulibagh-Nawekile, Charbagh)	Masuman-dherai	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/71
138	Stein	1926	Swat (Matta)	Sambat-Baidara	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/72
139	Stein	1926	Swat (Janu, Khwaza-khela)	Madar Khan-sarai	pottery fragment	Stein 1930	___
140	Stein	1926	Swat (Baidara, Matta)	Surai-tangai	Fort	Stein 1930 Tucci 1958	1926/73
141	Stein	1926	Swat (Lalku, Matta)	Ragast–&–Kargha-dherai	Ruins Sa	Stein 1930	1926/74
142	Stein	1926	Swat (Fateh-pur)	Chikrai (Jare)	Rc	Stein 1930 Tucci 1958	034
143	Stein	1926	Swat (Khwaza-khela)	Kakhi-dherai	Ruins	1930	__
144	Stein	1926	Swat (Khwaza-khela)	Bala-dherai	Ruins	1930	__
145	Stein	1926	Swat (Khwaza-khela)	Chinkolai	image	1930	__
146	Stein	1926	Swat (Khwaza-khela)	Babu	Ruins	1930	__
147	Stein	1926	Ghorband/Kana	Kuch-kandare (Kuch-kanderai)	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/78
148	Stein	1926	Ghorband/Kana	Chat	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/80
149	Stein	1926	Ghorband/Kana	Pir-sar (Pir-Sar)	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/81
150	Stein	1926	Puran (Chakesar)	Serai	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/82
151	Stein	1926	Buner	Kotkai	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/83

No	Name	Year	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references	AMSV
			(Gokand)				
152	Stein	1926	Buner (Gokand)	Dumchaka	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/84
153	Stein	1926	Buner (Gokand)	Kandao-gai	Ruins	Stein 1930	
154	Stein	1926	Buner (Top-dara, Gokand)	Buth-china (Buth-dand)	rc	Stein 1930	___
155	Stein	1926	Buner (Gokand)	Top-dara	Rc sa	Stein 1930 Filigenzi in press Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	047
156	Stein	1926	Buner (Gokand)	Pir-dara	Ruins	1930	__
157	Stein	1926	Buner (Kuz-Gokand)	Bingalai	Sa	Stein 1930 Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1926/64
158	Stein	1926	Buner (Pacha)	Ramanai	Sa	Stein 1930 Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	1926/77
159	Stein	1926	Buner (Ilam)	Bizo-sar	Ruins	Stein 1930 Saeed-ur-Rehman et al. 1996	__
160	Stein	1926	Buner (Ilam)	Gumbat	Sa	Stein 1930	1926/87
161	Stein	1926	Buner-Swat	Ilam-sar	Ruins	Stein 1930	1926/88

Chapter 5

The imperial conscientiousness
The management of Indian cultural heritage

Before the arrival of the British, the various cultural and religious communities of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent had their respective laws and codes of life. In the wake of the first colonization and its gradual expansion across the country, during the 18th and 19th centuries, these native systems encountered the British law. The British legal system either affected or replaced the indigenous laws of India (Ilbert 1896-97; Rattigan 1901). This chapter deals with the laws and regulations introduced by the British in India from time to time with respect to the cultural (implying endowments and charitable trusts of the native communities) as well as the archaeological heritage of the country. For discussion on this subject, it is divided into following three sections:

1. The first part makes a review of these regulations and acts

2. The second part makes a critical analysis of these developments and

3. The last section relates, based on available material, the issue of their extension and application to the locale of this research project.

The evolution of legislative framework

The legal framework in relation to the cultural heritage of India evolved from simple considerations for endowments by the turn of the 19th century to the complex and comprehensive act of 1904 and the subsequent series of amendments. Fundamental changes in the policy of the British Government vis-à-vis the antiquities of the country resulted in either the promulgation and annulment of or the amendments to

the laws about the cultural heritage of India. They – ranging from Regulation XIX (1810, Bengal Code) to Regulation VII (1817, Madras Code), Regulation XI (1832), Act no. XII (1838), the Religious Endowments Act (1863), the Indian Treasure Trove Act (1878), Resolution (8 June 1882), Resolution (8 November 1888) and the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904) – have been summarized in the following pages.

Regulation XIX, 1810, Bengal Code

This regulation is to be termed as the first enactment addressing the issue of the management of endowments and public works. It also aimed at dealing with the matters in connection to escheats. This dispensation was given in the hands of the Board of Revenue (hereafter BoR), which also employed local agents. It was all about the superintendence and maintenance of public buildings and escheats, management of the edifices which were in precarious condition and proper appropriation of endowments (Wigley 1913: 117-121).

This Regulation did not extend to the areas of the present-day Pakistan as these had not yet come under British occupation.

Regulation VII, 1817, Madras Code

Regulation VII, 1817, of the Madras Code was framed upon the Regulation XIX, 1810, of the Bengal Code (see Williams 1870: 61−64). It intended to deal with the endowments especially of Muslim and Hindu communities. The need for the enactment arose when the people in charge were found as involved in the misappropriation of endowments.

This Regulation gave all the endowments in respect of Hindu, Muslim and other communities in charge of the BoR. The BoR was required to make appropriate use of

endowments as enjoined by the Government or the grantor. With the permission of the Government, the BoR also had the responsibility to make arrangement for the repair of buildings keeping in view their benefit to the community. The irreparable buildings and those which, even after repair, would be of no use were to be got rid of, as suggested by the BoR, either by selling or as decided otherwise by the Governor in Council. The BoR was also required to keep the eye open so that the private use or misappropriation of endowments may not go unnoticed. The act also gave the responsibility of escheats to the BoR which was required to make suggestions to the Government about such a property. It might be publicly auctioned or managed as decided by the Governor in Council.

The Regulation provided that for the assistance of the BoR local agents, subordinate to the former's authority, were to be appointed. The *Zillah* Collector should be one of the agents by virtue of his position. Furthermore, that if the Governor in Council considered necessary other public officer/s might be appointed in this respect. These agents had the responsibility to give reports about the endowments, buildings and escheats to the BoR. They were also required to provide information about the persons in charge of endowments and the related issues. These agents were under the obligation to keep the BoR informed about the vacancies as well as the claims to succession of person/s so that it had complete information in this regard. In cases where nomination to the office of a trustee, manager or superintendent was to be made by the Government the local agents were to propose a person who fulfilled the requisite qualification. The BoR should nominate such person/s or make such provisions as were seemed sound with respect to endowments. If a person felt aggrieved due to certain developments s/he was given the right to sue any party, department or individual. The Regulation dealt with the proper management of the

endowments. If any person in charge of endowment was found guilty of misconduct, s/he would be punished according to the relevant legislative laws.

This Regulation, like the previous one, also did not cover the areas now comprising Pakistan due to the fact of their being outside the limits of the then British empire.

Regulation XI, 1832

It was in 1832 that Regulation XI, based on Regulation V, 1817, of the Bengal Code, was enacted (see Williams 1870: 92–94). It dealt with the hidden treasure trove and prescribed the rules for when such treasures were to discover. Its preamble states that the Hindu and Muslim laws differed with respect to the discovery of hidden treasure and that the new regulation provided a 'uniform principle' for the sake of convenience.

The Regulation provides that if a person found a hidden treasure, not exceeding one lac rupees of Madras, and notified it according to the prescribed procedure, it should become the property of the finder provided any owner did not come forth. The finder was required to inform the *Zillah* Judge or Assistant Judge of the jurisdiction of the find. He was further asked to deposit the treasure along with the contextual information. The law provides that having received the find and the inventory made, the *Zillah* or Assistant Judge should give a receipt to the finder. Then a notification was to be issued and published in the vernacular languages. It was to be pasted in the courts of the above mentioned Judges and in the cutcherry of the Collector. Through this the people would get informed and those who had claims were asked to come to attend the court and prove their right to the object. It is also provided by the Regulation that the claim on behalf of the Government, if there is any, was to be brought forth by the Collector of land revenue. A summary enquiry was to be made of

the right of the claimant which was given weight. The winner claimant would receive the treasure subject to the return of the expenses of the finder.

The Regulation further says that if no party came to put claim or if the claim did not seem sound enough, the treasure should be given back to the finder had he conformed to sections II and III of the Regulation. A treasure having the value of more than one lac rupees of Madras and which was not claimed by any person should be declared as belonging to the finder. However, the sum exceeding one lac should go to the Government.

If the finder failed to report the treasure according to the prescribed rules, s/he was to forfeit any right to it. In this way, s/he also lost any right to compensation or reward. If someone then put a claim to the find and was found as well grounded, s/he should receive it. In case no one came to claim the treasure, it was to be confiscated in favour of Government in accordance with an application by the Government lawyer who would be directed by the BoR to that effect. The decisions by the *Zillah* or Assistant Judge were open to challenge in provincial courts. The Resolution provides that the decision of two or more Judges of provincial courts should stand as final but subject to the exception if the court of Sudder Adawlut (Sadr Adalat) considered it right to entertain another such appeal.

On May 21, 1838, Act No. XII was passed which vested all the power in connection to the hidden treasure, till now belonging to *Zillah* and Assistant Judges as enunciated in Regulation XI (1832), in Principal Sudder Ameens (Sadr Amins) (Theobald 1868: 98).

These developments were also not applicable to that part of India which is presently Pakistan due to the fact mentioned in relation to the above Regulations.

The Religious Endowment Act, 1863

In 1863 the Religious Endowment Act (Act XX of 1863) was promulgated. The background to the enactment of this act was the opposition of the Christian missionaries to the Government interference in the religious affairs of India, the subsequent withdrawal on the part of the Government, the misappropriation of the endowments and the involvement of the courts in the matter. In the result, the Religious Endowment Act was passed (Frykenberg 2000). Through it the Government intended to rid itself of direct management of the endowments as such a role was vested in it by the Bengal Regulation XIX of 1810 and the Madras Regulation VII of 1817. The Government had long been considering severing its connection from the religious affairs. The idea was materialized through this act.

This enactment repealed some parts of the above-mentioned Bengal and Madras Regulations. It also provided provisions for the appointment of trustees, managers and superintendents for the endowments. The transfer of trusteeship, management and superintendence from the BoR and local agents to independent trustees, managers and superintendents was also to be effected save the previous expenses were disbursed from the endowments. It further says that had there occurred a vacancy in the office of a trustee, manager or superintendent, any interested person had the legal right to seek his appointment to it through the Civil Court. If the Court appointed a person to the vacancy, s/he may remain in the office until someone else was declared as the lawful successor. The newly-appointed person had the same power as belonged to the office prior to the promulgation of this new regulation. The rights, powers, appointments

and removals of the managers, trustees and superintendents were the same as were before this Act. All such powers and rights were transferred to the autonomous managers, trustees and superintendents after passing this Act.

The Act also provided for the appointment of one or more than one committees, at division or district level, aiming at replacing the BoR and local agents and for exercising the relevant power. The number of members should be three or more in such a committee. The criteria for the person to be member of the committee were given as well. That such a person should belong to the respective religion of the establishment of which he was to become committee member. Again, that such an appointment should be according to the wishes of the people and an election for this purpose was to be held. A notification of the appointment should be published in the Official Gazette. The membership of a committee was for life provided the member was not removed by the Civil Court for 'misconduct or unfitness'. A procedure is prescribed as well for filling up a vacancy in a committee. It should be declared through a public notice within three months of its occurrence along with the day fixed for the election. It is provided that the interested people should elect a member. If the vacancy was not duly filled the Civil Court had the right to give its verdict in favour of someone or direct the other committee members to fill the slot. The dual responsibility of being, at the same time, member of a committee and trustee, manager or superintendent to a religious establishment was not permissible. It was enacted that having appointed the committee, the BoR and local agents should transfer all endowments and the associated powers to the newly appointed bodies. The trustees, superintendents and managers were required to keep the accounts of income and expenses of the religious establishments. The committees were also asked to check such accounts at least once a year and keep the records themselves too.

The Act provides that interested person/s was/were to sue in the Civil Court any trustee, manager, superintendent or member of a committee for any kind of misconduct. The Court may order the extraction of compensation from the offender. Such a trial might also cause his removal. The right of a person in regard to instituting a suit against any responsible person/s might also be other than the economic interest such as the 'right of attendance' and the 'habit of attending' the religious ceremonies and rituals and the 'benefit of any distribution of alms'. The Court, in which the suit was filed, might refer the case to one or more arbitrators for settlement. The Act also says that for instituting a suit a prior permission should be sought through a preliminary application. Had the Court reasons to believe that the suit was well-considering, the leave should be given for its filing up. If deemed as necessary by the Court, the accused might be asked to produce the accounts or part of them before it. The above-mentioned suits should not temper 'any proceeding in a criminal breach of trust' against a responsible person.

The Act enunciates that if there were endowments partly for religious and partly for secular concerns the BoR, previous to effect the transfer, should ascertain the respective shares. Then, the endowments specified for religious establishments were to be transferred to the newly instituted autonomous bodies while the shares for secular purpose to be retained by the BoR and the local agents.

'Except as provided in this act' the Government or any of its official could take part in the management of the religious endowments. It is also enacted that this Act should not prevent the Government from taking action in matters of preserving buildings of antiquarian, historical and architectural interest and value as well as for the convenience of the people.

Indian Treasure Trove Act, 1878

The Indian Treasure Trove Act (Act No. VI)[90] was passed in 1878. It intended to amend the treasure trove law. Thus, it was enacted and extended to 'the whole of British India'. It came 'into force at once'.

The Act interprets treasure, collector and the owner as a hidden or concealed material of any value in the soil, revenue or any other officer for this purpose and a person entitled to any land or thing respectively.

The finder of a treasure was required to immediately inform the Collector through a written notice giving information about the 'nature and amount', place of origin and date of discovery of the treasure, having the value of more than ten rupees. S/he was further asked either to deposit the treasure or guarantee that it would be presented whenever and wherever it was asked for. The Act provides that having received the requisite information, the Collector should issue a notification about the discovery of the treasure and other relevant information, aiming at bringing claimants. The claimants were required to appear before the Collector either personally or through an agent. Such an attendance must not be earlier than 4 or later than 6 months after the day of the notification. If the finder was other than the owner of the place of the treasure, s/he should especially be summoned for the purpose.

If a person, who should have certain right to the treasure, did not conform to the demand of section 5, apprising the Collector of the discovery, of this Act s/he should loss all his due right. The Collector should make it known in the notification that who did find the treasure, where and under what circumstances and, if possible, the person

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[90] This Act is still valid in Pakistan (see Mughal 1995).

under whom and the circumstances under which it was hidden. If a person claimed that the treasure was made by him as concealed 'within one hundred years before the date of the finding', s/he should be given time, if the Collector had good reasons, to sue the case in the Civil Court for proving his right.

If the Collector, after an investigation, held the view that the treasure was not hidden or, in case, no suit was brought as prescribed or otherwise the plaintiff's claim was dismissed, the find was to become as ownerless. In such a case, any aggrieved party should have the right to appeal to the Chief Controlling Revenue-authority within 2 months. The decision of this office should stand as final.

Having been declared as ownerless, the treasure might either be handed over to the finder or divided between the finder and the owner of the place. It is further explained that when no claimant did come forth according to the prescribed procedure, the treasure was to be given back to the finder. If the right of the only one claimant, so far appeared, was not disputed by the finder, the Collector should divide the treasure between them in one of these two ways. Had both the parties not reached upon an understanding about the treasure, ¾ of it should go to the finder and the remaining part to the claimant. Had they entered into an agreement regarding its 'disposal', the Collector, as s/he deemed right, should either give the treasure or more than the established share to one party *in lieu* of money to the other; or the treasure is publicly auctioned and the money is divided between the parties subject to the expiry of the two months' time for appeal under section 9 of this Act. The two months might either lapse without an appeal or such an appeal was to be rejected by the Court. The Collector should either give the shares of the treasure or the money in their stead.

The Act provides that if there was a dispute about the treasure between two or more persons or between the only one claimant and the finder, the Collector should stop the proceeding till the dispute is settled by a Civil Court. Within one month of the order of such a stay, any claimant might bring his suit to the Civil Court and the remaining parties were to 'be made defendants' in the case.

Following the decision of the Court in favour of the plaintiff, the Collector was asked to divide the treasure between the plaintiff and the finder. If the plaintiff's claim was not ascertained, the finder was to receive the treasure.

It is enacted that if the Collector thought it necessary to obtain the treasure or parts of it on behalf of the Government, s/he should announce it in written shape. The persons who were entitled to the find were to be given money of equal market-value while adding to it 1/5 more of its value. In this way, the treasure or its parts would become Government property. It is provided that such an act or decision carried out in 'good faith' shall neither be challenged 'by any Civil Court' nor suit should be instituted against the Collector.

The Collector investigating such cases should exercise all the powers of the Civil Courts, as enunciated by the Code of Civil Procedure. It is further stated that the rules made by Local/Provincial governments from time to time should be published in Local/Official Gazettes to become laws.

The Act also prescribes penalties for the offenders. It is enacted that if a finder failed to conform to the rules, as enunciated in the Act, about the discovery of the treasure or was found as tempering with its nature, s/he should forfeit all his rights and the treasure should go to Her Majesty. On conviction, s/he should either be imprisoned

upto one year or be fined or be subjected to both kinds of punishments. Similarly, if the owner of the place of the treasure was found accomplice in the offense, s/he should also loss all his rights to Her Majesty. S/he should also be subjected either to imprisonment up to one year, or fine or both.

Resolution of 8th June, 1882

This resolution called for removing and preserving archaeological objects to/in either local or national museums by the Local Governments and Administrations in consultation with the concerned trustees. It also discussed the acquisition of finds of archaeological, historical and artistic value and the issue of legislation was also pondered upon (appendix II to Cir. No. 21/4.2 Arch.).

Resolution of 8th November 1888

This resolution addressed some of the issues in the disposal of archaeological articles (Resolution, Cir. No. 21/4.2 Arch.). It explained and enlarged the word 'treasure' in the Indian Treasure Trove Act, 1878, 'for the express purpose of covering sculptures and similar antiquities, as well as coins'. It also dealt the issue of acquiring antiquities by explaining sections 4 and 16 of the Treasure Trove Act. A handsome price and compensation for the owners and finders of the antiquities was also stressed upon in the Resolution. Those objects which were not covered by the definition of 'treasure' were advised to be left on the owner's wish if he wanted 'to surrender the object to Government at a reasonable price'. The instructions of both the Resolutions, with the necessary modifications, were to be applied 'to the objects of Archæological interest claimed and purchased under the Treasure Trove Act'. The Local Governments and Administrations were also left at liberty to deal the issue in question as was seemed prudent. However, any developments caused in accordance with this Resolution were

to be published in the 'Annual Report of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, as the Department which in most provinces is connected with the administration of Museums'.

The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904

The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, which was passed in 1904, may be considered as the most comprehensive of all the enactments made so far in relation to Indian antiquities. It was divided into five categories, namely (1) Ancient monuments (2) Traffic in antiquities (3) Protection of sculptures, carvings, images, base-reliefs, inscriptions or like objects (4) excavations and (5) General.

The Act defines 'ancient monuments' as structures, mounds, inscriptions and rock-carving sites, 'antiquities' as any portable objects of the olden days, 'commissioner' as any officer appointed for duties in relation to archaeological heritage, 'maintain and maintenance' as the proper care in terms of protection of and access to the sites, 'land' as any tax-free or tax-paying estate and 'owner' as any person/s, manager/s and trustee/s or their successors responsible for the protection and management of the sites having legal power and authority.

This Act provides for declaring any monument of archaeological value as protected in the local official Gazette. This notification was required to be exhibited at right places giving, purposefully, one month time for filing objections against the decision. After the lapse of this period, the Local Government should consider the case and either turn down or validate the decision. In case of validation, the monument was to become as an 'ancient monument' under the definition of this Act.

The Act also provides for the acquisition of rights and guardianship as well as gift and bequest of a monument by the Collector with the permission of the Local Government. The Commissioner may also, with the permission of the Local Government, act as the guardian of a monument when an offer, in written shape, was made by the owner of a protected monument. But such an understanding should not imply that the owner was relieved of the interest in the monument, rather, it means that the maintenance and protection was shared by both. Commissioner was to become in-charge of any ownerless protected monument.

In order to get the ancient monuments preserved, the Collector, with the advance permission of the Local Government, might propose an agreement to the owner to be effected with the Secretary of State for India in Council. The Act provides for the matters which should be included in the agreement or which were seemed as worthwhile in this respect. They ranged from maintenance to custody, protection from any kind of threats of extinction or injury, arrangement of access, right of purchase of the Government, Government's proprietary or like rights acquired through expenses of preservation, dispute settlement in relation to the terms of the agreement and matters of preservation. These terms were subject to change from time to time in consultation with the Local Government and the owner. The agreement may be withdrawn either by the Collector with the consent of the Local Government or by the owner but with a prior notice of six months' time. The agreement was equally applicable to those who claimed ownership of such a monument about which there already existed an agreement. With the termination of the agreement, the Government's rights, acquired through the costs of preservation or protection, did not cease to exist.

If an owner suffered from disability or was in his infancy another 'legally competent' person was to act on his behalf and use the power given by section 5 of this Act. In case of village-property, the village chief or officer was to get involved in matters of preservation. When a protected monument or part of it was used for religious purpose, a person not belonging to this religion should not have the right to make agreement about the monument.

If an owner or occupier did not conform to the terms of agreement and was found as causing any kind of damage to the monument was to be stopped from such a malevolent act. In case the owner or any other person, responsible for preservation and maintenance of a monument in accordance with the agreement of section 5 of this Act, did not fulfills her/his duty, s/he had to bear the expenses of the work carried out to that effect by another person authorized by the Collector. A person who felt as aggrieved due to such a decision had the right of appeal to the Commissioner who might or might not change or modify the decision and this decision should stand as final.

When an estate or tenure or portion thereof was purchased by another person and when such a land had a monument about which there was an agreement, the purchaser was bound to abide by the terms of the agreement within the purview of either section 4 or 5 of this Act. If the owner or any other person in possession of the land did not make an agreement and in case there was also an endowment for the monument, the Collector might sue the person in the court of the District Judge or make advocacy for the use of endowment or part of it provided the likely expenditure is within 1000 rupees. The District Judge, therefore, might order for the investigation of the matter and give verdict to that effect. If it was feared that a certain monument was threatened

by malpractices, the Local Government might arrange for its compulsory purchase under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, except when the monument or part of it was used for religious purposes or it was related to an agreement under section 5.

Those monuments which were within the purview of the Commissioner's guardianship under section 4 or were the responsibility of the Local Government under section 10 might be maintained by providing access to them for the purpose of proper management. The donations given for the maintenance and protection of the monuments might be utilized only for this particular purpose. The Act says that the sacred places should not be misused or desecrated especially those purchased or received as gift or bequest or taken into the guardianship of a Commissioner under section 4. No undesired entry into them should be allowed. Such steps as deemed necessary should be taken for the purpose. It is also enacted that the Commissioner might relinquish all the rights in ancient monuments but not without the permission of the Local Government.

The subject people should be provided access to the protected monuments and any violation in this might be liable to a fine of up to 20 rupees. Any person, no matter s/he might be the owner of the monument or someone else, who caused any kind of damage to a protected monument might be subjected to the punishment of either up to 500 rupees fine or 3 months imprisonment or both.

The Act also provides for controlling traffic in antiquities into or out of India and the neighbouring country. It is stated that when it came to be known that certain objects were under threat, a notification in this respect was to be issued which 'prohibit or restrict' such a traffic either through land or sea. The persons involved in such an activity should be punished with a fine up to 500 rupees and the objects of the illegal

traffic were to be confiscated. An officer of Customs or Police of the rank of not below Sub-Inspector was to be appointed by the Local Government for surveillance in this connection. Any person had the right to file his complaint against an excess or misuse of power by the officer. The Local Government is required to probe into the issue and, if necessary, make compensations to the aggrieved person.

The Act also dealt the issue of the protection of the *in situ* antiquities. Any portable *in situ* sculpture, carving, image, relief, inscription or similar objects should not be removed from the place where they were lying save with the prior permission of the Collector. A notification making such a restriction might be issued by the Local Government. In case a person wanted to remove an object, s/he was required to submit his application giving details and sound reason for the removal. If the Collector declined the permission, the applicant had the right to make an appeal to the Commissioner. The decision of the Commissioner should stand as final. If a person violated the notification restricting the removal of an antiquity, s/he should be levied upon a fine extendable to 500 rupees. The Act provides for an appeal by the owner about such a notification. If s/he made it to the satisfaction of the Local Government that the decision had caused her/him a loss, the Government might act as either exempting the property, purchasing the property at its market-value or compensating the owner if the property was not movable.

It is enacted that if any object, as mentioned in section 18 (1), was under threat of extinction or other malpractices the Local Government might effect its compulsory purchase while giving notice to the owner through the office of the Collector. From this rule, however, was exempted anything used for religious purpose or was kept as heirloom.

The Act also provides that the Local Government for the purpose of protection or preservation of an ancient site might issue notification in the local official Gazette to this effect. The boundaries of the monument were to be specified and the authority for issuing the licenses and formulation of terms and condition was also prescribed for the purpose. It is stated that if a person who violated the rules of this section was to be punished with a fine up to the amount of 200 rupees. If an owner or occupier made the Local Government satisfied of the loss s/he received in the result of such a decision, s/he might be compensated.

When a property was purchased or compensation was made by the Government and if there was a dispute about the market-value of the property, it might be solved according to the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. In such an inquiry one assessor was to be nominated by the Collector and the other by the owner. In case the owner failed to make her/his nomination within the prescribed time, the Collector had the right to the nomination on his behalf.

The Act states that no third class Magistrate was empowered to try cases of 'offense against this Act'. The Governor General in Council or Local Government might make rules if needed for the 'purpose of this Act'. For the acts done in good spirit by a public servant, no suit against her/him for compensation or charges of crime be instituted.

Critical analysis of the legal developments

The analysis of the above-mentioned laws in relation to cultural and archaeological heritage requires to be done by putting them in the two perspectives of internalism and externalism. The internalist approach seeks the evolution of the concept of

archaeology and the related legislation from the simple considerations for the disposal of endowments and public buildings as well as the treasure trove laws to the fully mature idea of archaeology and its management. The externalist approach relates the development of the legal framework about archaeology to British imperialism. In other words, it seeks a causal relationship between the two developments. Resultantly, a clearer view of the policy behind this doing and, in turn, its outcome comes forth.

An internalist analysis of the archaeological heritage and the legal framework

The sense of archaeology, awareness about the management of archaeological heritage and the resultant legislation steadily developed over the 19th century. The progress in this regard had complementary dimensions in British India[91]. Three distinct categories, or to use the word 'paradigm' for the purpose of simplification, of legislation might be identified in this regard. They are as follows:

a. The management and care for the sacred and public places and then adoption the policy of dissociation viz. Regulation XIX, 1810, Bengal Code; Regulation VII, 1817, Madras Code and the Religious Endowments Act, 1863.

b. The disposal of hidden treasures, namely Regulation XI, 1832; Act No XII, 1838 and Indian Treasure Trove Act, 1878.

c. The preservation of archaeological/cultural heritage i.e. Resolution, 8th June, 1882; Resolution, 8th November, 1888 and the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904.

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[91] A. H. Dani (1983: 182) writes, 'A logical consequence of the discovery of these [ancient and medieval Indian] monuments was to take a step for their preservation.'

Regulation XIX (1810, Bengal Code) and Regulation VII (1817, Madras Code) of the first group, obviously, deal with the management of the living worship places, the related endowments and other public buildings. There seems nothing intrinsic to the concept of archaeology in them. Still one can see in sections iii and v of both the Regulations Government's pronounced power to intervention in case a public edifice or endowment was threatened by malpractices. However, S. Roy takes exception of the fact that notwithstanding the legal protection, British officials themselves at times would be involved in such sort of heinous activities. He especially mentions Lord Hastings and Lord Bentinck during whom periods some terrible crimes were committed (Roy 1953: 7).

Though, the Religious Endowment Act of 1863 put an end to Government's involvement in the religious affairs of the Indians, it still provided a room for the Government's or interested officials' involvement beyond the specifications as were mentioned in the Act. The Government still could exercise the prerogative to take action regarding the preservation of the buildings which were of antiquarian, historical or architectural importance as well as in the interest of the people. This shows that there was some sort of consciousness about the archaeological heritage of India which was to get fully developed by the turn of the 20th century.

The second group, namely the disposal of the treasure trove, also garners special importance in the development of the management of archaeology. Regulation XI of 1832 does not contain any explicit reference which should be of special interest to archaeology except that it enjoins upon the finder/owner to provide contextual information of the find. It suffers from unassertiveness in relation to the Government's right to the find except that the value exceeding one lac rupees of

Madras should go to the Government treasury and if the finder fails to report the discovery the find should be subject to confiscation. In contrast, the Treasure Trove Act of 1878 shows that the sense of archaeology had somehow got developed by the time[92]. It asserts the right of Government to the acquisition to any find if it was deemed necessary by the Collector. It also stresses the need for recording the contextual information. Interestingly, it 'invested the Government with powers to claim possession of any unearthed treasure that exceeded ten rupees in value' (Thapar 1984: 66). Besides, the rewards promised in case the concerned authorities were properly informed of the discovery certainly aimed at saving the object from destruction or illegal transaction. However, its success depended on the fair dealing on the part of the concerned Government departments.

This legislation can be related to the professional and research contexts of the second half of the 19th century. The discovery of treasure trove, beyond any doubt, could contribute and thus augment Indian historical studies. The legislation seems to have had been introduced under the guidance and influence of orientalist savants of the time as by 1860s a sense of obligation to the cause of archaeology can be observed[93].

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[92] It is important to mention that 'From about 1830 onwards one notes an increase in the number of specifically archaeological writings. Apart from descriptions of, and observation on, monuments there is an increasing tendency to report and speculate on individual sites. There were also some excavations in different parts of the country. In a sense it was due to the enthusiasm of James Prinsep [. . . who arrived India in 1819]' (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 32). By 1830s he was a recognized numismatist and epigraphist. It seems that probably Prinsep and his associates played important role in the promulgation of Regulation XI of 1832, a point which needs further investigation.

[93] Archaeological activity, and even the sense of archaeology, had not fully developed till 1860. The minute of the Governor General's Council (22nd January 1862) about the antiquities vividly deplores the state of archaeological activities. It takes exception of the negligence on the part of the Government in this connection. 'Every thing that has hitherto been done in this way has been done by private persons, imperfectly and without system' (quoted in Cunningham 1871: II). It further goes on to say:

'During Cunningham's period of office, the Government under Lord Lytton showed great concern to prevent the despoliation of archaeological remains by treasure hunters, and accordingly passed the Treasure Trove Act of 1878. . .' (ibid.).

The decade of the 1880s saw important developments vis-à-vis the management of archaeology in India (see above Resolution of 8th November 1888 and Resolution of 8th June, 1882). The services of Burgess at this time are laudable. S. Roy writes:

> . . . he [Burgess] was clear-sighted enough to insist on a professional control of excavation and to press for official measures that would illegalize any digging, except those which the Archaeological Survey itself conducted. He was also the first man to devote himself strenuously to the task of ridding India of robbers and art-collection touts masquerading as antiquarians. In 1886 he succeeded in inducing the Government to issue two directives, one debarring public officers from disposing of, without official approval, antiquities found or acquired by them; the other forbidding the digging up of ancient remains of any kind without the previous consent of the Archaeological Survey. Burgess wanted to follow this up by an amendment of the Treasure Trove Act which would make it unlawful to export antiquities without an official permit; but nothing tangible came out of this laudable endeavour (Roy 1961: 67).

The above-mentioned resolutions of 8th June 1882 and 8th November 1888 demonstrate that the concept of archaeology and the awareness about its management

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> It is true that in 1844, on a representation from the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1847, in accordance with detailed suggestions from Lord Harding the Court of Directors gave a liberal sanctions to certain arrangements for examining, delineating, and recording some of the chief antiquities of India. But for one reason or another, mainly perhaps owing to the officer entrusted with the task having other work to do, and owing to his early death, very little seems to have resulted from this endeavour. A few drawings of antiquities, and some remains, were transmitted to the India House, and some 15 or 20 papers were contributed by Major Kittoe and Major Cunningham to the Journals of the Asiatic Society; but, so far as the Government is concerned, the scheme appears to have been lost sight of within two or three years of its adoption (ibid.).

Keeping in view the demanding situation, Cunningham was appointed as Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India (ibid. III) which was, no doubt, a new beginning.

had matured to a great extent. Previously, only the objects of *historical, antiquarian and architectural* value were mentioned to be protected. Nevertheless, now *archaeological articles* had attracted attention especially in the context of awareness about their management and preservation.

After Burgess' retirement in 1889, fundamental changes were brought into the administrative framework of the ASI. Even the appointment of Director General was declined to renew and verdict was given towards the decentralization (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 105). However, subsequently, the reconsideration of the issue in 1895 brought the fact to home that 'the government could not disassociate itself from archaeology without inviting general condemnation and that it was not possible to pass on this responsibility to the scientific societies' (ibid.: 106). Thus, five 'archaeological circles with a surveyor in each' were made, the 'post of epigraphist was made permanent and the service in the archaeological departments pensionable' (ibid.).

By the closing years of the 19th century, the Government grew increasingly aware about the cultural heritage of the country. It was making preparation for a more comprehensive legislation in this regard. Denzil Ibbetson (*Government Gazette, Punjab and its Dependencies* 1903: 475) writes:

> In 1898 the question of antiquarian exploration and research attracted attention, and the necessity for taking steps for the protection of monuments and relics of antiquity was impressed upon the Government of India. It was then apparent that legislation was required to enable the Government effectually to discharge their responsibilities in the matter, and a bill was drafted on the lines of existing Acts of Parliament, modified so as to embody certain provisions which had found a place in recent legislation regarding the antiquities of Greece and Italy. This draft was circulated for the opinions of Local Governments, and the replies submitted showed that the proposals incorporated in it met with almost unanimous approval, the criticisms received being directed, for the most part, against matters of detail. The draft has since been revised; the

provisions of a draft Bill prepared by the Government of Bengal have been embodied, so far as they were found suitable, and the present Bill is the result.

It resulted in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904 which got 'the assent of the Governor General on the 18th March, 1904' (*Government Gazette, Punjab and its Dependencies* 1904: 11). It represents both the culmination of the evolution of laws concerning the cultural/archaeological wealth of the country and the increasing awareness about its preservation. Its review (see above) clearly shows that by the start of the 20th century there was a comprehensive scheme and viable framework for the management of Indian archaeology[94].

An externalist analysis of the archaeological heritage and the legal framework

The series of the acts, regulations and resolutions about the archaeological and cultural heritage needs to be contextualized against the backdrop of the colonial structures and imperial mechanism as it prevailed since the turn of the 19th century. Scholars have long appreciated the need and importance of this externalist approach. S. N. Mukherjee (1968: 2), the biographer of Sir William Jones, opines that 'For a better understanding of the British response to Indian civilization we should study it within the context of the British and European economic system, social structure and intellectual movements and with reference to the problems of the British administration in India.' He further writes, 'Early Orientalists were not an isolated

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[94] John Marshall's interest in preservation and conservation was also triggered by the pure academic approach he had towards archaeology. It is clear from the following extract:

> 'And I am equally strong in holding that he [the excavator] should endeavour, however possible, to preserve the structural remains he has uncovered until such time at least as they can be examined by other archaeologists with all the relevant facts in their possession. It is for these reasons that I have been at pains to save and conserve virtually all that could be saved for the Parthian city in Sirkap, though many of the buildings in it may seem to possess little intrinsic value. . . (Marshall 1945/2006: xvii).

group. They were involved in the political conflicts of the time and their 'theories' about Indian history and culture were influenced by their respective political positions and intellectual convictions.' Such an approach, undoubtedly, makes the development of archaeology and the management of cultural heritage understandable. In this perspective, it is needed to establish a link between the concepts and policies vis-à-vis the cultural wealth of India, as designed by the Colonial Government, and the 'imperial idea'.

Imperialism can be more or less linked with the historical reconstructions and the management of the cultural heritage of India. What is meant by 'imperialism' and what are its main characteristics and attributes? What is unique with the structure of British imperialism? These questions need to be dwelt upon prior to giving an analysis of the legal developments in relation to endowments and heritage/archaeology.

From the Latin word *imperium*, the literal meaning of which is 'command or dominion', derives 'imperial, imperialism and imperialist' (Aziz 1976: 18). Imperialism represents a phenomenon in world politics, of which many examples can be presented, involving the use of power and aggression on the one hand and suppression and marginalization on the other. A bulk of literature is available about imperialism in history which deals with its various manifestations and dynamics in the context of time and space. Besides the general commonalities, every imperial development has some unique elements (for a brief but interesting account see Issawi 1994). However, there can be also found common elements present in the various instances of imperialism. The most important of which are aggression, colonization and exploitation.

Modern imperialism of Europe was unique in terms of the self-proclaimed racial and martial as well as moral and cultural superiority. Such claims were first used in the interest of the deification and then justification of imperialism and colonialism (Aziz 1976: 1–3). Charles Issawi (1994: 85–86) puts down:

> . . . three modern empires – Spanish, British and French – thought of themselves as the heirs of the Rome and modeled themselves on it. As early as Cortez the Spaniards were comparing their conquests with those of Rome. As he puts it:
>
>> As for your observation, gentlemen, that the most famous Roman captains never performed deeds equal to ours, you are quite right. If God helps us, far more will be said in future history books about our exploits than has ever been said about those of the past.
>>
>> The French considered it their mission to spread 'civilization', i.e., Latinity, to their subjects. The British were less interested in culture and more in Pax Romana:
>>
>> To spare the vanquished and the proud to tame
>>
>> These are imperial arts and worthy of thy name.

The brand of British colonialism was more pronounced due to its extreme racial prejudice. Social Darwinism and the White Man Burden were its main pillars (Perry et al. 2008: 242–263). It was 'the doctrine that the role of the English race over other races of Asian and African origin was something desire-able, profitable, humanitarian and moral, that it was a proof of the superiority of one particular race over all others, and that both Providence and Science were on the side of the ruling race' (Aziz 1976: 5). This belief greatly determined the course of the British policy from the very beginning which, in turn, underwent slight as well as deep changes and transformations throughout the colonial era. This phenomenon more clearly reflects in the realms of indigenous religions and cultures.

Regulation XIX, 1810 of the Bengal Code and Regulation VII, 1817 of the Madras Code had social, political and religious contexts[95]. They provided a strategy for the good management of the endowments and charitable trusts in order to dispose of the misappropriation and fraudulent acts. The British claimed themselves and were considered by the local people as inheritors to the defeated and vanquished rulers. As the previous rulers had a sort of bond of patronage with religions, the British also kept the tradition continued obviously under political expediency. It would certainly give their rule the required justification and win the loyalties and gratitude of the native population. It is also argued that it was the economic profit from the management of the endowments that motivated the British to adopt the policy of association with local religions (Allen 1856: 331–338). However, this contention is also sometimes disputed by presenting evidence that the Government acted out of good intensions and patronized indigenous religious institutions (Kumari 1998). Frykenberg (2000), however, sees that sort of relationship between the British imperial system and the emergence of modern Hinduism which 'served to undergird the very foundations of the fledging imperial system. . . .' An interesting aspect, in the view of the present researcher, to the connection of the Imperial Government and the management of the endowments and trusts might be found in the intellectual movements and the development of Indian studies especially about Hinduism, Islam and other belief systems (Mukherjee 1968; Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 1-47; Singh 2004: 1-22). Of course, this again owes much to the necessity in which imperialism stood for knowledge indigenous.

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[95] 'From the late-eighteenth century, official anxiety was expressed whenever British colonial authority in South Asia drew close to religious institutions and sensibilities. Despite this, over the next one hundred and fifty years, layers of legislative, judicial and scholarly authority gradually accumulated at sites of native devotional observance' (Sutton 2013: 135-136).

The British were beset by a deep concern for a good administration from the very beginning. For this purpose the study of indigenous law, spearheaded by William Jones[96], was given foremost attention. The problems in this connection were formidable but, happily, the study of history came for the rescue as Jones had appreciated the point (Bhatti 2010). Cunningham argues that between 1784 and 1834 'our archæological researches had been chiefly literary, and, with a few notable exceptions, had been confined to translations of books and inscriptions, with brief notices of some of the principal buildings at Delhi and Agra and other well known places. The exceptions are several valuable essays by Jones, Wilford, Colebrooke, and Wilson, on the religion, the geography and the astronomy of the Hindus, which have already been noticed' (Cunningham 1871: XVIII). He terms these early writers as 'the Closet or Scholastic Archæologists' (ibid.). He also acknowledges the indebtedness which archaeology owes to this pioneering literary work. James Prinsep's services to archaeology are appreciated as the beginning of new era (ibid.: XIX)[97]. It is in this perspective that a symbiotic and reciprocal relationship between British imperialism and Indian studies, especially ancient history, seems clearly discernible. As the study of ancient Indian history was/is greatly based on archaeological sources, it is to be inferred that the British concern for their preservation was for practical reasons. Hence the trio, viz. British imperialism, Indian historical studies and legislation about

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[96] The successors of Jones are to be named as Henry Colebrooke, Horace Hayman Wilson, who succeeded Colebrooke in 1815, and Dr. Mill who replaced Wilson in 1833 (Cunningham 1871: II–VII).

[97] 'Of James Prinsep's successors during the last thirty years [before 1871], the most prominent have been James Fergusson, Markham Kittoe, Mr. Edward Thomas, and myself [Cunningham], in Northern India; Sir Walter Elliot in Southern India; and Colonel Meadows Taylor, Dr. Stevenson, and Dr. Bhau Dâji in Western India' (Cunningham 1871: XVIII).

cultural/archaeological heritage, worked in a dialectical manner throughout the period.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the association of the Company with native religions caused much dissension and dissatisfaction in England. A campaign was started against it both in India and England which, after a prolong encounter, led to the policy of dissociation (Frykenberg 2000). It resulted in the enactment of the Religious Endowment Act of 1863.

This Act put an end to the Government's connection with the religions of India. However, its enactment was preceded by a long period of protests and counter protests of the missionaries and their associates and the hard-core officials of the Company. The churchmen particularly saw in this sort of patronage of native religions by the Company obstacles in the proselytism of Christianity in addition to the acceptance of these faiths as being true (Allen 1856: 331–338; Bhatti 2010: 395). The Company did not brook to concede to the demand of withdrawal from this engagement. However, the campaign was prevailing enough to effect the Government's dissociation in 1863 through the Religious Endowment Act (Allen 1856: 331–338; Frykenberg 2000).

Notwithstanding the Government's withdrawal, the Religious Endowment Act, 1863, did not realize its complete separation from the realm of the indigenous sacrality.

The Treasure Trove Act, 1878, might be termed as the consequence of the scholastic as well as imperial thinking. During the age of Cunningham, archaeology got augmented in the result of the extensive fieldwork which in turn conscientized the Government about getting a share in such an envious achievement. The beautiful

illustration of this imperial conscientiousness is to be found in Lord Canning's minute 'on the Antiquities of Upper India, – dated 22nd January 1862' (Cunningham 1871: I–II):

> But so far as the Government is concerned, there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty, – that of investigating and placing on record, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon the early history of England's great dependency; a history which, as time moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and traversable, *and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it* [italic mine], will assuredly occupy, more and more, the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries.
>
> It will not be to our credit, *as an enlightened ruling power* [italics mine], if we continue to allow such fields of investigation . . . to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received. Every thing that has hitherto been done in this way has been done by private persons, imperfectly and without system. It is impossible not to feel that there are European Governments, which, if they had held our rule in Inida, would not have allowed this to be said.

The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, signifies the zenith of this sort of 'imperial' conscience with respect to the cultural/archaeological heritage of India. As it came into effect during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, he shares a good deal of the development. He was a hard-core imperialist as he himself once said, 'I am myself, by instinct and by conviction, an Imperialist, and I regard the British Empire not merely as a source of honourable pride to Englishmen, but as a blessing to the world' (quoted in Särkkä 2009: 17). Curzon was fully preoccupied by the moral and political magnitude of the British Empire and this very obsession 'formed the mainspring of his political and intellectual outlook' (Kelly 2003: 2). The speech he delivered on February 6th, 1900, before the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, better illustrates this mentality as regards the Indian archaeology. He closes his long speech with the

following words. 'I hope to assert more definitely during my time *the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of India antiquities* (italics mine), to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge' (quoted in Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 236).

The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act is generally lauded and is considered a great achievement of Curzon's Government (Roy 1953: 25–28; Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 120–122; Mughal 2011: 125–126)[98]. However, presently it has been subjected to criticism for its bureaucratic tenor which was not in compatibility with the spirit of the indigenous belief systems, especially that of Hinduism (Sutton 2013). It, of course, reflects the imperial attitude and represents the process of imperialism aiming to deify, prolong and idealize the British Empire. 'What Wheeler left unsaid', writes Ray (2004: 15), 'was the extent to which Curzon's policies were shaped by domestic compulsions in England and the need to project the imperial government as more 'enlightened'.' But irrespective of this disagreement of opinion, the Act might rightly be termed as a hallmark development in the Indian archaeology. It provided a structure and future direction for the archaeological activity in the subcontinent[99].

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[98] The restriction placed by the Act on the transaction and exportation of antiquities, though, was a welcome development for Indian archaeology. However, it caused resentment in some circles in Britain as it was thought to have been detrimental to the cause of knowledge and research.

[99] 'Marshall retired in 1928, and the Director-Generals who succeeded him carried on the work with more or less similar aims and objectives, even though there were many changes in the administrative and financial policies of the Survey. In 1932, the change in the Ancient Monuments and Preservations Act led to the participation of American Institutions such as the American School of Indian and Iranian

Extension and application to the locale of this study

At this point there arises a crucial question. Whether the laws of British Indian Government did apply to Swat and Malakand, the latter were actually lying beyond the administrative borders of the former. The issue is difficult to be answered. However, with the help of some historical facts a judgment can be made.

Malakand Protected Area was directly under British control, though not included in the settled area, while Swat state had an autonomous status. The latter, being outside the British territory, by no means had taken it away from the British sphere of influence and with regard to some policies and regulations. It had been since 1880s that the British started paying attention to the affairs of the present-day Malakand Division. The Amir of Afghanistan, Abdur Rahman, 'renounced his claims over "Bajaur, Swat, Buner, Dir, Chilas and Chitral." The Durand Line Agreement [November 12, 1893] brought an end, for the time being, to Afghanistan's claim over Swat and any future attempts at annexation' (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 43). Simultaneously, 'it paved the way for British influence in the affairs of Swat by placing it firmly in the territories lying beyond the Durand Line on the Indian side' (ibid.). Subsequently, the establishment of Malakand Agency in 1895 practically set the seal on Malakand, Swat, Dir and Chitral being within the British suzerainty. Moreover, the formation of the new province of NWFP in November 1901 is also to be taken as a hallmark development in this regard as to its five settled districts – Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara – were added the political agencies of 'Dir, Swat and Chitral (with headquarters at Malakand), Khaibar, Kurram, Tochi, and Wana. . .' (*The India list and India Office list for (1905)* 1905: 396).

Studies, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Yale and Cambridge Universities' geological-cum-prehistoric expedition' (Malik 1968: 23).

In this overall context, it is more than easy to infer that Swat state had a suzerainty relationship with imperial British and Malakand being in its more direct control. But like Swat a huge number of Indian states, obviously having rich cultural heritage, were in such kind of contact with Indian Government. Notwithstanding, the latter did not have any archaeological policy about the former throughout the 19th century[100]. Still there were strong voices in favour of Government's interference in states as far as archaeology was concerned. Hesitation on the part of Government could not be overcome. After a deep analysis, Singh (2004: 304) concludes, 'The crux of the matter was that although the native princes were generally willing to collaborate with the colonial government on specific tasks of survey and conservation, certain limits of propriety and decorum could not be transgressed even within this unequal relationship.' Nevertheless, by the turn of the 20th century the situation totally changed.

In 1901, writes Marshall, the Indian States' archaeological heritage, which had yet not received attention, was taken into consideration. 'By an order of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, dated the 4th June, 1901, this serious omission was at last remedied. Kashmir, Rajputana, and the Punjab States as well as Dir, Swat, and Chitral, were added to the charge of the Surveyor of the Punjab-Baluchistan-Ajmer Circle . . .' (Marshall 1939: 11). It follows that the laws promulgated for the management of archaeology thereby did extend to Swat and also, for obvious reasons, to Malakand. So much so were the British officials captivated by the archaeological marvels of Swat valley that Denzil Ibbetson specifically mentions in the 'Statement of

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[100] Rulers of some princely states occasionally took interest both in conservation and archaeological research. Some states 'were willing to cooperate or collaborate with the British. Because of the complex relationship between the princes and the colonial state, this collaboration was not always smooth nor was it always positively acknowledged by the latter' (Singh 2004: 291-292).

objects and reasons' to the Ancient Monuments Preservation Bill (1903) about the traffic in antiquities. He writes that:

> . . . [the] sculptural carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions and the like form a distinct class by themselves, in that their value depends upon their local connection. Such antiquities may, as in the case of those of Swat, be found outside the confines of India or in Native States, and these the legislature cannot reach directly; while, as regards British territory and under the existing law, it is impossible to go beyond the provisions of the Indian Treasure-trove Act, 1878 (VI of 1878). In these circumstances, it is proposed, by clause 18 of the Bill [101], to take power to prevent the removal from Britain India of any antiquities which it may be deemed desirable to retain in the country, and at the same time to prevent importation. By thus putting a stop to traffic in such articles, it is believed that it will be possible to protect against spoliation a number of interesting places situated without and beyond British territory' (*Government Gazette, Punjab and its Dependencies* 1903: 476).

At the time of the arrival of John Marshall the Department of Archaeology suffered from a number of deficiencies and weaknesses. But in close coordination with Lord Curzon the difficulties were mostly overcome. Conservation and excavation work achieved the ideals as were set forth by Curzon. Lord Minto, Sir Harcourt Butler and the likes promoted the cause of archaeology. Indians were trained in different branches of the discipline (Marshall 1939). Interestingly, it was during the Director Generalship of Marshall that the policy of 'encouragement to scholars outside the Department [of Archaeology] to cooperate in the work of Indian Archaeology' was adopted (*Indian archæological policy (1915)* 1916: 1–2). It is to be noted that Sir Aurel Stein's contributions to the archaeology of KP mostly belong to the age of Marshall. Hence, all the archaeological activities, right from Deane's and Waddell's work to Stein's, were carried out in Malakand and Swat in this kind of organizational

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[101] Clause 17 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904.

and administrative context. Waddell and Caddy's expeditions seem more and convincingly within the purview of Resolution of June 8, 1882 and Resolution of November 8, 1888. Similar is the case with Foucher and the early surveys of Stein. However, it is clear that Stein's last survey (1926) was a matter of discussion between the British officials and the first Wali of Swat (Olivieri, forthcoming). It is understandable that the Wali's consent was necessary but on the part of the Indian government it was managed within the framework provided by the law.

Still it is important to note that the laws about archaeological heritage were, perhaps, not consented to by the rulers of Swat as no empirical evidence has yet been found by scholars. As far as the British officials were concerned, they might have thought and acted upon the unilateral extension of the legal framework to Swat state[102]. It certainly exhibits the unstable nature of collaboration in the field of archaeological researches between the Indian Government and the vassal Swat state as is clear from Stein's abortive attempts in 1928, 1931 and 1933 (see Olivieri, forthcoming) to enter Swat.

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[102] This conclusion is based on personal communication with Sultan-i-Rome and Luca M. Olivieri, on April 5 (Quaid-i-Azam University) and 11 (Saeed Book Bank) respectively, in Islamabad.

Conclusion

Malakand-Swat is one of the archaeologically rich areas of South Asia. Antiquities of historical importance are abundantly available in and, thus, recoverable from the area. This opulence is not without any reason. It is also not due to an ordinary or ephemeral reason. Rather the civilizational traces of antiquity are aptly to be contextualized against the backdrop of its geographical location. Swat has remained, at least at intervals, as a roundabout area and hence served as a link for the people from across the world. The historical interactions of a myriad of peoples have led to specific socio-cultural developments in the area. Archaeology of Malakand-Swat provides evidence in this regard.

The emergence of archaeology in Malakand-Swat was not an isolated episode. Rather, it was a consistent happening in the context of both internal advancement in the field and external development in terms of politics and society. When orientalism got momentum in Indo-Pakistani subcontinent, bulks of important Indian and foreign historical sources about the land were translated into different languages of Europe. Besides the scriptures of Hinduism and Buddhism, Chinese travelers' accounts and Greek sources were also committed to translation attracting varied scholars' attention. These literary researches ushered in a new era in the study of Indian antiquity viz. archaeological/material sources of history writing began to surface.

Literary and archaeological sources of history writing had complementary dimensions. The former paved the way for the identification and recovery of the latter. Scholars got extensively engaged in this sort of researches, which is known as historical or text-based archaeology. Ancient cities, capitals and other such places of importance were brought into light. In the same way, Gandhara and Uḍḍiyāna were

encountered by scholars in ancient texts. After strenuous conjectures both were identified with Peshawar and Swat valleys respectively.

Uḍḍiyāna/Swat had a romance for orientalists due to the fact that it was frequently referred to and highly venerated in Buddhist texts. It also attracted colonial scholars due to the adventurous arrival of Alexander. Both these historical developments had become significant problems of investigation and hence were dealt with consistently in the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. Deane, Waddell, Caddy, Foucher and Stein are credited as the first in this connection. They collected information and material, documented cultural heritage sites, excavated very few Buddhist sacred areas and studied Gandhara art and architecture of the valley.

This study has brought three dimensions of Malakand-Swat archaeology to the fore. First, Malakand-Swat archaeology in the beginning was the result of British colonialism and the Walis' enlightened despotism. Though seminal in the field of researches, the early literature is also colonial/imperial in form and content. Second, over the 20th century, and even currently, some archaeological sites mentioned by the pioneers have either totally disappeared, systematically studied or partially disturbed and seriously threatened. Third, Malakand-Swat, at least on the part of the British government, was not seen as outside the institutional and legal framework of archaeology at least since 1901.

1.   This study has also dwelt upon the lives and careers of protagonists in line with E. H. Carr's (1961/2001: 17) dictum: 'Study the historian before you begin to study the facts'. It is said that every writer is the child of his/her society and age and it is very difficult to understand his/her writings without that context. Under this

consideration, the scholars of the early phase of the archaeology of Malakand-Swat have critically been studied here.

Major Deane is well known for his knowledge about and cordial relationship with Pukhtuns and their society. But this study demonstrates this aspect of his personality in the framework of job requirements in the FPD. It was obligatory for the political officers to have an understanding of and intimate relationship with native people. Deane's closeness with the people of NWFP has largely been shown in this perspective. It is also clear that he served colonial interests the way other colonial administrator were supposed to do. This is obvious from the various military expeditions against the tribes and his views about the extension of railway into the tribal areas. His article (1896) about Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhara fits the category of colonial archaeology as it contains some colonial/imperial constructs.

Similarly, Waddell is also associated with British colonialism/imperialism. He was racist beyond any doubt. Aryanism is the dominant feature of his writings. He wrote about Mesopotamia, Indus valley civilization and ancient European history and everywhere evidence was sought for and materials were manipulated in favour of Aryan race and its superiority. The same preoccupation, perhaps, dominated his researches in Pataliputra. The same seems his verdict about Swat.

Another protagonist is Alexander Caddy. Primarily a painter and photographer, Caddy is also known as an archaeologist (?). His expedition to Swat was directed by the Bengal Government. It aimed at collecting Gandhara art pieces for the Indian Museum of Calcutta. The excavation of Loriyan-tangai is the hallmark event of this mission. A bulk of sculptures and architectural pieces were taken to the Museum. The apparently innocuous activity, and though in accordance with the law, should not go

unnoticed in terms of its unethical nature. First, the action was undertaken under imperial consideration of making and presenting the Indian Museum as Imperial. Second, it robbed Swat valley of its heritage to the extent that even archaeologists and historians, not to speak of the nonprofessionals, of the area have little chance of accessing, seeing and studying it. After all, there seems every reason to termed Caddy's expedition an *imperial pursuit*.

In the same way, Foucher's texts show some western biases. This is nothing but his interpretation of Gandhara art. Though he believed in the hybridity of Gandhara art, Greek artist and Buddhist concepts, still a tilt appears towards its Greek origin. Foucher was deeply obsessed with the idea of Hellenism and its impacts on Gandharan society and culture. Beside this, he seems as biased in favour of Gujar and Hindu families of NWFP/KP against the Pukhtun population of the area; hence negative representations of the latter. However, it does not mean to disparage Foucher's contribution to Gandharan studies. He has enriched the field with his abiding involvement in the field.

Stein is also a paragon of the field of Gandharan studies. His extensive surveys and voluminous works about Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhara have an enduring effect. He has made important identifications of historical places like Bazira/Barikot and Ora/Udegram. He has documented a great number of archaeological sites, and his seminal work has guided future researches and excavations in Swat valley. However, this study has also shown Stein as a Victorian. Being a Victorian, he has given interpretations of many historical facts in line with Victorian obligations and requirements.

Stein's Alexandrian fetish was definitely a western concept and thought which British imperialists tried to mould in the interest of the empire. Similarly, his myriad surveys seem as having imperial commission. The argument is substantiated by facilitation provided by colonial officials in both India and Chinese Turkestan. Russian officials in the latter place always doubted Stein as a British spy. This study demonstrates this aspect of Stein personality viz. his services to the empire especially through his representations in the case of Malakand-Swat.

2.   Archaeological sites documented by the pioneering protagonists were recently visited by this researcher within the framework of this study. He found the cultural profile of Swat – as it is preserved in the pioneer archaeological literature – either present (in great number and some sites now extensively excavated and studied), totally absent or partially disturbed. In some cases even the hands involved, either ignorantly or due to vested interests, in the destruction have now become known. Some sites mentioned, especially by Stein, were long been unknown which during the recent fieldwork were rediscovered. Details are given in the chart below:

No.	Properly studied/excavated sites (after 1956)	Partially disturbed/threatened sites (updated 2012)	Disappeared sites (after 1987)	Identified sites (by the present research)
1	Chatpat Dir	Chatpat Dir	Loriyan-tangai	Hazara (Shaikhan-dherai)
2	Andhan-dherai Dir	Andhan-dherai Dir	Ramora	Sangota-parkha Sangota
3	Ramora Dir	Gumbat Talash	Khazana Thana	Maizere (Maizaro-dherai) Manglawar
4	Gumbatuna Barikot	Gumbatuna Barikot	Top-dara Thana	Ali Beg-dherai Dakorak
5	Barikot-ghwandai	Ghwagawar Thana	Rangmala Mingawara	Masuman-dherai Gulibagh
6	Gumbat Balo-kalay	Skha-china-&-Randukai Kotah	Udegram-dherai	Madar Khan-serai Khwaza-khela
7	Amluk-dara Barikot	Tokar-dara Barikot	Shah Hussain-patai Mingawara	Bala-dherai Khwaza-khela
8	Nawagai	Hassan-kote	Loe-band	Buth-china

No.	Properly studied/excavated sites (after 1956)	Partially disturbed/threatened sites (updated 2012)	Disappeared sites (after 1987)	Identified sites (by the present research)
	Barikot	Gogdara	Jambil	Gokand
9	Tokar-dara Barikot	Shnaisha Saidu	Baringan (Baringal) Saidu	
10	Udegram	Shararai Jambil	Rasho-dherai Manglawar and rock carvings termed in this study as Chalgut	
11	Butkara	Maizere (Maizaro-dherai) Manglawar	Sangota-parkha Sangota	
12	Panr Jambil	Jahanabad Buddha	Panr Jambil	
13	Rock art sites	Nangrial Talegram	Jampure-dherai Charbagh	
14	Raja Gira Castle Udegram	Bala-dherai Khwaza-khela	Masuman-dherai Gulibagh	
15	Rock art sites in Saidu and Jambil valleys	Kargha-dherai Lalku	Kakhi-dherai Khwaza-khela	
16	Nangrial Talegram	Suray-tangai Matta	Madar Khan-serai Khwaza-khela	
17	Shnaisha Saidu	Kotkai Gokand	Babu Khwaza-khela	
18	Rasho-dherai Manglawar and rock carvings termed in this study as Chalgut	Dumchaka Gokand	Tirat	
19		Kandao-gai Gokand	Hazara (Shaikhan-dherai)	
20		Top-dara Gokand	Buth-china Gokand	
21		Pir-dara Gokand	Gumbatai Buner	
22		Rock art sites in Saidu and Jambil valleys	Takhta-band Buner	
23			The so-called Sunigram Buner	

3.   Legal aspect of archaeology has been very important since the emergence of the discipline. It coincided with the birth of nation-states in Europe as great interest was taken in the preservation and protection of national cultural heritage. For that reason, many serious efforts in the domain of legislation/law can be found. In British India the issue was given serious attention; hence a series of legal developments since

the turn of the 19th century. The law evolved from the management of endowments through the dispensation of treasure trove to the all-pervading Act of 1904. As the empire would expand, the law would be extended. But there was a dilemma viz. the relationship between the institutional and legal framework of archaeology and the princely states. Till the end of the 19th century, the government restrained itself from expanding the domain of the former to the latter. However, by the turn of the 20th century the states were, perhaps through a unilateral decision, added either to the one or the other circle of archaeology. Such was the case with Malakand-Swat in 1901. Dir, Swat, and Chitral along with the states of Kashmir, Rajputana, and the Punjab were attached to the Punjab-Baluchistan-Ajmer Circle. In this way, the cultural heritage of the area was no more left at the mercy of antiquarians, amateurs or even at the disposal of archaeologists. It was definitely brought within the domain of the ASI and the related legal framework. This by no means seems as subversive to the Walis' authority as they would have to be fully involved in any kind of archaeological activity. Still there is no clear evidence in relation to an understanding between the Walis and the Indian government.

It is argued in this study that archaeology of Malakand-Swat was primarily a colonial/imperial product. Seen from the point of view of internalism, its formative phase was consistent with the overall developments in the field of historical and archaeological research in India. It intended to seek solutions for some vital historical problems in relation to the history of Hellenism and Buddhism. And, no doubt, considerable successes were either achieved or the way was paved for future researches in this respect. Externalist analysis of the development of archaeology demonstrates the colonial/imperial context of works done in Malakand-Swat.

Expansionism and consolidation of the empire stood in need of knowledge. As archaeology is one such source and repertoire of local history and knowledge, colonial masters concentrated upon it. It was used in the best interest of the empire as it was to give knowledge about the local geography and history while, at the same time, denying the present people the ownership of cultural historical heritage by crediting migrants, invaders or other local ethnic and religious marginalized groups for the past achievements.

In short, it is to be safely inferred that the formative phase of the archaeology of Malakand-Swat better suits the category of colonialist archaeology. On the one hand, it was in congruence with the internal developments in the discipline while, on the other, it was given shape and impetus by the politico-military enterprises of the time.

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Interviews

Ashraf Khan, Muhammad, Director, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, November 20, 2012.

Khan, Akbar, Pir-dara (Buner), age 70s, July 19, 2012.

Manje, Top-dara (Buner), age 40s, July 19, 2012.

Olate, Top-dara (Buner), age 35 years, July 19, 2012.

Olivieri, Luca Maria, Co-Director, Italian Archaeological Mission, Pakistan.

Rahman, Ghafur, Bahai (Maira, Rega, Buner), age 46 years, July 19, 2012.

Rahman, Saifur, Dara-china (Top-dara, Buner), age 70 years, July 19, 2012.

Sharif Kaka, Dir Museum, age 60 year, 16-07-2012.

Shtaman, 80-87 years, Natmaira, Swat, July 17, 2012.

Sultan-i-Rome, Associate Professor, Government Post-Graduate Jahanzeb College, Saidu Sharif, Swat.

Syed Bakhtawar Shah, Qadirya Order, 50 years, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, March 26, 2013.

Appendix

A spell associated to Syed Jalal-i-Bukhari

There is a *dam* (spell) which is performed in the name of Syed Jalal-i-Bukhari in KP. It cures snake's poison, pimples and the swallowing of other poisonous insects. It goes on in Pashto as follows:

Pa durha da Khudai, pa durha da Khudai da Rasul, pa durha da saloro Yaaraano, pa durha da pinza Pirano, pa durha da jama'a Quran Sharif, sheeshi maaraan Syed Jalal-i-Bukharan che pa Misar ke ye kor day. Laramaano, da maaraano, da thore daaney, da yagey, zhawarey uda-daar day. Ka sa aib nuqsan washo pa wraz da Qyamat ye zimawaar.

The initiation and recital of the spell has a sort of signification. It is said that this *ijaaza* (permission by the *Sufi* teachers and mentors to act upon some *dams*) has bequeathed by early saints. Its initiation requires to chant '*Salaamun qaulummirrabbirrahim*' one hundred thousand times. It should be followed by an act of charity and sharing the plate once with a *faqir* (hermit). The ritualistic performance of the *dam*, when it is acted upon, is to be preceded by the recitation of Alhamdo-sharif one time, Surah-i-Ikhlas three times and '*Salaamun qaulummirrabbirrahim*' seven times (this researcher owes all these information to Syed Bakhtawar Shah).

It is interesting to note that the spell mentions the home-town of Syed Jalal-i-Bukhari as situated in Egypt. But his name shows that he belonged to Bukhara, Uzbekistan. The mention of Egypt in the spell and the suffix Bukhari to his name, perhaps, point out to his spiritual affiliation with these two places. But it seems intriguing to present a conjectural comparison with a recent study (Shah & Hameed 2012). The study shows that the shrine of Sayyid Ali Hamadani at Naukot, Mansehra, basically

represents his symbolic presence as the Saint is actually buried at Khatlan in Tajikistan. Such an argument might be made in case of the shrine of Syed Jalal-i-Bukhari. He either belongs to Bukhara or Egypt as his name and reference to him in the spell show. And his shrine appears as an empty symbolic presence indicating that the Saint might had some spiritual connections with the area.
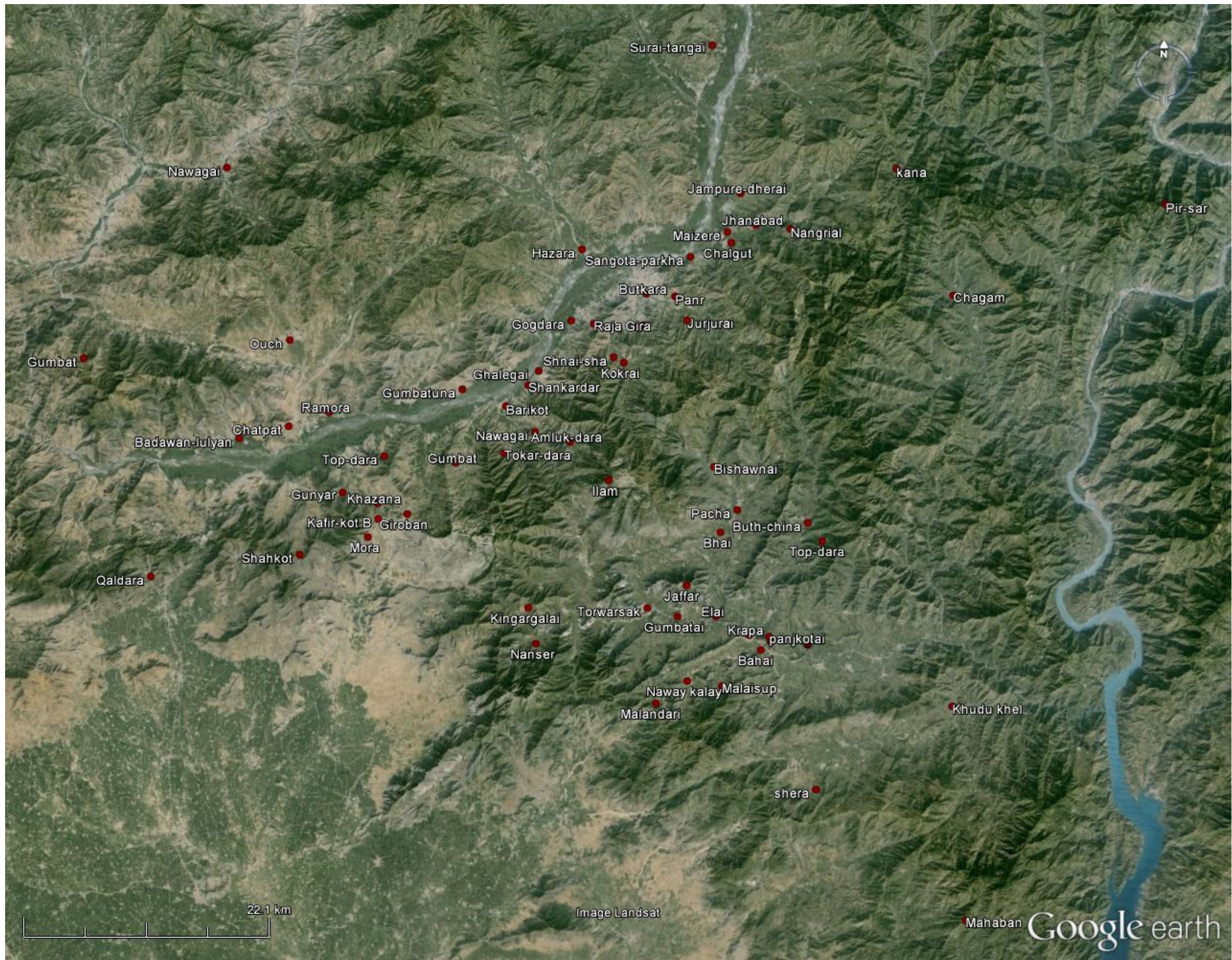
Map 1: Archaeological sites of Malakand, Lower Dir, Swat, Shangla-par and Buner.

Figures:

Figure 1: A. Caddy, 1896: "Basement of stupa, after excavation, Loriyan Tangai" (10031033). Property of the British Library
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/b/019pho000001003u01033000.html
 (Permission will be requested before publication).

Figure 2: A. Caddy, 1896: "Close view of inscription on pedestal of statue of Buddha, Loriyan Tangai" (10031035). Property of the British Library
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/c/019pho000001003u01035000.html
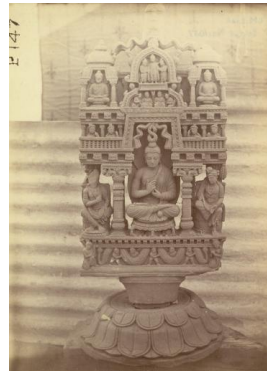 (Permission will be requested before publication).

Figure 3: A. Caddy, 1896: "Buddhist sculpture excavated at Lorian Tangai" (10031051). Property of the British Library
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/b/019pho000001003u01051000.html
(Permission will be requested before publication).

Figure 4: A. Caddy, 1896: "Rock inscription in unknown characters, Swat Valley" (10031156).
Property of the British Library
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/r/019pho000001003u01156000.html
(Permission will be requested before publication).

Figure 5: A. Caddy, 1896: "Statue of a Bodhisattva and plaster-cast of Kharoshti inscription from
Kaldarga near Dargai, Swat Valley" (10031159). Property of the British Library
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/s/019pho000001003u01159000.html
(Permission will be requested before publication).

Figure 6: Udegram, Raja Gira castle

Figure 7: Udegram, Raja Gira castle

Figure 8: Shankardar Stupa, Ghaligai

Figure 9: Ghaligai Budhha

Figure 10: Gumbat, Talash

Figure 11: Gumbat, Talash

Figure 12: General view of Shahkot (S)

Figure 13: A. Caddy, 1885(perhaps correctly 1896): "General view of camp with signalling tower, Chakdarra" (1003969a). Property of the British Library

http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/g/019pho000001003u0969a000.html

(Permission will be requested before publication).

Figure 14: Chatpat

Figure 15: Top-dara, Thana

Figure 16: Gumbatai, Buner

Figure 17: Gumbatai, Buner

Figure 18: Gumbatai, Buner

Figure 19: Bahai well, Maira (Rega)

Figure 20: Takhta-band Stupa, Buner

Figure 21: Takhta-band Stupa, Buner

Figure 22: Khazana, Thana

Figure 23: Ghwagawar, Jalala

Figure 24: Gumbatuna, Barikot

Figure 25: Bīr-koṭ-ghuṇḍai

Figure 26: Gumbat, Balo-kalay

Figure 27: Natmira, Karakar

Figure 28: Nawagai, Karakar (courtesy: East and West 54/1-4)

Figure 29: Tokar-dara, Najigram

Figure 30: Jrando-Gumbat, Najigram

Figure 31: Amluk-dara Stupa, Karakar

Figure 32: Butkara

Figure 33: Shnai-sha, Saidu

Figure 34: Shnai-sha, Saidu

Figure 35: Kukrai, Saidu

Figure 36: Kukrai, Saidu

Figure 37: Kukrai, Saidu

Figure 38: Baringan/l, Saidu

Figure 39: Shararai, Jambil

Figure 40: Shararai, Jambil

Figure 41: Shararai, Jambil

Figure 42: Shararai, Jambil

Figure 43: Shararai, Jambil

Figure 44: Shararai, Jambil

Figure 45: Shararai, Jambil

Figure 46: Jurjurai, Jambil

Figure 47: Jurjurai, Jambil

Figure 48: Jurjurai, Jambil

Figure 49: Panr, Jambil

Figure 50: Panr, Jambil

Figure 51: Jahanabad Buddha

Figure 52: Nangrial, Kala/Qala

Figure 53: Nangrial, Kala/Qala

Figure 54: Ali Beg-dherai, Dakorak

Figure 55: Ali Beg-dherai, Dakorak

Figure 56: Masuman-dherai, Gulibagh

Figure 57: A general view of Surai-tangai, Baidara (Matta)

Figure 58: An ancient well at Surai-tangai, Baidara (Matta)

Figure 59: A spring at Surai-tangai, Baidara (Matta)

Figure 60: Kargha-dherai, Ragast (Matta)

Figure 61: Kargha-dherai, Ragast (Matta)

Figure 62: Jare, Fateh-pur

Figure 63: Bala-dherai, Khwaza-khela

Figure 64: The boy is pointing out the exact location of disappeared
rock carving of Buth-china, Top-dara, Buner

Figure 65: Top-dara, Buner

Figure 66: Pir-dara, Buner