

**Beginning of Archaeology in Malakand-Swat(1926-1956)  
Protagonists, Fieldwork and the Legal Framework**



**By  
SARFARAZ KHAN**

**TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS  
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY  
ISLAMABAD  
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**CERTIFICATE**

This thesis by Sarfraz 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.

Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman  
Supervisor

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Dr. Luca Maria Olivieri  
Co-Supervisor

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External

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Director (TIAC)  
Prof. Dr. M. Ashraf Khan

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Dated: \_\_\_\_\_

## DECLARATION

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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**Sarfraz Khan**

**TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS  
QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY  
ISLAMABAD**

We hereby recommend that the Dissertation prepared under our supervision by **Mr. Sarfraz Khan**, entitled **Beginning of Archaeology in Malakand-Swat (1926-1956): Protagonists, Fieldwork and Legal Framework** be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

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**Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman**  
Supervisor

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**Dr. Luca Maria Olivieri**  
Co-Supervisor



**To:**

- 1. XuánZàng, the Protagonists' Pausanias**
- 2. My Parents**
- 3. My Brother Raidullah Khan, theEver Futurist**  
**And Moving Spirit behind Education in My Family**

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## Introduction

According to Paul Bahn, archaeology got started about 2.5 million years ago with the appearance of first recognizable artifacts (tools) in East Africa and etymologically can be traced back to the Greek word “‘arkhaiologia’ meaning discourse about ancient things” (Bahn 1996: 2). Apart from discourse about ancient things, archaeology is sometimes called “the past tense of Cultural Anthropology” as it is dealing with human past. So from this point of view, archaeology has a strong connection with history because it is said that for more than 99 per cent of human past, it is the prerogative of archaeology to be the only source of real information (Bahn 1996: 15).

The great English antiquarian, William Camden described the study of the antiquities as “back-looking curiosities” so in nutshell, it means to know about the past (Bahn 1996: 2). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, antiquarian scholars in north-west Europe began to get information of the ancient past by the study of field monuments. These activities increased in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and paved the way for systematic research and excavations (Ibid: 10). Antiquarianism gave way to a systematic and scientific archaeology in early and mid-nineteenth century as Stuart Piggot says “One cannot see archaeology emerging as a recognizable discipline until the later nineteenth century; before this we have an amorphous antiquarianism” (quoted in Greene 1983/2003: 8).

It was in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that archaeology became a multi-disciplinary undertaking (Bahn 1996: 10, 12). India was no exception to the above mentioned facts and developments where archaeological research commenced from antiquarianism and evolved into the edifice of Archaeological Survey of India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Originated with the colonial intention to get maximum information about indigenous geography, ethnography and



topography to strengthen colonial empire in India, resulted in large scale surveys, excavations and conservations. The political ambitions of the colonial Government of India gave birth to Indian Archaeology initially consisting of Field archaeology and conservation. At the same time, the colonial Government of India provided legal umbrella to archaeological research/activities beginning from the implementation of Regulation XIX of Bengal Code of 1810 and culminated in Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904. Being part of the Indian sub-continent, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa was no exception to such activities. Politically and technically speaking, the region of Swat was located beyond the administrative borders of the British India, however, its geographical contiguousness to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa facilitated the colonial administrators cum scholars/archaeologists to conduct archaeological explorations in Swat and the protected area of Malakand. The administrators cum scholars/archaeologists who pioneered archaeological research in Swat in pre-partition era were included L.A. Waddell, A. Caddy, Alfred Foucher, Evert Barger, Philip Wright, Sir Marc Aurel Stein, Major Harold Deane, Johann Georg Bühler, Lüder, Senart and Edward James Rapson while in the post-partition era, the archaeological research in Swat valley was pioneered by the Italian archaeologists/scholars under the auspices of Italian Archaeological Mission led by Giuseppe Tucci, Domenico Faccenna, Pierfrancesco Callieri, Giorgio Stacul and Luca Maria Olivieri. The activities of the pre-partition pioneers began in 1896 and those of the post-partition in 1956. The first phase (spanning thirty years) of archaeological activities in Swat-Malakand (1896-1926) has been covered by Rafiullah Khan while this research will cover the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase (1926-1956). This research will focus on the developments/events which took place in the field of archaeology

within the geographical location of Malakand-Swat keeping in view the socio-political and legal milieu of British India in general and Malakand-Swat in particular within the time scale of the study i.e. 1926-1956. The following points shall be kept in mind while studying the archaeological research in Malakand-Swat region:

1. The recognition of Miangul Abdul Wadud as the legitimate ruler of Swat subsequent to the establishment of the Yusafzai State of Swat in 1917.
2. The amendment in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VIII of 1904 by the Act No. 18 of 1932.
3. The termination of World War II in 1945 bringing a humiliated defeat for Italy.
4. The partition of British India into the independent states of India and Pakistan in August 1947.
5. The occupation of Tibet by China in 1949.

Indian archaeology in embryonic form may be traced back to the establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones in January 1784. However, archaeological research in the real sense got started with the individual efforts of James Prinsep and James Tod by deciphering the ancient scripts (Kharoshti and Brahmi) and commencing numismatics studies respectively in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These efforts opened the flood gates for the study of ancient Indian history. Nevertheless, Alexander Cunningham revolutionized archaeological explorations by paying attention to different fields such as numismatics, epigraphy, architectural and historical-geographical studies. In the capacity of Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India (1861-1865 and 1871-1885), Alexander Cunningham furnished valuable services for the promotion of Indian archaeology and his vision for the future of Indian Archaeology is

clear from his 1861 “Memorandum” presented to the Government of Lord Canning. From 1885-1889, the Indian archaeological research was haunted by architectural studies because the ASI was led by James Burgess who was architectural expert and field archaeology and conservation almost came to a halt. The period between the retirement of J. Burgess and the appointment of Lord Curzon (1889-1898), witnessed stagnation in the activities of ASI because the Survey remained without a Director-General in the said period and underwent several changes. Sometimes, it was de-centralized by giving it in the control of local governments while next time, it was divided into five regional divisions or circles. This hiatus of inertia in the organization of ASI was broken with the arrival of Lord Curzon as the new Viceroy of India. Lord Curzon became the de-facto Director-General of the ASI as the office of Director-General fell vacant since the retirement of James Burgess in 1889. Being young, energetic and ambitious, Lord Curzon wanted organizational reforms in the ASI, so for that end, he submitted proposals including the revival of the post of Director-General of ASI to the Secretary of State on 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1900. The Secretary of State acceded to his proposal on 29<sup>th</sup> of November 1901 and young John Hubert Marshall was appointed the Director-General of ASI (it is said that he was recommended by the British Museum)<sup>1</sup>. John Marshall took

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<sup>1</sup> Actually Lord Curzon was not interested in an Indologist as his new Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, so the India Office approached the Trustees of the British Museum. At the end, it was Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, the Director of the British Museum who informed Arthur Godley, Under Secretary of State for India, in September 1901 about his optimistic discovery of a suitable person for the suitable task in these words; “the very man for Your Archaeological Inspector. J. H. Marshall of King’s Coll. Camb. His age is 25 and his University record of the highest... Personally he seems a very pleasant fellow and, though young, impressed one as an older man. Of course he had no Indian knowledge but with his university career and his experience at the School of Athens, he will soon adapt. Our archaeologists

charge of his office on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 1902 and serve in that capacity for the next 26 years by retiring in 1928. As leader of the ASI, J. Marshall got incredible achievements in relation to Indian archaeology by focusing on excavations, architectural conservation, epigraphy, publication and establishment of new museums throughout India (Roy 1953, 1961; Wheeler 1971: 11; Chakrabarti 1988/2001; Singh 2004). The last six years of John Marshall's tenure proved fruitful in the sense that the Indus Civilization was discovered in 1924 and in April-May 1926, the long awaited seminal survey of Marc A. Stein in the arena of Alexander the Great eastern campaigns was materialized in the Swat valley. Marshall Period also ushered in the training of natives as archaeologists and the intermediate period between Marshall and Wheeler, witnessed Indians as Directors-General of ASI. Though the period was pregnant with economic, constitutional and political upheavals such as the "Great Depression" of 1931, promulgation of the Government of India Act 1935, Sir Leonard Woolley Report 1939 and World War II badly hindered the activities of ASI, however, the native Indians as leader of ASI made great achievements such as they tried to complete the unfinished tasks of their predecessor, John Marshall, the 1932 Amendment in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 and publication of the reports on the Indus Civilization. It was the Act No. 18 of 1932 to amend the AMPA 1904 which paved the way for Barger and Wright's explorations and excavations in the summer of 1938 in the locale of this study. As a final move and in the light of Sir Woolley's Report where he termed the ASI and its leadership as "the blind was leading the blind", the Indian Government of Lord Wavell proposed to the Secretary of State in a letter to appoint the new Director-General

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have a high opinion of him. I have told him that you wish to see him and so hold himself prepared" (Lahiri 2005: 47).

for ASI by mentioning Mortimer Wheeler by name. Wheeler took charge of his office on 24<sup>th</sup> of April, 1944 just three year before the partition of Indian Subcontinent and it is said that Wheeler's appointment was intended to prepare grounds for post partition era in Indian archaeology. The 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>decennia of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought drastic changes in international political scenesuch as the beginning and termination of World War II in 1945 with a humiliated defeat for Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the emergence of the new states of India and Pakistan in August 1947 and the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1949. All these political developmentsresulted in the commencement of Italian Archaeological research in Swat, Pakistan since 1955. Giuseppe Tucci, as leader of the Italian Archaeological Mission, conducted his first reconnaissance and a detailed survey of the Swat valley in 1955 and 1956 respectively.

Indians are indebted to European scholars for commencing study ofIndia's past under the influence of enlightenment, evolutionism, racism and diffusionism. Some of the Western scholars considered India as the cradle of civilization as is obvious from Voltaire'sfeelings,expressed in a private letter to M. Bailly that "Everything has come to us from the banks of the Ganges". However, some of the scholars are of the opinion that the Western nations were driven by their political intentions of knowing the land and its folks better in order to be able to rule their colonies more effectively. So K. Paddayya is of the opinion that "a number of factors such as the nature of colonialism practiced in a given region, the ultimate motives and interests of the colonial rulers had in mind while initiating studies of the region's past, the world-view of those who actually conducted the studies and, of course, the time-depth and character of the past available for study" need to be taken into account when analyzing the contribution of the colonial power to the

study of the historical past and cultural heritage of the colony. Though the contribution of colonial scholars was intended to further missionary activity, territorial expansion and economic exploitation, however, at the same time, their contributions to the study of native folks' history and archaeology are of vital importance and rejecting it only on the plea that these were politically motivated, would amount to "throwing out the baby with the bathwater". The major chunk of these efforts have been made by the British scholars followed by the Germans, French and other nations of Europe. So, keeping in view the above mentioned facts, the story of Indian archaeology needs to be studied in the framework of British colonialism/imperialism.

Being a baby discipline as compare to other disciplines, the history of archaeology has been initiated very recently. The indifference of every science to its history in the beginning has been expressed by Cyril Fox as "in its childhood and youth a science – or an art – lives and grows without much thought for its own background – save for the stage immediately precedent to its achievement at any particular moment". Glyn E. Daniel rendered valuable services to the historiography of archaeology by writing "*A Hundred Years of Archaeology*" in 1950. Being a prehistorian, Glyn Daniel focused his research on the development of prehistory and the fact has been mentioned by the author himself in the preface of his work as "his book is not a history of all archaeology but only of influential discoveries and developments in prehistoric archaeology" and secondly he has focused on developments in European especially British archaeology.

In contrast to G. Daniel work, Bruce Trigger's "*The History of Archaeological Thought*" is a comprehensive history of archaeological process in the world for the last two hundred years. Bruce Trigger preferred thematic approach instead of discussing

chronological events in the history of archaeology. He contextualized the archaeological knowledge production and has discussed the archaeological process from the international “externalist” point of view. He is of the opinion that all archaeological knowledge/interpretations are influenced by “political agendas, gender prejudices, ethnic disputes, colonialist enterprises, and nationalist ideologies.” Trigger’s work removed the stigma of being a marginal discipline from the historiography of archaeology and now almost all archaeologists consider historiography of archaeology for the practice of archaeology as essential and unavoidable.

Coming from the world archaeology into specific Indian archaeological domain, we have a number of works in this regards such as Clements Robert Markham (1871), John Cumming (1939), Surindra Nath Roy (1953), Dilip K. Chakrabarti (1982, 2001), Upinder Singh (2004) and Himanshu Prabha Ray (2008). Markham’s work is the initial work in this field and discusses the commencement of archaeology in India with its classification along the religious lines. While “*Revealing India’s Past: A Co-operative Record of Archaeological Conservation and Exploration in India and beyond*” edited by John Cumming (1939) with a foreword by a distinguished French archaeologist, Alfred Foucher is another study on the origin of archaeological activities and research. J. Cumming’s work has shed light on a number of developments in Indian archaeology such as the evolution of ASI, conservation/preservation, epigraphy, and museums in the framework of institutional development from the “Internalist” point of view. Moreover, the archaeological activities and research in Indian Princely states such as Hyderabad-Deccan, Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, Gawalior and Travancore as well as in Burma have brought under considerations. J. Cumming has edited and coordinated painstakingly the

works of as many as twenty-two scholars and as diverse as Sir Marc Aurel Stein, C. Duroiselle, D. R. Sahni, D. R. Bhandarkar, H. Hargreaves, J. Ph. Vogel, John Marshall, M. Sana Ullah, N. G. Majumdar and Zafar Hasan. Such an enormous study did assigned space to the development of archaeology in Malakand-Swat but very brief.

Surindranath Roy (1953/1961) was the first native who initiated to write the historiography of Indian archaeology. In the beginning (1953), he covered the period from the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 till the reorganization of ASI by Lord Curzon and the arrival of J. Marshall in 1902 in an article “Indian archaeology from Jones to Marshall (1784-1902).” Later on (1961), he extended his study up to the event of Indian partition in 1947 in a monograph titled “*The story of Indian archaeology, 1784-1947*”. Roy’s work shed light on the development/evolution of archaeology and archaeological research in India in the context of Asiatic Society and ASI, the two progenitor institutions in the field of Indian archaeology with an academic approach. Throughout his study, Roy’s approach to the development of Indian archaeology, remained “Internalist”.

Dilip K. Chakrabarti is another great name in Indian archaeology especially his contributions to the historiography of Indian archaeology are too great to be ignored. In his works (1982) “The Development of Archaeology in the Indian Subcontinent” and (1988/2001) “*A history of Indian archaeology: from the beginning to 1947*”, Chakrabarti traces back the story of Indian archaeology as far back as to the references/contribution of the European missionaries/travelers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and ends it in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the partition of India in 1947. Chakrabarti’s study illuminates the evolution of archaeology right from the establishment of ‘Asiatic Society of Bengal’ to



the establishment of ASI in the context of politics and religion and enlightened the reader by describing every aspect and development of Indian archaeology. However, being a general survey/study of the evolution of the discipline, like Roy's work, this study assigned very little space to the development of archaeological research in Malakand-Swat.

Upinder Singh (2004), in "*The discovery of ancient India: early archaeologists and the beginnings of archaeology*" has contextualized the efforts and contributions of the European administrators/scholars and subjected the beginning of Indian archaeology to "externalist" point of view. She is of the opinion that Indian archaeology owes its birth to the grand design of British colonialism/imperialism. In her study, Singh has focused on the contributions of Alexander Cunningham, James Ferguson as well as Indian scholars of the period. Apart from British India, archaeological developments and activities in the Indian states have been discussed in Singh's work as well.

Another effort has been made by Himanshu Prabha Ray. In her work (2008) titled "*Colonial archaeology in South Asia: the legacy of Sir Mortimer Wheeler*", H. P. Ray discusses the archaeological developments under the last colonial Director-General of ASI, Sir Mortimer Wheeler especially his efforts for initiating problem oriented excavations and training of the native archaeologists.

In the post partition period, Pakistani archaeologists paid little attention to the history of their own discipline. Nonetheless, mention should be made of the efforts of Ahmad Hasan Dani (1980-82/1983), "Archaeology in India and Pakistan: a historical evaluation, in: Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta", Saif ur Rehman Dar's articles (1998) "Gandhara art in perspective" and (1999-2000) "The Sikri sculptures: prolegomena on an exceptional, but

unstudied, collection of Gandhara art in the Lahore Museum” as well as Muhammad Rafique Mughal (2011) “Heritage management and conservation in Pakistan: the British legacy and current perspective”.

As a young department of a newly born state, Pakistan’s archaeology is indebted to foreign scholars and missions for its development. One of these foreign missions is the Italian archaeological Mission to Malakand-Swat, Pakistan. Italian scholars/archaeologists contributed to every aspect of archaeology of the region ranging from pre-history to the historiography of the discipline. There is a long list of Italian archaeologists/scholars such as Giuseppe Tucci, Giorgio Stacul, Maurizio Taddei, Domenico Faccenna, Pierfrancesco Callieri, Anna Filigenzi and Luca Maria Olivieri who rendered commendable services to the archaeological researches in Pakistan in general and to the documentation of archaeological data of Malakand-Swat in particular. It is pertinent here to highlight the services of L. M. Olivieri who furnished worthwhile services to the historiography of Indian archaeology specifically to the preliminary developments of archaeology in Malakand-Swat within the framework of Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan. His researches range from pre-history to the proto-history of the region to the modern era. L. M. Olivieri research also shed light on the political context of Italian involvement in the newly established state of Pakistan especially the archaeological explorations/excavations in the region of Malakand-Swat. In the forthcoming monograph form study based on unpublished archival data, Olivieri has revealed the initial archaeological research in the region particularly the legal and fieldwork context of Sir Aurel Stein’s archaeological explorations in Malakand-Swat. Recently in an article based on archival research, Tahira Tanweer (2011) has studied and revealed the legal framework

to the arrival of Italian archaeological Mission in 1955 and their subsequent archaeological explorations onward in Malakand-Swat. This study has been organized in five chapters apart from a short introduction to this research.

Chapter one “Malakand-Swat: A Geographical, Ethnological and Historical Introduction” is based on the geographical, historical, political and ethnological introduction to ancient as well as modern Swat.

Chapter two “The Management of Indian Cultural Heritage: The Legal Aspect” is an overview of the commencing of archaeological activities in India by European administrators/scholars especially the officials of the British East India Company. This chapter hounds back the antiquarian research in India from the establishment of “Asiatic Society of Bengal” in 1784 to the founding of Archaeological Survey of India in 1861 and its contribution to the development of Indian archaeology up to the partition of India in 1947. This chapter also presents a brief on legislation for the preservation of cultural heritage beginning from 1810 to the culmination of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 (AMPA) and subsequent amendment in AMPA 1904 by Act No. 18 of 1932.

Chapter three “Archaeology of Malakand-Swat and its Protagonists” introduces those archaeologists/scholars who conducted researches in the locale and time frame of this study. In this chapter, an overview of the lives and works of Sir Aurel Stein, Evert Barger, Philip Wright and Giuseppe Tucci, has been presented. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to present a clear contextual picture of the arrival and work of these scholars/archaeologists in the locale of this research project i.e. the region of Malakand-Swat. For this end, explorations and excavations reports of these scholars have been

studied meticulously and recurrently. The hypotheses of these pioneers have been dis/approved on the basis of new/recent studies and researches.

Chapter four “An Outline of the Archaeological Landscape of Malakand-Swat (1926-1956)” is a revisit of those sites discovered/mentioned by these scholars in their reports. Majority of the sites were revisited and a description have been made on the basis of previous reports and present condition. For this purpose, the present researcher conducted a fieldwork to observe the actual condition of these sites. During the fieldwork most of the sites were found either in dilapidated condition or totally disappeared. However, some of the sites were in good preserved condition. The chapter has been concluded with a detailed chart of the sites.

Chapter five ‘Archaeology in Context: Culture, Politics and Science’ presents an overview of the archaeological activities in India with a focus on political and historical context. This chapter discusses initiation of archaeological researches/activities/developments in Indian context generally, nevertheless, at the same time, it has specifically focused on the efforts of colonial archaeologists/scholars who tried to expand their archaeological explorations and researches in “*terra incognita*” i.e. the region of Malakand-Swat for Westerns, in the time frame of this study. For the convenience of understanding, the time period from 1926 up to 1947 i.e. partition of India, has been divided into four Ages which is based on the tenures/periods of leading archaeologists/scholars who either led the ASI or initiated archaeological explorations in India or in the locale of this study.

## Chapter 1

### **Malakand-Swat: A Geographical, Ethnological and Historical Introduction**

Archaeology began in Malakand-Swat concurrently with the British ingress into the region in the wake of Chitral campaign in the last decennium of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This research is focusing on the beginning of archaeology in Malakand-Swat but only covering the period between 1926 and 1956. Keeping in view the time-scale of the study, It is significant not to oversight some vital political and legislative developments, happened in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The political and legislative developments which did contributed to the significance of the time-scale of this study are as under:

1. The establishment of the Yusafzai State of Swat in 1917 by Miangul Abdul Wadud and its subsequent recognition by the British Government in 1926, paved the way for the seminal survey by the British archaeologist, Sir Marc Aurel Stein in the Swat Valley.
2. Passing of the Ancient Monuments Preservation (amendment) Act No. 18 of 1932.
3. The arrival of the independence of India and partition of the Indian sub-continent into India and Pakistan.
4. Chinese invasion and subsequent occupation of Tibet in 1949.

In order to prepare a background to the study of this project, the ancient as well as modern political and cultural geography and history of Swat valley will be discussed in this chapter.

## Nomenclature

### 1.1.1 Ṛgveda

Ṛgveda is the oldest source where Swat as a river has been mentioned as Subhavastu or Suvastu<sup>2</sup> meaning ‘having good/fair dwelling.’ The famous Sanskrit grammarian, Panini mentions the region with the same name as in Ṛgveda i.e. Suvastu<sup>3</sup> (Wilson 1860: 166; Agrawala 1953: 42; Grünwedel 1901: 83; Stein 1927: 418, 1929/2003: 47, 1930: 149; RV, VIII 19, 37; Tucci 1977: 39; Olivieri 1996: 60; Zwalf 1996: 15; Kulke and Rothermund 2002: 32; Bryant and Patton 2005: 56; Neelis 2011: 193 see also note 26; Sehrai 1982: 33).

### 1.1.2 Greek sources

Alexander the Great and his armies crossed the Hindu Kush and subjugated the region of the present day Swat, mentioned as Soastene or Suastene in the Greek sources in the last quarter of 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE (327 BCE). A reference to the name of Swat is found in Greek sources as well. To the Greek writers, it was *Soastene* or *Suastene* (Tucci 1977: 39, 43; Eggermont 1984: ; Olivieri 1996: 59-60). They derived the name of the Swat region from river Swat (Tucci 1977: 39, 43; Olivieri 1996: 60). Megasthenese, Ptolemy, Arrian, Strabo and Curtius Rufus mentioned Swat with different names. For example it was Soastos to Megasthenese, Ptolemy and Arrian while Choaspes to Strabo and Curtius

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<sup>2</sup> Suvastu is the abbreviated form of the Sanskrit term of Subhavastu (Wilson 1860: 166).

<sup>3</sup> Panini has mentioned the capital of Suvastu valley or modern Swat as *Sauvastava* in *Ashtadhyayi* (Agarawala 1953: 69).

Rufus. Arrian used the term Euaspla for Swat. Euaspla means ‘good horses or good houses.’ It is the Iranian form of the Suvastu and its Graecized counterpart. The term ‘Soastene’ was used by Ptolemy for the region today known as Swat (Wilson 1860: 116; Grünwedel 1901: 83; Wylly 1912/2003: 80; Stein 1927: 418; Caroe 1958/1975: 56; Tucci 1977: 39; Olivieri 1996: 60). Luca Maria Olivieri is of the opinion that the river Swat after its conjunction with the Panjkora (Gouraios) was known to the West with three different names such as Gouraios/Garroios, Choaspes and Soastos (Olivieri 1996: 60).

### 1.1.3 Chinese Sources

Chinese Buddhist pilgrims visited Swat right from 5<sup>th</sup> century CE onward (Fǎxiǎn<sup>4</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, Sòng Yùn 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, XuánZàng<sup>5</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> century CE and Huizhao 8<sup>th</sup> century CE) in search of Buddhist scriptures (Beal 1884: xi, xv; Oliver 1890: 215; Callieri *et al* 2008: 113). So Swat has been mentioned as a river in Chinese pilgrims’ itineraries e.g. in the accounts of XuánZàng’s, river Swat has been mentioned as ‘*Su-p’o-fa-su-tu*<sup>6</sup>’ (Subhavastu) (Wilson 1860: 116; Beal 1884: 122, 1888: 64, Watters 1904: 226 see also Li 1959: 64). Different Chinese pilgrims have pronounced/named ancient Swat

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<sup>4</sup>Fǎxiǎn original name was Kung and adopted the title of Shih or Sakyaputra meaning the disciple or son of the Sakya. Fǎxiǎn was a native of Shan-si province (Beal 1884: xi).

<sup>5</sup> Priest XuánZàng (aka Tripitaka in some works) set out for India at the age of twenty six (Beal) or twenty seven (Shuyun) in the year 627 CE (Shuyun) or 629 CE (Beal, Drompp) and returned in the year 645 CE with a time span of sixteen years (Beal 1884: xviii-xix; Drompp 1997: 581; Shuyun 2005: 112; Jason 2011: 253; Neelis 2012: 27).

<sup>6</sup> In Chinese Sources River Swat has been mentioned variously such as *So-po-sa-tu* (Beal 1888) and *Su-p’o-sa-tu* (Watters 1904) instead of *Su-p’o-fa-su-tu* (Beal 1906). *Su-p’o-fa-su-tu* is representing the form Subhavastu while *Su-p’o-sa-tu* stands for Svastu. Both these forms stand for the same river Swat of the modern geography (Beal 1888: 64, 1906: 120; Watters 1904: 226; see also Deane 1896: 655-656; Stein 1921: 15).

differently such as Fǎxiǎn (399–414 CE), who visited Swat in 400<sup>7</sup> CE and Sòng Yùn (518–521 CE) pronounced उद्दियाना<sup>8</sup> as Ou-chang, ‘Wu-ch’ang’<sup>9</sup> or ‘Woo-chang’ (Beal 1869: 26, 188; Legge 1886/1965: 28; Cunningham 1871: 81; Giles 1877: 15; Watters 1904: 225; see also Petech 1950: 19) while XuánZàng (629–645 CE) names it as ‘U-chang-na’ or ‘Wu-chang-na’ with a circuit of 5000 li or 833 miles (Wilson 1860: 116; Cunningham 1871: 81; Beal 1884/2004: 119-135, 1888: 64, 1906: 119; Watters 1904: 225; Stein 1921: 14, 1929/2003: 49; Soper 1959: 269; Wechsler 1979/2008: 219; Lahiri 1986/1995: 47 fn. 1). Like Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, a Buddhist pilgrim from the Korean Silla Kingdom to India, Hyecho (700-780 or 704-787 CE), also visited Swat valley in 8<sup>th</sup> century CE and mentioned the country as Wuchang. In his accounts titled *Wang o cheonchuk gukjeon*, translated as “*Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms*”, Hyecho has used the terms Wuchang and उद्दियाना for Swat as he says; “travelling for three days through the mountains due north of Gandhara, I arrived at Wuchang, which the native people call उद्दियाना” (Whitfield 2012: 132).

#### 1.1.4 Tibetan Sources

To Tibetans, Swat has been a holy land by virtue of the birth place of Padmasambhava, the founder of Tibetan Buddhism, so references as ‘Urgyan’ or ‘Orgyan’ for the land of Swat, are found in Tibetan literature (Tucci 1944; 1958: 279, 1997/2013: 277, 323;

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<sup>7</sup> According to Godfrey, Fǎxiǎn visited Swat about 400 CE while Herbert A. Giles is of the opinion that “Fǎxiǎn returned during the I Hsi period of Chin dynasty. The style I Hsi began in A.D. 405. Fa Hsien got back to China in the twelfth year or A.D. 417.” To Stein, Fǎxiǎn visited Swat in A.D. 400 (Stein 1942) and A. D. 403 (1929/2003) (Giles 1877: vii; Stein 1929/2003: 22; 1942: 54; Godfrey 1936: 456).

<sup>8</sup> The उद्दियाना of Sanskrit and Uyyana or Ujjana of Pali form may be derived from a native name of Uda (Watters 1904: 226, see also Cunningham 1871: 81; Tucci 1997/2013: 300).

<sup>9</sup> Kou I-kung (265-420 CE) mentions Wu ch’a (uo-d’a, Uda) to the west of the country of ‘the hanging passages’ but Tucci thinks that that does not correspond with उद्दियाना of the Buddhist Sanskrit sources (Tucci 1958: 39).



Gokhale 1956: 76; Snellgrove & Richardson 2003: 96). A Tibetan Buddhist pilgrim, Buddhagupta who visited Swat in 16<sup>th</sup> century CE, explains the terms Orgyan or Urgan and Uḍḍ iyāna<sup>10</sup> in these words; ‘The name Orgyan<sup>11</sup> is derived from Uḍḍ iyāna on account of the similarity in the pronunciation of *ḍ* and *r*’ (Tucci 1940: 4-5, 1977: 39 see also Stein 1930: 58). According to Giuseppe Tucci, a Tibetan Buddhist pilgrim, Urgan pa also visited Swat in 1250 C.E. who entered Swat valley through the Ilam Mountain (Tucci 1940: 9, 11-12; Ashraf Khan 1993: 3-4).

Simmer-Brwon Judith has sum up the legend, geography and beauty of Uḍḍ iyāna as under:

The invisible expanse is considered the special province of the dakinis and is given the legendary name of Uḍḍ iyāna or, in its Tibetan version, Orgyen. This place is said in legends to be a western paradise outwardly associated with three possible geographical locations: the Hindu Kush, the region of the Swat valley (to the northwest of contemporary India, near the Afghani border in Pakistan), or south India in the region of Kancl. The original Sanskrit name can be understood to mean “vehicle of flying” or “going above and far.” In Vajrayana legend, Uḍḍ iyana was said to be a beautiful and prosperous place ruled by King Indrabhuti (Simmer-Brown 2001: 269).

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<sup>10</sup> Woo-chang or Wu-chang-na may be read as Udana, translated from the Sanskrit Ujjain which stands for Udyāna or Uḍḍ iyāna means the garden/park or “Parkland”, the country having once been the park of a king, (viz. Aśoka, according, to the ‘Life’) (Legge 1886/1965: 28; Beal 1887: 198; Watters 1904: 225; Stein 1929/2003: 22; Hsiang-Kuang 1956: 56; Bharati 1963:166; Ashraf Khan 1991: 1; Khattak 1997: 3; Samad 2011: 19, 162).

<sup>11</sup> There are two forms of Uḍḍ iyāna in Tibetan sources. Some sources preferred ‘Urgan’ while others opted for ‘Orgyan’ and both could be traced back to original Sanskrit Uḍḍ iyāna or Oḍ iyāna (Tucci 1940: 5; Young 2004: 223; Callieri *et al* 2008: 112).

Majority of the scholars such as Deane, Stein, Tucci, Benard, Davidson and Callieri are of the opinion that Uḍḍ iyāna<sup>12</sup> of the Sanskrit sources should be identified beyond any doubt with the present day valley of Swat and neighbouring areas (see Deane 1896: 655; Stein 1930: B,1; Tucci 1940: 1, 1958: 279; Bharati 1963: 156, 166; Benard 1994: 70; Renpoché 1986/1997: 50; Davidson 2002: 145, 209; Callieri et al 2008: 112; Huber 2008: 71-72). The homonymous Swat is used both for river Swat and Swat valley but actually it was the river Soastos or Suastos (Swat) which furnished the name to the entire valley of Swat (Wylly 1912: 108; Stein 1927: 418; Olivieri 1996: 60; Callieri *et al* 2008: 112).

#### 1.1.5 Modern Swat

Any intruder who was intended to reach the Indus or Ganges Basin from West and North-West had to cross the Swat Valley as it was located on the ‘crossroads’ or ‘trip line position’ in ancient times. All those who crossed the region in the past, left their cultural marks in the valley. One of these peoples was Indo-Aryans who migrated from south Central Asia and northern Iran and settled in the Swat valley about 400 BCE. They

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<sup>12</sup> The location of Uḍḍ iyāna of the Sanskrit sources has been remained a great matter of controversy and has been located by different scholars at different locations such as Waddell and Das (present day Swat valley), M. Sylvain Levi (Kashgarh?), and Haraprasad Sastri (Orissa). Benoytosh Bhattacharyya is of the opinion that Uḍḍ iyāna is generally located in Orissa and identified Uḍḍ iyāna with the village of Vajrayogini (as Uḍḍ iyāna was renamed by Vajrayogini due to his popularity as a famous Tantric Master) in the Pargana Vikrampur, district Dacca, the then East Pakistan now Bangladesh. But according to Professor Tucci, majority of the scholars agree to locate Uḍḍ iyāna in the present day Swat valley in contrast to Benoytosh Bhattacharyya’s location in the eastern India (western part of Assam and Orissa) supported by scholars but few (Stein 1927: 436 fn.2; Tucci 1940: 1, Bhattacharyya 1958: 16-17, 137, 1964: 43-46, 75; Stein 1972: 66; Soper 1959: 269; Bharati 1963: 156, 166-167; Nakamura 1980/1987: 314, 341). However Anna Filigenzi opines that “a distinction must be made between the historical Uḍḍ iyāna, positively identified with Swat on the basis of a consistent set of literary, philological and archaeological witnesses, and the legendary Uḍḍ iyāna of a part of the Tantric tradition” (Filigenzi 2010: 390 foot note 3).

introduced new burial rites, horse, and new ceramic style of grey ware with incised decoration into Swat valley as is manifested from their cemeteries (known as Gandhara Grave Culture) unearthed in the Swat valley. These people practiced inhumation and cremation burial in an urn especially a face-urn. The existence of cultural continuity of Indo-Aryans till the beginning of the current era has been proven by the Archaeological explorations in the region (Mallory 1989: 47; Avari 2007: 66-67; Kuz'mina 2007: 171, 309).

## 1.2 Geography

### 1.2.1 Ancient Geography

It is not an easy task to describe the geography of Swat especially ancient Uḍḍ iyāna but scholars believe that proper Swat valley, Buner, Shangla and part of Dir were included in ancient Uḍḍ iyāna. Among the Chinese pilgrims, Sòng Yùn extends its limits to the mountains called 'Tsong Ling' (Upper Dir) while he located Gandhara in the south of Uḍḍ iyāna (Beal 1869: 188; Stein 1921: 12). Following the footsteps of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, XuánZàng, Alexander Cunningham has described the geography of ancient Swat as "the present districts of Pangkora, Bijawar, Swat, and Bunir" (Cunningham 1871: 81; Watters 1904: 226). Albert Grünwedel confines the geography of ancient Uḍḍ iyāna or Ujjana to the region lying between rivers Indus and Swat or the modern Yusafzai State and northwards to Kohistan (Grünwedel 1901: 76). While to Henry Yule, Uḍḍ iyāna consists of the whole mountainous region south of Hindu-Kush as he says "Uḍ yāna lay in the north of Peshawar on the Swat river, but from the extent assigned to it by Hiuen Tsiang the name probably covered the whole hill-region south of

Hindu-Kush and the Dard country from Chitral to the Indus” (quoted in Beal 1906: 119, footnote 1).

On the other hand, to Sir Aurel Stein, ancient Uḍḍ iyāna was ‘The fertile valleys drained by the Swat River, together with the tribal territory of Buner south-eastward, had long ago been recognized as corresponding to the ancient *Udyāna*, a country famous in Buddhist tradition’ (Stein 1927: 417). Callierie locates Uḍḍ iyāna as “a valley in the mountain area to the North of Peshawar plain and at the foot of mountain chain linking the Hindu Kush and Karakorum” (Callierie *et al* 2008:112). A comprehensive geography of Uḍḍ iyāna has been sum up by Giuseppe Tucci as under:

... what the real extension of the country was cannot be stated with accuracy. Approximately one may say that it coincided with the present Swat State, its southern borders being with Landakai... 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).

### 1.2.1 Modern Geography

Malakand region had been very important for the British Government of India from the strategic point of view as it has been located between the tribal areas (of Swat, Dir and Chitral) and the province of the Punjab (North-West Frontier Province aka NWFP<sup>13</sup> since 1901) of the British India and in the north of the NWFP of Pakistan since 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 after the partition of the Indian sub-continent. Its importance was due to its shortest communication line between Chitral State and British India as compare to the longer

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<sup>13</sup> NWFP was renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in the 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment in 2010.

route through Kashmir and Gilgit (Godfrey 1936: 453). This area, having many historic passes, makes it an 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]’<sup>14</sup> (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 2-3).

If the mountainous barricade resulted in the isolation of Swat region, the various passes in these mountain ranges remained a great source of link with China, Central and Southern Asia (Popowski 1893: 175-176). These mountainous passes are Malakand, Morah, Shah Kot, Karakar, Churat, Jawarai, Kalel and Kotkay, Jarugu Sar, Qadar Kandau, Manjey Kandau and Katgala (Caroe 1958/1975: 54; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 17; Jason 2011: 238). Two passes, Mora and Shah Kot, were frequently used as a link between Swat (Uḍḍ iyāna), Gandhara and onward into India in ancient times. Mora Pass is being used for communication between Swat and the plains of Peshawar valley even in

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<sup>14</sup> The putative strategic designs of Russians, the fragility of the Durand Line, drawn in 1893, to control the Pukhtuns as the vital ‘Gate Keepers of the Indian Empire’, the recent (in the last decennium of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) tribal uprising in Swat and Lord Curzon’s policy to review the administrative structure were the vital factors behind the establishment/creation of the new province on November 9, 1901 styled as “North West Frontier Province (NWFP)”. Curzon review concluded that “the Frontier required more prompt, more imperative and more direct imperial control and he thus removed what he called the obstacle of the elaborate organization of the Punjab Government, added the five Settled Districts (four trans-Indus districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and the cis-Indus district of Hazara) to the Tribal Area to constitute a full province in its own right, and formally launched with a grand festive durbar in 1902, headed by the former Political Agent of Malakand, Harold 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” (Wylly 1912/2003: 24, Stein 1930: 149; Banerjee 2000: 42-43; Roberts 2003: 30; Hussain 2005: 36; Tripodi 2011: 17; Hill 2013: 7, for the political and constitutional developments in NWFP during the first three decades of the twentieth century see Shah 1999–2000: 115–137; 2007: 9–38).

the present times. The famous Shah Kot Pass<sup>15</sup> lost its prestige of the past in 1895 during British rule in India. In 1895, the British Government of India chose the present Malakand Pass (with an elevation of 3500 or 3575 feet) as their main strategic route and passageway to connect Chitral with the rest of India passing through the areas of Malakand and Dir. The British Government opted for this route because it provided the shortest route to Chitral (Younghusband and Younghusband 1897: 63; McNair 1884: 4; Wylly 1912/2003: 82; Foucher 1915/2005: 32; Stein 1927: 419, 1929/2003: 20, 25, 1930:152; Godfrey 1936: 453; Caroe 1958/1975: 54; Krieken-Pieters 2006: 114; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 17; Jason 2011: 238; Hill 2013: 7). Kotkay Pass is a source of communication with China through Northern Areas and in the West Katgala Pass through Talash and Panjkora connects Swat with Afghanistan and onward Central Asia (Stein 1929/2003: 44, 71; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 17).

The Yusafzai tribe has been settled in the Swat valley as well as in the plains of Peshawar valley just on the opposite side of Malakand Mountains. The area below the Malakand ranges is known as plain, lowland or *samah* of the Yusafzai country. The mountainous region of Malakand is generally termed as the highlands or *ghar* of Yusafzai (comprising Swat valley, Buner, Dir and Shangla). Swat valley, Buner, Shangla and Swat Kohistan known as *Uḍḍ* iyānain ancient times, makes the locale of this research work.

In the eastern limits of the highlands of the Yusafzai country is located Shangla district with important valleys such as Kanra, Chakesar, Puran, Ghorband and Makhozai connected with Swat valley through Shangla Pass. Shangla Pass is not the only line of

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<sup>15</sup> Shah Kot Pass is popularly known as “*Hathi-lār* or elephant defile” by the local inhabitants (Foucher 1915/2005: 32).

communication as the district has other lines as well (Stein 1927: 438; Rafiullah Khan 2011: 204-209). The narrow valley of Chakesar (Chakaisar) is linked with Swat through Gadwa Pass between Sonailai (Sonaili) and Manglawar (Minglaur) (Bellew 1864/1977: 51). Another communication line is Kotkay Pass. The position of Kotkay Pass has been described by Sultan-i-Rome as “This Pass connects Swat and Shangla via Malam-jaba valley on one hand and proceeds onward to connect China in the east passing through Gilgit-Baltistan (previously known as Northern Areas), the pass near the mountain of Sar-dzaey at the extreme head of the valley in Kohistan through Chitral to Kashghar” (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 17; see also Stein 1929/2003: 71, 1930: 50).

The district of Buner is located in the south of the Swat valley (Stein 1942: 52). The geographical location of Swat and Buner has been described by Colonel Harold Carmichael Wylly in these words:

...the Buner Valley - an irregular oval--is bounded on the northwest by Swat, on the north-east by the Puran Valley, on the south-east by the Mada Khel and Amazai territory, on the south by the Chamla Valley, and on the south-west by Yusafzai....the Mora Hills and Ilam Range divide it from Swat, the Sinawar Range from Yusafzai, the Guru Mountain from the Chamla Valley, and the Duma Range from the Puran Valley. The Buner Valley is drained by the Barandu, a perennial stream which joins the Indus above the Mahabara; the valley is about thirty miles in length (Wylly 1912: 60).

Three passes enter into Buner from the Swat valley i.e. Karakar, Juarai (Jowarai of Wylly) and Kalel Kandaw/Gokand. The Karakar Pass is linking Daggar (Buner) with

Barikot (Swat); Juarai Pass is the connecting line between Gokand (Buner) and Saidu<sup>16</sup> (Swat) while Kalel Kandaw/Gokand Pass is connecting Gokand (Buner) with Mingawara (Swat) (Wylly 1912: 62). The much frequented routes from Swat valley into Buner are passing through Barikot and its valleys. It will be pertinent to mention Sir Marc Aurel Stein's description of important passes/routes leading from Swat into Buner with special reference to Karakar Pass. He records the standing of these passes as "Routes lead up these valleys 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). The etymological origins and significance of the Karakar Pass has been recorded by Olivieri as "...it is referred to in the itineraries of Tibetan pilgrims as K'a rag k'ar or K'araksar. Several centuries later, on the 11<sup>th</sup> February 1519, the pass, mentioned in the sources as Qara-kupa, was used by Babur's army" (Olivieri 1996: 74; see also Tucci 1940: 50). The dominant position of Karakar Pass and its crossing has been mentioned by Mughal King; Babur in his memoirs *Babur Nama* (Beveridge's translation) in these words: "Next morning Khwāja Mīr-i-Mīrān was put in charge of the camel baggage-train and started off by the Qūrghāt-tū and Darwāza road, through the Qarā-kūpa pass. Riding light for the raid, we ourselves crossed the Aṃbahar-pass, and yet another great pass,..." (Beveridge 1922: 376). The prominence of Karkakr Pass is evident from the fact that it was followed by the armies of Alexander the Great. According to Caroe, he entered Buner through Karakar Pass and descended into Gandhara plains through Ambela Pass or Malandrai Pass as these two

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<sup>16</sup> The Kalel (Khalel of Stein) also connects Gokand (Buner) with Mingawara through Saidu (Stein 1929/2003: 66).



passes connects Gandhara with Buner (Wylly 1912/2003: 51, Caroe 1958/1975: 54). The controversial location of Aornos has been fixed by the Italian Scholars at Mount Ilam. While agreeing with Italian colleagues for the location of Aornos, Olivieri 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 see also Caroe 1958/1975: 54; Popowski 1893: 176). Apart from its communication with Swat valley through various passes and routes, Buner may be accessed through the famous Ambela Pass (gained prominence due to Ambela Campaign against Hindustani fanatics) and Malandrai Pass from Peshawar valley/plains (ancient Gandhara) (Wylly 1912/2003: 51).

Swat valley, Buner and Shangla consist of a number of beautiful side valleys and some plain area inhabited by different people with a medley of cultures. The tribal uprising of 1890s resulted in the formation of Malakand Agency consisting of Dir and Swat in 1895 and later joined by Chitral in 1897 in the wake of rival claims for the throne of the Chitral State (Sultan -i-Rome 2008: 47, 2009: 3-4; Schofield 2010: 125). “The territories of Swat, Dēr, Bājaur, Sam Rānizai, UthmānKhel, and Chitral” collectively formed the Malakand Agency (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 210). Now it will be apposite to have a quick peep into the topographic and ethnographic description of the locale of this research.

### **1.3 Topography and Ethnography**

One of the three regions of Malakand Agency is the mountainous region of Swat valley with an area of 10,400 squares kilometers (Samad 2011: 19). It has been positioned between 34° 40' and 35° north and 72° and 74° 6' east on the globe. Proper Swat valley lies in the north and north-east of North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa with an acronym KP) (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 216). H. W. Bellew has fixed Ilam and Dwasari Mountains in the south of the Swat valley; while the Larram Mountain lies in the north with Kamrani and Munjai/Manja ranges (east-west prolongation); the famous Kotkay Pass lies in the east; and in the West located the Uthmankhel (Hatmankhail of Bellew) and Bajawar hills (Bellew 1864/1994: 37-38). The Swat valley is traversed by the Swat river originating from the hills in the north-east of Buner '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' (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 4; Stein 1930: 58; see also Deane 1896: 656; Quddus 1987: 145; Samad 2011: 19). Major H. G. Raverty, however, searching the origin of Swat River, beyond Kalam in a place known as "Sar-banda (Sar-bānddad of Raverty) in the Sar-dzaey Mountain. In its south, at a short distance, there is a marshy place (with an area of about 15 jaribs<sup>17</sup> [جریب]) called Jal-gah. Jal-gah (جلگاہ) is a compound word derived from Sanskrit *jal*(جل) meaning water and Persian *gah* (گاہ) meaning a place, hence en masse meaning "the

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<sup>17</sup> Jarib is a unit, used for the measurement of land and is equal to 21760 square feet. Popularly it is pronounced as Jeerab [جیرب] in Pashto instead of jarib.

place of water or streams”. So Major Raverty considers the marshy point of *Jal-gah*(جلگاہ) as the source of river Swat<sup>18</sup> (Raverty 1862: 253, 2001: 237).

However, the source of river Swat may be traced as far below as Kalam in Swat Kohistan at the junction of Ushu (flowing from the north-east) and Utror (Gabral stream of the Imperial Gazetteer, flowing from north-west on an altitude of 4000-5500 m) streams. From Kalam, the Swat river flows due south almost 68 miles and near Manglawar changes its direction to south-west and west and flows in that direction for 24 miles before joining Panjkora river (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 116; Quddus 1987: 145; Sultan-i-Rome 2006: 125). So the area from the source of the Swat river in the Swat Kohistan up to its junction with Pajkora river<sup>19</sup> (about 130 miles in length with an average of 12 miles breadth) makes Swat valley/river Swat valley, the river crisscrossing this valley into two halves of the right and left banks as the river is passing at the mid of the valley (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 217; McMohan and Ramsay 1981: 2).

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<sup>18</sup> Raverty gives an interesting description of the course of river Swat and the story of its journey from Ushu and Utror streams passing through a number of tribes and different areas till it grows into a full pledge Swat river. He narrates as ‘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 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 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 Tírátæy, it receives the name of the Suwát river, having during its course received, little by little, the small rivulets on either side’ (Raverty 1862: 253).

<sup>19</sup>River Swat joins Kabul River at Nisatta near Prang in ancient Pushkalavati after covering a distance of about 400 miles (Rome 2006: 125).

Going from Lower (*Kuz*) Swat to Upper (*bar*) Swat and onward to Swat Kohistan, the elevation increases as it is 2000 feet above sea level (a.s.l.) at the junction of Panjkora and Swat rivers and touches the range of 15000-22000 feet a.s.l. in the northern peaks, from where Swat river originates in the mountain ranges. Different scholars have given different topography of Swat valley and have divided the valley accordingly. Some divided it into Swat Kohistan and Swat Proper. From Ain (bellow Baranial i.e. modern Bahrain) up to Utror and Ushu valleys in the north of Swat valley is known as Swat Kohistan. Swat Proper has further been divided into Upper and Lower Swat. Lower Swat starts from Kalangai up to Landakai<sup>20</sup>. The area between Landakai and Kalangai is Lower Swat (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 216–217; Wylly 1912/2003: 80; Stein 1927: 418; Menon 1957: 58; Quddus 1987: 146).

H. W. Bellew gives a different topography of the Swat valley. He divides the valley into three districts (parts) as Ranizai, Kuz Swat (Lower) and Bar Swat (Upper). Ranizai district (named after the clan of Yusafzai) forms the lowest or westernmost region of the valley with 35 villages of which the chief ones are Thothkan (Totakan), Matkana, Derai, Jolagram, Khar, Naway-kalay (Nowikili of Bellew), Bat-khela, Amandara, Maikh-banr, Aladand and Amankot on the left bank of river Swat and Derai, Barangola, Kamalai and Badwan on the right bank. Aladand, Khar, Derai, Batkhela, Thothkan and Matkana have plain areas. In the east of Ranizai is located Kuz Swat stretching between Aladand and Charbagh with a 30 miles length and 4 or 5 miles width. It contains 32 villages along the course of the river between Aladand and Charbagh, principal among them are Thana, Barikot, Ghaligay (Ghaligai), Qambar (Kambar) and Mingawara. Bar Swat (Upper) starts

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<sup>20</sup> According to Sir Winston Churchill the tribesmen for many centuries called Landakai as the “Gate of Swat” as Upper Swat starts beyond this point (Churchill 1916: 133).

from Charbagh and ends at the last village of Churrai (now known as Madyan) at the foot of Kohistan, where it merges with the Kohistan of Ghwarband (Ghorband). The chief villages of this part of Swat valley are Charbagh, Manglawar (Minglaur) and Saidugan (Saidu Sharif) (Bellew 1864/1977: 40–41). But the Kohistanis do not agree with this division of the Swat valley and extend the boundary of Kohistan as below as Jinki-khel in consonance with some British reports in which the said area had been shown as part of Kohistan (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 15). L. M. Olivieri challenges the traditional nomenclature and offers his own which to him is more correct than the traditional one. He describes his alternate division and nomenclature as under:

The term Middle Swat refers to the course comprised between the confluence with the Ugad (at Manglaor) and confluence with the Panjkora. The river course upstream from the former point and as far as the source is called Upper Swat, while the course from the confluence with the Panjkora as far as that with the river Kabul is called Lower Swat. These definitions are without question more correct than the generic use of Upper Swat for the course as far as Manglaor and Lower Swat as far as Panjkora, which leave the lower course of the Swat from here to its confluence with the river Kabul devoid of any specific denomination...(Oliveiri 2003: 13).

In response to the tribal uprising in the North-West Frontier, the British Government of India formed the Political Agency of Dir and Swat in 1895 and later added Chitral in 1897 after Chitral campaign. So the western portion of Swat Proper (from Kalangai to Landakai<sup>21</sup> i.e. Khadakzai, Abazai, Talash valley and Ranizai), on the left bank of Swat river, were detached and merged with the Agency of Dir and Swat (commonly known as Malakand Agency), administered by the Central Government of India through its

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<sup>21</sup> Landakai is the present-day western limit of the Swat district.

Political Officer or Agent in Malakand. So the above mentioned areas did make part of the Swat State (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 15). The Swat State was established in the north-east of Landakai, while the portion of the valley in the south-west of Landakai was already under the loose sway of the British Government to keep the road up to Chitral open. The Nawab of Dir was allowed to rule over some of the areas/tribes such as Khadakzai, Abazai, Talash valley and Adinzai on the right bank of river Swat under the Adinzai Agreement of 1922<sup>22</sup>. Thus, on the right bank of Swat river, the area in the north-east of Landakai (Landakay) and on the left bank of Swat river the boundary line between Adinzai and Shamozaï<sup>23</sup> up to the upper reaches of the valley proper formed part of Swat State. Later on, under the expansionist designs of the first Wali of Swat, areas outside Swat Proper or Valley such as the region of Buner, Khudu-khel (1923), Kanra, Puran, Chakesar and Ghwarband and some chunk of Indus (Abasin) Kohistan were incorporated in the Swat State. According to Stein, ‘all these territories are closely linked to Swat by geographical relations and history.’ So the name Swat was frequently used not only for Swat Proper but for Swat State (Stein 1927: 421, 1942: 51; Hay 1934: 239, 244; Barth 1985: 49-59; Lindholm 1986: 9; Sultan-i-Rome 2005a: 26, 2005b: 69, 2008: 15–16).

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<sup>22</sup>The Agreement took place between Wali of Swat and Nawab of Dir in 1922. The Swat ruler handed over territories beyond Shamozaï on the right bank of Swat river to the Nawab of Dir on British intervention (Hay 1934: 239; Barth 1985: 49-59, Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 116).

<sup>23</sup>On one hand, Adinzai, Ranizai and Shamozaï are used for the sub-sections of the Akozaï branch of the Yusafzaï tribe; while on the other hand, these toponyms are used for the tracts of land allocated to these sub-sections. So these terms are used interchangeably for people as well as for the geographical locations (Hay 1934: 239-240).

Swat Kohistan<sup>24</sup> is mainly inhabited by the Dardic<sup>25</sup> speaking people of Torwals<sup>26</sup> (Torwalik of Biddulph) (Stein 1927: 419; Biddulph 1971: 69; Lunsford 2001: 2) and Gawris<sup>27</sup> (“Gárwí” of Raverty and Grierson, Gawáré of Biddulph, Garhwí of Rose and *Imperial Gazetteer* 1908). Both these languages belong to the eastern Dardic group which also includes Maiyan, Shina, Phalura and Kashmiri. Gárwí aka Kalam Kohistani is spoken in Utrôt, Ushu valleys and Kalam (Swat Kohistan) above Tōrwāl (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 32, 220; Rose 1911: 280; Wylly 1912/2003: 82; Grierson 1929: 1, 6; Biddulph 1971: civ; McMohan and Ramsay 1981: 18; Harmatta and Litvinsky *et al* 1996: 386; Zoller 2005: 8; Scerrato 2009: 15). From south of Kalam and around Bahrain up to Madyan, Torwali is a dominant language. In Chail valley (Madyan) stretching in east-west direction, Chail Kohistani (a dialect of Tōrwāl) is spoken. Though the Dardic group of languages (Tōrwālī and G) are dominant in the Swat Kohistan, nevertheless, Pashto, Gujri and Khowar locally known as *gōkhā* of Gok are also spoken in this region (Zoller 2005:8-9). Major Raverty opines that Churrai is the junction of Pashto and Dardic speaking people. According to Raverty, the villages of Baranyal or Braniāl (Branihal of Biddulph), Haranay, Cham, Gornay (Gurunai of Stein), Chawat-

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<sup>24</sup> Upper Swat is known as Kohistan meaning “land of mountains” (Enriquez 1910: 62 footnote no 2; Lunsford 2001: 2).

<sup>25</sup> Languages spoken in the Panjkora, Swat and Indus Kohistan are collectively known as “Kohsitani” (Grierson 1929: 1).

<sup>26</sup> Torwals are called sometimes Rud-baris as well (Raverty 1862: 252). Torwal is a term used for the region, Torwals/Torwalik for the people and Torwali for their language. John Biddulph in his “*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*” called the language of Torwal as “Torwālāk” (Biddulph 1971: lxxviii; see also Grierson 1929: 1).

<sup>27</sup> According to Colin P. Masica, Gárwí (aka Bashkarik) is spoken at the source or headwaters of Swat river and Panjkora valley while Biddulph named the language of the Gawris as Gowro (Biddulph 1971: civ; Masica 1991: 21).

gram or Chaudgram (now known as Balakot), Ramett, Chukil, Chahil-dara, Ajru-kalay and Mankyal are dominated by Torwal speaking people while Gawris speaking people are dominant in the villages of Pashmal, Haryani, Ila-hi-kot, Kalam, Ushu and Utror (Raverty 1862: 252; Grierson 1929: 6; Biddulph 1971: 69-70; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 117)<sup>28</sup>. Further north, Raverty mentions some Gújars' villages numbering three and known as the *Bánddahs* of Gújarán. One of these three villages 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' (Raverty 1862: 252–253). Grierson says that Chahil-dara and Gurunai are inhabited by non Torwalis and Chitralis immigrants (Grierson 1929: 6).

Mention has also been made of the Swat valley and adjacent regions in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1908. The ethnography has been mentioned in these words;

The first historical mention of these countries is made by Arrian,...who record that in 326 B. C. Alexander led his army through Kunar, Bajaur, Swat, and Buner;... The inhabitants were in those days of Indian origin, Buddhism being the prevailing religion,...They were the ancestors of the non-Pathan tribes, e.g. Gujars, Torwals, Garhwis, etc., who are now confined to Bashkar of Dir, and Swat Kohistan (Imperial Gazetteer of India 1908: 217).

While W. R. Hay assigns these people an Arab origin who speaks 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 Khovar, the language of Chitral' (Hay 1934a: 240). While in Kohistan, Gárwís and

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<sup>28</sup> All these villages are on the right and on the left banks of river Swat (Raverty 1862: 252–253).



Tōrwāls used their own dialect which is very closely linked to the Hindko dialect spoken by the Gújars of Hazara region (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 220). In nutshell, linguistically speaking, scholars have assigned these people a Dardic origin. G. M. Morant illuminates the ethnic and linguistic origins of the inhabitants of Swat Kohistan as under:

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 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 Kafiristan, 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 (Morant 1936: 19).

Under his expansionist designs, the first Wali of the Yusafzai State of Swat, Miangul Abdul Wadud (1917–1949), extended his sway over the above mentioned areas with the exception of Kalam, spanning from 1921-1947. He brought the area of Tōrwāl (extending from Kalam down to Churrai) under the authority of Swat State in 1922 as the fighting folk of the area were in Kalam, involved in a feud with a neighbour in the north (Stein 1927: 421; Grierson 1929: 5-6). The last Wali, Miangul Abdul Haq Jehanzeb (1949-1969), incorporated Kalam in Swat State on the eve of British departure from the Indian sub-continent in 1947. The Nawab of Dir and the Mehtar of Chitral did tried to prevent

the Wali from doing so but of no avail. Though, the people of these areas hail from different stocks speaking different languages and dialects but are commonly designated as Kohistanis by outsiders (for details see Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 115–125; Lunsford 2001: 2).

The Swat valley is mainly inhabited by five branches (Baizai, Ranizai, Khadakzai, Abazai, and Khwazozai) of Akozai branch of the Yusafzai tribe<sup>29</sup>. The area from Madyan (Kohistan) to Thana on the left bank of Swat river is inhabited by various sub-tribes collectively known as Baizai (except Ranizai). The Ranizai further divided into five branches and Aladand is their principal village (Wylly 1912 [repr. 2003]: 85-86). In *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province (volume II, A-K)* the settlement of the various sub branches (Khels) of the Yusafzai tribe on both banks of the Swat river has been expressed as under:

Akozai Yusafzai, the tribe of Yusafzai Pathans which now holds Upper and Lower Swat. Their septs hold this territory as follows, working upwards along the left bank of the Swat river: the Ranizai, Khan Khel hold Lower Swat while the Kuz Sulizai (or lower Sulizai) comprising the Ala Khel, Musa Khel and Babuzai and the Bar Sulizai, comprising the Matorizai, Azzi and Jinki Khels hold the Upper Swat. Baizai is a generic term for all these septs except the Ranizai. Working downwards on the right bank of the Swat are the Shamizai, Sebujni, Nikbi Khel and Shamoza in Upper, and the Adinzai, Abazai and Khadakzai all, except the two last-named, known collectively as Khwazozai, in Lower

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<sup>29</sup> Colonel H. C. Wylly describes the settlement of the tribe in these words “...the Yusafzai occupied all the hills to the east as far as Indus, including Lower Swat, Buner, Chamla and the Peshawar valley east of Hashtnagar and north of the Kabul river. At the present time the Yusafzai inhabit the north-east of Peshawar district, or the Yusafzai plain, Swat, Buner, Panjkora, and several strips of independent territory north and east of the Peshawar valley ” (Wylly 1912/2003: 46).

Swat (Rose 1911: 11)<sup>30</sup>

The areas allotted to and inhabited by these sub-sections of the Akozai-Yusafzai have, often, geographically been applied with their names probably during the distribution of land (Wylly 1912: 56; Hay 1934a: 239–240). The valleys of Kana (Jinki khel), Puran (Babuzai), Ghorband<sup>31</sup> and Chakesar (Azi khel) are also being inhabited by the Yusafzai people (Wylly 1912/2003: 86; Barth 1985: 72). The district of Buner (Buhnair of Bellew) lies between 34° 22' and 34° 37' north and 72° 15' and 72° 48' east bordering with Swat and Sama Ranizai in the west, Swat Kohistan in the north, Mardan and Peshawar (ancient Gandhara) in the south and Black Mountains and Hazara district in the east (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 223). Historically speaking, Buner once formed part of the ancient Uḍḍ iyāna as it is evident from Sir Aurel Stein's description of Buner, '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.....anyhow in the West, is the fact that it must have been the scene of important events in that arduous campaign which brought Alexander the Great from the foot of the snowy Hindu-Kush to the Indus and preceded his triumphant invasion of the Punjab' (Stein 1898: 1, 1927a: 417). Geographically and historically speaking, Buner

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<sup>30</sup>The same has been mentioned in Bellew 1864/1977: 42–45; McMohan and Ramsay 1981: 4-5; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 19-20; too. For somewhat different account see Raverty 1862: 267–269.

<sup>31</sup> Being a forest and difficult terrain for living, Ghorband did not alternate among any clan (khel) in the traditional *wesh* system of Yusafzai pakhtuns. Ghorband belonged to none of the clans (khels) as it was a forest. Anybody could come and could be settled here, so Ghorband was inhabited by different clans (khels) of Youzsafzai (Barth 1985: 72).

has been part of Swat valley as described by Stein in these words, “Raverty 1862: 267-4-5; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 19-20; for somewhat different account see Raverty 1862: 267-269). also to Buner, to the lower portion of the Swat Kohistan, and to the valleys of Ghorband, Chakesar, and Puran between the Swat watershed and the Indus. All these territories are closely linked to Swat by geographical relations and history” (Stein 1927a: 421).

It is said that Aśoka the Great visited Buner passing through Ambela Pass. Various origins have been assigned to the nomenclature of the region by different sources especially some of the local sources which say that the name ‘Buner’ has been derived from “Beenir” (meaning a very special person, who has multi-religious wives), a governor of the region during Aśoka reign (Saeed-ur-Rehman *et al* 1996: 3; Khattak 1997: 29). However, L.M. Olivieri is of the opinion that the name Buner may be traced back to the term Varaena, the XIV district of Avestic geographic (corresponding to the area between Eastern Iran, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan and Pakistan). Scholars have identified the Avestic Varaena (meaning ‘of the four corners’) with the geographical location mentioned in *Mahāmāyūrī* as Varnu i.e. with the modern times Buner and with the Aornos of the historians of Alexander the Great. The same toponym has been mentioned by Pāṇini as *Varaṇā* which again corresponds to Pliny’s *Cartana tetragonis*. V.S. Agrawala says that ‘*Varaṇā* may be identified with the place called Aornos by the Greeks as a fort in the country of Assakenoi (Āśvakāyanas)’ (Agrawala 1953: 69-70; Olivieri 1996: 67). To search Buner in the term ‘Varana’ is interesting in the sense that in the *Mahāmāyūrī* text, the corresponding toponym has been placed next to that of *Suvastu* (Olivieri 1996: 67). So by equating ‘Varaena, Varnu and Varana’ with the modern times Buner, it is safe to locate Aornos of the Alexander’s historians in the Mount Ilam because in Tucci’s confident opinion, the site of Aornos ‘cannot but be Mount Ilam’ (Olivieri 1996: 68). Though the

important Karakar Pass connects Buner with the Swat valley and Ambela and Malandrai Passes link it with ancient Gandhara, and these routes/passes have been used by the invaders in the past as was the case of Alexander the Great and Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty but the inhabitants of the region (Buner) remained in isolation due to lack of trade arteries (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 223; Beveridge 1922: 376; Olivieri 1996: 74). The famous Karakar Pass, Juarai Pass and Gokand Pass or Kalel Kandaw is linking Buner with Swat valley. Chamla is a small tributary valley of Buner (14 miles long and 4 miles wide) with 22 villages and drained by a perennial stream, Chamla, which joins the Barandu river a few miles above its junction with the Indus. Chamla valley is separated from Buner by the Torghund hill and by the Sarpatari ridge from Khudu-khel. Amazai occupies the eastern and north slopes of the Mahaban Mountain drained by the perennial torrents of Barandu (Barhando of Bellew). Khudu-khel and Gokandare important areas of the Buner region as well (Wylly 1912: 62; Hay 1934a: 243, 236; Bellew 1864/1977: 51–53). Mahabanr, Asgram, Girarai, Banj, Panjkotai and Gumbatai are great archaeological sites of Buner (*Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 223 for details see also Stein 1898, Khattak 1997).

Ambela, one of the three passes<sup>32</sup>, linking Buner with ancient Gandhara in ancient times (presently Mardan district), lies between 34° 24' north and 72° 38' east, gained prominence due to British campaigns against various clans of the Yusafzai tribe of the Pukhtuns especially the “1863 Ambela Campaign” due to the presence of the Hindustani

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<sup>32</sup> Three passes, Ambela, Malandrai and Pirsai are linking Buner with ancient Gandhara (present day Peshawar valley)” (The Viscount of Fincastle and Elliot-Lockhart 1898: 205).

fanatics' colony in the vicinity. "Hindustani Fanatics"<sup>33</sup>, aka "*Hindustanimujahideen*" made their stronghold in Sitana and later in Malka<sup>34</sup> during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1863, the British Government of India carried out a punitive campaign known in history as "the Ambela Campaign" to stop "*Hindustanimujahideen*" attacks in British territories and to drive them out from their strongholds in Sitana and Malka. After the said campaign the tribal Pakhtuns destroyed their stronghold at Malka in the presence of British forces (Hay 1934a: 244; for details see also, Wylly 1912: 67-115; Douie 1916: 305; *Imperial Gazetteer* 1908: 20-21, 218-225; Caroe 1957: 360-369; Haroon 2007: 42).

Like Swat, sub-branches of the Yusufzai tribe inhabit the present-day Buner District too. The region is peopled by the seven branches of the Ilyaszai branch of the Yusufzai. It consists of Ashizai, Salarzai, Nurizai, Daulatzai (generally known as Panjpai), Gadezai, Makhozai and Chagharzai. About 94 to 100 villages are peopled by the above mentioned seven clans. Chamla, Khudu-khel<sup>35</sup> and Amazai, located in the Mandanr country also make important part of the Buner valley (Bellew 1864/1977: 51-52). Malizai is also a tribe living in Buner which might not be confused with the Malizai of Panjkora valley (Hay 1934: 236). Gokand is an important valley of the area as well (Hay 1934a: 236).

The geographical location of the present-day Shangla District has been described by Aurel Stein as "Having thus become undisputed master of Upper Swāt he was soon able to extend his way also to Bunēr, to the lower portion of the Swāt Kohistān, and to the valleys

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<sup>33</sup> In their work, *A Frontier Campaign* the Viscount of Fincastle and P. C. Elliot-Lockhart, called them "Wahabi fanatics" (The Viscount of Fincastle and Elliot-Lockhart 1898: 12).

<sup>34</sup> The colony of the "Hindustani fanatics" was founded by Syed Ahmad of Bareilly in 1829 (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1908: 218).

<sup>35</sup> Geographically, Khudu-Khel is a part of Swabi tehsil (Hay 1934a: 244).

of Ghōrband, Kāna, Chakēsar, and Pūran between the Swāt watershed and the Indus in the east of Swāt. All these territories are closely linked to Swāt by geographical relations and history” (Stein 1927a: 421). Shangla has many fertile valleys such as Ghorband, Kana, Chakesar and Puran and important mountainous passes such as Gadwa. In his book *Alexander’s Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier*, Stein further writes:

There are 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 [Khwāza-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 (Stein 1927a: 421).

He proceeds to put down:

Our route starting from Khwāja-Khela [Khwāza-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 1927b: 520).

About the natural position as a stronghold, elevation and fertility of Pir-sar, Stein writes as under:

....the essential features which were bound to invest it with exceptional advantages as a place of safety and natural stronghold for the ancient inhabitants of this region. Its great elevation, more than 5000 feet above the Indus, would suffice to make attack difficult. The extent of level space on its top, greater than that to be found on any height of equally natural strength further down on the right bank of the Indus, would permit of the collection of large numbers both for safety and for defence. 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 (Stein 1927b: 526).

In District Shangla, Bellew opines, Kana is the largest locality having Ghorband as its tributary or valley with 30 villages inhabited by Azikhel and Zangikhel Pakhtuns of the Yusufzai tribe. Kormang, Kana and Upal are three major villages/towns of the Kana district. The Chakesar valley is comparatively narrower valley as it is nowhere broader than 2 miles with branching glens having 24 villages populated by Azikhel and Babozai clans of Yusufzai tribe. Gadwa Pass (Gandao Pass of Biddulph) is the source of communication between Chakesar and Saidu (Sedoo of Biddulph) Swat. The third district in Shangla is Puran drained into Indus by Itai River at Kabalgram. The upper parts of this region are adjoining the Makhozai and Chagharzai glens of Buner. It has 35 villages of which Kabalgram, Jatkul and Sundui are major towns (Biddulph 1971: 7; Bellew 1864/1977: 50–51; Stein 1929/2003: 129-132). The very close and hill bound location of Puran being ignored by scholars has been described by Luca Maria Olivier as “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 and completely ignored by scholars . . .” (Callieri 1987; Olivieri 1994: 474). Puran is located on important routes connecting



Shangla region with Buner. This fact has been mentioned by Stein as “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: 539).

### 1.3 History

Being located on the crossroads of ancient trade routes connecting Indian sub-continent (now India and Pakistan), China, Central Asia, Tibet and onward Europe, ancient Uḍḍiyana (present Swat valley and the adjacent areas of Dir, Buner and Shangla) has attracted spiritual as well secular leaders. By virtue of its location, Swat valley has been the scene of important developments in the history of Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent, Central Asia and China. So it has remained a ‘melting pot’ for the convergence of profane and sacred ideas throughout history. This fact has been summarized by the well known Italian Orientalist, Giuseppe Tucci as under:

The conditions prevailing in Swat 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, and where met, not to repel but to approach one another, the most active religions of those times: Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, each laden with the spiritual and intellectual traditions of its country of origin and of adoption (Tucci 1958: 282).

Being on the fringes of regional civilizations developing in the region around Swat, the valley proved to be the ‘melting pot’ of cultures and civilizations ranging from Indus Civilization, Yellow River Civilization of China and Central Asian Civilization. So a number of civilizations and cultures ranging from the Indo-Aryan/Indo-Iranian people, Achaemenians, Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Kushanas, and Hunas left their traces (tangible and

intangible) in different ways ubiquitously. All these civilizations and cultures, their world-views, philosophies of life and legacies got fused in Swat valley. On the basis of archaeological remains, coins and canonical literature, the archaeologists and historians succeeded to trace the history of Swat as far back as 3000 BCE (Avari 2007: 66; Scerrato 2009: 16).

Evidences have been found by the archaeologists that man was not confined to the plains of India and Pakistan but penetrated into the northernmost mountainous region of South Asia (also called 'Movius line') during pre-historic times. The same evidences have been found by the archaeologists (especially Italian) in the Lower Kandak valley of Swat. Stone tools found in the Kandak valley were studied by Roberto Micheli of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan. The extensive comparative study brought Micheli to the conclusion that the lithic tools of Lower Kandak valley have close affinities (cultural and chronological) with the tools discovered at Peninsular India and Soan valley. Micheli says that the stone tools from the Lower Kandak valley (Goratai Kandaw and Daman) belong to the Acheulean techno-complex (Micheli 2006: 49-50).

The proto-historic cultural history of Swat valley is also now known to a certain degree. The Italian Archaeological Mission has been working on the archaeology of Swat Valley since 1955 and the Mission has tried to unearth the history of the area from pre-history to present times. Later on, in the 1960s, the Italian Archaeological Mission was joined by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar and contributed well to the archaeological research of Swat. All these efforts led to elucidate proto-historic puzzle of the region and now the proto-historic cultural history of Swat valley is an open secret. On the basis of material culture and style, ethnic affinities (linguistic, cultural) have been

established with Central Asia, Iran and northern parts of the sub-continent (India and Pakistan) ranging from Neolithic to Bronze Age (3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE) and to historic times. The contributions of the two Missions (Italian and Peshawar University) brought to fore the complete cultural sequence of the region (Swat valley) (Scerrato 2009: 15-19; Stacul 1987). The basic objective behind these researches of the two teams (Italian and Peshawar University), was to find out a solution to the enigma of Indo-Iranian (Indo-Aryan) migrations/invasions in the eastward direction from their original home in Central Asia. There was no disagreement in the views of Italian and Pakistani scholars in establishing the chronological sequence of the region, nevertheless, the nomenclature for the period in the valley brought them at loggerheads. Ahmad Hasan Dani coined the term 'Gandhara Grave Culture' while the Italian Mission<sup>36</sup> called it 'Proto-historic Culture' (Dani 1967, 1978; Stacul 1970; 1996; Antonini 1969; 1973; Dani 1992/1996: 395-397; Avari 2007: 66-67; Kuz'mina 2007: 307; Mallory 1989: 47).

Though it is difficult to find clear cut archaeological and historical evidences to prove the cultural links of the Swat valley with the Achaemenid Empire of Iran but there did exist administrative-political link between the two. The cultural and political affinities of the Swat valley with the Iranian world has been described by Luca Maria Olivieri in these words:

... at least since the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C., very closely linked to the Iranian cultural context, of which it constituted the eastern limit, and to which it was politically integrated at least from the end of 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. as part of the Achaemenid Empire. Whether or not an Achaemenid horizon influenced the material culture of Swat has been hotly

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<sup>36</sup> Giuseppe Tucci attributed this culture to the Dardic people (Dani 1992/1996: 397).

debate[d] in the recent past. However, despite the historical evidence, in the light of the data provided by archaeology, it should be said that apart from some isolated and problematic sites such as Balambat (Dir) or of Aligrama, which are puzzling, the material cultural context seems to have been little affected by its integration into the Achaemenid Empire....from the political-administrative point of view, it is certain that this area, which probably formed part of the satrapy of Gadara (Gandhara), was included in the Empire between the reigns of Darius I and of Xerxes II, that is between the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C... (Olivieri 1996: 65-66).

Keeping in view the expansionist designs of the Achaemenid Empire which brought under its sway a vast area extended from Egypt to South Asian subcontinent, it is most likely that Swat valley did remain part of the Persian Imperial power during Achaemenid reign. Cameron A. Petrie and Peter Magee has described the extent of the Empire as ‘the formation of the Achaemenid Empire saw the incorporation of regions and populations from Central Asia to Egypt and from the west of Asia Minor to the South Asian subcontinent under the one allegedly overarching political system’ (Petrie and Magee 2007: 3). It may be possible that these peripheral states were linked with Imperial power nominally and organized themselves in autonomous federations and chiefdoms. L. M. Olivieri is of the opinion that Achaemenid hegemony came to an end as earlier as half a century or more before the advent of Alexander the Great on Indian scene. Alexander’s/Greek historians are silent on the link of Swat with the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids. Olivieri says “it is therefore likely that this region, at least towards the end of the Achaemenid hegemony, was only nominally part of the Empire, and was perhaps organized in a system of ‘client States’ which removed the necessity of effective territorial control ” (Olivieri 1996: 66; see also Antonini 1963: 13-26; Tucci 1977: 11).

Being part of the Achaemenid's satrapy of Gandhara, Swat remained part of the Persian Empire during the reign of Darius I and Xerxes II (end of 6<sup>th</sup>- middle of 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE). Archaeologists are still struggling with scanty material evidences for the cultural interaction between the two people save the puzzling sites of Aligrama and Balambat, which shows the peripheral and independent status of the Swat valley in the later part of Persian rule in the region before the Macedonian invasion (Olivieri 1996: 66).

A sort of connection with Achaemenid Persia has been drawn by A.H. Dani while excavating in the Balambat area of Dir, he unearthed some *pyraea* or hearths and called it "Zoroastrian fire altars" and tried to treat them in the same way as those at Dahan-i-Ghulāmān fire altars (Dani 1967: 41). However, G. Tucci strongly disagree with A.H. Dani and is of the opinion that these *pyraea* has no connection with the *pyraea* unearthed by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Dahan-i-Ghulāmān in Sistān. Rather the Balambat set up was intended for ordinary family uses (Tucci 1977: 12-14).

This shows a sort of connection with Achaeminid Persia. But G. Tucci does not agree with this suggestion and deals the finds in terms of ordinary uses (Tucci 1977: 12). However, Oliveiri is of the opinion that the excavation at Aligrama site proved the supposition of the Peshawar University archaeologists where an important temple building has been unearthed intended for 'fire worship.' This hypothesis has been strengthened by the excavation in Dir with the discovery of three 'fire altars' and some material cultural objects. All these lead to prove the Iranian connection with the Swat valley (Olivieri 1996: 66). According to G. Tucci, the authors of the Gogdara I petroglyphs of dogs (rock images) are Indo-Iranians. The sacredness of dog in Iranian old religious tradition and other Indo-European and northern Asiatic conceptions are beyond

any doubt (Tucci 1977: 93, Oliveiri 1998: 83). L. M. Olivieri is of the opinion that these analyses are no more valid in the light of recent researches in this area (Olivieri 1998: 82–88).

In contrast to Iranian rule, the advent of Alexander the Great in 326 BCE resulted in the more evident/pronounced history of Swat especially the accounts of Alexander's historians who spoke about ethnicity and topography of the region. The historical significance of the advent of Macedonian conqueror in Swat valley has been described by Sir Aurel Stein as under:

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).

Right from 1896, valuable contributions have been made by individual archaeologists as well as archaeological missions (especially the Italian Archaeological Mission to Swat, Pakistan since 1956) by verifying the literary sources through archaeological context in connection of Swat valley's antiquity.

En route to India (May 327- February 326 BCE), Alexander the Great entered and conquered Dir, Swat and Buner valleys (Macphail 1926: 11). Massaga was a fortress city in the Katgala Pass between Talash and Adinzai valleys and it was the first place invaded and conquered by Alexander, probably in November 327 BCE. Massaga was the big city and the capital of the Assakenoi as its 38000 army tried in vain to defend (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1908: 13; Stein 1929/2003: 45-48; Caroe 1958/1975: 50; Tucci 1977:

41; Olivieri 1996: 61–64; Thapar 2002: 157; Heckel 2006: 14, 59, 90, 296). But the location of Massaga in the above valleys in Dir has been contended by modern scholars especially Giuseppe Tucci followed by later Italian scholars of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan. They are of the opinion that the conquest of Massaga preceded by the siege of the present-day Barikot (Bazira or Beira of the Greek historians) (Stein 1929/2003: 46–48; Tucci 1958: 296, n. 28; Dani and Bernard 1994/1996: 75-76; Heckel 2006: 92). The puzzle of Massaga's location has been summed up by L. M. Olivieri as 'initially Tucci located Massaga near Chakdara but later, on the basis of Curtius Rufus version, he tried to find the capital of Massagenoi (*Assakenoi*), in Swat valley beyond Bir-kot/Bazira (*urbs opulenta* meaning rich town) i.e. upstream the site of Bīr-koṭ - ghunḍ ai in the vicinity of Aligrama or near the area of Mingora, which is in Tucci's opinion was the most northerly limits of Alexander the Great campaign in the region. Archaeological evidences such as human remains buried hastily, are favouring Aligrama as a strong candidate for the location of Massaga. Moreover, Olivieri supports the candidacy of Aligrama as he says "Curtius Rufus' description of the position of Massaga fits the site of Aligrama rather well, since it is situated to the west of the River Swat like Massaga was."Tucci sees the name Massaga in the present day stream of Mahak, flowing into river Swat (Olivieri 1996: 62, 64). This has been elaborated by Olivieri in these words as under:

In this case the Massaga of Alexander's time must surely have been situated upstream from Barikot, higher up the Swat Valley, almost certainly in the wide, fertile alluvial plain, formed by the confluence of the rivers Jambil, Saidu and Swat, seen to the north-west from Aligrama hill (Olivieri 1996: 64).

But Sultan-i-Rome has strong reservations on the location of Massaga at Aligrama as conjectured by the Italian scholars (Sultan-i-Rome 2013: 46-47). Later researches strengthened Stein's identification of Barikot and Udegram (Bazira/Beira and Ora of the Greek historians respectively) save Aornos, a place of great controversy among the archaeologists, however, it has now been correctly identified in Mount Ilam<sup>37</sup> by modern researches instead of Stein's identification in the far away Pir-sar. So after the fall of Barikot, the Macedonians subjugated the people of modern day Udegram (Stein 1930: 40; Tucci 1958: n. 8; Dani and Bernard 1994/1996: 77; Heckel 2006: 92) (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1908: 13; Eggermont 1984; Dani and Bernard 1994/1996: 77-78; Olivieri 1996; Rahman and Shah Nazar Khan 2008). After the subjugation of the Ilam/Aornos, Alexander the Great installed a garrison and Sisicottus/Sasigupta/Sandrakottus (an Indian ally who had served under Bessus in Bactria), was entrusted with the charge of Aornos/Ilam and the surrounding areas (Dani and Bernard 1994/1996: 77-78; Olivieri 1996: 69).

The people of Swat did not abide the Macedonian rule for long and soon threw off the Greek yoke even during Alexander encamping in Punjab. Sultan-i-Rome writes about the rebellion of the folks of Swat as under:

The inhabitants of Swat so detested the alien rule that whilst Alexander was encamped along the rivers of the Punjab, they 'threw off fear and renounced allegiance.' It is not

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<sup>37</sup>Regarding the location of the Aornos' problem, some later scholars' works other than M. A. Stein may be consulted such as Tucci 1977: 9-102; Caroe 1983; Eggermont 1984: 73-123; E. Badian, 'Alexander at Peuceolaotis', *The Classical Quarterly*, 37, 1, 1987, 117-128; Olivieri 1996: 45-78; 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.



clear whether Swat later remained under the authority of the Macedonians satraps or if the people successfully threw off the Macedonian yoke after Alexander departure... (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 22).

The dismemberment of Alexander's Empire had begun during his lifetime and his generals tried to grab as much as possible (Narian 1957: 8). The fact has been described by Frank Lee Holt as under:

To be fair, Alexander's empire had begun falling apart during his reign; his death merely accelerated the process. In the eastern reaches of that empire, the king's successes proved especially ephemeral. In spite of his best and most brutal efforts, the conquest of Afghanistan and Pakistan remained incomplete, the occupation unstable. Alexander had known this. In the Indus Valley of Pakistan, he made what has been called "a tactical retreat without the parallel in the reign." The king gave up this territory to local rulers because he simply did not have the manpower necessary to garrison it. The army he had left along the Oxus was clearly unreliable, and he did not have another to station along the Indus (Holt 2005: 120).

Consequent upon Alexander's, invincible before all enemies save death, early demise in June 323 BCE in Babylonia, rivalry among his generals/governors surfaced (Smith 1920: 11; Thapar 1975: 43; Ashraf Khan 1993: 7). The whole army stood divided into groups of soldiers and officers. The fact of internal factionalism in Alexander's army has been summed up by K. C. Ojha as under:

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 tolerated and the Indians threw it away under the leadership of Chandragupta Maurya<sup>38</sup> (known to Greeks as Sandrocottos<sup>39</sup>) (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1908: 13; Macphail 1926:13). After a protracted struggle between Nikator Seleucus and Chandragupta, the former, at last, ceded his eastern satrapies to the latter in 305 BCE.

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; Id. 1992: 150 see also Thapar 2002: 176).

The encounter between Mauryans and the Seleucids in the region of ancient Gandhara and the subsequent settlement between the Greeks and Indians has been mentioned by Frank Lee Holt in these words;

...when the Macedonian general Seleucus claimed all the conquered provinces east of Babylonia, he acknowledged the inevitable and formally traded away much of modern Pakistan and southeastern Afghanistan to the rajah Chandragupta Maurya in exchange for

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<sup>38</sup> Chandragupta Maurya founded the Mauryan Empire in 324 or 322 or 321 BCE and rule up to 297 BCE (Narian 1957: 8; Thapar 1960: 43, 2002: 175; 1975: 38; Chamoux 1981: 51; Gombrich 1988/e book 2006: 129).

<sup>39</sup> The Greek Sandrocottos was identified with Chandragupta by the great Orientalist, William Jones in 18<sup>th</sup> century (Thapar 2002: 177).

hundreds<sup>40</sup> of war elephants of more immediate value (Holt 2005: 120; see also Macphail 1926: 13-14).

So it is safe to infer that Swat valley/ancient Uḍḍiyana being part of ancient Gandhara might be annexed during Chandragupta Maurya's reign because the last decennia of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE saw realignments on the political panorama of the region (Albinski 1958: 64; Majumdar 1973; Id. 1992: 151). Chandragupta was followed by his son, Bindusara (Amitrochates<sup>41</sup> of the Greek sources), in 297 BCE. Bindusara ruled over the Mauryan Empire for 25 or 28 years. Bindusara died in 272 or 273 BCE and was followed by his son Aśoka-varadhana<sup>42</sup> commonly known as Aśoka<sup>43</sup>. He ruled the Mauryan Empire for about 37 years with the royal titles of *devanam piya* 'beloved or dear to Gods or gods' and *piyadasī* 'of gracious mien'. According to Tibetan tradition, Aśoka died in c. 236 BCE<sup>44</sup> 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 Pāli chronicles in general and the *Sāmanta Pāsādikā* does not carry the Maurya history beyond Aśoka. They rather create the impression that the whole glory of the dynasty vanished with him.' Some other sources like the *Divyāvadāna* take the story further and give but an unreliable record of Aśoka's successors<sup>45</sup> (Smith 1920: 18-19, 1921: 61-64;

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<sup>40</sup> Chandragupta Maurya provided 500 elephants to Seleucus (Scharfe 1971: 217; Thapar 2002: 176).

<sup>41</sup> Amitrichates is the Grecized form of Sanskrit *amitraghata* meaning 'the destroyer of foes' (Macphail 1926: 15).

<sup>42</sup> Sinhalese polemicist, D. C. Vajayavardhana called Aśoka "Lenin of Buddhism" because he regarded the Buddha as somehow anticipating Karl Marx (Gombrich 1988: 134).

<sup>43</sup> Aśoka was formally coronated in 269 BCE (Albinski 1958: 65).

<sup>44</sup> Aśoka's death has been mentioned by some scholars as 232 BCE and even 242 BCE by Macphail (Narain 1957: 8; Thapar 2002: 204; Macphail 1926: 59).

<sup>45</sup> Pushyamitra established the Shunga dynasty in India by assassinating the last Mauryan emperor, Brihadratha during a military inspection (Thapar 2002: 204).

Moreland and Chatterjee 1936/1953: 53; Mohan 1974: 55; Thapar 1975: 42, 2002: 178, 204; Macphail 1926:15-16, 19; Ashraf Khan 1993: 7; Durant 1954: 446). Notwithstanding the dearth of sufficient historical evidence, the fact is conceded to by scholars that the protracted struggle for the throne amongst the Mauryan princes, at last, caused the disappearance of the dynasty. The last Mauryan emperor, Brihadratha was assassinated during a military inspection by his Commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra (the man who founded the Shunga dynasty). In such a chaotic situation, Demetrius established the Indo-Greek Kingdom in north-western India by subjugating a large area in southern Afghanistan, the Punjab and Indus valley and inflicted great defeats to the last Mauryan king, Brihadratha which brought the 137 years rule of Mauryan dynasty to an end. Demetrius' power was challenged by Pushyamitra in the Punjab but he succeeded to include Gandhara in his kingdom (Smith 1920: 71; Mohan 1974: 55–67; Thapar 2002: 204, 214; Macphail 1926: 60; for details see Majumdar 1973/1992: 165–166).

The Indo-Greeks, suggests A.K. Narain, have to be studied against the backdrop of the dismemberment of Achaeminid Empire in the east, the advent of Alexander the Great and the disintegration of the Mauryan power (Narain 1957/1962: 7). According to Vincent Arthur Smith, Swat valley and the adjoining regions of Kashmir etc. had remained parts of the Aśokan Kingdom (Smith 1920: 76, 81). The political chaos and crisis in the Maurya Empire after the death of Aśoka led the Bactrian Greeks<sup>46</sup> (they are also known

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<sup>46</sup> Different nomenclatures have been used by different scholars for the Greek rule in ancient Gandhara such as Indo-Greeks, Indus-Greeks and Gandharan-Greeks. Ahmad Hasan Dani called them Indus-Greeks as their domain of rule was consisted of Indus valley, so better to be called Indus-Greek while Fidaullah Sehrai is of the opinion that they rule the region of Gandhara and areas around it, so better to be called Gandharan-Greeks (Sehrai 1982: 6; Ali and Qazi 2008: 6).

as Indo-Greek and even Indus Greeks) to conquer the western parts of the empire (Narain 1957/1962: 10; Samad 2002: 1). This makes it clear that the Indo-Greeks followed the Mauryans in Swat and the adjacent areas. Menander (also known as Malinda) was one of the famous Indo-Greek Kings who ruled India from 150-135 BCE and extended the frontiers of Indo-Greek kingdom as far north as Kabul and as far south as Mathura region which has been confirmed by his coins recovered from these regions. His kingdom included the Swat valley and Hazara district in the north-west as well as the Punjab. Narain says that “Menander’s kingdom shows Indo-Greek power at its peak. He ruled from the Kabul valley in the west to the Ravi in the east, and from the Swat valley in the north to the northern Arachosia in the south” (Narain 1957: 97; see also Hazra 1995: 62-63). Viyakamitra, a prince of Indian origin as is obvious from the name, ruled Swat valley on behalf of Menander. This fact has been substantiated by the numismatic evidence discovered from the region (Narian 1957: 79; Thapar 2002: 215). The following narrative of A. K. Narain will shed more light on Greek rule in Swat; as he bases his argument on numismatics evidence as under:

It would seem from the distribution of his coins that Antimachus II governed Swat valley and northern Arachosia, each for some time... we prefer to confine him first to the Swat valley and later to northern Arachosia, to which province he may have been transferred towards the end of his career. All his monograms are those which are commonly found on Menander’s coins. He minted coins out of all proportion to the status of a sub-king, which not only shows his prominence but also suggests that he may have outlived Menander to rule independently for a few years (Narain 1957: 96 see also *ibid.* 112).

About 130 BCE, the Indo-Greek Kingdom consisted of seven regional divisions and as per A.K. Narain’s reckonings, Swat valley or Uḍḍiyana was an integral part of that

kingdom (Narain 1957: 103). According to A. K. Narain, these seven regions including Swat valley, had been ruled by four Indo-Greek kings namely Menander, Antimachus II, Zoilus I and Apollodotus (Narain 1957: 104, 115). Narain rejects the proposition that Menander's capital was at Sialkot or Sagala rather he locates Menander's capital in the Swat valley on the basis of archaeological findings such as Bajawar hoards, Yaghistan find, the Swat relic vase dating to about 50 BCE or more old of the local officer (Meridarch/*Meridarkh*) Theodore/Theüdora (Theodorus) and the Bajawar seal of king Theodamus on which the pious act of the local officer has been recorded as "By Theüdora, the Meridarkh, were established these relics of the Lord Sakamuni for the purpose of security of many people" (Narain 1957.: 172–173; Bernard 1994/1996: 117; Puri 1994/1996: 202; Seldeslachts 2007: 140). B. N. Puri has expounded the Greek rulers/rule in Swat, their connection with Buddhism and their dedications to the faith of the Buddha on the basis Kharoshti inscriptions as under:

... the association of Indo-Greek rulers as also the Yonas with Buddhism between the second and the first century B.C. is also available from other sources. Two Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions—one from the ancient country of Uḍ yāna (Swat valley) and the other from Bajaur (south-east of Jalalabad) record dedications by a Greek officer named Meridarkh Theodorus who enshrined the relics of the Lord Buddha, and the pious act of one Viyaka-mitra—an apracharaja (Skt. apratyag- raja) respectively- The former was an officer of rank and the latter was a vassal—both probably under Menander or his successor (Puri 1987/1996: 92).

Narain also mentions two Indo-Greek kings (Apollodotus and Pheloxenus), whose square silver coins have been discovered from theregion of Swat valley and they were followed by Maues or Moga (Moga is the Kharoshti transcript of Maues) (Narain 1957:

145; Samad 2002: 49; Widemann 2003: 95). Saka under their king Maues occupied the Indo-Greek kingdom including Swat and Hazara in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Taxila came under the Saka rule during the reign of Maues (Narain 1957: 144–145; for details see Widemann 2003).

Swat might have remained as a tributary of the Kushanas<sup>47</sup> and developed well. The period of Kushana rule has been described by G. Tucci as under:

... under Kushana period Uddiyana reached the apex of its culture and wealth; the best testimonials of such a welfare are the stupas, the monasteries then built, the ability of the craftsmen and artists, masons and sculptors, or the learning of his monks too: famous monks and artisans were invited to China (Tucci 1977: 67).

Later researches added further evidence to this 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 replaced 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 material culture brought about by the Kushana state. 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 (Olivieri and Vidale et al. 2006: 136; see also Taddei 2004).

Traces of Sasanians’ and Ephtalites’ (Hunas) presence have been found in Swat and they ruled the region for some times. The Hunas inflicted damage especially to sacred

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<sup>47</sup> In its later history ‘Uddiyāna-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).

monuments in Swat valley (Stein 1942: 50). According to Tucci, both these people lived in Swat after Song Yun and before XuánZàng's visit as the monastic establishments were prosperous during Song Yun's visit while XuánZàng found *sanghārāmas* in desolate condition (Tucci 1977: 67).

Swat became a great centre of Hīnāyāna Buddhism during or shortly after the time of Aśoka the Great (Tucci 1958: 281; Muncherji 1959: 40). And the fact has been substantiated by the Chinese traveler monk, Fǎxiǎn at the turn of the fifth century CE, who has mentioned 500 monasteries inhabited by monks following Hīnāyāna school of Buddhism as he says "they call the places where the monks stay (for a time) or reside permanently *Sanghārāmas*; and of these, there are in all 500, the monks being all students of the Hīnāyāna" (Legge 1886/1965: 28–29; Beal 1869: 26-27). But Buddhism, gradually, underwent a great many changes over the next two centuries due to no ordinary reasons. XuánZàng found Mahāyāna Buddhism here as greatly revered by the people as he recounts "...formerly there were some 18000 priests in them...They studied the 'Great Vehicle'" (Beal 1884: 120). The Swat valley, being located on the main trade routes which had been linking the East with the West not only for the transportation of trading goods but ideas as well, resulted in the undergoing of Buddhism in Swat valley from Hīnāyāna school to Mahāyāna school. Tucci also attributed the change of Buddhism from Hīnāyāna to Mahāyāna Buddhism to the roundabout nature of the Swat valley. In this regard he says as under:

Though the sociological and religious background for the outcome of Mahāyāna as a frame of mind, if not as a literary expression, which was certainly later, is very old, 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 westernised and was translated into terms artistical as well as dogmatical more universally accessible, without losing of course the fundamental inspiration of the Master' (Tucci 1958: 281).

Swat remained one of the greatest centres of Buddhism right from the time of Aśoka till the invasion of Hunas. A detailed and vivid picture has been presented by the Chinese travelers and Buddhist pilgrims from 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century CE. Fāxiǎn described Swat and its religious milieu as "The law of Buddha is universally honoured. The names given to places where the priests take up their fixed abodes is Sañ ghārāma. There are altogether about 500 of these (in this country), all of which are attached to the system called the 'Little Vehicle'" (Beal 1869: 26-27; Legge 1886/1965: 28-29; see also). When XuánZàng visited the region in 7<sup>th</sup> century CE, he found Buddhism gradually decaying in Swat or ancient Uḍḍiyāna. Though he gives the number of monasteries as 1400 (with 18000 monks following Mahāyāna Buddhism) all situated along the river Swat but in desolate condition. His narration goes as "On both sides of the river *Su-po-fa-su-tu*, there are some 1400 old Sañ ghārāmas. They are now generally waste and desolate; formerly there were some 18,000 priests in them, but gradually they have become less, till now there are very few. They study the 'Great Vehicle'" (Beal 1884: 120; Stein 1921: 15; Hazra 2002: 12; Wriggins 2004: 67). It should be noted that Buddhism in Swat valley underwent a complete change between the two stopovers of Fāxiǎn and XuánZàng. During the former's visit, Buddhism was flourishing with a number of affluent Sañ ghārāmas, inhabited by monks, following 'Little Vehicle' (Hināyāna) school of Buddhism while the later found the Sañ ghārāmas in 'desolate and waste' condition, with low number of monks practicing 'Great Vehicle' (Mahāyāna) and learning the Buddhist text without

any knowledge (Beal 1869: 26-27, 1884: 120; Wriggins 2004: 67). A Buddhist pilgrim from the Korean Silla Kingdom to India, Hyecho (700-780 or 704-787 CE), visited Swat in 8<sup>th</sup> century CE and left the record of his journey in written form as “*Wang o cheonchuk gukjeon*” translated as *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Kingdoms*. Hyecho mentions its king as the follower of the Three Jewels, most of his villages and their people in the service of the monasteries, a great number of monasteries and monks and the number of monks as exceeding that of the laity. The people of Swat make donation to monasteries and are too generous in their donation that they left very meagre share for their homes (Whitfield 2012: 5,132)<sup>48</sup>.

Buddhism entered into Swat valley in the reign of Aśoka against the presence of strong aboriginal cults, beliefs, superstitions and ideas. Instead of complete annihilation of these old aboriginal cults, beliefs and ideas, these local traditions remained dormant under the powerful and well organized Buddhist monastic establishment which had been a source of learning and active teaching. But with the passage of time, internal decay in Buddhist faith and external calamity gave way to aboriginal ideas, cults and beliefs to re-surface once more as the existing Buddhist monastic establishment was too weak to check these ideas and cults. There is a direct link between the decline of Buddhism and the development of Vajrayānic cult. G. Tucci is of the opinion that the development of Vajrayāna Buddhism may be linked with the decline of the traditional Buddhist monastic learning and teaching. He states that beliefs and practices which preceded Buddhism in Swat were never completely wiped out but kept under control for the time being by the all-encompassing Buddhism. When these aboriginal undercurrents did found an

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<sup>48</sup> For interesting details about Buddhism in Swat see Tucci 1977: 56–67.

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 has also been recorded by XuánZàng as he refers to the progress of Brahmanism in the Swat valley (U-chang-na) in these words; “There are about ten temples of Deva and a mixed number of unbelievers who dwell in them” (Beal 1884: 121, see also Stein 1921: 15; Tucci 1977: 68). The decline of Buddhism and the emergence of local cults have been described by L. M. Olivieri as under:

Buddhist rock reliefs are the iconic expression of the presence of Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna schools and cults centres....This phenomenon occurred after a phase of great crisis for Buddhism in the region: between the 6<sup>th</sup> (?)–7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> A. D. (...) perhaps during this period only the monasteries belonging to these schools were fully active as the archaeological data and written sources ... agree in indicating the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> A.D. as the *saeculum horribile* of Buddhism in Swat. Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna school monasteries are concentrated in specific areas, in Swat, mainly in the Saidu, Jambil and Ugad valleys (around the area of Mingora and Mangwloar), around Udegram and Manyar, at BKG, particularly on the left bank of the Swat (Olivieri and Vidale *et al.* 2006: 136).

Symbols of a *triśula* and a stupa have been depicted with other signs of Brahmanic religious themes in the rock shelters at the upper Kotah valley; show the transition from Buddhism to Brahmanism (Olivieri and Vidale *et al.* 2006: 140). As per Tucci’s postulate that aboriginal cults developed alongside Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna is manifested by the symbols of aboriginal cults, depicted in the painted rock shelters (Tucci 1977: 68; Olivieri 2011).

Archaeological evidences have been brought in support of literary sources by the archaeological research of the Italian Mission to Swat in Pakistan. Since 1955, the Italian

scholars, led by G. Tucci, have been involved in the study of cultural aspects ancient times as well as the present.

All these developments resulted in the origination of Vajrayāna/Tantrayāna Buddhism not only in Swat valley but even penetrated from Swat into Tibet. The famous Tantric scholar and author, Indrabhuti (who had been born on a lotus on the lake of Dhanakośa, located by the traditions in Swat), the king of Uḍḍ iyāna, and his legendary son, Guru Padmasambhava (considered in Tibet as a second Buddha), are said to have been pioneers of Vajrayāna/Tantrayāna Buddhism (Tucci 1997/2013: 276). This fact has been mentioned by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya as “...The Sādhanamālā also connects Uḍḍ iyana with such Tāntric authors such as Saraha. The Jnānasiddhi of Indrabhūti is stated in the last colophon as having started from Uḍḍ iyāna (Oḍ iyāna)” (Bhattacharyya 1958: 16-17, 1964: 44-46; English 2002:14). But B. Bhattacharya locates Uḍḍ iyāna in Eastern India (Assam or Orissa) instead of Swat valley. But in contrast to Bhattacharya’s location of Uḍḍ iyāna in the Eastern India, Judith Simmer-Brown locates Uḍḍ iyāna in Swat valley as he says:

...and is given the legendary name of Uḍḍ iyāna or, in its Tibetan version, Orgyen. This place is ... associated with three possible geographical locations: the Hindu Kush, the region of the Swat valley (to the northwest of contemporary India, near the Afghani border in Pakistan), or south India in the region of Kancl. ... In Vajrayāna legend, Uḍḍ iyana was said to be a beautiful and prosperous place ruled by King Indrabhūti. When King Indrabhūtiasked Buddha for teachings that would not require him to give up his throne, Kingdom, wealth, or family, Buddha secretly gave him empowerments of inner tantras. All the inhabitants of this land, even the insects, practiced these teachings and became accomplished, vanishing in rainbow bodies. Desolate and uninhabited,

Uḍḍ iyana was transformed by compassionate water spirit (nagas) into a lake. The water spirits also began to practice the tantric teachings, and their sons and daughters became dakas and dakinis. At that point Uḍḍ iyana became renowned as the “land of the dakinis” (Simmer-Brown 2001: 269).

It is mainly due to Vajrayāna<sup>49</sup> Buddhism that Swat got a great fame in Tibet and 'even today in Tibet, Swat and its neighbouring territories are considered to be the cradle of many doctrines of Buddhism' (Tucci 1982: XI). Padmasambhava<sup>50</sup> aka *Guru Rinpoché* (meaning the “Precious Guru” in Tibetan) was a legendary Tantric yogi figure of 8<sup>th</sup> century CE born in Swat (the supposed location of Uḍḍ iyana), and who established Nying-ma-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism (Stein 1962/1972: 66; Bhattacharyya 1964: 64; Rinpoche 1986/1997: 50; Powers 1995/2007: 228; Tucci 1997/2013: 276; Rebusch 2001: 83; Simmer-Brown 2002: 310; Sumegi 2008: 141; Beckwith 2009: 412, endnote no. 74; Behrendt 2014: 8). On the advice of monk Acharya Śāntarakṣita and in a peculiar political milieu, King Khri-Srong-Lde-brtsan<sup>51</sup> invited the well known Tantric Master,

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<sup>49</sup>Geoffrey Samuel explains Tantra or Vajrayāna Buddhism as “Tantra in the Tibetan context is a general term for a large body of religious practices, also known as ‘Vajrayāna or Vajra vehicle’. This term implies that the Tantras constitute a third major class of Buddhist teaching alongside those of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, the Lesser and Greater Vehicles, well known from other Buddhist societies” (Samuel 1993: 225).

<sup>50</sup>Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa is of the opinion that Padmasambhava went to Tibet from Nepal where he was at that time (Shakabpa 1984: 36).

<sup>51</sup>Swat valley/Uḍḍ iyana was politically controlled by King Khri-srong-Ide-brtsan (Beckwith 2009: 412 endnote no. 74; Walter 2009: 50). Different scholars have mentioned this king with different names such as Trisong Detsen (Shakabpa) Khri-srong-Ide-bstan (Bentor 1996) Tre Songdetsen (Lopez), Tre Songdetsen (Powers) Trhi Songdetsen (Kapstein) Khri Srong LdeBrtsan (Beckwith) (Shakabpa 1984: 36; Bentor 1996: 54; Lopez, Jr. 1998: 173; Powers 1995/rev.2007: 148; Kapstein 2000: 25; Beckwith 2009: 147; Walter 2009: 50).

Padmasambhava to defeat the Bön magicians and to promote the cause of Dharma (Buddhism) in Tibet. He 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. He established the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet known as Samyé (*bsam yas*) in 749 CE. Padmasambhava, King Khridron-Ida-btsan and Acharya Śāntarakṣita celebrated the establishment of the Dharma in Tibet in 775 (Tucci 1958: 279, 1997/2013:276; Stein 1962/1972: 66; Bhattacharyya 1964: 64; Banerjee 1965: 17–25; Shakabpa 1984: 36; Powers 1995/2007: 148; Bentor 1996: 53-54; Lopez, Jr. 1998: 173, 197; Kapstein 2000: 25; Sumegi 2008: 141; Beckwith 2009: 147; Walter 2009: 50-51, 122).

According to G. Tucci, there has been a great mention of Urgyan or Orgyan (Swat) in Tibetan sacred literature because “... it was held to be the birth place of second Buddha...Padmasambhava....Urgyan or Orgyan, was looked upon in Tibet as a very holy place, a kind of Holy Land, to which,...every Tibetan yearned to go on pilgrimage” (Tucci 1958: 279). So it was Swat, from where Vajrayana Buddhism expanded to Tibet and other parts through the Tantric Master Padmasambhava invited by the Tibetan King on the request of monk Śāntarakṣita. Until near past, evidence of Vajrayanic/Tantric theme had been missing in the Buddhist art of the Swat valley which instigated Benoytosh Bhattacharya to expound his theory of Uḍḍiyana being located in Orissa (Assam, Bengal and Orissa areas in Eastern India) (Bhattacharya 1958: 16, 1964: 44-45). But thanks to Italian Archaeological Mission to Swat’s contributions (more than fifty years) to the archaeological and historical research of the Swat valley which proved the hypothesis of Bhattacharyya to be incorrect and Giuseppe Tucci located ancient Uḍḍiyana in the present day Swat valley (Tucci 1958: 279-280). During their

explorations in the area, the Italian Archaeological Mission, brought to light some Vajrayānic themes in the rock art and painted shelters of Swat. So Tucci comes with a firm conviction that Tantric/ Vajrayānic Buddhism flourished in the Swat valley as he says:

what then, we may enquire, are the traces left by this esoteric Buddhism in a country which took so active a part in it, where, according to Sung yun the King of Sarikol went to learn the magic formulae and which boasts of having given birth or hospitality to celebrated Siddhas such as King Indrabhūti, Padmasambhava, Kambala, Lakṣ mīkarā, a country which was referred to as the land of ḍ akinī . . . a place whose name was traced back to the root ḍ ī “to float in the air” (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 (Stein 1973: 13; Tucci 1977: 11; Rahman 1979). Their traces are abundantly found in the valley helping handsomely in the reconstruction of its history. Pierfrancesco Callieri and his colleagues conducted excavation in the Bīr-koṭ - ghunḍ ai in the 1998-1999 season of which trenches 7 and 9 are related to the Shahi cultural horizon as the excavators have discovered specimens of pottery and coins of that period (Callieri et al. 2000: 195, 204; Olivieri and Vidale et al. 2006: 136 ). During this period of crisis and abandon, society in Swat valley experienced social and cultural changes. The people of the valley abandoned established cities in favour of fortified mountainous dwellings and this fact has been proved true by the archaeological data from the ruins of BKG and Udegram. Chinese pilgrims speak of desolate Buddhist monasteries save those related to Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna schools (Olivieri and Vidale *et al.* 2006:

138). Likewise, this period proved conducive for revivalism of Hinduism in the Swat valley. Anna Filigenzi gives new interpretations to some rock carvings by attributing them to a new cultural horizon in the history of the region. There is a rock art site in Tindo-dag, being located in the proximity of Uttarasena stupa, so Stein saw in it the representation of Uttarasena, the legendary king of Uḍḍiyāna -Swat (Stein 1930: 32–33). The same has been mentioned by XuánZàng as “to the south-west of the town of Mungali...a stupa 60 feet or so in height; it was built by Shang-kiun (Uttarasena)” (Beal 1884: 126). Tucci while differing with Aurel Stein and Colonel Harold Deane on the location of Uttarasena stupa and the identification of XuánZàng’s Meng chie li with Mingawara instead of Manglawar, saw in the rock carving, a local deity with his attendants or a Kushana king and his retinue (Tucci 1958: 285, 288, 299–302). On close observation of the rock image of the site, Anna Filigenzi totally contrasted with Stein and Tucci as she says “...the preserved profile of the figures could still offer grounds for different interpretation: neither Uttarasena nor a local deity or king of the Kushan period but a 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century representation of Sūrya with his assistants and wives, accompanied by Ganeśa” (Filigenzi 2006: 197, 2011: 192). The revivalism of Hindu faith is obvious from the Hindu temple dedicated to Śūi (Hindu God), unearthed by the Italian Archaeological Mission recently on the Barikot hill top in the vicinity of Tindo-Dag. This temple may be attributed to the revival of non-Buddhist cults in the Swat valley. A. Filigenzi is of the opinion that the temple belongs to the Turki Śāhis period (Filigenzi 2006: 199, 2011: 197–198). So the period under discussion was ripe for the upsurge of new Buddhist schools of Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna as the degeneration of Buddhism has



already been started. The decay of traditional Buddhism gave way for the resurgence of aboriginal cults and the revivalism of Hinduism.

In 10<sup>th</sup> century CE, the Hindu Shahi rule was brought to an end by Mahmud of Ghazna. It is said that a general in the forces of Mahmud named Arslān Jādhib subjugated Swat in about 1001-1002 registered himself as the Muslim conqueror of Swat valley (Stein 1973: 13; Rahman 1997–1998: 37–38; Ib. 2002: 14).

The remains of the first Islamic period in Swat consist of the Udegram Mosque<sup>52</sup> probably built in the first decade of the eleventh century in the technique of ‘Gandharan’ masonry, some dwelling structures, and an Islamic graveyard showing the inhabitation period from the end of 11<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century CE. A 13<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan pilgrim, O rgyan pa (visiting the place after 1260 CE) had also mentioned Udegram as ‘Ra yi k’ar’ with two towns while Umberto Scerrato says that one of the two cities was the ruined city of Udegram (Bagnera 2006: 205, 209-211, 225-226). Some coins of the Muslim dynasties spanning from 11<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> century CE especially of Alā al-dīn Muhammad b. Takaš (596-617/ 1200-1220), principal ruler of Khwarizm Shah have been recovered from the site by Italian scholars (Giunta 2006: 237-238). A large amount of unglazed specimen of pottery has been recovered by the Italian Archaeological Mission from the Islamic settlement of Udegram (Manna 2006: 229).

Different Afghan tribes rushed to the new conquered valley of Swat from the main land of Afghanistan. The arrival of Pakhtuns and their settlement in Swat has been mentioned by Sultan-i-Rome as under:

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<sup>52</sup> The Udegram Mosque is the earliest mosque of the region (Northern Pakistan) while it stands third in the whole country after Bhambore 8<sup>th</sup> century CE and Mansura 9th century CE (Bagnera 2006: 210).

After the occupation of the valley by the Muslims, people from different Afghan tribes also settled in Swat and came to be known as Swati Pakhtuns, 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 2008: 24).

However, the first wave of Islamization of the valley was short lived as is evident from the destruction of the Udegram site by the hands of the Mongolian invaders and eventually the Udegram settlement was abandoned in 14<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Italian scholars and their longstanding research on the valley do prove the hypothesis of a hiatus between the first wave of Islamization and second Islamization in 16<sup>th</sup> century CE and the destruction by Mongols in the 14<sup>th</sup> century CE. In this respect an Italian scholar says that “From the stratum III, excavation revealed a phase of Islamic occupation back to a period spanning from the early 11<sup>th</sup> century – the time of the conquest by the Ghaznavid ruler Mahmūd b. Sebūktigīn (d. 421/1030) – to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when the arrival of the Mongolian hordes resulted in the destruction of Udegram and the abandonment of a great part of the inhabited area” (Giunta 2006: 237). Luca Maria Olivieri is of the opinion that the second wave Of Islamization was brought about with the advent of the Yusafzai Pakhtuns in the Swat valley in the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE.

The Yusafzai tribe of Pakhtuns migrated to the present Peshawar valley (ancient Gandhara) in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE in the wake of their strained relations with the Timurid king of Kabul. They left the Kabul valley for Peshawar plains not by choice but by default as 700 Yusafzai elders, save 6, were massacred by Ulugh Baig, a Timurid King of Kabul at his court in a dinner in connection of Yusafzai victory over the King’s forces. The migrated tribe found the settled tribe of the region receptive and they

were warmly received by Dalazak tribe. The Yusufzai were assigned land in the Doab area of Peshawar and were generous enough to give more if needed. The Yusufzai tribe were involved in trade in the Swat and later entered into matrimonial relations with Sultan Awais of Swat by giving him Malik Ahmad's sister in marriage. With the passage of time, the Yusufzai influence increased which alarmed the ruler of Swat to the point to martyr Malik Ahmad's sister to undo the ties with the Yusufzai but in vain. This unwise act of the Swatis paved the way for Yusufzai campaigns against Swat and its ultimate occupation in 1515 (Elphinstone 1842: 10-11; Caroe 1958/1985: 172-184; for more details see 172-184; Muazzam Shah 1971/1987: 1-81; Roshan Khan 1983: 16-21, 1986: 82-84).

En route to India in his pursuit of subjugating the whole of India, Babur encountered the Yusufzai in Swat valley. Considering the Yusufzai a formidable foe and hurdle in his way, Babur used his military tactics and proposed matrimonial relations to marry Bibi Mubarak, the daughter of Shah Mansur (Malik Ahmad's cousin). They rejected the proposal at once but later agreed hesitantly keeping in view the safety of their tribe. With this political nuptial, Yusufzai elders defused an imminent and serious threat to the yet to be settled Yusufzai's tribe (Muazzam Shah 1971/1987: 82-107; Caroe 1958/1985: 159-160; Roshan Khan 1986: 112-119). It was not until Akbar's time that Swat again witnessed the Mughal's invasion. Akbar sent troops under his powerful commander, Zain Khan Koka who crusaded against the Yusufzai tribe in Swat valley from 1587-1592 but in vain. In this encounter with the Yusufzai, Mughal emperor Akbar lost 8000 troops including his favourite noble, Rājā Birbal, in 1586 (McMahon and Ramsay 1901/1981: 63; Shah 2003: 276; Sultan-i-Rome 2005: 22; Schofield 210: 30). The reigns of Jahangir

and Shah Jahan proved peaceful for the Swat valley and both these kings tried not to disturb the powerful Yusufzai tribe. In 1667, the Yusufzai installed Muhammad Shah as their King by challenging the suzerainty of Mughal King. In addition to this, the Yusufzai of the Swat valley did fight side by side with their brethren in the Peshawar plain against the forces of Aurangzeb. So Aurangzeb did tried to punish Swat's Yusufzai for their transgression and in 1667, the Mughal commander-in-chief entered into Swat valley pillaging a village in the valley and ended the campaign in a hurry without any major achievement, however, did succeeded to quell the rebellion (Adle and Habib 2003: 279). Yusufzai of the Swat valley kept intact their freedom during Durranis and Sikhs rules in Kabul and Punjab respectively (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 25).

The Yusufzai did succeeded in occupying the Swat valley but they failed to establish an organized state or Government system of their own. They led a tribal life under the capable leadership of Malik Ahmad and Khan Kaju. Shaikh Malli did framed some code of conduct only pertinent to ethics, religion and social matters with a mechanism for land re-allotment known as *Wesh*. Sultan-i-Rome put the condition of the Yusufzai people of that area as "They did, however, lay the foundation of the social organization which continued to function for over four centuries until it was fundamentally altered by Miangul Abdul Wadud after his rise to power". Makhdum Tasadduq Ahmad has drawn a beautiful picture of the society in Swat in 1950 as under:

Perhaps to a casual observer the society would have seemed disorderly and lawless because of [the] large number of *Pakhtun chieftains* strewn all over the land and subordinated to no single authority....But it appears to the investigator [...] that the society was well adjusted to the environment and had attained what is known as

equilibrium. Actually it was very much self-regulating system with periodical land distribution as a keystone. The system was sustained by the fighting role of the Pakhtun chiefs, the holiness of the saints, and the subordination of the lowly Gujars (Makhdum Tasadduq Ahmad 1962: 8–9 quoted in Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 37)<sup>53</sup>.

One of the greatest defining moments in the history of Swat is its contact, for the first time, with British India in 1849 (Nevill 1912: 14). The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 alarmed the Yusafzai Pakhtuns in the Swat valley as they were neighbouring now British India, one of the imperialist and expansionist powers of the world (Adye 1897: 21; Fraser n.d.:41). So they began to search opportunities in challenges and thought about the establishment of their state to counter the expansionist designs of the British Empire. The worries of the Swatis have been put by H. C. Wylly as “Colonel Bradshaw’s operations in 1849 against the Sam Baizais had opened the eyes of the Swat chiefs to the possibility of their own valley being one day visited by us, and they became alarmed. It was agreed to combine for defensive purposes under some one responsible chief, and to nominate a king of Swat” (Wylly 1912: 124). The worries of the Swat leaders and the political sagacity of the Akhund of Swat has been revealed by Arnold Keppel as; “Few of them were capable of such patriotism as the late Akhund of Swat, who, in spite of religious differences of opinion, used his influence on behalf of his rival, Saiyid Akbar Shah, the

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<sup>53</sup> For valuable information about society and social organizations see, Fredrik Barth, (1975) *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans*, repr., New Jersey: The Athlone Press; Id. (1981) *Features of Persons and Society in Swat: Collected Essays on Pathans*, Vol. II, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Akbar S. Ahmad, (1976) *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans: A critical essay in social anthropology*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Charles Lindholm, (1996) *Frontier Perspectives: Essays in Comparative Anthropology*, Karachi: Oxford University Press.

leader of the Sitana fanatics, to procure his election as King of Swat, at a time when the proximity of the British demanded,..." (Keppel 1911: 73).

So the first Yusafzai state was founded in Swat in 1849. They enthroned Syed Akbar Shah<sup>54</sup> of Sithana as the 'King of Swat', a descendant/scion of Syed Ali Tarmizi (popularly known as Pir Baba) of Buner's family with Abdul Ghafur (1794-1877), the famous Akhund of Swat, on board. He ruled the country until his death on 11<sup>th</sup> of May, 1857 (McMahon and Ramsay 1901/1981: 70-71; Wylly 1912: 114, 124-125; Hay 1934a: 237-238; 1934b: 4; Sultan-i-Rome 2005: 24, 2008: 38, 2009: 4; Haroon 2007: 40). Akbar Shah's death brought back to Swat, the anarchism of the past, as Swatis including the Akhund of Swat, did not accept Mir Mubarak Ali Shah, son of Syed Akbar Shah as King of Swat. A number of power aspirants came to the fore. This fact has been mentioned in the *A Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies* as under:

The great age of the Akhund and disputes regarding his succession have given rise to some disturbances in the country itself. The most prominent claimants to the succession are Mian Gul, son of the Akhund, and Sher Dil Khan, chief of the Ranazai [Ranizai], one of the most powerful of the Swat clans, whose claims are supposed by a large number of the people (quoted in Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 40 see also Wylly 1912: 116).

So two factions (*Dalas*) emerged in Swat - one led by the powerful Khan and chief of Ranizai (a clan of Yusafzai), Sher Dil Khan, who was backed by the powerful Rahmatullah Khan of Dir while the second *dala* was led by the Akhund of Swat's

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<sup>54</sup> Syed Akbar Shah was a former follower and functionary of the Hindustani fanatics and served as secretary with Syed Ahmad of Rai Bareilly (Wylly 1912: 125, Haroon 2007: 40).

descendants (known as Mianguls<sup>55</sup>) especially his elder son, Abdul Hanan<sup>56</sup> who aligned himself with Saadat Khan of Aladand-dherai and occupied some parts of Adinzai with the support of Umara Khan of Jandul in 1880. Later, in 1882, differences developed between Mianguls and Umara Khan which resulted in the deprivation of the former of the Adinzai area. But Miangul's differences with Umara Khan resulted in his alliance with Rahmatullah Khan of Dir. The early part of 1880s was a period of changing loyalties and re-alignment. Intrigues, conspiracies and alliances were made and unmade between Umara Khan of Jandul, Rahmatullah Khan (later with Sharif Khan, son of Rahmatullah Khan who succeeded his father) and Mianguls to control the Swat valley. Abdul Hanan's death in 1887 left the arena for the Nawab of Dir (McMahon and Ramsay 1901/1981: 77; Wylly 1912: 116, 129, 131; Hay 1934: 239, 1934b: 1; *MIS* 1934: 161; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 40-42).

Similarly, the Nawab of Dir subjected the right bank of river Swat to continual attacks and occupation as they claimed these territories. Muhammad Sharif Khan occupied the tribes of Upper Swat along the right bank of river Swat in 1897 (*MIS* 1934: 156). Aurangzeb Khan (popularly known as Badshah Khan) became Nawab of Dir on the death of his father, Sharif Khan in 1904. The high-handed and avaricious conduct of Sharif Khan resulted not only in the strained relations with the Swati tribes but also alienated his own subjects. In 1907, Swati tribes tried to overthrow the yoke of Nawab allegiance and

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<sup>55</sup> Colonel Wylly is of the opinion that Mian Gul was the alias of Abdul Hanan, the elder son of Abdul Ghafur, the famous Akhund of Swat (Wylly 1912: 129).

<sup>56</sup> The elder son of Akhund of Swat has been named in some sources as Abdul Manan such as A. H. McMahon and A. D. G. Ramsay as well as by Wylly (McMahon and Ramsay 1901/1981: 77; Wylly 1912: 116, 129, 131).

they refused to pay *usher* (a tax on the agricultural product at the rate of one tenth). He attacked Nikpi-khel in August 1909 on the pretext of providing escort to the *jargas* of Nikpi khel and Shamozei, nevertheless, the Political Agent interference brought a calm to the area. From 1907-1911, the Nawab of Dir was busy recurrently to strengthen his position on the right bank of Swat river. The British Government of India did interfere through the Political Agent of Chitral, Dir, and Swat in 1907 to bring a halt to Nawab of Dir activities. By 1911, the Nawab of Dir became master of the right bank of Swat from Chakdara to Kohistan (*MIS* 1934: 157; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 50-51). In 1915, the Swati tribes once again revolted against the Nawab of Dir and were led by a spiritual leader not the Akhund of Swat but Wali Ahmad alias Sandakai Baba and succeeded by driving the Nawab's forces out of Swat. The Swati tribe enthroned Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah, grandson of Syed Akbar Shah as "King of Upper Swat" on 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1915 as they had already exhausted the chance to be ruled by Miangul Abdul Wadud (popularly known as Bacha Sahib) as he could not concede to the offer due to some unknown reasons (Hay 1934b: 4; *MIS* 1934: 157; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 52-56, 2009: 4, 2011: 54). Soon after the people of Swat especially the religious leaders fed up with Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah because he was no more acceptable to them due to his beliefs. So he was removed in 1917 and Miangul Abdul Wadud was enthroned as new ruler of Swat by a Jirga at Kabal in September 1917, who established the Yusafzai State of Swat<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Though the Yusafzais arrived in Swat in the mid of 16<sup>th</sup> century but it took almost four hundred years to establish their own organized state and they led a tribal life. The period before the organized state is known as "the era of Pakhto ( زمانه پښتود ) or the period of Pakhto ( دور پښتود )" when Swatis lived under the Pakhtun Code of life (aka Pakhtunwali) (Sultan-i-Rome 2009: 2, 5-6, 2011: 53-54). For detail study of Pakhtun society especially Swat society and organizations see Barth 1969, 1975, 1981; Ahmad 1976 and Lindholm 1996.



expansion, consolidation and development. Under the ‘enlightened despot’ the tribal society of Swat became a model of peace, tranquility and progress (Sultan-i-Rome 2005: 25; 2009: 3, 2011: 54; Orakzai 2011: 38).

At the demise of Miangul Abdul Hanan in 1887, Miangul Abdul Khaliq became the leader of his *dala* but he had no interest in the worldly affairs, so the arena of Swat’s political game was open for non-Swati aspirants such as Sharif Khan of Dir, Umara Khan of Jandul and later the British Government of India in 1888, for the over-lordship of that country. In the meantime, the Amir of Afghanistan was also involved in the chaotic situations of Swat and also the Czarist Russia. So, to counter balance the influence of Afghan Amir, Habibullah Khan and to some extent Czarist Russia, the British played an active role in Swat and neighbouring regions in the later part of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The British Government played her game with shifting associations as they shifted their support from one group to another sporadically. At one time, they tacitly approved the Nawab of Dir actions in Swat while next time they gave free hand to the Mianguls of Swat to gain what they wanted. Similarly, Umara Khan of Jandul ousted Sharif Khan of Dir who took refuge in Swat with the implied approval of the British. Even some Swati tribes contacted British authorities against the Amir of Afghanistan and Umara Khan of Jandul (Younghusband and Younghusband 1897: 178; for details see, Hay 1934b; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 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 rival claims for the throne of Chitral among the royal family resulted in serious crisis in Chitral in 1892 and

five successive rulers (Afzal-ul-Mulk, Sher Afzal, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Amir-ul-Mulk and Shuja-ul-Mulk) appeared in short span of only three years from 1892-1895. As a result, the British designated Shuja-ul-Mulk, the youngest son of Aman-ul-Mulk (nine or ten years old), as provisional Mehtar on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1895 (Popowski 1893: XIX-XX; Younghusband and Younghusband 1897: 4-17; J.M.E. 1922: 18; *MIS* 1934: 152). This dynastic dispute exacerbated the situation ‘culminating, in March 1895, in the British Agent and his escort being besieged in the Chitral Fort by Umara Khan, late Khan of Jandul, and Sher Afzal, brother of Aman-ul-Mulk’ (*MIS* 1934: 152). Fearing interference from external elements (especially Russians and Afghanistan), so the British Government of India decided to initiate ‘Chitral Campaign’ under Major George Robertson in 1895. In July 1897 a mass level uprising took place in the North-West Frontier against the British rule with attacks on British garrisons at Malakand Pass, Shabkadar Fort and Khyber Pass (Stein 1930: 149; Surridge 2008: 421; Hill 2013: 7).

The British Government of India decided to send a rescue campaign styled as ‘Chitral Relief’ under Major-General Sir Robert Low and Colonel Kelly to punish Umara Khan of Jandul as he had ignored all the warnings and advices of the British authorities for ending the siege of Chitral Fort. So the Chitral Relief Force left Nowshera on April 1, 1895 (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 26). Out of three main passes in the Malakand area, the British Forces selected Malakand Pass to focus on, however, as per strategy they threatened Shah Kot and Mora passes to divert the tribal attention from Malakand Pass as had been done by Yusafzai tribe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century during their campaign against the ruler of Swat, Sultan Awais (Younghusband and Younghusband 1897: 63-64; Wylly 1912: 165; *MIS* 1934: 152; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 26-27). On the condition of neutrality,

the British Government of India assured the people of Buner, Dir and Swat that no detrimental action would be taken against them. The tribes, however, ignored the British assurances and fought gallantly against the British forces and blocked the above-mentioned three passes (Younghusband and Younghusband 1897: 63–64; Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 27). At the end, the tribes of the region were defeated and the colonial power succeeded to ‘establish garrisons in Malakand and Chakdara’ (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 27).

The relations between the British and the Akhund’s family have been subject to controversy. Some of the contemporary scholars are of the opinion that the famous Akhund of Swat and his descendants aka Mianguls remained the camp followers of the British Government of India contrary to the popular view (i.e. the Mianguls were strongly antagonistic to the British, save Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb, the last Wali of Swat). They argue in favour of the idea that there existed an intimate relationship between the Mianguls and the British (Sultan-i-Rome 1992, 2005, 2008: 96–98, 129–141). It seems here apposite to resort to some British officers’ narrative/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 nay more love than hate towards the British Government of India. Rather it will be safe to say that the Akhund of Swat was very careful and calculated in his relationship with the British. In response to the Akhund of Swat’s good gestures, the British officers responded in the same coin by depicting him in their accounts as a moderate spiritual and religious leader of the Pakhtuns especially the Yusafzai tribe. But depiction of the Akhund of Swat in their accounts was not out of context as the “Border Pope” did tried to help the colonial Government of India during their difficult times of British rule in India.

The Akhund of Swat extended his full support to the colonial Government of India by ousting some of the mutineers of the 55<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry of 1857 mutiny and “the Akhund took no action inimical to British authority” (Wylly 1912: 72-73, 129). The friendly role towards the colonial forces has been appreciated by A. H. McMahon and A. D. G. Ramsay as “some of the native regiments at Peshawar mutinied, and 500 of the 55<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry crossed the border into Swat, where they were looked on with favour by Said Mubarak Shah, the son of Said Akbar. Fortunately for us the Akhund, so far taking active steps against us, drove out the mutineers of the 55<sup>th</sup> and Mubarak Shah as well” (McMahon and Ramsay 1901/1981: 73-74). The “Border Pope” has been mentioned in T. Rice Holmes’ work *A History of Indian Mutiny* as “The virtual ruler of Swat was an aged priest, known as the Akhund....Fortunately, instead of doing this, he expelled them from the country,...” (Holmes 1904: 327).

In the Frontier region, “the Border Pope” extended his support to the Imperial Government of India by ousting Mubarak Shah, son of Syed Akbar Shah (McMahon and Ramsay 1901/1981: 74). But during Ambela Campaign of 1863, the “Border Pope” (the Akhund of Swat) decided to go with the tide of the Pakhtun popular sentiments against the British Government (Field 1908: 61; Nevill 1912: 63; Wylly 1912: 89-90, 97-98). By going with popular sentiments of the Pakhtun tribes and not opposing the Ambela Campaign of 1863 by inciting the Pakhtuns against the British Government, was the first and last time that the “Border Pope” went against the colonial Government, nevertheless, he had been bail out from that gaffe in British sources. To elucidate this thesis, it would be advisable to consult British officers’ accounts in which the Border Pope (the Akhund

of Swat) had been described. For example the description of the “Border Pope<sup>58</sup>” in *A Frontier Campaign: A Narrative of the Operations with the Malakand and Buner Field Forces, 1897-1898* as under:

... the celebrated Akhund, or Frontier Pope as he has been styled by several writers,...the Akhund, although spiritual leader in Swat, and therefore the head of all religious and fanatical movements, was an astute and far-seeing man, who, with the exception of the Ambela Campaign in 1863, prevented the tribes under his influence from embroiling themselves with the British Government (Fincastle and Elliot-Lockhart 1898: 12).

As early as 1847 the ‘Akhund of Swat’ helped the British Government of India by refraining Swati tribes to help their Yusafzai brethren fighting the Empire. H. C. Wylly has described his (Akhund of Swat) role as “...preached peace towards all men, and counselled the tribesmen to cultivate friendly relations with the British Government. In 1847 he did his best to prevent the Swatis from assisting the Baizais, whom we were punishing” (Wylly 1912: 115).

The British officers had a decent opinion about the Akhund of Swat and a British officer of such a stature as W. R. Hay was, had tried to bail the Akhund of Swat out of the Ambela Campaign stigma by highlighting Akhund’s patriotism. The Border Pope position during Ambela Campaign in 1863 has been narrated by W. R. Hay, the colonial officer in the region, in these words; “It was under his lead that the tribes took the field against us during the Ambela campaign of 1863, but apart from this his attitude to the

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<sup>58</sup> Edward E. Oliver used the title of “Border Pope” for the Akhund of Swat as he writes in his work ‘*Across the Border or Pathan and Biloch*’ as ‘...the famous Akhund of Swat was, for almost half a century, practically the Border Pope’... (Oliver 1890: 139, see also Wylly 1912: 73).

British Government was not generally one of hostility, and his chief anxiety appears to have been to maintain the independence of his beloved Swat” (Hay 1934a: 238). The views of W. R. Hay may be qualified by the views of Colonel Wylly regarding the Akhund of Swat’s concern in respect of ‘*Hindustani fanatics*’ colony in the vicinity of Swat valley. Wylly’s narrations are as under:

The presence of the Hindustanis in Buner was abhorrent to the Akhund, who induced his co-religionists to decide to expel them. In consequence of this resolve, the fanatics,...hurriedly retreated to Malka,...intriguing against the Akhund, the order of expulsion was again put in force, and they were hunted out of the country... (Wylly 1912: 105-106, see also McMahon and Ramsay 1901/1981: 74-75).

The Akhund of Swat’s involvement in 1863’s uprising was not out of sagacity to block those more acquiescent than the “Border Pope” himself. This fact has been recounted by British official in these words;

He had always opposed the colonies of Hindustani fanatics, so that his conduct in 1863, when during the Ambela expedition he sided with them, seems difficult to explain. Colonel Keynell Taylor believed, and his belief was shared by those at the time best able to judge, that the Akhund had taken the line he did in fear that if he did not show sympathy with Buner on this occasion, his influence might pass to some more compliant leader. The pressure brought to bear on him was practically irresistible; the adjurations of the Buner chiefs and people had been most passionate, all the mullahas of the country, with many of the women, having been deputed to beseech him to adopt their cause (Wylly 1912: 115-116).

The conduct rather loyal demeanor of the “Border Pope” towards the British Government, has been certified by no less a person than W. R. Hay himself as ‘it does

not appear that he [the Akhund] was fanatically anti-British' (Hay 1934b: 1). In the light of the above views of the colonial officials, it may be concluded that the "Border Pope" was well conscious and cautious in his dealings with the British Empire. The same friendliness and loyal policy has been practiced by the Akhund's descendants during their struggle for the establishment of an organized state and as ruler of the Yusufzai State of Swat.

In 1923 without the prior permission of the British Government of India, Miangul Abdul Wadud subjugated the Buner region but immediately after the deed he renewed his pledge of loyalty to the British high officials as "he would not permit raids on British territory from Buner and would also prevent Afghan intrigues" (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 133). The British Government of India was worried about Bolshevism and its expansion towards India throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. British were suspected that some of the Bolshevik elements are intriguing against the Empire from the Miangul's territory especially Maulawi Abdul Aziz. So during a meeting on 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 1923 in connection of the '*dastarbandi*' ceremony of Miangul Abdul Haq Jehanzeb, the heir apparent, the Wali assured the Chief Commissioner of NWFP and the Political Agent of Malakand of his loyalty once again and asked the audience for the same. On the occasion, he condemned Bolsheviks and their propaganda and labelled them as anti-Islamic in his speech read out by Wazir Hazrat Ali on his behalf. Maulawi Abdul Aziz (suspected by British officials as agent of the Bolsheviks) expressed estrangement with Bolshevism. Calling Bolshevism a "wicked body" he asked the audience to keep aloof from Bolshevism and explained the ideology as under:

What was Bolshevism and its objects. He said that a denial from Bolshevism is the will of God. The object of this movement is that all Kings, Amirs, Rulers and religious 'pewshwas' should be destroyed from the world and that all properties etc. belonging to them and public should be taken over and to bring them in their unfair use. He [denied links with]...the Bolsheviks and ...advise[d] all others that they should abstain from having any connection with this wicked body (Sultan-i-Rome 2005: 70, 2008: 133).

The Wali of Swat did not tolerate a single person with a diminutive opposition towards the colonial Government of India. He even ordered a school teacher, Shamsul Haq of Adina, Mardan, to leave the Swat State due to his nonconformity with the British Government. Nevertheless, Miangul's loyalty to the British Government was not boundless. When the Political Agent of Malaknd doubted Miangul's reproach of Bolshevism in a public level meeting and Maulawi Abdul Aziz criticism of the movement, and informed the Wali of Swat of the aversions of the Maulawi, the ruler of Swat strongly reacted that "the Maulawi had no connection with the Bolsheviks" (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 133-134).

The Anglo-Swat relations grasped its crowning point in May 1926 when the colonial Government of India finally decided to recognize Miangul, Abdul Wadud as the ruler of Swat (Chistensen 1901/1981: 25). So Colonel William John Keen, Chief Commissioner of NWFP (now KP), accompanied by General Officer Commanding Peshawar District and other officers proceeded to Saidu Sharif on 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1926 to attend a '*darbar*' held in connection of recognizing Miangul AbdulWadud as the legitimate ruler of Swat. The affability of the relations may be appraised from the presence/flying of five airplanes in the air of Upper Swat, dropping message of congratulations to the Miangul. The



agreement between the Yusafzai State of Swat and colonial Government of India went as under:

A formal agreement was executed between the Government of India and the Wali [Abdul Wadud] by which, in return for an annual subsidy of Rs. 10,000, the Wali [Abdul Wadud] agreed to be loyal to the British Government, to prevent his subjects from raiding into British territory, to refuse shelter to outlaws from British territory, to abstain from interference with the tribes on the Hazara border, and to Make such arrangements regarding the Swat forests as might be approved of the Government of India (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 135).

More or less throughout his rule, Miangul Abdul Wadud remained friendly and loyal to the British Government of India. A resort to W. H. Hay observation in connection of Wali of Swat relations with the British Empire may be pertinent as he says:

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 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1926 the Chief Commissioner announced the recognition by Government of Miangul Gulshahzada as Wali of Swat and tied the pagri of ruler-ship on his head (Hay 1934b: 14).

Right from the establishment of the Swat State, the Wali of Swat, Miangul Gulshahzada cooperated with British Government in a number of ways ranging from the 1930 disturbances to the mapping of his dominion by the Department of survey. Hay mentions the Miangul's cooperation as:

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 (Hay 1934b: 14–15).

In the light of Hay's observations and other British officials, it appears that Miangul Abdul Wadud tried his level best to keep cordial relations with the British and allowed none to rick his relationship with the British. He had successfully made them believe in the efficiency and strength of his rule save the British suspicion regarding the sympathetic elements for Bolshevism in the State (*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, may bear on the concept of enlightened despotism in a best possible way. In the year 1926 the Wali of Swat permitted Aurel Stein to conduct his seminal survey in his territories and in response the British Government of India recognized him as the legitimate ruler of Swat with the

title of “Wali” instead of king<sup>59</sup>. These twin developments paved the way for archaeological research in the Yusufzai State of Swat. Nevertheless, credit must go to the enlightened spirit of Miangul Abdul Wadud, British Government of India’s need for more and more need for geographic and ethnic knowledge of the Orient and last but not the least, Aurel Stein’s personal curiosity to initiate archaeological explorations in the Swat valley which had been remained the arena of Alexander the Great’s eastern campaigns in the last decennia of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Management of Indian Cultural Heritage: The Legal Aspect**

Credit goes to the European merchants, colonial adventurers and travelers for the introduction of antiquarian references for the first time in south Asia. These pioneers were followed by the British officers working with the British East India Company or under the Crown in late 19th century (Allchin 1995: 4). But it will be unfair not to mention the efforts of an Orientalist and jurist, William Jones who was the moving spirit behind the establishment of a society aimed at the investigation of Indian past.

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<sup>59</sup>The title ‘Wali’ was a compromised designation for the ruler of the Yusufzai State of Swat. It is said that initially Colonel E. H. S. James, Political Agent of Malakand Agency, had recommended the title of Badshah of Swat for Miangul Abdul Wadud but at the eleventh hour, the Colonial Government of British India retreated from her previous stand on the plea that it is applicable to His Majesty the King Emperor and suggested the title of Nawab, which was declined by Miangul Abdul Wadud and refused to shun his title of the King and adapt the title of Nawab, to him, it was coming down from the dignity. He adapted the title of Wali meaning ruler, nonetheless, as a usual practice, popularly he was known as Bacha saib/ Badshah saib meaning King till his death and even today he is remembered as Bacha saib while the last Wali, Miangul Abdul Haq Jehanzeb as Wali saib (Stein 1929/2003: 16; Barth 1985: 59-60; Sultan-i-Rome 2005: 72-73).

The Asiatic Society of Bengal<sup>60</sup> founded in Calcutta by William Jones on 15<sup>th</sup> January 1784 is being considered the pioneer in the scientific studies of Indian antiquities. Jones announced the purposes of the Society on the eve of its establishment in these words; ‘The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia; and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by *Man*, or produced by *Nature* [my italics].’ Jones set the ideals of the Society by reading "A Discourse on the Institution of a Society, for Inquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia," on the occasion of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in a gathering of twenty nine men assembled on the invitation of Chamber in the Grand Jury Room to establish a literary society. Jones founded the Society with the prime objective of scholarly work on India as Europe has few primary sources on India. Jones contributions to the stock of human knowledge had been lauded by famous German scholar Goethe in 1819 as ‘the merit of this man [Jones] are universally known and have been emphasized and detailed on numerous occasions’ (Taylor 1835: 1; Mukherjee 1968: 81-82; Thapar 1968: 319; Cannon 1990: 203; 207, Ballantyne 2002: 32).

In the beginning, the Asiatic Society focused only on linguistic and literary research but later on, explorations were ordered by the East India Company. In 1800, the Government of Lord Wellesley deputed Francis Buchanan Hamilton with the task of surveying Mysore and Southern India. He was assigned the duties to investigate the topography, history and antiquities of North Bengal in 1807. In his eight years of dedicated work, he succeeded to survey the districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Patna,

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<sup>60</sup> Originally the Society was named as Asiatick Society in January 1784 and it was renamed as Asiatic Society of Bengal later (Edgerton 1946: 231).

Shahdadpur and Gorakhpur. He also explored Bihar and Assam. The caves of Ajanta, Kanheri and Elephanta in Western India were discovered and recorded with a great deal of accuracy and sound judgment (Cunningham 1871: III-IV; Prakash 2013: 138, Pruthi 2004: 41). Chakrabarti explains the aims and successes of the Society in these words:

The aim of the Society was to enquire into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences and literature of Asia. Three historical factors explain the success of this society. First, it was increasingly clear that the early British role of the trader would be replaced by that of a territorial ruler, and the time was ripe for a systematic investigation of the country. Second, in their attempt to free themselves from Judaeo-Christian thought, Western philosophical thinking, particularly that of the French Encyclopaedists, turned to India for the origin of culture and religion. This attitude is well reflected in the writings of Voltaire, who was 'convinced that everything has come to us from the banks of the Ganges, astronomy, astrology, metempsychosis, etc.' This particular image of India exerted considerable influence on German Romanticism. Third, the closing years of the eighteenth century witnessed the growth of many literary and philosophic societies in Britain (Chakrabarti 1982: 328).

The Society continued its efforts in the pursuit of history and antiquities of India and launched an annual research journal *Asiatic Researches* in 1788. To conserve the material objects of India, the Society paid serious consideration to the establishment of a museum right from 1799 and on February 2, 1814, the Asiatic Society approved the proposal of Nathaniel Wallach for the establishment of a museum which was materialized on June 1, 1814, with Nathaniel Wallach as the first curator of the Asiatic Society's Museum. Following the traditions of the Asiatic Society of the Bengal, Alexander Cunningham impressed upon the Government of India in his "Memorandum" of November 1861, to appoint a suitable officer for the preservation of ancient monuments of India. The

Colonial Government of Lord Canning principally agreed with A. Cunningham proposals for archaeological explorations by appointing him as Archaeological Surveyor of the newly established Archaeological Department of India immediately after the submission of his famous November 1861 Memorandum. However, formal approval was sought in January 1862 for the said activities in the famous “*Minute by the Right Honble the Governor-General of India in Council on the Antiquities of Upper India, – dated 22 January 1862*”. So it may be safe to say that the pioneers such as Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, Henry Colebrooke, Francis Gladwin, William Chambers, Colin Mackenzie, Francis (Hamilton) Buchanan and Horace Hayman Wilson (scholars associated with the Asiatic Society of Bengal) laid the foundations of Indian Archaeology on which their successors (amateur and professional) archaeologists built the gigantic edifice of Archaeological Survey of India (Cunningham 1871: i-iii, XLI; Markham 1878: 238, 263; Imam 1963: 199; Ramaswami 1979: 4; Chakrabarti 1982: 328, 1988: 6; Kumar 1992: 16-17; Maity 1997: 209, 213; Chatterjee 2002: 502; Murray 2007: 235; Cohn 1996: 9, 231; Prakash 2013: 138). Scholars connected with the Asiatic Society of Bengal made some valuable discoveries such as William Jones identified Sandrokottos of the ancient Greek sources with Chandragupta Maurya and Palibothra/Pataliputra with modern days Patna. He also translated Kalidasa’s *Shakuntala*. Under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Charles Wilkins translated Bhagvad-Gita and Colebrook the Vedas. Indian ancient script remained a mystery until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the process of decoding Indian inscriptions was initiated by Charles Wilkins in 1788 by unlocking the mystery of Kautilya script. James Prinsep threw his lot to bring culmination to this process of decoding and he succeeded with the help of George Turnour by identifying Piyadassi of

Brahmi inscriptions with Aśoka Maurya in 1837. So credit goes to James Prinsep to decipher two ancient Indian scripts i.e. Kharoshti and Brahmi. He was too much concerned about the accuracy of his data to be recorded as accurate as possible. James Prinsep expressed his sense of responsibility for conducting impartial research and to record Indian antiquities in these words: “What the learned world demands of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally.” James Prinsep revolutionized the study of Indian ancient history by pioneering the study of ancient numismatics with the help of James Tod in the initiation of ancient Indian numismatics, which revolutionized the study of Indian ancient history. Mention should be made of M.le Chevalier Ventura, General in the Service of Mahá Rájá Ranjit Singh, General A. Court and Alexander Burnes who carried out archaeological activities during the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Punjab. All these persons were amateurs and none of them was a professional archaeologist.<sup>61</sup> The Asiatic Society of Bengal engaged a number of experts such as geographers, linguists and historians to explore the ancient past of India (Mukherjee 1968: 91; Cunningham 1871: I, VIII; Markham 1871/1878: 240, 242-244; Imam 1966: 17; Allchin and Chakrabarti 1979: 3; Ramaswami 1979: 4-6; Chakrabarti 1982: 330, 1988: 6; Ballantyne 2002: 30; Trautmann 1997: 82; Jagmohan 2007: 130; Rocher and Rocher 2012:18; Prakash 2013: 138).

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<sup>61</sup> William Jones was a judicial officer, who was appointed as a judge in the Calcutta Supreme Court in September 1783; James Prinsep was the assay-master of the Calcutta mint while Mackenzie was a military engineer who subsequently became the Surveyor General of the Topographical Survey of India (Markham 1871/1878: 242-243; Ramaswami 1979: 5, Chakrabarti 1982: 330).

William Jones' basic concern was to link Indian ancient History with the Universal History. To achieve this goal, Jones delivered ten discourses before Asiatic Society of Bengal between 1784 and 1793. These efforts of William Jones were enthused by the theory of Monogenism i.e. the Biblical theory of human creation and the common origin of mankind (Ballantyne 2002:39). So William Jones tried to prove and link that theory in the context of India. He wanted to prove how ancient India and Indians were historically in relation to other people of the world. In the same vain, he also sought affinity between Sanskrit and other ancient languages of the world. This idea of Jones is very much obvious from his third discourse, delivered on February 2, 1786. Jones was of the opinion that Speakers of Sanskrit

had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians and Egyptians, the Phoenicians, Greeks and Tuscans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chinese, Japanese and Peruvians; whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of these nations or any of these nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some central country... (Jones 1788: 430-431; also quoted in Chakrabarti 1982: 329).

William Jones was not alone behind the theme of seeking affinity of ancient Indian history and the rest of the world but there was a long list of his contemporaries who echoed the same ideas such as T. Maurice wrote a seven volumes work on Indian Antiquities. Maurice tried to prove that India was centre of all activities. Francis Wilford went a step ahead to trace the origin of Nile on the basis of Hindu Sacred Books. William Jones and his contemporaries were not interested to observe and report Indian antiquities and monuments but aimed at to link the contemporary notion about the origin of culture and civilization by keeping in mind the unitary origin of *Man* as it is laid down in Bible.



Keeping this framework in mind, Jones tried to link Sanskrit to Greek, Latin and other languages of the world. It is interesting to note that Western notion about Indian past was not fixed but fluctuating. In the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Western scholars believed that different cultural influences and migration of people emanated from India and reached as far as Scotland. For example, in September 1803, Friedrich von Schlegel wrote to Ludwig Tieck as; “Everything, yes, everything without exception has its origin in India”. But from the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, this hypothesis was run in reverse i.e. cultural influences as well as migrations were directed towards India from the region further in the West. Now India was on the receiving end. Some of the scholars doubtfully attach this reversal with post mutiny period to justify the establishment of the British Raj in India<sup>62</sup>. From these hypotheses, it is clear that historical change is owed to people migration (Cannon 1977: 184; Chakrabarti 1982: 329; Ballantyne 2002: 33).

From 1784 to 1830, two persons (Colonel Colin Mackenzie, a military engineer and Francis Buchanan) rendered valuable services in the field of Indian antiquities in Southern India. It is on the credit of Colin Mackenzie to visit nearly every place of interest south of the Krishna River. During his non-archaeological survey in Southern India, Mackenzie prepared over 2,000 measured drawings of antiquities, carefully drawn to scale, besides facsimiles of 100 inscriptions, with copies of 8,000 others in 77 volumes. Buchanan conducted surveys in eastern and southern India and published his

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<sup>62</sup> According to Tony Ballantyne Orientalists sought basis for the Company rule in Bengal before 1857 mutiny. He writes ‘...the Company Orientalists in late eighteenth century Bengal were seeking an Indian basis for Company rule and they believed that the ancient text of classical Hinduism would provide this foundation’ (Ballantyne 2002: 95).

report of survey of eastern India in 1807 (Cunningham 1871: III-IV; Imam 1966: 17, Chakrabarti 1982: 330).

It was again the pages of the “Asiatick Researches” where in 1848 Alexander Cunningham, an army engineer, proposed a country-wide survey of the Indian monuments. However, it was the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain’s suggestion to the Court of Directors of the East India Company for the preservation of Indian monuments. In response to the Society’s suggestion, the Court of Directors proposed to the Imperial Government of India in Calcutta in May 1844, to employ the officers of the Company to copy and preserve the cave paintings especially of Ajanta and to preserve the caves from dereliction. The Board of Directors came with a comprehensive plan for the preservation of Indian monuments and advised a commission to record accurate, minute and well classified information about the nature, the extent and the state of present monuments of India. The Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge proposed some modifications to the intended plan and the Directors agreed with him. Under these arrangements, Captain Robert Gill who was deputed to copy the paintings in Ajanta, spent the rest of his years near the caves in remote, but luxurious ease” (Cunningham 1871: ii; Ramaswami 1979: 6-7).

Lord Charles John Canning, the Governor-General and the first Viceroy of India (1856-1862), also contributed to the archaeology and archaeological monuments of India to be preserved and recorded in a systematic way. He was not satisfied with the way in which archaeological research was conducted during his time or before him. The unsatisfactory conditions of Indian monuments and the negligence in caring and recording of the Indian ancient monuments has been expressed by Lord Canning as under:

It will not be to our credit as an enlightened ruling power' if we continue to allow such fields of investigations as the remains of the old Buddhist capital in Behar, the vast ruins of Kanuoj, the plains of Delhi, studded with ruins more thickly than even the Campagna of Rome, and many others, to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received. There are European Governments which, if they had held our rule in India, would not have allowed this to be said (quoted in Cunningham 1871:ii; also in Ramaswami 1979: 8; Singh 2004: 59).

So to compensate the above mentioned problem in Indian Archaeology, Lord Canning constituted the Archaeological Survey of Northern India in 1860 and appointed General Alexander Cunningham in 1861 as the first Archaeological Surveyor of the Government of India (Allchin 1978: 747; Kumar 2003: 237; Ray 2004: 12; Riddick 2006: 204; Hoock 2010: 346).

Lord Canning organized the Archaeological Survey of India aiming at the research, description and preservation of ancient monuments of India. He asserted the duties of colonial Government of India in these words:

The duty of investigating, describing and protecting the ancient monuments of a Country is recognized and acted on by every civilized nation in the world. India has done less in this direction than almost any other nation, and considering the vast materials for the illustration of history which lie unexplored in every part of Hindoostan...immediate step should be taken for the creation under the Government of India of a machinery for the discharging a duty, at once so obvious and so interesting (Hoock 2010: 347).

Lord Canning was one of those rulers of India who ardently advocated that ancient remains of India should be described and recorded systematically. So Lord Canning's curiosity for the documentation of Indian cultural heritage is evident from his brief to

Alexander Cunningham at the time of later appointment as Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India. The Viceroy entrusted the Director-General of the Survey with the task of ‘an accurate description of the most important remains, ‘illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photograph, and by copies of inscriptions’, along with their history and traditions as far as they could be traced and a record of the tradition that are retained regarding them’ (Mersey 1949: 71; Paddayya 1995: 126; Hoock 2010: 346).

Not only Lord Canning disparaged the colonial Government of India for her cold response towards Indian antiquities but the first Archaeological Surveyor of India, Alexander Cunningham also criticized the Imperial Government of India for doing nothing for the ancient monuments of India as is obvious from his famous “Memorandum” of 1861 as under:

During the one hundred years of British dominion in India, the Government had done little or nothing towards the preservation of its ancient Monuments, which, in the total absence of any written history, form the only reliable source of information as to the early condition of the country... Some of these monuments...are daily suffering from the effects of time, and...must soon disappear altogether, unless preserved by the accurate drawings and faithful descriptions of the archaeologist... hitherto the Government has been chiefly occupied with the extension and consolidation of the empire... it would redound... to the honour of the British Government to institute a careful and systematic investigation of all the existing monuments of ancient India” (Cunningham 1871: iii-iv; also quoted in Ramaswamy 1979: 7; Paddayya 1995: 126; Hoock 2010: 345).

On May 30, 1870, after a three years hiatus, Secretary of State and the Colonial Government of India led by Lord Mayo, re-organized the Archaeological Survey of India

as a Government Department<sup>63</sup> with Alexander Cunningham as Director-General, who resumed his responsibilities in February 1871 (Bühler 1895: 649; Riddick 2006: 204; Hooek 2010: 346).

Alexander Cunningham contributed valuable services to the ancient remains of India. He surveyed the whole breadth of the country and documented all monuments. General A. Cunningham proposed a systematic survey of Indian antiquities and monuments sponsored by the Government of India. In his proposed survey, A. Cunningham was intended to follow the path of two Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fāxiǎn (5<sup>th</sup> century AD) and Xuánzàng (7<sup>th</sup> century AD)<sup>64</sup>. In his 1861 Memorandum, A. Cunningham declared Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, XuánZàng as his Pausanias for India in the following words:

In describing the ancient geography of India, the elder Pliny, for the sake of clearance, follows the footsteps of Alexander the Great. For a similar reason, in the present proposed investigation, I would follow the footsteps of Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who, in the seventh century of our era, traversed India from west to east and back again for the purpose of visiting all the famous sites of Buddhist history and tradition. In the account of his travels, although the Buddhist remains are described in most detail with all their attendant legends and traditions, yet the numbers and appearance of Brahmanical temples are also noted, and the travels of Chinese pilgrim thus hold the same place in the history of India, which those of Pausanias hold in the history of Greece (Cunningham 1871: iv).

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<sup>63</sup> The spiritual ancestry of the Archaeological Survey of India may be traced back to Orientalist William Jones' Asiatic Society of Calcutta established in 1784 and it is also said that ASI was founded in 1861 in the wake of 1857 Great Uprising/revolt (Herbert 2012: 277).

<sup>64</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century brought a breakthrough in Indological studies as travels of Fāxiǎn were published in French in 1836 and XuánZàng's work was translated in 1857 & 1858 by Stanislas Julien along with the proof of the historical authenticity of Buddha through textual researches in Nepal, Burma and Sri Lanka. It was unnatural for a person like A. Cunningham not to be influenced by these developments (Chakrabarti 1982: 332, 1988: 6).

A. Cunningham was interested in the topographical survey of ancient settlements of India and for this purpose he walked on the foot-steps of Chinese pilgrims and wanted to pursue systematic explorations of India in the hope to serve the main purposes i.e political and religious. First, he thought that research on Buddhist monuments would prove that in antiquity, India was not dominated by Brahmanism (Hinduism) and it was not the only principal religion of India but it was paralleled by Buddhism in the past. So this would pave the way for the spreading of Christianity. Second, it would serve political ends to justify the British rule in India (Chakrabarti 1982: 332). Cunningham's contributions to Indian archaeology are far from appreciation but his critics disapprove him for his too much dependence on text only in deconstructing the past. Research in the pre-history had been started by Bruce Foote and his colleagues since the 1880s but Alexander Cunningham never conceived of a prehistoric civilization in India and never incorporated archaeological evidence that lay outside the constructed historical framework. He conducted research on historic sites with emphasis on religious architecture to recover sculptures, coins and precious materials. During field work, Cunningham avoided collecting commonplace artefacts such as ceramics, stone tools and non-elite household etc. as they were difficult to be elicited from the text. It is clear from the fact that Cunningham made three expeditions to Harappa i.e. in 1853, 1854 and 1873 but he was silent about its date and its connection with other civilizations of the region and even dismissed a Harappan pictographic seal and a sherd shown to him. It took almost seventy years when in 1924, Sir John Marshall assign to it the Bronze Age period and established a connection between the Indus civilization and the Mesopotamian civilization. But the trend set by Cunningham and his contemporaries for historic-period archaeology

continued in Indian Archaeology on the illustrative use of monuments, sculptures and elite productions to adorn the pages of history text. Nevertheless it is on the credit of A. Cunningham for starting research in the field of Indian Epigraphy which was later on provided sound footing by the hard work of James Burgess in 1872 (Malik 1968/1987: 20; Trautmann and Sinopoli, 2006:199; Avari 2007: 41; Wright 2010: 6).

Lord Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton remained the Governor-General and Viceroy of India from 1876-1880. During his reign, the colonial Government of India passed 'the Treasure Trove Act' to curb the activities of treasure-hunters. He issued a 'Minute' in 1878 in which he declared conservation of national antiquities as "essentially imperial" duty of the Central Government of India. From that time onward, the Central Government of India assumed the responsibility of the preservation and restoration of the monuments which resulted in the appointment of Captain Henry Cole, in 1881<sup>65</sup> as Curator of the Ancient Monuments of India to report on the question of repair and maintenance, survey, register the state of decay, and advise the Government of India on the preservation and restoration of ancient monuments throughout India. Now priority was given to *in situ* preservation (Marshall 1916: 30; Mersey 1949: 93; Brown 1905/1995: 233; Dani 1983: 183; Hoock 2010: 347).

In 1885, A. Cunningham retired from his post and James Burgess became Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India for five years (1885-1889) but he retired in 1889. This resulted in the stagnation of the activities of the survey especially in the field of conservation and research. During the said period the Survey remained without a

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<sup>65</sup> Initially Henry Cole was appointed for a period of three years during which he produced three annual reports with a future conservation plan (Brown 1995: 233).

Director-General as the post was abolished and the Department underwent several changes. It was given in the control of local governments by de-centralizing it, then divided into five regional divisions or circles and finally brought under Central Government by Lord George Nathaniel Curzon with Sir John Marshall as Director-General. Lord Curzon became de-facto Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India when he was sent as Governor-General of India in 1898 as the office of Director-General fell vacant since the retirement of James Burgess in 1889. He took keen interest in the field of Indian Archaeology. Lord Curzon's interest in the ancient buildings and monuments instigated the native princes to found Surveys of archaeology in their own states and heeded for the preservation of ancient monuments located in their territories (Bühler 1895: 650; Brown 1905/1995: 233, Paddayya 1995: 128; Trautmann and Sinopoli 2006: 199).

In 1902 John Hubert Marshall was appointed Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India at a young age of just twenty six and he worked in that capacity until his retirement in 1928. During Marshall's Director-Generalship, Indian archaeology made advances in every field including excavation, architectural conservation, epigraphy, publication and creation of new museums. During his 26 years in office, Marshall unearthed a number of sites such as Nalanda, Vaishali, Pataliputra and Taxila. Credit also goes to John Marshall for the discovery of prehistoric cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa (Indus civilization) as is obvious from his announcement in the *Illustrated London News* on 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1924. He declared 'a civilization as old as and as great as the Mesopotamian has been discovered in the Indus valley.' He further declared that "not often has it been given to archaeologists, as it was given to Schliemann at Tiryns and Mycenae, or to Stein in the deserts of Turkistan, to light upon the remains of a



long-forgotten civilization. It looks, however, at this moment, as if we were on the threshold of such a discovery in the plains of the Indus” (quoted in Wright 2010: 10). This announcement came to the historians and archaeologists as a great surprise. It was John Marshall’s services for the Indian archaeology in general and the discovery of the Indus Civilization in particular, which obliged Alfred Foucher to remark that “He left India about 3000 years<sup>66</sup> older than he had found it” (Foucher 1939: 355; see also Rao 2008: 171; Jagmohan 2007: 131; Riddick 2006: 207; Allchin 1995: 5).

No organized efforts were initiated up to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the study of India’s past, however, mention should be made of British individuals who contributed to the field of monuments such as James Fergusson, a Scottish indigo cultivator, who studied the monumental architecture of India during 1830s and 1840s and James Prinsep, who deciphered Brahmi and Kharoshti scripts, the two oldest scripts of India, in 1830s. There was no consistency in the Government’s policy in connection of antiquities, so the antiquarian research and care of ancient monuments remained so marginal that ‘if a Governor ordered for the survey, care and preservation of a monument, his successor dismantles it, planned for its shipment to the UK’ (Brown 1905: 231, Andr n 1998:56).

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<sup>66</sup> The discovery of the Indus Civilization encouraged Sir John Marshall to remark about the success of his Indian Colleagues in these words; “At a single bound we have taken back our knowledge of Indian civilization some 3000 years earlier and have established the fact that in the third millennium before Christ, or even before that, the people of the Punjab and Sind were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a relatively mature culture with high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of pictographic writing” (Roy 1961: 108).

The haphazard investigations and explorations in Indian Archaeology under the Colonial Government of India in the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century has been disapproved by Ramaswami in these words as under:

There are reports of discoveries of monuments, mostly minor, in many parts of the country throughout the nineteenth century, most of them in the first half...But the inquiries were unsystematic, and archaeology depends on method and order for success. Moreover, in the wake of archaeologist there followed the antique or treasure hunter. The later almost disemboweled the Great Stupa of Sanchi soon after it was rediscovered in 1818 (Ramaswami 1979: 6).

In February 1939, Sir Leonard Woolley heavily criticized the Archaeological Survey of India for not following the modern techniques of excavations. He was especially called to India by the Imperial Government of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow, to appraise the function and performance of the Survey and to furnish suggestions for the future plan of Indian Archaeology (Malik 1968/1987: 23; Hawkes 1982: 231; Allchin *et al* 1995: 6; Avari 2007: 42). Sir Woolley expressed his views about Indian Archaeology in these words;

The fact was that the Indian archaeologists had not kept in touch with the techniques of excavation improved in Europe and America, with the result that the methods followed by them were antiquated. Hardly any attempt had been made to establish sequences of cultures by deep excavations, and there was no systematic plan about the choice of the sites to be excavated, so that the archaeology of large parts of the country had remained in the dark (quoted in Malik 1968/87: 23).

Sir Woolley suggested that non-official institutions (foreign and Indian) should be encouraged to undertake projects in the field of archaeology.

Though Marshall stressed the need for conservation and excavations and decried his predecessors for spending too much time on literary research but he also confined his research to history proper especially to Buddhist sites. A. Cunningham had set a tradition so strong in historical research that it was almost impossible for future archaeologists including Marshall to deviate. Nonetheless, Marshall also paid attention to non-Buddhist site such as Pataliputra, Bhita and Indus Valley Civilization etc. the question arises that why Cunningham and his successors were preoccupied with Buddhist sites and historic period. Firstly, because of the more known nature of the Buddhist period and sites through the accounts of Xuánzàng , Fǎxiǎn and I-ching, Chinese pilgrims who visited India in 5<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century respectively attracted Cunningham and those who followed him. Secondly, the availability of spectacular finds at these sites facilitated the archaeologists to get public and financial support. There is a general opinion that Marshall sacrificed specialized archaeological interest on the altar of public interest. Marshall and his associates have been blamed that they excavated those sites which yielded a great number of antiquities. That is why he excavated at Taxila, Mohenjodaro, Sarnath and Nalanda. This over-emphasis on material objects seduced Marshall and his associates to employ inadequate excavation techniques by ignoring principles of stratified excavations prevalent in Europe at that time. This hunt for cultural material/s prevented them to spread their research all over the country which may have been resulted in obtaining regional cultural indices (Malik 1968/1987: 22-23).

The trend of primitive techniques and over emphasis on material objects started by Cunningham and continued by Marshall and his colleagues were deprecated by William

H. Stiebing, Jr. in his book, “*Uncovering the Past: A History of Archaeology*” in these words;

The results of the excavations by Marshall and his colleagues were historic, but technically they left much to be desired. Compared to the contemporaneous excavations in Near East or Europe, the work of the Archaeological Survey of India was primitive. At Harappa and Mohenjo-daro the archaeologists took levels for principal finds, but they did not recognize the natural stratigraphy of the sites (Stiebing, Jr. 1993: 219).

The Archaeological Survey of India and its Director-General, Sir John Marshall earned the criticism of Glyn Daniel in his book titled “*A Short History of Archaeology*” in these words;

It is a good example of the archaeologists not looking back at the history of their subject: had Marshall and Mackay (Marshall’s principal successor as excavator at Mohenjo-daro) never heard of Worsaae, Fiorelli and Pitt-Rivers, not to mention Thomas Jefferson? Apparently not (quoted in Stiebing, Jr. 1993: 219).

India had to wait for technical excavations as late as 1943 when Mortimer Wheeler was appointed by the Government of Lord Wavell to lead the Archaeological Survey of India (Wheeler 1976: 7; Stiebing, Jr. 1993: 219).

### **Legislation for Ancient Monuments**

Before the advent of British East India Company (BEIC) on the Indian political scene, religious settlements (Mosques and Temples) owned vast tracts of land for their preservation and sustenance. So BEIC decided to take responsibilities of these properties and promulgated two Acts i.e.

1. Regulation XIX of Bengal Code, 1810
2. Regulation VII of Madras Code, 1817

Apart from the above mentioned Codes, the British East India Company as well as the colonial Government of India legislated from time to time in order to tackle the matter of Indian cultural heritage in a better way. These Acts are as under:

3. Act XII of 1838
4. Religious Endowment Act XX of 1863
5. Indian Treasure Trove Act 1878
6. Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904

Like the former rulers of India, the British East India Company tried to assert its authority to supervise the revenue and management of religious endowments. So with the establishment of the Board of Revenue in 1789 (being a subordinate body to the BEIC up to 1858 and later to the Crown) to collect revenue, the Hindu temples with huge financial resources endowed by affluent devotees came under the authority of this Board. The British authorities provided an efficient management of the property of temples; the native people welcomed this move in the hope that officials of the Company would remain impartial in the local feuds and politics, being played at these sacred centres and their hope was not in vain as the British authorities did their level best in providing an impartial management above the local feuds (Kumari 1998:12).

1. Regulation XIX of Bengal Code, 1810

When embezzlement was found in the endowments of temples, the Board of Revenue requested for regulation to deal with the matter. A blue print was provided by the Regulation XIX of Bengal Code, 1810. The Regulation XIX was brought into force for the “appropriation of the rents and produce of lands granted for the support of Mosques, Hindu temples and colleges, and other purposes, for the maintenance and repair of bridges, sarais, kattras, and other public buildings; and for the custody and disposal of nazul property or escheats, in the Presidency of Fort Williams in Bengal and the Presidency of Fort Saint George, some duties were imposed on the Boards of Revenue.” Even British East India Company was conscious of the properties of Temples and felt the need for safeguarding them. Churches are not mentioned specifically, because there were few and they had no notable properties (2011:17).

The main object of the Regulation was to know that the income from the endowments both religious and charitable, were appropriated for the purpose for which they were donated. The British felt obliged that it was the duty of every Government “to provide that all such endowments were applied according to the real intent and the will of the grantor.” Other motives were to use these endowments for the maintenance and repair of the ‘bridges, choultries and other buildings’, which have been created by the expense of the Government or by individuals for the use and convenience of public and finally to provide for the custody and disposal of the escheats (Kumari 1998:26) . The regulation was applicable to all public endowments, except those maintained by individuals subsequent to the date on which that enactment (Regulation VII) was passed. Again the regulation applied to those institutions whose officials were appointed by the

Government or the expenses of which were met out from the Government funds (Kumari 1998:26).

## 2. Regulation VII (1817, Madras Code)

The first ever antiquarian legislation promulgated by the British East Company in the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century was “Bengal Regulation XIX of 1810” followed by another legislation known as “Madras Regulation VII of 1817” (Jokilehto 1999: 275). Regulation VII of 1817 (Madras Code) reminded the collectors of their duties as “to aid and not to impede by direct *Sircar* interference, the management of private endowments... and the duty imposed on you by the Regulation... is that of general superintendence, not detailed management” (Kumari 1998:30).

Next in the line was the “Religious Endowment Act XX of 1863”, followed by the “Indian Treasure Trove Act 1878”. The Company Management Prohibition of illegal excavations and trafficking of antiquities came in 1886. In 1904, the colonial Government of India introduced “Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 (Act no. VII of 1904)” (Allchin 1978: 751; Ray 2008: 89, Nabi Khan n.d.: 19). But both these Acts were silent about private properties.

## 3. Act no. XII (1838)

‘Passed by the honourable the president of the Council of India in the council on 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1838.’ The 1838 Act no. XII empowered the officials of East India Company in these words: “It is hereby enacted, that from the 1<sup>st</sup> day of July 1838, all powers vested by the regulation XI of 1832, of the Madras Code, in Zillah or assistant judges, shall be

vested in every principal *suder ameen* within the territories subject to the government of the presidency of Fort St. George, in respect of all hidden treasures of any of the kinds specified in section II. Of that Regulation, which may be found within his jurisdiction; and all rules applicable to Zillah or assistant judges, shall be applicable to every such principal *suder amen*, in respect of such treasure” (1840: 101).

#### 4. The Religious Endowments Act XX, 1863

In 1863, the Government decided to hand over the control of temple properties to be managed by Trustees of respective temples. By the virtue of this Act, monuments could be preserved and protected (Malik 1968/1987:20). The ‘Religious Endowment Act XX of 1863’ was promulgated to empower the Government to prevent injury to and preserve buildings remarkable for their antiquity or for their historical or architectural value. But the responsibility for the preservation of ancient monuments was devolved into local Governments under the Religious Endowment Act XX, of 1863. The Religious Endowment Act XX, of 1863 accredited the Indian Government to nominate Trustees, Manager or Superintendent for the management of religious properties. On the other hand, the same Act enabled the ‘Board of Revenue’ to withdraw from the active oversight of religious sites and it also undone the precedents set by ‘Regulation XIX of Bengal Code of 1810’ and ‘Regulation VII of Madras Code of 1817’. The Government decided not to hold henceforth property of religious settlements. It was turned unlawful for the government whether Central Government or any State Government to undertake/resume the oversight of any land or other property of religious domain/sphere (Hooock 2010: 347, Murphy 2012:192).



## 5. Indian Treasure Trove Act 1878

Some of the legislation resulted in the destruction and plundering of archaeological sites and monuments at the hands of natives as well as British officials, who sold them either in open market or decorated their private homes with these antiquities. The grim story of “Elginism” has been described by Tapati Guha-Thakurta in these words;

Through the nineteenth century there are repeated cases of district collector treasure-hunting at will and removing sculptures from sites to display in public market places; of rare sculptures being shipped to London, lying unattended for decades in the backyard of no less an institution than the India Museum;.... It was through a sharp break with these practices that the new archaeological establishment in late-nineteenth-century India staged its ambitious role as the true savior and restorer of the country ancient heritage. That role was now fortified by the claims of ‘science’ and ‘order’ – by new systematic excavation, conservation and photographic documentation –..... (Guha-Thakurta 2002: 77-78).

The worries of the native Indians regarding the ‘Elginism’ i.e. destruction and plundering of the cultural heritage of India has been narrated by Richard Davis in *Lives of Indian Images* in these words; “The Baptist missionary John Chamberlain recorded in his diary on 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1817 a conversation he had with an elderly Brahmin. The Brahmin abruptly asked the missionary, ‘How is it that your countrymen steal our gods?’” (quoted in Ray 2008:113).

So in 1878, the Government of Lord Lytton enacted another Act styled as ‘the Indian Treasure Trove Act VI of 1878’. In this new Act, the Colonial Government of India tried to prevent the shipping of Indian antiquities to metropolitan centres like the British

Museum, and to retain them not only within India but as close as possible to their original locations (Kumar 1992: 17; Guha-Thakurta 2002: 78). However, Ahmad Hasan Dani is of the opinion that “in spite of this Act treasures were hunted, and it would be interesting and enlightening for any world body to see where these treasures are now lodged” (Dani 1983: 183).

Indian Treasure Trove Act also empowered the government to acquire ancient objects of art such as sculptures, coins, seals and copper plates (Pal 1992:78). Tapati Guha-Thakurta summarizes the aims and objectives of the Indian treasure trove Act 1878 in these words; ‘it invested in the Government of India and the provincial and local governments “indefeasible rights” to the acquisition of all objects of archaeological interest, providing a detailed definition of what classified as “treasure” and what constituted its “value”’ (Guha-Thakurta 2004:56).

Lord George Nathaniel Curzon<sup>67</sup> remained the Viceroy of India from January 6, 1899 to April, 1905<sup>68</sup>. During his tenure as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Lord Curzon

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<sup>67</sup> Sir Thomas Raleigh, a member of the Viceroy’s Council, says about Curzon’s passion for preservation in these words; ‘I never visited an ancient building in India without finding that the Viceroy had been there before me, measuring, verifying, planning out the detail of repair and reconstruction...with his own reverence for the historic past’. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India opines about Lord Curzon’s love and commitment to the preservation of ancient monuments as ‘after every other Viceroy has been forgotten, Curzon will be remembered because he restored all that was beautiful in India’(Glendinning 2013:161).

<sup>68</sup> George Nathaniel Curzon ruled India as Governor-General from January 6, 1899 to April, 1904 in his first tenure and was re-appointed as Viceroy and Governor-General in 1904 but differences developed between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of India, on military affairs of India. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Brodrick, sided with Kitchener and preferred to sacrifice the Viceroy because the British Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour also considered Curzon too autocratic. So Lord Curzon

introduced some crucial reforms such as creation of North West Frontier Province (1901), Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904) and partition of Bengal (1905) (Lipsett 1903: 49; Anonymous 1906: 104, Allchin 1978: 751; Chhabra 2005:489-505). Lord Curzon's arrival and his eagerness for Indian Archaeology has been recounted by Miles Glendinning in these words;

In 1899 Lord Curzon was appointed as the Governor-General of India at the age of 39. His controversial seven-year 'benevolent despotism' revitalized the conservation of India's architectural heritage. Finding on his arrival in India that the Government office of Director-General of Archaeology had lapsed, Curzon, an eager amateur archaeologist, assumed the duties of the post himself for four years, increasing the conservation budget six fold, and declaring that a governing power is morally obliged to protect the ancient monuments of the governed, especially those of the non-Christian faith. He argued that 'imperialism will only win its way in this country if it wears a secular not an ecclesiastical garb' (Glendinning 2013:161).

Indian Archaeology was one of the Viceregal priorities of Government of India under Lord Curzon's viceroyalty; and he played a magnificent role for the preservation and conservation of Indian antiquities<sup>69</sup>. It was natural for a man like Curzon to be attracted by Indian ancient monuments, to fell in love with them and to decide to preserve them. So to achieve these objectives, Curzon strengthened the organization and funding of the Archaeological Survey of India, extended legislation and Government control over

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resigned in August, 1905 (1906:104; Mersey 1949: 113-116; Chaurasia 2002: 268; Fruzzetti and Östör 2003:230; Chhabra 2005: 506-508; Tillotson 2008/2010: 150).

<sup>69</sup> Lord Curzon became furious when he came to know that the famous Jain Temples of the Abu plateau had been whitewashed and the woodwork a-historically painted in gaudy colours, only to honour his viceregal visit of the site. He also lamented the whitewash on the medieval mosques and tombs of Bijapur (Metcalf 1995: 154, Hoock 2010:348).

excavation and traffic in antiquities and removed English Clubs and post offices from the ancient buildings<sup>70</sup>. His attachment with the Indian cultural heritage is evident from his speech to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on February 7, 1900 (1906: 182; Metcalf 1995/1997: 153; Avari 2007: 41; Hooek 2010: 348). In the course of his speech, Lord Curzon set the exploration and conservation policy of his Government in these words;

Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work...It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and to discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve (Malik 1968/1987: 22; Paddayya 1995: 129; Hooek 2010: 348; Gottschalk 2013: 278).

Sir Mortimer Wheeler had to acknowledge his services in his Address to the British Association of Oxford under the title of *Colonial Archaeology* in these words;

‘In India we were saved at the last minute from wrecking, or acquiescing in the wreckage of, an irreplaceable cultural inheritance by the action of one man. That man was, of course, Lord Curzon; without Curzon, our cultural record in India would be as black as our enemies like to pretend that it was’ (quoted in Ray 2008:87,108).

## 6. The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904

Lord Curzon viewed the promotion of archaeological study, the encouragement of research and the preservation of the ancient relics as part of the ‘Imperial Obligation to India’. So as a first step of Lord Curzon’s efforts for Indian archaeology and ancient monuments was the re-organization of the Archaeological Survey of India under the

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<sup>70</sup> He bewailed the unwillingness of the British Military to vacate the Delhi and Lahore Forts (Metcalf 1995: 154).

leadership of John Hubert Marshall<sup>71</sup> in 1902 who gave new directions to the Indian archaeology. He concentrated his efforts on excavations, architectural conservation, epigraphy, publication and created new museums in India. Sir John Marshall also heeded to ancient monuments and antiquities of India as he was instrumental behind the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 by the Indian Legislature, which brought hundreds of monuments and sites under its protection. This Act was effective throughout India<sup>72</sup> (Marshall 1916: 19; Malik 1968/1987: 21-22; Dani 1983: 184; Kumar 1992: 17; Allchin 1995:5; Chaurasia 2002: 267; Avari 2007: 41; Sreedharan 2007:135; Murray 2007:236; Brown 1905: 234-235; Glendinning 2013: 161; Gottschalk 2013: 278).

Lord Curzon's love and zeal for Indian monuments and antiquities is apparent from his speech made in the course of passing the Ancient Monument preservation Act 1904. He expressed his feelings in these words;

“As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and studious repair. All know that there is beauty in India in abundance, I like to think there is reverence also, and that amid our struggles the present could join hands in pious respect of the past” (Fraser 1911: 359; Anonymous 1906: 198, also quoted in Jagmohan 2007: 130).

A new era ushered in the history of Indian archaeology when Lord Curzon passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904 (Act no. VII of 1904). This Act was enacted

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<sup>71</sup> It is said that Sir John Marshall was brought to India by Lord Curzon mistakenly for another man of the same name. Moreover, he has been accused of tolerating no brothers near the throne (Ramaswami 1979: 9-10).

<sup>72</sup> The AMPA 1904 was effective throughout the country except the State of Jammu and Kashmir (2011: 54).

because the 1878 Act failed to provide full pledge protection to ancient monuments i.e. objects and sites. This legislation armed the Indian Government with the powers of effective preservation and authority over the monuments particularly those, which were under the custody of individual or private ownership. The Ancient Monuments preservation Act 1904 provided for the preservation of monuments, control over the traffic of antiquities, excavation at certain places, and for the protection and acquisition in certain cases of ancient monuments and objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest (Marshall 1916: 19;Pal 1992: 78; Chhabra 2005: 505; Lahiri 2005: 73).

The preamble of the Act goes as under:

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the preservation of the ‘ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic ‘in antiquities, and over excavation in certain places, and for the protection and acquisition in certain cases of ancient monuments and objects of archaeological, and historical or artistic interest (Brown 1905: 235).

Section 3 of the AMPA 1904 authorizes the Local Government to declare any monument of the past to be a “protected monument” within the meaning of the Act on the line of British and French legislation for ancient monuments (Brown 1905: 235).

Section 4 of the AMPA elaborates the road map for Government to take over charge of ancient monuments in these words; “the Government may purchase (by arrangement) or take on lease, or receive as a gift or bequest, any protected monument; may accept its guardianship on a written covenant from the owner, or may assume guardianship of it when there is no owner forthcoming” (Brown 1905: 236, 2011: 56). The government may take the charge of a monument if any one of above circumstances arises.

Section 5 of the Ancient Monuments and Preservation Act VII of 1904 authorized the owner as well as the Government to enter into an agreement for the preservation, maintenance, custody, and even “proprietary or other rights.” AMPA 1904 empowered the officials for the requisition of ancient monuments and sites from the owners if needed to be protected and preserved. According to section 5 of the AMPA 1904, the collector may propose to the owner to enter into an agreement for the preservation, maintenance, custody and even proprietary or other rights of any protected monument in his district but with prior permission of the Central Government. By declaring herself the sole custodian of the ancient relics of India, the Imperial Government either recovered these to the sanitized space of museums or, dissociate it from the natives’ traditional sphere of claims, transformed the sites into vast exhibition of antiquities (Brown 1905: 236; Chatterjee2002: 504, Geary et al 2012: 89).

An agreement may be made for the following matters;

- (a) Maintenance (care, conservation, preservation etc.) of the monuments
- (b) The custody of the monument and the duties of any person who may be employed to watch it;
- (c) Under the agreement the owner’s has no right to destroy, remove, alter or deface the monument and even to build on the premise or near the site of the monument;
- (d) The owner of the monument/s would be bound for the facilities of access to be permitted to the public or any portion of the public or person to be deputed by the owner or collector for the examination/inspection or maintenance of the monument/s;

- (e) The AMPA bound the owner for a notice to the (Central) Government in case the land with a monument is offered for sale by the owner and the Act provided for the (Central) Government the right to purchase such land, or any specified portion of such land, at its market value;
- (f) The payment of any expenses incurred by the owner or by (the Central Government) in connection with the preservation of the monument;
- (g) The proprietary or other rights which are to be vested in (Government) in respect of the monument when any expenses are incurred by (the Central Government) in connection of the preservation of the monument;
- (h) The appointment of an authority to decide any dispute arising of the agreement; and
- (i) Any matter connected with preservation of the monument which is a proper subject of the agreement between the owner and (the Central Government) (Anonymous 2011: 56-57).

The terms of the agreement may be altered from time to time subject to the consent of the owner and with the sanction of (the Central Government). Both the owner and the Collector are entitled to terminate the agreement with a six months prior notice to each other (Anonymous 2011: 57).

Section 10 of the Act strictly forbade the Government to take charge of any monument used for religious observances (Geary *et al* 2012: 89). Public access to protected sites have been safeguarded in section 15 of AMPA as “under certain conditions the public shall have a right of access to any monument, maintained by the Government under the Act” (Brown 1905: 236).



Destroying or damaging a protected monument may lead to severe punishments which have been elaborated in section 16 of AMPA in these words; “No one other than the owner may destroy, remove, injure, alter, deface or imperil it, under the risk of being visited with the somewhat severe penalty of a ‘fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with imprisonment which may extend to three months, with both” (Brown 1905: 235-236; Anonymous 2011: 61).

Section 18 of the Act is meant to prohibit the removal of any piece of antiquity and authorizes the Local Government to interfere “to prohibit the removal from the place where there are any ‘sculpture, carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions or other like objects’ without official permission” (Brown 1905: 238).

The owner has been provided with the following three compensations if he is not content with prohibition of the monument and make a good case before the administration, the Local Government may facilitate him with the following three options;

- a) Rescind the prohibition;
- b) purchase the property at market value if moveable;
- c) pay compensation if immovable (Brown 1905: 238).

In case of a danger of destruction, removal, injury or decay to a protected monument, the Central Government may opt for the compulsory purchase of the objects (mentioned in a notification under section 18 of the Act) under section 19 of the Act. However, in this connection the Act bound the Collector for the issuance of a notice to the owner of the monument (Brown 1905: 238, Anonymous 2011: 62).

The (Central Government) may, by notification in the (Official Gazette), declare an ancient monument to be a protected monument within the meaning<sup>73</sup> of this Act. Under this Act, the Collector is entitled to offer an agreement for the preservation of the monuments and in case of refusal or failure to enter into agreement, the Collector may sue a case against the owner in the court of District Judge (anonymous 2011: 58).

Section 17 of AMPA empowered the Governor-General in Council (the Central Government) to curb the shipment of antiquities. The Act authorized the Governor-General in Council to “prohibit or restrict’ the bringing or taking by sea or by land of any antiquities or class of antiquities..... into or out of British India or any 'specified part of British India'. A fine up to five hundred rupees and confiscation of the objects concerned follow any infringement of a prohibition of the kind”. For this purpose, the Governor-General was authorized to issue a notification in the Official Gazette to achieve the above mentioned purpose i.e. the territories to which this Act extends (Brown 1905: 237-238, Anonymous 2011: 61).

Government is empowered to confiscate the antiquities intended to be moved illegally and to punish the culprit with a fine up to Rupees 500. An Officer of Customs or Police (not lower the rank of sub-inspector) may search any means of conveyance in connection of illegal movement of antiquities (Brown 1905: 238, Anonymous 2011: 61). The Act authorized the Central Government to keep sculpture, carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions and the like objects *in situ* by notifying in the Official Gazette unless

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<sup>73</sup> In the context of 1904 Act ancient monument means any structure, erection or monument, or any tumulus or place of internment, or any cave, rock sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archaeological or artistic interest, or any remains thereof (Marshall 1923/1990: 1; Anonymous 2011: 55).

permitted by the Collector in writing (Brown 1905: 238; Anonymous 2011: 62). Section 20 of the Act deals with excavations of the ancient monuments and archaeological sites and the owner/occupier of the land may be compensated in the case of excavations (Brown 1905: 238).

In 1932, the Indian Government effected Act No. 18 of 1932 to amend the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 to allow for the excavation of archaeological sites, under certain rules, to be taken up by foreign institutions and organizations as well as national (Woolley 1939: 9). The first such work to be taken up was accomplished in 1935 by the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies and the Boston School of Fine Art. These two institutions combined their efforts to work at the Chanhu-daro region of the Sind (Malik 1968/1987: 23; Dani 1983: 188; Riddick 2006: 208). Under the 1904 AMPA no foreign group were allowed to research in the field of archaeology in India. It was in 1932 that through Act No. 18 of 1932 (amendment in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904), foreign missions were permitted to carry out their archaeological researches in Pakistan and India. But only two foreign missions applied for permission prior to 1947 (Dar 1977: 13). So it was the 1932 Amendment, which paved the way for the archaeological explorations and excavations in Swat State under the combined Mission of Evert Barger and Philip Wright sponsored by Victoria and Albert Museum and Bristol University in 1938.

## Chapter 3

### Archaeology of Malakand-Swat and its Protagonists

In this chapter light will be shed on the career of those protagonists, who carried out archaeological research in the region of Malakand-Swat in the time scale of 1926-1956.

#### 3.1 Sir Marc Aurel Stein (Figures 1-3)

Marc Aurel Stein combined in one person the attributes of an archaeologist, explorer, historian, geographer, topographer and philologist, and remained the pride of two nations i.e. born in Hungary and naturalized to Britain. Ikle has drawn a remarkable sketch of Sir Marc Aurel Stein personality in these words;

Perhaps what his contemporaries admired most was that Stein was above all not a specialist: his accomplishments were due to the synthesis of evidence drawn from a number of widely scattered fields of inquiry. It was the *homo universalis*<sup>74</sup> who represented perfection in an age of political greatness, self-assurance, and intellectual freedom (Ikle 1968: 149).

In the words of Owen Lattimore, Sir Aurel Stein was “the most prodigious combination of scholar, explorer, archaeologist and geographer of his generation”. Though sir Leonard

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<sup>74</sup> “*Homo Universalis*” or “Renaissance man/polymath” is a person whose expertise spans a substantial number of different subject areas such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Galileo Galilei, Nicolaus Copernicus and Francis Bacon. Measuring against this background, Stein could be placed in the line of “*Homo Universalis*”, as he was a formidable combination of scholar, explorer, Orientalist, geographer, archaeologist, art historian, traveler, philologist and an excellent linguist of modern times, whose exceptional range of linguistic knowledge included Hungarian, German, French, English, Italian, Urdu, Pushtu, Turki, Persian, Kashmiri, and Sanskrit (Ikle 1968: 149; 154, Tucci 1973: 11; Wertime 1978:513).

Woolley<sup>75</sup> strongly criticized Indian archaeologists and working of the Archaeological Survey of India in his famous and critical report of 1939, nonetheless, Stein rendered invaluable services for Indian as well as Central Asian archaeology that left Leonard Woolley with no option but to remark that; “his discoveries were the most daring and adventuresome raid upon the ancient world that any archaeologist has attempted.” (Mirsky 1977: ix). Giuseppe Tucci, an Orientalist and Tibetologist, has described Stein’s personality in these words; “he was an oriental scholar, an excellent linguist, philologist, archaeologist and explorer, of a standing which few have attained” (Tucci 1973:11).

Sir Marc Aurel Stein, a Hungarian Jew by origin<sup>76</sup>, was born on 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1862, in Budapest. He was named Marc Aurel after Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (Fussell

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<sup>75</sup>Familiar with the Indian archaeological scene, Sir Marc Aurel Stein (being in India since 1888) criticized the nomination of Sir Leonard Woolley as the wrong selection for the right task. He was of the opinion that an Indian archaeologist with thorough knowledge in Sanskrit, Buddhist and other text was more suitable rather Sir Woolley. Stein suggested to the Government of India to train and recruit personnel in Indian archaeology on the model of Ecole Francaise d’Extreme Orient in Hanoi (Ray 2008: 19-20).

<sup>76</sup> Stein was baptized to Christianity while his sister remained Jew. It was a political conversion because the political and social environment for Jews was not pleasant in Central Europe in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Stein’s parents, Nathan and Anna Hirschler Stein, grown and married in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century knew well that their religion barred them from participating in Western culture. Jews were not only confined legally to ghettos (the word itself has its origin in the district in Venice set apart for the Jews, an area often walled around in which its inhabitants were locked on sundown and on Sundays); they were not permitted in schools, universities, and professions, at every turn they were harassed by legal disabilities. On the other hand, the 18<sup>th</sup> century enlightenment found its Jewish advocate in Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), who invited the Jews to share in the civilization common to educated Europeans i.e. a belief in progress and in the ideals of reason and morality, tolerance and peace. Five years after Stein’s birth, the Austro-Hungarian Jews gained political freedom while legal recognition came in 1896. Baptism to elder Steins was the key that unlocked the ghetto gate, access to the scholarly riches of the outside world and freedom. Elder Stein had example of Jews who were baptized such as Abraham Mendelssohn (son of great Moses) was baptized in 1822 in time to avoid having his 13 year old son ritual induction into the Jewish community and Heine,

1978: 135; Wertime 1978: 513; Stiebing 1993: 215; Russell-Smith 2000: 341; Ray 2008: 221). At the age of ten, he was sent to get his early education at Kreuzschule in Dresden where he remained for five years (1872-1877) and gained mastery in Greek, Latin, French and English. As groundwork for university, he also attended Lutheran Grammar school, the “Protestant Gymnasium” in Budapest<sup>77</sup> (Ikle 1968: 144; Mirsky 1977: 3-6, 21). After completing his secondary education, Stein remained busy in Indian and Iranian languages (Sanskrit and Persian) at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Tubingen from 1879-1883. Two Indologists, E. von Roth (1821-95) and J. G. Buhler (1837-98), played a vital role in Stein’s career right from his student days. Buhler contributed to his oriental languages (Persian and Sanskrit) while in Roth’s supervision, Stein completed his Ph.D. in 1883 (Oldham 1944: 81; Ikle 1968: 145; Glaesser 1977:401; Fussell 1978:135; Wertime 1978:513; Ashby 1979:501; Carrington 2003: 90). Stein was awarded a postdoctoral scholarship by the Hungarian Government to study Oriental languages and archaeology at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge<sup>78</sup>. From 1884-1887, he studied Indian philosophy and archaeology at Oxford and British Museum<sup>79</sup>

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who was baptized in the morning of 1825 and awarded the LL.D. the same afternoon. To Heine, Protestantism was nothing new but as “a mere pork-eating Judaism” (Mirsky 1977: 3-4; Lattimore 1978:275).

<sup>77</sup> It was here in Protestant Gymnasium in Budapest that Stein became fascinated with the first of his great heroic figures, Alexander the Great (Ikle 1968: 144).

<sup>78</sup> Two factors attracted Stein to pursue his studies in England. First, the facilities of linguistic studies, the presence of old Iranian texts and antiquities in London and Oxford, second, he became an anglophile as a reflection of opposition to Austrian predominance as was the case with many educated Magyars of his social background. According to Mirsky, as a child Stein spoke both Magyar and German, which points to the Steins’ allegiance to nationalistic aspirations. In Stein’s words it gives me “joy” to hear and speak Magyar. Political unrest was only overcome by decreeing Magyar as official language in Hungary (Ikle 1968: 145; Mirsky 1977: 5-6; Fussell 1978:135).

<sup>79</sup> Returning to England from his one year compulsory military training in Hungary, Stein indulged himself in studying coin collections at the British Museum in London and the Ashmolean Museum Oxford. He used

under Max Müller, an expert of Sanskrit (Oldham 1944: 81 Ikle, 1968: 145). He got attention of Sir Henry Yule and Sir Henry Rawlinson (both Indologists) as he published his first important paper under Edward William West. He served Hungarian army as volunteer in 1885 at the Ludovika Academy in Budapest. Here he got expertise in survey and cartography (Oldham 1944: 81; Ikle 1968: 145; Mirsky 1977: 31; Fussell 1978:135; Ashby 1979:501).

In 1888, the combined efforts of Sir Henry Yule and Sir Rawlinson<sup>80</sup> earned a position for young Aurel Stein in India and he was appointed to the dual job of Registrar of the Punjab University and Principal of Oriental College Lahore. Stein remained at that post for the next eleven years and left it in 1899 as he was selected to Indian Educational Service to join Calcutta Madrasah as principal succeeding Rudolf Hoernle, a distinguished philologist (Oldham 1944: 81; Ikle 1968: 145-146; Mirsky 1977: 31-32; Burrow 1978:394-395; Wertime 1978:513; Ashby 1979:501; Lawrence 1998:136). It was here in Lahore that he got expertise in linguistic and geographical studies, which resulted in editing and translation of the Kalhana's Rajatarangini i.e. "Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir" in 1892. He also authored Ancient Geography of Kashmir in the same period (Oldham 1944: 81, Tucci 1973: 11; Ray 2008:13; Burrow 1978:395; Ashby 1979:501).

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much of the 1886 in these museums as numismatics were helpful in establishing chronology when written evidences are lacking. So he succeeded to publish his first paper on "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" in the Oriental and Babylonian Record (Mirsky 1977: 31).

<sup>80</sup> Stein acknowledged their contribution in his life long career by dedicating his Central Asian expedition reports to these great men. The two volumes *Ancient Khotan*, published in 1907, was dedicated to Sir Henry Yule and the four volumes *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran*, published in 1928, was dedicated to Sir Henry Rawlinson (Mirsky 1977: 26). Stein dedicated his two volume of Rajatarangini to his teacher, George Buhler (Mirsky 1977: 42).

Stein's first encounter with his Buddhist Pausanias<sup>81</sup> took place in the year 1890 when he went on a brief excursion into Salt Range and discovered remains of Jain sanctuary which he identified with Simhapura of Chinese pilgrim XuánZàng (Ikle 1968: 146).

Stein visited Buddhist shrines as well as traces of Roman and Hellenistic art in Buner valley by following his 'Chinese Patron Saint', XuánZàng, with Malakand Field Force in early 1898 (Stein 1929/2003: 14). He journeyed through Katlang and Sanghau in ancient Gandhara and entered Buner by crossing Tange Pass and Nawedand Pass. In Gandhara, on his way to Sanghau from Katlang (Mardan), he enjoyed the full view of Pajja Range, which is dotted with old ruins where Stein mentioned Jamal-Garai (*Jamálgarhi*) Buddhist site only without any visit due to scarcity of time. Detailed report of Stein's Buner reconnaissance had been published as "*Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force (1898)*" (Stein 1899: 14, 1898:1-5; Oldham 1944:81).

Following his Buddhist patron saint, XuánZàng, Stein went on an archaeological tour of South Bihar District or ancient Magadha in 1899. During this survey, Stein identified some ancient roads, stupas and caves by using his linguistic, topographical and historical methods as he was adept in these tools then (Ikle 1968: 146).

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<sup>81</sup>Pausanias was a Greek traveler and geographer of the 2nd century AD, who lived in the times of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. He is famous for his *Description of Greece*, a lengthy work that describes ancient Greece from firsthand observations, and is a crucial link between classical literature and modern archaeology. Sir James Frazer had written, in his introduction to the translation of Pausanias, that without him "the ruins of Greece would be a labyrinth without a clue, a riddle without an answer." First, Stein bestowed the moniker 'Buddhist Pausanias' on Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and traveler, XuánZàng and later, during his (Stein) first expedition into Chinese Turkistan, XuánZàng was promoted from 'Buddhist Pausanias' to Patron Saint (Imam 1963:198, Mirsky 1977:16-17, Abe 1995: 102).



Short of stature, he was a man of exceptional strength and stamina; he took delight in strenuous physical activity. He was a kind of supernatural being as is obvious from the statement of a young local soldier, who requested his officer not to send him with Stein again; “Stein Sahib is some kind of supernatural being, not human; he walked me off my legs in the mountains; I could not keep up with him. Please do not send me to him again, sir” (Mirsky 1997: 14).

Time was one of the precious commodities for Stein. He was of the view that every moment of time should be spent wisely, nobly and fully. He worked hard till his last moment of life. He mentioned more than once that he wanted to die with his boots on and he proved it true as the last entry in his diary ran as “Tent repairs checked. Baggage got ready.” Like time he was careful with money. He kept minute details of money he earned or spent. Stein was generous enough to his friends and servants<sup>82</sup> as he learnt it from his mother (Lattimore 1978:276; Mirsky 1997: 14-15). A fox terrier became fixture of his life. They were seven in number and everyone was named as Dash. Dash always accompanied him during his expedition. So Dash VII was the last in Stein’s life (Mirsky 1977: 15; Lawrence 1998:136). Some great personalities inspired Stein to pursue his career as explorer and archaeologist. At Kreuzschule in Dresden, Stein got expertise in Greek and Roman histories as he idealized Alexander the Great, the Macedonian conqueror of the world<sup>83</sup>. Later he became well versed in ancient languages and history

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<sup>82</sup> According to Oldham, Sir Aurel Stein will be mourned by a host of friends in many lands, and by none more deeply than by those hardy, brave, and devoted Indian and Pathan surveyors who were his sole assistants on most of his journeys (Oldham 1944:86).

<sup>83</sup> In his long busy life, Stein remained faithful to solve the riddle posed by the campaign of the Macedonian King in the East. He traced Alexander route from Afghanistan into Swat and Indus Kohistan. Stein mentioned Alexander’s crossing into Punjab and fight with Raja Porus. In his last days, Stein went to

of India and Iran (Mirsky 1977:16; Fussell 1978:135; Ashby 1979:501-502). The second historical figure was the holy Chinese pilgrim and traveler, XuánZàng, who visited India in 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. XuánZàng's "*Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*" is an informative guide to ancient geography of India. So Stein called him his Buddhist Pausanias (Mirsky 1977:16; Fussell 1978:135; Ashby 1979:502). The third personality was a late 13<sup>th</sup> century Venetian trader, Marco Polo. Stein made a triangle of these three and based his expeditions and archaeological reconnaissance by following their foot-steps<sup>84</sup> (Mirsky 1977: 17; Fussell 1978:135; Ashby 1979:502; see also Stein 1912: xi).

During his school days, Stein was inspired by a millionaire and amateur archaeologist, Schliemann. Stein's inspiration from Schliemann has been mentioned by Jeannette Mirskyas under:

It would seem likely, whether he was conscious of it or not, that his schoolboy's imagination had also been influenced by Schliemann's excavation. That millionaire, amateur archaeologist who, with Homer in one hand and a spade in the other, announced in 1870s that he had unearthed the Priam's Troy and the golden capital of Agamemnon,

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Kabul to trace Alexander route in that part of the world but by that time life became so tired in the Central Asian deserts and mountainous gorges of Swat that it did not accompany that great explorer to fight with the riddle of Alexander the Great campaign. By his expedition and by his words, Stein acknowledged the spell Alexander had cast over him (Mirsky 1977: 16, Ikle 1968: 152-153).

<sup>84</sup> Apart from the Triangle of Alexander the Great, XuánZàng and Marco Polo, two other factors attracted Stein to work in India. First, in the later part of 19<sup>th</sup> century, philology got importance in Central European scholarship and every well-known University established a chair for the study of comparative philology. Sir William Jones established comparative philology, as linguistics was then called, in 1786 in a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. Secondly, Stein was dragged into India for his Oriental studies by a Hungarian ascetic scholar, Csoma de Koros(1784-1842,) who died in the Himalayan foothills, who started his search of Central Asia for Greater Hungary, the supposed cradle of the Hungarian people whom the popular belief connects with the Huns (Mirsky 1997: 18-19). Stein always acknowledged those on whose foot print he travelled (Mirsky 1977:21).

metamorphosed the classics, making them history and history a subject to be deciphered at the end of an archaeologist's spade (Mirsky 1997: 16).

Two scholars played an important role in polishing the future ambitions of young Stein at Tubingen and Vienna. These personalities were Rudolph von Roth<sup>85</sup> (1821-95), professor of Indo-European languages and history of religions at the University of Tubingen and George Buhler (1837-98), Professor of Indian philology and antiquities at the University of Vienna (Mirsky 1977: 21-22).

The attempt of two earlier Magyars, Arminius Vembery and Csoma de Koros<sup>86</sup>, and Stein's tireless interest in ancient geography of Kashmir led him to his Central Asian explorations. Stein conducted three successful expeditions in Central Asia. His first expedition lasted from 1900-1901<sup>87</sup>, the second from 1906-8<sup>88</sup> and third from 1913-1916 (Marshall 1916: 30; Stein 1922: 112, 1939: 155-182; Ashby 1979: 502; Stiebing 1993: 215; Chakrabarti 2001: 165; Ray 2008: 222).

At the age of thirty nine with the active support of the three Giants in Indian affairs<sup>89</sup>, Stein left Mohand Marg in May 1900 on his first Central Asian expedition<sup>90</sup>. He was

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<sup>85</sup> The contribution of Rudolph von Roth (being the co-author of the Sanskrit-German dictionary) has been termed by A. L. Basham as the greatest achievement of Indological scholarship of 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe (Mirsky 1997: 22).

<sup>86</sup> Vembery was a Hungarian traveler of Inner Asia while Csoma de Koros was an Orientalist, who searched Central Asia to trace the Hun origin of the Hungarian people (Ikle 1968: 145).

<sup>87</sup> Stein put his proposal for the first expedition in Central Asia in 1898 (Stein 1939: 155).

<sup>88</sup> Stein's second Central Asian expedition was a joint venture of British Museum and Colonial Government of India (Ikle 1968: 148, Wang 1998: 208).

<sup>89</sup> At that time these three, Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, Lord George Nathaniel Curzon, the Viceroy of India and Lord Minto, then Secretary of State for Indian affairs and became Viceroy of India after Curzon, were at the helm of Indian affairs and contributed well to Indian archaeology (Stein 1912: xiii-xiv; Ikle 1968: 146).

facilitated with a grant of £600 (Rs.9000), one year special duty and an Indian surveyor<sup>91</sup> (Stein 1902: 575, 577, 1904: ix, xi; Murray: 236; Ikle 1968: 144-146; Fussell 1978:136; Lawrence 1998: 136; Carrington 2003: 90). In his first expedition, Stein made some important discoveries at Dandan-oilik, Niya, Endere, and other sites in the Southern Taklamakan desert by covering a distance of almost ten thousand miles. These discoveries opened a new panorama in the history, culture, economy and politics of Central Asia. It also brought to light Indian, Iranian, Hellenistic and Chinese civilizations' influences in the region of Tarim Basin. He returned to London via Russian Turkistan in 1902 with the discovered documents written in Kharoshthi, Chinese, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Tokharian, Uighur, Khotanese, and Tibetan languages (Stein 1912: vii, xi, 1; Ikle 1968:147; Fussell 1978:136; Ashby 1979:502). The discoveries, made in the Central Asian region, were the fulfillment of his original desire to go to India as he disclosed himself before the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1909 as; "I realize clearly what irresistibly drew me as a young Orientalist scholar to India was foremost the hope of passing beyond its great mountain ramparts and exploring the geography, present as well as ancient, of little known Central Asian regions"(quoted in Ikle 1968: 147). The new discoveries in Central Asia were recorded in the "*Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*" (1903), and the detailed and scientific results in "*Ancient Khotan*"(2 vols. 1907)(Stein 1912: vii; Oldham 1944: 82; Abe 1995: 101, see note 91).

During the years 1906-8, Stein remained in the field for his second Central Asian expedition. In May 1906, Sir Aurel Stein began his second expedition of Central Asia,

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<sup>90</sup> In Stein's own words; "In June, 1900, the Government of India placed me on a year's special duty in order to enable me to carry out a long-cherished plan of archaeological explorations in the southern portion of Chinese Turkestan, and particularly in the region of Khotan" (Stein 1902: 575).

<sup>91</sup> Stein was always accompanied by Indian surveyors, Ram Singh and Bahadur Lal Singh (Ray 2008: 221).

the greatest and the most rewarding of all of his journeys, and left Peshawar through Swat, Chitral, the Darkot and Baroghil passes, and the Mustagh-ata massif en route to Kashghar. He got access to the "Jade Gate" and Tunhuang by crossing Lop Nor. In May 1907, Stein got access to Buddhist library of Han times and purchased the material of over four thousand manuscripts, written on wood and paper material,<sup>92</sup> hidden in the caves<sup>93</sup> of "Thousand Buddhas"<sup>94</sup>. He lost the toes of his right foot due to severe frostbite, so he was forced to return to India from Khotan in September 1908 otherwise he was intended for more exploration in the region of Khotan (Stein 1912: 5, 1939: 175; Oldham 1944: 85-86; Ikle 1968: 148, Fussel 1978: 136; Stiebing 1993: 215; Lawrence 1998: 136; Ray 2008: 222). During this excursion, he unearthed some important documents, paintings, textiles, household articles, etc.<sup>95</sup> some of them were related to the first centuries of Common Era. The popular report of this expedition was

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<sup>92</sup> The material brought by Stein from the caves of "Thousand Buddhas" has been shared by British Museum and India as per level of their sponsorship for Stein's journey. So India got three fifth while British Museum received two fifth of the material (Fleming 1997: 105).

<sup>93</sup> Removing antiquities from Central Asia brought Chinese authorities and Aurel Stein head to head. This was not appreciated by Stein's contemporaries. For example Arthur Waley questioned the activities of Stein and Pilliot in his work titled *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang*. He asked the British people to imagine how they would feel if a Chinese archaeologist bribed the custodian of a ruined English monastery and carried off the hoard of medieval manuscripts to Peking (Ray 2008: 223).

<sup>94</sup> In 1921, Stein discussed the art specimens of the caves in *The Thousand Buddhas* (Oldham 1944: 82).

<sup>95</sup> Stein unearthed some extant materials in the course of Central Asian expedition (1906-1908). Ikle states his achievements in these words; in the process of his travels he had furthermore acquired an immense quantity of archaeological and artistic materials, which came to be deposited in museums in India, Iran, Europe, and the United States; he had rediscovered a lost language, Sogdian (in the form of nine Sogdian letters of Zoroastrian content of the 4th century A.D., found in one of the Chinese watchtowers); he had made major contributions to geographical knowledge by conducting extensive surveys and drafting accurate maps everywhere he went (using plane table survey, triangulation, and astronomical observation); and he as well had recorded linguistic, anthropological, and hydrographic observations (Ikle 1968: 148).

published in two volumes under the title of *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (Stein 1916: 98; 1919: 265; Oldham 1944: 82; Ashby 1979: 502; Abe 1995: 101 see note 91). While scientific results of Stein's second expedition to Central Asia appeared in 5 volumes titled *Serindia* in 1921<sup>96</sup> and the fact has been described by Aurel Stein as '[...] Serindia,' the detailed report on the scientific results of my second Central-Asian journey, completed in 1918 and, [...]' (Stein 1919: 265).

The second expedition was a harbinger to his third expedition, being realized from 1913-1916. With the support of good offices of Sir Francis Younghusband, the Indian Government put Stein on special duty of three years with a financial aid of £3000<sup>97</sup>. This was one of the comprehensive expeditions in the region as he left Kashmir on July 31, 1913 via Darel-Tangir and reached as far as Persian Baluchistan and the Helmund basin of Sistan during which, he visited a number of places such as Pei-shan, Dzungaria, Turfan, Kashgar, Bezeklik, Russian Alai Pamirs, the Karategin and Samarkand. He covered almost a distance of 11000 miles (Stein 1916: 97,101; 1942: 49; Ikle 1968: 150). It was pregnant with some new discoveries and identifications. Stein discovered in these expeditions 400 miles of the Chinese limes, some ancient routes followed by silk

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<sup>96</sup> After a successful return from his second Central Asian expedition (1906-1908), Sir Aurel Stein entered the elite club of distinguished Central Asian explorers and travelers such as Przhevalski, Kozlov, Sven Hedin, Pelliot, Richthofen, Grunwedel, Le Coq, Pumpelly, Huntington, Nansen, Peary and Shackleton. In the words of Ikle; "he had become a colossus, a giant among Asien Forschern" (Ikle 1968: 148; Fussell 1978: 136).

<sup>97</sup> Stein suggested a survey not only of the whole length of Turkistan to the westernmost marches of China and Tibet, but including the Russian Pamirs as well. Exploration on such a scale was bound to be expensive; in fact Stein often wished to emulate Schliemann to acquire an independent fortune by going into business. Jokingly, he also regretted that Moses had never traveled in Central Asia, as otherwise he might have drawn upon the financial support given to biblical scholarship (Ikle 1968: 150).

caravans and military missions in the past. Stein brought back to India a huge collection of antiquities (according to Stein some eighty heavy camel-loads of antiques) from his second Central Asian expedition. He published in 4 volumes the detailed and scientific report of his third expedition titled *Innermost Asiain* 1928 (Stein 1916: 358, 1939: 175-182; Oldham 1944:82; Abe 1995: 101 see note 91).

In August 1930, Stein once again entered Central Asia for his fourth expedition but due to the nationalist Chinese government obstructionist attitude, the mission proved abortive and had to be abandoned. He surveyed the site of Niya and found new documents and it was at this site that Stein was informed about the cancellation of his passport by the Nanking Government. But still 2000 miles distance had been covered around Taklamakan (Oldham 1944: 83; Ikle 1968: 151; Fussell 1978: 136; Lawrence 1998: 137; Ray 2008: 223).

Stein also paid attention to Gandhara. Accompanied by his Indian surveyor, Gurdit Singh, Stein visited Ranigat, a Buddhist site at the juncture of British administered territory of Swabi and tribal territory of Khudu-Khel (Buner) in December 1891. As a first European, Alexander Cunningham visited the site of Ranigat in 1848. Cunningham identified this site with the Rock of Aornos, where Alexander the Great had fought his triumphant battle against the Assakenoi during his Indian campaign. But Stein did not agree with Cunningham identification and located the Aornos site at Pir Sar. The site had already been looted as some torsos were observed by Stein and he called it Graeco-Buddhist sculptures (Mirsky 1997: 46-47).

*Shahbaz-Garhi* (popularly known as *Shahbaz-Garha*) has been a historic city lying on ancient trade and pilgrimage route leading to Hund in the east and crossing the Indus at that point connecting Taxila, an important centre of the Gandhara civilization<sup>98</sup>. So the socio-political position of the ancient Po-lu-sha (present day *Shahbaz-Garha*) attracted the famous Buddhist king, Aśoka Maurya, to inscribe his famous 14 royal Edicts in *Kharoshti* script on two rock boulders, aimed to propagate pious deeds and commandments of the administration. It was not by chance to engrave these Edicts here but this site was located on one of the frequented routes of traders, merchants, soldiers and missionaries. In ancient times, it was as important as modern days G.T. Road on the southern side of the river Kabul (Dani 1964: 1-2; Sehrai 1979: 3-4). Apart from Aśoka's Edicts, there are a number of archaeological sites around Shahbaz-garha such as Mekha-Sanda, Chanaka Dherai, But-Seray and the shrine of Bhima Devi (Dani 1964: 1-5; see also Ashraf Khan 2004: 29). General A. Court, a French officer in Maharaja Ranjit

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<sup>98</sup> The famous ancient city/site of Shahbaz-garha is located 14 km east of Mardan city on the junction of Mardan-Swabi-Buner road as connect Sawabi in the east while Rustam and Buner in the north passing through the famous Sudham (ancient Sudana of Sanskrit sources) valley. Shahbaz-garha is playing an important role even today being located on the crossroads of transportation among the various localities of the Peshawar plains, it is as important today as it was in the past, lying on one of the junctions of the ancient trade routes. The only parallel to Shahbaz-garha in modern times is the city of *Nowshera* lying on the main Grand Trunk Road (G.T. Road) and connecting Peshawar and Charsada in the west, crossing Indus at *Khairabad* (after Attock ferry established by Mughal Emperor *Akbar* 1556-1605), and the connection with Swat through *Mardan*. In ancient times, the crossing at Indus was at *Udbhandapura* (present day *Hund*), fifteen miles in the north of the present day crossing at *Khairabad*. This ancient route was in the north of the River Kabul almost parallel to modern one. Shahbaz-garha was at a Crossroads, in the west it connected *Pushkalavati* (23 miles), *Hund* in the east (33 miles) and in the north two roads lead to Swat, one to the north through Rustam in Sudama valley (11 miles) passing over Karakar Pass to Swat and other through Jamal Garhai (13 miles in north west) over the Shakhkot Pass to the lower Swat valley and beyond to Dir and Bajaur (Dani 1964: 2-3; Sehrai 1979: 3-4).



Singh's Army, first mentioned these Edicts in 1836 for the first time while Cunningham visited the site in 1872-73 (Cunningham 1979: 44, Ali, 2003: 6-7). The historical and religio-political site of Shahbaz-Garha in Sudham<sup>99</sup> area compelled Stein to pay but a brief visit to read the edicts *in situ* in December 1891<sup>100</sup>. According to Mirsky; 'Stein, reading the northernmost of these pronouncements – “the oldest surviving Indian written documents of any historical significance” – thus had a firsthand confrontation with Aṣoka in whose reign “Buddhism ceased to be a simple Indian sect and began its career as a world religion” (Mirsky 1997: 47).

In January 1904, Marc A. Stein took charge as Inspector-General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor of North-West Frontier and Baluchistan. Stein has mentioned his appointment in these words:

In accordance with a recommendation of the Government of India approved by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Despatch No. 81 Public (Education), dated 10<sup>th</sup> July, 1903, I was appointed to the newly created combined posts of Inspector-General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor for North-West Frontier and Baluchistan. In combining the two appointments consideration was paid to the special qualification acquired by me through my previous antiquarian researches on and beyond the North-West Frontier, and accordingly this combination was to be considered personal to my

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<sup>99</sup> Chinese pilgrims named Shahbaz-Garha differently. Sung-Yun (520 BCE) named it *Fo-Sha-Fu*. XuánZàng (Stein's Pausanias, 630 BCE) called it *Po-Lou-Sha*. Dani says that both these names are the corrupt form of the local Sanskrit word, *Varusha* or *Varushapura* (Dani 1964:2). About the nomenclature of the region, Ahmad Hasan Dani says that “*Sudam* recalls the name of the Prince *Sudana* (of noble charity), *Sudanta* (of pure white teeth) or *Sudamta* (self-controlled)” (Dani 1964: 3). But the present name of *Shahbaz-Garhi* owes its origin to a saint named *Shahbaz-Qalandar* mentioned in the *Memoirs of Babar* (Beveridge 1922: 377).

<sup>100</sup> Keeping its religio-political importance in mind, Stein dedicated the religious festival of Christmas to the site and read socio-religious cum political edicts *in situ* on 25<sup>th</sup> December 1891 (Mirsky 1997: 47).

case. I took charge of my duties in the combined posts on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January, 1904, on my return from special duty in England (Stein 1905: i).

In the above mentioned capacity, Stein conducted archaeological explorations in North-West Frontier and Baluchistan from January 1904 to March 1905. During these explorations, Stein visited those regions which had remained inaccessible for Europeans and had remained a *terra incognita* for archaeologists as well as topographers such as the mountain of Mahaban (Stein 1905: ii). During his fieldwork, Stein discovered the remains of an ancient route on the Kohat Pass, the pilgrimage site and the spring of Bhona or Bhavana, means 'sacred abode' and the ruins of *Adh-i-Samudh* (Stein 1905: 1-2). The results were published titled "*Report of Archaeological Survey Work in the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan for the Period from January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1904 to March 31<sup>st</sup> 1905*".

In 1911, Stein was transferred full-time to the Archaeological Department in honour of his second successful Central Asian expedition<sup>101</sup>. Although A. Stein desired to be designated as Archaeological Explorer, however the department satisfied him with the title of Superintendent<sup>102</sup> (Stein 1939: 175; Burrow 1978: 395). As superintendent in charge of the Indian Archaeology, Frontier Circle (1911-1912) and also a member of Archaeological Survey of India<sup>103</sup>, M. A. Stein, also tested his spade in the famous

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<sup>101</sup> The successful realization of the second Central Asian expedition earned for Stein the status of a hero and a promotion from Education Department to Indian Archaeological Survey. He was honoured as C.I.E. (Commander of the Indian Empire) and knighted with the title of K.C.I.E. (Knighted Commander of the Indian Empire) and now Sir Aurel Stein (Fussell 1978: 136).

<sup>102</sup> Stein was appointed as superintendent in Archaeological Survey of India in 1911 with a salary of Rupees 1250 per month (Ray 2008: 222).

<sup>103</sup> Stein was appointed as Archaeological Surveyor of India's North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan in 1903 to honour his successful return from Central Asia while Oldham is of the opinion that

Gandhran site of Sahri-Bahlol near Takht-i-Bhai, district Mardan. A. Stein conducted his excavations from February 21 to March 31, 1912 with three hundred labourers digging for 9-10 hours daily. He searched six mounds in an area of one mile (Stein 1912: iv; 1916: 99-100, Chakrabarti 2001: 132; Tissot 1985: 570, 577, 580, 590, 602; Chakrabarti 2001: 32).

In his pursuit of fixing the spots of Alexander's battles on eastern fronts, brought Stein on a topographical survey of Punjab in the spring of 1931<sup>104</sup>, in which he succeeded to locate the spot of Alexander's crossing of the Jhelum and his battle with King Porus with the help of historical deduction. He further reached the Persian Gulf by traversing the whole British Baluchistan where Makran region was in the east and Bushire in the west. During this exploration, he did succeeded in discovering some sites, such as those of a chalcolithic nature, of remnants of Sassanian bridges, and again of landmarks in the career of Alexander the Great – the site of the battle of Arbela, for instance. But it was not resulted in drawing a connection between the Indus river civilization and that of Tigris and Euphrates river civilization (Stein 1932: 31, 1934: 140; Ikle 1968: 152; Ray 2008: 224). As an ardent advocate of aerial survey<sup>105</sup> for large and difficult territories, Stein conducted detailed examination from the territory of the Tigris to the Gulf of Aqaba from the ground and from the air with the help of Royal Air Force<sup>106</sup> which enabled him

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Stein became a member of Archaeological Survey of India in January, 1904 (Oldham 1944: 82; Ikle 1968: 147).

<sup>104</sup> Stein conducted this expedition on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India, Harvard University and British Museum (Stein 1932: 31, 1934: 140, 1934a: 179).

<sup>105</sup> According to Ikle, Sir Aurel Stein had been an early advocate of the usefulness of aerial reconnaissance – in fact; he had suggested the use of balloons for aerial archaeological surveys as early as 1908 in the Tarim basin (Ikle 1968: 152).

<sup>106</sup> Stein secured the help of the Royal Air Force on the recommendation of British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Geographical Society. Among the persons who lent their generous support were

to record remains of Roman highways, fortified posts, aqueducts, barrages, cisterns, and milestones, spending the year 1938 and almost 1939 in the field (Stein 1938: 423-424, 1940: 428, 1941: 299; Ikle 1968: 152; Ray 2008: 225).

During his explorations and archaeological surveys, Stein was also attracted by the picturesque valley of Swat or *Uḍḍ iyāna* of Sanskrit. It was not only the scenic beauty of mountainous valley of Swat but the mention of U-chang-na or Uḍḍ iyāna by XuánZàng, the patron saint of Stein and the banks of the river Suastos of Greek historian, Arrian, where Alexander the Great, Stein's school years hero, fought his crucial battles against the Assakenoi, brought Stein to conduct his archaeological research (Tucci 1963: 27; Cunningham 1979: 68-69). In his explorations in Swat valley, Stein found the fulfillment of his old days' ambitions to trace Alexander's routes of eastern campaign and to follow his Buddhist "Pausanias" (Ikle 1968: 151). Political situation in Swat did not allow Stein for his explorations in that aspired land which remained the arena of Alexander the Great's battles against the local rulers, and had been traversed by Stein's patron saint, XuánZàng. He had to wait until 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1926 when the British Government formally recognized<sup>107</sup> Miangul Gulshahzada Abdul Wadud, as the Wali of Swat, which paved the way for a nine weeks archaeological trip by Sir Aurel Stein to Swat valley with the active support of the Wali of Swat (Hay 1934b: 14; Cobb 1951: 170-171; Ikle 1968: 151; Dupree *et al* 1977: 515; Christensen 1982: 160; Barth 1985: 16, 60). Stein has described the process of gaining the Wali's approval for his 1926 survey as under:

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Air Vice-Marshal Tyssen in Iraq , Group Captain N.C. Lowe in Trans-Jordan and Pilot Officer H. M. Hunt, R.A.F. (Stein 1938: 424, 1940: 428).

<sup>107</sup> At a Durbar held at Saidu Sharif on 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1926 the Chief Commissioner of North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), announced the recognition of Miangul Gulshahzada as Wali of Swat and tied the *pagrai* (turban) of ruler-ship on his head on the behalf of British Government of India (Hay 1934b: 14).

... I had re-submitted my proposal from England in the summer of 1925; my old and ever-helpful friend Colonel E. H. S. James, then Political Agent for Dir, Swat and Chitral, was able to secure the ruler of Swat's approval for my intended visit to his territory and for the researches I was anxious to effect there....(Stein 1927: 422).

Stein was more than ready to avail the opportunity for conducting the archaeological explorations in Swat State. He was lucky enough to visit Swat as no European had been able to do so as it was "*terra incognita*" for Europeans. By using topographical survey work, archaeological investigation, linguistic and phonetic analysis, and a careful study of the classical writers, Stein succeeded in locating the sites of Bazira, Ora on the left side of Swat river, and the Rock of Aornos of Alexander's historians on the right bank of river Indus but later researches proved Stein as incorrect. By following his patron saint, XuánZàng, he traced Buddhist monuments and, with the help of art motifs such as the acanthus leaf, proved Hellenistic iconographic influence in ancient Uḍḍiyāna. The results of the campaign were published in Geographical Journal under the title of "*Alexander's Campaign on the Indian Northwest Frontier*" in 1927(Stein 1929/2003; Oldham 1944: 83, Ikle 1968: 151; Schofield 1984/2010: 19).

In 1939, Stein was informed by the Wali of Swat that he could survey the Indus Kohistan as it was under his sway then. Again Stein became the first European to visit this tribal territory which was beyond British control at that time. In October-November, 1941, Stein explored and surveyed the gorges on the west side of the river while in July-September, 1942 he did the same on the eastern side of the river. It was not an easy task as it involved to cross a pass which took almost sixteen hours while on the eastern side of the river, he had to climb a succession of passes, 14,000-15,000 feet and he was almost in

his 80s<sup>108</sup>(Oldham 1944: 84). Apart from these detailed visits in 1926 and 1939, Stein succeeded in arranging short field trips with punitive field force of Malakand and Buner.

In 1923-25, Sir John Marshal brought to light the Indus civilization at Mohenjodaro and Harappa with developed urban system dating back to 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE. Stein remained busy in conducting archaeological and geographical research during the years 1927-1938 and again in 1932 and 1937 to draw a connection of Indus river valley civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa with that of Susa in Mesopotamia (Iraq), on the basis of his findings in Sistan (1915-16). He went from Waziristan through Baluchistan and Southern and Western Iran to the borders of Iraq (Stein 1934b: 180). The aims of these explorations were mentioned by Stein as under:

My object was a systematic survey, accompanied where advisable by trial excavations, of such ancient sites in the border regions between India and Iran as are likely to throw light on the connection of the pre-historic civilization which the excavations at Mohenjo-daro and elsewhere in the lower Indus valley have revealed with corresponding cultures traced westwards in Persia and Mesopotamia (Stein 1928: 377).

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<sup>108</sup> He always worked in extreme conditions, tracks and took risks, which is obvious from his letters. In K'un-lun while measuring 23,000 feet pass in a foul weather (in a temperature of 16 F below zero) in 1908 (during his second expedition in Central Asia), his feet were frost-bitten which resulted in the amputation of all the toes of his right foot to save the leg in a Moravian Mission hospital in Leh, which cost him to travel for a month down 300 miles. In 1914, when he was exploring in the high Nan-shan, his horse reared and fell backwards upon him, causing severe injury to his left thigh, which crippled his movements for some months. In minor accidents he broke a collar bone on two or three occasions. In 1933 he was almost shipwrecked off the Persian Gulf coast, and in 1935 while traveling in Khuzistan and Luristan he was attacked by bandits. In 1937 he had to stop work in N.W. Iran and undergo a serious operation in Vienna. These mishaps never daunted his intrepid spirit (Stein 1912: xii-xiii, 1939: 175; Oldham 1944: 85-86, Ikle 1968: 152; Fussell 1978: 136).

During these tours, Stein intended to discover and study chalcolithic sites, Sassanian ruins and to retrace the campaigns of Alexander (Stein 1934: 140; Oldham 1944: 85-83; Daniel 1950/1952: 265-266; Ikle 1968: 151).

At the advent of the Second World War, Stein was in England and returned to India in 1940 to continue his archaeological field trips. To study the causes of the dissection of the Vedic River Sarasvati, he began a survey of that region where that river had been flown in ancient days (Ikle 1968: 152).

In pursuit of locating the exact track of Alexander the Great in his oriental expeditions, Stein visited some gorges on the right side of the Indus, from July-September, 1942. Now Stein had almost completed his youthful days' wish to record all the places where Alexander fought his battles during his eastern campaigns with the exception of Afghanistan where Stein's requests were refused many times. His longing to visit Afghanistan is obvious from the remarks on his deathbed as he says "I have had a wonderful life and it could not be concluded more happily than in Afghanistan which I have wanted to visit for sixty years" (quoted in Ikle 1968: 15).

His almost half century long cherished dream to conduct archaeological and geographical research in Afghanistan to investigate Alexander's campaign came true in the last year of his life<sup>109</sup>. He was granted permission with the help of an American friend. In the depth of winter (October 1943), Stein arrived in Kabul from Peshawar. On October 21, 1943, he caught a chill which developed into pneumonia (bronchitis) and on

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<sup>109</sup> On 6th October, 1943, he wrote from Kashmir, elated by "the chance desired since boyhood for work in *Ariana antiqua*". On the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1943, he wrote from Peshawar, full of plans for work in Afghanistan, adding that he was "very fit" (Oldham 1944: 84).

26<sup>th</sup> of October 1943, that “European nomad”<sup>110</sup> and “*homo universalis*”, died at the age of eighty-one in Kabul, where he was buried with Anglican rites in Christian Cemetery on 29<sup>th</sup> of October 1943 (Tucci 1963: 12; Ikle 1968: 152-153; Burrow 1978: 395; Lattimore 1978: 275; Ray 2008: 219).

The life sketch of a great Orientalist such as Sir Aurel Stein is, cannot be concluded justly but to quote another great Orientalist, Giuseppe Tucci, who also contributed to the archaeological, geographical, linguistic, cultural and historical research of ancient Uḍḍ iyāna. G. Tucci suggested that a commemorative stone be erected on his tomb and recorded his admiration for Stein as under:

It would be out of place to speak of his work here, since it forms one of those monuments of learning which, like ancient oaks, become mightier with the passing of time. He was buried in the foreign cemetery, a dank and desolate place, and an inscription records his name. Each year that I go to Afghanistan, it is my custom to lay a few flowers on that bleak tomb which bears witness to the indifference of those who have availed themselves of his work. I have often proposed, without however meeting practical agreement, that a commemorative stone be erected in that place as a more fitting remembrance. I do not make this proposal out of concern for his remains, which by now certainly exist no longer. Bones return to the earth and death is nothingness: only the memory of those still living can overcome its silence. Rather it is my desire that the burial place of a great man

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<sup>110</sup>According to Ikle “ 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” (Ikle 1968: 153).



such as he should, by a more fitting and nobler means, inspire one by the memory of his qualities and the example which he gave (Tucci 1963: 12).

### 3.2 Evert Barger and Philip Wright

Under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 (AMPA 1904) no foreign group were allowed to conduct research in the field of archaeology in India. So in 1932, the Indian Government effected an amendment to the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904, which permitted foreign groups for the excavations and explorations of archaeological sites in India (Woolley 1939: 8). To bring at par the archaeological activities in the princely states, efforts were made by Lord Curzon's Government of India as early as 1901. These efforts for the antiquities of British India as well as for princely states have been elaborated by Sir John Marshall, Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, in these words as under:

But meanwhile -in 1901- another much-needed reform had been put through. Although most of the great archaeological monuments of India are situated within the territories administered by the various Local Governments, the Indian States are by no means devoid of the interesting historical relics; yet until then no effective machinery had been provided for the work of archaeological conservation in these territories. By an order of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, dated the 4<sup>th</sup> June 1901, this serious omission was at last remedied. Kashmir, Rajputana, and the Punjab Native States, as well as Dir, Swat, and Chitral were added to the charge of the Surveyor of Punjab-Baluchistan-Ajmir Circle; Baroda, Central India, Hyderabad (Deccan), and the Bombay States were added to the charge of the Surveyor of Bombay-Berar Circle; and the States within the political jurisdiction of the Governments of Madras and Bengal were added to the charge of the Surveyors of Madras-Coorg and Bengal-Assam Circles respectively (Marshall 1939: 11-12; also quoted in Srivastava 1981: 22).

So all these administrative and legislative measures, paved the way for the combinedly sponsored expedition, by the Victoria & Albert Museum (Indian Section) and Bristol University for the archaeological excavations and explorations in Swat and the Oxus territory of Afghanistan in the summer of 1938. The expedition consisted of four members i.e. E. Barger, W.V. Emanuel, Philip Wright, and T.D. Weatherhead, aimed at to be divided into two teams one each for Swat and Afghanistan. Barger and Wright commenced their explorations from Barikot whence and later, E. Barger and W.V. Emanuel left for Afghanistan leaving Philip Wright and T.D. Weatherhead to complete the task in Swat (Barger 1939: 378; Chakrabarti 2001: 123, 169). The objectives of the expedition to Swat valley has been revealed by Philip Wright in these words:

One of our chief objectives was to get together a collection of sculptures from monasteries which would be fairly representative of the art of this corner of the Gandhara district, a collection which would be better documented, at any rate, than the great majority of the Gandhara sculptures which have turned up in the bazaars in Peshawar and elsewhere with any label that the dealers cared to give them. No one knew where they had come from or in what circumstances they had been dug up (Mason et al 1939: 392).

The field activities of the mission yielded a good number of Gandharan sculptures and other antiquities. The results of the expedition have been mentioned by Mian Said Qamar as under:

The team conducted field operations at Barikot and Charbagh in upper Swat and excavated a good number of Buddhist sites. The result was a substantial collection of sculptures and other antiquities which contributed much positive evidence towards the reconstruction of the sequence of Buddhist civilization in the Gandhara region and also provided a lot of material of great interest for the art and history of the Swat area (Qamar 2004: 181).

Evert Barger<sup>111</sup> was lecturer of Medieval History at the University of Bristol and worked on old cultural routes in Afghanistan (Barger 1938: 102; Mason 1939: 392; Chakrabarti 2001: 168; Qamar 2004: 181).

### 3.2.1 Philip Wright

Philip Wright was a team member of excavation in Swat and led the explorations and excavations in Swat as E. Barger and Emanuel left for Kabul on August 1, 1938 for explorations in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan as part of the expedition. He was working in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Barger 1938: 108-110, 112; Mason 1939: 392; L.D.B.1942: 526; Faccenna 1982: 1; Chakrabarti 2001: 168).

The expedition/party left England at the end of May 1938 and arrived in Swat at the end of June 1938. The expedition selected the famous site of Barikot for their camp due to easy access to three valleys and passes leading to Buner where the party had to examine and excavate monastic as well as temporal remains (Barger 1938: 108-109, 1939: 378). It took two months to complete the survey of all ruins in these three valleys and a couple of sites on the right bank of Swat River (Barger 1938: 108-110). Wright explained the selection of Barikot for their activities in these words;

We chose that place because at present it is a flourishing village, at a meeting point of three side valleys with the main valley, and all these side valleys are crowded with ruins. There are many more ruins in the side valleys than.....it was only the more

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<sup>111</sup> Apart from Barger and Wright, T.D. Weatherhead and W.V. Emanuel were also members of the exploration and excavation team in Swat and Afghanistan. W.V. Emanuel has the charge of equipment, commissariat and transport with additional responsibilities of the interpreter of the party while T.D. Weatherhead acted as the surveyor and photographer of the team (Barger 1938: 108).

inaccessible sites that really gave us a rich collection of sculpture. Consequently, we found ourselves camping in caves about 4000 or 5000 feet up or spending three or four hours a day wading across the river to sites on the less-frequented farther bank (Mason 1939: 392-393).

They excavated the sites of Kanjar-kote, Gumbat, Amluk, China-bara, Najigram and Nawagai in the vicinity of Barikot while 5 km upstream on the right bank of Swat River, the team excavated the sacred sites of Gumbatuna and Parrai. The settlement site of Jampure-dherai in Charbagh also came under the excavations and explorations of Barger and Wright expedition. On the right bank of Swat River, the team which is located 5 km upstream (Swati 2008: 92).

It is said that the excavation conducted by Barger and Wright was not systematic and scientific. It was a hasty work for the collection of cultural objects for the decoration of museums and public galleries (Faccenna 1997/2013: X). The criticism is very much in line with the words of Philip Wright when describing the objectives of the expedition in the following words;

One of our chief objectives was to get together a collection of sculptures from monasteries which would be fairly representative of the art of this corner of the Gandhara district, a collection which would be better documented, at any rate, than the great majority of the Gandhara sculptures which have turned up in the bazaars in Peshawar and elsewhere with any label that the dealers cared to give them. No one knew where they had come from or in what circumstances they had been dug up (quoted in Mason et al 1939: 392).

The criticism is very much true as the team just re-described what had already been described by Aurel Stein. Barger and Wright conducted their excavations in the decade of

1930s, a period during which the Government of India hired Sir Leonard Woolley to examine the loopholes in Indian Archaeology.

In February 1939, Sir Leonard Woolley heavily criticized the Archaeological Survey of India for not following the modern techniques of excavations. Sir Woolley was especially called to India by the Government of Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, to evaluate the function and performance of the Survey and to furnish the colonial Government of India with advice and suggestions for the future plan of Indian Archaeology (Kirwan 1960: 257; Malik 1968: 23; Alchin *et al* 1995: 6; Avari 2007: 42). Sir Woolley suggested that non-official institutions (foreign and Indian) should be encouraged to undertake projects in the field of archaeology.

The hunt for the cultural objects of Barger and Wright is clear from their description of the sites in their final report. Time and again the report mentions that the site yielded cultural object or the site has already been plundered by illegal diggers.

### 3.3 Giuseppe Tucci (Figures 4-5)

Born on June 5, 1894 at Macerata, Central Italy, Giuseppe Tucci graduated from the University of Rome in 1919 in the gloomy days of World War I<sup>112</sup>. He taught Italian, Chinese and Tibetan in the Universities of Śantiniketan<sup>113</sup> and Calcutta from 1925-

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<sup>112</sup> Giuseppe Tucci was drafted for the World War I on December 1, 1915 and became lieutenant in 1917. So he remained active participant of World War I and fought on a front (Gnoli 1984: 12; Benavides 1995: 171).

<sup>113</sup> The University of Śantiniketan meaning “the abode of peace” had been founded by Rabindranath Tagore in 1901. Under the Italian Fascist Government of Mussolini, Giuseppe Tucci was sent to India in 1925 for teaching Italian and Chinese in Śantiniketan and studied Buddhism, Bengali and Tibtan. He remained there up to 1931 (Ali 1997/2013: 342; Taddei 1997/2013: 346; Krist and Bayerovā 2010: 58).

1930<sup>114</sup>. On March 9, 1931, young Tucci proposed to the Italian Head of Government, Benito Mussolini, for the establishment of an Italian Institute for India, where he was engaged in Oriental studies, and for Middle and Far Asia on the lines of Buddhist Institute of Leningrad, the Paris Society of Friends of the Orient and the Indian Society of Berlin and to be engaged in a number of activities of a complex nature rather than mere cultural exchange. He succeeded in his efforts on 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1933 to establish Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO)<sup>115</sup> and became its President (1947 to 1978)<sup>116</sup> after the assassination of Giovanni Gentile in 1944 (Gentile was the first president of IsMEO from 1933-1944). Keeping in view the importance of coordination amongst the Italian archaeologists and their archaeological activities/researches in Asia, Tucci established Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche in 1961 under the frame of the then IsMEO<sup>117</sup> (Tucci 1961: 111; Gnoli 1983: 11, 1984: 13, 21, 1994: 11, 94a: 223; Eliade 1984: 138; Petech 1984: 137, 1997/2013: 333; Benavides 1995: 174-175; Ali 1997/2013: 342; Taddei 1997/2013: 346; Callieri 2006: 12; Olivieri 2006: 31; Krist and Bayerovā 2010: 58; Olivieri *et al* 2011: 50,). Tucci has a standing in the line of great Orientalists such as Aurel Stein, James Prinsep, M. Senart and William Jones. At what

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<sup>114</sup> During his stay in India, Tucci met and inspired by two great Indians, Rabindranath Tagore and Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi. He declared himself disciple of Tagore and called him Gurudeva. Tucci remained with Tagore for eleven months (Tucci 1961: 111; Gnoli 1984: 13).

<sup>115</sup> In 1996, two institutes, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO) and Istituto Italo-Africano, were merged and the resultant entity was named as the Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’ Oriente (IsIAO) which functioned under the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Olivieri *et al* 2011: 50).

<sup>116</sup> According to Gnoli, IsMEO, the brain-child of Tucci, was conceived during his Himalayan expeditions and was established with the Royal Decree no. 142 (Gnoli 1983: 11, 1994: 11).

<sup>117</sup> Domenico Faccenna was appointed as Director of the newly established centre of Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche (Olivieri *et al* 2011: 50, 2006: 31).

stage of his age, Tucci entered the labyrinth of Orientalism may well be understood by his own words;

The fact is however that I am not an archaeologist, even if my first studies focused on Latin epigraphy; however, as chance would have it, I was barely more than twelve years old when I began to settle down and study Sanskrit and Hebrew, before going on to Iranic as well. Little by little I entered the labyrinth of Oriental studies, which was fascinating and highly enlightening for me, as I gradually became better acquainted with the books and clairvoyance of Asia, I began to glimpse new solutions for the doubts assailing me” (quoted in Callieri 2006: 11).

G. Tucci has expertise in a number of fields such as history, philosophy (Chinese and Indian), oriental religions (Indian and Tibetan), languages (Bengalese, Chinese, Coptic, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Latin, Nepalese, Old Persian, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Urdu) and philology (Ali 1997/2013: 342; F. A. Khan 1997/2013: 337). Tucci’s personality and fields of interest has been summed up by Gherardo Gnoli in these words:

Giuseppe Tucci, the author of hundreds and hundreds of scientific contributions that have appeared in various editions and have often been published in different languages, on an amazing variety of subjects and topics ranging from the history of ancient Chinese philosophy to the history of Indian philosophy, to Buddhism, and the religions of Tibet, emerges undoubtedly as the greatest Oriental scholar of our time: the greatest expert of things Tibetan, one of the greatest experts of Buddhism and Hinduism, a philologist of extraordinary capacity,<sup>118</sup> a scholar with an extremely vast humanistic background and a

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<sup>118</sup> While reminiscing about his experience as a student in the University of Rome, he used to express his expertise in philology and the intellectual environment in these words: "With a good grounding in Latin and Greek and, in addition, a good knowledge of Sanskrit and Old Persian, I found myself foundering in the

remarkable knowledge of the religions of the East and not only of the East, and lastly, an historian with a keen insight that inspired and directed him with splendid results in his archaeological studies which lay, we might say as he himself did, outside his profession” (Gnoli 1984: 14-15).

G. Tucci was a great traveler and explorer<sup>119</sup>. He satiated his longing for Oriental research by engaging himself in archaeological, historical and linguistic researches in India, Tibet, Nepal, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan under the umbrella of IsMEO<sup>120</sup> (Gnoli 1984: 13-14).

Tucci started his Tibetan expeditions in 1929 and continued it until 1948 by paying almost eight visits to that region as it is manifested from the introductory sentence of his book titled *Tibet: Land of Snow* ‘I have made eight visits to Tibet and the regions of Tibetan language and culture like Ladakh’. In Tibet, Tucci tried to investigate every human activity with a strong interest in figurative as well as in material culture (Tucci 1973: 12, Eliade 1984: 157; Faccenna 1997: IX; Callieri 2006: 12). In Tibet, Tucci unearthed some literary and artistic material. Tucci’s Tibetan explorations were published

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swamp of the Rome University. To begin with, I honestly admit that I was deeply disappointed in both mind and spirit’ (Gnoli 1984: 16).

<sup>119</sup> In a lecture to the Roman Campers’ Club in May 1956, Tucci declared himself as explorer and traveler in these words: “If science has driven me on to the arduous and difficult routes of Asia, there can be no doubt that the spur of science complied with my inborn desire for escape, an instinctive love of space and freedom, the whim of fancy and of dreaming that can only be fulfilled far from human society, when one is alone between earth and sky, here today and there tomorrow, in a scenery that changes with each day, amongst new people who, however, have their roots all over this ancient land, where the men of today, too, are the unconscious creation of an age-old tradition, and the traces of the past tell whoever knows how to speak with them of the dramas of past events, vain dreams or everlasting hopes” (Gnoli 1984: 12).

<sup>120</sup> In 1933, IsMEO came into being with the efforts of Professor Tucci. IsMEO has a series of publications titled 'Serie Orientale Roma' (Gnoli 1984: 11, 14- 15; Taddei 1997/2013: 346).



in the form of *Indo-Tibetica* (7 volumes) from 1932-1941 and *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*<sup>121</sup> (3 volumes) in 1949. One of his greatest contributions is in the form of “*History of Tibetan Religion*”. He wrote a book on Mandala titled “*The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*” 1961, two monographs on Tibetan folk songs under the titles “*Tibetan Folksongs from the District of Gyantse*”, 1949 and “*Tibetan Folksongs from Gyantse and Western Tibet*” 1966, while his book “*Tibet: Land of Snow*” 1967, discusses Tibetan history, religion, art, literature and administration etc. and a number of “*Tibetan Notes*” published in the journal of ‘*East and West*’. Apart from these efforts, Tucci edited and translated some Buddhist Minor Texts such as translation of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* into Italian and his book “*Rati-lila: An Interpretation of Tantric Imagery of the Temples of Nepal*” which earned international acclaim for Tucci (Eliade 1984: 158; Faccenna 1997: IX; see also foot note, Gnoli 1984: 13; Petech 1984: 139).

The Himalayan country of Nepal did not escape G. Tucci’s attention where he conducted his researches during six expeditions from 1950-1954 and brought to light buried kingdoms and cultures with epigraphic and architectural documentation (Gnoli 1984: 13, Petech 1997/2013: 233; Taddei 1997/2013: 346; Callieri 2006: 12-13). In 1955 in Nepal, G. Tucci made a reconnaissance of the area and got a concession for excavation<sup>122</sup> at Lumbhini, the birth place of historical Buddha, Siddhartha Śakyamuni, by Italian archaeologists (Callieri 2006: 13; Olivieri 2006: 27 foot note no. 11). The incitement of

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<sup>121</sup> Tibetan art and iconography have been discussed in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* while Tibetan culture has a reference in *Indo-Tibetica* (Callieri 2006: 12).

<sup>122</sup> Excavations at Lumbhini started some 30 years later after getting license in 1955 (see footnote no. 11 in Olivieri 2006: 27).

science and freedom resulted in bringing Tucci to the roof-top of the world<sup>123</sup> fourteen times, where he wandered from Sikkim to Karakoram, Assam, Nepal, the Indian Jungle, and to Lhasa. His words about his journey and the environs of the region are:

'Eighteen thousand kilometres on foot in one of the most fascinating lands in the world, where man, made humble by the immenseness and the silence, imagines or suspects divine presences everywhere, unseen but certain. And almost eight years spent under canvas, without counting the many weeks spent in the open air in the Indian lowlands, on the slow pilgrimages to the holy places of the religious tradition, wandering in the tropical heat along the winding banks of the paddy-fields: and, when the air was too scorching hot, journeying at night by moonlight and resting by day in the wide shade of the mango trees, in that absolute flatness of the Indian land, as smooth as a petrified sea, in a straight and perfect union of earth and sky' (quoted in Gnoli 1984: 13).

All these efforts of Tucci proved to be a prelude to the archaeological research in Swat i.e. ancient Uḍḍ iyāna of Sanskrit sources. So Tucci went ahead in 1955 to ink an agreement renewed in 1961 with the Government of Pakistan on behalf of IsMEO to conduct archaeological research in the then Yusafzai State of Swat (Tucci 1958: 284, 1997/2013: 323, 314; Petech 1984: 139; Olivieri 2006: 24). Actually working on Buddhism especially on Tantric Buddhism in Tibet, developed into a longing for linguistic, historical, cultural and archaeological research in Swat, which is evident from Tucci's own words; "The path of Swat was suggested to me precisely by Tibet, which for many years was the greatest love of my life, and still is, as warm as it seems difficult to

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<sup>123</sup> Surrounded by four of the world's ten highest mountains, the Tibet plateau deserves its title "the Roof of the world".

satisfy with a new encounter” (quoted in Callieri 2006: 13). In one of his books, *Tibet: Land of Snows*, Tucci explains his connection with Swat in these words:

I wanted in fact to find out what artistic and cultural connection existed between Swat (then Uḍḍ iyāna) and Tibet; what remains there were of the particular school introduced to Tibet by Padmasambhava, who was considered by the Tibetans its most brilliant representative; and why Swat, now in Pakistan, is holy ground to the Tibetans. Tibet has thus played a leading role in my academic work, and has stimulated a lot of my research (Tucci 1973: 13)

Tucci’s connection with Nepal and Tibet which resulted in his research in ancient Uḍḍ iyāna is evident from his very first sentences in his report of the Swat reconnaissance as under:

Apart from the fact that studies necessarily entail the enlargements that research work calls for, one enquiry leading inevitably to others so that the field widens out little by little as the result of an uninterrupted concatenation of events, I must here state that in passing from Tibet and Nepal to Swat. I have not been unfaithful to my customary studies. On the contrary, it is Tibet that has led me on to Swat, as in Tibetan literature one is always coming across allusions to Ugyan, Orgyan, Uḍḍ iyāna (Tucci 1958: 279).

Padmasambhava, the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, is said to have left the ‘holy land’ of Swat (Uḍḍ iyāna of the Sanskrit sources) for Tibet in 8<sup>th</sup> century CE (Tucci 1958: 279-280, 1967:13; Olivieri et al 2011: 49). Being an expert of Tibetan culture and religion, Tucci was interested in tracing out the origin of Tibetan Buddhism. So to achieve that end, G. Tuccineeded a detailedarchaeological, cultural, historical, linguistic and topographic study of Swat (ancient Uḍḍ iyāna). For all these areas he had no alternative

but to sift the Greek sources<sup>124</sup> of Curtius Rufus and Arrianus, because the valley of Swat remained one of the arenas of Alexander the Great's eastern campaigns in 327 BCE. In addition to Greek sources of Alexander the Great historians, he has also to sift out Chinese sources as well. Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and travelers' accounts who visited the area in search of Buddhist sacred literature<sup>125</sup> from 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century CE, have been a valuable source for the past history of the land and people of Swat (Callieri 2006: 13; Olivieri *et al* 2011: 48).

How did he reach Swat and who guided him is obvious from his own words: "I have thus reached, so to say, Swat through Tibet, and my Tibetan studies have shown me the path along which I had to journey, following in the tracks of those pilgrims, with the intention or hope of throwing light on the conditions and situation of Buddhism in this country" (Tucci 1958: 280).

So in 1955<sup>126</sup>, Tucci embarked on an archaeological reconnaissance of Swat valley<sup>127</sup> in which minute details and every aspect of the valley were recorded (Olivieri 1996: 45-46;

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<sup>124</sup> Looking at Tucci's solid classical background, it is easy to deduct that overlooking the accounts of Curtius Rufus and Arrianus was not an easy task for him (Callieri 2006: 13).

<sup>125</sup> Fāxiǎn, Sòng Yùn, XuánZàng, Huizhao, in the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE respectively visited Swat (Uḍḍiyana) (Callieri 2006: 13; Olivieri *et al* 2011: 49).

<sup>126</sup> According to Luca Maria Olivieri, Tucci conducted his preliminary reconnaissance in 1955 which is based on an unpublished work of Faccenna, which narrates the arrival and beginning of archaeological explorations of Italian Archaeological Mission as under: "the expedition that left Karachi on 25 Nov. 1955 travelled through Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, and reached the capital of the state of Swat on 28/XI. The ground reconnaissance, which began on 28/XI and ended on 2/XII, yielded a clear understanding of the size and importance of the ruins scattered over the region, fully satisfying the purpose for which it had been proposed" (Olivieri 2006: 23, 27). Callieri mentions the year of Tucci's reconnaissance in Swat as 1956 (Callieri *et al* 2000: 193).

Filigenzi 2006: 195)<sup>128</sup>. In this archaeological and topographical research/survey, the mission focused on the following areas/aspects:

The remains in and around a) Udegram<sup>129</sup>, b) Manglawar, c) Buddhist rock reliefs, d) on the royal collection of Gandharan art, e) the archaeological area of Barikot, and f) the valleys of Jambil and Saidu around Mingora plain<sup>130</sup> (Tucci 1958: 284; Antonini 1963: 13; Olivieri , 2006: 27; Olivieri *et al* 2011: 49). After the seminal reconnaissance and his sound background of Sanskrit, Chinese and Buddhist sources, Tucci relocated the site of Meng chie li of Chinese sources, the ancient capital of Uḍḍ iyāna<sup>131</sup>, in Mingawara instead of Manglawar advocated by Stein. So excavations were concentrated at Butkara I

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<sup>127</sup> In this seminal reconnaissance, Tucci was accompanied by F. A. Khan, then Director of Excavation and Exploration Branch of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan (Olivieri *et al* 2011: 49).

<sup>128</sup> Taking the tradition of their Mentor, G. Tucci, (who set out archaeological research in Swat with his first and detailed archaeological reconnaissance in 1956 under the frame of IsMEO), the later Italian researchers succeeded in bringing collaboration among archaeologists, historians, philologists, anthropologists, palaeobotanists, archaeozoologists geophysicists and restorers in Swat region under IsIOA (Olivieri *et al* 2011: 50).

<sup>129</sup> In this survey, Tucci also covered the remains of Top-dara (Buner), which is outside the southern borders of the then Yusufzai State of Swat but remained a part of ancient Uḍḍ iyāna (Olivieri 2006: 30; Olivieri *et al* 2011: 49).

<sup>130</sup> In the following years, these three areas remained the hub of Italian archaeological activities and played an important role in the reconstruction of the history of South Asia (Olivieri 2006: 27, Olivieri *et al* 2011: 49).

<sup>131</sup> G. Tucci initially followed Sir Aurel Stein's identification of Manglawar with the ancient capital of Uḍḍ iyana mentioned as Meng-jieli in Chinese sources. However, the 1955 and 1956 reconnaissances of Swat valley convinced G. Tucci that the ancient capital of Swat could not be in Manglawar but it should be sought in Mingawara. So instead of the outskirts of Manglawar, excavations were initiated at Butkara I, mentioned in Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Sòng Yùn's accounts as T'o-lo (Tucci 1958: 285-286, Olivieri 2006: 27, 30; Olivieri *et al* 2011: 50).

in the outskirts of Mingawara city (Tucci 1958: 285-286; Olivieri 2006: 30; Olivieri *et al* 2011: 50).

Tucci discovered rock carvings in Udegram site at Gogdara during his survey of Swat valley and mentioned the discovery in his 1958 report 'Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat' as "the origin of this site goes much further back is proved by carvings on the rocks which I discovered on the occasion of the survey I made of the spur of a mountain which closes the valley of Udegram, dividing it from that of Gogdara" (Tucci 1958: 291; Olivieri 1998: 57).

Tucci also extended the archaeological activities of his mission into Afghanistan in 1957 and selected Ghazni, the centre of the Ghaznavid dynasty, who were responsible for the introduction of Islam in Northern India. But Tucci proved himself once again unique in the galaxy of researchers when he opted for Ghazni, the centre of Islamic civilization, which was behind the annihilation of Buddhism in Afghanistan. Alessio Bombaci was assigned the archaeological activity at Ghazni. Italian archaeologists also carried out their research in the Buddhist sacred area of Tapa Sardar and in Hazar Sum, a site in northern Afghanistan. Excavation resulted in the first traces of human presence in the region dating back to Palaeolithic period (Puglisi 1963: 3 also see foot-note 2; Gnoli 1984: 14; Petech 1984: 140; Callieri 2006: 15; Olivieri 2006: 23).

Being the centre of Zarathustra religious activities and Alexander's campaign against Achaeminid Empire, Iran always attracted researchers. So Giuseppe Tucci signed an agreement with the Iranian Government in 1959. Italian scholars started explorations in Seistan region following the footsteps of G.P. Tate, E. Herzfeld and Sir Aurel Stein. The

Italians scholars selected some important sites such as the Parthian-Sasanid complex of Kuh-e Khwaja, Qal'a-ye Sam, the Achaemenid town of Dahan-e Gholaman and Bronze Age site of Shahr-e Sokhte for their archaeological excavations. Tucci assigned every site to a specialist e.g. excavations at Shahr-e Sokhte were entrusted to the palaeoethnologist Maurizio Tosi (Gullini 1958: 330; Gnoli 1984: 14; Petech 1984: 140; Callieri 2006: 16; Olivieri 2006: 23).

It was impossible without the untiring personality of G. Tucci to coordinate among different Italian scholars busy in their researches in a vast area ranging from Pakistan to Afghanistan and Iran. The dynamic personality of Giuseppe Tucci who personally visited each site every year and provided his feedback on the spot in the field to a number of Italian researchers who were busy in different regions of the world. (Petech 1984: 140; Callieri 2006: 17).

Tucci gave equal importance to conservation and preservation were considered as important as excavations and explorations by G. Tucci. So Swat museum was established<sup>132</sup> at Saidu Sharidin 1963 for the preservation of the cultural materials unearthed during the excavations and explorations in the region by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan. Efforts were made for the conservation of the Raja Gira Castle at Udegram<sup>133</sup> (Gullini 1958: 330; Callieri 2006: 18; Olivieri 2006: 32).

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<sup>132</sup> According to Tahira Tanweer the first drawing of the Swat Museum was prepared by the Italian architect, Vittorio Caroli and archival records show that it was aimed at to display material unearthed during the excavations at the sacred Buddhist area of T'o-lo (Butkara I). According to Evert Berger and Phillip Wright, the original idea was conceived by Miangul Gul Shahzada Abdul Wadud, the first Wali of Swat State and goes as back as 1938 (Berger and Wright 1941: 13, Tanweer 2011: 43-44,).

<sup>133</sup> At the opening ceremony of the Swat Museum, the message of A. Segni, President of the Italian Republic, was read (Olivieri 2006: 32).

Apart from Swat Museum (Pakistan), in 1957 with the un-tired efforts of Tucci, IsMEO succeeded to establish National Museum of the Oriental Art (the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale) (MNAOR) in Rome, through the active support of the then Direzione Generale delle Antichita e Belle Arti of the Ministry of Education, with a manifest aim to keep and exhibit the objects and collections of artistic and archaeological value belonging to the IsMEO. One of the most impressive collections is that of the pieces of Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara from the excavations of Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, Pakistan (Gnoli 1984: 17; Petech 1984: 140; Olivieri 2006: 31).

Persepolis, the most prestigious centre of ancient Iranian civilization and Islamic monuments of Ali Qapu, Cehel Sotun, Hasht Behesht succeeded to attract Italian mission activity of restoration<sup>134</sup> (Gnoli 1984: 14; Ali 1997/2013: 342). In Afghanistan, the Italian Mission was involved in the re-ordering of the Islamic collections in the Kabul Museum. The Mission was also involved in the arrangement of the collections Islamic Art of Ghazni in the Mausoleum of Sultan Abd-ul-Razzaq at Rauza as well as the contribution to the construction of the Ghazni Museum. Political instability in Afghanistan and Iran interrupted excavations and related research activities of IsMEO in the said countries (Gnoli 1984: 14; Petech 1984: 140).

In every field of research, Tucci acted as coordinator among various experts from different fields of activities such as excavations, preservations and conservations (Petech 1984: 140; Callieri 2006: 18). All these efforts and commitments of G. Tucci led to the establishment of Asian archaeology almost from nothing which is a clear manifestation of

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<sup>134</sup> The Aga Khan Award for Architecture was conferred upon the IsMEO at Lahore in October 1980 in connection of restoration of Persepolis, and of the chief Islamic monuments of Esfahan, in particular Ali Qapu, Cehel Sotun, Hasht Behesht (Gnoli 1984: 14).



Tucci's direct participation in archaeology. Being an expert of Buddhism and ancient Iran, he never overlooked Islamic phase of history in these regions and gave equal heed to areas other than his field of interest and expertise. This attitude of his made him a vibrant archaeologist and field researcher (Callieri 2006: 19-20).

He had gained mastery in linguistics, philology, history, culture and religions of the east. Apart from these expertise, he was a great explorer and traveler. G. Tucci visited India from 1925-1930 where he taught Chinese and Italian in the Universities of Santiniketan and Calcutta. He remained the guest of Dalai Lama at Lhasa during his last visit to Tibet in 1948. G. Tucci had eight expeditions on his credit being organized and guided to that Himalayan Buddhist centre of Tantrism<sup>135</sup> (Eliade 1984: 157; Taddei 1997/2013: 346). Being an expert of Sanskrit and Tibetan languages, he directed his attention to Mahayana Buddhism and Tantrism, Indian logic and Buddhist and Indian iconography as well as to archaeology, meta-physics, and folk music which resulted in a series of monographs on Indian thought and a large history of Indian philosophy (Eliade 1984: 158).

Tucci was a strong believer in human solidarity and the theme of his research revolves around the idea of Eurasia or the historical unity of the Eurasian continent. As a scholar of Asian civilizations in which he studied Buddhism and travelled up to the roof-top of the world, Swat route, Afghanistan and Iran were aimed to find a connection between Eurasian continents as is obvious from his words; "It is with this end in view that we have begun editing the Review '*East and West*'<sup>136</sup>. We have given this title to our publication because Asia and Europe are destined, by the swift course of events, to

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<sup>135</sup> He has the honour to visit the famous and mysterious temple of bSam-yas and became the first and only Western scholar (Eliade 1984: 157).

<sup>136</sup> Tucci started the journal "*East and West*" in 1950 (Gnoli 2000: 545).

collaborate together and to take part in the life of one another, no longer through slow and remote vibrations, but rather in writing a new history, in attaining new ideals of civilization, which will surely ripen despite unavoidable pains and sorrows” (Tucci 1950: 1).

IsMEO’s work is also based on that theme of Tucci’s idea of the region which searches contacts between people rather than governments. G. Tucci was in search of a cultural and spiritual heritage, a link between the two continents of Asia and Europe. It is pertinent to quote the words that Giuseppe Tucci spoke on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the IsMEO as under:

[.....] an ancient tradition that is strengthened and enlightened as a result of the long work of travelers, missionaries and scholars, she has taken steps to reveal the spiritual compactness of Asia, to describe its real situation, to spread reliable information there about our scientific thought or the inspirations of our works of art, with the aim of finding points of contact, not of contrast, and of, sympathizing, not of humiliating ...', [.....] of the humanistic tradition that made the Italians disinterested mediators of culture between East and West ( quoted in Gnoli 1984: 18).

Tucci was against the Whiteman’s burden theory and seeking the remedy for the centuries old misunderstanding of the western superiority in religious and philosophical traditions. In this regards, Tucci is of the opinion that;

To 'break down that barrier that centuries of misunderstanding have built between East and West', thus undermining 'the presumption that all the greatest adventures of the spirit have come about in our Western world, and in the Mediterranean in particular'. 'Under every sky\_\_\_ man has had the same dreams; he is the same creature, painfully suspended

between heaven and earth, fearfully alone before the mystery of life and death' (quoted in Gnoli 1984: 18).

To Tucci religion was a factor to unite people and great revolutions are only religious revolutions. To him Buddhism was the highest expression of Asiatic humanism, which refined customs, art and literature, wiping out misunderstanding and prejudice, shattering the bonds of caste and promising peace and redemption for all throughout the countries of the Middle and Far East. To him, political revolution without religion is violence. He had respect for the message of Jesus because Christianity provided the West Unity as did Buddhism in Asia. Tucci considered religious revolutions positive and has expressed his feelings says in this respect as under:

It is religious revolutions that build upon the foundations of intelligence, concord and devotion; other movements come, destroy, pass on. Both towards Buddhism and towards Christianity he always displayed an inward spiritual harmony, beyond every form of confessionalism, and a lively interest, omnipresent in his work, in the great and beneficent expansion of their messages of truth, charity and justice in that one continent which is Eurasia (quoted in Gnoli 1984: 18).

Tucci was too much sensitive towards the phenomenon of religion but considered that all these constructions of man is searching for universal truth. Tucci has expressed his views in respect of different beliefs and founders of different religions in these words; "The Minoan and Mycenaean and the Assyro-Babylonian cultures, the tormented dramatists and the lucid thinkers of Greece, Zarathustra, the Upanishads, Buddha and Mahavira, Laotze and Confucius – immortal suns in the heavens of the apotheosis of mankind"(see Gnoli 1984: 19).Tucci was of the opinion that culture unites human beings where politics seems to stand for division among people (Gnoli 1984: 17-18).

Giuseppe Tucci, the great Orientalist and the 'Rediscoverer of Ancient Swat', died on April 5, 1984 in his residence at San Polo dei Cavalieri, in the hills north of Rome (Petech 1984: 140; F. A. Khan 1997/2013: 340; Gnoli 1984:413). The life sketch of such a great Orientalist as Giuseppe Tucci was, cannot be ended appropriately than by his own feelings which he expressed on the death of Sardar Patel as “when a noble man dies, I feel it as my personal loss. Noble men do not belong to any one country; they belong simply to humanity even if the scene of their activity was in some distant part of the world” (Tucci 1951: 256).

## Chapter 4

### **An Outline of the Archaeological Landscape of Malakand-Swat (1926-1956)**

The 1932 (Amendment) i.e. Act No. 18 of 1932 in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 was aimed at to facilitate the foreign missions for excavations and explorations in the field of archaeology in India. Under the said amendment, license was granted to the combined expedition team of Bristol University and Victoria & Albert Museum for excavations and explorations in the Swat region. The expedition was led by Evert Barger of Bristol University and Philip Wright of the Indian Section, Victoria & Albert Museum. The team conducted a survey and excavations in the valleys of Barikot, Kandak, Najigram and Jampur-dherai near Charbagh in the summer of 1938. Later on, in 1955-1956, Giuseppe Tucci conducted a detailed reconnaissance of the Swat region under an agreement between the Government of Pakistan and IsIAo when in 1955, the Wali of Swat, Major-General, Miangul Abdul Haq Jehanzeb agreed to extend Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904 to Swat State. This chapter will discuss all those sites, mentioned in the reports of Barger & Wright and Giuseppe Tucci. In addition to that, an attempt will be made in this chapter to bring to light the present condition of these sites as observed by the present researcher when and wherever possible.

## Sites Gazetteer

### Criterion:

The list of the sites follows the chronological order (first the 1938 survey, then the 1956 survey) and follow the same order in which the sites were listed in their two reports. In case, a single site has been visited in both surveys, the data belonging to both researches will be presented only one time.

### **1. Forts at Kalungai (Lower Swat)**

Barger and Wright 1941; Olivieri 2003

Kalungai is situated in lower Swat and located some eight miles in the north-west of Malakand. Berger and Wright observed some ruins of fortified houses on rock ledges with Gandharan style masonry. Square towers at each corner had been constructed with round bastion and the height is 10-12 feet. Rooms were arranged, either in straight line or round the square and 5-6 feet high with 3 feet thick walls. The average dimension of the solid towers was about 23 feet square. No potsherds were observed on the ground while some ancient cultivated terraces with stone walls were found bellow the ridge with buildings. The cultivators of the land lived in huts or brushwood houses and used these stone forts as places of refuge as Barger and Wright found no fragments of pottery at the site of Kalungai (Barger 1938: 109, Barger and Wright 1941: 14).

## 2. Kanjar-kote<sup>137</sup> (Kandak, Barikot), Swat

Stein 1930; Barger and Wright 1941; Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006

Kanjar-kote is a group of ruins, located at a distance of 2 and half miles<sup>138</sup> in the south-west of Barikot village in the Kandak valley, named after the stream flows through the valley into Swat River while Abuha (popularly pronounced as Abuwa) village lies in the west of the site at the foot of Barikot hill at a distance of 3 miles from Barikot (Barger and Wright 1941: 14). Sir Marc Aurel Stein visited Kanjar-kote site in 1926 during his exploration in Swat valley and expressed his feelings as “Above [the ruins] rise boldly eroded cliffs of red sandstone looking like frowning walls. The contrast offered by this wild solitude, a small Thebais, to the smiling green fields below was strangely impressive in the light of the evening (Stein 1930: 14). Barger and Wright excavated the site in 1938 and reported the damage perpetrated by illegal diggers to the site. Their observations maybe summarized as;

It is deduced from the heaps of the debris that the group of buildings represented a monastery complex on a usual Gandharan plan. The courtyard with stupa, surrounded by domed niches on the famous Takht-i-Bahi style, was located in the north-east end of the monastery. A bed of dried steam is visible. The complex consists of courts, monks’ cells and stupa remains. Though illegal diggers had damaged the site especially the stupa but traces of a round base could be seen on the square base of the stupa (Barger and Wright 1941: 15). Some votive stupas at different distance from the main stupa were unearthed

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<sup>137</sup> Kanjar-kote means the ‘Dancer’s mansion’ but kanjar is a negative connotation in Pashto language (Stein 1929/2003: 36).

<sup>138</sup> Berger and Wright measured the distance as 3 miles (Berger and Wright 1941: 15).

during excavations with no planned size and arrangement. These stupas were given white plaster. Fragments of the stone umbrellas and carved with relief harmikas were found in the debris. Two or three plaster heads, the carved bases of model stupas and some fragmentary reliefs in blue schist which were seemed part of a frieze depicting two scenes from early life of Buddha i.e. his trial of strength with other youths and his wedding were recovered from the site. Apart from these, some iron clamps and nail were also found. Monk cells were styled like Takht-i-Bahi as these have square chambers and doomed roofs. It was 9 feet high with a 2 feet door (Barger and Wright 1941:16). This site was in dilapidated condition with cultural material taken away and disturbed by antiquity hunters. Kanjar Kote site is a Buddhist sacred area, attested by the cultural materials, recovered from the excavations of the site (Barger 1938:111; Barger and Wright 1941: 15). Olivieri *et al* are of the opinion that it is the largest site covering an area of 8000 square metres. The extension, importance and condition of the site has been described in their report as under:

This is perhaps the largest Buddhist site in the whole valley. Dominating the course of the Kandak, the complex covers two main *stūpa* terraces and other smaller ones, sloping down the hill. ... Today the remains of the complex, after the damage caused by decades of illegal digging, may still be identified. ... In front of the upper terrace (N) stands a large double *vihāra* conserved to a height of about 3.00 m. The upper terrace houses a *stūpa* (d 6.00) and, in the NW corner, the remains of buildings with extensive traces of plaster have been found (Olivieri *et al* 2006: 107).

### **3. Gumbat (Kandak, Barikot), Swat (Figures6-7)**

Stein 1930: figs 6-7; Barger and Wright 1941; Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006; Meister and Olivieri 2013; Olivieri *et al* 2014



At a distance of one and half mile from the site of Kanjar-kote and about six miles from Barikot, in the Kandak valley, is situated the remains of stupas and the high dome of a shrine on a group of mounds and thus gave the name of Gumbat to the site. It can be accessed through Balo-kalay. This site was first visited by Stein in 1926 (Stein 1929/2003: 36, 1930: 12-14). The masonry of the site is Gandharan in style and structure. Ironically the stupas at this site were much decayed while the sculptures were in good condition of preservation and large in number as compare to Kanjar-kote (Barger and Wright 1941: 16-17).

Barger and Wright confined their excavations to the northern side of the shrine as southern side was occupied by cultivated fields. The main stupa was surrounded by votive stupas decorated with friezes and decorated panels on the same lines as in the Kanjar-kote site. In the recovered cultural materials, Buddha had been represented in different ways i.e. seated in European fashion, then surrounded by a halo (aureole) encircling his entire body and sometimes carved in full profile with an obvious deflection from Gandhara art (Barger and Wright 1941: 17). Some other cultural materials were also recovered from the site such as iron clamps, pins and a two and half inch diameter cylindrical bell, which corroborates the remarks of Sòng Yùn<sup>139</sup> (Barger and Wright 1941: 17-18).

At Gumbat site, Hellenistic art i.e. figures on friezes are grouped in pairs between Indo-Corinthian pilasters, toga-like dress and declamatory attitude, the recurrence of two long-

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<sup>139</sup>Sòng Yùn, a Chinese pilgrim, who visited Swat in the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE (518-521 CE), said that 'at evening the sound of the monastery bells may be heard on every side' (Stein 1930: 152, Barger and Wright 1941: 18).

tailed birds perched on the rim of a bowl, cornice combined with acanthus leaves, women holding drinking-cups to their lips and some floating cupids wearing anklets, is in full swing. Barger and Wright are of the opinion that in the friezes of Gumbat site, Mediterranean motifs have been copied by the artists (Barger and Wright 1941: 17, 36, L.D.B.1942: 526). Stein speaks of a small spring in the south-south-west of the Gumbat and terms it a Buddhist sanctuary (Stein 1930: 14). Olivieri *et al* termed it the best preserved site in Kandak valley with two dwelling complexes measuring 3000 square metres each which is obvious from their description as under:

The best conserved complex in the whole of Kandak. With its characteristic splendid *vihāra* still standing, it must have been more deeply appreciated at the time of Stein. The double artificial terrace on which the sacred areas stood must have been appreciated even more. The upper one is still visible today and, in addition to the *vihāra*, houses also the remains of three *stūpas*, two of which are large (d about 10.00). Traces of closed chambers may be identified in the corners of the outer walls. Here, more than elsewhere, a substantial presence of pottery has been recorded and sampled. The pottery was probably due to the presence of two dwelling units to the S and W of the complex, each about 3,000 m<sup>2</sup> in area (Olivieri *et al* 2006: 108).

#### **4. Amluk-dara (Karakar, Barikot), Swat (Figure 8)**

Stein 1930: figs. 16, 18; Barger and Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006; Faccenna and Spagnesi 2014; Olivieri *et al* 2014

Located at a mountain top and about 2 km in the north of Nawagai village from the main Barikot-Buner road in the beautiful valley of the same name and was first discovered by Aurel Stein in 1926 and again re-visited/surveyed by Barger and his team as it was pointed out to them by shepherd. The solitary site of Amluk is located at a distance of

about 4 miles from Barikot at a height of almost 4000 feet above the valley floor at a cost of four hours climb on a stiff boulder. The team made some arrangements with the generous support of Wali of Swat. Two of the team members lived in a cave as going back to camp was too much time consuming. Amluk site is a Buddhist site with some stupas and monastic establishment's remains, observed by the excavation team. The masonry of the Amluk site is not of Gandharan type as Barger and Wright described; 'the stupa is thus unusual in plan. It is also distinguished by the facing of the bases, which consists, not of masonry of the customary Gandharan type, but of neatly chiseled blocks of regular shape and uniform size fitted together without the usual packing of thin slates.' Barger and Wright are of the opinion that the circumstances in which the sculptures were found at Amluk site suggest the willful destruction by Muslim invaders rather the natural decay as told by Xuánzàng (Barger 1938: 111-112; Barger and Wright 1941: 19; Barnes 1995: 168).

The pillagers tried to rob the site but in time orders of the Wali saved the site from full destruction. Cultural materials recovered from this site depict Buddha in different poses such as seated under the pipal and fig tree, surrounded by worshippers and in dharmacakra mudra. The recovered cultural materials such as the head of Buddha is helpful to prove the interaction between the artists of Gandhara and Mathura and in establishing the chronology of the site from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE (Barger 1938: 112; Barger and Wright 1941: 19-22; L.D.B.1942: 526). Tucci visited the site but found nothing new and agreed with the description of Stein and Barger/Wright. Olivieri and Vidale *et al* termed the site among the highest in the Kandak valley. In their report, the site has been described as under:

Together with China-Bara, this is the highest Buddhist site in Kandak [c. 2,000 asl). Compared with the decoration published in 1941, a part of the sacred area (with three still recognizable *stūpa*) is still visible together with the monastery building. In addition to these, to the SE, a structure is visible, perhaps a circular *vihāra*, introduced by a rectangular antichamber. ... Beside it lie the remains of thick walls enclosing a rectangular access area to the SE. In a small adjacent courtyard to the N the remains of a small *stūpa* lie. Evidence of pottery, fragments of schist decoration, fragments of cereal grindstones. On the E side of the site large stratified remains of ancient food garbage dumps and ashes lie (Olivieri et al 2006: 110).

### 5. China-bara (Kandak, Barikot), Swat

Barger and Wright 1941; Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006

Kandak valley hosts another archaeological site with the name of China-bara near the famous site of Amluk. Though situated in difficult locale of hilly area, nevertheless, it did not escape the spade of pillagers and a Hindu dealer dug it out for antiquity before Philip Wright and his team started proper excavations at the site.

Wright excavated the China-bara site in haste and recovered cultural materials such as stupas decorated with sculptures of Buddha and panels on the line of Jamalgarhai panels depicting garland-bearers with Hellenistic theme in the style of Gandhara art, some fragments of terracotta figures which indicate that Buddha sculpture, more than twice of life size, was in vogue at this site, some iron items, earthenware, schist lamp with Kharoshti inscriptions<sup>140</sup> (Barger and Wright 1941: 22-23). The archaeological position

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<sup>140</sup>*Sagamicaudisami* (? *gada*) *agisala* (*egoso*?) (Berger and Wright 1941: 23). L.D.B. do not agree with Barger and Wright in their translation of the Kharoshti inscription on schist lamp recovered from Chinabara site and explains it as under; the inscription on the lamp, as given by Messrs. Barger and Wright, contains the letters *agisala*; and it is very surprising that they have failed to recognize in this word the name of the

of China-bara site has been summarized by Olivieri *et al* in their report as “Large hill site with traces of *stūpa* and well dug out of the rock” (Olivieri *et al* 2006: 110).

## 6. Shaban (Kandak, Barikot), Swat

Barger and Wright 1941; Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006

Shaban site is situated in the Kandak valley at the foot of the mountain mass at the side of a stream. At Shaban site, Wright and his team unearthed remains of stupas of the Gandharan masonry, monastery, monks’ cells, courtyard and traces of walls. Shaban site remained a Buddhist sacred place in antiquity as attested by the excavations (Barger and Wright 1941: 23-24).

## 7. Tokar-gumbat/Tokar-dara (Najigram, Barikot), Swat (Figure 9-14)

Stein 1930: figs. 8-11, 14; Barger and Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Ashraf Khan 1993; Olivieri 2003; Olivieri, Nasir 2005; Vidale *et al* 2006; Ashraf Khan and Swati 2012.

The Tokar-dara site is situated about 2 km. in the south-west of Najigram village and three miles away from Barikot in Najigram valley on the western side of a spur that separate Najigram from the valley, which is leading to Karakar Pass. About half a mile in the south-west of Najigram village, some ruins of a stupa and monastery buildings are prominent. Sir Aurel Stein observed ruined stupas, a relieve panel with standing Buddha and Vajra-carrying figure, a monastic complex, a spring and a sophisticated system for the storage of rain water to be used for irrigation purposes of the terraced fields down the

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craftsman *Agisala* (probably a Prakrit form of Greek *Agiselaus*) which occurs on the famous casket found in Kanishka’s Monastery at Shahji-ki Dheri, Peshawar. I may remark that Messrs. Barger and Wright are quite wrong in translating *Sagami* (*saghami*?) *chaudisami*, as ‘in the monastery of the four quarters’. Apparently they have confounded *sangha* ‘religious community’, with *sañghārāma*, ‘monastery’ (L.D.B. 1942: 526 also see footnote on page 526).

religious complex. While Philip Wright and his team conducted short excavations and observed some stone carvings and fragments of fallen umbrella of a stupas. Being easily accessible, Tokar-dara site badly suffered from antiquities hunters (Stein 1929/2003: 38, 1930: 15-17; Berger and Wright 1941: 24). G. Tucci also paid a visit to Tokar-dara site in 1956 and observed remains of two big stupas (one in well preserved condition while only the plinth of the second one), water barrage, *vihāra*, vaulted monks' cells and Assembly Hall with high walls. Tucci opines that it was a Buddhist monastic establishment as ruins are scattered on the steep slope of mountain. Tucci explains the monastic importance of the site in these words; 'the place is certainly one of the greatest monastic settlements of the whole Swat' (Tucci 1958: 317).

#### **8. Abarchinar/Abbasaheb-china(Najigram, Swat) (Figures 15-18 )**

Stein 1930; Barger and Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Olivieri 2003a; Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006; Faccenna and Spegnesi 2014.

Abbasaheb-china site (Abarchinar of Barger and Wright) is situated about three miles in the south-east of Najigram village. Abarchinar site's remains consist of stupas, monastic complex, monks' cells and a spring, are located on the banks of a local stream. Ruins show that these buildings were two storeyed. The presence of the spring with healing effects and small dwellings of the hermits and monks explain that the locality was thickly populated and remained a spiritualcentre of Buddhist faith. Cultural materials depicting birth scene of Buddha, heads of Buddha and Bodhisattva<sup>141</sup> were recovered from the Abarchinar site (Barger and Wright 1941: 26).

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<sup>141</sup> One of the heads of the bodhisattva had a lion's head in the centre of the headdress and may have some connection with Buddha's name Gautama Śākyasiṃha (Lion of Śākyas) (Berger and Wright 1941: 26).

### **9. Nawagai (Karakar, Barikot) Swat**

Stein 1930; Barger and Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Said Qamar 2004; Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006

Nawagai is situated on a spur of a ridge. This ridge is a separating line between Najigram and Karakar valleys. Nawagai is located on the main route from Barikot-Buner or vice versa through Karakar Pass. The site of Nawagai falls half a mile before Nawagai village. Stein visited the village of Nawagai in 1926 and he speaks of a fine spring and walled conduit of antiquity. He was also shown some copper coins of Indo-Scythian and Kushan kings picked up among the ruined dwellings of Nawagai (Stein 1930: 18). Philip Wright and his team excavated this site in 1938 and unearthed remains of stupas, monastic establishment and some traces of fortification. They also recovered from one of the stupas a stone fragment, depicting a rider on a camel, a soldier with spear and another man standing on the ground. The rider is handing over the relics of the Buddha to the prince as is obvious from the gesture of his hands. The Nawagai site is a Buddhist sacred site attested by excavation and cultural materials. Unfortunately it has been plundered by antique hunters as excavations did not yield even a single sculpture (Barger and Wright 1941: 27).

Tucci visited this site in 1956 and observed ruins of a huge fortress on a steep and rocky hill which cover almost all the ridge. On Karakar Pass near the police post, traces of walls in diaper work with preserved plaster in some places have been observed by Tucci. He also speaks of the remains of the basement of stupa on the top of the hill. Tucci is silent on the presence of a spring mentioned by Stein (Tucci 1958: 315).

### **10. Gumbatuna (Barikot, Shamoza) Swat (Figure 19)**

Stein 1930; Barger and Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Ashraf Khan 1996; Olivieri 2003a; Faccenna and Spegnesi 2014.

The site of Gumbatuna (Gumbatuna meaning ‘domes’ is the plural word of ‘gumbat’ meaning dome in Pashto) is situated a mile and half downstream from Barikoton the right bank of Swat River. Stein visited the site in 1926 and discovered remains of stupas, a small circular Vihāra, and a fine spring (Stein 1930: 10-11). P. Wright and his team visited the famous site of Gumbatuna in the summer of 1938 during their explorations in the region. However, they failed to shed new light on the cultural history of Gumbatuna site and just reproduced what has already been mentioned by Stein in 1930 (Berger and Wright 1941: 27). Tucci included this site in his survey of the Swat region in 1955. He mentions a square building on the top of a hillock with four towers i.e. one each on every corner as in the style of Udegram fortification. A proto-historic graveyard was located by Tucci about two km from Barikot Bridge and a few dozen metres away from the Buddhist sacred area of Gumbatuna in the early 1960s. Three vases were recovered from the site with unknown context. Sebastiano Tusa established the chronology of the site as far back as 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C.E.

### **11. Parrai (Barikot, Shamozi) Swat**

Barger and Wright 1941; Tucci 1958; Olivieri 2003.

Three miles upstream from Gumbatuna and a mile in the north of Parrai village is located the archaeological site of the same name i.e. Parrai. Wright and his team conducted excavations on this site and unearthed remains of a large Buddhist monastery, three



stupas, monks' cells and pieces of sculptures and coins of Soter Megas<sup>142</sup>. Tucci visited Parrai site during his 1956 archaeological reconnaissance of Swat. He observed ruins of old establishment, scattered on the lower slopes of the hills and grow in number in the vicinity of Redawan, a square building with round towers on four corners in the style of the Udegram fortification on the top of a hillock. Cultural materials attest its Buddhist antiquity (Barger and Wright 1941: 28).

## **12. Jampure-dherai/Jampure Dheri (Mangwalthan valley, Charbagh), Swat (Fig.20-21)**

Stein 1930; Barger and Wright 1941; Tucci 1958

Jampure-dheri (in Pashto, it is written and pronounced as Jampur-dherai and popularly known as *Khanak-dhrai*) site is situated at a distance of a mile in the east-north-east of Charbagh village/city<sup>143</sup>. It is a flat-topped mound in the middle of a broad valley, from where passes are leading to Ghorband and Indus rivers. This historic and famous site of Jampur-dherai has been visited by Aurel Stien in his 1926 explorations in Swatregion and experienced the spade of Philip Wright and his team during the 1938 expedition. Archaeologically important site of Jampur-dherai also attracted the attention of G. Tucci in 1950s, who found the ruins in bad condition especially the stupa at Jampur-dherai (Tucci 1958: 307). Stein was informed that some Indo-Scythian and Kushan coins and a fragment of Graeco-Buddhist relievio were found at Jampur-dherai site. Stein described this site as an acropolis (Stein 1930: 52; Mason et al 1939: 393).

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<sup>142</sup> A villager informed Philip Wright and his team that he had found a hoard of coins beneath the floor of a vaulted chamber on the hill above the monastery (Berger and Wright 1941: 28).

<sup>143</sup> Charbagh is located about 25 miles away from Barikot in Upper Swat (Mason 1939: 393).

Findings at this site has been described by Philip Wright in these words; ‘we found the ruins of Buddhist walls, pottery, a certain amount of metal-work, few heads, terra-cotta figures and a few very battered pieces of the same kind of sculpture as decorated monasteries’ (Mason et al 1939: 393).

The Jampur-dherai site remained to be occupied by people, who followed Buddhism as stupa and stones carved with Bodhisattva images, especially of Avalokiteśvara, were uncovered during explorations and excavations. This site had not only inhabited by Buddhists followers but traditions attest the occupation of the site by Brahman followers as well. Philip Wright and his team were shown coins, clay seals of Sassanid period and brass spoon with the handle in the form of an image of Śiva by the villagers during their stay at Charbagh. They also observed walls in Gandhara masonry (Barger 1938: 112; Barger and Wright 1941: 29-31).

During the field work, the present researcher came to know that the archaeological sites of stupa [popularly known as Gumbat (meaning stupa or tope) area] on the right side of Mangwalthan’s road and mound (*dherai*) area (popularly known as *Khanak-dherai*) on the left side of the same road are collectively known as Jampura. The present researcher found no traces of the stupa except some old materials used in the walls of the mosque and house built by the owner of the land on the site. The mound (*Dherai*) has extensive remains of ruined structures of unknown character and plenty of potsherds were observed, scattered along the terraces of the mound and in the fields below. The mound still presents a view of a rich archaeological site. Like the Gumbat site, the archaeological future of the mound is under serious threat to be used for residential purposes because the brother of an influential political figure has built his house on the west side of the mound.

### **13. Katelai A, B (Mingawara, Babuzai) Swat (Figures 22-23)**

Tucci 1958; Antonini and Stacul 1972

Katelai A and B sites are located on the slopes of a mountain between Saidu Sharif and main Mingawara-Mardan road. According to Tucci, Katelai<sup>144</sup> is the name of village, mountain and the valleys in the slope of the mountain. During his visit, Tucci observed traces of a wall with diaper masonry, water drainage, remains of stupas, fragments of sculptures, traces of a road leading up to the top of the hill where the most important stupa was located. He also mentioned a sulphur well (known as *Skha-cheena*<sup>145</sup>, Ska China of Tucci) with treatment effect for the skin diseases was there under a tree. According to Tucci, this well or spring may be the *āyuhpāni* mentioned by U rgyan pa in his description of Swat. The ruins of Katelai A (now Aman-kot) have been described by Tucci as under:

Ruins — some of which are evidently the remains of a stūpa — and fragments of sculptures have also been found everywhere. They are distributed in four successive terraces gradually ascending the slopes and connected by a road of which traces are in some place preserved: they seem to converge towards the summit where the most important stupa was built: a few fragments have been found. One of them represents a warrior in the act of drawing his sword out of the scabbard; another is a frieze much damaged: on the left the Buddha and Vajrapāṇi between two ascetics in a hut, probably the first meeting with Brahmans; the head of a donor; stepped merlons, a frieze with

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<sup>144</sup> Since Tucci survey in 1950s, population has increased and names have been changed. Now Katelai ‘A’ and Kateali ‘B’ are two separate big villages, renamed as Aman-kot and Rahimabad respectively.

<sup>145</sup> Although G. Tucci is of the opinion that *Skha-China* is the *āyuhpāni* of U rgyan pa, however, in local traditions, the spring owes its creation/ existence to the political-religious rivalry between Bayazid Ansari (popularly known as *Pir-i-Rokhan*, the founder of *Roshnaya* Movement) and Akhund Darwizah, a disciple of Syed Ali Tarmizi (popularly known as *Pir Baba*). The spring of Katelai/*Skha-cheena* came into existence when *Pir-i-Rokhan* challenged Akhund Darwizah to show his *kiramāt* by bringing up water from beneath the earth (Qasmi 1939: 33-34; Tucci 1958: 294). As a teenager, the present researcher used to observe/listen in the 1980s, a folk story sung by a famous singer, Wahid Gul (Pukhtun folk singer). In the folk story, Akhund Darwizah has been replaced by *Pir Baba* and the locality was shifted to Buner instead of Katelai, Swat. *Pir Rokhan* was called *Pir-Tareek* (meaning saint of darkness) by his opponents.

floral motives on the side (the *pippala* leaf is predominant); two donors. The rock carvings are much effaced: one represents a Buddha between two standing bodhisattvas with *mukuta*: another a bodhisattva in *rājalīlāsāna* holding a lotus with a long stalk and flower in his left hand representing Lokeśvara (Tucci 1958: 294).

The site of Katelai 'B' (now known as Rahimabad) is located on the main Mingawara-Mardan road, from where a road separates for Katelai 'A' (present day Aman-kot). Ruins of Katelai 'B' (Rahimabad) were in a dilapidated condition when Giuseppe Tucci visited the site in 1955. The archaeological remains of Katelai 'B' (Rahimabad) site were a few fragments of sculptures including a seated Buddha as per Tucci description. The site was a Buddhist sacred area.

#### **14. Qambar (Mingawara, Babuzai) Swat**

Tucci 1958

Qambar (in the time of Tucci's survey, Qambar was a small village as he has mentioned it but nowadays it is a big village with various *mahallas*). Tucci is of the opinion that the site of Qambar is a Buddhist religious site as sculptured pieces have been unearthed from the site. One of the pieces represents Buddha meeting an ascetic. The present researcher visited the site but found that the archaeological site has been replaced by modern buildings.

#### **15. Odigram/Udegram (Udegram, Babuzai) Swat (Figures 24-27)**

Deane 1896; Stein 1929/2003, 1930a/b; Gullini 1958, 1962; Tucci 1958; Olivieri 1996; Bagnera 2006; Giunta 2006; Manna 2006

Ruins of Odigram/Udegram (Wadī-Grām of Raverty) are located at a distance of about 10 km upstream on the left bank of Swat River from the village of Barikot on the main

Mardan- Mingawara road. It is very important and famous site of Swat from the defence point of view as it is a large ancient mountain fastness, known as Raja Gira Castle (locally known as “*da Gira Qala*”) (Stein 1927: 434, 1929/2003: 52; Gullini 1958: 331). On historical and philological evidences, Stein identified Udegram with Ora<sup>146</sup>. It is said that the ancient name of Uḍḍ yiana is due to its old capital Udegram (Stein 1929/2003: 57, 1930: 35-41; Tucci 1958: 288). Tucci described the site in these words; “during Kushana period the place had lost most of its ancient importance in favour of Meng chie li and that it never recovered until the course of the political events led to its revival on account of its strategic situation” (Tucci 1958: 283). The ruins of Udegram has been mentioned by G. Tucci in these words;

.....in a valley overlooked by a circle of mountain massifs, bellow which flows the Swat River, broad and calm, winding through green fields. Then the ruins climb up the slopes in such a dense tangle of walls that the slopes themselves seem indented as though by a gigantic staircase. The ruins, mounting upwards, press round the bastions of a huge fortress, on the outer walls of which opens one of the gates of the city which still stands, then they fall into a ravine where an inexhaustible spring of water still spouts, they skirts the summit of the massif, and mount to the highest peak on which the castle of Rajgira stands<sup>147</sup> (Tucci 1958: 291).

Tucci is of the opinion that the castle of Udegram was not destroyed by Alexander the Great but witnessed the assault of Mahmud army (Tucci 1997/2013: 324). It is clear from

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<sup>146</sup> Curtius Rufus had mentioned this place as Nora (Olivieri 1996: 52).

<sup>147</sup> One of the legends attached with the Udegram ruins says that the beautiful daughter of the king name Munjā Dehvi fell in love with one of Mahmud’s generals. The castle resisted the repeated assaults of the invading forces and has been conquered after the disconnection of water supply from a secret source. It is said that daughter of the king’s daughter has been involved in disclosing the secret site water supplies to the castle (Tucci 1958: 291; Rahman 1968: 8).

the archaeological evidences that this castle was enlarged under Kushans and Sassanians rules attested by buildings techniques, coins and other archaeological objects. All the archaeological and textual evidences show that Raj Gira Castle was besieged and conquered by Alexander the Great and finally destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazna or his generals<sup>148</sup>. But the story does not come to an end at Alexander conquest of Udegram but could be traced back farther in history on the basis of rock carvings, discovered by Tucci on a mountain spur in the valley of Udegram. These carvings include an image of the Buddha and drawings of wild and mysterious animals.

### **16. Gogdara (Mingawara, Babuzai) Swat (Figures 28-30)**

Stein 1929/2003, 1930; Tucci 1958, 1977; Stacul 1973b; Olivieri 1998, 2005; Olivieri and Vidale 2004

This famous site gets its name from the nearby hamlet of Gogdara, which is located in the vicinity of Udegram village. Stein visited this site in 1926. He mentions some rock carvings depicting the colossal image of the Buddha seated Simhāsana with two small attendants on the sides. He mentioned a spring, ruins of Buddhist monastery and stupa in this locality<sup>149</sup> (Stein 1929/2003: 58, 1930: 34). During his first exploration of the Swat valley in 1955, Tucci discovered the site of Gogdara I with more than one hundred rock carvings on a rocky cliff at the foot of northern slopes of Mount Sakhi-sar, in the Mount Ilam chain (Olivieri 1998: 57). Giuseppe Tucci mentions his discovery in these words;

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<sup>148</sup> In the locality of Raja Gira's Castle, there is a shrine in the Muhammadan burial ground known as Pir Khushal Baba Ziarat. Pir Khushal Baba is venerated as a saintly hero and according to the legends, he was leader of the Faithful in the army of Mahmud of Ghazna and got martyrdom during the siege of 'Raja Gira's Castle' (Stein 1929/2003: 55).

<sup>149</sup> The location of the ruins i.e. monastery is known as Hassan-kote (Stein 1930: 34).

‘That the origin of this site goes much further back is proved by carvings on the rocks which I discovered on the occasion of the survey I made of the spur of a mountain which closes the valley of Udegram, dividing it from Gogdara. The whole side, above which towers on the right an image of the Buddha, is carved with drawing of wild or domestic animals, of various size, some of them truly remarkable. These are not only graffiti, but deep-cut engravings of which some are hollowed in the rock by the use of a yet harder stone, so that the surface thus excavated seemsto be polished; the feline animals are recognizable by the stippling scattered over their bodies, imitating their spotted skins (fig. 1). The drawing and the ductus of the body consists of two triangles whose apexes touch, while the tails of the animals end in a spiral. These carvings are very like the paintings of animals on the vases of ancient Iran. Whatever may be the conclusions to which we shall be led when all the rock drawings are brought to light and when the yet untouched soil is uncovered, there would seem room for believing that we have here come to the dawn of the life of Udegram, and that these documents date back to proto-historic times<sup>150</sup> (Tucci 1958: 291-292).

In the same locality is situated the Buddhist sacred area of Gogdara II with two Buddhist rock carvings of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as well as traces of quarrying activity for building stone and Gogdara III where Italian archaeologists dug an excavation trench below the rock monument in 1958 (Olivieri 1998: 57).

### **17. Ghalegai (Barikot) Swat (Figures 31-32)**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Stacul 1967b, 1969a; Morigi and Bianchetti 2005

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<sup>150</sup> In his report of 1958, Tucci declared the rock carvings of proto-historic times but L. M. Olivieri terms them in his research article as pre-historic (Tucci 1958: 292, Olivieri 1998: 57).

Ghalegai (locally known as Ghalegay) site is located about 2 miles in the north-east of Barikot village on the right side of the main road leading from Mardan to Mingawara/Mingora<sup>151</sup> or from Barikot to Mingawara. Stein visited this site in 1926 and recorded the main stupa of Shankardar<sup>152</sup> in a sad state of ruin, elephant rock following Major Deane identification and some rock carvings. He identified the stupa with the stupa of King Uttarasena mentioned by Xuánzàng and the image in barbaric dress with King Uttarasena. G. Tucci strongly disagreed with Major Deane and Aurel Stein when he visited the site during his explorations of the region. He was of the opinion that Uttarasena stupa may be sought in Nawe-kalay instead of Ghalegay and identified the image in barbaric dress with a local deity or a Kuṣ āṇ a king with his retinue (Tucci 1958: 295, 299-300).

### **18. Nawekala/ Nawekalai<sup>153</sup> (Kota valley) Swat**

Stein 1929; Tucci 1958; Filligenzi 2014

Nawekala/ Nawekalai (locally pronounced and written as ‘Nawe-kalay’ meaning new village) is situated half a kilometre in the north of Kota village, visited both by Stein and Tucci in 1926 and 1955 respectively. Both Stein and Tucci mentioned the ruins of

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<sup>151</sup> Generally, the name of the major city of the valley is written as Mingora, nevertheless, popularly it is called/pronounced as Mingawara. So, the popular toponym of Mingawara will be used throughout this study, otherwise mentioned by pioneering protagonists.

<sup>152</sup> In Major Henry George Raverty’s opinion Shankar-dar “is a Top, a cupola or tower, called the Burj-i-Shankar-dar, or Tower of Shankar-dár. The word Shankar, in Sanskrit, is one of the names of Shíw or Shíwá” (Raverty 2001: 199).

<sup>153</sup> Stein mentioned this site as ‘Nawekala’ meaning ‘the new castle’ while Tucci as Nawekalai meaning ‘new town or village’ (Stein 1929/2003: 30, Tucci 1958: 300). It may be that the village was renamed in the time of Tucci survey of the region.



fortification of castle used for the defence of the settlement. In addition to stupa and fortification walls, Tucci recorded some rock carvings representing Bodhisattva and a standing figure, dilapidated ruins of stupas, potsherds scattered all along the slopes of the hillock. He also speaks of the existence of a castle, houses, and religious settlements as manifested by vast quantity of ruins scattered all the slopes of the hills in the locality. By fixing Meng chie li<sup>154</sup> of XuánZàng with Mingawara not Manglawar of Stein, Tucci identified the Nawe-kalay site with the stupa of king Uttarasena and rock of the elephant as some hillock looked like an elephant when seen from a particular angle.

### **19. Tindodag (Mingawara, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2003, 2006, 2011, 2014

The site of Tindodag is located on a hillock. G. Tucci visited this site during his reconaissance of Swat valley, who speaks of extensive remains of antiquity and some important rock carvings representing the Buddha<sup>155</sup> which are parallel in beauty and importance to those of Shakhorai and Jare.

### **20. Bīr-koṭ -ghwaṇḍ ai/Barikot<sup>156</sup>/ Barikōt<sup>157</sup> (Barikot), Swat (33-36)**

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<sup>154</sup> According to Stein, the name Manglawar is derived from Sanskrit form of ‘Mangala-pura’ meaning ‘the town of bliss’ and it may be identified with the site mentioned by Xuánzàng as Meng chie li (Stein 1929/2003: 68, Faccenna 2003: 278).

<sup>155</sup> Stein only observed the head of the Buddha image but in 1955 survey, the whole large image of Buddha was visible and a path has been built for the access of other carvings in the proximity of the image (Tucci 1958: 294).

<sup>156</sup> The modern Pashto toponym of Bir-kōt means ‘the Castle of Bīr’ as *kōt* (Sanskrit *koṭṭ a*) stands for castle or fort and it retains the ancient name of Beira or Bazira. It was actually the Bir-kōt hill which gave the name to the village of Bir-kōt (Stein 1927: 32; 1929/2003: 39, 47; Olivieri 1996: 47, fn. 1).

<sup>157</sup> According to Stein, ‘local population regularly used the term Bir-kōt and Barikōt has been used in the correspondence of Persian scribes and Mullahs’ while L. M. Olivieri is of the opinion that Barikot is an Urdu toponym for Bir-kōt (Stein 1927: 427, Olivieri 1996: 48).

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Stacul 1978a, 1980a, 1989b; Faccenna *et al* 1984; Callieri 1992, 1993a; Callieri *et al* 1984, 1990, 1992a; Oliveiri 1996, 2003; Colliva 2011; Olivieri *et al* 2014.

Barikot (popularly known as Bari-kot) is very important place as it is mentioned by the classical sources of Curtius Rufus (Beira) and Arrianus (Bazira). Curtius Rufus in his *Historiae* spoke of Barikot as an ‘opulent city’ (urbs opulenta of Beira) and Arrianus in his *Anabasis* spoke about its very tall and carefully fortified citadel. Both Stein and Tucci identified Barikot with Bazira of the classical sources<sup>158</sup>. It has been mentioned as Vajirasthana in Sanskrit on an inscription of Hindu-Shahi period<sup>159</sup> (Stein 1929/2003: 46-47, Faccenna *et al* 1984: 485; 1985: 433; Oliveiri 1996: 54-55; Tucci 1997/2013: 328; Colliva 2011: 152). The famous Barikot site has been visited by Stein in 1926. Due to its location at the junction of different important valleys, Barikot functioned as centre of the activities of Barger and Wright expedition during their explorations and excavations in the summer of 1938. Barikot is being located on a strategic position because important roads are converged here from Lower Swat and Buner and the proximity of Swat River and the hillock of Bīr-koṭ -ghwaṇḍ ai make its defence a formidable (Stein 1929/2003: 41, 1930: 154-155). The famous site of Bīr-koṭ -ghwaṇḍ ai also got the attention of G. Tucci who visited the site during his seminal survey of Swat valley. He described the construction, destruction and reconstruction of Bari-kot in these words as under:

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<sup>158</sup> The identification of *Bazira* with Bir-kōt ‘the castle of Bir’ has been explained by Sir Aurel Stein as “...the first part of the modern name, “Bir” is the direct phonetic derivation of the ancient local designation, *Bayira* or *Bajira*, which the Greek form *Bazira* was intended to convey. In Curtius’ narrative significantly enough it figures with a slightly varied transcription as *Beira*” (Stein 1927: 32; 1930: 156).

<sup>159</sup> Barikot has been mentioned as Vajirasthana in Sanskrit inscription (now in the Lahore Museum) dated c. to the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. recovered from Barikot (Faccenna *et al* 1984:485, Olivieri 1996: 47, fn. 1).

The fortress of which the remains are now extant on the Barikot Gundeï is architecturally different from what we generally find in Swat; it was built with the material at hand and in situ, thus destroying all traces of former occupations; but the huge quantity of Kuṣāṇa potsherds, the coins of that and the preceding periods found there and the remains of some walls of Gandhara type here and there occasionally preserved between rock and rock, or brought to light by slides in the slopes of the hill, testify to the existence of previous settlements. We do not know what exactly stood on top of this hill during the Kuṣāṇa and previous periods; but we may presume that it was the acropolis, the *basileion*, the citadel, a fact which does not exclude the presence of some religious monuments as well, probably a stūpa. That a stūpa was here is quite possible, because stūpas were erected in high places, and could coexist with fortifications, being considered as a protection in case of danger. That near the hillock there was a sacred place is shown by some rock carvings at its base representing Lokeśvara, and we know that these images always mark the routes of the pilgrims. A great mound exists near by, which was used for centuries by the Moslems as a cemetery: it is at present called Baba dheri, and is just near the river (Tucci 1958: 299).

Domenico Faccenna traces back its chronology to 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE. The cultural material of Barikot shows interesting connection with Indus civilization (both in Harappan and post-Harappan phases) (Faccenna et al 1984:485). The settlement history of the Barikot site has been mentioned by Georgio Stacul as under:

... The site was, in fact, continuously inhabited for over two thousand years, starting from the 18th or 17th century B.C. Structures relative to the last periods, which date back to the first centuries A.D., have also been identified in areas where there is no trace of the protohistorical settlement, on terraces situated higher than the site of this settlement. A phase of occupation belonging to the Islamic era is, for the moment, still isolated (Faccenna *et al* 1985: 433).

## 21. Barikot (Barikot), Swat

Tucci 1961; Tusa 1981

A few meters away from Barikot fort at the confluence of Kandak and Swat rivers, two graves were discovered and excavated by Tucci in 1963. These graves were part of an extensive graveyard of proto-historic period, extended 1-2 km. in the south of Barikot hill and excavated by G. Stacul.

## 22. Tirat (Madyan, Jinki-khel), Swat

Deane 1896; Stein 1929/2003, 1930a/b: figs. 40-41; Tucci 1958: figs. 9-10.

The archaeological site of Tirat, associated with more than one legends of Buddhist faith (related to Naga Apalāla, Buddha's foot-prints, and the boulder where the Buddha dried up his saṃghāṭī), is located on the right bank of river Swat at a little distance from Jare. Following the footsteps of Faxiān, Sòng Yùn and XuánZàng, Aurel Stein recorded the presence of the foot- print of the Buddha between the villages of Morphandi and Tirat, remains of a stupa, some inscriptions and boulder related with Buddha's cloth-drying crossing the river after the conversion of Naga Apalāla. G. Tucci also mentioned the presence of a stupa remains mentioned in the Chinese sources of Sung Yun and observed by Aurel Stein as well but in complete decayed condition. In this connection, G. Tucci also points out about local traditions which speak about a "Gumbat" in the locality. He also mentioned footprints of the Buddha with Kharoshti inscriptions published by G. Bühler and then by S. Konow in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. But he did discover some fragments of Gandhara style *in situ* including cover of a reliquary and the Buddha protected by the extended hood of a snake. G. Tucci was informed by the locals that five pieces of the sculpture have been used by them while constructing their house. In the past

this area had been thickly populated as evidenced by the pottery which has been scattered below Tirat up-to the place where Buddha had dried up his Saṃghā tī on a big boulder. Inscriptions were also found on some boulders. This site has been termed one of the most sacred pilgrimage centres of Swat by G. Tucci in his 1958 report based on 1955 and 1956 explorations of Swat valley (Tucci 1958: 302-303).

### **23. Chikrai/Jare (Jare, Jinki-khel), Swat (Figure 37)**

Stein 1930: fig. 62; Tucci 1958: fig. 10; Filligenzi 2014

Jare is located on the left side of Swat River on the main Kalam-Khwazakhela road and come half a mile before the crossing for the legendary Buddhist site of Tirat. This site has been visited by A. Stein and G. Tucci during their explorations of the region. It is a Buddhist sacred area attested by a large beautiful image of Avalokiteśvara, which has been carved on a boulder on the left side of the road.

### **24. Kuchla (Titabat,Jinki-khel), Swat**

Tucci 1958

The site of Kuchla is located a mile away from the village of Titabad. This site was discovered by Tucci during his survey in 1955 and is one of the largest and important sites of Upper Swat as ruins and potsherds are scattered on more than two square mile area. And local traditions also speak about a castle which was destroyed by a rival prince. From this site toilet disk with a fine workmanship was discovered during Tucci survey of the site. Gold objects had been also recovered from the site.

### **25. Langra (Titabat, Jinki-khel), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Langra is a village near Titabat from where Tucci discovered a stele with a beautiful image of Lokeśvara.

## **26. Shakhorai/Jehanabad (Ugad-Manglawar, Babuzai), Swat (Figures 38-41)**

Stein 1930: figs. 37; Tucci 1958: fig. 11; Rafiullah Khan 2011a; Filligenzi 2014.

The famous Buddhist sacred site of Shakhorai is located in the north-east of Manglawar (Tucci's Manglaor) at a distance about five kilometers. The Shakhorai site had been visited by Stein in 1926 and published the huge rock image of Buddha (popularly known as Jahanabad Buddha). Apart from the huge image some minor carvings were also there. The famous Adbhuta stupa<sup>160</sup> (Miraculous Stone stupa) has been identified by Tucci to be located here. The Sanskrit version of three stanzas of Mahaparinibhanasutta VI, 16 and Dhamapada,<sup>161</sup> 182 and 281 in characters of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century had been inscribed on huge rock boulders<sup>162</sup> from the site of Shakhorai. Ruins of a small vihara and foundation of a stupa were also there above Buddha image.

The present researcher visited the site and found the Jehanabad Buddha image restored (by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, Pakistan, in the framework of ACT Project) as it was seriously damaged during the recent crisis in Swat (2009). However,

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<sup>160</sup> The Adbhuta Stupa has been identified in the vicinity of Charbagh (Stein 1929/2003: 71).

<sup>161</sup> These stanzas have been published by Buhler (Tucci 1958: 306).

<sup>162</sup> One of the inscriptions was inscribed on a boulder, known as Khazanagat meaning the 'rock of treasure' and Stein got its photograph (Stein 1929/2003: 69).

the present researcher did not find the image of Avalokiteśvara/Padmāpāni which had already been blasted by iconoclasts during 2009 crisis (Rafiullah Khan 2011b: 184-185).

### **27. Sherna (شیرنه) (Sangota (Manglawar, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Sherna [popularly known as Sharhna (شیرنه)] is located on the top of a mountain just in front of the Sanghota-dherai. The terraced plain between Sanghota-dherai and Sherna is very important from archaeological point of view as it is dotted with potsherds. Remains of fortifications and walls were also observed by Tucci during his surveys in 1955 and 1956. Coins of Kanishka and Vasudeva have been recovered from the site, which were shown to Tucci by the villagers.

### **28. Shaldara (Manglawar, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Shaldara is an attractive valley, enclosed by surrounding mountains and which gradually descend towards the plains of Manglawar. It served as a Buddhist holy place in antiquity as attested by the presence of monastery and stupas' remains. Tucci visited the site during his seminal survey of the Swat valley and he speaks of an important hillock in the middle of the valley. Tucci speaks of four stupas in diaper masonry, encircled by a *pradakṣinā* and steps leading up to the entrance of *pradakṣinā*. Tucci says that it is clear from the remains that the larger stupa has been built on a smaller stupa. Tucci speaks of a seated carved image of a Bodhisattva in the north-east of the larger stupa and also about an excavated well in the rock among the nearby ruins. Tucci speaks of a spring under a tree, which is the water source for the local streamlet.

### **29. Bagolai/Baludin/Zendalai<sup>163</sup> (Mangwalthan valley, Charbagh), Swat**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014.

The site of Zendalai (locally known as Zandwala) is spreading from Mangalthan (locally known as Mangwalthan) to Baludin on the top of hills on the left bank of the stream. Zendalai has been visited by Stein in 1926 and observed a small mound, ruined walls, a Sanghārāma and Graeco-Buddhist relievo. Standing Buddha, a pair of attendants and a pair of haloed Bodhisattvas, a lion and bird headed composite monsters i.e. hippocampi<sup>164</sup> were depicted on the relievo. This important site visited by G. Tucci who observed potsherds in plenty. He also mentioned a huge boulder with carvings of a standing Bodhisattva, some minor figures around him and donors in the act of worshipping on the bottom of the boulder which proves its sacredness for Buddhism. The present researcher visited the area but found none of the above mentioned archaeological remains.

### **30. Gumbat<sup>165</sup> Site (Manglawar) (Kolam Khwar valley) (Figures 42-44)**

Tucci 1958

About one and half mile in the south of Manglaor/Manglawar and 2-3 kilometers from Manglaor bridge, G. Tucci discovered remains of a big stupa surrounded by walls and traces of other ruins of religious buildings during his explorations of the Swat region in 1955 and 1956.

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<sup>163</sup> Stein mentioned it with the name of Zundwāla (Stein 1930:52).

<sup>164</sup> Hippocampus (plural Hippocampi) is a mythological sea creature with the forelegs of a horse and the tail of a fish.

<sup>165</sup> This Gumbat site in Kolam Khwar valley should not be confused with the Gumbat site in Kandak valley excavated by Barger and Wright in 1938.



The present researcher visited the site and was told by Ayub Khan and Yaqub Khan (owners of the site) that the stupa (locally known as gumbat) was destroyed about 20 years ago to avail land for cultivation,<sup>166</sup> however, Bakht Jahan (a goldsmith of Manglawar) told the present researcher that the Gumbat was destroyed in the hunt of antiquities. The Gumbat site is so rich in archaeological remains that, even today, well preserved walls with diaper masonry are present everywhere in the fields and traces of a religious settlement are still visible all along the fields even today. The owners of the site told the present researcher that they blasted a big boulder with images in the vicinity of the stupa in the fields. It is interesting to note that the building of the hujra has been built on the old walls/foundations of the archaeological remains and even one of the rooms, with a niche for statue still visible, has been in use for animals' shelter (ghojal) by the owner of the site. So far, in this study during the field work, the present researcher did not come across such a large, preserved and beautiful site. But the question arises that why the pioneering protagonists failed to explore/excavate such a rich and easy in access site. Were it the rival claims for locating Meng chie li, the ancient capital of Swat at Manglawar and Mingawara which left a large site at the mercy of illegal diggers.

### **31. Guratai (Manglawar, Kolam Khwar valley), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014.

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<sup>166</sup> The owners of the site shared interesting beliefs and ideas popular among the folk about the archaeological sites and monuments. They said that someone told them that there is a golden swing with golden ropes in the centre of the gumbat (stupa). There is a golden baby in the swing along a golden cock. The present researcher think that such legendary/fabricated stories and myths about ancient monuments and archaeological sites led to the destruction of the stupa by the owners. Myths about the wealth dumped by heathens in stupas and monasteries are responsible for the destruction of archaeological sites on mass level in Malakand-Swat in particular and in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in general (Interview with Ayub Khan and Yaqub Khan, owners of Gumbat site at Manglawar).

Tucci visited some rock carvings near a hamlet of Gujars opposite Azgharai and in the vicinity of Guratai village. The images near Guratai have been carved on a huge block and Tucci found them in a damaged condition during his visit. In these images, Lokeśvara in *rājalīlāsana* pose, Buddha in *padmāsana* pose and some donors were depicted. The presence of Buddhist rock carvings in the area attests that the locality had been remained a Buddhist religious centre in the past. The present researcher visited the area and found the rock images in damaged condition and even difficult to be identified.

### **32. Gidakot (Manglawar, Kolam Khwar valley), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Gidakot site is located in Manglawar area on the left side of the river. Carvings were discovered by Tucci during his preliminary survey of the area.

### **33. Banjot (Manglawar, Kolam Khwar valley), Swat (Figures 45-47)**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014; Faccena *et al* 1993.

Banjot is a small hamlet of Gujars on the confluence of Kolam Khwar and Landay Khwar at a distance of about 5 km from the village of Manglawar. Aurel Stein visited Banjot before leaving for Charbagh and observed ruins of a stupa in dilapidated condition about one and a half mile away from Manglawar (Stein 1930: 51). G. Tucci also visited Banjot area during his exploration of the region and discovered an archaeological site and a rock carving representing Maitreya on the right bank of Kolam Khwar.

The present researcher visited the site but found no traces of archaeological remains on the right bank of Kolam Khwar. However, in the west of Banjot bridge about 500 feet on left bank of Landay Khwar, the present researcher discovered a huge but damaged

boulder (locally known as But-gatta بت گتہ meaning the rock of the statue) in the west of Banjot bridge at a distance of 500 feet on the left bank of Landay Khwar. This damaged boulder has three images facing east with Bodhisattva in *rājalīlāsana* pose flanked by standing figures on both sides. A local resident apprised the present researcher that half of the boulder has been exploded during road construction.

#### **Divanbut/Divan-bat دیوان بت / دیوان بٹ (Kolam Khwar valley), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Divanbut (popularly called as Divan-bat دیوان بت / دیوان بٹ) is located along the route to Chakesar and Buner. Tucci surveyed the area in 1955 and recorded some rock carvings at Divan-bat.

#### **34. Butkara (Jambil valley, Babuzai), Swat (Figure 48)**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Faccenna 1962, 1980-1981; Rahman 1990, 1991, 1993a Callieri 2005c; Filigenzi 2014.

Butkara site is located opposite the village of Panr near the city of Mingawara. Stein visited the famous site of Butkara in 1926 and mentioned a stupa but in dilapidated condition under the constant threat of antiquities hunters. G.Tucci also paid a visit to the site of Bukara during his seminal survey of Swat valley in 1955. He also mentioned the remains of the stupas and endorsed the views of A. Stein regarding the future of the site (Stein 1930: 43, Tucci 1958: 288). Tucci is of the opinion that Butkara is the T'a lo monastery of Sòng Yùn. Butkara was the largest and richest monastery of the region where the king assembled monks from all part of the country. This monastery housed six thousand gilded statues (Tucci 1958: 288).

### **35. Loebānr (Jambil valley), Swat**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Faccenna and Spagnesi 2014.

Jāmbīl valley is dotted with ruins and rock carvings especially the left side of the Jāmbīl River. The Loebānr village is situated about 5 km. in the south-east of Mingawara. These sites have been mentioned by Stein. Stein has mentioned a stupa at Loebānr built with huge stones. G. Tucci also paid a visit to these important sites during his reconnaissance of the region and Italian archaeological mission excavated ancient graveyards in this area (Stacul 1976: 13).

### **36. Arap Khan-china (Shararai) (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat (Figures 49-54)**

Stein 1930: figs. 30, 38; Tucci 1958; Sardar 2005; Faccenna and Spagnesi 2014; Filigenzi 2014.

Sir Aurel Stein visited the Shararai site in 1926 and again documented by Tucci in 1955 and mentioned important Buddhist ruins. Shararai remained an extensive Buddhist religious settlement in antiquity as Stein mentions six<sup>167</sup> stupas spreading over an area of 200 yards from east to west and some 170 yards across, a perennial spring and rock carvings. Stupas have been destroyed fully except two with preserved masonry of the dome. The Rock carvings are depicting Buddha on Siṃhāsana and two Bodhisattvas standing on a lotus. One of the Bodhisattvas is Avlokiteśvara. Stein found all the monuments of Shararai in damaged position while Tucci termed one of the rock carvings the most interesting one in the country (Stein 1930: 45-46; Tucci 1958: 310).

### **37. Kukarai (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014.

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<sup>167</sup> Stein speaks of six stupas in 1926 while these reduced to five when Tucci visited the area in 1950s (Stein 1930:45, Tucci 1958:310).

In Kukarai village the image of Lokeśvara has been used as support to a small bridge on a streamlet running through the village. Tucci also observed a fine keystone brought from the village of Galikodherai.

### **38. Galiko-dherai (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Galiko-dherai site is a huge mound located about one kilometer in the east of Kukarai village. The ruins of a stupa still existed on the top of the mound when Tucci visited the area. Tucci brought to the museum a stele with an image of standing bodhisattva from the locality. He also observed remains of the castle of Galik on the top of a hillock.

### **39. Jambil (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014.

Tucci observed three damaged images of Bodhisattva (Lokeśvara?) on a rock near the village of Jambil during his reconnaissance of the region in 1956.

### **40. Arabut (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958:fig. 20-21; Filigenzi 2014.

According to G. Tucci, the archaeological site named as Arabut is located on the left side of the Jambil (Tucci's Jhambil) River at a distance of one and half mile gentle climbing. Two images of Lokeśvara on a rock were observed by Tucci in the locality. G. Tucci also observed traces of some ancient buildings and stele with images of Buddha in this locality. The depiction of Buddhist images on the stelae has been described by G. Tucci in these words;

On the stele a very fine image of a standing Buddha had been engraved; I gave orders that it should not be damaged and then asked the Wali Saheb to have the stele removed to the godown of our quarters where we collect our findings which in due time will be shown in the Swat Museum. The locality had certainly had great religious importance as we can judge from the many rock carvings or stelae which abound all over the place. One of stelae represents a Buddha in *padmāsana* between two standing Bodhisattvas with *mukūṭa*. Two others represent two standing Bodhisattvas: the right arm stretched along the side, with the palm of the hand open towards the spectator in *varadamudrá*; in their left hand they hold a kind of sceptre not clearly discernable; such images have been found in large quantities and rival in number those of Lokeśvara (Tucci 1958: 311).

#### **41. Shang-lai/Baghderai (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958 figs. 22-23.

Shanglai site is located in the locality of Arabut. On this archaeological site, Tucci observed various ruins including remains of walls and four stelae lying in the fields. The subject of these stelae was the depiction of Bodhisattvas in sitting (on his throne) and standing positions, stupa and some effaced carvings under the throne. Bodhisattva Lokeśvara was given dominant representation on these stelae. On one of the stelae, Vajrapāṇi with upright double vajra in his left hand has also been depicted, in sitting position.

#### **42. Remains between Kukarai and Dangram (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958: fig. 24; Faccenna and Spegnesi 2014; Filigenzi 2014.

Near a streamlet which separates Kukarai territory from Dangram, remains of a stupa is there on the right bank of the streamlet. At a distance of 2 km from Kukarai, on the way to Dangram, Tucci observed beautiful rock carvings depicting the images of Buddha or

Bodhisattva including an image of Lokeśvara, to his left a Buddha or Bodhisattva with *mukuta* on a *siṃhāsana* throne and to the right again Lokeśvara. In the same locality, a small image of the Buddha has also been depicted in *dhyānamudrā* on the lotus of Lokeśvara. So the area between Kukarai and Dangram is dotted with stele and rock carvings with images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in different poses. Mention has been made by G. Tucci of the traces of a mound, two much damaged stelae lying on the ground and two other stelae representing two standing Bodhisattva in that locality near the village of Dangram.

#### **43. Barama (Jambil, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Faccenna 1964-1965

On the right-hand side of the Jāmbīl valley is located the important site of Barama (Tucci's Badama) at a distance of half a mile in the east of Mingawara and about half a mile in the north of Pan/Panr. This site is bounded by the peripheral quarter of Mingawara i.e. Haji Baba and Panr. Tucci observed remains of a completely damaged stupa and a sculpture of Buddha between two bodhisattvas and a Lokeśvara on a rock in the locality of Barama. At a little distance in the same locality, Tucci observed extensive ruins of a stupa covered with plaster or stuccos, traces of a *vihāra* and a big water tank. He is of the opinion that Barama House has been built on the ruins of the Buddhist *vihāra*. He also reported clandestine excavation at the stupa site by antiquities hunters.

#### **44. Prang-tangei (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958

The Prang-tangei (locally written as Prang-tangay) site is located on the left bank of river Ilam and extends along the North-East slope of the mountain which joins Rajgira. G. Tucci visited this site during his seminal survey of the region and recorded two stupas in a dilapidated condition because local people used the site as quarry for building materials up to recent times. He also observed ruins of a *vihāra* near the first stupa and mentioned two springs with considerable flow of water but less than the previous times.

#### **45. Guligram (Top-dara) (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958

At Guligram site, Tucci recorded remains of a big stupa named Topdara (evidently Top from stupa), was based on a large plinth. He speaks of a cool spring in the vicinity of the stupa where people used to gather in summer. During Tucci visit, the stupa had been demolished and was used as a limekiln. He also mentioned another stupa or shrine as indicated by the heap of stone at a distance of few yards. The imposing remains of buildings of an extensive settlement on the top of the steep slopes which offered a natural defense against any adventurer had been mentioned by Tucci as under:

On the top of the surrounding cliffs well-preserved ruins are visible: the settlement was extensive, the buildings on top of the steep slopes of the mountain could easily be turned into fortresses in case of war, taking advantage of their strong position; the inhabitants could also feel reassured looking from their dwellings at the imposing wall of Raj-Gira castle dominating from the S. W. this narrow valley (Tucci 1958: 312-313).

#### **46. Shandala (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958: figs. 7-8; Filigenzi 2014.



Shandala is located near Guligram in Saidu valley. Remains of a stupa and stelae have been discovered at this site by Tucci during his surveys in 1955 and 1956. The depiction on the Shandala stelae and representation of Kushana kings on coins has been described by Tucci as under:

The image in barbaric dress which to Stein seemed to represent Uttarasena, because he believed the stupa in the proximity of Ghalegai to be the one referred to by Hsüan tsang as being built by that king, presents some difficulties of interpretation. First of all, as we shall see this identification of the stūpa with that of Uttarasena is very uncertain. Moreover the image is not isolated. We find it again at Kota and at Shandala in a side valley of the Ilam river. The image bears a great similarity to those of the Kuṣ āṇa kings in the Kuṣ āṇa coins and the famous image of Kaniṣ ka of Mathurā. We are here confronted with a group of four personages surrounding a major figure as it reappears in the usual arrangement of Mahāyānic cycles: a central deity with his four acolytes on the four sides. In Ghalegai he has the *prabhāmaṇḍala* around his head. In the stele of Shandala the sword on the left side can be seen. This image may represent either the local deity with his attendants or a king of the Kuṣ āṇa period with his retinue. Since the *prabhāmaṇḍala* appears in the coins of Huviṣ ka and disappears with Hormizd... the image, if it represents a king, should be dated accordingly. It must be added that such a figure 8 appears not only on the coins but also in the *graffito* of Kalatse of Vima Kadphises (Tucci 1958: 294-295).

#### **47. Shināsī-gumbat or Shnaisha<sup>168</sup>(Saidu, Babuzai), Swat (Figure 55-57)**

<sup>168</sup> Stein mentioned the name of the site as *Shināse* or Shināsī-gumbat while Tucci as Shnaisha and Taddei as *Shnaisha* i.e. Šneša (Stein 1929 [repr. 2003]: 65, 1930: 43; Tucci 1958: 313; Taddei 1998: 171). However, Abdur Rahman of the Peshawar University is of the opinion that it is a composite Pashto word (Shnai and Sha). Shnai is the name of a Chinar like tree, which grows very tall with sweet fruit. The word sha is a Pashto suffix in place names such as Lwarsha i.e. elevated spot or place and a dry patch of land between two streams. He mentions many place names in Bajaur such as Tutsha means the place of the Tut

Stein 1929/2003, 1930: fig. 34; Tucci 1958; Qamar & Ashraf Khan 1991; Rahman 1993; Taddei 1998b

The Shnaisha site is located near the village of Kukrai and above the Guligram village in the bottom of Tarkhana Mountain on the left bank of Saidu Khwar, a tributary (along the jāmbīl khwar) of the Swat River about 6 km south of Saidu-Sharif. Stein visited Shnaisha site in 1926 and mentions a large and beautiful stupa in the fashion of Amluk-dara and Shankardar stupas. He also points to traces of a small stupa in the south-west and some monastic establishment in the west (Stein 1930:43; Taddei 1998: 171; Khan 2005: 139). G. Tucci encountered the stupa in the worse damage conditions during his survey of the region. He recovered two fragments from this site, one of them representing the adoration of Triratna placed on a pillar. Tucci also speaks of the potsherds, scattered from the village of Batora up to the stupa and an image of Lokeśvara with standing Bodhisattva on his left on a rock near the stupa (Tucci 1958: 313; Taddei 1998: 171). The present researcher was unable to locate the rock carving mentioned by G. Tucci and found the stupa in the worst conditions than the description made by G. Tucci of the monument.

#### **48. Kukrai (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat (Figures 58-60)**

Tucci 1958; Feligenzi in press; Badshah Sardar 2005; Filigenzi 2014.

Kukrai site is located at the junction of three roads from Saidu, Salampur and Marghuzar.

A. Stein visited this site in his survey of 1926. G. Tucci also recorded the carvings of Kukrai in his 1958 report. A. Stein speaks about a spring under chinar trees and two groups of rock carvings. These rock-carved reliefs represent images of seated Bodhisattvas, a female figure with both hands down and an effaced standing figure.

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tree. Thus the word Shnaisha would mean the place of the Shnai tree. Shnai tree was a prominent landmark of the area and well attested by the old people (Rahman 1993: 11). Maurizio Taddei also agrees with A. Rahman for the name of the site (Taddei 1978: 171).

While Tucci found these rock carvings almost in effaced conditions, presaged some more carvings in the valley and a religious settlement in the locality as indicated by the presence of large ruins in Gandharan style masonry, however, it has been occupied by the tillers of the poor hamlet.

The present researcher visited the site and found the carvings in damaged condition with a huge heap of stones in front of them which indicates the stoning of these images. This researcher was informed by the local people that firing at these images is a regular feature of festivities and wedding ceremonies.

#### **49. Salampur (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014.

G. Tucci

visited the locality of Salampur during his seminal survey of Swat valley in 1955. He observed archaeological remains as is clear from the great quantity of potsherds in the village of Salampur and its proximity.

#### **50. Balan (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014.

Balan site is located about half a mile in the east of Salampur village. A number of rock carvings representing Lokeśvara were discovered by Tucci during his survey of the area.

#### **51. Manichinar (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958: fig. 26; Filigenzi 2014.

Manichinar site is located in the proximity of Salampur village. G. Tucci discovered an interesting and unique image on a stele during his reconnaissance of the area. He describes the stele in these words; ‘a stele representing a standing figure with four arms is lying on the other bank of the same torrent, in the middle of a maize field. Some symbols are visible: right upper arm *triśula*, left upper arm *ḍamaru*, left fore-arm *kamaṇḍ alu*: it certainly represents Śiva’. Tucci says that these hillocks at the bottom of the high mountain were thickly populated in antiquity as attested by the traces of ruins and great abundance of scattered potsherds.

### **52. Meragai (Saidu, Babuzai), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Filigenzi 2014.

Meragai site is situated on a hillock on the right bank of river Ilam at a distance of one kilometer before reaching Marghuzar. This is an important archaeological site with a beautiful image of Padmapāṇi in rājalīlāsana. Opposite to this site on the other side of River Ilam, huge remains of settlement were found by Tucci attested by large quantity of potsherds which have been scattered on a hillock.

### **53. Jowar (Karakar Pass), Buner**

Tucci 1958

According to Tucci, Jowar got its name from a huge pool (جوهر/جوهڑ meaning pond/pool) with plenty of water but dried up and no traces are there nowadays. G. Tucci visited the site and observed potsherds in large quantity in fields around Jowar. These

archaeological remains prove that the site of Jowar had been remained an inhabitation place in the past.

#### **54. Babahapa (Karakar Pass), Buner**

Tucci 1958

A mile off from the famous site of Jowar is located the site of Babahapa (locally spoken and written as Baba-khpa) on a ridge of hill. This site remained a sacred place of Buddhist faith in antiquity as traces of a series of stupas and monastery were recorded in dilapidated position by G. Tucci during his reconnaissance. The great stupa was located on the top and has been destroyed by the local people by using it as quarry for building materials. At the time of Tucci's visit, only the basement of the great stupa survived the destruction. The monastery was located on a crest at a little distance. The original plan of the monastery is clear from the remains of well-preserved walls which show that there were six cells in total i.e. three on each side.

#### **55. Natmaira/ Natmera (Najigram, Barikot), Swat (Figure 61)**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Olivieri and Vidale 2006

The famous site of Natmaira (Natmira of Stein and Natmera of Tucci) is located one and half mile from Barikot. It has been visited by Stein during his survey of the region in 1926. Mention of the site has been also made G. Tucci in his 1958 report of the reconnaissance of the Swat valley. A. Stein recorded high walled terraces supporting cultivated fields while Tucci recorded traces of old and imposing buildings, numerous potsherds and high walls attest the existing of a stupa in antiquity. Tucci identified Natmera with the locality of Naitarī mentioned in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* immediately after

Dhanyapura<sup>169</sup>. According to *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, Natmera/ Naitarī is the place where the conversion of the potter took place.

### **56. Najigram (Barikot), Swat**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Olivieri and Vidale 2006

The valley of Najigram is located in the south of Barikot and got its name from the village of Najigram. The archaeological importance of the site is apparent from the fact that this site has been visited by A. Stein in 1926 followed by Barger and Wright expedition in 1938. Description has been also made by G. Tucci in his 'Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat'. Najigram site remained a Buddhist religious establishment and its remains scattered all over the hilly steep slope consist of terraces, remains of a big stupa, a street leading to a narrow gate with some preserved steps and a big water reservoir. All these establishments were constructed in diaper work of Gandhara style. A dried water spring was observed by Tucci which was supported by the local traditions. The importance of Najigram has described by G. Tucci as under:

That the Najigram settlements and stūpas were of considerable interest, is shown by a well-preserved casket in steatite which was found among their ruins, containing a small golden box with some relics, and also it seems a birch-tree leaflet which has since disappeared: according to what I was told the casket was given to the Wali Saheb (Tucci 1958: 317).

### **57. Sperki Gumbat (Barikot), Swat**

Tucci 1958; Olivieri and Vidale 2006

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<sup>169</sup> Dhanyapura has been identified with Dangram by Tucci (Tucci 1958: 316).

The site of Sperki Gumbat is located on the left bank of Najigram stream. Tucci visited this site and recorded an isolated stupa surrounded by many ruins. Kushana period potsherds are scattered all over the fields around the Sperki-gumbat site.

### **58. Jrando-dag/Masum-shaheed<sup>170</sup> (Najigram, Barikot), Swat (Figures 62-63)**

Stein 1930; Tucci 1958; Olivieri and Vidale 2006

Jrando-gumbat or Jrando-dag site is situated about half a mile above the Najigram village in a graveyard along the Najigram River. Stein visited this site in 1926 and observed remains of a small stupa, disturbed by the spade of antiquities hunters. In contrast to Stein's revealing of a small stupa in crumbling condition, Giuseppe Tucci has recorded an imposing stupa with a huge basement at this famous site in 'Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat'. G. Tucci's observation has been endorsed by L. M. Olivieri *et al* 2006 as "Inside the modern cemetery it is possible to identify the large walls of a monastery complex that are perfectly well conserved and a large *stūpa*. It may be identified as either Jrandu-gumbat or Jerando-dag" (Olivieri *et al* 2006: 100).

The present researcher visited the site and found the Buddhist religious establishment in dilapidated conditions. The researcher found the stupas especially some votive stupas at Jrando-dag (Massum Shaheed) under serious threat because the site has been encircled by Muslim graves which is apparent from the name of the site i.e. Masum Shaheed (meaning innocent martyr) graveyard.

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<sup>170</sup> The site got its name from the Pashto term '*jrandah*' meaning water-mill, so it means that the stupa of water-mill or "*dag*" an open space of the water-mill. Actually, the water-mills near the site are still there. "*Mashum*" again a Pashto term meaning a child/kid and "*shaheed*" though Arabic but localized meaning martyr, so the composite word *Mashum shaheed* means child/innocent martyr. As the Muslim graveyard has been established/made on the archaeological site of stupa and there is a shrine of a child so it got its name *shaheedshaheed*.

### **59. Aligram/ Aligrāma (Shah-dherai, Kabal) Swat**

Tucci 1958; Stacul and Tusa 1975, 1977; Stacul 1979a; Tusa 1981; Olivieri 1996

Aligram/Aligrāma site is located in Shah-dherai valley (the central part of Swat valley) at the foot of a ridge on the right bank of Swat River (about 20 km north of Barikot Ghwandai) where it is joined by the Deolai Khwar (stream). Ruins of a large fortified place, coins and bronze images are the antiquities of Aligrama site. The cultural sequence of the site has been traced as far back as 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.E. to the Mauryan period by the Italian archaeologists, carrying out their researches under the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, Pakistan.

### **60. Kotelai (Shah-dherai, Kabal) Swat**

Tucci 1958

The site of Kotelai (popularly known as Kotlai) is located in the south-west of Akhun Kalay upstream on the left bank of Kotelai stream. The area is barren but abounds in red ware type of potsherds of Kushana period and the locality was thickly populated as the remains are dispersed on a large area.

### **61. Tutan-bande (Shah-dherai, Kabal), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Going from Aligrāma to Galoch, one mile before Galoch comes the site of Tutan-bande (locally called Tutanu Bandai). At this site, Tucci was shown some Kushana coins and two iron arrow-heads and was informed that the village is built on the mound as potsherds were plentiful everywhere. He was told that natives have found large number



of glass and paste beads. Ruins are also scattered on the top of the adjacent hills. Manjahei and Pakka-dherai mounds yielded fragments of pottery and contains ruins.

## **62. Girban or Managosar (Shah-dherai, Kabal), Swat (Figure 64)**

Tucci 1958

Girban or Managosar site is located about 4 km (approximately one hour walking distance) from the village of Kala-kalay (Kalakhela of Tucci) in the foot of Manago-sar mount. During his survey, Tucci observed red ware fragments, scattered over a large area in great quantity and he also speaks about ruins of a stupa, located on an isolated peak on a distance of one km climb on a steep hill. A couple of days before Tucci's visit to Girban site, a fragment was discovered from the locality and presented to the Wali Saheb. The present researcher visited the site and found the site in a ramshackle position. During fieldwork the present researcher was informed by Shah Husain (a local villager) informed that an iron arrow and a statue have been recovered from the said site a couple of years back.

## **63. Arcot Qila/Arkōt Kili (Shah-dherai, Kabal) Swat (Figure 65)**

Tucci 1958, Tusa 1981

Arcot/Arkōt Qila (locally known as Qala-gai meaning small fort) site is located on a walking distance from Deolai bazaar on the right bank of Shah-dherai stream (Shah-dherai Khwar) in the valley of the same name on the right bank of Swat River. The site got its name from the fort built there on a huge mound. According to Tucci, archaeological remains and mounds are scattered up to Tutano-bandai. Tucci was shown

many coins; majority of which belonged to Kanishka, paste beads and a toilet disk in steatite. Tucci also excavated a grave at this site which yielded two small vases (Tusa 1981:104). The present researcher found the site under dense trees and shrubs with potsherds scattered everywhere on the whole site. Now the site is a private property of Faramosh Khan<sup>171</sup>.

#### **64. Jakot (Shah-dherai, Kabal), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Jakot is a small hamlet of Gujars on the top of a hill near Bar-bandai. It has also some ruins.

#### **65. Shakardara (Matta), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Shakardara site is located near the Swat River on the main route and it is built on the huge mound. In the village of Shakardara, walls of diaper masonry still exist. The present researcher was unable to find traces of ruins due to extension in residential area/construction. Nevertheless, on the information of the local people, the present researcher discovered a new site in Shaidala on a hillock (locally known as Halal-karay meaning cut off) at a distance of 3 km from Shakar-dara on the main road leading to Kabal.

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<sup>171</sup> A local elder told the present researcher that Arkōt Qila was sold to a contractor named Etbar Khan of Rang-mahala (Mingawara) by the Wali of Swat in 1960s on a token money of Rs 17000. Later on, this archaeological site was purchased on a nominal rate of Rs. 450000 by Bakht Zada of Sirsinai. Finally, a local person named Faramosh Khan became the owner of the site again with a meager amount of Rs. 750000 in 1990s, however, Tariq khan(son-in-law of Faramosh Khan), who is living in the new built house on the site/fort, told this researcher that it was procured on Rs. 20,00000.

### **66. Dang Arkot (Matta), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Being built on a mound, the Dang Arkot site is located in the Harnai Khwar valley. Coins and beads belonging to Kushana period were shown to Tucci from the nearby sites when he visited Dang Arkot site. Potsherds are found in great amount in the soil on this site.

### **67. Kuz and Bar Shor (Matta), Swat**

Tucci 1958

The sites of Kuz and Bar Shor (locally pronounced as Shawar) are located on the bottom of mountain, from where a pass leading to Dir. Detailed description of both these sites has been made by G. Tucci in his 1958 report. G. Tucci discovered a large fort at a distance of few miles before the post of Bar Shor and observed the remains of fortification on the top of the hill extending to the slopes above the village. Archaeological remains are scattered on the slope and top of the hill above the village. Remains of the fortification structure have mostly been covered with shrubs and hidden in the forest. Tucci also speaks of holes, dug out in the rocks and used for water storage on the same line as was in Odigram/Udegram.

### **68. Surai Tange (Baidara, Matta), Swat (Figures 66-68)**

Tucci 1958; Olivieri 2003.

Surai Tange (locally pronounced as Suray-tangay) site is located near the village of Baidara. This site has been visited by Stein in 1926 followed by G. Tucci during his explorations of the region in 1950s. According to Tucci, the Surai Tange site has almost been abandoned but a few hamlets of shepherds are still there. Stein reported a tiny spring under a large Chinar tree, a well in Gandharan masonry, potsherds in great amount and

traces of fortification, scattered along the slopes of hills on Surai Tange site. There is an opening of a corridor or tunnel in front of the spring. This opening was high enough to allow a man to walk in standing position and it goes very deep into mountains as Tucci was informed by the local people. Tucci says that access to the opening is difficult due to heaps of rubble. This site remained thickly populated as is clear from the huge amount of potsherd scattered in the valley and along the slopes of the hills. The fortification of the site has been described by Tucci in these words; ‘The fortified place of Surai Tange near Baidarra has been described by Stein. I must add that to my mind it is the strongest and largest fortification of Swat, after that of Udegram: the ruins run along the ridge of the mountain, and remains of buildings are found all along the slopes’ (Tucci 1958: 320-321). Suray-tangay site remained thickly populated in antiquity which is apparent from Tucci’s words “... that the place was populous is proved by the enormous quantity of potsherds scattered all over the valley and along the slopes of the hill.” The present researcher found the well and spring but out of use (Tucci 1958: 321).

#### **69. Meramai(Baidara, Matta), Swat**

Tucci 1958

Meramai is small hamlet located in the vicinity of *Bar* (upper) Durushkhela. It is about three miles in the west of Ashari village (Tucci) and about 5 kilometres from *Bar* (upper) Durushkhela on a metalled road (present researcher). According to Tucci, the ruins of Meramai site include walls in the diaper masonry, remains of a big stupa and a spring near these remains. But the present researcher found none of the above mentioned remains except dry spring.

#### **Sites’ Chart**

Note:

1. The list is organized on the basis of AMSV survey follows Olivieri, Vidale *et al* 2006 and Olivieri forthcoming.
2. Site name and its number on the list correspond with its number on the map.

| No. | Name                                | Year                 | Valley                       | Site        | Data                                   | Primary references  | AMSV      |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-------------|--|---|-----------|
| 1   | Barger and Wright                   | 1938                 | Lower Swat                   | Kulangai    | Ruins of fort                          | Barger and Wright 1941  | 1894-95/1 |
| 2   | Stein<br>Barger and Wright          | 1926<br>1938         | Swat<br>(Kandak valley)      | Kanjar-Kote | Ruins<br>sacred area<br>(hereafter sa) | Stein 1930<br>Barger and Wright 1941<br>Olivieri, Vidale <i>et al.</i> 2006 | 116       |
| 3   | Stein<br>Barger and Wright          | 1926<br>1938         | Swat<br>(Balo-kalay, Kandak) | Gumbat      | Sa                                     | Stein 1930<br>Barger and Wright 1941  | 139       |
| 4   | Stein<br>Barger and Wright<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1938<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Barikot)            | Amluk-dara  | Sa                                     | Stein 1930<br>Barger and Wright 1941<br>Tucci 1958                          | 314       |

| No. | Name              | Year | Valley          | Site     | Data | Primary references | AMSV        |
|-----|-------------------|------|-----------------|----------|------|--------------------|-------------|
| 5   | Barger and Wright | 1938 | Swat<br>(Kandak | Chinabar | Sa   | Barger and Wright  | 432,<br>433 |

| No. | Name                       | Year         | Valley                 | Site                             | Data                              | Primary references  | AMSV     |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|----------|
|     |                            |              | valley)                |                                  |                                   | 1941,<br>Olivieri,<br>Vidale <i>et al.</i> 2006                             |          |
| 6   | Barger and Wright          | 1938         | Swat (Kandak valley)   | Shaban                           | Sa                                | Barger and Wright 1941<br>Olivieri, Vidale <i>et al.</i> 2006               | —        |
| 7   | Stein<br>Barger and Wright | 1926<br>1938 | Swat (Najigram)        | Tokar dara (Tokar-Gumbat)        | Sa<br>rock carving (hereafter rc) | Stein 1930<br>Barger and Wright 1941<br>Olivieri, Vidale <i>et al.</i> 2006 | 201, 301 |
| 8   | Barger and Wright          | 1938         | Swat (Najigram valley) | Abarchin/<br>Abbas-aheb<br>China | Sa                                | Barger and Wright 1941<br>Olivieri, Vidale <i>et al.</i> 2006               | —        |

| No. | Name  | Year | Valley | Site    | Data | Primary references | AMSV |
|-----|-------|------|--------|---------|------|--------------------|------|
| 9   | Stein | 1926 | Swat   | Nawagai | Sa   | Stein 1930         | 385  |

|            |                         |              |                 |               |             |  |             |
|------------|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|--|-------------|
|            | Barger and Wright       | 1938         | (Karakar)       |               |             | Barger and Wright 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006            |             |
| 10         | Stein Barger and Wright | 1926<br>1938 | Swat (Barikot)  | Gumbatuna     | Sa          | Stein 1930 Barger and Wright 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006 | 1926/61     |
| 11         | Stein Barger and Wright | 1926<br>1938 | Swat (Barikot)  | Parrai        | ruins       | Stein 1930 Barger and Wright 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006 | 1894-5/16   |
| 12         | Stein Barger and Wright | 1926<br>1938 | Swat (Charbagh) | Jampur-dherai | Sa<br>rc    | Stein 1930 Barger and Wright 1941 Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006 | 1926/69     |
| <b>No.</b> | <b>Name</b>             | <b>Year</b>  | <b>Valley</b>   | <b>Site</b>   | <b>Data</b> | <b>Primary references</b>                                      | <b>AMSV</b> |
| 13         | Tucci                   | 1956         | Swat            | Katelai A, B  | Sa          | Tucci 1958   | —           |

|    |  |                              |                       |                       |  |  |          |
|----|--|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|--|----------|
|    |  |                              | (Mingawara)           |                       |  |  |          |
| 14 | Tucci  | 1956                         | Swat<br>(Mingawara)   | Kambar/<br>Qambar     | Sa   | Tucci 1958   | —        |
| 15 | Deane<br><br>Stein<br><br>Tucci                | 1894-<br>5<br>1926<br>1956   | Swat<br>(Babuzai)     | Odigram/<br>Udegram   | Sa<br>Inscriptions<br>(hereafter<br>inscr.)<br>fort<br>ruins | Deane<br>1896<br>Stein 1926<br>Tucci 1958                | 035      |
| 16 | Stein<br><br>Tucci                             | 1926<br><br>1956             | Swat<br>(Babuzai)     | Gogdara               | ruins<br>sa<br>rc  | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958                                 | —        |
| 17 | Tucci  | 1956                         | Swat<br>(Babuzai)     | Ghalegai              | Rc   | Tucci 1958   | 1894-5/6 |
| 18 | Stein<br><br>Tucci<br><br>Filligenzi           | 1926<br><br>1958<br>2014     | Swat<br>(Kota valley) | Nawekale              | Rc<br>rui<br>Sa  | Stein 1930<br>Tucci<br>1958<br>Filligenzi<br>2014        | —        |
| 19 | Tucci  | 1956                         | Swat<br>(Babuzai)     | Tindo-dag             | rc   | Tucci 1958   | 1894-5/8 |
| 20 | Stein<br><br>Barger and<br>Wright<br><br>Tucci | 1926<br><br>1938<br><br>1956 | Swat<br>(Barikot)     | Bīr-koṭ -<br>ghuṇḍ ai | ruins<br>sa<br>tower houses                                  | Stein 1930<br>Barger and<br>Wright<br>1941<br>Tucci 1958 | 001c-d   |
| 21 | Tucci  | 1956                         | Swat<br>(Barikot)     | Barikot               | graves   | Tucci 1961<br>Tusa 1981                                  | —        |
| 22 | Deane<br><br>Stein                             | 1894-<br>5<br>1926           | Swat<br>(Kalam)       | Tirat                 | inscrs.<br>rc<br>sa  | Deane<br>1896<br>Stein 1930                              | 1894-5/9 |



|    |                |              |                                    |                                      |                      |   |                  |
|----|----------------|--------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---|------------------|
|    | Tucci          | 1956         |                                    |                                      |                      | Tucci 1958  |                  |
| 23 | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Kalam)                    | Jare<br>(Fateh-pur)                  | Rc                   | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958                                    | 1894-5/10<br>034 |
| 24 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Charbagh)                 | Kuchla                               | ruins                | Tucci 1958  | 1894-5/12        |
| 25 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Charbagh)                 | Langra                               | Rc                   | Tucci 1958  | 027              |
| 26 | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat (Ugad)                        | Shakhorai                            | 2 inscr.<br>rc<br>sa | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958<br>Filigenzi &<br>Olivieri<br>2011 | 030              |
| 27 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat(Ugad)                         | Sherna                               | ruins                | Tucci 1958  | 1894-<br>5/118   |
| 28 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat(Ugad)                         | Shaldara                             | sa<br>rc<br>ruins    | Tucci 1958<br>Filigenzi &<br>Olivieri<br>2011               | 035              |
| 29 | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Mangwaltha<br>n,Charbagh) | Bagolai or<br>Baludin or<br>Zendalai | sa<br>Ruins<br>rc    | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958                                    | 033              |
| 30 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Ugad,Mangla<br>war)       | Gumbat near<br>Manglawar             | Sa<br>rc             | Tucci 1958  |                  |
| 31 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Ugad,Mangla<br>war)       | Guratai                              | Rc<br>sa             | Tucci 1958  | 1894-5/19        |

| No. | Name | Year | Valley | Site | Data | Primary references | AMSV |
|-----|------|------|--------|------|------|--------------------|------|
|-----|------|------|--------|------|------|--------------------|------|

| No. | Name           | Year         | Valley                    | Site                    | Data                     | Primary references                                       | AMSV             |
|-----|----------------|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--|------------------|
| 32  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Ugad, Manglawar) | Gidakot                 | rc                       | Tucci 1958   | 1894-5/20        |
| 33  | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Ugad, Manglawar) | Banjot                  | sa<br>rc                 | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958                                 | 1894-5/21<br>029 |
| 34  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Ugad, Manglawar) | Divanbut                | rc.                      | Tucci 1958   | —                |
| 35  | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Jambil)          | Butkara                 | sa                       | Stein 1930<br>Filigenzi in press                         | 013              |
| 36  | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Jambil)          | Loebānr                 | ruins<br>Sa<br>graveyard | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958                                 | —                |
| 37  | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Jambil)          | Arap Khan<br>(Shararai) | sa<br>rc<br>ruins        | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958<br>Filigenzi & Olivieri<br>2011 | 014<br>350, 396  |
| 38  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Jambil)          | Kukarai                 | rc<br>sa                 | Tucci 1958   | 393              |
| 39  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Jāmbīl)          | Galiko-dherai           | sa<br>ruins of<br>castle | Tucci 1958<br>Olivieri,<br>Vidale <i>et al.</i> 2006     | 1894-5/22        |
| 41  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Jāmbīl)          | Arabut                  | ruins<br>sa.<br>rc       | Tucci 1958   | —                |

| No. | Name                     | Year                 | Valley              | Site   | Data            | Primary references   | AMSV    |
|-----|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--|-----------------|--|---------|
| 42  | Tucci                    | 1956                 | Swat<br>(Jāmbīl)    | Shanglai<br>(Baghderai)                      | rc<br>ruins     | Tucci 1956   | 1895/24 |
| 43  | Tucci                    | 1956                 | Swat<br>(Jāmbīl)    | Remains<br>between<br>Kukarai and<br>Dangram | rc.             | Tucci 1958   | —       |
| 44  | Tucci                    | 1956                 | Swat<br>(Mingawara) | Barama<br>(Tucci's<br>Badama?)               | rc.             | Tucci 1958   | 1895/25 |
| 45  | Tucci                    | 1956                 | Swat<br>(Saidu)     | Prang Tangai                                 | 2 springs<br>sa | Tucci 1958   |         |
| 46  | Tucci                    | 1956                 | Swat<br>(Saidu)     | Top-dara                                     | sa<br>1 spring  | Tucci 1958   |         |
| 47  | Tucci                    | 1956                 | Swat<br>(Saidu)     | Shaldara                                     | 1 inscr.        | Tucci 1958   | 1895/27 |
| 48  | Stein<br>Tucci<br>Rahman | 1926<br>1956<br>1993 | Swat<br>(Saidu)     | Shināsī-<br>gumbat/<br>Shnaisha/<br>Shnaisha | sa<br>rc        | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958<br>Rahman<br>1993<br>Filigenzi<br>and<br>Olivieri<br>2011 | 024     |

| No. | Name | Year | Valley | Site | Data | Primary | AMSV |
|-----|------|------|--------|------|------|---------|------|
|-----|------|------|--------|------|------|---------|------|

|    |                |              |                                |                      |  | references   |                     |
|----|----------------|--------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|--|--|---------------------|
| 49 | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Saidu)                | Kukrai               | 1 spring<br>rc.                                  | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958<br>Filigenzi<br>and<br>Olivieri<br>2011 | 025                 |
| 50 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Saidu)                | Salampur             | Sa   | Tucci 1958   |                     |
| 51 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat (Saidu)                   | Balan                | rc.  | Tucci 1958   |                     |
| 52 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Saidu)                | Manichinar           | ruins, rc<br>(Śiva image)                        | Tucci 1958   |                     |
| 53 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Saidu)                | Meragai              | ruins<br>rc                                      | Tucci 1958   |                     |
| 54 | Tucci          | 1956         | Buner<br>(Karkar)              | Jowar                | ruins  | Tucci 1958   | 1895/29             |
| 55 | Tucci          | 1956         | Buner<br>(Karkar)              | Babahpa              | sa.  | Tucci 1958   |                     |
| 56 | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1958 | Swat<br>(Najigram-<br>Barikot) | Natmera/<br>Natmaira | sa   | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958   | 1895/30<br>304, 305 |
| 57 | Stein<br>Tucii | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Najigram)             | Najigram             | sa<br>1water<br>reservoir<br>1dried up<br>spring | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958   | 1895/31<br>203      |
| 58 | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Najigram)             | Sperki-<br>Gumbat    | sa   | Tucci 1958   |                     |

| No. | Name           | Year         | Valley                                     | Site                            | Data                                    | Primary references                                 | AMSV                        |
|-----|----------------|--------------|--|---------------------------------|---|--|-----------------------------|
| 59  | Stein<br>Tucci | 1926<br>1956 | Swat<br>(Najigram)                         | Jrando-<br>dag/Masum<br>Shahid) | sa                                      | Stein 1930<br>Tucci 1958                           | —                           |
| 60  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Shah-dherai)                      | Aligram/Alig<br>rama            | ruins of<br>fortification               | Tucci 1958   | 1896/32                     |
| 61  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Shah-dherai)                      | Kotelai                         | Ruins                                   | Tucci 1958   | 1896/33                     |
| 62  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Shah-dherai)                      | Tutan Bande                     | ruins/mound                             | Tucci 1958   | 1896/34                     |
| 63  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Shah-dherai)                      | Girban/<br>Managosar            | ruins<br>sa                             | Tucci 1958   | 1896/35                     |
| 64  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Shah-dherai)                      | Arcot Qila                      | ruines (Fort )<br>mounds                | Tucci 1958<br>Filigenzi<br>and<br>Olivieri<br>2011 | 041, 042                    |
| 65  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Shah-dherai)                      | Jakot                           | ruins                                   | Tucci 1958   | 1896/36                     |
| 66  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat                                       | Shakardara                      | ruins                                   | Tucci 1958   | 1896/37                     |
| 67  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Harnai<br>Khwar valley,<br>Matta) | Dang Arkot                      | Coins<br>Beads<br>potsherds             | Tucci 1958   | 1896/38                     |
| 68  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Matta)                            | Kuz and Bar<br>Shor             | ruins<br>(fortification)                | Tucci 1958   | 1896/39                     |
| 69  | Tucci          |              | Swat<br>(Bai-dara,<br>Matta)               | Surai-Tange                     | ruins<br>1 spring<br>1 well<br>1 tunnel | Tucci 1958   | 1896/40<br>1926/73<br>(72?) |
| 70  | Tucci          | 1956         | Swat<br>(Bai-dara,<br>Matta)               | Meramai                         | sa<br>ruins<br>1 spring                 | Tucci 1958   |                             |

## Chapter 5

### Archaeology in Context: Culture, Politics and Science

This chapter deals with the cultural, political and scientific developments in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which had deep impacts on the discipline and activity of archaeology in the subcontinent. It divides the period into three ages which are named here as Marshall's Age, Intermediate Age and Wheeler Age with a focus of the locale of this study.

#### 5.1 Marshall's Age

In 1901, the British Government of India re-organized the ASI with John Hubert Marshall as Director-General. He initiated excavation, conservations and new annual reports. He was instrumental behind the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 and issued *Conservation Manual* in 1923. Marshall recruited Indians as member of the Archaeological Survey of India staff for the first time. Aurel Stein's explorations of Central Asia were materialized during Marshall's Tenure in office (Stiebing 1993: 215; Pruthi 2004: 44; Ray 2008: 89). E. Dennison Ross has beautifully described Marshall's arrival on Indian archaeological scene in these words; "By a happy chance he had in his Director-General of Archaeology, Sir John Marshall, a scholar and an enthusiast, who was exactly the right man in the right place, who fortunately came to India at the right time" (Ross 1925: 378)

John Marshall devoted 22 years only to the exploration of Taxila out of his 26 years of archaeological research and management in India. He pointed out his long association

with that archaeologically and culturally rich locality as “there can be few archaeologists now living, who have devoted as many years to the excavation of a single site as I have devoted to Taxila...the manifold discoveries made in the course of those twenty-two years have thrown a flood of light on the political and religious history of the North-West...between 500B.C. and A. D. 500” (Das 1959: 1073). During his research, started in March, 1913, Marshall unearthed three ancient cities and a dozen of Buddhist establishments within an area of 25 square miles. The city of Bhir mound, the Indo-Greek city of Sirkap and the Kushana city of Sirsukh, were unearthed during Marshall’s excavations in Taxila region. According to Marshall, these centres were inhabited from 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE to 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. According to Marshall, the city of Bhir Mound was founded in 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE followed by the Indo-Greeks’ city of Sirkap with a grid planning in 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Sirkap was an organized city with grid planning of Indo-Greeks. Sirkap was abandoned by the Kushana rulers who built the new city of Sirsukh in the north-northeast at a distance of 2 km in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Final destruction was brought by the White Huns in the third quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. Apart from city-sites, a number of Buddhist shrines such as Dharmarajika, Julian, Kalawan and Mohra Murado, were also dug out by John Marshall in the vicinity of Taxila which yielded stone and stucco sculptures. Marshall opined that there were two schools of art in Gandhara. The first school flourished about 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and the second school flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The character of art and material used by the artist distinguished them from each other. Artists of the first school used stone while the later preferred lime-stucco. All these archaeological activities initiated by John Marshall in 1913 and reached

its culmination on 19<sup>th</sup> of March, 1934<sup>172</sup> when finally Marshall left India for London (Chakrabarti 2001:132-134; Pruthi 2004: 45-46; Ray 2008: 201-203).

Though the discovery of the Indus Civilization was announced in 1924 by Sir John Marshall, nevertheless, the antiquarian research of the Indus valley can be traced back to the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century. So Charles Mason (his actual name was James Lewis) was the first British foreigner who mentioned the remains of Harappa. During his travel in the western borderlands of British India (especially in Punjab) in the 1820s and 1830s, he mentioned Harappa remains as ruinous castle of bricks. He was followed by Alexander Burns who also visited Harappa in 1821 and estimated its circumference as vast as three miles. These two pioneers were followed by the first Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, Alexander Cunningham in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following the footsteps of Mason and Burns, Alexander Cunningham made three excursions to Harappa by visiting Harappa twice in 1850s while his third trip was materialized in 1873. He discovered a seal at Harappa with an engraved bull without hump. John Marshall followed these predecessors during his research on Indus sites. The antiquities of the Indus sites had already been mentioned by Mason, Burns and Cunningham before the advent of John Marshall as Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India in 1902. Marshall not only followed these British pioneers but he had already studied the writing of an Italian, Luigi Pio Tessitori about Kalibangan, an important site of the Indus valley

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<sup>172</sup> John Marshall relinquished his post as Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India on 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1928. He was placed on special duty till 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1931 to complete ongoing exploration and excavation in Taxila and Indus Sites. In March 1931, once again his job was extended to 15 March 1934 (Roy 1961: 110).



Civilization (Possehl 2002: 10; Avari 2007: 40-41; McIntosh 2008: 28; Ray 2008: 137-139; Javenillo 2010: 67).

John Marshall ordered systematic excavations at Harappa as early as 1914 but delayed up to 1920 due to World War I. In 1920, Daya Ram Sahni started excavation at Harappa and added three more seals to the one found by Cunningham in 1873 (Avari 2007: 41). John Marshall waited until 1924 and announced the discovery of Indus Civilization<sup>173</sup>, as old as Mesopotamia at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, India in his article “First Light of a Long Forgotten Civilization: New Discoveries of an Unknown Pre-historic Past in India” published in the “*Illustrated London News*”, September 20, 1924<sup>174</sup> (Barton 1926-1927: 81, 89; Roy 1961: 107; Manian 1998: 23; Trautmann 2006: 74; Murray 2007: 352; McIntosh 2008: 29-30; Ray 2008: 18-19, 140). The discovery came as surprise in 1922-1923 when R. D. Banerjee was excavating a Buddhist site at Mohenjo-daro<sup>175</sup> in Sind. This achievement pushed back Indian antiquities from Buddhist epoch to Pre-history<sup>176</sup>. The excavations were carried out by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and Madhu Sarup

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<sup>173</sup> In his article in the *Illustrated London News* on 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1924, Marshall compared his breakthrough with the discovery of Mycenaean and Tyrians in Greece by Schliemann. Later on, other classical archaeologists (e.g. A. H. Sayce, a well-known Assyriologist at Oxford University) in the same *Illustrated London News* compared the discovery in Indus Valley (Harappa and Mohenjo-daro) with Assyrian and Sumerian finds and named it as Indo-Sumerian Civilization due to close affinities between the finds of the two regions (Roy 1961: 107-108; Guha-Thakurta 2004: 331; Pruthi 2004: 46).

<sup>174</sup> In the same year i.e. 1924, a well-known European archaeologist, Sir Leonard Woolley announced the discovery of Sumerian Civilization at Ur. The same Sir Leonard Woolley was hired by the Indian Government of Lord Linlithgow to investigate the problems in Indian archaeology in 1939 (Murray 2007: 353-354).

<sup>175</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar visited Mohenjo-daro in 1911 and declared it a town just 200 years old on the basis of local traditions and structure of the bricks used in the buildings (Avari 2007: 41).

<sup>176</sup> The discovery of Harappan Culture or Indus Civilization in the early 1920s at once pushed back Indian cultural history as far back as 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE (Gosh 1989: xiii).

Vats at Harappa and Rakhal Das Banerjee and E.J.H. Mackay at Mohenjo-Daro under the supervision of Sir John Marshall. Marshall and his committed assistants kept continue excavations and valuable discoveries were made right from 1920-1927. Though Marshall retired from the Archaeological Survey of India on 6<sup>th</sup> of September 1928 but he was asked to continue supervision and to direct operations at Taxila and explorations in Indus Civilization sites. He was hired on special duty up to 19<sup>th</sup> of March 1931 and on the termination of his first term, his services were once again extended till 15<sup>th</sup> of March 1934. Finally he left India for England in 1934 (Roy 1961: 110; Basham 1954: 8; Guha-Thakurta 2004: 146; Avari 2007: 42; Chandra 2007: 22; Lalrinawama 2007: 38; Murray 2007: 352; Haughton 2008: 210; Ray 2008: 139-140; Singh 2008: 5). The discovery of the Indus Civilization animated Marshall to the extent that he remarked about the success of Indian archaeologists, led by him as under:

At a single bound we have taken back our knowledge of Indian civilization some 3000 years earlier and have established the fact that in the third millennium before Christ, or even before that, the people of the Punjab and Sind were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a relatively mature culture with high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of pictographic writing (quoted in Roy 1961: 108)<sup>177</sup>.

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<sup>177</sup> These remarks have been quoted by different writers differently. For example, Jagmohan quoted it as “He left India 3000 years older than he had found it”. While in Borjour Avari’s work “*India: The Ancient Past: ...from c.7000 BC to AD 1200*”, it has been mentioned as “Marshall left India two thousand years older than he had found it” (Avari 2007: 42, Jagmohan 2007: 131). Actually these were Alfred Foucher’s remarks in the ‘Foreword’ to John Cumming’s “*Revealing India’s Past*” as “He left India about 3000 years older than he had found it” (Cumming 1939: xiii/355; see also Rao 2008: 171; Jagmohan 2007: 131; Riddick 2006: 207; Allchin 1995: 5).

In the foreword to John Cumming's *Revealing India's Past* 1939, the French archaeologist, Alfred Foucher has commended the services and contributions of John Marshall to Indian archaeology and history as; "To future generations he will always be the man who, archaeologically speaking, left India three thousand years older than he had found her" (Foucher 1939: xiii/355 see also Lahiri 1998: 1).

Though Marshall announced the discovery of Indus Civilization in 1924 but he visited the Indus Civilization site of Mohenjo-Daro as late as 1925 for the first time because he was fully occupied by his research on the Buddhist monuments at Taxila. The Government of India lent her support to Marshall for extensive excavations at the famous site of Mohenjo-Daro in 1925-1926. For his grand operation at the site, Marshall sent five of his officers (H. Hargreaves, M. S. Vats, K. N. Dikshit, B. L. Dharma and Sana Ullah) for excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and they were helped by a large number of labourers ranging from 1000 to 1200 personnel. During this period a serviceable road from railway station at Dokri to Mohenjo-Daro, offices, work rooms and living quarters were got constructed by Marshall. Vats excavated Harappa from 1928 to 1934 and discovered a burial site termed as Cemetery H of post-Harappan period. For the first time, Aryan got entry in the archaeology of Indus valley sites. Aurel Stein conducted survey (1926-1928) in Baluchistan and discovered the chalcolithic sites of Rana Ghundai, Periano Ghundai, Kulli, Mehi, Nundara, Sukhtagendor and Shahi Tump. Stein made systematic excavations of some sites in Baluchistan in 1926-1928 and N. G. Majumdar in 1929-1931 in Sind resulted in the discovery of new Indus Civilization sites. Marshall was able to publish his research on the Indus Civilization including the excavations at the Buddhist stupa and monastery site in 1931 in three volumes (Roy 1961: 108-110, Ray 2008: 141-142).

Marshall's interpretations of the findings from Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro initiated new debates in the study of Indian history. Marshall declared that Indus Civilization<sup>178</sup> was originated indigenously on the basis of cultural materials unearthed during excavations. The crafts, sculptures and art had a close resemblance with traditional Hindu art and crafts. Indus Civilization was a literate civilization with cities of grid system using weights and measures. Marshall attributed the decline and ultimate destruction to Aryan invasion of India (Murray 2007: 352-353). Robin Coningham, a distinguished archaeologist opined that 'Marshall's museums and newspaper coverage of the Indus Civilization played an important part in the road to self-determination – it provided a civilized backdrop' (Avari 2007: 42).

The discovery of Indus Civilization came at the pinnacle of Indian nationalism. Indus Civilization was unearthed in the Director-Generalship of Marshall and fully excavated up to 1940s. The same period saw the climax of the Indian Nationalism with events such as Khilafat Movement, Rowlatt Act, Jalianawala Bagh incident, Simon Commission and declaration of independence by All India National Congress on 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1930. Nationalist leaders tried to connect the past with present. So in the same vein Jawaharlal Nehru visited Mohenjo-daro twice in 1931 and 1936 (Nehru 1985: 67; Ray 2008: 146-147). J. Nehru expressed his feelings as under:

I stood on a mound of Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley in the North-west of India, and all around me lay the houses and streets of this ancient city that is said to have existed

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<sup>178</sup> Jim Shaffer renamed the Indus Civilization as Indus Valley tradition and is popular amongst the North American archaeologists. The philosophy behind the new phrase was to include 'all human adaptation in the greater Indus region from around 6500 BCE until 1500 BCE' and extended to the region of Baluchistan and Helmand (Guha 2005: 402 fn. 7).

over five thousand years ago; and even then it was an old and well-developed civilization. 'The Indus Civilization, writes Professor Childe, 'represent a very perfect adjustment of human life to a specific environment that can only have resulted from years of patient effort. And it has endured; it is already specifically Indian and forms the basis of modern Indian culture.' Astonishing thought: that any culture or civilization should have this continuity for five or six thousand years or more; and not in a static, unchanging sense, for India was changing and progressing all the time. She was coming into intimate contact with the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Central Asians, and the peoples of the Mediterranean. But though she influenced them and was influenced by them, her cultural basis was strong enough to endure (Nehru 1985: 48).

Though on one hand Marshall was applauded for his excavations, explorations and conservations of ancient monuments of India especially the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904, on the other hand he has been criticized for using primitive techniques in Indian Archaeology (Roy 1961: 112). The Archaeological Survey of India and its Director-General, Sir John Marshall earned the criticism of Glyn Daniel in his book *A Short History of Archaeology* as under:

It is a good example of the archaeologists not looking back at the history of their subject: had Marshall and Mackay (Marshall's principal successor as excavator at Mohenjo-daro) never heard of Worsaae, Fiorelli and Pitt-Rivers, not to mention Thomas Jefferson? Apparently not (quoted in Stiebing 1993: 219).

William H. Stiebing also reprimanded Marshall and his colleagues in his book *Uncovering the Past: A History of Archaeology* being ignorant of modern techniques in these words;

The results of the excavations by Marshall and his colleagues were historic, but technically they left much to be desired. Compared to the contemporaneous excavations

in Near East or Europe, the work of the Archaeological Survey of India was primitive. At Harappa and Mohenjo-daro the archaeologists took levels for principal finds, but they did not recognize the natural stratigraphy of the sites (Stiebing 1993: 219).

Notwithstanding Marshall's entire blunders, he has been bailed out by Sourindranath Roy in his monograph on the historiography of Indian Archaeology. Keeping in view his explorations in Taxila region and the discovery of Indus Civilization, Roy commended Marshall in these words as under:

All criticisms become silenced when one turns one's eyes to two of his masterly archaeological epics\_ Parthian Taxila and Proto-historic Mohenjo-daro. In both cases he was able, as though with a conjurer's wand, to re-create a whole phase of human society teeming with life. Yet in both cases he achieved his aim despite the defects in his methods. And *pace* all his critics Marshall will always be remembered as the man, who archaeologically speaking, left India three thousand years older than he had found her (Roy 1961: 112-113).

The commencement of Annual Reports and Memoirs series are also on the credit of Sir John Marshall. So John Marshall published "*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*" 3 volumes (1931), "*Monuments of Sanchi*", 2 volumes (1940) and *Taxila*, 3 volumes (1951). In the same traditions E. J. H. Mackay published his excavations report, "*Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*" (1938) while MS Vats reported his excavations from 1926-1934 in the Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India and full report of "*Excavation at Harappa*", 2 volumes (1940) (Roy 1961: 108-110; Gosh 1989: xiii; Maisels 1999: 13; Shaw and Jameson 1999: 421; Chakrabarti 2001:163).

John Marshall retired in 1928 from his post as Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India. He dominated the scene for almost 26 years and contributed much to the

excavation, preservation and conservation of Indian monuments. During his 26 years Director-Generalship, Marshall excavated a number of sites such as Charsada (ancient Pushkalavati), Kasia, Rajgriha, Sanchi, Sravasti, Sarnath, Taxila, Nalanda, Vaishali, Pataliputra, Mohenjo-daro and Harappa (Roy 1961: 111; Dani 1983: 185-186; Chakrabarti 1988: 10-11; Gosh 1989: xiii; Lahiri 2000: 90-91; Higham 2004: 214; Jagmohan 2007: 131).

## 5.2 Intermediate Age

Leading the Archaeological Survey of India as Director-General for a long period of 26 years, John Marshall retired in 1928 and was followed by Harold Hargreaves as new head of the Archaeological Survey of India. H. Hargreaves of the ASI and he served ASI as Director-General from 1928-1931. On Hargreaves retirement from ASI as its head in 1931, a new era ushered in Indian Archaeology when Rai Bahadur Dya Ram Sahni took charge as the first Indian Director-General of ASI on 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1931. Sahni was the first native Indian to lead the Archaeological Survey of India in that capacity because the scene of the Archaeological Survey of India has been dominated by British archaeologists and administrators for 70 years since its inception in 1861. Daya Ram Sahni led Archaeological Survey of India as Director-General from 1931 to 1935 and was followed by J. F. Blakiston on June 1, 1935 who supervised the activities of the Survey till March 1937. Kashi Nath Dikshit has the honour to become the last Indian archaeologist, to lead the Survey as Director-General (1937 to 1944) under colonial rule (Roy 1961: 114; Chakrabarti 2001: 173; Kaminsky and Long 2011: 41). The period under consideration is one of the most difficult phases in the entire history of the Survey. Before the arrival of Mortimer Wheeler in 1944, just in sixteen years period, there were as many Directors-

General as four compare to John Marshall's 26 yearslong tenure. The period was pregnant with economic, constitutional and political upheavals such as the Great Depression of 1931, 1932 Amendment in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904, promulgation of Government of India Act 1935, Sir Woolley Report 1939 and the Second World War (1939-1945) followed by the Partition of India. The rising communal tension as the partition of India was in sight, which was felt in the Survey as is obvious from the anonymous letter written to Wheeler on his arrival in the Survey against the incumbent Director-General, K. N. Dikshit. Actually the successors of Marshall tried to complete the unfinished tasks of their predecessor and they were much successful in the critical situation (Roy 1961: 114-122; Clark 1979: 5; Dani 1983: 187; Chakrabarti 2001: 173).

Under Dya Ram Sahni as Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India in 1932, an amendment was enacted in the section of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904, to regulate excavation, mining and quarrying at or near protected monuments. Excavations were made conditional in India to be initiated after the issuance of the license for national as well the foreign missions/institutions. The American School of Iranian and Indic Studies and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts led by Ernest Mackay and Normon Brown, became the first institutions to exploit the advantage and concession under the amended legislation. They were permitted in 1935 to excavate at Chanhu-daro, a settlement site in the east of the Indus<sup>179</sup>. They were permitted to send back some of the artefacts to their sponsor organization, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Blakiston 1938

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<sup>179</sup> The site of Chanhu-daro was discovered by N. G. Majumdar between 1929-1931 alongside with Ali Murad, Amri, Lohri and Pandi Wahi (Roy 1961: 117).



:2; Roy 1961: 116). Under the same amended Act, Barger and Wright Mission surveyed and excavated a number of sites in Swat in the summer of 1938. Barger and Wright expedition published their report of explorations and excavations in Swat region in 1941 titled "*Excavations in Swat and Exploration in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan: A Detailed Report of the 1938 Expedition*" (Barger and Wright 1941).

The Government of India Act 1935 made archaeology a federal subject. The Act vested the Central Government with the powers of protecting and caring for ancient and historical monuments. Historical sites were given in the domain of the Centre and in 1937; the Central Government was able to take over all powers vested in the Provinces under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904. 1935 Act detached Burma Circle from the Archaeological Survey of India and it was re-organized independently. On 18 April 1947, the Central Legislature of India passed the Antiquities (Export Control) Act 1947 to curb the illegal export of antiquity. The Act stipulated that no antiquity could be exported without a certificate from the Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India (Roy 1961: 116; Avari 2007: 42; Ray 2008: 91, 108).

The Great Depression of 1931 greatly hampered archaeological activities in India and huge budget cuts on the funds of Archaeological Survey of India was experienced during the period of this Great Depression. The grim situation of the Archaeological Survey of India has been described by its Director-General, J. F. Blakiston as under:

Although there are a number of discoveries of no mean importance in this volume, the year 1931 marks the beginning of an era of heavy cuts in the grants, of severe financial stress and a general in the activities of this Department. All the branches of the Archaeological Survey have suffered under the serious handicap of lack of money;

excavations had to be reduced to the minimum; conservation has been confined to the most urgent repairs only; and, worst of all, the Department has been forced to “axe” a number of posts (Blakiston 1936: xxvii).

The same picture of the Archaeological Survey of India has been presented by Blakiston but with a little hope for betterment of the Survey affairs in the Annual Report for the year 1934-35 as under:

The attenuated appearance of this volume in strange contrast to its predecessors is perhaps the most eloquent commentary on the condition of the Department as it was left after the crippling blows received under the retrenchment axe. Thanks to the belated appearance of the last report which had to chronicle the activities of four years (including three of the post-retrenchment period), it did not suffer in comparison with the previous reports either in quantity or in the importance of the material. The present report covers the accounts of a single year, and reveals the unvarnished state of affairs, which can be attributed almost entirely to the effects of retrenchment. Owing to lack of funds for the main part and the depletion in the cadre of officers there has been a general decline in the activities of all branches of the Survey, which has now, perhaps, reached the rock bottom of its resources. Signs are not wanting, however, that the tide is definitely turning in favour of Archaeology, and it is hoped that the set-back received in 1931 will not continue much longer (Blakiston 1937: 2).

However, the story of the budget cuts could be traced back to the beginning of 1920s. H. P. Ray in her book *Colonial Archaeology in South Asia: The Legacy of Sir Mortimer Wheeler* has described the shrinkage of the Archaeological Survey of India's funds in these words;

..., by 1922-3, the British government no longer felt it necessary to contribute to research in archaeology and its support was reduced by nearly Rupees 300,000 per

annum. The budget for 1923-4 showed an estimated expenditure of Rupees 652,200 for conservation and Rupees 14,000<sup>180</sup> only for archaeological research. These budget cuts were to get exacerbated by the financial crisis of 1931, which led to retrenchments, from which the ASI was to suffer for more than 15 years. From 1928 to 1944, several distinguished archaeologists, such as H. Hargreaves, Daya Ram Sahni, K. N. Dikshit, N. G. Majumdar, and M. S. Vats, battled the state and the constant budgetary cuts to continue archaeological work (Ray 2008: 19).

Government policy of allocating fewer funds to Archaeological Survey of India for conservation and excavations from early 1920s to early 1940s resulted in the interruption of the smooth running of the Survey activities such as training of the staff and administration (Andr n 1998: 58; Ray 2008: 19). The financial crunch was so severe in the 1930s that ongoing excavations were abandoned. In order to ensure systematic and scientific research on the Indus Civilization site of Mohenjo-Daro, John Marshall arranged the services of Ernest Mackay for the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro already in progress under Daya Ram Sahni, conversely, the Headquarters of the Archaeological Survey of India via a telegram, informed Mackay about the shortage of required money for the archaeological research in 1931. The 1930s financial constraint resulted in the abolishment of Excavations Branch and hiring of untrained personnel on ad hoc basis to carry out excavations. The obvious results of these measures were the destruction of the evidence. All these mishandlings led to the appointment of Sir Leonard Woolley investigations of the Survey in 1938-1939 (Basham 1954: 8; Roy 1961: 115; 119; Ray 2008: 45, 143).

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<sup>180</sup> The Archaeological Survey of India's budget was amounted 1.7 million as Mortimer Wheeler informed the Standing Committee of Indian Legislature in August 1945 (Ray 2008: 21).

The effects of the 1930s retrenchment have been counted by Sourindranath Roy in these words; “the number of its superior officers, as a consequence, was reduced from twenty nine to twenty, the Exploration Branch was abolished, a large number of subordinate posts were done away with, scholarships were curtailed and funds for normal work underwent drastic reduction” (Roy 1961: 115).

In the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Europe experienced two great wars- World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945). In both these wars, Britain led the Allied Forces against Germany. Being part of British Empire and being the representatives of the Crown, the then Viceroys declared war on Germany on behalf of India. As consequence of colonial Government of India participation in World War I and World War II, all activities including archaeological research were badly hampered during the wars period. In the same way when in 1939, World War II erupted in Europe and engulfed the entire world, once again the British Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow declared war on Germany on behalf of Indian people, so the consequences for the Indian Archaeological Survey’s activities<sup>181</sup> were as bad as were in the World War I. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru “The coming of the World War II effectively stopped all activity, and even the work of preservation of all that has been dug out has been rather neglected” (Nehru 1985: 67).

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<sup>181</sup>The same happened during World War I (1914-1918) and archaeological activities in India came to a standstill and the Central Government was unable to spare funds for explorations and excavations. Nevertheless, the Royal Asiatic society of London facilitated David Brainerd Spooner with a small grant to carry out excavations at the Buddhist site of Nalanda in 1917. D. B. Spooner project continued for almost two decades (Pruthi 2004: 46).

So due to financial constraints, the Government of India decided not to bring new monuments under protection and stopped the entire publication during the war. All these setbacks brought Archaeological Survey of India to the verge of its collapse, nonetheless, the able leadership of ASI such as Hargreaves (1928-1931), D. R. Sahni (1931-1935), J. F. Blakiston (1935-1937), and K. N. Dikshit succeeded to rescue the organization from the total collapse (1937-1944) (Roy 1961: 114-115).

Chakrabarti did not agree with those who presented the grim picture of Archaeological Survey of India during the two events of Great Depression of 1931 and World War II of 1939-1945. He presented the hopeful and still active pictures of the survey in these words;

...totally incorrect to view the thirties and years after that till the coming of Wheeler as the period of doom in the history of Indian archaeology. All the major reports on the Indus civilization were published during this period-Marshall on Mohenjo-daro (1931), Mackay on Mohenjo-daro (1938) and Chanhudaro (1943), Vats on Harappa (1940), Majumdar on Sindh (1934) and Stein on Gedrosia (1931). The annual reports continued to be published, although intermittently, till 1938, incorporating the results of work till 1935-36. The memoirs continued to be published till 1942. The annual reports for the years 1930-36 do not suggest that the field-archaeological work in the country was slowly grinding to a halt. In fact, this was the general period when Nagarjunakonda and Paharpur were excavated. The memoirs on these sites were published in 1938 (Chakrabarti 2001: 173).

But Indians especially nationalist leaders were in no mood to accept the excuse of funds' lacking. Jawaharlal Nehru criticized the non-availability of funds for excavation and conservation for the Indus civilization sites in these words;

...The stoppage was initially due to the great depression of the early thirties. Lack of funds was pleaded, although there was never any lack for the display of imperial pomp and splendor....The officer of the archaeological department in charge of the place complained that he was allowed practically no funds or other help or material to enable him to keep the excavated buildings as they were (Nehru 1985: 67).

In the difficult period of Archaeological Survey of India, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, appointed Sir Leonard Woolley<sup>182</sup>, the distinguished European archaeologist, in 1938, to review and investigate the archaeological work of the Survey. Sir Leonard Woolley remained in India for three months and visited 45 archaeological sites. He submitted his report to the colonial Government of India on 11<sup>th</sup> of February 1939. In his report, Sir Leonard Woolley severely criticized working of the Survey. The Indian archaeologists considered the report of Sir Woolley as harsh and negative in its tone (Woolley 1939: 3; Roy 1961: 120; Guha 2003: 43; Avari 2007: 42; Ray 2008: 19). The intentions of the colonial Government of India has been described by A. H. Dani as “but archaeology in the world had moved far away to new lines of research. The Government desired to impose these lines of research from above, instead of encouraging free research from amongst the available talent in the land” (Dani 1983: 187-188).

Sir Aurel Stein articulated on Woolley’s report in his correspondence with K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India (1937-1944), in these words; “You are certainly right in believing that there is much in Sir L. Woolley comments reflecting

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<sup>182</sup> There were suggestions for inviting a foreign expert to advice Indian archaeologists on modern techniques in archaeology. The suggestion had a strong backing of the then Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India, K. N. Dikshit. The Government of India acted in their own way and Lord Linlithgow appointed Sir Leonard Woolley to review the entire work of the Survey and advise the government on future work (Roy 1961: 119-120).

inadequate knowledge of the special conditions which confront archaeological work in India and differ greatly from those to be met with in Europe or the Near East directly influenced by it” (quoted in Ray 2008: 19). Familiar with the Indian archaeological scene (being in India since 1888), Sir Marc Aurel Stein strongly disapproved the nomination of Sir Leonard Woolley as the wrong selection for the right task. He was of the opinion that an Indian archaeologist with thorough knowledge in Sanskrit, Buddhist and other text was more suitable rather L. Woolley. A. Stein suggested to the Government of India to train and recruit personnel in Indian archaeology on the model of Ecole Francaise d’Extreme Orient in Hanoi (Ray 2008: 19-20).

The way Sir Woolley conducted his investigation in India was not apposite to those who were busy in the field. Sir Leonard Woolley also visited the famous site of Sar-dherai near Charsadda (ancient Pushkalavati) where D. H. Gordon was busy in excavation along with his wife. He described his encounter with Sir Leonard Woolley in a letter to Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1960 (Ray 2008: 20). Gordon expressed Sir Leonard Woolley’s visit to Sar-dherai (Charsada) site as under:

I was at Sar Dheri the day Woolley turned up... My wife and I were not impressed: he was not there to listen but only to criticize. Now hear what I have got to say. What Woolley says about failure to recognize structures or levels or the rubbish-pit is simply just not true. I took no chances about the results of this dig being tampered with when once staff had been removed, so I examined all their material and took copious notes and also checked their levels with their plans.... As for the actual physical digging, they did not use Woolley’s great entrenching tool techniques and so were written off (quoted in Ray 2008:20).

Sir Woolley was critical of the idea of a site museum and objected on the Nagarjunakonda sculptures to be stored on the site. Nagarjunakonda was excavated by Longhurst and he stored the sculptures in a special enclosure with the recommendation for a site museum to house the antiquities. So a beautiful site museum was constructed at Nagarjunakonda costing Rupees 27,000. All these were taken under Government Order regarding regulation of antiquities and their distribution. In the best interest of study at site and conservation, the Nagarjunakonda museum was constructed to house the excavated antiquities from the site. But when Sir Leonard Woolley visited the site of Nagarjunakonda in 1938, he strongly criticized the decision of the Survey for storing antiquities in an inaccessible place (Chakrabarti 2001: 174; Ray 2008: 101-102). L. Woolley expressed his disapproval of site museum in his report on '*Working of the Archaeological Survey*' in these words as under:

The local archaeological museum policy has been reached at Nagarjunakonda; here, in a place correctly described by Director-General as "almost inaccessible" a museum being erected at an estimated cost of Rs. 27,000 to house, or rather to keep out of public sight, a collection of magnificent stone sculptures of a type not represented in any museum in India (Woolley 1939: 29; see also Ray 2008: 101).

About the establishment of site museums, H. P. Ray clarifies the Government policy during Marshall's tenure as under: "The relationship between the ASI and the museums in the country changed under the Director-Generalship of John Marshall (1902-1928) and there was now a policy to conserve artefacts as close to the site as possible" (Ray 2008: 118).



Dilip Chakrabarti was critical in respect of Leonard Woolley's appointment as a foreign expert to assess the working of Archaeological Survey of India especially at a time when the Survey accomplished such tremendous achievements notwithstanding financial constraints. He mentions the publication of annual reports, the memoirs and excavations at Nagarjonakonda and Paharpur (Chakrabarti 2001: 173). According to L. Woolley, the colonial Government of India required to be advised on the following points i.e. terms of reference (ToRs) in my report:

1. The most promising sites or areas for excavation.
2. The best methods and agencies for achieving the speedy and fruitful development of exploration activities in general consideration, in this regard being had not only to Government but to non-official agencies such as universities, learned societies, etc.
3. The best method of training or selecting officers for exploration work, including such points as the most suitable age for recruitment.
4. Any general points bearing on the field of exploration and excavation not covered by items 1-3 (Woolley 1939: 1).

The report was shelved without knowing its positive aspect out of dismay. One can safely say that the report was mishandled and misunderstood. Though majority of the archaeologists in India rejected Sir Woolley report as hasty and out of context but to Mortimer Wheeler it was 'a monument of quick and penetrating vision of trenchant and constructive criticism' (Piggott 1977: 635-636; Ray 2008: 20). In *The Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture*, Mortimer Wheeler appreciated Woolley report in these words;

His report was a frank and masterly one on the condition of the then Archaeological Survey of India, and contained recommendations designed to bring it into line with modern

thought and method. After the initial resistance which any frank criticism must expect. From its victim, it was recognized that the Woolley Report was as brilliantly sound and constructive as it was disinterested, and ultimately, to my knowledge, it was received even by the most sensitive nationalist opinion as something approaching a canonical authority (Wheeler 1950: 114).

Sir Woolley report not merited to be rejected as a whole and it had some positive suggestions too. He was justified to criticize the dispensing of funds aimed at for excavations into small grant to work on the multiplicity of sites. He objected on the unresponsiveness of Indian archaeologists towards the establishment of a typological sequence of the antiquities. He also advocated the planning for considering different classes of sites scattered all over India to fill the archaeological gap between the cultures of India. He was also justified in criticizing the tendency in India for not excavating sites to their lowest levels, the only source for stratigraphic history. Sir Woolley said “In the matter of excavation I have on most sites which I have visited found that the methods employed were bad, trained observation conspicuous by its absence, and the results in consequence incomplete and untrustworthy” (Woolley 1939: 3). Sir Leonard Woolley’s report recommended to the imperial Government of India to appoint a temporary Advisor on Archaeology to accomplish a number of tasks facing ASI at that time. The arrival of Mortimer Wheeler had been speculated to be the realization of Woolley suggestion and even he may have suggested Wheeler’s name (Woolley 1939: 3; Roy 1961: 120-121, Chakrabarti 2001: 174).

### 5.3 Wheeler Age

The working of the Archaeological Survey of India had been described as “the blind was leading the blind” in the report of Leonard Woolley on Indian archaeology (Woolley 1939: 33). In these difficult circumstances Mortimer Wheeler was assigned the post of Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1943. He led the Survey very well in the worst situation in the 85 years history of the organization (Sankalia 1977: 894; R.S. 1977: 4; Stiebing 1993: 215). A beautiful sketch of the scene of Wheeler’s advent on the horizon of the Archaeological Survey of India has been drawn by H. D. Sankalia as under:

But before the ship floundered, there came Wheeler, and not only rescued the ship and put it on a straight course, but pointed out the direction in which it had to proceed. For future navigation he arranged for trained pilots. He further took steps at various levels to make known to the people where the ship was going and how (Sankalia 1977: 894).

In the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Europe witnessed two World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) in which Britain led the Allied Forces. Wheeler remained a veteran of both these wars. So with the advent of the World War I in 1914, Wheeler had to join the army as an artillery officer and fought at the Western front and in Italy. He returned from the military service in 1919 as Major with the Military Cross. In his professional life, the period from 1920 to 1926 is very important because he worked as a Keeper of Archaeology and then as Director at the National Museum of Wales. During this time, he excavated at Roman forts in Wales, Roman city of Verulamium (London), St. Albans and Maiden Castle, Dorset. It was here that Wheeler introduced new techniques in excavations right from his excavation in Wales in 1921 and the same he did at Maiden Castle in 1937 (Piggott 1977:

626; Murray 2007: 411; Ray 2008: 21). Mortimer Wheeler way and techniques of excavations has been described by Tim Murray as under:

Wheeler had been refining his approach to excavation focusing on those elements such as excavation strategy and techniques, recording, and personnel management, which were also Pitt-Rivers' concerns...Wheeler excavated in a checkerboard of grid squares that achieved two significant goals. First, it allowed him to open up large areas without losing stratigraphic control. Second, the squares could be effectively linked up to create a sense of near-continuous stratigraphy across a large site. The approach, called the 'Wheeler method' set the benchmark in field excavation for the next forty years, achieving a goal that Pitt-Rivers never attained...to focus on the link between method and the reliability of interpretation. He was to use it to great effect in India during the 1940s and 1950s during excavation of Indus Civilization sites (Murray 2007: 411).

At the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, once again Wheeler was asked to join Royal Eighth Infantry. He joined the army as an artillery officer in the rank of brigadier in 1941 and served in North Africa. At the peak of World War II in 1943, Wheeler was asked by India Office to say goodbye to military front in Africa and join the intellectual front in India to lead Archaeological Survey of India. So Wheeler was in Algiers (Africa), when correspondence was initiated for his new responsibilities by the Indian Government (Ray 2008: 21). Correspondence between the India Office and Mortimer Wheeler has been described in *My Archaeological Mission to India and Pakistan*<sup>183</sup> as under:

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<sup>183</sup>The same has mentioned by Stuart Pigott as In Algiers before the invasion of Italy, in 1943, his Corps Commander, General Horrocks, brought him, with astonishment, a signal inviting him by name to become Director-General of Archaeology in India: astonishment because the General had thought him to be a regular Army officer. Pitt-Rivers would have been please (Piggott 1977: 635).

Irrelevantly though it may seem, the account begins with a brigadier in a small military encampment on a hilltop above Algiers and the date is the beginning of August 1943. In the sunset the end of the day's planning operations of the forthcoming British and American invasion of Italy had drawn to it just close, Corps Commander, General Sir Brian Horrocks, dashed across towards my doorway with a signal in his hand and the remark, 'I say, have you seen this'<sup>184</sup> – they want you as – [reading] "Director-General of Archaeology in India"! – Why, you must be rather a king-pin at this sort of thing! You know, I thought you were a regular soldier!'...without any sort of pre-warning, the India Office was asking for my release to take up a key post in a teeming country I had never been to in my life! However, I gathered my wits and said that I would consider the offer *after* the battle but *not* before (Wheeler 1976: 9).

Wheeler responded to the message affirmatively with the following reply:

I have the honour to accept the post of DG, if my release from the Army be made sanctioned in due course.... I should be glad if it could be conveyed to the India Office that I shall require to undertake preparatory work in London for a period of not less than two months before proceeding to India (quoted in Ray 2008: 42-43).

Wheeler himself described the correspondence of the India office in these words;

The scene changes to a hill top overlooking Algiers on a sunny evening of July 1943. There we were in various capacities planning what was to be some six weeks later the Salerno landing, and a personal message from the India Office was an unconventional, if flattering, interruption. The message in fact conveyed to me an invitation to go to India as Director- General of Archaeology. The shock of this bolt from the blue was mitigated by

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<sup>184</sup>The telegram sent to MS Branch, Main Headquarters, 8<sup>th</sup> Army in connection of Wheeler's appointment of Director-General of ASI was received on 28th July 1943 runs as; 'India Office anxious secure release of Brig. REM Wheeler Comd 12 AA Bde as Director-General of Archaeological Survey in India. Post vacant February next. Salary 2000 rupees monthly. Ascertain whether officer willing undertake appointment if so do you agree release.' (Ray 2008: 42).

the fact that one's wartime mind was attuned to unexpected adventure and, though I declined for the moment owing to pressure of other business, I added the proviso that I would be prepared to go in six months' time (Wheeler 1950: 115).

By getting Wheeler's consent for his new job, the Governor-General and Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell wrote to the Secretary of State for India to appoint a new Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India for next five years mentioning Mortimer Wheeler by name. So, the incumbent Director-General, Kashi Nath Dikshit resigned from his post in 1944, and Wheeler took charge of his office on 24<sup>th</sup> of April 1944 just three year before the partition of Indian Subcontinent (Roy 1961: 123; Piggott 1977: 635-636; Bryant and Patton 2005: 52; Ray 2008: 43). Wheeler's appointment was intended to prepare grounds for post partition Indian archaeology. He introduced new projects in Indus region keeping in view the post-independence era for Indian and Pakistani archaeologists (Avari 2007: 42). In post partition period, Indian archaeologists started to unearth extension of Indus Valley Civilization in the eastern part of India and they discovered Kalibangan and Lothal. Keeping in view the importance of Indus Civilization in Indian history, a Centre of Study and a world-class Museum to house findings from the Indus sites' excavation were established at the University of Vadodara in India (Avari 2007: 42).

At the time of Wheeler's appointment, the Indian archaeology also suffered from communal tension especially between Hindus and Muslims. Before the advent of Wheeler in India, British Government had yielded, to Indians, Communal Award in 1932 at the end of Round Table Conferences in London. All these developments were followed by promulgation of the Government of India Act 1935 which split the social and political

fabric of India on communal lines. The fact is very much obvious from an anonymous letter written to Mortimer Wheeler at the time of his arrival in India. The text of the letter goes as under:

Moslem and British confirmed hater as he is, KN Dikshit tried his level best to keep them out from entering the department as far as possible and helped chiefly by the Brahmins and the members of the Hindu community sacrificing efficiency in favour of communalism. He is responsible for articles in papers and questions in the Central Assembly and the bitterest possible propaganda against your own appointment on the plea that competent Indians were available to take charge of the Survey (Ray 2008: 44).

The appointment of a Muslim Assistant Superintendent in the regular cadre of the Department to the post of Muslim Epigraphist was questioned in the Central Legislature of India. Wheeler responded as under: “The suggestion is fantastic. DGA has no communal prejudice whatsoever ... In the present instance, the Muslim Assistant Superintendent is the best man for the new post” (Ray 2008: 80).

Before his assignment in India, Wheeler was a strong advocate of archaeological training of the students and public awareness about the ongoing excavations and their results. Both these ends he achieved in his life time. He established the Institute of Archaeology of London University in 1934 for the training of students in archaeology and appeared in a number of BBC live programs and wrote a number of articles in the leading newspapers. Wheeler appeared on the Indian archaeological scene in 1944 with these two aspirations of involving students and keeping public abreast with the ongoing excavations’ results. He achieved both these tasks by founding an Archaeological

Training School at Taxila and publication of *Ancient India* (Roy 1961: 125; Clark 1979: 25-27; Ray 2008: 3, 21).

Leonard Woolley was not incorrect in his criticism of the Indian archaeology being in a 'state of stagnancy.' Though after the Government of India Act 1935, the Indian Archaeological scene was monopolized by the Central Government of India but there was no collaboration and co-operation between the Archaeological Survey of India and the universities (about 19 universities) of the Indian Sub-continent. Subsequent upon his appointment as Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India,

M. Wheeler met a number of people familiar with Indian archaeological matters to get advice including John Marshall, Stuart Piggott and F. J. Richards. The last among them stressed these two needs: firstly, closer co-operation between the universities and schools, the Archaeological Department, government and local museums, and secondly, the need to publicize the results, especially in the British Press and with British Publishers (Wheeler 1964: 806; Ray 2008: 44).

To achieve the above mentioned objectives, Wheeler, in his meeting of 1944 with vice-chancellors from around 19 universities at Patna, invited universities all over India to send their students for excavations and explorations and they were encouraged to lead expeditions (Wheeler 1976: 32). So by encouraging university graduates in the field of archaeology, Wheeler availed the opportunity to select trained personnel as officers for the Archaeological Survey of India. Wheeler established the Institute of Archaeology at London University in 1934 and an Indian School of Field Archaeology at Taxila to provide personnel trained in excavation techniques in the field of archaeology. Wheeler



was instrumental behind the speedy publications of the excavations reports during his tenure in Archaeological Survey of India. So '*Ancient India*' was the brain child of Wheeler's association while '*Indian Archaeology – A Review*' originated on his insistence (Wheeler 1976: Sankalia 1977: 894; Chung 1998: 193; Dyson 2006: 225; Ray 2008: 3, 21). He launched *Ancient India* with the intention to keep abreast the educated Indians with the ongoing archaeological activities such as excavations, explorations and conservations of cultural heritage in India (Gosh 1989: xiii-xiv; Ray 2008: 3).

Mortimer Wheeler was strong advocate of training in different branches of archaeology. He organized training in conservation for members of the Survey as well as outsiders. Wheeler trained students of universities and other institutions in the techniques of excavation, field records, surveying, photography and administration. He also encouraged the contact of the Indian archaeologists with developed countries of the world to avoid stagnancy in Indian archaeology. He sent regular deputations of the members of the Survey to progressive countries in the science of archaeology. For these purposes, Wheeler made arrangements for the training school and arranged a large amount with active support of the Central Government of India for the re-organization of the Survey. He was assisted by Secretary of Education Sir S. H. Y. Oulsnam. In this connection, Major Dermot Casey was appointed as officer on Special Duty in the Archaeological Department from 15<sup>th</sup> September 1944 in connection of archaeological training school. Wheeler was fortunate enough in getting the required money and reached with Casey to Taxila and conducted the training for the next six months. Wheeler's appeal for recruiting young university graduates for archaeological research got overwhelming support of 19 universities' Vice Chancellors in their annual meeting at Pune in 1944. The 61 trainees at

the Taxila Training School were drawn from universities, museums and archaeological departments. They were trained in excavation techniques with an eye on 'unknown cultures of north-western India in the centuries immediately preceded the dawn of history' (Roy 1961: 125; Ray 2008: 46, 60). Wheeler expressed his feelings regarding colleagues and trained students as under:

I look back on that six months from October 1944 to March 1945 as one of the happier periods of my life. Work was increasing and strenuous, but was liberally shared colleagues and students alike. . . . By March 1945 the period of preparation was over. I was now sure of myself and my staff, and was content. With picked colleagues and the best of my students I left Taxila, stayed for a day or two in New Delhi and then went straight on to Pondicherry and Arikamedu, a two-thousand mile journey into the tropics (quoted in Ray 2008: 46)

Wheeler was appointed the Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India in 1944 with the ambition of enabling Indians to take responsibilities of the management of their cultural heritage and history (Murray 2007: 354). So to achieve this end, Wheeler provided a chance to Ahmad Hasan Dani, Brij Basi Lal, and Nani Gopal Majumdar to excavate at Indus Valley Civilization as Indian archaeologists before the Great Divide of Indian Subcontinent into the new dominions/states of India and Pakistan in August 1947 (Thapar 1979: i-ii; Singh 2008: 5).

As Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Wheeler also investigated the Indus Civilization in 1944 and came up with the same idea as Sir John Marshall that Indus Civilization was destroyed by Aryan invasion round about ca. 1500 BCE. He contentiously declared that Indus Civilization was not an autochthonic but developed as a

result of diffusion of culture from Mesopotamia (Manian 1998: 23-24; Bryant and Patton 2005: 52; Murray 2007: 355; Singh 2008: 5). In the beginning, Wheeler's theories were accepted as reasonable but later on, his theories were considered as incorrect and engineered by the imperial design of the colonial mind set like the William Jones Mosaic ethnology of 18<sup>th</sup> century. Murray has an interesting explanation of the colonial legitimacy of the British archaeologist as under:

To say that Indus Civilization was unique, and to extend the antecedents of Indian civilization back by 2000 years, and then to say it was derivative from the West and not ancestral to the modern culture of India, was interpreted by some as a slap in the face to the new modern Indian state. India's struggle for independence from Britain had used pride in past cultural achievements to unite its different ethnic groups in its modern political struggle...we are also more aware of the politics of the recent past (Murray 2007: 355).

The origin, destruction and significance of the Indus Civilization had not been only exploited by the British archaeologists for imperialist design but Indian scholars are divided into two groups regarding the origin, end and significance of the Indus Civilization. There are two schools of thought about the origin and development of Indus Civilization; one considers it as indigenous while other are advocating the diffusionist views of the civilization. Pakistani scholars back the diffusionist point of view for the Indus Civilization. Pakistani scholars consider it a short episode in the history of South Asia and a product of the west and Central Asia due to its strong cultural and trade ties with that region. Pakistani archaeologists adhered to pre-partition views of the Orientalists/Indologists as archaeological expeditions were dominated by foreign missions especially in Indus Civilization sites after the partition of the sub-continent into

the new dominions of India and Pakistan in August 1947. On the other hand, the Indian scholars are strong advocates of indigenous or autochthonic view of the development of Indus Civilization. They argue that there was a regional trade within the Indus urban centres with a persistency in patterns. They present similarities from the Indus Civilization and the present day Hindu traditions. They are of the opinion that present day Indian history and culture has long roots as far back as 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE (Andr n 1998: 59; Murray 2007: 355; Kenoyer 2005: 21).

After partition of India, M. Wheeler was invited by the new state of Pakistan to serve as ‘advisor in the creation and training of a new all-purpose archaeological staff’ (Wheeler 1976: 81). He led excavations at Indus sites in 1949 in his capacity as advisor to the new Government of Pakistan on the affairs of archaeology and museums. He published his excavation results titled *The Indus Civilization* in which he argued that Indus Valley Civilization was ruled by ‘priest-kings’. He assumed this on the basis of unearthing a citadel, Great-bath and granary during his excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro (Murray 2007: 354; Singh 2008: 5).

If John Marshall earned the blunt of Western archaeologists including Wheeler, for opting ‘total excavation’ instead of modern excavation techniques in Indian Archaeology, Wheeler was credited for being instrumental to bring new stratigraphic techniques in the archaeology of Indian Subcontinent and to train a whole new generation of India in field techniques of excavations (Stiebing 1993: 215; Avari 2007: 42; Ray 2008: 3). Wheeler introduced vertical and horizontal techniques of excavation in India. He stressed the need for full knowledge of cultural sequence before undertaking an excavation. From 1944-1947, he carried out problem-centred excavations at Taxila (1944), Arikamedu (1945),

Brahmagiri (1947), Harappa (1946). In these excavations Wheeler tried to cover the gaps in proto-history and pre-history of Indian Civilization. The Indus Valley Civilization flourished in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE (2600-1900 BCE) and Greek came in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. There was an archaeological blank period between the two events in northwestern India. Wheeler wanted to fill this gap in the Indian history and civilization. So Wheeler re-studied the cities of the Indus valley Civilization with sociological perspectives and in May 1944, he succeeded to discover at Harappa the remains of an acropolis defiantly feudal in aspect. Wheeler also tried to construct the history of south India and consequently, he selected the site of Arikamedu in southern India for excavations to explore the connection of Roman Empire with India (Roy 1961: 126-127; Andr n 1998: 58; Ray 2008: 45-46). To achieve these ends, Wheeler tried to modernize Indian archaeology by introducing scientific stratification and recording of the digging and brought Indian universities to archaeological field works (Gosh 1989: xiii).

The partition of Indian Subcontinent brought all the known Indus Valley Civilization sites and other Palaeolithic sites discovered by de Terra and Paterson to Pakistan. Mortimer Wheeler suggested to the Indian archaeologists to focus their attention on the Gangetic valley i.e. heart of India (Sankalia *et al* 1953: 343).

Wheeler heeded equally to the task of conservation and during his tenure as Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, there were as many as 2826 protected monuments in the whole country. Wheeler advised the staff on conservation in his Staff Memorandum number 2 on 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 1944 in these words: “The purpose of conservation is to maintain an ancient structure in nearly as possible in the condition in which it has come down to us, after the removal of accidental accretion. . . . Restoration

or rebuilding with new or partly new materials is to be avoided” (quoted in Ray 2008: 91).

Wheeler severely criticized the conservation work especially the use of cement by the Public Works Departments. They carried out the specialized work of conservation with untrained personnel. Conservation was the function of the Survey. The execution of conservation works transfer from the Provincial Public Works Departments to the Survey was on the top list of Wheeler agenda (Ray 2008: 91).

As Advisor to the Government of Pakistan on Archaeology, Mortimer Wheeler excavated at the newly discovered mound in Mohenjo-daro in March-April 1950 for the dual purpose of discovery and training. He was assisted by Maulvi Shamsud Ali, Acting Director of Pakistan Archaeology, Ahmad Hasan Dani, Superintendent in the Department of Archaeology and Fazal Ahmad Khan (who later became Director of Archaeology in Pakistan) excavated at Harappa in 1946 Mohenjo-Daro in 1950. Wheeler also availed the opportunity to dig at the famous site of Mohenjo-daro in 1950 (Guha 2005: 408 fn. 18; Ray 2008: 51; Haughton 2008: 210). The aims and objectives of the 1950 excavations and discoveries has been mentioned by Mortimer Wheeler in his work *My Archaeological Mission to India and Pakistan* 1976 as under:

The work proceeded with the meticulous controls proper to a teaching-operation but with astonishing productiveness. Stratified potsherds and other objects were recovered and recorded literally by the ton; four weeks after the beginning, twelve wagon-loads selected pottery were sent back to base, and more followed (Wheller 1976: 86; see also Ray 2008: 51).

Mortimer Wheeler wrote his famous book *5000 Years of Pakistan* on the ancient roots of Pakistan history. In 1958 Wheeler excavated the famous site of Charsada (the ancient Pushkalavati of Buddhist sources). He assigned the period/date of 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the sites of Bala Hisar and Shaikhan Dheri (Charsada) and drew parallel sequence of urban shifts in Taxila and Charsada. In the case of Taxila, the shift was from Bhir Mound to Sirkap and Sirsukh while in the case of Charsada, the shift was from Bala Hisar to Shaikhan Dheri (Wheeler 1976: 18-28; Guha 2003: 43; Ray 2008: 51). Wheeler and F. Pitt Rivers are being considered as the founding fathers of New Archaeology because they introduced methodological standards in field archaeology. (Avari 2007: 42).

Mortimer Wheeler was strong advocate of the publication of excavation report and considered it so essential to be published even at the cost of next season excavations. He argued that: “If need be, a whole season digging must be postponed to enable this essential task to be accomplished...Complete andpunctual publication must be the rule; no excuse whatsoever can condone deferment”<sup>185</sup> (quoted in Michon 2007: 60).

On his arrival in India, Mortimer Wheeler also focused his attention at Taxila. He excavated first, the city of Bhir Mound in 1944 under the training programme for the members of the Survey, 61 Indian students from different Indian universities and other institutions with the purposes of re-interpreting earlier levels. He also tested his spade at Sirkap. The report of Sirkap was published while Bhir Mound excavations’ report remained unpublished. Wheeler agreed with John Marshall for his dating of the three

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<sup>185</sup>Despite so strong advocacy for the publication of excavation report, Wheeler excavated the site of Maiden Castle in 1937 and published the report in 1943. So his own report was as late as six years (Ray 2008: 42).

cities of Taxila (Clark 1979: 33; Ray 2008: 203). It was here that he introduced the concept of stratification in archaeological excavations on geological model in India for the first time. The bench-level method of excavation adopted by Ernest Mackay at Chanhu-daro came under heavy criticism from Wheeler in 1957 and termed it as an absurdity. He preferred Pitt Rivers' methods of stratified excavation. He was of the opinion that Indian archaeology needed vertical digging, the recovery of the stratification of India prehistory and early history through carefully recorded sections. He used this concept to trace Aryan origin in India. The credit also goes to him to train a number of students in the field of excavation techniques as field archaeologists during his training excavations at Sirkap and Bhir Mound at Taxila, from various parts of India (Allchin 1995: 6; Chakrabarti 2001: 176; Ray 2008: 64; Sopory n.d.: 78).

Mortimer Wheeler was a strong advocate of problem oriented excavation. So he severely criticized his predecessors in Indian archaeology for digging without keeping a problem in mind and stressed problem oriented excavations to fill the gap in Indian history. He urged that archaeologists should bear in mind that their aim is not to dig up mere things, but to dig up people (Sankalia 1977: 894; Ray 2008: 66-67). Wheeler stressed the importance of problem oriented research and excavation in his Official Memorandum issued on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1944 in which he instructed his staff in these words;

The first principle of fieldwork is that every excavation must be related to a carefully considered historical (or prehistoric) problem. The causal choice of a site just because it 'looks good' or is likely to produce relics of a popular or showy kind is 'unintelligent and unjustified'. The problem should come first and site second (Ray 2008: 43).



Indian archaeology was dominated by British archaeologists with Eurocentric views. They tried to trace foreign elements in Indian art, culture and architecture. They were of the opinion that Indian religion and spiritualism had deep roots in the passive culture of India. They were running after Roman, Greek and Iranian impulses in Indian history (Andr n 1998: 58). Stuart Piggott was well-known archaeologist and his perception of India may be pertinent to be presented here as an Orientalist image of British archaeologists: “We do not find, and should not look for an inherent element of progress in Indian history – no organic evolution of institutions to changing human needs, no development of material culture nor the gradual spread of higher standards of living to a constantly increasing proportion of the inhabitants” (quoted in Andr n 1998: 58-59).

The partition of the Subcontinent in August 1947 brought changes in the Archaeological Survey of India. The Frontier Circle and a lesser part of Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India was detached and converted into the Department of Archaeology in the new state of Pakistan while the Government of India stepped into the shoes of the colonial state with old policies to be continued regarding archaeology. But India re-christened the Archaeological Survey of India as Department of Archaeology (Roy 1961: 129; Ray 2008: 47). The new archaeological map after partition was drawn in 4<sup>th</sup> volume *Ancient India* July 1947 to January 1948 as under:

In the new India, the Archaeological Survey of India remains unchanged, save for minor adjustments arising out of the loss of the greater part of its Frontier Circle and of lesser part of its Eastern Circle. ... If we impose the new boundaries upon the archaeological map, the picture is an interesting one. Pakistan is found to include almost the whole of the known extent of the earliest civilization of India, that of the Indus valley. It includes also Gandhara and the homeland therefore of a phase of art, which spread its influence as far

south as remote Amaravati.... Pakistan has no reason to complain of its archaeology: except in one anomalous respect. Almost all the Mohammadan monuments of the first importance remain in India (quoted in Ray 2008: 47).

Sir Mortimer Wheeler resigned from his post as Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, on 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1950. As independent new state, Pakistan hired Mortimer Wheeler to get established the Department of Archaeology. He worked as advisor to the new state of Pakistan from 1949 to 1950. Wheeler was aided in his task by a volunteer, Leslie Alcock with some degree of archaeological training (Roy 1961: 128; Wheeler 1976: 81; Guha 2003: 43; Ray 2008: 50).

#### 5.4 Analysis of the three ages

The study of the India's past had been pioneered by European missionaries and travelers. Later on when the British East India Company came into power, these pioneers were replaced by the company officials (army officers, engineers, judges and surgeons) in 18<sup>th</sup> century. These officials had access to the far and wide regions of the subcontinent in connection of their responsibilities/postings. These administrators-turned-antiquarians were amateurs as they were lacking proper antiquarian training<sup>186</sup>. These Orientalists not only used the oral and written traditions such as Sanskrit literature but also the material remains of the Indian past such as ancient buildings and inscriptions to study the Indian religion, history, politics, art, and mythology. So the early efforts and curiosity of the European missionaries for the monuments of India since 16<sup>th</sup> century and the British rule

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<sup>186</sup> For example James Tillyer Blunt of the Bengal Engineers who published his account of the Qutb Minar in 1795 by describing general appearance and height of the Minar but he could neither read nor copy any of the inscriptions (Etter 2011: 77).

in the sub-continent since 18<sup>th</sup> century led to the development of systematic research/development of Indian archaeology (Etter 2011: 75-76). So credit goes to these administrators-turned-antiquarians who highlighted the dilapidated condition caused by time, climate, vegetation and man to the ancient monuments of India. The British Government of India introduced the principles of preservation and monuments making in India under the supervision/control of bureaucracy (Sengupta 2013: 23).

Throughout its rule from 1765-1857, the British East India Company was haunted by the search of legitimacy for its rule. So to remove the stigma of usurpation, the British East India Company focused on the preservation of historical buildings especially in Agra and Delhi (the heartland of the former Mughal Empire). Anne-Julie Etter has pointed to this fact as "...that preservation was ultimately rooted in political considerations. State-sponsored repairs were not only undertaken on the grounds of remains' aesthetic value or their status as records of India's past. They were closely linked to a concern for legitimacy and posterity of British rule" (Etter 2011: 79). By focusing on historical buildings in the heartland of former Mughal Empire (Agra and Delhi), the British tried to seek legitimacy for their rule as the natural successor of the Mughal rulers of India rather than preservation of these old buildings (Sengupta 2013: 23).

Mention has been made of the monuments of the Mughal era as edifices of the glory of the former government in the correspondence of East India Company officials, Governor-General and Board of Directors in London as is obvious from the correspondence of Richard Waite Cox and Henry St. George Tucker's words in connection of the repair of the Taj Mahal. They said the Taj should "be preserved to commemorate the glories of a fallen Empire." Furthermore, the British officials of the East India Company used the

terms of “splendid remains of former Governments” for the edifices of old time (Etter 2011: 87). By focusing on the care and repair of the ancient monuments of India especially of the Mughal era buildings, the British East India Company officials were intended to present themselves as successors to Mughal Empire. The monumental heritage of Mughal era and its legitimate claim has been expressed by officials of colonial Government of India as “We admit that the credit of our administration is, in some degree, connected with the preservation of these Memorials of the former splendour and majesty of the Indian Empire” (Etter 2011: 87).

The case of the Allahabad Mosques is an interesting case in connection of British political and religious designs/motive behind their repair and preservation of ancient/old edifices of India. The mosque remained the item of correspondence from 1808-1820 among the British officials’ letters. It went into private property of Colonel Ochterlony, was converted into private dwelling and re-purchase by the Government in the 2<sup>nd</sup> decennium of 19<sup>th</sup> century, even the demolition of the mosque was in circulation due to military considerations. The religious consideration saved the mosque from destruction. In 1814, Courtney Smith rejected the military fear and private ownership of the mosque. He tried to draw similarity between Islam and Christianity to secure a grant for its repairs as under:

From a military point of view, the mosque did not represent any danger. From a legal one, under the law of the country, it could not have been the real property of Ochterlony and hence of the government: the mosque legally belonged to the Muslim community. Furthermore, the beauty, renown, and antiquity of the building spoke in favor of its preservation. Smith also emphasized the fact that a civilized nation could not possibly destroy edifices that did honor to mankind. He went on to mention that preserving the mosque was a matter of compassion toward a depressed people and, interestingly, of

“respect for an ancient and venerable religion, bearing in many points a sisterly resemblance to our own” (Etter2011: 88).

The above mentioned assumption may be reinforced by the fact that Monier-Williams was given preference on Max Müller for the chair of Boden Professor in Oxford. It was whispered that many favoured Max Müller for that esteemed position but Monier-Williams was given the chair more on religious consideration rather on his aptitude as is obvious from the words of Jessica Frazier; “Monier-Williams was chosen less on the basis of his aptitude than because he seemed more likely to uphold traditional Christian values in his approach to Hinduism” (Frazier 2011: 53).

Apart from political, religious and above all the legitimacy concern, the colonialists were aware of the fact that British overseas rule needed wide-ranging information/knowledge of the native people despite military strength. This fact has been stressed more strongly by 1857 mutiny/war of independence as Indian revolted against British rule in India. So Indologists were given financial support by the colonial Government of India to accumulate cultural, geographical, linguistics, and sociological information/knowledge to rule such a vast territory as India was (Frazier 2011: 52). It seems appropriate to quote R. O. Christensen words about accumulation of information in the tribal region of the frontier, nevertheless, it is applicable to the entire India as well. In this regards, Christensen has mentioned the aims and objectives of the colonial officials regarding their research on native folk as under:

From the point of view of the Government, the problem was one of how to attain a greater degree of political control over the tribes, without incurring the expense of direct administration or a permanent military establishment in tribal territory. To achieve this policy objective required as complete as possible an understanding of the society and politics of the transborder tribes. British frontier officials had, therefore, to be not only

effective administrators, but also ethnographers with a good sense of history, aware of the culture and customs of the tribes with whom they had to deal. Consequently, a large body of information on tribal society and history was collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and published by the Government in a series of reports for the use of its frontier officials (Christensen 1901/1981: 7-8).

If on the one hand, the efforts of the colonial Government of India contributed to the culture, history, politics and religion of India, nevertheless, at the same time the colonial scholarship sought to justify Western domination and the actions it necessitated. In their polemic, colonial scholarship both valued and maligned India (esteemed India as a civilization worthy of attention and defamed as a culture morally and materially unable to manage itself). James Mill's 1817 work *History of British India* is a representative of this western perspective of India (Frazier 2011: 52).

The colonial Government of India needed grassroot level information of Indian populace and society (size, structure and Government of communities) to administer the people in a better way. So the colonial researchers/administrators became the first archaeologists/ethnographers/geologists/linguists/sociologists to accumulate information about Indian populace.

To achieve the above mentioned ends and to get rid of the usurpation stigma, the administration of the British East India Company initiated a comprehensive study of India in the 18<sup>th</sup> century which was culminated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the Imperial Government of India. But majority of the historians/scholars are of the opinion that the colonial powers used the indigenous knowledge for political and administrative ends. Studying against this background/point of view, the colonial Government of India fell under this category as Jessica Frazier has put it "...the colonialist saw knowledge of

Indian culture as a tool for more effective rule and administration of India itself” (Frazier 2011: 51). So Indology became more associated with the colonial Government because scholars attached to colonial project had more practical and direct motivations for their scholarship of Indian culture. So as a result of the above mentioned needs/efforts, a number of surveys such as the Geological Survey of India (1851) by splitting it from Geographical work of the Survey of India, the Archaeological Survey of India (1861), the Botanical Survey (1890), the Zoological Survey (1916), were established in India first under the administration of the British East India Company and later under Colonial/Imperial Government of India. The Linguistic Survey of India (1891) and the Ethnographic Survey of India (1901) were also brought into existence by the Imperial Government of India for the same end (Gottschalk 2013: 81). Of all these surveys, the Archaeological Survey of India is more important from the point of view of this research project as Marc Aurel Stein conducted his seminal survey in Swat under the aegis of this organization in 1926. The Archaeological Survey of India may be divided into four Ages/phases i.e. 1) Cunningham Age/phase, 2) Marshall Age/phase; 3) Intermediate Age/phase and 4) Wheeler Age/phase.

The Archaeological Survey of India was led by Alexander Cunningham from its inception in 1861 to 1888 with a 5/6? years hiatus from 1865-1871. During this period, the Survey focused mainly on Buddhist monuments and Cunningham was preoccupied with historical geography going on the footsteps of Faxiǎn and XuánZàng, the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century CE Chinese Buddhist pilgrims respectively. Apart from his valuable contribution to Indian Archaeology, his preoccupation/research of Buddhist monuments suffered from political and religious considerations to pave the way for the Imperial Government to rule India and second to propagate Christianity (Imam 1963: 196; Chakrabarti 1982: 332).

Cunningham was followed by James Burgess with no promising change/development in Indian archaeology especially in field archaeology until the advent of Lord Curzon (1898) and Marshall (1902) on the India scene. Among the high officials of the British Government of India, George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, contributions are laudable both for the British Empire as well as Indian subjects. During his tenure of office, he outlined a clear line of policy for Indian history and archaeology. The gratitude of native Indians especially students of history and archaeology to Lord Curzon's contribution to the cause of Indian history and archaeology has been summarized by E. D. Ross in these words; "Lord Curzon's name will be ever gratefully remembered by all students of Indian history and archaeology, and the many labours of love he undertook in the midst of his strenuous official life will bear permanent testimony to his devotion to the records of India's great past" (Ross 1925: 380). Curzon not only reorganized the Archaeological Survey of India under John Marshall as Director-General but also focused on the conservation and preservation of ancient buildings especially Mughal era public buildings to establish legitimacy for British rule in India. Indra Sengupta elaborates the fact as under:

...Curzon not only had a deep interest in preserving India's architectural heritage, he saw this as the fundamental, divinely ordained duty of the colonial government and thus outlined a clear line of archaeological policy to be pursued by the state. In addition to using India's pre-colonial, Mughal public buildings to stage elaborate imperial rituals of state power, and vigorously insisting on the employment of the so-called Indo-Saracenic building style in order to create the illusion of British rule in India as a natural and legitimate successor to Mughal rule, he also radically restructured the department of archaeology (Sengupta 2013: 23).



Apart from political considerations, the philosophy of the Imperial Government of India, for the conservation/preservation of ancient Indian buildings and monuments, was inspired by the preservation and heritage management movement dominant in Victorian Britain and in large parts of Western Europe. This movement itself originated from the growing influence of historicism in art and architecture led by John Ruskin and William Morris who were of the opinion that restoration or reconstruction of an old building was tantamount to its destruction. They termed historical buildings as document of human history due to their intrinsic historical value and standing. Ruskin overruled restoration in powerful words as “Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture” (Sengupta 2013: 25-26). The anti-restoration movement resulted in the establishment of a learned society known as Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB)<sup>187</sup>. SPAB in turn has its roots in “Arts and Crafts” movement with its own particular notion of aesthetics which held that ‘the value of historical buildings lay in their age, in the continuity of material over time, and that the aesthetics of old structures was to be found in their age’(Sengupta 2013: 26). Being aware of all these developments in Europe, Marshall introduced his *Conservation Manual* in 1906 and got appreciation from the SPAB for the efforts of monuments conservation/preservation. Though the SPAB lauded the efforts of the Archaeological Survey of India for carrying out conservation/preservation efforts advocated by the Society nevertheless SPAB strongly criticized the Colonial Government of India for its policy’s inconsistency and its resort to restoration. ASI attempts to restore Mughal throne and a temple were declared by SPAB as an “unnecessary falsification of history” (Sengupta 2013: 29).

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<sup>187</sup> The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings is also known as Anti-Scrap Society (Sengupta 2013: 26).

Main tasks/achievements of Marshall Period may be summarized as ‘care, repair, excavation, conservation, preservation, registration and description of monuments and ancient remains, or of antiquarian research.’ Credit also goes to John Marshall for the discovery of Indus Civilization in 1924. Sir John Marshall also heeded to ancient monuments and antiquities of India as he was instrumental behind the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 by the Indian Legislature, which brought hundreds of monuments and sites under its protection. This Act was effective throughout India. Marshall was followed by a number of Director-Generals including Indians as leaders of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Generally speaking, the period between Marshall and Wheeler is given less importance/attention in the historiography of colonial archaeology of India and considered devoid of important developments. Nevertheless, this period deserves more attention than any of the periods. First, it was the culmination of the process initiated by Curzon and Marshall to enable Indians to handle their cultural heritage<sup>188</sup>. Secondly, this period did witness the “Great Depression” of 1930s, although, archaeological explorations and excavation of the Archaeological Survey of India did continue with slower pace than before, nevertheless, archaeological activities were not allowed to come to a total standstill. Thirdly, during this period amended the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 by Act No. 18 of 1932 to facilitate institutions and organizations national as well as foreign missions for excavations in India under certain rules. Fourthly, the Imperial Government of India hired Sir Leonard Woolley in 1939 to investigate loopholes in the organization of Archaeological Survey of India but his report

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<sup>188</sup> They created two scholarships for Indians.

never saw the light of the day due to high spirit of Indian nationalism. It is said that the appointment of Mortimer Wheeler as the last Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India under the colonial Government was the result of Woolley Report and even it is said that he was mentioned by name. Every period/phase is important in its own right and has its own strengths and weaknesses but Marshall Age/phase and Intermediate Age/phase are more important than the first and last phases of Indian colonial archaeology from the perspectives of this research project. Two years before the termination of Marshall Age/phase in Indian archaeology in 1926, Marc Aurel Stein did succeeded to get permission for his seminal survey in the Yusafzai State of Swat with the full blessings of Miangul Abdul Wadud, the Wali of Swat, and the colonial Government of India. Secondly, under the Act No. 18 of 1932 (amendment in Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904), license was issued to Barger and Wright Mission of the Victoria and Albert Museum to carry out explorations and excavations in the Swat valley in the summer of 1938 in the time scale of Intermediate Age/phase.

Both the colonial Government of India and Wali of Swat were eyeing on the political gains from the first archaeological survey in the Yusafzai State of Swat. As has already been discussed that the British were in search of more knowledge of the native people and wanted to establish friendly relations on their borders. The Wali in his turn would get legitimacy to get rid of the stigma of usurper. So he allowed Aurel Stein in 1926 for his explorations in the Wali territory and Barger and Wright Mission of Albert and Victoria Museum for explorations and excavations in 1938. No worth mentioning archaeological activities took place in the Yusafzai State of Swat before the partition of the subcontinent into the new states of India and Pakistan in August 1947.

After the establishment of Pakistan on 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1947, the Yusafzai State of Swat acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan (keeping internal autonomy intact) by signing the Instrument of Accession (signed by Wali of Swat, Miangul Abdul Wadud on 4<sup>th</sup> of November and Governor-General of Pakistan, M.A. Jinnah on 24<sup>th</sup> of November 1947). In the Instrument of Accession, 59 subjects including archaeology were surrendered to the Federation of Pakistan to be dealt by Federal Government of Pakistan. In addition to that, the ruler of Swat State surrendered his further authority by signing the Supplementary Instrument of Accession and authorized the Federal Legislature of Pakistan to enact laws and to exercise executive authority/power in Swat State in the same manner as it could do in the rest of Pakistan intact (Christensen 1901/1981: 26; Sultan-i-Rome 2009: 7-8; Orakzai 2011: 38). So Swat became a part of the Republic of Pakistan and the fact has been mentioned by Abdul Hameed in *Memorandum on Federated States of Pakistan* as under:

Through this agreement, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly acquired authority to allot such constitutional position to the Swat State in the constitutional setup of Pakistan, as the Assembly deemed fit. Therefore, the Constituent Assembly, on the recommendation of the Basic Principles Committee, assigned to the State a place in the Republic of Pakistan and included it in the Republic, as its part (quoted in Sultan-i-Rome 2009: 8).

Another constitutional development took place in 1955 wherein the four provinces of West Pakistan were merged to form the single province of West Pakistan (aka One Unit). Swat State was, later on, included in the category of the Special Areas under section 2(3) of the Establishment of West Pakistan Act passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on September 30, 1955. Though under the September 1955 constitutional arrangements, the legislation done by the Government of Pakistan was not applicable to

the Yusafzai State of Swat directly, nevertheless, under the Instrument of Accession, archaeological activities came under the same legislation of Pakistan. Keeping in view the importance of AMPA 1904 and its implications for the future archaeological explorations in the region of Swat, Giuseppe Tucci tried to convince Major-General Miangul Adul Haq Jahanzeb, the last Wali of Swat, for the implementation of AMPA 1904 during his meeting with the latter in 1955. In this connection, Sher Afzal Khan, Political Agent of Malakand Agency (consisting of Chitral and Dir States also including Swat State at that time) informed Mr. Raoul Curiel, Director/Advisor to the Government of Pakistan for Archaeology, in March 1956 about the willingness of the ruler of Swat regarding the extension/implementation of AMPA 1904 in Swat State (Tanweer 2011: 42). So from the above discussion it may be inferred that Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 was applicable to the Yusafzai State of Swat as it was adopted by the Federal Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan. In the background of all these developments, in 1955, an agreement was signed between the two countries by F. A. Khan and Giuseppe Tucci on behalf of Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan and the Italian Archaeological Mission respectively with the full support of Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb (figure 4). The above mentioned developments proved harbinger for the Italian Archaeological Mission in general and for Giuseppe Tucci in particular for his long association with the region of Swat which paved the way for G. Tucci to shift his academic activities from Himalayan region of Tibet to Swat valley. He conducted his seminal Survey in 1955 and a detailed survey in 1956 (Tucci 1958, 1977; Faccenna 1964; F. A. Khan 1997/2013: 338; Olivieri 2011).

All these arrangements, developments and efforts of various people proved fruitful for the newly established state of Pakistan and recently defeated Italy in World War II. Pakistan was recently created by dividing Indian sub-continent and needed international recognition and exposure in the community of nations while on the other hand; Italy wanted to recover from the shock of World War II defeat and its affiliation with Fascism and Nazism. Before the commencing of archaeological activities in Swat (Pakistan), under the auspices of scientific expedition to Karakorum led by Ardito Desio, Italian mountaineers succeeded to conquer the summit of K-2 Mountain in 1954, which has a great symbolic meaning both for Italy and Pakistan (Olivieri 2006: 24). For Italy, it proved helpful to restore her national pride in the community of nations after the terrible defeat in World War II in 1945 and for Pakistan brought an international exposure. All these consideration has been summed up by Muhammad Zahir as under:

Perhaps, the IsMEO presence in Pakistan, and Iran and Afghanistan, was linked with this prestige and pride building exercise of the Italians as a nation, Tucci had noted that their research activities in Asia, while in competition with other western countries, were an “ambition of noble and disinterested prestige” by the “enlightened and cultivated” Italians for the interpretation of the past with an aim of bringing the people of Asia and Italy closer to each other. Thus, it may be argued that the Italians presence in Pakistan, particularly in Swat, was not only linked to their genuine interest in archaeology of northwestern region, but was also a means of advancing the image of Italy and Italians to the wider world. Similarly, they, as a developed and civilized society, were even interested in the advancement of knowledge in and about remote regions of the world, with apparently no further stake in either the research or the outcomes (Zahir 2012: 72).

However, G. Tucci tells a different story of the Italians involvement in Swat by saying that he has been brought to Swat for tracing the origin of Tibetan Buddhism and its

legendary founder Padmasambhava. In one of his books, *Tibet: Land of Snows*, Tucci explains his connection with Swat in these words:

I wanted in fact to find out what artistic and cultural connection existed between Swat (then Uḍḍ iyāna) and Tibet; what remains there were of the particular school introduced to Tibet by Padmasambhava, who was considered by the Tibetans its most brilliant representative; and why Swat, now in Pakistan, is holy ground to the Tibetans. Tibet has thus played a leading role in my academic work, and has stimulated a lot of my research (Tucci 1973: 13).

Tibetan literature especially Buddhist literature has allusion to Swat such as Urgan, Orgyan, Uḍḍ iyāna, so Tucci decided to begin archaeological explorations in Swat to expound these vague references to the origin of Tibetan Buddhism and its founder. This fact has been mentioned by Tucci as under:

Apart from the fact that studies necessarily entail the enlargements that research work calls for, one enquiry leading inevitably to others so that the field widens out little by little as the result of an uninterrupted concatenation of events, I must here state that in passing from Tibet and Nepal to Swat. I have not been unfaithful to my customary studies. On the contrary, it is Tibet that has led me on to Swat, as in Tibetan literature one is always coming across allusions to Urgan, Orgyan, Uḍḍ iyāna (Tucci 1958: 279).

But apart from all facts and factors mentioned above, it was Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1949 which locked Tibet for foreigners to work there (Lin 1971/2006). So it was difficult for G. Tucci to continue his research in the Himalayan region of Tibet. In addition to the closure of Tibet for outside world, the three stakeholders i.e. Italy, Pakistan and Swat, were ambitiously eyeing on the rich historical and archaeological background of Swat valley, needed to play their role on international stage within the changing

international socio-political milieu. So it was natural for a man like G. Tucci who devotedly served the Italian state throughout his life, to switch his activities from Himalayan mountainous Tibet to the same terrain in northwestern region of Pakistan i.e. Swat in 1955. The archaeological explorations that had been initiated by G. Tucci through Italian Archaeological Mission in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are still continued to uncover the mysteries of the past of Swat valley in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.



## Conclusion

Being located on the cross-roads of civilizations, the historic and picturesque land of Swat (Ancient Uḍḍ iyāna) has been the scene of contacts among different peoples whether they were invaders like the Achaeminians, the Greeks, Mauryans, the Parthians, the Kushans, the Scythians, the Epthalites/Huns, or the missionaries/holy pilgrims (Indians, Chinese, Tibetans, and Koreans). This historic interaction contributed much to the evolution of the land, civilization and its culture. The foreigners, who ranged from Achaeminians to the Greeks, the Mauryans, the Parthians, the Kushans, the Scythians, and the Huns, brought in the Uḍḍ iyāna country different world views, beliefs and superstitions. The gradual merger of the outsiders into the local environs left many specific marks on the ever-evolved culture and civilization of the region. So by the dint of its geographical location, Swat valley (Ancient Uḍḍ iyāna) proved to be the melting pot of cultures and civilizations which gave birth to a civilization known to the world as Gandhara civilization (though geographically, Uḍḍ iyāna has been a separate entity nonetheless, culturally speaking, scholars are of the opinion that it was an integral part of Gandhara) where cultural, religious, and social syncretism was at peak.

Though there is no clear evidence of the Iranian rule and their socio-cultural presence in the region under consideration, however, the archaeology of the region show some Zoroastrian traces in the region. In the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Greeks appeared on the scene of Swat valley and subjugated the people of the region. The Greek presence in Swat valley (Ancient Uḍḍ iyāna) has been testified in the literary sources by the Greek historians and the coins struck in their names. British, Italian and Pakistani

archaeologists are of the opinion that Bazira and Ora are the Greek parallel for present day Barikot and Odigram.

Greek period was followed by the Mauryan rule who brought with them Buddhism to this part of the world which subsequently spread to Central Asia, China and Tibet. It was the Mauryan Empire especially Ashoka's introduction of Buddhism in the valley and the subsequent Buddhist Civilization in the region which contributed to the archaeology of the region and made it one of archaeologically affluent region of the world. Every nook of the Swat valley (Ancient Uḍḍ iyāna) has been dotted with Buddhist remains of sacred and secular settlements.

Mauryans were once again followed by the Indo-Greek (Indus Greeks) rule testified by their coins and a relic vase dated 50 BCE. Some archaeological evidence of Parthian and Kushana rule are also there. The Huns also contributed to the civilization of the rule as some of the archaeologists are attributed the destruction of the region in particular the destruction of Buddhist monastic establishments in 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century CE.

The Hindu Shahi/Kabul Shahi also contributed to the region by bringing back Brahmanic faith back to Swat valley. The archaeology of the area have ample evidence of the presence of this faith. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> decennia of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium CE, Muslim appeared on the horizon of historically rich civilization of Swat as is obvious from the Ghaznavid Mosque in the premise of Raja Gira Castle at Udegram.

The above mentioned political and religious events/developments contributed to the culture tangible as well as intangible of the region. Due to its interaction with different civilizations of the world and the rich culture of Swat particularly the material culture

Swat valley(Ancient Uḍḍ iyāna) attracted scholars from all over the world. These scholars, including historians and archaeologists tried to explore the history of Swat on the basis of archaeology and text. Some of them used only their pen while others incorporated their pen as well as spade during the last hundred and twenty years. These scholars dominated by the British officials/scholars explored and highlighted in detail various influences on Swat valley in terms of its interaction with different cultures and civilizations.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the British East India Company officials emerged from traders to revenue collectors and subsequently as ruler of Bengal and later on, of the entire India. So in the beginning of their Indian empire, the British officials had the urgent need of information about the land and its people. It was this urgency of needed information to know about the Indians and their standing among the nations of the world which compelled British administrators/scholars to initiate researches on native people's languages, religion, history and culture. In this connection, William Jones, his colleagues in Asiatic Society of Bengal and their contemporaries rendered valuable services. The dire need to be fluent in the vernacular languages ultimately led to the learning of native languages especially Sanskrit by the British officials of the East India Company. The Company officials/scholars interest in the learning of the local languages opened the flood gates of translations by the Company officials in particular and in Europe in general. This politically loaded scholarship gave birth to India centred Orientalism. To institutionalize these efforts, Asiatic Society of Bengal and Archaeological Survey of India were established and with the passage of time, Indian archaeology stood on equal footing with other nations of the world.

In the same way the beginning of archaeology in Malakand-Swat has not been developed in the vacuum but was the result of socio-political arena of greater India in general and of the region in particular. Being an arena of the “Great Game”, the colonial Government of India needed to know the land and its people in the historical perspective. Historical events and literary evidences led to the exploration in the region of Malakand-Swat. Being an important arena for adventurous battles of Alexander the Great and the subsequent huge literature produced by the Greek historians attracted and facilitated the scholars to solve the puzzles such as Bazira, Ora and the disputed Aornos in the history of region. Apart from Greek literature, European scholars especially Orientalists encountered with Chinese and Sanskrit references to Uḍḍ iyāna and Gandhara as regions in Buddhist canonical literature. The grand project of translation of Oriental literature solved the labyrinth of the identification of Uḍḍ iyāna, Gandhara, Bazira, Ora and Aornos of the Sanskrit and Latin/Greek sources. Using the literary sources, the scholars went out into field to authenticate the literary references with material sources. Under the broad term of text based archaeology, archaeologists/scholars/Orientalists tried to identify ancient cities, capitals, rivers and other important places and they succeeded to recognize the Sanskrit and Chinese text Gandhara, Uḍḍ iyāna, Meng chie li, Bazira, Ora with present day Peshawar valley, Swat valley, Mingawara, Barikot and Odigram respectively.

Being the scene of the imperial designs of Macedonian adventurer, Alexander the Great and frequently referred/venerated in Greek historian accounts and Buddhist sources (Sanskrit and Chinese), the term Ancient Uḍḍ iyāna (Swat) had an amorous attraction for the British administrators/archaeologists/Orientalists in particular and European scholars in general. Marc Aurel Stein conducted archaeological explorations in Buner region of

Swat valley with the Buner Field Force in 1898 and longed for archaeological research for the actual arena of Alexander the Great campaigns because the tribal region of Swat remained a “*terra incognita*” for Europeans. M. A. Stein had to wait until 1926 when the colonial Government of India principally agreed to recognize Miangul Abdul Wadud as the legitimate ruler of the Yusufzai State of Swat. So understanding between Wali of Swat and colonial Government of India paved the way for the Stein’s archaeological exploration in Malakand-Swat and later for Evert Barger and Philip Wright explorations and excavations in Swat valley in the summer of 1938. Both, Stein’s surveys and Barger and Wright’s explorations/excavations, have been considered as part of the grand imperial designs initiated by Sir Aurel Stein in 1901 to conduct archaeological research in Central Asia under John Marshall as Director-General of ASI and Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India. Following the footsteps of Greek historians and holy Chinese pilgrims, M. A. Stein identified Manglawar as the ancient capital of Uḍḍiyāna/Swat and Pir-sar as the strong hold of Aornos on the right bank of Indus with the help of literary and archaeological sources. However, Barger and Wright added nothing more to the existing knowledge of history and archaeology of the region rather it was a legal antiquities hunting especially pieces of Buddhist art of Gandhara for Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It is said that the Mission plundered majority of the sites which were excavated without any proper documentation with no preservation plan.

The 5<sup>th</sup> decennia of 20<sup>th</sup> century is barren for the history and archaeology of Malakand-Swat because no archaeological explorations have been observed in Swat, neither from the colonial Government of India nor from the ruler of Swat, Miangul Abdul Wadud. Though barren in context of archaeological explorations in Swat valley, notwithstanding,

the same decade was pregnant with socio-cultural and political events which have indirect connection with the archaeology of the Swat region. Firstly, World War II came to an end in 1945 with a victory for the Allied Forces and defeat for the Axis Power led by the Fascist regimes of Germany and Italy, secondly, in August 1947, the partition of Indian sub-continent gave birth to the new states of India and Pakistan, and thirdly, Chinese Communist forces entered Tibet. These events, the Italian defeat in 1945, the creation of Pakistan in 1947 and Chinese invasion of Buddhist Tibet have indirect bearing and proved harbinger for the archaeological activities in Swat. Italy was searching an international undertaking to restore her lost image and national pride in the community of nations and the young state of Pakistan was in search of international exposure while Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1949 proved to be an end to G. Tucci's research in that Himalayan region because Chinese occupation virtually locked Tibet for foreigners to work there. In the background of all these developments, in 1955, an agreement was signed between the Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan and the Italian Archaeological Mission with the full support of Wali of Swat, Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb for archaeological explorations in the Yusafzai State of Swat.

Legally speaking, the ground was ready because the Yusafzai State of Swat acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan in November 1947. In the Instrument of Accession, 59 subjects including archaeology were surrendered to the Federation of Pakistan to be dealt with by Federal Government of Pakistan. In addition to that, the ruler of Swat surrendered his further authority by signing the Supplementary Instrument of Accession and authorized the Federal Legislature of Pakistan to enact laws and to exercise executive

authority/power in Swat state in the same manner as it could do in the rest of Pakistan intact. Moreover, the ruler of Swat during his 1955 meeting with G. Tucci had shown his willingness to extend the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904 to his territory.

Under these arrangements, the Italian Archaeological Mission began archaeological research and G. Tucci surveyed the region in 1955/1956. In more than a half century archaeological research, the Italian archaeologists have been documented every aspect of the area ranging from pre-history, proto-history, different beliefs, superstitions and culture tangible as well as intangible. The Italian archaeological Mission contributed to the archaeological heritage of the region in terms of documentation, excavation and conservation of the archaeological sites.

The Italian archaeological researches owes its origination and continuation to one man, the well-known Buddhologist, Indologist, Philologist and Orientalist, Giuseppe Tucci.

This research will study the development of archaeology in Malakand-Swat from the following point of view. The development of archaeology in Malakand-Swat is the child of political context (British colonialism and Wali's enlightened despotism).

In this study an attempt has been made to shed light on the past and present condition of the archaeological sites in Malakand-Swat and has been documented by following the foot-step of the pioneers' protagonists. Though legally and institutionally, Malakand-Swat had been brought under the control of colonial Government of India in 1901 in terms of archaeology, however archaeological explorations got started in the region with a 25 years bargaining period for 'give and take' from both sides. In this connection, the

lives and careers of the pioneers in the time scale and locale of the study put to thorough study to know the extent and context of their works.

Sir Marc Aurel Stein termed by scholars as “*Homo Universalis*”, who is known for conducting extensive archaeological explorations in India, Central Asia, Gandhara and Uḍḍ iyāna. His archaeological researches in these regions of the world owed its origins to Stein’s early life ideals, colonial context and developments in academic milieu worldwide as well. According to A. Stein, he was inspired in his early life by three personalities i.e. Alexander the Great, the holy Chinese Buddhist traveler, XuánZàng and the Hungarian traveler, Marco Polo. Tracing the footsteps of his early life ideals, A. Stein extensively explored the Swat valley in archaeological and historical context by using literary sources of the Greek historians corroborated by the archaeological remains of the region. Furthermore, he also studied Buddhist faith and settlements in Uḍḍ iyāna/Swat on the basis of Buddhist canonical literature and material sources by following the footsteps of his “Buddhist Pausanias/Chinese Patron Saint”, XuánZàng. All these efforts resulted in the identification of some historic places in the region such as Bazira and Aornos, Ora, Ming chi li. Apart from Stein’s academic love for Alexander the Great campaigns in the east and romance with the Sanskrit Uḍḍ iyāna, it was the grand imperial designs of the British Empire which brought A. Stein to conduct his extensive and painstaking expeditions in Central Asia, Gandhara and Uḍḍ iyāna. Even, he was suspected as a spy of the British Empire by the Russian and Chinese officials. On the one hand, Stein has been credited for his research in Central Asia, on the other hand, he has been criticized for stealing unparalleled antiquities from Central Asia. Looking at Stein’s immense archaeological pursuit, it is easy to deduce that his entire project of surveys



generally and particularly in Chinese Turkisan of Central Asia, Gandhara and Uḍḍ iyāna in particular has been sponsored by the officials of Colonial/Imperial Government of India especially sponsored by such a man as Lord Curzon who was a British Imperialist by birth.

The pioneer protagonists who conducted archaeological explorations in the frame of this study have documented a number of archaeological sites. As requirement of this study, the present researcher re-visited the archaeological profile of Malakand-Swat going on the footsteps of the pioneering protagonists and recorded the condition of the sites in the area as under:

1. Mentioned, studied and well preserved/recorded
2. Mentioned, studied and partially disturbed
3. Mentioned but neither studied nor preserved/recorded and totally disappeared

In the framework of this study, the above three categories of the sites were recorded during the fieldwork. The picture was not bleak however needs the active support of the state and a comprehensive awareness campaign in the society for the ownership and protection of the archaeological monuments. A large number of sites were found in category 1 condition (meaning well preserved and properly studied). These sites included the sites of Amluk-dara, Balo-kalay, Barikot-ghundai, Butkara I & II, Gumbatuna, Panr, Raja Gira Castle, Tokar-dara, Udegram, etc. While the 2<sup>nd</sup> category consists of the sites of Gogdara, Ghalegay, Shankardar, Shnaisha. The sites of Arcot Qila, Jamphue-dherai, Katelai (Aman-kot & Rahimabad), Meramai, Qambar, Shakardara and Top-dara are those which were totally vanished without any traces today. In majority of the cases, the

archaeological sites have been used by the influential persons of the area as sites for their personal houses (Arcot Qila and Jamphur-dherai, Qambar, Shakar-dara) or more sadly used for constructing mosques/graveyards (Katelai A, Shankardar, Jrando-dag/Masum-Shaheed).

Like the discipline of archaeology itself, the evolution of legislation for the preservation and protection of archaeological remains/cultural heritage, first originated in Europe at the same time when nation-states emerged in that continent of the world. In colonial India, the initiation/evolution of legislation or legal codification of the archaeological/cultural heritage owes its origin to the administrators/scholars of the British East India Company who took keen interest in the antiquities of the colony. In this connection, the British officials (of the British East India Company and colonial Government of India) to manage the endowments funds in India, enacted laws from time to time beginning right from the management of endowment Act in 1810 through the “treasure trove” Act in 1863 and culminated in the comprehensive AMPA of 1904 with an amendment in 1932. But legal codification for the cultural heritage/archaeology had a direct link with the expansion of the British Empire in India and as the empire expanded, the law evolved more complex in nature. However, the colonial Government in India restrained to extend archaeological laws into princely state and they remained outside the institutional and legal domain of ASI throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the very beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the colonial Government of India unilaterally decided to attach the princely states either to the one or the other circle of ASI without any legal dispensation. So through a unilateral administrative decision in 1901, the states of Swat, Dir and Chitral along with the states of Kashmir, Rajputana and the Punjab were incorporated

into the Punjab-Baluchistan-Ajmir Circle of ASI. This decision brought the archaeological activities of Malakand-Swat under the direct control of the British Government of India and proved to be a check on antiquarians, amateurs and even archaeologists vis-à-vis the cultural heritage of the princely states in general and Malakand-Swat in particular. This was an interference in the authority of the rulers of princely states including the Yusufzai State of Swat. However, there is no archaeological activities in Malakand-Swat until the colonial Government of India and the ruler of Yusufzai State of Swat reached an understanding in 1926 which paved the way for the first extensive archaeological survey of Swat by a European, Sir Aurel Stein in March-April 1926.

In this study, the development of archaeology in Malakand-Swat has been studied from the academic and colonial/imperial point of view. In the beginning, the archaeological research of the region focused on the overall historical and archaeological research of India to unlock the knots such as the problem of Hellenism and later the development of Buddhism and the re-emergence of Brahmanism. In this regard great inroads were made in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries which paved the way for the future research. Studying from the “externalist” point of view, the pursuit of archaeology in Malaknad-Swat was a part of Colonial/Imperial designs to cumulate more and more archaeological knowledge in their quest to know the culture, ethnography, history and geography of the region to be used for the purpose of governing the native people. Apart from textual sources, archaeology has the capacity to have vast repertoire of the history of the people. At the same time, some of the protagonists were involved in “Elginism” i.e. the destruction of cultural heritage of the region and removed unparalleled art pieces to the metropolitan museums of the Great Britain. This study also studied the contributions of the Italian

Archaeological Mission to Swat. Though, the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat has been initiated out of political motives, however, after more than a half century archaeological research by the Italian archaeologists/scholars, today the archaeological profile of Malakand-Swat is one of the well recorded, well studied and well preserved in the whole of Pakistan. For this great achievement, the credit must go to the Italian Archaeologists/scholars involved in the pursuit of documenting the cultural heritage/archaeology of Malakand-Swat especially to Giuseppe Tucci who was a motivating force behind this long and mammoth foreign project.

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### Key for Reading Map

| Number on Map | Corresponding Site             | Number on Map | Corresponding Site                 |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 1             | Kulangai                       | 36            | Loebānr                            |
| 2             | Kanjar-Kote                    | 37            | Arap Khan (Shararai)               |
| 3             | Gumbat                         | 38            | Kukarai                            |
| 4             | Amluk-dara                     | 39            | Galiko-dherai                      |
| 5             | Chinabar                       | 40            | Jāmbīl                             |
| 6             | Shaban                         | 41            | Arabut                             |
| 7             | Tokar-dara (Tokar-Gumbat)      | 42            | Shanglai (Baghderai)               |
| 8             | Abarchinar/Abba Saheb China    | 43            | Remains between Kukarai & Dangram  |
| 9             | Nawagai                        | 44            | Barama (Tucci's Badama)            |
| 10            | Gumbatuna                      | 45            | Prang Tangai                       |
| 11            | Parrai                         | 46            | Top-dara                           |
| 12            | Jampur Dherai                  | 47            | Shaldara                           |
| 13            | Katelai A, B                   | 48            | Shināsī-gumbat/ Shnaisha/ Shnaisha |
| 14            | Kambar/ Qambar                 | 49            | Kukrai                             |
| 15            | Odigram/ Udegram               | 50            | Salampur                           |
| 16            | Gogdara                        | 51            | Balan                              |
| 17            | Ghalegai                       | 52            | Manichinar                         |
| 18            | Nawekale                       | 53            | Meragai                            |
| 19            | Tindogag                       | 54            | Jowar                              |
| 20            | Bīr-koṭ -ghuṇḍ ai              | 55            | Babahpa                            |
| 21            | Barikot I                      | 56            | Natmera/Natmaira                   |
| 22            | Tirat                          | 57            | Najigram                           |
| 23            | Jare (Fateh-Pur)               | 58            | Sperki-Gumbat                      |
| 24            | Kuchla                         | 59            | Jrando-dag/Masum Shahid            |
| 25            | Langra                         | 60            | Aligram/Aligrama                   |
| 26            | Shakhorai                      | 61            | Kotelai                            |
| 27            | Sherna                         | 62            | Tutan Bande                        |
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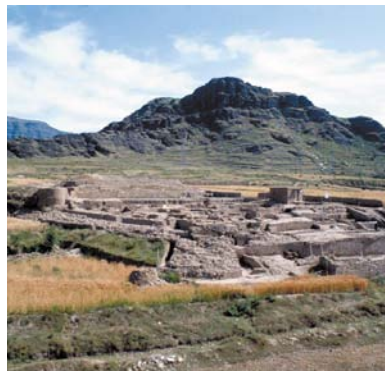


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