

ACT-FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT REPORTS AND MEMOIRS
ARCHIVAL STUDIES, 3

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In association with the Gandhara Connections Project of the Classical Art Research Centre

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ISMEO – ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI SUL MEDITERRANEO E L'ORIENTE



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Foreword

Peter Stewart

(Director of the Classical Art Research Centre)

In October 1896 Major Harold Deane, a soldier and Political Officer on the North-West Frontier of British India, published a concise and pioneering survey of the ancient topography of the Swat valley. His 'Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra', which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, belongs in a tradition of historical analysis by which imperial scholars and officials sought to relate their experience of the North-West to classical Greek and Chinese sources. However, fresh from military campaigning and reconnaissance in the region, Deane offered an account that was uniquely well informed and it came to be one of the most often cited studies of ancient Swat and Gandhara.

In the preparation of his article, Deane wrote or dictated a manuscript draft which he annotated and corrected meticulously. These notes were unknown until, in 2008, Luca M. Olivieri rediscovered them by chance, in difficult circumstances, among a trove of other documents in Malakand Fort – a place that found itself once again on the frontline of conflict.

Deane's manuscript, which is reproduced here for the first time, brings vividly into view the intellectual ambition and rigour of some of the scholar-administrators of the period, which, for all its admirable qualities, was inextricably entwined with their imperialist mindset and the exercise of political and military power. This was the milieu from which the field of Gandharan studies emerged and by which it is still shaped in certain respects.

The authors of this book therefore present a commentary on Deane's seminal *Note* which explains but also extends far beyond its archaeological significance. Their discussions place its genesis in the academic, cultural, political context of the late nineteenth century. When I learned about their research in the fourth year of the Classical Art Research Centre's Gandhara Connections project, I was delighted to have the opportunity to publish it within the series of open access books that the Centre has been able to produce with Archaeopress. Gandhara Connections was initiated in 2016 with the aim of elucidating the Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara and, more particularly its connections (modern as well as ancient) with Greco-Roman art history. Its five-year programme of events, online resources, and accessible publications have provided a spring-board for fresh study of Gandharan art and archaeology, both within and beyond the University of Oxford, in the years to come. The careful insights of Morgan and Olivieri and the new discoveries they have brought to light here represent a precious contribution to that effort.

Oxford, March 2022

Foreword

Adriano Valerio Rossi

(President of ISMEO)

This volume presents the results of a study on the genesis of an important work in the history of research on the Gandhara area, in particular the northern valleys of Swat and Dir. Harold A. Deane's 'Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra' laid the foundations for subsequent archaeological and historical research, starting with that of Aurel Stein in 1926. Domenico Faccenna always recommended the members of the Italian Archaeological Mission that everyone should read these few precious pages, which still today disclose information invaluable not only for archaeologists, but also (for example) for historians and linguists who are interested in understanding place-names.

The author was the first Political Agent at Malakand, a bridgehead for the British advance towards Chitral, identified as an important geopolitical barrier to the feared Tsarist expansion from Central Asia to India. Deane was then the first Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, created at the end of the nineteenth century by the viceroy Lord Curzon. Deane, who was competent in Pashto and had a passion for antiquities, also oversaw the establishment of the first imperial museum collections of Gandharan art, especially that in Calcutta. These items had become available to imperial museums directly from the territories controlled by the Raj – genuine Jewels in the Crown. This art, with Classical aspects so dear to British military and civil residents, has thematic and technical features that inevitably recall another iconographically extraordinary period, the oriental conquests made by Alexander the Great's armies – to which the officials involved could perhaps feel distantly connected.

Deane accompanied his study with exploration, gathering information from local intellectuals and sending out a variety of agents to collect data, make imprints of rock engravings, collect pieces of inscriptions and sculptures, and so on. He surrounded himself with gifted specialists, some already renowned like Alfred Foucher, others seeking opportunities, such as Aurel Stein. Although Foucher was just passing through, his contribution proved invaluable for Deane's reconstructions of Buddhism's sacred places, which make use of accounts in texts by Chinese pilgrims, Xuanzang in particular. Deane was Stein's most important mentor, a circumstance that the Hungarian-British explorer and archaeologist always remembered with gratitude. Another of Deane's contacts was J.W. McCrindle, author of important studies on India as seen by the Greeks (the volume contains an interesting unpublished letter he sent to Deane). McCrindle, who was based in Patna, does not seem to have ever visited Malakand, where museum officials such as Alexander Caddy and Lawrence Waddell worked.

When scholars, functionaries and pioneers visited Malakand, they stayed in the Political Agent's guesthouse. Here in 2008 one of the authors of the present volume (L.M.O.), while conducting wider-ranging research published in 2015, found the original manuscript of 'Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra' with the author's manuscript corrections (now in the Peshawar Archives). Using this documentation, the other author (L.M.) has been able to reconstruct, with mastery and patience, the various stages of writing of the work that then appeared in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Oct., 1896 (pp. 655-675), shortly after the opening of the British station at Malakand. Fifty years later, this region – with its main valleys, the Swat and the Dir – became especially dear to ISMEO, both for the tradition started by Giuseppe Tucci (with studies dating from 1940) and the archaeological work carried out by the Mission inaugurated by Tucci in 1955, which is still underway and nearing its anniversary of seventy years of uninterrupted activity.

The work presented here is also the third volume of the Archival Studies series of ACT Field School Reports and Memoirs, founded by L.M.O., director of the ISMEO/Ca' Foscari University of Venice Italian Archaeological Mission, which since 2011 has divulged the mission's work (for a total of twelve, including the present one, issues). Most of these studies had already been published for ISMEO by Sang-e Meel of Lahore and result from studies largely carried out during the five-year period 2011-2016, when the cultural cooperation project of the same name was active. The Archival Studies also include *Sir Aurel Stein and the 'Lords of the Marches'. New Archival Materials* by Luca M. Olivieri (2015) and *Toponymy of the Swāt Valley: Linguistic Archaeology* by Matteo De Chiara (2020).

Once again, with this volume we hope to offer the international public both a new contribution to the scientific knowledge of these historical regions of abundant artistic and natural beauty, and further proof of how fruitfully our research activities have always collaborated with Pakistani friends and institutions.

Rome, March 2022

Introduction

How it all began

My friend and then Political Agent of Malakand, Mr Arshad Khan, likes to define what happened at Malakand in the August of 2008 with the famous proverb ‘every cloud has a silver lining’.

I had to go to Swat that year for reasons related to the administration of the sites of excavation, the salaries of our staff, and the Mission House in Saidu Sharif. I knew that the security conditions during the Taliban control of the valley did not allow us to continue the fieldwork, and we had suspended it. But I still expected to be able to reach Saidu Sharif, open the Mission House and make the payments without any difficulty. I waited a long time in Islamabad for permission to go up there, and when the go-ahead finally came from the provincial authorities, I found myself stuck at a checkpoint in Dargai, at the base of the Malakand Pass, before the Swat Gates. It was there that a vehicle sent by Arshad Khan picked me up and escorted me to the Fort. I was lodged at the Political Agent’s Resthouse, where Aurel Stein and Alfred Foucher had stayed in 1896. From my lodgings I had a view from a garden terrace looking North over the Swat valley. The Malakand road that I could see to the East was continually traversed by military vehicles. Artillery fire and the sound of automatic rifles came from within the valley. Helicopters and the occasional jet tracked across the sky.

Arshad Khan, while he waited for a good moment to let me enter Swat (which in the event never arrived that year), made available to me to catalogue the remaining sculptures of the Deane collection, supplemented by Deane’s successors in Malakand (Brancaccio in Olivieri 2015a), and thereafter the collection of folders contained in the so-called ‘License Room’ of the administrative part of the Fort (Figure 1), and the volumes of the library of the Political Office (Olivieri 2015a).

The Archive of the License Room

Among the materials that I filed and reordered, I found interesting material relating to a period between 1895, when the Malakand Agency was set up, and 1947. They refer to a number of matters of particular historical interest:

- 1) General matters regarding the former State of Swat (33 folders, plus 1 conserved in the Library);
- 2) General matters regarding the former States of Dir and Chitral and the khanate of Bajaur (13 folders);



Figure 1. Malakand: The License Room (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

- 3) Matters regarding the former State of Chitral and border problems with the Kingdom of Afghanistan (16 folders);
- 4) Matters regarding the Afghan wars (5 folders plus 1 conserved in the Library);
- 5) Matters related to World War I and its political effects in the NWFP and tribal areas (6 folders);
- 6) Confidential reports (28 folders plus 1 conserved in the Library);
- 7) Military operations in the tribal areas (7 folders);
- 8) Reconnaissances and scientific activities (9 folders);
- 9) Journeys and visits by VIPs (4 folders);
- 10) Diaries of Political Agents (incomplete between 1911 and 1923; 5 folders).

My work, in agreement with the Political Officer, and with the assistance of Mr Muhambar Khan 'Chacha', Administrative Office Malakand, and Mr Shafiq Ahmad, Field Officer Italian Archaeological Mission (Figure 2), followed these steps:

- 1) Cataloguing and photographic documentation of the Library in the Political Agent's office (Political Office);
- 2) Cataloguing and photographic documentation of the sculptures in the Political House gardens (= Brancaccio in Olivieri 2015a);
- 3) Partial reorganization of the archive room located in a building just below the Political House;
- 4) Separation of the folders referring to the period of British rule;
- 5) Complete cataloguing of a selected number of the latter (a total of 128 folders accounting for

about one fifth of the total number of pre-1947 folders) and their photographic documentation (limited to the front cover bearing the title and protocol number).

Within the material examined, I found particularly interesting three folders belonging to group 8, which were later labelled as 'Malakand Fund'. Each of these three folders consisted of a tape binder with the title 'Political Agent Dir, Swat and Chitral's Office'.

Considering the size of the task, the Political Agent granted me a second study period at Malakand, a few further weeks during 2009.

All the folders were cleaned up, grouped according to their various topics, and delivered, together with the photographic documentation, to the Political Agent at the completion of the work.

The complete photographic documentation of the three folders of the 'Malakand Fund' was carried out document by document. At the completion of the work, after checking the content of the three folders and having fully apprised the Political Agent of their contents,



Figure 2. Malakand: Mr Shafiq and Mr 'Chacha' at the License Room (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

I requested and obtained from him permission to continue the study of the photographic reproductions, and to publish their contents (Letter from the Malakand Political Agent to Olivieri, dated Malakand 22nd May 2009, protocol no. 2383/LC). The resulting work was published in 2015 (Olivieri 2015a). The ‘Malakand Fund’ was transferred by Mr Arshad Khan and filed in the Provincial Archives, Peshawar in 2014.

The first of the three folders of the ‘Malakand Fund’ is catalogued as: 8, 9/ XX: Miscellaneous/1/ Archeology of the Swat Valley. It is composed of 354 written pages, numbered from 1 to 455 (1 to 168). The numbering is handwritten on the top right margin of all the written sheets to mark the pages (hereafter: p.); the first numbering was probably initiated under Maj. H.A. Deane, and continued under his successors until 9th November 1907 (p. 168, Document 72). From 18th December 1907 (Document 75) all the pages of the folder were renumbered (only odd pages are marked). In all there are 110 documents. The folder was opened in 1895 and closed in 1911.

Within the folder important documents are preserved. For example, the report by A.E. Caddy on what possibly was – along with the work of L.A. Waddell (whose report is also preserved in the first folder) – one of the earliest archaeological reconnaissances and excavations ever done in Swat. The Caddy report (Behrendt in Olivieri 2015a) was incidentally considered lost until it was recovered in this folder (Document 42), while Caddy’s photographs, missing in Malakand, are preserved in the British Library.¹

Among the various documents, Document 10 and 10 bis are the subject of this study:

Document 10) from page 41, \\21\\ to page 121, \\61\\, annotated manuscript entitled ‘Note on Udyana and Gandhara’. The manuscript consists of 82 pages written on both sides in a column placed alternatively on the right (front; odd sheets/pages) and on the left (back; even sheets/pages) in black ink.

Document 10 bis) from page 123, \\62\\ to page 127, \\64\\, handwritten, an appendix to the previous document entitled “App. H, List of Inscriptions”. It contains a list of 60 inscriptions, with a topographic description of the place of find; several of these were already mentioned in Deane’s letter to Caddy (Document 6) (see below ‘Archaeological Comments’, The Jandul inscriptions, p. 208).

[L.M.O.]

The hands in the manuscript

As indicated, the manuscript of ‘Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra’ that is the focus of this publication, Document 10 in Olivieri 2015a, consists of eighty-two pages, written on both sides of the paper, with the main text in columns set alternately to right and left of the page: on odd-numbered (recto) pages the main text sits on the right, on even (verso) on the left, with the exception of page 72 which is set to the right. This layout leaves ample space for annotation, exploited within the manuscript, on the unwritten left or right of each page.

Following this text in the file is an appendix to the article, Document 10 bis in Olivieri 2015a, headed ‘App. H.’, ‘List of inscriptions’. There are five pages, double-sided, using the full width of the page.

The manuscript of the article displays three separate systems of page-numbering. A numeration in grey pencil and probably the same hand as the annotations (see below) runs from 1 to 82, although it is not always still visible and does not continue into the appendix. In addition, in the top-right-hand

¹ Malakand’s archive was then researched by other scholars who made further important documentary discoveries (Shaheen and Rafiullah Khan 2020; Rafiullah Khan, forth.).

133 ~~42~~

Translation of a letter dated 15th Zulka^hijah
1313 from Saad ul-Bek Khan of Peshawar to
Major H. C. Deane C.P.S. Political Officer
Dir + Swat -

— — —

After Compliments - I beg to report - that
as you had asked me to discover antiqui-
-ties in Kafiristan, I intended to do so im-
-mediately on my arrival home, but un-
-fortunately I became ill & have not
quite recovered yet. However, I have
made enquiries and found out - that
Khaharzar, there is a place called Khaharzar to the
Northwest of Nawagai, where Kafirs have
had their abode. Another place is the vil-
-lage of Kharkassi & another Barikao
near Hanjari in Surkh Kaman where
also Kafirs lived. In the village of Chag
near Nawagai there are five ruins of old
Kafirs whose ruler lived in Nawagai. Other
places where they have lived are Tola &
Cundak on the west of Bajaur, Khazana
Derai also near Bajaur. In Bajaur

Figure 3. A page from Document 13 in Olivieri 2015, with the handwriting of the first half of the Note MS (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

corner of odd pages, there are the two systems of numeration already described that apply to the whole folder, one sequence of numbering in red ink running from 21 to 61, counting only the pages marked and crossed through *passim*, and another in red or blue pencil running from 41 to 121, counting all the pages. The appendix is marked as 62-4 and 123-7.

The article is dated and signed on page 82, 'H.A. Deane Major, Political Officer Dir & Swat 21 11/95'.

The main script of the article and appendix is in two hands, the hand changing with the start of page 51 (and a new paragraph) to the same hand as wrote Document 6 in Olivieri 2015a, the draft of a letter from Deane to A.E. Caddy dated November 8th 1895 (Figure 4), and Documents 19, 20 ('List of stones (inscribed) and impressions of inscriptions brought to Major H.A. Deane C.S.I. and the manner how disposed of by him'), 23, and a note at the end of Document 25 which seems to be signed 'Gursaran Das'.² The handwriting of the first part of the MS corresponds to that of Document 13 (Figure 3), a translation from Persian (or Pashto) of a letter dated 15 Dhul-Hijja 1313 (May 27-8th 1896) from Sami Ullah, Khan of Pashat, to Deane on the topic of antiquities in Kafiristan, and 21, 'List of Inscriptions presented by Major Deane to the Lahore Museum'. The hand of the appendix is the same as the second hand of the article MS until no. 57, from which point it reverts to the first hand.

In addition to the main text in the MS there are erasures, corrections and additions mainly in black ink and in red, the red later than the black as there are red-ink corrections to black-ink corrections as well as a few red-ink corrections to red-ink. (In the transcription the red-ink corrections are rendered in red, and such black-ink corrections as were not made immediately by the original hand in black italics.) This additional material (along with the signature at the end) is written in a hand identifiable as Deane's own from Documents 44 (Figure 5) and 54 in Olivieri 2015a, short notes to Major C. Archer and Major S.H. Godfrey in 1902 and 1903, by which time Deane was Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province (the latter note carries the emblem 'Chief Commissioner NWFP'): Archer was Political Agent in succession to Deane from 1899 to 1902, and Godfrey from 1903 to 1907 and as Lt Col again from 1908 to 1909.³

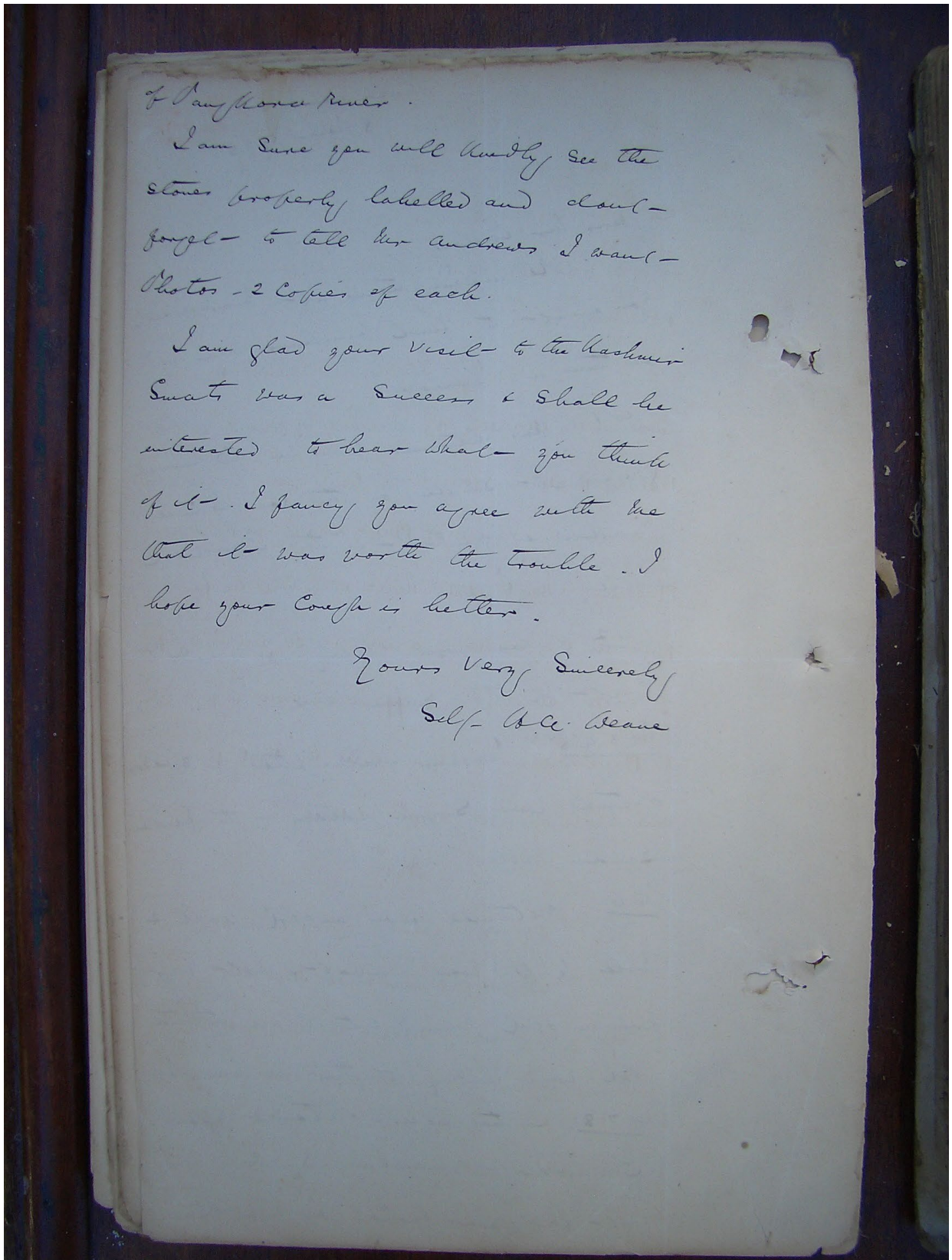
The natural conclusion is that the main text of the MS was written by secretaries, whether a writing up of shorthand notes from dictation or a fair copy of a version written by Deane himself which no longer survives. Deane will then have annotated the text in black ink, and again in red—the latter intervention is more comprehensive. Corroboration of the character of Deane's relation to this document are the two sections marked (in red ink) A and B, which instructions (also in red) on pp. 21 and 79 of the MS direct someone to add or relocate.

Other additions to the MS worth mentioning are a supplement to the main text on p. 43 in the main writing hand rather than Deane's; apparent (reversed) question marks in blue pencil on p. 22 that may indicate doubt about some geographical details; and a correction and a comment in grey pencil, apparently the same as the initial numeration, on pp. 65 and 75—in the latter instance a query that is answered in a red-ink supplement.

The text that will have resulted from all these interventions still remains at some significant remove from the text published by the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, as the references in particular to omissions

2 A Lala (or L.) Gursaran Das Mehta is commended by J.Ph. Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle for the year ending 31st March 1906*, described as his clerk, for his supervision of archaeological work and registering of finds (p. 28); in idem, *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Panjab and United Provinces Circle for the year ending 31st March 1905*, p. 4 Vogel had recorded his initial employment, and in idem, *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle for the year ending 31st March 1907*, p. 4 Hirananda, deputizing for Vogel, records Gursaran Das's departure to a position with better prospects after two years with Vogel's department. Before the name 'H.A. Deane' in the letter to Caddy, Document 6, we may read the letters 'Sec/-' for 'secretary'.

3 Olivieri 2015a, 171.



Mr. G. A. Deane

I am sure you will kindly see the stones properly labelled and send -
me - to tell Mr. Andrews I want -
Photos - 2 copies of each.

I am glad your visit to the Kashmir
Swat was a success & shall be
interested to hear what you think
of it. I fancy you agree with me
that it was worth the trouble. I
hope your cough is better.

Yours very sincerely
Self - G. A. Deane

Figure 4. A page from Document 6 with the hand of Gursaran Das (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

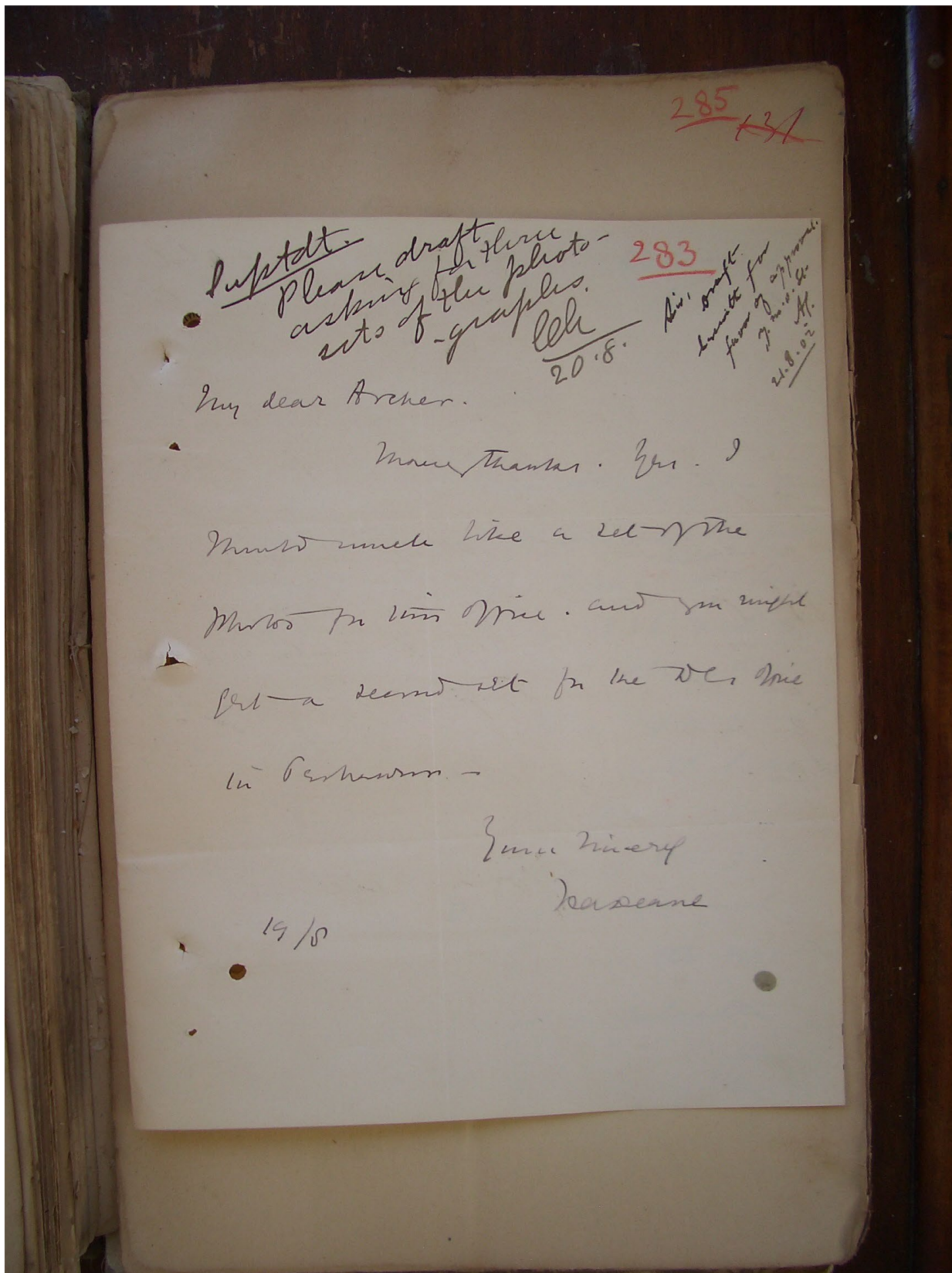


Figure 5. Harold Deane's hand (and signature) in Document 44 (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

from the published text will indicate. Appendices running from A to H are indicated in the MS, of which 4/5 persist into the article, A, B, D and E, the B and C of the MS, both apparently illustrating the ancient fortifications at Malakand, having been conflated into B. Appendix H, unused, is Document 10 bis, the list of inscriptions. The absence of any later version of the article in the folder (no documentation relating to this article or contemporary editorial practice survives at the Royal Asiatic Society, regrettably) may suggest that the body of these final changes were made by the journal, and they are broadly compatible with a combination of a few further changes made by Deane himself before he submitted the final draft and some firm editing at the Royal Asiatic Society.

[L.M.]

H.A. Deane: Life, Work and Context

Harold Arthur Deane, who in ‘Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra’,¹ a preliminary MS of which is the subject of this study, has a strong claim to have inaugurated the archaeological study of Swat and its immediate environs, was also considered a model administrator within the troubled north-western borderlands of British India. The challenge is to marry these two accounts of a single individual.

Life and Career

Deane was born on April 1st 1854 at 2 Montpelier Terrace, Brighton,² third son in the large family (the details traceable in the census) of a country parson who occupied, as his father had before him, a comfortable family living at Hintlesham, in the county of Suffolk.³ His parents had spent some time in British India, where his father, the Rev. Henry Deane, served as a chaplain for the East India Company, and at least two of his numerous brothers in addition to Harold, in a manner typical of the nineteenth-century country gentry to which his family belonged, made careers for themselves in India, serving in Indian Army regiments.⁴ But a significant further factor in Deane’s early life was that the family’s finances were straitened, Henry’s money having been entirely invested in Agra and Masterman’s Bank, which suspended operations in 1866.⁵ This explains Harold’s education, which was unusual for someone of his social status. He attended Ipswich Grammar School, ‘and had to leave at an early age to earn his living in London’ according to his daughter.⁶ Nevertheless, the ‘very great classical bias’ of the curriculum at Ipswich School (similar to any other comparable school at the time) would contribute to the older Deane’s perception of N.-W. India as it did that of many other British and Europeans there and across the border in Afghanistan.⁷

In 1874 Deane was commissioned in the Army, serving in the 54th (West Norfolk) Regiment of Foot, at the time deployed in India, before transferring to the India Staff Corps, which provided officers to the regiments raised within India. Service on the North-West Frontier with the 1st Punjab Cavalry, with whom Deane saw action during the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-81), included the celebrated march of General Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar, and was followed by five years as a police superintendent in the Nicobar and Andaman islands, before Deane completed his trajectory away from the strictly military by entering ‘political’ service with the Punjab Commission, which administered a territory stretching across what is today the width of northern Pakistan as well as the modern Indian states of Punjab, Himachel Pradesh and Haryana.

1 H.A. Deane, ‘Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1896, 655-75.

2 Detail from a private account by Deane’s daughter, Gertrude Mary Humphrys, written for her family, for which I am grateful to Owen Humphrys, Deane’s great-grandson. For Deane’s life, see also his obituary in *The Times*, July 8th, 1908, p. 12. Summary details also in Riddick 1998. Gertrude Mary married another Frontier administrator, Francis Humphrys, who after service as a Political Officer in NWFP became British Minister, i.e. head of legation, in Kabul and later British Ambassador to Iraq. His and his wife’s sangfroid during the Afghan civil war of 1928-9 is memorably described in Baker 1975. Deane’s younger daughter, Alice Daisy, married an army officer, James Dick-Cunyngham, at St. John’s Church, Peshawar, in 1905. His son Henry Harold Rookhurst was also an officer in the Indian Army. The whole family is be found at 10 Eaton Road, Hove at the time of the census on April 5, 1891.

3 For the wealth and prestige of the living at Hintlesham in the nineteenth century, my thanks to Prof. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *pers. comm.*

4 Deane 1899: 122.

5 Gertrude Mary Humphrys’ account (see n. 2).

6 See n. 2.

7 Gray and Potter 1950: 11. H.A. Holden, headmaster from 1858 to 1883, was a distinguished classical scholar. Gray and Potter at 123 describe an influential teacher at the school in Holden’s time, Robert Nicholas Sanderson, who could recite the first six books of the *Iliad* by heart, and was in the habit of saying ‘that there were only two men in England who understood their Homer—himself and Mr. Gladstone.’ Sanderson’s ‘laughter was Homeric, and the sound of his wrath was almost Olympic’, a former pupil recalled.

As a former soldier entering the Political Service in British India Deane was in a minority, the majority being recruits from the Indian Civil Service, but on the Frontier a background in the army was favoured, and military candidates predominated.⁸ The preference was stated to be 'lean and keen men on the frontier, and fat and good natured men in the [central-Indian] states',⁹ and as we shall see Harold Deane in some eyes represented the archetype of the 'lean and keen' Frontier Political. From 1885 to 1895 he worked as a local administrator, mainly in the border territories west of the Indus river, and notably for a period serving as Deputy Commissioner, general administrator, of the Peshawar District, the most north-westerly directly-administered district of the British Indian Empire,¹⁰ before events elsewhere on the frontier raised him to even greater prominence. Much of the material in the latter part of his article originates in Deane's spell in the vicinity of Peshawar.

1895 saw a crisis in Chitral, a small independent princely state at the far north of the Indian Frontier with Afghanistan. The significance of events in Chitral to the authorities in Calcutta, the capital of British India, was its perceived importance, combined with Gilgit, a British agency (i.e. a territory indirectly administered by the British through local rulers), as a bulwark against encroachment by Russia. A key tenet of British Indian foreign policy in the nineteenth century was the threat posed by the expansionist Tsarist state, which advanced rapidly across Central Asia during that period. The threat to India was thought not to be direct invasion by the Russians but rather that a Russian presence on its borders, and influence on Afghanistan, in particular, could encourage Britain's Indian subjects to rise up against their very thinly-spread British rulers. Maintaining control of an India in rebellion would be, as the British had learned in 1857, economically crippling. Malcolm Yapp talks of the 'conviction that the British in India were sitting on a parcel of deliquescent gelignite',¹¹ and this anxiety shaped in fundamental fashion the frontier policy of the British in India, motivating both nineteenth-century interventions in Afghanistan, for example.

In 1895, when dynastic conflict in Chitral threatened to hand power there to figures unamenable to British influence, and when subsequently the British agent in neighbouring Gilgit, attempting to reassert British influence in Chitral, found himself besieged in the fort at Chitral town, the capital of the state, the stage was set for a popular imperial tale of heroic resilience. Insofar as it concerns Deane, the 'intimate knowledge of frontier affairs and of the speech and habits of thought of the tribesmen' (as *The Times* obituary puts it) that he had accrued as a soldier and political officer on the Frontier led him to be attached as chief Political Officer to a relief column which was despatched to break the siege and restore British prestige. Two forces converged on Chitral, one by the existing route via Gilgit, while another much larger column (to which Deane was attached) was pushed through the independent territories of Swat and Dir, a significantly shorter route than the first.

Much of the information reported in Deane's article derives from his observations during this campaign. At p. 661, for example, in connection with the Aushiri (Ushiri) valley in Dir on the road to Chitral, Deane regrets that 'pressure of work in connection with the retirement of the Chitral Relief Force prevented a survey of the lake [at the head of the valley] from being made', and its identity with Xuanzang's dragon lake being established (the further sentence, 'But this I will have done later' was deleted between MS and publication, *Note MS p. 27*);¹² at p. 659 he shares information about ruins in the vicinity of Sado, 'which was a post held during the Chitral Relief Expedition'; and the 'very interesting point' about the language of the Gujars on p. 662 is in the MS something that occurred to Deane 'during the Chitral Expedition' (*Note MS, p. 31*). In broader terms Deane's narrative account of the antiquities of Swat and

8 Tripodi 2011: 25-6.

9 Tripodi 2011: 25.

10 Rose and Howell 1908: 143-167.

11 Yapp 1980: 205, the seminal account of British Imperial thinking about the Indian Frontier.

12 For the dragon lake he was seeking, see Beal 1884: 1.128.



Figure 6. 'Malakand Top - 1933' (Courtesy of Miangul Archives).

valleys to the west as far as the upper Panjkora and Baraul (Barawal) valleys (pp. 11-38 of *Note MS*, and 657-64 of *Note*) tracks the itinerary of the invading relief force in 1895.

Subsequent to this relief campaign, and with a view to securing communications with the garrison now stationed in Chitral, agencies were established over not only Chitral but also the two intervening states of Swat and Dir. Deane was appointed as the first Political Officer for the three kingdoms (Chitral was added to his responsibilities a little later than the others), exerting British power through the existing absolute monarchs (the Nawab of Dir, Wali of Swat and Mehtar of Chitral), his essential role being to secure the critical road, guarded by native levies funded by the British, that led from Peshawar over the Malakand and Lowarai passes to Chitral. To that end a British military presence was established at Malakand and at the bridge over the Swat river at Chakdara, an area of direct control extending up the eastern bank of the river just as far as the village of Thana.¹³ It is in the fort at Malakand, Deane's headquarters, that the manuscript that we are concerned with was discovered.

In his role as Political Agent, such was its significance, Deane reported directly to the Government of India in Calcutta rather than the Punjab Government in Lahore. There is a clear demarcation in *Note* and *Note MS* between accessible and inaccessible territory—from the latter of which information is only available through 'native' accounts. The majority of the Swat valley was under such limited influence as Deane as Political Agent could project, but physically out of bounds. Deane's means of gaining information, both military-political and archaeological, thus needed to be extensive.

¹³ Tripodi 2011: 84-6 is an excellent summary of the measures taken and their motivation.

Deane remained at Malakand until 1900, when he served for a year as Resident (a similar role) in the independent princely state of Kashmir. But the most significant event during his tenure at Malakand would have a major impact on his own career. In 1897 an initial uprising in Swat developed into something that the British had not experienced before, a general outbreak of violence, often coordinated between hitherto mutually hostile tribes, that extended along almost the entire border with Afghanistan, from Malakand to Quetta. In Swat the British camps at Malakand and the fort at Chakdara were both attacked and besieged by large forces, and while both here and elsewhere on the Frontier a massive British military response restored order comparatively quickly, the uprising had caught the authorities, Deane included, entirely by surprise.¹⁴ Deane's own confidence in his understanding and control of his territory was shaken, although he also gained credit for successfully resolving the situation once hostilities were over.¹⁵ In the longer term, an assessment of the strictly short-term gains achieved by such military responses, and the vast expense they entailed, led to a fundamental reformulation of policy at the Frontier. When George Nathaniel Curzon became Viceroy of India in 1899, British military forces were drawn back from the Frontier, their role taken by militias recruited from the border tribes themselves, working with British Political Officers. To streamline the byzantine process of policy making on border matters, furthermore, the border districts were hived off from the Punjab Commission and made their own separate province, the North-West Frontier Province or NWFP, under a Chief Commissioner also responsible for the adjacent autonomous areas, a Political Officer whose officially civilian status reinforced the larger message of a military withdrawal.¹⁶



Figure 7. 'Chakdara - 1933' (Courtesy of Miangul Archives).

¹⁴ Tripodi 2011: 86-9.

¹⁵ Tripodi 2011: 96.

¹⁶ Tripodi 2011: 91-6, another splendidly clear account.

Curzon's choice for the new role of Chief Commissioner of the NWFP was none other than Harold Deane, whom Curzon had met, and been impressed by, when passing through Peshawar en route to Afghanistan in 1894 (Curzon was an adventurous traveller),¹⁷ and Deane assumed the role with the official inauguration of the new province on November 9, 1901, notwithstanding the resentment of presumptively senior rivals for the post. Curzon explained his choice to local leaders in durbar in Peshawar, according to *The Times* obituary, 'because [Deane] knows you all well and has your confidence, and because his heart is in the task.' Trialling a bold new policy was a huge responsibility, however, and the micro-managing Curzon not the easiest superior, and while during Deane's time as Chief Commissioner the Frontier remained generally peaceful, the strain of the job, and especially outbreaks of violence in early 1908, was generally thought to have contributed to the breakdown of Deane's health later in the same year.¹⁸ Obligated to take six months' leave to the United Kingdom, Sir Harold Deane (he had been knighted in 1906) died just a fortnight after his return on 6th July, after unsuccessful surgery for a brain tumour. His funeral took place at Hintlesham on 11th July 1908, but a memorial service in London on the previous day was attended by the great and good of British India, led by Lord Curzon.¹⁹

A model Political Officer

Formally non-military though his role had been ever since he joined the Punjab Commission, Political Officers like Deane exerted power backed always by the threat of military force. The talents attributed to him are consequently as much military as administrative or intellectual. Olaf Caroe, in *The Pathans* (1958), identifies Deane as one of three Frontier officials—along with George Roos-Keppel (who succeeded Deane as Chief Commissioner of NWFP in 1908) and Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum—who had successfully given flesh to Curzon's vision of tribal administration. Deane had a special sympathy for Pathan/Pashtun culture, by Caroe's account,²⁰ and physically he matched the Frontier ideal, '[t]all and spare, with a commanding presence and searching dark-blue eyes.'²¹

To illustrate the respect that he commanded from the Pashtuns for the firmness of his dealings, Caroe recounts an anecdote from Deane's time as Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, when a British official with a similar name, Louis Dane, was also in Peshawar settling tax revenues. Dane was apparently an administrator of the 'fat and good natured' tendency—as Caroe puts it, 'an officer of great distinction who in due course became Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, but whose lot lay always in pleasant places.'²²

One day a naïve young Khan [member of the landowning class] in a Peshawar hujra [guest house], puzzled by the similarity of names, asked one of the Khalil Arbabs [chiefs] what was the difference between Din and Den. The answer came: 'The same as between Shir and Sher, only the other way round.' A pretty jest.

The joke hangs on a long-established observation that the words for 'milk' and 'lion' in Persian, though written the same way (شیر), are in Afghan Persian pronounced differently, 'shir' for 'milk' and 'sher' for 'lion'. Deane and Dane offer scope for confusion, in other words, these two British administrators,

17 Caroe 1958: 422.

18 Caroe 1958: 422.

19 *The Homeward Mail*, Saturday 11th July 1908, p. 3. Owen Humphrys has in his possession a note of condolence to Deane's widow Gertrude from Lord Curzon.

20 Letters from Caroe to Deane's son-in-law Francis Humphrys in the possession of Francis' grandson Owen Humphrys (to whom I am again extremely grateful) indicate that Caroe's account of Deane is indebted to Humphrys: Caroe specifically asks Humphrys for an account of a man whom Caroe had never met.

21 Caroe 1958: 421.

22 Caroe 1958: 422.

but are actually chalk and cheese, or rather a lion, embodiment of strength, in the case of Deane, while Dane is mother's milk.²³

A degree of projection is of course to be assumed here, Peshawar residents confirming the established view of British administrators, but Caroe's story also illustrates the ideal, embodied by Deane, of a deep engagement, cultural and linguistic, with the subject population, and the co-existence in the Political Officer of intellectual and physical qualities: the emphasis on sporting proficiency in the recruiting process is relevant here.²⁴ An account of the Chitral expedition of 1895 by Francis Younghusband and his brother characterises Deane, in comparable fashion, as a representative of a profession, the Political Officer, generally distrusted by the Indian Army, but one who had won their respect, and displayed his 'intimate knowledge of the country, its people, and language' and 'shrewd knowledge of how to deal with them' by negotiating the release of two British officers held captive by their enemy, Umra Khan.²⁵

With Deane in mind, Alfred Foucher, the French archaeologist who visited Swat with Aurel Stein in 1896-7, paraphrases the complaints of soldiers unable to treat the conquered as they saw fit, and expresses the central principle of the 'political' approach, the iron fist in a velvet glove: 'Long practiced in the service of the Frontier, knowing the Pathans inside out and no less known to them, he conquers slowly and steadily with his prestige what force of arms had only subdued: little by little he settles these intractable tribes beneath the yoke, and politics achieves what the Maxim gun had started.'²⁶ Again, there is an insistence on Deane's 'intimate knowledge of the country, its people, and language' and 'how to deal with them.' Winston Churchill, in his account of the campaign to suppress the 1897 rebellion, describes accompanying Deane on a typical 'Political' mission, negotiating with erstwhile combatants in fluent Pashto and with cultural confidence, at great personal risk but also backed by the threat of overwhelming military force.²⁷

Patron of scholarship

From the somewhat different perspective of the archaeologist Aurel Stein, the same picture is confirmed, but another aspect of Deane's – and the ideal Political Officer's – knowledge of the territory for which he was responsible, one especially relevant to his article on the antiquities of Swat and Peshawar, is introduced. Early in Stein's popular account of his Second Central-Asian Expedition (1906-1908), the exploit that more than anything established his reputation, he recalls a meeting before his departure with the figure who was without doubt Stein's most significant patron:²⁸

With the Viceroy in residence at Government House [in Peshawar] and many important affairs of the Frontier to settle, Sir Harold Deane yet found time for a quiet talk with me on the morning of my departure. How grateful I feel now for having had this chance of saying in person my farewell words of thanks to him who had always been my truest friend and patron! I felt deeply the parting from the protective aegis of the noble soldier-administrator, so alive to all the historical interest of

23 Caroe 1958: 456 n. 2 offers this explanation of the Arbab's joke, but prefers another interpretation involving the differing Iranian-Persian and Afghan-Persian pronunciations of the word for 'lion'. In Afghan Persian, and also formerly in Iranian Persian, it is pronounced 'sher', but in modern Iranian pronunciation both 'lion' and 'milk' are 'shir'. Thus Deane is a tough Afghan lion, Dane an effeminate Persian lion. But given that 'sher'/'shir', "lion'/'milk' was a well-established ground for wordplay, indeed something of a cliché, this latter reading seems preferable.

24 Tripodi 2011: 27.

25 Younghusband and Younghusband 1895: 85-6. For the tensions between Army and Political Service, see Tripodi 2011: 26. Deane is also credited, as Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, for interrupting the efforts of a 'Scotch firm in Bombay' to supply Umra Khan with the latest in military hardware, including 'Maxim guns at Rs. 3,700 each: Younghusband and Younghusband 1895: 94.

26 Foucher 1899: 502.

27 Churchill 1898: 146-54.

28 Stein 1912: 1.7.

the Frontier, who had never missed an opportunity of giving me scope for archaeological exploits within or without the border. I was aware that it might be a parting for longer than the time of my journey. And yet there was nothing to warn me that within little more than two years this born ruler of men, whose strength of body and mind impressed the most turbulent tribesmen, would succumb to the ceaseless strain of guarding the peace on the Frontier.

Stein's contacts with Deane had begun around the time of Deane's own scholarly contribution, his article of 1896. A collection of inscriptions from Peshawar and Swat, ancient Gandhara and Uddiyana, in large part brought to Deane by his contacts in the local population while he was Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar and then Political Agent for Swat and Dir, were sent to Stein (who subsequently published them),²⁹ at a time when the latter was employed, not entirely happily, as Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, and Registrar of Punjab University.³⁰ The subsequent story of Stein's progressive extrication of himself from administrative burdens in India, up until his triumphant (and personally liberating) Second Expedition, is bound up with the patronage he received from Deane, a committed amateur antiquarian who was himself high and rising in British administration of the Frontier. Thereafter, in his Christmas holidays in 1896-7, Stein, accompanied by Alfred Foucher, investigated at Deane's invitation the 'archaeological paradise'³¹ of the strip of Lower Swat under direct control of the British military.³² Then in 1898, again at Deane's encouragement, Stein gained permission to accompany a military show of force by the British in Buner (related to the uprising in 1897), to the south-east of Swat, although the rapid success enjoyed by the mission limited the amount of time he had to pursue his aims of investigating Buddhist remains and clarifying their relation to the locations described by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims.

On this occasion Stein was only able, accompanied by a military escort arranged by the commanding officer, to reach the base of a significant prize for the archaeologist, Mt. Mahaban.³³ In 1903, with his First Central-Asian Expedition under his belt and (again through Deane's good offices) a new role as Inspector-General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor for North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, Stein (with Deane's support) crossed the frontier again, and scaled Mahaban. The importance of Mahaban was its status as the favoured location, ever since an influential article by James Abbott on the subject,³⁴ of Aornos, the mountain stronghold captured by Alexander the Great in 326 BC and the preoccupation of a long line of archaeological researchers, professional and amateur, on the Indian frontier. In Deane's article, which concludes with a discussion of Aornos' location, Abbott's candidate is endorsed. But in 1903 Stein was able (with regret) to rule out Mahaban as a plausible candidate, while at the same time filling in more pieces in the jigsaw of the Buddhist pilgrims' itineraries.³⁵

Stein's personal preoccupation with Alexander and Aornos (which, as indicated, he shared with a large proportion of the British and Europeans that found themselves in North-West India and Afghanistan in the colonial period) would reach its fullest realization in 1926, when he received permission from the Miangul, ruler of Swat and Buner, to carry out an extended tour of ancient Uddiyana. The climax of Stein's popular account, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* (1929), was the ascent of Pir Sar, which Stein was

29 Stein 1898. The publication of Deane's first finds was by Senart 1894.

30 Mirsky 1977: 64; there is a good summary biography of Stein by Susan Whitfield on *Encyclopaedia Iranica* s.v. 'STEIN, (Marc) Aurel'.

31 Mirsky 1977: 68.

32 There is an excellent account of Stein's work on the North-West Frontier in Rienjang 2012.

33 Rienjang 2012: 1-4; Stein 1899a: 14-28, 33-46 and 58-64.

34 Abbott 1854: 309-63.

35 On a much later occasion Stein talks of how, '[f]ollowing up a hint first supplied by Colonel Sir Harold Deane', he was able 'to trace the remains of' a monastery and shrine mentioned as the location of a jataka by Xuanzang 'at the site of 'Bütān' near the southern foot of the Shākōt Pass and above the large village of Palai in Swāt territory', the hint in this instance being one provided by Deane in his article, p. 671; Stein 1915: 113; cf. Beal 1884: 1.113.

convinced was the true site of Aornos. Others since have made persuasive counterclaims, but for these purposes Stein's compelling account of his investigations in Swat captures well Deane's formative role in the development of a celebrated traveller and archaeological adventurer³⁶ in its dedication:

'To the memory of
Colonel Sir Harold Deane, K.C.S.I
the great warden of the
Indian North-West marches³⁷
this record is inscribed
in grateful remembrance
and sincere admiration.'

A scholar in his own right

Deane's own archaeological interests emerge already from his enthusiastic patronage of Stein and his seminal article's very existence, of course, as well as indirectly from a wider perusal of the material contained in the same file as the *Note* MS at Malakand.³⁸ But Deane also had direct experience of archaeological excavation, having excavated, while Assistant Commissioner in Mardan, the site of Sikri, and published his results, one of the first such systematic excavations of a Buddhist site:³⁹ the stupa he mentions at *Note* MS 73 and *Note* 673 remains a focal point today of the Gandharan gallery in the Lahore Museum. Surgn.-Major Waddell, who visited Lower Swat shortly after the conclusion of hostilities in 1895 describes him as 'Major Deane, the Chief Political Officer, and a well-known archaeologist, who for many years has been zealously and most successfully exploring the Buddhist remains of Peshawar and its frontier countries.'⁴⁰ But his interests may be illustrated further from details within his article. One such in *Note* MS (p. 45), which did not survive Deane's own editing, records the origin of his interest in ancient Gandhara in 'discovering the 12th Edict missing from the large Asoka-inscription at Shahbaz Garha.' What Deane had found, in 1889, was the final element of an inscription of fourteen Edicts that the third-century BC Buddhist Emperor Ashoka had set up in numerous locations around the borders of his vast realm. At Shahbazgarhi, near Mardan, an inscription in kharosthi script that would prove to contain thirteen of the Edicts had originally been brought to the attention of Western savants in India by Claude-Auguste Court, a Napoleonic veteran and general of Ranjit Singh, Maharajah of the Punjab, who shared with later Western functionaries in N.-W. India a preoccupation with Buddhist remains and Alexander the Great.⁴¹ When Deane discovered the missing Edict XII, the Toleration Edict seemingly given special status by having been inscribed on a separate rock, he was thus contributing to a venerable scholarly enquiry.⁴²

Another artefact alluded to in Deane's MS, but not in the finished article, was of comparable significance, a rock south of Kalam, reported by his local sources, 'on which there is a large foot-trace of Buddha, and the Pilgrim mentions such' (pp. 5-6). In fact all three major pilgrim accounts, by Faxian, Song Yun

³⁶ For which, see also Olivieri 2015a: 182-4.

³⁷ Equating Deane to the Lord Wardens of the Marches, the borderlands between England and Scotland before the Union of the Crowns in 1603, is a flattering gesture on Stein's part, but the analogy in the roles, a representative of a neighbouring jurisdiction who exerted a form of oversight over formally independent peoples, is an apt one. Jackson 2019: 33 talks of the six 'marches' overseen by the Scottish and English Lord Wardens as 'quasi-autonomous and legally distinct jurisdictions', and the whole chapter is a compelling evocation of this frontier space.

³⁸ Olivieri 2015a: 33-68.

³⁹ Behrendt 2004: 228; cf. 16. No copy of Deane's published report appears to have survived. He refers to his excavation in *Note*, p. 673, more explicitly at *Note* MS p. 73.

⁴⁰ Waddell's two reports on his mission are preserved in the Malakand Fund: see Olivieri 2015a: 2, Document 3. Waddell also published his reports in *The Academy* No. 1224 for October 19th 1895, pp. 321-2 (Waddell 1895).

⁴¹ Masson 1845 (including subsequent discussion); cf. Court 1836: 481.

⁴² Smith 1901: 102; Bhandarkar 1925: 250.



Figure 8. A detail of the stupa from Sikri, Lahore Museum (Photo by Manal Khan).

and Xuanzang,⁴³ describe the footmarks and their miraculous power of appearing longer or shorter in proportion to the viewer's merit. As Deane writes, though, 'its position exactly is not certain'. 'It is worth noting in event of our later being able to visit the country', he concludes. The uprising of 1897 provided just such an opportunity, and we find no less a personage than Winston Churchill trying unsuccessfully to locate it ('the various cavalry reconnaissances failed to discover it').⁴⁴ In the event Deane's 'agent' Abdul Hanan passed on to him (in 1896, shortly after his composition of the article) an 'inked estampage' (a method of transferring the image of an inscription to paper, a squeeze) of the footprints from a location half a mile south of Tirat, which Deane then passed on to Aurel Stein, and Stein to Georg Bühler, the distinguished scholar of ancient Indian languages in Vienna. Bühler had previously published three inscriptions from Swat, estampages of which had been sent him by Deane (mentioned in *Note*, p. 656, *Note MS* p. 3),⁴⁵ and was able (in one of his last publications) to explicate the kharosthi text identifying them as the Buddha's feet.⁴⁶

Archaeology, war and espionage

Deane had, as Bühler remarked, thereby made a significant contribution to the reconstruction of Xuanzang's itinerary, his activity on the ground in Swat advancing scholarship in both India and Europe. The quite thorough imbrication of that archaeological activity with warfare we have touched upon, but we could also mention Major Maisey of the 30th Punjab Infantry, cited by Deane for his excavation

43 Beal 1884: 1.xxxi (Faxian, early fifth century), xcvi (Song Yun, early sixth), and 123 (Xuanzang, seventh). The rock is now in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif. For Bühler's premature and mysterious death, see Allen 2008: 173-6.

44 Churchill 1898: 147.

45 Bühler 1896-97. There is a copy of this article in the same file as the MS of Deane's article, Document 14 in Olivieri 2015a.

46 Bühler 1897: 12-14; Stein 1930: 59-60.

at Dargai on the southern slopes of Malakand in 1895 in an early version of Deane's MS (pp. 39-42),⁴⁷ and Younghusband and Younghusband's account of an old Buddhist road (to which we shall return) up to the summit of the Malakand Pass which was discovered and exploited by the 60th Rifles during the assault of the same year;⁴⁸ Surgn.-Major Waddell describes a research trip into the Panjkora valley, and a dangerous excavation in the unoccupied Morah valley ordered by Deane and undertaken by Mr Spencer, a subordinate Political Officer.⁴⁹ Two things are worth highlighting here. First, it is striking how unerringly archaeology attends military occupation. The military activity in Swat, undertaken for strategic reasons ultimately related to anxieties about British India's security, sees archaeological investigation take place, fully endorsed by the authorities and sometimes initiated by museums, in the immediate aftermath of, and even alongside, active conflict. Barely six months after the occupation of Swat, there is the appetite for Deane's own article, which implies something similar, although the intense fascination exerted by Swat on the British, both as the scene, long out of reach, of Alexander's exploits and as a source of high-quality Buddhist artefacts, should not be understated in this case.

A second observation is how symbiotic, indeed indistinguishable, was the intelligence gathering proper to a political officer on the Frontier and the research of an amateur archaeologist. When Deane discusses the relationship between the capital of Uddiyana in Xuanzang's account, 'Mungali, or Mung Kie-li', and Minglaur (Manglawar, *Note* p. 656, *Note MS* p. 3), he corroborates the information that the ancient city lay a mile or so east-south-east of the current village with 'reports of men I have at times despatched to Minglaur'.⁵⁰ It was from this neighbourhood, he adds, that he secured impressions of the three inscriptions he had sent to Bühler, and the implication is that they came to Deane by the same offices. Aurel Stein's 'interest in Mount Mahāban as the probable site of Aornos was considerably increased by the important information which Major Deane had recently obtained through native sources regarding extensive remains of an ancient fort situated at a point of Mahāban known as *Shāhkōt*'.⁵¹ The detail of information that Deane can muster about a site he had not personally seen (*Note* 673-4, *Note MS* 76-7) is arresting. It was, needless to say, of the essence of the role of Political Officer exerting influence on notionally independent states that he possess as much knowledge as he possibly could about those places: in that sense his article conveys the determination of a Frontier administrator to fully understand the space under his responsibility as surely as collecting the linguistic data to develop his understanding of the minority Torwali language of the Swat highlands,⁵² and also, conversely, the degree to which his failure to anticipate the 1897 uprising distressed him.⁵³

A clutch of letters from 1910 preserved among the correspondence of the Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew offers oblique corroboration of this picture.⁵⁴ They are in all but one case from Lady Mary

47 Olivieri 2015a: 34-5. The 30th Punjab Infantry were engaged in guarding the invasion force's lines of communication over the Malakand: Younghusband 1896: 9. Maisey's father had excavated Sanchi with Alexander Cunningham in 1851, see p. 213 below.

48 Younghusband and Younghusband 1895: 67; cf. Wang 2002: 84, Francis Younghusband's reminiscence (in the context of Stein's tour of Swat, and identification of Aornos, in 1926) of Buddhist remains found 'when the engineers were road-making through the Malakand Pass into Swat', from *The Times* 27 May, 1926, p.14c.

49 For Waddell's own accounts of his expedition, see n. 40. On this site and Deane's involvement, see also Stein 1929: 17-18.

50 The identification with Manglawar was accepted also by Stein, but Mingora has been the favoured candidate since Tucci 1958: 285-8; Rienjang 2012: 4. See also pp. 198-200.

51 Stein 1899a: 61.

52 Grierson 1929: 1.

53 Tripodi 2011: 96. For Deane's use of local informants see Rafiullah Khan 2020: 137-8, citing Document 13 in the Malakand Fund, in which Sami Ullah, the Khan of Pashat, answers Deane's enquiries about antiquities in Kafiristan, by which is apparently meant a district up against the border of Afghanistan, and quoting Aurel Stein's quotation of Deane's account of the transfer of one item, Stein 1899b: 901: "'This inscription was said to have been found originally 3 years ago, by a Zamindar of Gabrial, who made it over to one Mulla Rajab Ali. The Mulla made it over to a Talib named Muhibulla who gave it to Abul [presumably Abdul]'" (Major Deane's agent)', 901.

54 The correspondence is discoverable in the Global Plants collection on JSTOR under the Identifier nos. KDCAS7981 to KDCAS7987.

Gertrude Deane, widow of Harold (they were married at St John's Church, Jhelum on 2nd November 1880),⁵⁵ to Sir David Prain, Director at Kew. The issue is a botanical collection gathered by Harold Deane in the last three years of his life, while Chief Commissioner of NWFP, and Lady Deane's wish to donate it to Kew. (The idea of offering it to Kew may have originated with Aurel Stein, who had visited the widow of his great supporter at her flat in London while himself in the middle of a three-year sabbatical after his Second Expedition.) What emerges, among other things, is Deane's meticulous methods of organizing his collection, such that, even though the Deanes' departure from Peshawar in 1908 was precipitate as his health declined, the collection was 'in excellent order' when the trunk containing it was opened up at Kew.⁵⁶ Tripodi's assessment of Deane the administrator, 'knowledgeable, though seemingly cautious', perhaps captures him in a wider sense.⁵⁷

The colonial frame

But the impulse to collect, organise and label was a larger phenomenon in British India than the personal predilections of a Political Officer. The linguistic information that Stein provided to George Grierson had been in the first instance a contribution to Grierson's hugely ambitious Linguistic Survey of India (1894-1928). If the title of that project echoes The Great Trigonometrical Survey especially associated with George Everest,⁵⁸ the seventy-year effort to map every inch of the Indian subcontinent, and the Archaeological Survey of India led by Alexander Cunningham from 1861,⁵⁹ in each case the parallels with what Guha-Thakurta has defined as 'institutional claims' by the British imperial authorities 'for the care, conservation and custodianship of Indian antiquities',⁶⁰ reflected in strenuous efforts, especially focused in the aftermath of the uprising in 1857, to give India an archaeological infrastructure appropriate to 'an enlightened ruling power', are clear.⁶¹ Deane's article (p. 675) on the antiquities of Swat and Peshawar, like Abbott's before him, ends with a hope that a map of Swat can be soon be drawn.⁶²

Key elements in the realization of this paternalistic oversight of India's history were the museums that proliferated across British India, and the often closely related measures taken to protect Indian antiquities from harm. There is extensive evidence of Deane's efforts to protect sites and restrict movement of artefacts in the Malakand documentation.⁶³ The threats to archaeological sites included damage or treasure-seeking by locals, but more significantly the taste of British officers and the wider world for Gandharan art, the compelling admixture of Buddhist belief with Greco-Roman artistic style, which made artefacts from the territories beyond British jurisdiction a target for acquisition for personal collections, military messes, or indeed for the international art market. As Aurel Stein writes to his brother on the occasion of his visit with Alfred Foucher to Malakand (a rich passage to which we will return), the consequences could be devastating:

I feel I am on classical soil and enjoyed every minute. As extensive as are the sites, they have unfortunately suffered considerably from the barbaric digging for sculptures. In spite of Major Deane's assurances, every officer with a taste for the classical products of the old sculpture of Udyana has people dig up monasteries

⁵⁵ Gertrude Humphrys' account, see n. 2.

⁵⁶ The account in Cohn 1996: 76-105 of the collecting practices of the British in India, notably Col. Colin Mackenzie's determined efforts in south India, offers an interesting comparandum.

⁵⁷ Tripodi 2011: 96

⁵⁸ On which see Edney 1997.

⁵⁹ The Trigonometrical Survey was explicitly proposed as a model for the Archaeological Survey by Cunningham, quoted by Guha-Thakurta 2004: 3 as illustrating the 'overlapping colonial demands of knowledge, control, and custody', 4; Cunningham 1871b: 1.iii. Cf. Guha-Thakurta 2004: 34 on the parallel mapping activities of the archaeological and cartographical surveys.

⁶⁰ Guha-Thakurta 2004: 4.

⁶¹ Charles Canning, Governor-General/Viceroy of India in 1861, in his introduction to Cunningham's proposal for the establishment of the survey, quoted by Guha-Thakurta 2004: 30; Cunningham 1871: 1.ii.

⁶² Abbott 1854: 357.

⁶³ Olivieri 2015a, especially documents 16-19 and 27-8, pp. 41-2 and 45-6, with Olivieri's commentary at 178-186.

and around the stupas for statues and reliefs. You can imagine what unspeakable destruction accompanies these robberies. Foucher and I often felt like Jeremiah mourning the ruins of this modern vandalism.⁶⁴

An aspiration to protect sites certainly did not preclude, in the official view, their excavation by and for reputable institutions. A.E. Caddy and Surgn.-Major L. A. Waddell, prominent in *Note MS* (pp. 28, 40-41, 54; 8, 12, 39), though absent from the finished article, were involved in excavations in the area under Deane's direct control on behalf of the Indian Museum in Calcutta in 1895 and 1896. Waddell, having served in the Chitral Relief Force, returned to Lower Swat in 1895 'for the archaeological exploration of this ancient Buddhist land, formally called Udyana, and to secure sculptures for Government,'⁶⁵ while Caddy, as Rafiullah Khan has explained on the basis of new archival material from Malakand,⁶⁶ came as far as Mardan and probably Dargai at the border of Swat in 1895 in support of Waddell's mission, taking charge of the material (including that collected by Maisey at Dargai and by Deane himself, largely by confiscation, in Lower Swat and on the march toward Chitral) that Waddell had initially planned to deliver to the Indian Museum, less whatever of Maisey's sculptures from Dargai the Lahore Museum had requested. Then in 1896 Caddy returned on an archaeological mission in his own right, most notably excavating Loriyan Tangai.⁶⁷

Guha-Thakurta explains the ideological underpinning of the Indian Museum's quest to have collections 'worthy of a Museum which claims to be Imperial',⁶⁸ a comprehensive expression of the country it represented,⁶⁹ and also the competition that developed between different notions of preservation, and in effect between different museums. Rafiullah Khan details how the Gandharan material excavated by Maisey, initially destined for the Indian Museum, became caught up in rival claims from the Punjab Government in favour of the Lahore Museum.⁷⁰ Deane's own donations to museums of material he had confiscated or excavated himself are to be found in Calcutta, Lahore, the Peshawar Museum founded in the year before his death, and in the British Museum (notably wooden artefacts from Kashmir Smast or Smats, as described at *Note* 668-71, *Note MS* pp. 59-68).⁷¹ The academic infrastructure which brought efficient publication of the inscriptions that came into Deane's hands is an obviously parallel phenomenon. The two thoughts that we need to hold suspended are that Deane's work to investigate and protect antiquities was of great lasting value, inaugurating a discipline pursued since 1955 by Italian archaeologists (encapsulated by the Buddha's feet, now safely housed in the Swat Museum in Saidu Sharif); and that at the same time, both as an administrator and an archaeological enthusiast, Deane thoroughly embodied policies of protection and collection of antiquities that advanced the claims of British authorities to be rightful rulers of India. As an actor within the context of British colonial control, his could never be a purely innocent interest in preserving the heritage of the territory within his purview.

64 Mirsky 1977: 68. Quoted also by Abe 1995: 85.

65 Waddell 1895: 321.

66 Rafiullah Khan 2020: 141-7.

67 On Waddell, perhaps best known at the time for his efforts to identify the landmarks of the Buddha's life and ministry, see n. 40, Olivieri 2015a: 173 and Errington 1990: 775-9; he is also vividly characterized in Allen 2008. On Caddy, see Rafiullah Khan 2020: 141-7; Behrendt 2015. Caddy's report is preserved, apparently a unique survival, in the Malakand Fund. Rafiullah Khan 2020 ponders the somewhat dubious ethics in play in Caddy's and Waddell's missions.

68 India Museum 1882: 18, cited by Guha-Thakurta 2004: 45.

69 Guha-Thakurta 2004: 43-82 is a rich account of the genesis and development of the museum in British India.

70 Rafiullah Khan 2020: 143-6. Guha-Thakurta 2004: 60-70 discusses the tensions within the project to protect antiquities, between preservation *in situ* and transfer to museums, and between more or less local museums.

71 Gandharan artefacts also entered the British Museum through Deane's son Henry Harold Rookhurst Deane, see *Nature* 143 (1939), 112-13. Allen 2008: 201-2 records a gift by Deane to Sri Subhiti, abbot of the Waskaduwe monastery at Kulatura, Ceylon of 'two boxes containing some ancient sculptures of Buddhism and stone images of Buddha which were discovered by him' during the Chitral Expedition.

Dreams of Alexander

The historically and culturally contingent character of Deane's enthusiasms emerges also from their emphases. Aornos, with which his article concludes, had become the Holy Grail of Alexander-obsessed travellers, soldiers and administrators in the borderlands of Afghanistan. From the epiphany of Claude-Auguste Court, who placed Aornos on the Afghan border, at first sight of the Vale of Peshawar, 'the most beautiful scene of Alexander's exploits',⁷² to James Abbott, who studied the mountains of Buner with a telescope from the far side of the river Indus, and settled on Mount Mahaban as Aornos (which Deane still regards as a leading contender),⁷³ and on to Aurel Stein,⁷⁴ who triumphantly (but incorrectly)⁷⁵ identified Pir Sar on the Indus as the site of Alexander's great exploit – and many, many more in between – Aornos represented not just something of historical interest, but a key component of a charter myth for their own presence in the alien space of N.-W. India.⁷⁶ The Classical education most clearly in evidence in the title of Abbott's article, *Gradus ad Aornon*, a play on *Gradus ad Parnassum*, a widely-used guide to Latin verse composition, and his generous employment of untranslated Latin and Greek, and in Stein's meticulous analysis of the competing ancient accounts of Alexander's passage to the Indus, was a strong element in Deane's make-up too, those formative years at Ipswich Grammar School asserting themselves – alongside the persistent ethos of the military and the Political Department.⁷⁷

It is not chance, then, that Deane's attention in his article turns to this burning issue before too long, and the letter from J.W. McCrindle to Deane that we publish in an appendix fills out the picture. McCrindle, the author of a series of translations of Greek sources on India, is cited twice in *Note MS* (pp. 77-79), and one of those citations survives into the published article (p. 674). In both cases Deane is using McCrindle's published work to plot Alexander's advance toward the Indus, and specifically citing the fourth of McCrindle's six 'Annotated Translations of the Works of the Classical Authors which relate to India', in this case his translation of the relevant sections of Ptolemy's *Geography*.⁷⁸ McCrindle's fifth volume, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (1893), had presented the main ancient accounts of that campaign, but as discrete, annotated translations of each author. McCrindle's letter to Deane, entitled 'Alexander's Campaign in Afghanistan', is a response to what was clearly a request from Deane for a synthesis of these accounts and McCrindle's opinions on situating Alexander's movements in the contemporary landscape between the Hindu Kush and Indus. The communication between McCrindle and Deane is further evidence for the prominence of Alexander in contemporary perceptions of this geographical space, and it is worth adding that while McCrindle was thoughtful in his assessment of Alexander's impact on India,⁷⁹ he subscribed to an assessment of the Macedonian general, that of Bishop Thirlwall,⁸⁰ that saw in his conquests 'the first of the great monarchies founded in Asia that opened a prospect of progressive improvement, and not of continual degradation, to its subjects: it was the first

72 'While in contemplation, having no fortune but hopes, I wondered how the necessity to make a livelihood had given me, a mere French officer, the possibility to go so far away and behold the most beautiful scene of Alexander's exploits.' Quoted in Lafont 1983: 86.

73 Abbott 1854. For an effort to associate contemporary British military action at Mahaban with Alexander's campaign, see Hagerman 2009: 386.

74 Stein 1929: 120-159; Stein 1930: 66-94.

75 Tucci 1977 esp. 52-5; Olivieri 1996. See also 24 and 257-63 below.

76 Fundamental here is Hagerman 2009; cf. Hagerman 2013. Schliephake (2019) is a recent contribution. For the wider picture of Alexander's status in colonial thought, see Briant 2017, with 193-220 on the British in India.

77 Hagerman 2009: 348-9; Hagerman 2013: 30-31.

78 *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Calcutta, Bombay & London, 1885). The other volumes, in order of first publication, were *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta, Bombay & London, 1877), *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea* (Calcutta, Bombay & London, 1879), *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian* (Calcutta, Bombay & London 1882), *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster, 1893), and *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901). He also published *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk* (London, 1897).

79 See for instance Vasunia 2013: 97 on the comparative subtlety of his accounts.

80 Thirlwall 1845-52: 7.121; McCrindle, 1893, 48; Vasunia 2013: 41-2. On the influence of Thirlwall's vision of Alexander, see Hagerman 2009: 371-9.

that contained any element of moral and intellectual progress.' The contemporary resonance is hard to miss, and this is very much Deane's ideological milieu.

In fact McCrindle's letter offers vivid illustration of this point. In his postscript McCrindle answers a specific enquiry from Deane about 'the road by the Malakand Pass' with two passages from Strabo, an author whose material on India, later gathered in *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (1901), McCrindle had not yet published. We can identify what this ancient road that Deane was referring to was from contemporary references to 'an old Buddhist road' that led to the summit of the Malakand Pass from the south.⁸¹ But it is Waddell's first report on his visit to Malakand in 1895 that clarifies the nature of Deane's interest in this road:

On the following day I ascended the Malakand Pass by the so called 'Buddhist road,' as it has been lately named. It is an excellent ancient road, comparing favourably with the best mountain roads of the present day. It rises by an easy gradient, and several of its sections are cut deeply through the hard rock. It is quite possible that this may have been on the line of march of Alexander the Great in his invasion of India, as Major Deane suggests. Be this as it may, it is very probable that Asoka, Kanishka, and the powerful kings who held this country, used this road and gave it its present shape.

Waddell is referring to a conversation with Deane rather than anything that Deane had at this stage written, but it confirms, if there were ever any doubt, that what Deane was seeking from McCrindle was confirmation of his hunch that where the Chitral Relief Force had recently come, over the Malakand Pass, had once also been the route of Alexander the Great. This is an instance, readily paralleled, of Europeans viewing N.-W. India and Afghanistan through the filter of their own cultural priorities, and in the process legitimizing their presence in this alien space. In this specific case it is tempting to see also an impulse to capture the pride felt in the storming of Malakand and the wider campaign, described by Tripodi as 'one of those instances of high drama, much like the siege of Mafeking during the Second Anglo-Boer War, that attracted a huge amount of attention throughout the Empire and pandered to public notions of national honour and imperial destiny',⁸² by evoking a precedent in the heroic figure of Alexander.⁸³ The conversation or conversations between Waddell and Deane, alluded to elsewhere in Waddell's reports and also in *Note MS p. 12*, incidentally represent a plausible point of origin for Deane's article.

Buddhism and the Grecian touch

We also miss something of the cultural horizons of Deane and his collaborators if we fail to appreciate that their interest in Buddhism has a classical inflection, too. Archaeological investigation across India tended to favour Buddhist remains, and in explanation Guha-Thakurta, citing Almond,⁸⁴ points to the prominence of Buddhism in British Victorian thought and imagination, or at least the image of Buddhism that was elaborated in Victorian Britain, and the capacity of Buddhist art and architecture, by offering an aesthetic restraint compared, for instance, to medieval Hindu temples, to represent a purer, original cultural moment in Indian history. 'By the end of the nineteenth century, Buddhism

⁸¹ As already mentioned, Younghusband and Younghusband 1895: 88 and 93. Francis Younghusband later recalled the road in a commentary for *The Times* (May 27th 1926, p. 14c) on Aurel Stein's 'discovery' of Aornos at Pir-Sar, see Wang 2002: 84. We find regular reference to it also in the description of the siege of the camps at Malakand in 1897 in Churchill 1898: 50, 52, 61, 65, 85 and 317, with the map before p. 49, and in Enriquez 1910: 5.

⁸² Tripodi 2011: 85.

⁸³ Hagerman 2009: 352: 'They saw themselves re-enacting, at a two millennia remove, Alexander's explorations, conquests, and ultimately even his world-historical mission; and, of course, exposing themselves to the same physical and moral dangers he had so cavalierly chanced.'

⁸⁴ Almond 1988.



Figure 9. 'Malakand - 1933' (Courtesy of Miangul Archives).

could be widely mobilized, by both British orientalists and Indian nationalists, in staking an ancient, classical, "great art" tradition for India,⁸⁵ and positioning the British as the preservers of this deep history. Most obviously, Deane's article studiously overlooks the longstanding Islamic culture of Swat to see the Buddhist survivals that predate it. In recovering for India a forgotten ancient history, neither Hindu nor Muslim, the British were in that respect also providing an authentically Western frame.⁸⁶

But a, perhaps the, key ingredient of the focus on the Buddhist in archaeology and museum accessions (the two activities symbiotic) is something illustrated by the letter of Aurel Stein to his brother from Swat in 1898 that we quoted earlier. One might understand Stein's remark 'I feel I am on classical soil' as alluding to Alexander's operations in the valley, and that is certainly part of it: much of the work he does eventually undertake in Swat is to trace Alexander's movements.⁸⁷ But 'the classical products of the old sculpture of Udyana' that he goes on to refer to are Buddhist, and Stein is right in his implication of the appeal that the Greco-Roman Gandharan style possessed for British officers.⁸⁸ Very like the knowledge that Alexander the Great had been in these places, Buddhist art betraying a Greek influence was a beguilingly familiar presence for these men amid the strange. Kipling in the opening pages of *Kim* (1901) describes the entrance hall of the Lahore Museum, with 'the larger figures of the Greco-Buddhist

85 Guha-Thakurta 2004: 38, with the wider discussion at 34-40.

86 For a readable account of the colonial recovery of India's Buddhist past, Allen 2002.

87 Abe 1995: 85. Goethe had felt fully inspired for various activities 'on classical ground' ('auf klassischem Boden') in his *Roman Elegies* (5.1). In Central Asia it was a turn of phrase that expressed the discovery, in unexpected space, of a Greek presence in antiquity. For Alexander Burnes 1834: 1.241, Balkh is 'such classic ground'; the Talash valley, beyond Chakdara, is likely 'classic ground' in the three-page digression on Alexander's probable route of march at Enriquez 1910: 10.

88 Abe 1995 is a comprehensive discussion of Gandharan art in the context of colonialism. Cf. Behrendt 2004: 16.

sculptures done, savants know how long since, by forgotten workmen whose hands were feeling, and not unskilfully, for the mysteriously transmitted Grecian touch.'⁸⁹ 'Europeans knew the world through its signs and correspondences to things known.'⁹⁰ The history of the rediscovery of the Buddhist cultures of N.-W. India and Afghanistan was from its beginnings inseparable from a search for the Greek presence there.⁹¹ Deane's classical training at Ipswich School, typical of the cadre of men employed on the North-West Frontier, is thus as present in his excavation, protection and donation of Gandharan Buddhas as it is in his hankering after the true site of Aornos.

Aornos can help us to measure the distance between 1896 and now. After Abbott's candidate of Mahaban was ruled out by Aurel Stein in 1903, in 1926 he proposed his own, Pir Sar, suggested to him by Colonel R.A. Wauhope of the Trigonometrical Survey ('Being a sound classical scholar all his life, he was interested in the location of Aornos'),⁹² and this idea can still claim its supporters. But the arrival of Italian archaeologists in Swat in 1955 brought a broadened frame of reference to this question. Giuseppe Tucci, the founder of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan, was a Buddhologist and Tibetologist by speciality, and while perfectly comfortable with the Greco-Roman evidence, was more alert to the indigenous cultures of Swat. Tucci's candidate for Aornos, Mt Ilam,⁹³ is these days increasingly recognized as correct,⁹⁴ and is so recognized not so much on the basis of the classical sources (which in important respect it contradicts, being nowhere near the river Indus, for instance) but above all on an appreciation of the perennial sanctity of Ilam within the sacred landscape of Swat, something that cannot be said of Pir Sar.⁹⁵ For that intensely sacred character the evidence is in Chinese and Tibetan sources, but also in the much older indications of settlement, movement and religious activity in the landscape of Swat, its religious importance to Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, the placement of rock shelters and Buddhist foundations, and in the evidence of Avestic and Indian myth, itself hinted at in the Greek accounts, of Ilam as the focus of heroic stories of monster-slaying. The Greek presence in Swat, in Deane's day so dominant a focus of interest, has taken its proper place in contemporary scholarship as one element within this holistic and grounded assessment of the historical space of Swat, and similarly the Greek and Latin texts that McCrindle gathered so assiduously. It is worth adding that an identification of Aornos as the perennially sacred Ilam 'corrects' the record in another way, making of Alexander's most heroic military exploit the desecration of an indigenous people's most sacred place of refuge.

We end where we started, with a highly effective administrator of colonized territory, and an authentic product of his milieu, who was not only a catalyst for significant intellectual advances, but was so to a large degree for the very same reasons as he was an efficient and distinguished Political Officer. Disciplines emerged from the colonial enterprise, and those disciplines, indebted to their predecessors but unconstrained by their predecessors' peculiar emphases, can still be of indisputable humane value.

[Ll. M.]

89 Cf. Stein 1929: 17 for the 'regrettable damage and loss ... caused..., in tribal territories and elsewhere along the Peshawar border, by 'irresponsible' digging for remains of that Hellenistic sculptural art which once adorned all Buddhist sanctuaries of this region.'

90 Cohn 1996: 79.

91 As amply illustrated, for instance, in Errington 2007.

92 Stein 1930: 66-94, with Col. Wauhope at 72-3; Stein 1929: 113-60.

93 Tucci 1977: 52-5; Olivieri 1996: 64-70.

94 Rienjang 2012: 9.

95 On the persistent sanctity of Ilam see also Vidale and Olivieri (2005), 456; and Olivieri 2015c: 69.

Notes on the Transcription

Deane's handwriting (as opposed to that of his assumed amanuenses) is represented both in red ink and in italic black, the latter to distinguish the handwriting of the notes from the original text in black. In addition, a smaller font in black marks departures from the text of the printed article.

The most common such note is followed by "*om. JRAS*" and indicates that any given passage is absent from the final article. I appreciate that I am using an established abbreviation of classical textual criticism in something slightly different from its normal application, but this is a slightly different kind of edition. Any text marked for deletion in the MS can be assumed to be absent also from the printed article.

Trivial divergences from the MS in the printed article (for instance capitalisation, diacritics indicating vowel length, expansions of abbreviations, some changes in punctuation) are not highlighted.

Some black text crossed out in black is irrecoverable and marked by "[erasure]". Some of these erasures were done by the original hand, and some in Deane's earlier intervention in black ink.

The editors' notes on the text are indicated by a red number (①) for archaeological commentary (by LMO), and a blue number (①) for general commentary (LM).

Photographs of the documents are by L.M. Olivieri. Photographs are currently stored in the digital archive of the Italian Archaeological Mission, Mission House, Saidu Sharif, Swat.

41 27

Note on Udyana and Gandhara

- As the Swat valley and neighbour-
 - hood, the principal portion of the
 old province of Udyana has hitherto
 been inaccessible for archaeological
 research, it may be of interest if
 I give the following ^{my} notes, however
 incomplete, which I have made
 during the little time at my disposal
 as Chief Political Officer with the
 Central Relief Force and lately as
 Political Officer for Dir and Swat.

They may induce others better quali-
 - fied to devote some attention to this
 interesting neighbourhood, and I
 shall be pleased to give any assistance
 which my local knowledge may
 enable me to do.

The notes are principally
 derived from the travels of
 the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang
 as given in Beale's Records of the
 Western World.

The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang's
 records of Udyana are the most
 detailed and accurate and the
 earliest ^{and} best guide to follow.

ART. XIV.—*Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra*. By H. A. DEANE

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of Udyāna, have

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research, the following rough notes (made during the little time

②

and Swat) may induce

neighbourhood. They are principally connected with the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Huan Tsiang, as given in Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World."

The notes are principally connected with the travels of the Chinese Pilgrim Hiouen Tsiang as given in Beale's Records of the Western World. Hi

③

Hiouen ... follow *om. JRAS*

Note on Udyana and Gandhara

- As the Swat Valley and neighbour-

-hood, the principal portion of the
of

old province Udyana has hitherto

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been inaccessible for archaeological

research, it may be of interest if

rough

I give the following notes, ~~however~~

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~~incomplete~~, which I have made

during the little time at my disposal

as Chief Political Officer with the

Chitral Relief Force and lately as

Political Officer for Dir and Swat.

They may induce others better quali-

-fied to devote some attention to this

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~~which my local knowledge may~~

~~enable me to do.~~

The Chinese Pilgrim Hiouen Tsiang's

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records of Udyana are the most

detailed and accurate and ~~he~~

the easiest

is our best guide to follow.

~~It is easy to accept the truth of his statement - that on both sides of the river Sa-po-fa-sa-tu, the present Swat River, there were 14000 old Sangharamas, along the banks of the river are numerous ruins, the~~

The Pilgrim says that there were 14000 old Sangharamas along in the banks of the River Supofasuta, the present Swat River - this is probably an exaggeration - as ruins are found all through the country. Unfortunately

majority ^{lie} being in Upper Swat which is at present inaccessible for ~~we can not visit at present.~~ research

~~Himon Tsang says that the old Capital of the Province was Mungali or Mung-kil-li.~~

in his Ancient India Buddhist Period

General Sir a. Cunningham thought that this could be found in Minglaur, a large and important village lying at the foot of one of the North Western Spurs of the Dzirri Mountain, Dzirri and its neighbouring peaks all belong to the Duma range, and this portion of the range divides Swat from Buner. General Sir a. Cunningham also thought Mingaur or Mingora of Wilford's Surveyor to be the same place.

The identification of Minglaur

~~It is easy to accept the truth of his statement that on both sides of the river Su-po-fa-su-tu, the present Swat River, there were 1400 old Sangharamas—along the banks of the river are numerous ruins, the majority lying in Upper Swat which we can not visit at present.~~

~~Hiouen Tsiang says that~~ **The old capital of the Province was Mungali or Mung-kie-li.**

General Sir A. Cunningham thought [^] that this could be found in Minglaur, a large and important village lying at the foot of one of the North-Western spurs of the Dosirri mountain, — Dosirri and its neighbouring peak Ilm belong to the Duma range, and this portion of the range divides Swat from Boner. General Sir A. Cunningham also thought Mingaur or Mingora of Wilfords Surveyor to be the same place.

The identification of Minglaur

The Pilgrim says (Beal, ii, 120) that **The Pilgrim says that there were 1400 old sangharamas along on the banks of the River Supofasutu, the present Swat River. This is was probably no exaggeration—as ruins are found all through the country. Unfortunately**

Su-po-fa-sutu

④

Unfortunately, however, the majority

is at present inaccessible for research

is at present closed to Europeans

①

in his Ancient India Buddhist Period

Mung Kie-li

in his "Ancient Geography of India, Buddhist Period," p, 82,

that this place could be identified with Minglaur

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Dūma range, which here divides

Mingaur, or Mingora of Wilford's surveyor, to be

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The identity of Minglaur

43 72

with Mungali is, I think, undoubted-
 -ly correct, though the main site of
 the old town lay, from the reports of
 men I have at times despatched
 to Minglaur, about a mile to the
 E.S.E. of the present village. Minglaur
 is a separate place lying some
 5 miles to the west of Minglaur.
 The ruins about Minglaur are
 described as very extensive. On
 cliffs not far from them deeply
 cut inscriptions exist. Three of
 these, impressions of which I
 obtained last year, have been
 translated by Professor Bühler,
 and are now being published in
 the Epigraphia Indica. ~~Vide Article~~

~~41-42-43 App. H.~~ Unfortunately none
 of them are historical. However -
 Tsiang mentions ^{that there were} four or five
 strong towns existing ^{in Udyana} besides Mun-
 gali but does not give their names.
 There are remains of many
 throughout the country. ^{but it}

is undoubted, though

deeply-cut Sanskrit inscriptions

⑦

Unfortunately...but it om. JRAS

3 ~~43~~ ~~22~~
 with Mungali is, I think, undoubted-
 -ly correct, though the main site of
 the old town lay, from the reports of
 men I have at times despatched
 to Minglaur, about a mile to the
 E.S.E. of the present village. Mingaur
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~~41.42.43 App. H.~~) Unfortunately none
 Besides Mungali
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 that there were
 Tsiang mentions four or five
 Λ in Udyâna
 strong towns existing besides Mun-
~~-gali~~ but does not give their names.

*There are remains of many
 throughout the country. but it*

252
Near Mungali to the East he describes a Stupa, which from the account of the inhabitants of the Country ^{now} exists to the present day.

is useful to conjecture in absence of further particulars which of them were flourishing in his time.

The Pilgrim states that to the North East of Mungali about 250 or 260 li a great mountainous range is entered, and the fountain of Naga Apalala is reached - this being the source of the Su-po-fa-su-tu River. The distance and direction given by the Pilgrim being in exactly to Kalam, the point at which the Utiot and Adapur (Lashu in our maps) streams meet, and the junction of these is the present head of the Swat-River. I think it a question whether the Pilgrim intended it to be understood that the source of the River was at this point: or whether, taking this as a

4

Near Mungali to the East he describes a Stupa, which ~~from~~ ~~the accounts of~~ the inhabitants ^{say} of the country exists to the present [^] day.

is useless to conjecture in absence of further particulars which of them were flourishing in his time.

Near Mungali...present day. *om. JRAS*

The Pilgrim states that to the North East of Mungali about 250 or 260 li a great mountainous range is entered, and the fountain of Nâga Apalâla is reached— this being the source of the Su-po-fa-su-tu River. The distance and direction given by the Pilgrim bring us exactly to Kalam, the point at which the Utrôt and Laspur (Ushu in our maps) streams meet, ~~and~~ The junction of these is the present head of the Swat River.

a great mountain range

I think it a question whether the Pilgrim intended it to be understood that the source of the River was at this point, or whether, taking this as a

I think it...this as a *om. JRAS*

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Starting point, the source of
 the River could be reached.
~~In this case, and~~ It seems
 not unlikely, that he intended
~~the latter~~
 this, as his description clearly
 points to the existence of a glacier,
~~he~~ ^{possibly} ~~apparently~~ regarded the
 Laspus stream as a part of
 the Su-po-fa-su-to, and alluded
 to the glacier from near which
 the Laspus stream rises.

There is no glacier near
 Kalam ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~range~~ ^{below} Kalam
~~is an offshoot from the main range~~
~~from which it is divided by the~~
~~Detrot valley. Natives tell of a~~
~~rock in this region on which~~
~~there is a large foot-trace~~
~~of Buddha, but its~~ ^{and the pilgrim mentions such} ~~position~~
~~is not exactly is not certain.~~
~~The traditions of it however,~~
~~still hang on in the country.~~

and the glacier plain is ~~the~~
 accepted the source of the
 Laspus stream as the principal
 source of the Swat River.
 In this region ~~but~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~
 mention a foot-trace of
 Buddha, and natives of the
 present day tell of its existence.
 But I am unable from
 their description to fix the
 exact locality.

5 45 23

starting point...~~exact locality~~ om. JRAS

starting point, the source of

the River could be reached.

~~In this case, and~~ It seems

not unlikely that he intended

~~the latter~~

this, as his description clearly

points to the existence of a glacier,

~~possibly~~He ~~apparently~~ regarded the

Laspur stream as a part of

the Su-po-fa-su-tu, and alluded

to the glacier from near which

the Laspur stream rises. →

and the presumption is ~~the~~ he
accepted the source of the
Laspur stream as the principal
source of the Swat River.

In this region the Pilgrim
mentions a footmark of
Buddha, and natives of the
present day tell of its existence.

But I am unable from
their description to fix the
exact locality

← There is no glacier near
[erasure] ~~south of~~
Kalam, & the range below Kalam
is an offshoot from the main range

~~from which it is divided by the~~~~Utrot valley. Natives tell of a~~~~rock in this region on which~~~~there is a large foot trace~~

~~and the Pilgrim mentions such~~
~~of Buddha, but its [erasure]~~
~~position~~

~~[erasure] exactly is not certain.~~~~The traditions of it, however,~~~~still hangs on in the country.~~

It is worth noting in view of
our later being able to visit the
country.

Hsuen Tsiang next says that
400 li South of Mungali is mound-
Hila.

If we take the measure-
ment and direction ^{as} given they
~~being~~ ^{lead} almost direct to
Hodi Raja, above Khairabad
on the Indus and opposite
Cittock. The Pilgrim ^{in describing provinces} seems
to have care fully confused
himself in his description
~~of countries~~ to the country in
which he was at the time.

Hodi Raja would have been

in Gandhara which he had lately

left - lately and not in

Udyana. The context leads

^{words} to the belief that the Pilgrim

was describing the Ruins from

*and it seems undoubtably that there is an error either
in the record or possibly in the
translation.*

6

It is worth noting in event of
our later being able to visit the
country.

It is worth noting...River from *om. JRAS*

Hiouen Tsiang next says that
400 li South of Mungali is Mount
Hila.

If we take the measure-
^{as}
ment and direction given they
^Λ
~~bring us~~ almost direct to

Hodi Raja, above Khairabad

on the Indus and opposite
^{in describing provinces}
Attock. The Pilgrim ^Λ seems
to have carefully confined

himself ~~in his description~~
~~of countries~~ to the country in
which he was at the time.

Hodi Raja would have been

in Gandhara which he had ^Λ lately

left ~~late~~ and not in

Udyâna. The context ^Λ leads
^{of the record}
~~to the belief~~ that the Pilgrim

and it seems not unlikely that there is an error either
in the record or possibly in the
translation

was describing the River from

and would lead us to
look for Mount Hila in Soter
Udyana & near the
Supofasate.

and it is possible that the
description given by Hsueh Tsang
of the river taking an upward
head towards its own source and
refers to a bend fracture caused
by the river meeting with
obstruction at the foot of Iam,
which no longer exists.

and it can only be conjectured
whether 400 li as given in the
Records is an error.

47 ~~77~~

its source downwards, - South
of Mungali is Mount Iam -
and there is a tradition in
the country of the River at one
time having flowed to the foot
of the hill, and then taken sharp
bends before altering its course
and settling ^{into} ~~as to~~ its present
Channel. ~~Whether 400 is a mis-
take can only be conjectured.~~

Opposite Iam, the river at the present
time takes its turn westward

^{and} ~~to~~ the context, the fact of the
Pilgrim writing only of Udyana,
and the general description, lead
to the idea that a mistake
has been made in recording
the distance - 400 li would have

been about correct. If Hsueh-
Tsang he meant, it is the point
near which the Swat River
after an Eastward bend through

7 47 24

and would lead us to look for Mount Hila in ~~Swat~~ Udyana, and near the Supofasutu

its source...bend through *om*. *JRAS*

its source downwards—South of Mungali is Mount Ilm— and there is a tradition in the country of the River at one time having flowed to the foot of the hill, and then taken sharp bends before altering its course *into* and settling [erasure] its present channel. (~~Whether 400 is a mistake can only be conjectured.~~)

Opposite Ilm, the river at the present

time takes its turn westward ~~and~~ *and* The context, the fact of the

Pilgrim writing only of Udyâna, *and* the general description lead

to the idea that a mistake has been made in recording

the distance—40 li would have been about correct. If Hodi-

^Λ Raja be meant, it is the point near which the Swat River

after an eastward bend through

and it is possible that the description given by Hiouen Tsiang of the river taking an upward bend towards its own source refers to a [erasure] feature caused by the river meeting with obstruction at the foot of Ilm, which no longer exists.

and it can only be conjectured whether 400 li as given in the Record is an error.

~~the lower part of the Peshawar~~
~~District joins the Indus. Garg^h~~
~~Major Waddell has mentioned~~
 The peculiar feature of
~~in one of his reports - "Square~~
 stones like long narrow bed-
 steads as if made by the
 hand of man" ~~but~~ These are
 on the spur running down
 towards Leck in the Adinzei
 valley, which further on I
 think can be satisfactorily
 shown to have been the valley
 of Shan-ni-lo-ski, separately
 described by the Ptolemy.
 It is possible that the peculiar
 rock formation alluded to
 will be found ~~farther up the~~
 Swat valley itself, but it
 is very noticeable at the
 point-mentioned.

In the hills leading into the Valley
 mentioned in the Record has been
 noted by Garg^h Major Waddell in his
 notes on Leck^a river.

The feature is one which is not found
 where the Swat and Indus Rivers join.

South about 200 li from

the lower part of the Peshawar

District joins the Indus. Surgn:-

~~Major Waddell has mentioned~~

The peculiar feature of

~~in one of his reports~~—"Square

③

stones like long narrow bed-

steads as if made by the

mentioned in the

hand of man" but These are

on the hills leading into the valleys mentioned in the Record has been noted by Surgn Major Waddell in his notes on Udyâna

on the spur running down

towards Uch in the Adinzai

⑧

valley, which further on I

think can be satisfactorily

shown to have been the valley

of Shan-ni-lo-shi, separately

described by the Pilgrim.

It is possible that the peculiar

rock formation alluded to

at other points in

will be found further up the

the lower part...point mentioned *om. JRAS*

Swat Valley itself, but it

is very noticeable at the

point mentioned.

The feature is one which is not found where the Swat and Indus Rivers join.

South about 200 li from

49 25

Mungali the Filozun mentions
the Mahavamsa Sangharama.
This ~~was~~ was apparently on the
^{or N. W.} Western slopes of the present
Mahaban, ~~as from this the Filozun~~
~~descended the hill to the mosque~~

numerous ruins exist on,
The ~~lower~~ lower slopes
and also on the higher portions
of Malaban ~~where numerous~~
~~ruins, and~~ ruins are also
~~found up to the top of the~~
hill. A portion of an
inscription which I obtained
from ~~the hill~~ ^{the hill} recorded
the deposit of a relic at some
place on the hill ~~in which~~
~~therefore~~ ^{therefore} ~~in these~~ ^{there} must
therefore have been a ~~stupa~~
or Sangharama of ~~great~~
sanctity.

~~Sangharama~~
~~The exact position can~~
~~not yet be fixed as the local~~
~~ity can not be visited.~~

~~A portion of an inscription~~
~~I obtained from Mahaban~~
~~recorded the deposit of a~~
~~relic of Buddha at some~~
~~place on the hill.~~

Going North West from
Magarum ^{the Filozun.}
~~the point~~ 30 or 40 li he describes
the Mo-su. Sangharama.
This has been identified
by General Sir C. Cunningham
as being Surak in the Chamla
valley, a part of which we

Mungali the Pilgrim mentions

the Mahavana Sanghárāma.

This
~~which~~ was apparently on the

or N.W.

Western slopes of the present

^ point

Mahaban, as ~~From this the Pilgrim~~

^

descended the hill to the Mosu-

Sanghárāma.

The exact position can-

~~not yet be fixed as the locali-~~

~~ty cannot be visited.~~

A portion of an inscription-

I obtained from Mahabun-

recorded the deposit of a-

relic of Buddha at some-

place on the hill.

Going North West from
 Mahavana the Pilgrim
~~this point~~ 30 or 40 li he describes

the Mo-su-Sangharáma.

This has been identified

by General Sir A. Cunningham

as being Surah in the Chamla

valley, a part of which we

Numerous ruins exist on,
 the lower slopes
 and also on the higher portions
 of Mahabun contain numerous
 ruins, and ruins are also
 found up to the top of the
 hill. A portion of an
 inscription which I obtained
 Mahabun this hill
 from the hill described recorded
 the deposit of a relic at some
 place on the hill on which ~~must~~
~~have therefore ex~~ there must
 therefore have been a stupa
 or sanghsarama of noted
 sanctity.

Going North...of which we om. JRAS

know practically nothing.
~~But later we may find~~
~~confirmation by discovering~~
^{peculiar}
~~the stones which the Pilgrim~~
~~describes, and which are~~
 good land-marks, and may

some day assist in the
 identification of the place
 named.

Going west- 60 or 70 li he
 describes a stupa built by
 Ashoka Raja. The measure-
 ment and distance being
 within our present borders
 of the Peshawar District. On
 this side hitherto, though many
 ruins and remains are found,
 no stupa has yet been discover-
 ed. There are ruins named

Chanai on low hills above
 the present village of Sur-
 Khavi, and a little lower
 South in the Narinji valley, ^{adjoining these low hills on the south}
 much sculpture which
 indicated the previous ex-

10

know practically nothing.

But later we may find

confirmation by discovering

peculiar

The stones which the Pilgrim

^

describes, ~~and which~~ are

good land-marks.

Going West 60 or 70 li he

describes a stupa built by

Ashoka Raja. The measure-

ment and distance bring

us within our present borders

of the Peshawar District. On

this side hitherto, though many

ruins and remains are found,

no stupa has yet been discover-

-ed. There are ruins named

Chánai on low hills above

the present village of Sur-

khavi, and ~~a little lower~~

~~South~~ in the Narinji valley

much sculpture which

denoted the previous ex-

Know practically...land-marks *om. JRAS*

and may some day assist in the
identification of the place
named.

and may...named *om. JRAS*

he next describes a stūpa built by Aśoka Rāja

and distance given bring us

the present borders

adjoining these low hills on the South

518

-stance of a Sangharama,
 and some sculpture which
 may have belonged to a Stupa,
 has at various times been
 found by the natives and
 ruined.

~~Not far from this~~ ^{in the same neighborhood} is a
 village called Shewa at the
 present time. This name
 may be old, and connected
 with Siva. In Pushtu however
 it has a distinct meaning
 of its own, viz the ^{Sissoo} Sheskam tree,
 which flourishes in the neigh-
 -borhood. Taking either the
 ruins above Surkhavi as
 a starting point; or the Kariji
 valley, and following the
 Pilgrims' line of R.W. 200 li
 we come to the valley of
 Shan-ni-lo-ski where he des-
 -cribes the Convent of

11 51 26

-istence of a Sangharáma,
and some sculpture which
may have belonged to a stupa,
has at various times been
found by the natives and
ruined.

found by the natives, and destroyed by them

In the same...convent of *om. JRAS*

In the same neighbourhood
~~Not far from this is a~~

village called Shewa at the
present time. This name
may be old, and connected
with Siva. In Pashtu however
it has a distinct meaning
Sissoo
of its own, viz the ~~Shesham~~ tree,
which flourishes in the neigh-
-bourhood. Taking either the
ruins above Surkhavi as
a starting point, or the Narinji
valley, and following the
Pilgrim's line of N.W. 200 li
we come to the valley of
Shan-ni-lo-shi where he des-
-cribes the convent of

From either Chānai or the Narinji valley the Pilgrim's next
measurement, 200 *li* north-west, leads to the Adinzai valley,
entered from Swat at Chakdara. This may be identified with the
Shan-ni-lo-shi valley of the Records

12

Sapao-Skati. The distance and direction being as straight to the Adingai Valley, ~~into~~ which ^{is entered} ~~is~~ ~~cross~~ from Swat at Chakdarra. There are many signs of old sites throughout the valley. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Chakdarra is a site which was plainly at one time occupied by a stupa. It has not yet, however, been excavated. Not far off to the north of this are the remains of a large stupa, ~~which I pointed out to Surgeon Major Waddell on his deputation to these parts, and which he has mentioned in one of his progress Reports.~~ The greatest interest in this stupa is that it is still known to some of the people

12

Sapao-Shati. The distance and

Sapao-Shati...Adinzai valley *om. JRAS*

direction bring us straight

to the Adinzai valley, ~~into~~

is entered

which we cross from Swat

at Chakdarra. There are

There are many...the valley *om. JRAS*

many signs of old sites through-

-out the valley. About 3 ½

miles North of Chakdarra is

a site which was plainly at

one time occupied by a stupa.

It has not yet, however, been

excavated. Not far off to the

North of this are the remains

of a large stupa, ~~which I~~

~~pointed out to Surgeon Major~~

~~Waddell on his deputation~~

④

~~to these parts; and which~~

~~he has mentioned in one~~

~~of his progress Reports. The~~

greatest interest in this

greatest feature of interest

stupa is that it is still

known to some of the people

5313 27

by the name of Sūma, the name
mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

It is difficult to fix the site of
the Convent; but possibly it was

on the site on the slope over looking

the passage of the Swat River on

which ^{military posts} ~~posts for the troops~~ are now

being built. Debris and portions

Appendix D is a plan of the foundations as far as they can be traced.

of well built walls exist on the

site to a great depth and though

there were defensive towers on

the higher points the few relics

that I have ^{heard of} ~~been able to as-~~

~~ertain~~ ^{found} as having been discovered ^{by parties}

~~in~~ making roads and digging

foundations, ^{then relics are} namely, portion of

a head of a very large figure

of Buddha, a portion of a finely

carved cover of a small oblong

box (in Soapstone) ^{and} old ornament-

ed Chivags, ~~point to occupation~~

~~of the site for other than military~~

point to former occupation of the site for other than military purposes.

by Huan Tsiang (Beal, ii, 125)

but possibly it was on the spur

⑨

being erected. Débris

Appendix D is a plan of the foundations as far as they can be traced

the few relics found point to former occupation of the site for other than military purposes. These relics comprise a portion of a head etc.

point to former occupation of the site for other than military purposes

⑩

by the name of Sûma, the name

mentioned by Hiouen Tsiang.

It is difficult to fix the site of

the convent, but possibly it was

on the site on the spur overlooking

the passage of the Swat River on

military posts

which ~~posts for the troops~~ are now

being built. Debris and portions

of well built walls exist on the

site to a great depth and though

there were defensive towers on

the higher points the few relics

heard of

that I have ~~been able to as-~~

found

~~—ertain as having been discovered~~

by parties

~~in making roads and digging~~

These relics are a

foundations, namely, portion of

a head of a very large figure

of Buddha, a portion of a finely

carved cover of a small oblong

and

box (in Soapstone), old ornament-

^

~~-ed chiraghs, point to occupation-~~

~~of the site for other than military-~~

14
~~purpose~~, the site, however, has been
 entirely destroyed by the work

lately done, and if any thing ~~had~~ ^{been} beyond the above

has been found which would

throw ^{light} on the point - no record

has been kept - of its hence the

chances of ascertaining definitely

whether a convent existed here

~~was~~ ^{adjoining this site is a}
 are built on a detached rock

close to the river, ^{on which} there are

remains of old walls, and the

broken top of "Chaitya" ^{also} was found

here. ~~Beyond these the only things~~

^{In the debris on their rocks were also found}
~~found have been two oval stones,~~

weighing about 5 ^{Each} lbs which appear

to have been artificially shaped

and which are suggestive of

Alexander's military engines and

The iron head of an axe ^{which the latter} was ~~also~~

found at a depth of 15 feet. I

am sorry I had not an opportunity

of seeing this, as old weapons &

implements are seldom found

but I am inclined to think
 that this was the site of the
 convent.

~~purposes.~~ The site, however, has been

The site...are lost *om. JRAS*

entirely destroyed by the work

lately done, and if anything

~~further~~ beyond the above

has been found which would

light

throw on the point no record

Λ

has been kept of it, hence the

chances of ascertaining definitely

but I am inclined to think that this was the site of the convent.

whether a convent existed here

~~connected with~~ Adjoining this site is a
are lost. On a detached rock

on which

close to the river, there are

Λ

remains of old walls, and ~~The~~

~~also~~

broken top of "Chaitya" was found

a "chaitya"

here. ~~Beyond these the only things~~

⑪

~~In the debris on this rock were also found~~
~~found have been~~ two oval stones,

~~each~~

weighing about 5 lbs which appear

Λ

to have been artificially shaped

and which are suggestive of

Alexander's military engines and

~~which the latter~~

the iron head of an axe ~~was also~~

Λ

found at a depth of 15 feet: I

⑫

; also the iron head of an axe

am sorry I had not an opportunity

I am sorry...seldom found *om. JRAS*

of seeing this, as old weapons &

implements are seldom found

5528

in this country. I am inclined
~~to think the site of the conical-~~
~~was on the spot mentioned. It~~
~~is just above the Shamli Pass.~~
~~What the origin of this name~~
~~Shamli is I leave others to conjecture.~~
~~It has no meaning in Turkish.~~

As regards the Sūma Stupa
 I will refer to the attached plan
 App! A which shows measurements.
 The height of the remains is 35 ft.
 The centre of the Stupa has not
 yet been dug into, and I have
 been loth to dig into it, as if
 any thing were found, it would
 lead to wholesale destruction by
 the natives of other Stupa remains,
 many of which exist in the Country.
 The outside of the Stupa is built
 with carefully dressed granite,
 well laid and fitted - on the out-
 -side it was covered with
 lime plaster, much of which

55 15 28

in this country *om. JRAS*

in this country. ~~I am inclined~~
~~to think the site of the convent~~
~~was on the spur mentioned. It~~
~~is just above the Shamli Pass.~~
~~What the origin of this name~~
~~Shamli is I leave others to conjecture.~~
~~It has no meaning in Pushtu.~~

As regards the Sūma stupa

I will refer to the attached plan

App: A which shows measurements.

The height of the remains is 35 ft.

of the stūpa not yet been excavated

The centre of the stupa has not

yet been dug into, and I have

been loth to dig into it, as if

anything of value

anything were found, it would

lead to wholesale destruction by

the natives of other stupa remains,

many of which exist in the country.

The outside of the stupa is built

with carefully dressed granite,

well laid and fitted—on the out-

-side it was covered with

lime plaster, much of which

still remains. The interior was
~~also~~ carefully laid in
 horizontal strata. Nothing remains
 of the Chaitya except a small
 portion of the interior. Possibly
 portions of it might be found
 under the large mass of rub-
 -ber lying around the Stupa.

To the west of the Stupa are remains
 of a plat-form 90 by 190 ~~to~~ which
 apparently the steps of the Stupa
 led down, and on this plat-form
 are mounds which have not
 been examined but which
~~are possibly~~
~~appear to be~~ sites of small,
 and probably square, Viharas.

or of smaller dwelling places.

The plat-form is slightly raised
 from the ground to the level of the
 foundation of the Stupa. If I
 remember rightly Surgeon -
 Major found in Tibet a comparative-
 -ly recent mention of this Stupa.
 Such portion of it as has been

still remains. The interior was

~~also all~~ carefully laid in

horizontal strata. Nothing remains

of the Chaitya except a small

portion of the interior. Possibly

portions of it might be found

under the large mass of rub-

-bish lying around the stupa.

lying around.

To the west of the stupa are remains

To the west are the remains

of a plat-form 90' by 190' to which

apparently the steps of the stupa

led down, and on this plat-form

platform

are mounds which have not

been examined but which

are possibly

or of monks dwelling places

~~appear to be~~ sites of small,

~~and probably~~ square, Viharas.

13

The platform is slightly raised

from the ground to the level of the

foundation of the stupa. If I

If I...this stupa om. JRAS

remember rightly Surgeon-

14

Major found in Tibet a comparative-

-ly recent mention of this stupa.

Such portion of it as has been

17 5728

preserved over its existence
 at the present-time to a curious
 custom on the part of the Pathan
 inhabitants of the country.
^{where}
 Their tradition is that a noto-
 -rious thug was executed at
 this spot; and it is incumbent
 on every good Muhammadan,
 as he passes the place, to support
 the execution by throwing a stone
 on to the mound saying at the
 same time - "I swear by God he
 was a thug." The south and west
 faces are the best-preserved.

(A)

Whether Adingai or Adinagai
 is connected with Udyana I
~~do not presume~~
~~leave others to say.~~ Adinapur
 near Jellalabad I have seen
 held to be a corruption of Udyā-
 -pur. Old names survive in this
 country, and in the Adingai
 valley the most striking are
 Uek and Uekāna - the latter

17 ~~57~~ 27

preserved owes its existence
 at the present time to a curious
 custom on the part of the Pathan
 inhabitants of the country.
 whose
 Their tradition is that a noto-
 ^
 -rious thug was executed at
 this spot; and It is incumbent
 on every good Muhammadan,
 as he passes the place, to support
 the execution by throwing a stone
 on to the mound saying at the
 same time- "I swear by God he
 was a thug." The south and west
 faces are the best preserved.

faces are in the best state of preservation.

Whether Adinzai...the latter *transposed to later*

Whether Adinzai or Adinazai
 is connected with Udyâna I
 do not presume
 leave others to say. Adinapur
 near Jellalabad I have seen
 held to be a corruption of Udyâna
 -pur. Old names survive in this
 country and in the Adinzai
 valley, the most striking are
 Uch and Uchâna—the latter

(A)

Old names certainly survive

Adinzai valley: among the most striking

18
 appearing to be the same as
 Luchanga, an old name of
 this country generally.

The Lalash Valley is so named
 after an old Chief Lalash, and
 the clan known as Doska Khels
 take their name from an old
 Kafir Chief named Dook; a
 converted clan, who now profess
 to be Pathans. In the Lalash Valley
 we find Muhammadans living
 in a village called Dharm-
 -pura, the old name brought
 down to the present day un-
 -altered, and there are several
 other instances.

The steps alluded to by
 the Pilgrim to the north of the
 Valley by the side of a steep
 rock lies slightly north east
 from the Sima Steps, about
 2½ miles distant. The mound
 is at present known as

(A)

18

appearing to be the same as
Uchanga, an old name of
this country generally.

The Talash valley is so named
after an old chief Tâlâsh, and
the clan known as Dosha Khels
take their name from an old
Kafir chief named Dosh; a
converted clan, who now profess
to be Pathans. In the Talash valley
we find Muhammadans living
in a village called Dharm-
-pura, the old name brought
down to the present day un-
-altered, and there are several
other instances.

The stupa alluded to by
the Pilgrim to the north of the
valley by the side of a steep
rock lies slightly North East
from the Sûma Stupa, about
2½ miles distant. The mound
is at present known as

The Talash...other instances *om. JRAS*

(A)

by the Pilgrim (p. 126)

5150

Badshah Dheri. It has not yet been excavated, but I hope to examine it later. Between this and Sūma another site somewhat to the East also exists which appears to have been similarly occupied.

The abundant stream alluded to by the Pilgrim is I think to be found in a spring on the south slope of the Laram to the north of Luch.

There is a story in the valley current regarding this spring. After a fight with an invading Muhammadan force the old inhabitants of the valley getting defeated being the worst of it concealed the Spring with a large cup shaped stone

59¹⁹ 30

Badshah Dheri. It has not
yet been excavated, ~~but I~~
~~hope to examine it later.~~

Between this and Sûma
another site somewhat to
the East also exists which ap-
-pears to have been similar-
-ly occupied.

The abundant stream
alluded to by the Pilgrim is
I think to be found in a spring
on the south slope of the Laram
to the North of Uch.

There is a story current in the valley

current regarding this spring.
After a fight with an invading
Muhammadan force the old
inhabitants of the valley ~~get-~~
~~being defeated~~
~~-ting the worst of it con-~~
-cealed the spring with a
large cup shaped stone

and covered it over with ~~earth~~ ^{completely closing the Spring} Some years ago signs of water being found the source of the spring was traced and ~~found with its stone cover,~~ ^{its covering was found & removed and the Spring now flows freely} which I have now recovered the stone cover from a Masjid in the village of Qudia Khwar. ^{where the Pathans had buried it.} ~~The stone seems~~ ^{to me to have been the cupola of a large Chaitya. It has a diameter of 2' 6" and a height of 1-1/2. ~~There is no trace of the lake mentioned in the records.~~ ^{The Valley of Shan-ni-lo-shi, though included in Udyana was apparently distinct from the present Swat valley. ~~and its boundaries were probably the same as those of~~ ^{for many centuries explain its persistence.} It was bounded by the ~~line~~ ^{line} of hills from Ramora (itself an old name) on the ~~one side and~~ ^{east} on the other by the hills leading}}

and covered it over with completely closing the spring

earth. Some years ago signs

of water being found the source

of the spring was traced and Its covering was found and removed

~~found with its stone cover,~~ and the spring now flows freely

~~which I have now recovered~~ the stone cover

from a Musjid in the village

of Gudia Khwar. where the Pathans had placed it
~~The stone seems-~~ It seems

to me to have been the cupola

of a large Chaitya. It has a

diameter of 2' 6½" and a height

of 1'. 1½'. [Erasure.....] The spring now flows freely

1' 1½"

.....] There is no

trace of the lake mentioned in the Records. and the stopping up of the spring
for many centuries explains its
nonexistence

may explain

The valley of Shan-ni-

lo-shi, though included in

The valley...Swat valley. *om. JRAS*

Udyâna was apparently dis-

-tinct from the present Swat

valley.

and its boundaries were probably the same as those of
the

~~It was bounded by the line~~

~~of hills from Ramora (itself an~~

East

~~old name) on the one side and~~

~~on the other by the hills leading~~

613t

~~to the Katgola Pass. It is noticeable~~
 that all the fortifications in this
 and the neighbouring valley of
 Lalask are on the South. There
 is no trace of any on the Larain
 hills nor anywhere to the North
~~is no trace of any on the North~~
~~nor on the spur of the Larain~~
~~on Larain till we come to the~~
 running down to
 spur above the Panjkora. Near
 Sado, which ^{was a post} was held during
 the ^{Chinese Relief} expedition, ~~and at which~~
 place there are a few ^{ruins} remains
 but there appear to be ^{no} ~~no~~ ^{ordinary dwellings} traceable. From the fortifications
 on the South, and the absence
 of any on the Larain range
 on the North, it may perhaps
 be assumed that the people
 of the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley
 were more or less connected
 with their neighbours to the
 North in the valley of the
 Panjkora.

(A)
 Interposition marked in
 red ink here

The Itinerary now starts again
 from Mungali and mentions

61 31

in the Shan-ni-lo-shi, and in the neighbouring valley

~~to the Katgola Pass.~~ It is noticeable

that all the fortifications in this

and the neighbouring valley of

Talash are on the South. There

~~There is no trace of any on the Laram Hill nor anywhere to the North~~

~~is no trace of any on the North~~

~~nor on the spurs of the Laram~~

~~the~~

~~on Laram till we come to the~~

^

running down to

~~spur above the Panjkora. Near~~

was a post

Sado, which we held during

Chitral Relief

the expedition, and at which-

^

ruins

place there are a few remains

but these appear to be of

ordinary dwellings

traceable. From the fortifications

^

on the South, and the absence

of any on the Laram range

on the North, it may perhaps

be assumed that the people

of the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley

were more or less connected

with their neighbours to the

North in the valley of the

Panjkora.

The Pilgrim now starts again

from Mungali and mentions

(A)

Enter portion marked in

red ink here

mentions (p. 126)

is steps 60 or 70 li to the South
East on the East of the river - the
river is of course the Swat.

The measurement brings
us to an extensive group of ruins
- Balogram, Odigram and
Panjigram and a little lower
down, Shankudar.

Odigram, Balogram and
Panjigram are all old names,
and said by Tuthans to be
founded on the names of the
old original Kafir Chiefs. ~~is the~~
~~name of an old ruler of Odi-~~

~~gram, which is said to have been~~
~~an important city, is mentioned~~
~~by Qujars as having existed~~
~~before Muhammadan days.~~
~~the name being Gizia. It is~~
~~also said by some that the~~
~~city bore the same name, and~~
~~that the name still remains~~
~~in a place marked Gari~~

Gizia The name of an old ruler
of Odigram is first mentioned
by Sufiani in being Gizia - Odigram
is said to have been an important
city, and it is said also by
some to have borne the same
name in its chief, Gizia. The
same name is said to exist in
Gari on the opposite bank of
the River.

22

a stupa 60 or 70 li to the South

East or the East of the river—the

river is of course the Swat.

The measurement brings

us to an extensive group of ruins

—Balogram, Odigram and

Panjigram and a little lower

down, Shankardar.

Odigram, Balogram and

Panjigram are all old names,

and said by Pathans to be

founded on the names of the

old original Kafir chiefs. ^{Giria} The

is the ~~name of an old Ruler of Odi-~~

~~gram, which is said to have been~~

~~an important city, is mentioned~~

~~by Gujars as having existed~~

~~before Muhammadan days,~~

~~the name being Giria. It is~~

~~also said by some that the~~

~~city bore the same name, and~~

~~that the name still remains~~

~~in a place marked Gari~~



Odigram, Balogram...bank of the River om. JRAS

⑤

The name of an old Ruler of Odigram is ~~given by~~ mentioned by Gujars as being Giria—Odigram is said to have been an important city, and it is said also by some to have borne the same name as its chief, Giria. The same name is said to exist in Gari on the opposite bank of the River

The name...the River om. JRAS

6332

The name is interesting as reminding us of Gorya, but I am not prepared to jump at the conclusion that we can claim an identification in this. Before coming to any conclusion on this ^{point} subject we must trace the old name of the Panjkora River (the present name is of comparatively recent date) the description of the river answers so well to the Ghoras of Alexander's time that I am inclined to believe the Panjkora was the Ghoras. The old name of the river will perhaps be found amongst the Gujars; but I have not yet succeeded in ascertaining it.

For the Pilgrims records see p. 21

~~see our maps on the opposite~~
~~back of the River.~~ In the neighbourhood of Odiagram inscriptions exist. ~~It is not unlikely that traces of a stupa will be found near Odiagram.~~ But a little further down the River between Ghaligai and Shankardar the natives of the country describe the remains of a stupa ^{and this is undoubtedly that referred to by the Pilgrims.} as still standing. ~~The hill to the south of the present village of Shankardar, a spur of Ikm is known as Velanai. The ruins on this hill are connected with an old ruler who is whom we seem to have Raja Vira.~~

The Pilgrims mentions a large rock on the bank of the great river shaped like an elephant. This is a conspicuous landmark existing near the

63 23 32

15

The name is interesting as reminding us of "Gorya" but I am not prepared to jump at the conclusion that we can claim an identification in this. Before coming to any point conclusion on this subject we must trace the old name of the Panjkora River (the present name is of comparatively recent date) The description of the river answers so well to the Guraeus of Alexander's time that I am inclined to believe the Panjkora was the Guraeus—the old name of the river will maybe be found amongst the Gujars: but I have not yet succeeded in ascertaining it.

The name...ascertaining it om. JRAS

A little further down the river

6

2

For the Pilgrim's records mention

For the Pilgrim records next (p. 127)

This rock

~~in our maps on the opposite bank of the River. In the neighbourhood of Odigram inscriptions exist. It is not unlikely that traces of a stupa will be found near Odigram. But a little further down the River between Ghaligai and Shankardar the natives of the country describe the remains of a stupa and this is undoubtedly that referred to by the Pilgrim as still standing. The hill to the South of the present village of Shankardar, a spur of Ilm is known as Velanai—the ruins on this hill are connected with an old Ruler Viru in whom we seem to have Raja Vara.~~

The Pilgrim mentions a large rock on the bank of the great river shaped like an elephant. This is a conspicuous landmark existing near the

is about 12 miles from the village
 of Thana and near Ghaligai,
 which is commonly described
 by all the natives in the valley,
 and from which the old name of the Valley
 the old name of Thana still
Hathi Darra
 known to its present inhabitants - was derived.
~~was Hathi Darra. Near Morak~~
~~Banda a small village at the~~
~~South foot of the hill pictures~~
~~of elephants are found on~~
~~on rocks.~~

The stupa mentioned by the
 Pilgrim is described by natives
 as still standing a few
 hundred yards distant from
 this rock, and, from what I can
 understand from the people,
 there is also a fine Deva-
 temple near it.

Next, the Pilgrim takes a
 measure west of 80 li or 50
 west of Munqali, and brings
 us to a stupa across the river.

The Hill to the South of the present
 village of Shankardar, a 1/2 m. S. of
 is known as Velanai. Extensive
 ruins on this spot are connected
 by tradition with an old Ruler Vikra,
 in whom we seem to have Raja
 Vira.

River about 12 miles from the village

of Thana and near Ghaligai,

which is commonly described

by all the natives in the valley.

and from which the old name of the valley

~~The old name of Thana still~~

Hathi Darra

known to its present inhabitants

~~was Hathi Darra. Near Morah~~

~~Banda a small village at the~~

~~South foot of the hill pictures~~

~~of elephants are found bel-~~

~~ow rocks.~~

~~The stupa mentioned by the~~

~~Pilgrim is~~ described by natives

as still standing a few

hundred yards distant from

this rock, and, from what I can

understand from the people,

there is also a fine Deva-

temple near it.

Next, the Pilgrim takes a

measurement of 50 li or so

west of Mungali, and brings

us to a stupa across the River.

it is well known to the inhabitants of the valley, the name of which, Hathi darra, was derived from it

was derived

The hill to the South of the present village of Shankardar, a spur of Ilm, is known as Velanai. Extensive ruins on this spur are connected by tradition with an old Ruler Viru in whom we seem to have Raja Vara

②

65-38

This is close to a village now called Hazara, and natives describe the Stupa as still existing. It is also said that the next one that he mentions is 30 li North East of Mungali ^{in this neighbourhood} still exists. Sung Yun ~~also~~ mentions the temple of Sola to the North of the City, and says there were 60 full length golden figures of Buddha in it. About 3 months ago a golden Buddha was dug up in this region. The people were at first asking the fabulous sum of 4000/- for it. It fell into the hands of a jeweler who has found it to be what I suspected, a stone thinly plated with gold, which he has stripped off it. The practice of

65 25 33

This is close to a village now called Hazara, and natives describe the stupa as still existing. It is also said that the next one that he mentions 30 li North East of Mungali In this neighbourhood, also still exists. ~~Sung Yun~~ [erasure] mentions the temple of Tolu to the North of the city, and says there were 60 full length golden figures of Buddha in it. About 3 months ago a golden Buddha was dug up in this region. The people were at first asking the fabulous sum of 4000/- for it. It fell into the hands of a jeweler who has found it to be what I suspected, a stone thinly plated with gold, which he has stripped off it. The practice of

Rs. 4000

26

plating such places with gold
was not uncommon in the
neighbouring province of
Gandhara.

N.E. of Mungali

From the above stupa ^{Howen}
Tsiang crosses the River and
going west arrives at Vikhava.
In regard to this point I am
unable to say anything at
present - but - the point is
important - as from it another
line of 140 or 150 li North West
is given to the mountain Lan
-po - lu on which the Pilgrim
descended the Dragon Lake.

The measurement brings
us exactly to the top of the
mountain draining on the
one side into the Tanjhora
and on the other into the Anshi
-ri stream which runs into
the Tanjhora near Darora.

26

plating sculpture with gold

was not uncommon in the

neighbouring province of

Gandhara.

N.E. of Mungali

From the ~~above~~ stupa Hiouen

^

Tsiang crosses the River and

going west arrives at Vihâra.

Vihâra (p. 127)

In regard to this point I am

to this locality

unable to say anything at

present but the point is

important as from it another

line of 140 or 150 li North West

is given to the mountain Lan

Lun-po-lu

-po-lu on which the Pilgrim

the Pilgrim (p. 128)

describes the Dragon Lake.

The measurement brings

us exactly to the top of the

This measurement bring us to the head of the Aushiri valley, which drains into the Panjkora near Darora

mountain draining on the

one side into the Panjkora

and on the other into the Aushi-

-ri stream which runs into

the Panjkora near Darora.

67 27 84

How the Pilgrim got his distance over several valleys and intervening high spurs it is difficult to conjecture.

But on the hill to which it brings us is found ~~to this day~~ a large lake more than a mile in length. It is apparently fed by snow. I much regret that during the pressure of work in connection with the retirement of the Chitral Relief Force I was unable to get a survey made of the lake. But this I will have done later.

The ^{lake} ~~river~~ itself is now known as ~~Shiddat~~ Saidgai, and the same name is applied to the ~~river~~ hill, another point of the hill not far ~~it~~ being known as Lal koka. There are several stones current as to the wonderful lights to be seen at this lake, the most persistent being that of "jin" who live in and near it. These jin with half human forms

We can thus follow the Pilgrim with great accuracy in regard to Udyana.

I have mentioned above the Lalash valley in connection with a chief named

67 27 34

How the Pilgrim got his distance
over several valleys and
intervening high spurs it is
difficult to conjecture.

But on the hill to which it
brings us is found ~~to this day~~
a large lake more than a
mile in length. It is apparently
fed by snow. I much regret

that during the pressure of
work in connection with the
retirement of the Chitral
Relief Force I was unable
to get a survey made of the
lake. But this I will have
done later.

We can thus follow the
Pilgrim with great accuracy
in regard to Udyâna.

I have mentioned
above the Talash valley in con-
-nection with a chief named

Unfortunately, pressure of work in connection with the retirement of the
Chitral Relief Force prevented a survey of the lake from being made.

But this...chief named *om*. JRAS

Lake

*The [erasure] itself is now known
as [erasure] Saidgai, and the
same name is applied to the
[erasure] hill, another point of the
hill not far off being known
as Lal koh. There are several
stories current as to the wonderful
sights to be seen at this lake, the
most persistent being that of "jins"
who live in and near it. These
jins with half human forms*

28

Talash. The people themselves hold this tradition as to the name Talash. An older name of the valley is also known, viz Bagar-gai. In the valley I found a coin bearing the impression apparently of Bo-ta-lash in Persian, dated 121. ^{It has been} ~~I have~~ made it over to Mr. Caddy, deputed to receive a sculpture which has been found in ^{last} these parts to show to Dr. Horwath, and it will be interesting to hear what reading he puts on to it. If my reading of the coin be correct (and I am open to correction on the point) the finding of the coin is of considerable interest. For we may fairly assume that a Persian inscription and Hijra date would not be used

are said to be constantly seen on the banks of the lake, and one old gentleman of the country assures me that he lately saw three sitting together, who vanished as he approached them. At other times good and evil are said to be found on the bank of the lake - placed there in some mysterious way. My idea of the "jinn" living in the lake is interesting, and can only be the continuation of the legend prevalent in Kishan Jinn's time, and propagated by the Gujaris. The story of the "jinn" inhabiting the lake adds strongly to the probability of the identification of this lake with that mentioned by the Pilgrim being correct.

28

Talash. The people themselves hold

this tradition as to the name

Talash. An older name of the

valley is also known, viz Bazar

-gai. In the valley I found

a coin bearing the impression

apparently of Bo-tā-lāsh in

It has been

Persian, dated 121. ~~I have~~

~~made it over to Mr. Caddy~~

~~deputed to receive sculpture~~

~~which has been found in~~

sent

~~these parts to show~~ to Dr. Hoernle,

and it will be interesting to

hear what reading he puts on

to it. If my reading of the coin

be correct (and I am open to

correction on the point) the

finding of the coin is of con-

-siderable interest. For we

may fairly assume that a

Persian inscription and Hijra

date would not be used

are said to be constantly seen on the banks of the lake, and one old gentleman of the country assures me that he lately saw three sitting together, who vanished as he approached them. At other times food and rice are said to be found on the bank of the lake—placed there in some mysterious way. This idea of the “jins” living in the lake is interesting and can only be the continuation of the legend prevalent in Hiouen Tsiang’s time, and [erasure] propagated so far as I am able to learn by the Gujars. The story of the “jins” inhabiting the lake adds strongly to the probability of the identification of this lake with that mentioned by the Pilgrim being correct.

This idea...the Gujars *om. JRAS*

This story of the Jinns adds strongly to the probability of the identification of this lake with that mentioned by the Pilgrim as haunted by Nāgas.

⑩

⑪

Talash...be used *om. JRAS*

69-35

anted after conversion to Islam.
 It would then bring us back to
 A.D. 704 for the date of the coin,
 and would give fair assump-
 -tion that the people of the valley
 were converted in the time of
 the Chief Sulash, and the
 conclusion is thus shown at
 a much earlier date than
 would generally be supposed.
 The people of the Sulash valley
 and their neighbours the
 Dooka Khels apparently ac-
 -cepted Islam without any
 great struggle, and it is not
 improbable that many of
 their neighbours in Shan-ni-
 lo-ski, the present Adingai
 valley did the same. Those
 who escaped the consequences
 of not accepting Islam would

69 29 35

until after...Islam would *om. JRAS*

until after conversion to Islam.

It would then bring us back to

A.D. 704 for the date of the coin,

and would give fair assump-

-tion that the people of the valley

were converted in the time of

the Chief Talash, and the

conversion is thus shown at

a much earlier date than

would generally be supposed.

The people of the Talash valley

and their neighbours the

Dosha Khels apparently ac-

-cepted Islam without any

great struggle, and it is not

improbable that many of

their neighbours in Shan-ni-

lo-shi, the present Adinzai

valley did the same. Those

who escaped the consequences

of not accepting Islam would

have moved farther back into
the more inaccessible hills.

The people of the Swat Valley
themselves say that the des-
-cendants of original in-
-habitants of the valley are
now to be found amongst
the Swat Kohistanis.

Kafiristan undoubtedly is
populated by the descendants
of those who were driven back
from other parts, mostly from
the ^{Afghanistan} Jellalabad side - their
many Hindu customs and
the many Sanskrit-words
in their language and
their traditions point clearly
to their origins. It is to be hoped
that some one with oppor-
-tunities will deal with that
important point - the language

30

have moved farther back into

have moved...Kohistanis *om. JRAS*

the more inaccessible hills.

The people of the Swat valley

themselves say that the des-

-cendants of original in-

Some of the former tribes that inhabited Udyāna and neighbouring countries can be traced in the present day.

-habitants of the valley are

now to be found amongst

the Swat Kohistanis.

Kafiristan undoubtedly is

populated by the descendants

of those who were driven back

other tracts

from other parts—mostly from

Afghanistan

the ~~Jellalabad~~ side—their

Hindu

many Hindoo customs and

the many Sanskrit words

Sanskritic

in their language and

their traditions point clearly

to their origins. It is to be hoped

that someone with opportu-

-nities will deal with that

important point, the language

73-330

II

of the Kafirs, before the race
entirely crushed and broken
by Muhammadan aggres-
-sion. From the few opportu-
-nities I have had, I have
found many Sanskrit-words
in use.

In Kafiristan the custom
of ~~the~~ ladies wearing
horn as head ornaments ~~is~~
~~is~~ mentioned by Langhans
as prevalent amongst the
K. The white ~~is~~ - the
K. ~~is~~ worn is a veritable
hair of horn, made of hair,
& shaped like the horn
of ~~some~~ cattle - ~~and~~
another kind is made of
animal feathers with tufts
at the top - ~~and~~
~~is~~ arranged in a band round
a thick about 4 inches in
length.

If I remember rightly (I
have not Sir E. Robertson's book
on the Kafirs before me) Sir
E. Robertson mentions a
custom amongst the Kafirs,
viz of drinking a man who has
committed murder to death,
and Langhans describes the
same custom as belonging to
the Kafirs. Where it is common

Another and distinct-
remnant of the old races
will and on led by be found
in the large clan of Gujars
extending from Kunar on
the West to Kashmir on the
East.

A very interesting point
concerning this clan struck
me during the Chitral Expedi-
-tion.

In the Peshawar District &
on the hills bordering on the
Peshawar District - the Gujars
all speak Pushto and

before the race... aggression *om. JRAS*

From the few investigations I have made, I have found many Sanskrit words in use among them

In Kafiristan the custom of [erasure] the ladies wearing horns as head ornaments [erasure] [erasure] mentioned by Sung Yun as prevalent amongst the Ye-tha still exists—one kind ~~is~~ worn is a veritable pair of horns, made of hair, & shaped like the short horns of [erasure] cattle, ~~and~~ another kind is made of manál feathers with a tuft at the top—[erasure] [erasure] arranged & bound round a stick about 9 inches in length.

If I remember rightly (I have not Sir G. Robertson's book on the Kafirs to refer to) Sir G. Robertson mentions a custom amongst the Kafirs, viz of banishing a man who has committed murder to the hills, and Sung Yun describes the same custom as belonging to Udyâna, whence it is reasonable to assume

the custom of the women wearing horns

⑮

A very interesting point is noticeable regarding these Gujars.

this clan...Expedition *om. JRAS*

71 31 36

of the Kafirs, before the race was

entirely crushed and broken

by Muhammadan aggres-

-sion. From the few opportu-

-nities I have had, I have

found many Sanskrit words

in use.

Another and distinct

remnant of the old races

will undoubtedly be found

in the large clan of Gujars

extending from Kunar on

the West to Kashmir on the

East.

A very interesting point

concerning this clan struck

me during the Chitral Expedi-

-tion.

In the Peshawar District &

on the hills bordering on the

Peshawar District the Gujars

all speak Pushtu and in

some days we were taken
 to the Dakhan themselves.
 In the hills across the Swat
 valley we found the Gujars
 understanding and using
 at times Hindi though they
 speak Dakhan. When we got
 to Dir and on the high
 ranges beyond we found the
 same class of Gujars using
 Hindi entirely in their own
 homes and amongst them-
 selves. The Greek Historians
 describe the Cow-heads as one
 of the classes inhabiting this
 country and there can be
 little doubt the clan of Gujars
 represent the same. Those
 about Dir and the neigh-
 borhood were only connected
 to Lahm between 250 & 300

~~Inhabitants of the~~
~~present Kapiristan~~
~~from Malabar, India~~
 The custom was carried
 to the present Kapiristan

32

some ways are more Pathan than the Pathans themselves. In the hills across the Swat valley ~~we find~~ the Gujars understanding and using at times Hindi though they speak Pushtu. ~~When we get~~ **At** up to Dir and on the high ranges beyond ~~we find~~ the same class of Gujars using Hindi entirely in their own houses and amongst themselves. The Greek Historians describe the cow-herds as one of the classes inhabiting this country and there can be little doubt the clan of Gujars represent the same. Those about Dir and the neighbourhood were only converted to Islam between 250 & 300 [years ago, some of them even]

~~inhabitants fled to the present Kafiristan [erasure] from Muhammadan aggression~~
 the custom was carried to the present Kafiristan

①9

represent the men they wrote about.

23 332

later. Conversion in Bashghar
of the Kohistanis, Guralis &
others was brought about at
this period, according to local
history, through Mussamat Ram,
daughter of one Barak, who fell
in love with an Akhundzada
named Sulak Baka. Through
her and her family these people
are said to have been brought
over to Islam.

The extensive manner in
which the ~~Swat Valley~~ ^{Udyana} is fortified
on the South speaks of any thing
but the supposed peaceable
nature of the people or their
cordial relations with their
neighbours in Gandhara the
present Feshkawa District.
I attack a plan of the old fortifi-
-cations on the Malakand Pass
(RppsBal)

73 33 37

others, who are undoubtedly a remnant of the former inhabitants of Udyāna, was brought

to Islām.

Lastly may be mentioned the Ghorī, a small clan subservient to the Pathans, on the right bank of the Panjkora river.

The extensive

Appendix B is a plan of the old fortifications on the Malakand Pass

⑦

later. Conversion in Bashghar of the Kohistanis, Gurialis & others was brought about at this period, according to local history, through Mussamat Ram, daughter of one Barah, who fell in love with an Akhundzada named Salak Baba. Through her and her family these people are said to have been brought over to Islam.

The extensive manner in which the ~~Swat Valley~~ **Udyāna** is fortified on the South speaks of anything but the supposed peaceable nature of the people or their cordial relations with their neighbours in Gandhara the present Peshawar District.

I attach a plan of the old fortifications on the Malakand Pass

(Apps B & C)

34

and hope later to obtain plans of
 them.

Beyond the Swat, Aidingai and
 Jalash valleys the remains become
 more indistinct - I expected to find
 the contrary. Up the valley of the
 Panjkora there are considerable
 traces of ruins as far as the
 Cuskhiri. Beyond this I noticed
 none, though I do not assert that
 they do not exist. At Barikot near
 Patrak distinct ruins are said
 to exist and a stupa is said to
 have existed there which was over-
 thrown by one Ilias Akhund ~~two~~ *about 2 generations ago - in*
~~or three generations ago.~~

The whole way up the Panjkora
 valley there are remains of old
 terraced cultivation, entirely
 deserted in the present day &
 declared by the Muhammadan
 population not to belong to the

34

and hope later to obtain plans of others.

and hope later to obtain plans of others *om. JRAS*

Beyond the Swat, Adinzai and Talash valleys the remains become more indistinct—I expected to find the contrary. Up the valley of the Panjkora there are considerable traces of ruins as far as the Aushiri. Beyond this I noticed none, though I do not assert that they do not exist. At Barikot near Patrak distinct ruins are said to exist and a stupa is said to have existed there which was overthrown by one Ilias Akhund, ~~two~~ [erasure] ~~or three generations ago.~~

the remains of former inhabitation become

I expected...contrary *om. JRAS*

Beyond this...exist *om. JRAS*

about 2 generations ago—[erasure]

The whole way up the Panjkora valley there are remains of old terraced cultivation, entirely deserted in the present day & declared by Muhammadan population not to belong to the

Throughout the Panjkora valley

7538

Muhammadan period. This point to a different condition in the valley - and this condition was probably that the land along the banks of the River was at that time swamp, and incapable of cultivation. ^{to the same extent as now} The process of the bed of the River deepening and swampy land being gradually reclaimed and brought under cultivation goes on now. ~~condition~~ in the country gives the explanation. The people of the valley also talk of ~~them~~ ^{in former days} and also mentions a much heavier rain fall, which had doubtless been much reduced by the whole ^{fall} destruction of forests.

To the west of the Panjkora, the Gandol Valley occupied during the expedition by our troops is too thickly populated for many

75 38

different previous condition in the valley: this condition

river was during Buddhist occupation swamp

Muhammadan period. This points to a different condition in the valley—and this condition was probably that the land along the banks of the River was at that time swamp, and incapable *to the same extent as now* of cultivation. The process of the [^]bed of the River deepening and swampy land being gradually reclaimed and brought under cultivation goes on now. ~~Tradition in the country gives this explanation, and also mentions a~~ *The people of the valley also talk of* ^{in former days} much heavier rainfall, which [^]had doubtless been much reduced by the wholesale destruction of forests.

To the West of the Panjkora, the Jandol valley occupied during the expedition by our troops is too thickly populated for many

36

traces of former occupation to remain undisturbed. The only good site I was able to trace was of a city on the hills to the west of Kanbat. Near this I obtained an inscription - I also obtained two inscriptions near Badin between Munda and Kanbat in the Jandol valley - one from ^{Tarawar} ~~the~~ ^{the} Maidan Banda Valley - near the Panj-kora, and a Persian one broken into three pieces near Sapi Kalan in the same valley. These have all been sent to the Lahore Museum, and I hope steps will be taken there for their publication.

An old road leads over the Binshi Pass into Asmar from the Jandol valley. Old buildings

36

traces of former occupation to

remain undisturbed. The only

good site I was able to trace

the only good site noted

was of a city on the hills to the

⑧

West of Kanbat. Near this I

obtained an inscription—I also

obtained two inscriptions near

Badin between Munda and

Kanbat in the Jandol valley—

Tarawar

ā

one from Tarawar in the Maidan

Banda Valley—near the Panj-

-kora, and a Persian one

broken into three pieces near

Sapri Kalan in the same valley.

These have all been sent to the

Lahore Museum, and I hope

and I hope...publication *om. JRAS*

steps will be taken there for

their publication.

An old road leads over

An old road...Jandol valley [transposed to before "The only good site"]

the Binshi Pass into Asmar from

the Jandol valley. Old buildings

Old buildings *om. JRAS*

22 33

in this valley, as elsewhere, have been pulled down, and the stone ~~is much~~ used in houses and forts in the valley. It is curious to see old sculptured stones used in Muhammadan graves. This is common near Barwa, and I ^{have} noticed it in other places in the valley, and occasionally in Swat.

A former Khan of Dir has almost ruined an old Deva-temple, at Gumbhat in the Galash valley, the stone being carried off to Dir. ^{By destruction of it in excellent preservation still remain.} Ruins and inscriptions exist on the ranges from the Binski Pass to the South West, and near Nawagai are remains of a very large city. Unfortunately, these are all inaccessible to us.

in this valley...in Swat *om. IRAS*

~~77~~ 37 ~~39~~

in this valley, as elsewhere, have been pulled down, and the stone ~~is much~~ used in houses and forts in the valley. It is curious to see old sculptured stones used in Muhammadan graves. This is common near ~~have~~ Barwa, and I noticed it in ~~^~~ other places in the valley, and occasionally in Swat.

②

A former Khan of Dir ~~has~~ almost ruined an old Deva-temple, at Gumbat in the Talash valley the stone being carried

Portions of it, however, in excellent preservation

off to Dir. ~~Pe~~ Portions of it in excellent preservation still remain.

of a large city

Ruins and inscriptions exist on the ranges from the Binshi Pass to the South West, and near Nawagai are remains of a very large city. Unfortu-

these are inaccessible for examination

-nately these are all inaccessible ~~to us~~.

38

In the Barawal Valley beyond Jandol, and beyond Darara in the Panjkora, I found no distinct traces of buildings or habitation, which could be held to be contemporaneous with the ruins in the Lower Valley.

Ruins are found, but, so far as I am able to judge, they are of more recent ^{Kafir} occupation. I had during the Expedition however, very little time to give to the subject.

I found no signs of any sculpture in these regions, nor could I hear of any having been found.

Such sculpture as has been found has been obtained from the Swat Valley and from Darqai. I attach ~~copy~~ ^(copy) a few ~~drawings of sculpture found~~

38

In the Baraul valley beyond
 Jandol, and beyond Darora
 in the Panjkora, I found no
 distinct traces of buildings or
 habitation, which could be held
 to be contemporaneous with the
 ruins in the lower valleys.

Ruins are found, but, so far
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I found no signs of any
 sculpture in these regions,
 nor could I hear of any having
 been found.

Such sculpture as has
 been found has been obtained
 from the Swat Valley and from
 Dargai. ~~(App F)~~ ~~attach (App [erasure]) a few~~
~~drawings of sculpture found~~

In the Baraul...having been found *om. JRAS*

Such sculptures as have been found

79 42

~~near Dargai which have been~~
~~given me by Major Murray of~~
~~the 30th I.S. who took a keen~~
~~interest in the subject, and~~
~~discovered many interesting~~
~~things. He also obtained a~~

Buddhist relic in a small
gold casket ^{was found} ~~which he made~~
^{which has been made near Dargai}
~~over to Surg^{ts} Major Waddell.~~
^{Imperial Museum, Calcutta}

Considerable damage has
been done in places by irrespon-
-sible digging. The greatest &
most pitiable damage has been
^{and especially}
done at a place on the North-
slope of the Morak Pass, called
Kafir Kot, which ^{must have} ~~would appear~~
^{been a place of much importance}
~~to have been one of the strong~~
~~cities alluded to by Hsuan-~~
~~Tsang. Here there are extensive~~
remains of a large monastery
within which stood a stupa,
the base of which is still standing.

20

79 39 40

~~near Dargai which have been
given me by Major Maisey of
the 30th P. I. who took a keen
interest in the subject, and
discovered many interesting
where also a
ruins. He also obtained a~~

Buddhist relic in a small
gold casket ~~which he made~~
This has been made over to the
over to Surgn. Major Waddell.
Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

Considerable damage has
been done in places by irrespon-
-sible digging. The greatest &
~~most pitiable damage has been
and especially
done~~ at a place on the North

slope of the Morah Pass, called
must have
Kafirkot, which ~~would appear~~
been a place of much importance
to have been one of the strong-

~~cities alluded to by Hiouen-
Tsiang.~~ Here there are extensive
remains of a large monastery
within which stood a stupa,
the base of which is still standing.

is still *in situ*.

The diameter of the inner circle
 is 24 ft. to which may be added
 a projecting plank of 10". The
 diameter of the outer circular
 base is $24 + 13 \cdot 10 = 37 \text{ ft. } 10 \text{ inch.}$

Some ~~part of the sculpture given~~ ^{obtained}

~~to Mr. Caddy came from~~ ^{has been sent to the Imperial Museum}
 this place, but - the whole site

has been so ruthlessly dug in to
 and torn about by irresponsible
 people, that it is difficult
 now to trace ~~even~~ what existed.

On a recent visit I collected
 some 30 pieces which are all
 good, and which had been
 thrown aside as not-poses.

- being the figures which are
 fancied by those who want
 only one or two specimens.

Near this place I noticed
 two other stupas and, in the
 plain below, a mound from

40

The diameter of the inner circle

is 24 ft to which may be added

a projecting plinth of 10". The

diameter of the outer circular

base is $24 + 13.10'' = 37 \text{ ft } 10 \text{ inch.}$

Some obtained

~~Most of the sculpture given~~

~~to Mr. Caddy came from~~

this place, ^{has been sent to the Imperial Museum} but the whole site

but the whole...two specimens *om. JRAS*

has been so ruthlessly dug into

and torn about by irresponsible

people, that it is difficult

now to trace ~~even~~ what existed.

On a recent visit I collected

some 30 pieces which are all

good, and which had been

thrown aside as not posses-

-sing the figures which are

fancied by those who want

only one or two specimens.

Near this place I noticed

two other stupas and, in the

plain below, a mound from

SI 44

which Pathans not long ago
obtained some gold sword
hilts and other pieces of valu-
-able property, which cannot now
be traced.

~~I hope later to have the~~
~~stupas properly examined.~~
~~examination.~~
The stupas are all written proper

The sculpture from Darqai,
~~in the excavation of which Major~~
~~Murray took great care,~~ is
of the Gandhara type and
that from the Swat valley
is of the same type but dis-
~~tinctly superior~~ in some
~~superior and principally in that~~
respects. The figures are better
proportioned. ~~But as all the~~
~~sculpture here is being made~~
~~expressly described and published~~
~~over to Mr. Caddy it will~~
~~undoubtedly be separately des-~~
~~cribed in detail.~~

~~Darqai, I am inclined to think,~~
~~belonged to Gandhara and not~~
~~to Udyana.~~

81 41 41

which Pathans not long ago

obtained some gold sword

hilts and other pieces of valu-

which cannot now

-able property.

be traced

~~I hope later to have the~~

The stupas are all worth proper

~~stupas properly examined.~~

examination

The sculpture from Dargai,

~~in the excavation of which Major~~

~~Maisey took great care, is~~

of the Gandhara type and

that from the Swat valley

is of the same type but dis-

-tinctly superior in some

superior and principally in that

respects. The figures are better

^

proportioned. ~~But as all the~~

~~will all I think be~~

~~sculpture here is being made~~

~~[erasure] described and published~~

~~over to Mr. Caddy it will~~

~~doubtless be separately des-~~

~~cribed in detail.~~

~~Dargai, I am inclined to think,~~

~~belonged to Gandhara and not~~

~~to Udyâna.~~

These stupas are all worth

Country of the ⁴² Malakand

The ~~position of the country~~
~~ridge~~ ^{and}
~~which is rich in ruins has~~
~~not been properly worked.~~
~~There is much to be done in this quarter~~
~~and leave notice of till later.~~

(App. Co)
~~The attached rough map for~~
~~worked by Major Maury~~
~~will show that there is much~~
~~to be done in this quarter.~~

~~It is not worthy that Hsien~~
Tsiang describes the art of using
religious sentences as charms
as prevalent in Udyana. He
also mentions the character
as being of a mixed character.

As there are not many inscriptions
have been found in Swat and
those found are mostly in Sans,
Khit ~~but~~ ^{often undoubtedly} many exist which
we are unable to obtain
at present;

~~Sofar as my researches~~
~~have led me, the short —~~

I have lately obtained ^{two}
^{small} ~~inscriptions~~ ^{which}
~~but~~ ^{inscriptions} in the same
unknown characters which in fact
has been found in small stones in
old houses on the slopes of Malakand.
^{These} ~~inscriptions~~ ^{are} ~~the~~ ^{most} ~~likely~~
^{inscriptions} covered in the Journal
Asiatique

country to the South of the Malakand
~~This~~ portion of the country
 Ridge and
~~which~~ is rich in ruins has

not been properly worked.
 there is much to be done in this quarter
~~I will leave notice of till later.~~

(App G)

~~The attached rough map fur-~~
~~nished by Major Maisey~~
~~will show that there is much~~
~~to be done in this quarter.~~

~~It is noteworthy that~~ Hiouen

Hiouen Tsian...mixed character. om. JRAS

Tsiang describes the art of using
 religious sentences as charms
 as prevalent in Udyâna. He
 also mentions the characters
 as being of a mixed character.

Hitherto not many inscriptions
 have been found in Swat and
 those found are mostly in Sans-
~~-krit~~ but ~~Many~~ others undoubtedly exist which
~~we are unable to obtain~~
 at present.

~~So far as my researches~~
~~have led me, the short~~

21

I have lately obtained one or two
 ones
 small in a character which has not
~~yet been deciphered~~ in the same
 unknown character which is found
 has been found on small stones in
 old houses on the slopes of Mahabun.
 Emile
 [erasure] M. Senart lately
 published several in the Journal
 Asiatique.

83⁴²

~~Since writing I have obtained impressions of two small inscriptions one of them from Odigram ^{and the other from Ghorband} These will be published separately. They seem to be connected with the language referred to.~~

~~Remember exp~~

~~inscriptions in a language which has not yet been deciphered and a considerable number of which I have obtained at various times from the hills in the Eastern border of Yusufzai (several were lately published by Mr. Sewall-) have not been found in the direction of Swat above Mount-Elm. This hill is rich in inscriptions but for the most part they are inaccessible, and many of them have been wilfully damaged. I know of at least 40 which have been so damaged. It is possible that on research some may be found in Swat where the old buildings have not yet been examined. A probable explanation of these short inscriptions seems to be that they~~

~~Since writing I have obtained~~
 impressions of two small
 inscriptions one of them
 and the other from
 from Odigram. These *Ghorband*
 Λ
 will be published sepa-
 -rately. They seem to be
 connected with the language
~~referred to.~~

[erasure]

A probable...that they *om. IRAS*

~~inscriptions in a language which~~
~~has not yet been decyphered~~
~~and a considerable number~~
~~of which I have obtained at~~
~~various times from the hills in~~
~~the Eastern border of Yusafzai~~
 (several were lately published
 by M. Senart) have not been
 found in the direction of Swat
 above Mount Ilm. This hill is
 rich in inscriptions but for
 the most part they are inacces-
 -sible, and many of them
 have been wilfully damaged.
 I know of at least 40 which
 have been so damaged. It
 is possible that on research some
 may be found in Swat where
 the old buildings have not yet
~~been examined.~~ A probable
 explanation of these short ins-
 criptions seems to be that they

were the Charans alluded to by
the Pilgrim.

In this note on Udyana
I have recorded only what
I have been able to ascertain
from cursory enquiry and research.
There is a large field for any one
who can systematically prosecute
research.

The Pilgrim after leaving
Udyana went up the line of
the Sinta or Ludus River. But
it is said that he went first
North West from Mungali, which
would take him on to the line
of the Ludus via Gilgit. At Mung-
gali he was within fairly easy
range of the Ludus on the East
and North East and by his
going North West over a range
of hills and through a valley
it would seem probable he took

I offer the opinion that Udyana
was on the North bounded by the high
range of hills above Dir and Swat -
^{and south of the} ~~which the Pilgrim calls the Tunga, being~~
^{mentioned by the Pilgrim} mountains - these hills now divide Swat
and Dir from Gilgit and Chitral
territory. On the West I do not think
^{Udyana} ~~it extended~~ further than the line of the
Panjkora - the Pilgrim descriptions
take us nowhere into Bajaur. On
the South the watershed of the hills bor-
dering the present Peshawar District
would appear from the extensive
fortifications to have been the
boundary. On the side of Peshawar the
watershed ~~and~~ would also appear to
have been the boundary, as the
Cave Temple on that border on the
western watershed is described as
being in Gandhara - Further South
on this line we are brought within
the present limits of our British
border at Surkharri & Naringi, and
~~thence the road runs to the bridge the bridge spans~~
~~further down I judge Peshawar~~
~~bordering the British Punjab but appears to~~
~~and extends here to have been~~
~~within Udyana limits~~ ^{My opinion is that}
^{point is based on} ~~Small inscriptions being found~~
~~here which have not yet been~~
~~found in Gandhara~~ ~~but~~ ~~I have not a map sufficient~~
~~to illustrate the above.~~

44

were the charms alluded to by

the Pilgrim.

In this note on Udyâna

I have recorded only what

I have been able to ascertain

from cursory enquiry and research.

There is a large field for anyone

who can systematically prosecute

research.

The Pilgrim after leaving

Udyâna went up the line of

the Sintu or Indus River. But

it is said that he went first

North West from Mungali, which

would take him on to the line

of the Indus via Gilgit. At Mun-

-gali he was within fairly easy

range of the Indus on the East

and North East and by his

going North West over a range

of hills and through a valley

it would seem probable he took

were the...Pilgrim. om. JRAS

I offer the opinion that Udyâna was on the North bounded by the high range of hills above Dir and Swat—

wd seem to be the

which ~~the Pilgrim call the~~ Tsungling ~~mentioned by the Pilgrim~~

Mountains. These hills now divide Swat and Dir from Gilgit and Chitral territory. On the West I do not think Udyâna

~~it~~ extended further than the line of the Panjkora—the Pilgrims descriptions take us nowhere into Bajaur. On the South, the watershed of the hills bordering the present Peshawar District would appear from the extensive fortifications to have been the boundary. On the side of Boner the watershed [erasure] would also appear to have been the boundary, as the

cave temple on that border on the western watershed is described as being in Gandhara. Further South on this line we are brought within the present limits of our British border at Surkhavi & Narinji, and thence ~~the low~~ down to the Indus the lower spurs ~~further down I judge Palosdarra—~~ bordering [erasure] British Yusafzai wd appear to ~~and Tsalaidheri to have been—~~

have been My opinion on this within Udyâna limits. ~~owing to~~ point is based on

small inscriptions being found [erasure] amongst ruins on these spurs ~~here which have not yet been—~~ are not

found in Gandhara. I regret ~~that I have not an image with me—~~ to illustrate the above.

mentioned by the Pilgrim (p. 119 and elsewhere)

and by going north-west

probable that he took

85⁺ 45

the route via Kalam and the
Laspur Pass to Drasan from
which point he would reach the
Indus by the easiest line.

It seems not unlikely that
Sung Yun also entered Udyana
by this route.

I add here a few notes I
have made from time to time
regarding the adjoining Province
of Gandhara ~~in which I was~~
~~first led to taking an interest~~
~~by discovering the 12th Edict mis-~~
~~sung from the large Cranka~~
~~inscription at Shakka Garka.~~
the British District
of Peshawar

Hsüen Tsiang in his
records first describes Po-lu-
sha-pu-lo which has been
identified as the present
Peshawar. One of the first points
he notices is the large Pipal

85 45-43

the route via Kalam and the
Laspur Pass to Drasan from
which point he would reach the
Indus by the easiest line.

It seems not unlikely that
Sung Yun also entered Udyâna
by this route.

I add here a few notes I
have made from time to time
regarding the adjoining Province
the British District
of Gandhara in which I was
of Peshawar
first led to taking an interest
by discovering the 12th Edict mis-
sing from the large Asoka
inscription at Shahbaz Garha.

Hiouen Tsiang in his
records first describes Po-lu-
sha-pa-lo which has been
identified as the present
Peshawar. One of the first points
he notices is the large Pipal

22

in his Records (Beal, ii, 97)

he notices (p. 99)

66
~~the which has been covered~~
~~is mentioned later by Ptolemy.~~
~~then mentioned in history.~~

Jodawas having a consider-
 -able Hindu population it
 is natural to look for the site
 of the tree amongst places
 still or until lately held by
 them in reverence.

A mistake we are
 apt to be led into in such
 research is to disregard the
 fact that the site of the city
 itself may have been chang-
 -ed. On this point there is ample
 evidence that within quite recent
 times a large portion of the
 city which occupied the site
 of the present Commissariat-
 Quarters and towards the present
 Cantonment was demolished

46

tree which ~~has been several~~
 is mentioned later by Baber
~~times mentioned in history.~~

23

Peshawar having a consider-
 -able Hindu population it
 is natural to look for the site
 of this tree amongst places
 still or until lately held by
 them in reverence.

A mistake we are
 apt to be led into in such
 research is to disregard the
 fact that the site of the city
 itself may have been chang-
 -ed. On this point there is ample
 evidence that within quite recent
 times a ~~large~~ portion of the
 city which occupied the site
 of the present Commissariat
 lines and towards the present
 cantonments was demolished

lines, near the present cantonments, was demolished

87 ~~47~~ ~~1/4~~
and the city per force extended
in the opposite direction.

At the corner of what is
now known as the Papal Mundi
is an old Papal tree. According
to Hindu tradition this tree
is at least 500 years old. Ever
-til recent years, during
which a market has grown
up round it; it was the great
meeting place and resting
place for Jogis.

~~Avartabla~~
~~Avartabla is said to have~~
~~found and removed from here~~
~~a considerable amount of~~
~~valuable property.~~

There are other places
in and near Peshawar which
at the present day are regard-
-ed as more important than
this - notably a tank and temple

87-47-44

and the city perforce extended
in the opposite direction.

as the Pipal Mandi

At the corner of what is
now known as Pipal Mandi
is an old Pipal tree. According
to Hindu tradition this tree
is at least 500 years old. Un-
-til recent years, during
which a market has grown
up round it, it was the great
meeting place and resting
place for Yogis.

24

~~Avatable~~
[erasure] is said to have
~~found and removed from here~~
~~a considerable amount of~~
~~valuable property.~~

There are other places
in and near Peshawar which
at the present day are regard-
-ed as more important than
this—notably a tank and temple

known as Panj Tirath sur-
 -rounded by large Pipal
 trees to the ~~North East~~ North East
 of the city, but these places are
 all of recent date. ~~It is rather~~
~~at to suppose that on the site~~
~~of an old Pipal tree another~~
~~would be planted or allowed~~
~~to grow up and after enquiry~~
 After Enquiry which I have made
~~which I have made during~~
 during the last three years I have
~~the last three years I have~~
 come to the conclusion that
 the Pipal tree now standing
 in the Pipal Mandi is on the
 site of the old one mentioned
 in history. We may be sure
 that such a site would not
 be ~~ignored and lost sight~~
 of by the Hindus, though circum-
 -stances now render its former

48

known as Panj Tirath sur-

-rounded by large Pipal

trees to the [erasure] North East

of the city, but these places are

all of recent date. ~~It is natur-~~

~~al to suppose that on the site~~

~~of an old Pipal tree another~~

~~would be planted or allowed~~

~~to grow up and after enquiry~~

After enquiry which I have made

~~which I have made during~~

during the last three years I have

the last three years I have

come to the conclusion that

the Pipal tree now standing

in the Pipal Mandi is on the

site of the old one mentioned

in history. We may be sure

that such a site would not

be ignored and lost sight

of by the Hindoos, though circum-

-stances now render its former

those places are all of comparatively recent date.

Hindus

use impracticable. ⁸⁹ 89 75

Of the stupas mentioned by the Pilgrim there are few traces left. The sites of fine can be traced at a place about a mile South East of the present city. The sites would I think repay excavation. The place is known as Shakji-Ki-Dheri, and is below Hagar Khan on the old road to Lahore. I obtained from this place a small figure of a sitting-Buddha and a very interesting flint-Cameo - a figure of a man mounted on a horse. These were obtained without touching the main sites, but from a corner where cultivation is commencing to cut into the site.

~~49~~ 89 ~~45~~

use impracticable.

Of the stupas mentioned by the Pilgrim there are few traces left. The sites of five can be traced at a place about a mile South East of the present city. These sites would I think repay excavation. The place is known as Shahji-ki-Dheri, and is below Hazar Khani on the old road to Lahore. I obtained from this place a small figure of a sitting-Buddha and a very interesting flint cameo—a figure of a man mounted on a horse. These were obtained without touching the main sites, but from a corner where cultivation is commencing to cut into the site.

These sites...excavation *om. JRAS*

These were obtained from a corner where cultivation is commencing to cut into the site, which has not been excavated.

50
 The Peshawar city - now covers
 such an extent of land, and
 every available piece of land
 near it - is so highly cultivated,
 that it is hopeless to try and
 follow the Pilgrim further in
 his descriptions, *in detail*.

Going North East from
 Peshawar the Pilgrim takes us
 across a great river to
 Push-kalavati. This has been
 identified as the Peuce-latis
 of Cassian and the present
 Charzadda. It is probable
 that the main site lay a little
 lower down where extensive
 mounds, wells &c mark the
 old site of a city very dis-
 -tinctly. This ^{site} would all repay
 excavation.

50

The Peshawar city now covers
 such an extent of land, and
 every available piece of land
 near it is so highly cultivated,
 that it is hopeless to try and
 follow the Pilgrim further in
 his descriptions. **on**
in detail

the Pilgrim further in his descriptions

Going North East from
 Peshawar the Pilgrim takes
 us across a great River to
 Push-Kalavati. This has been
 identified as the Peuce-laotis
 of Arrian and the present
 Charsadda. It is probable
 that the main site lay a little
 lower down where extensive
 mounds, wells &c mark the
 old site of a city very dis-
 -tinctly. This would **site**
 all **^** repay
 excavation.

the Pilgrim (Beal, ii, 109) takes

Pushkalavati

Penkelaotis

Continued by the Pilgrims 91/6

The ~~new temple~~ outside the city gate is not traceable. The stupa to the East may yet be found amongst the mounds which exist. If we follow Hiouen Tsiang's distances carefully from these old mounds we come eventually to the Eastern end of the mass of buried ruins known as Skabr-i-Karparan between the present villages of Rajar and Utmanzai. The stone from these has for years been pulled out for building purposes & it is impossible to trace what existed. I found here portion of a top of a Chaitya. Accepting the Pilgrims' measurements

51 91 46

mentioned by the Pilgrim

The Deva temple outside the
city gate is not traceable.

^

The Deva temple ... exist. *om. JRAS*

The stupa to the East may
yet be found amongst the
mounds which exist. If
we follow Hiouen Tsiang's
distances carefully from
these old mounds we come
eventually to the Eastern
end of the mass of buried
ruins known as Shahr-i-
Narparan between the
present villages of Rajar
and Utmanzai. The stone
from these has for years
been pulled out for building
purposes & it is impossible
to trace what existed. I
found here portion of a
top of a chaitya. Accepting
the Pilgrim's measurements

Shahr-i-Narparsan

abstracted for building purposes

portions of the top

and directions to be correct
 and assuming that the large
 Stupas mentioned by him
 stood at the East-end
 of these extensive ruins,
 to which, ^{point} the measurements
 being us exactly, we get a
 point from which the
 Pilgrim gives another line
 to a position 50 li North
 West. Here he mentions
 another Stupa. The direction
 & measurement being
 us direct to a mound
 of ruins, he charts, so far
 as I know not-excavated
 & known as Dheri
 Kafiran. This stands
 not far from the village
 of Sherpas in Basktragar.
 There can be little doubt

52

and directions to be correct

and assuming that the large

stupas mentioned by him

stood at the East end

of these extensive ruins,

point

to which the measurements

Λ

bring us exactly, we get a

point from which the

Pilgrim gives another line

the Pilgrim (p. 110) gives a further line

to a position 50 li North

West. Here he mentions

another Stupa. The direction

& measurement bring

lead direct to

us direct to a mound

of ruins, hitherto, so far

as I know, not excavated

& [erasure] known as Dheri

Kafirān. This stands

not far from the village

of Sherpao in Hashtnagar.

There can be little doubt

53 9342
 That excavation would
 show this "Infidel's mound"
 to have been a ~~Stupa~~ ^{Indo-Greek} ~~Stupa~~
 the ruins, it must have
 been a large one.

Again from this point north
 50 li the pilgrim describes
 another Stupa. This brings
 us a little north East of
 the present village of
 Gandhari. ~~I leave it~~ ^{which may be connected}
~~to others to say if their~~
~~name is connected with~~

^{the old name} Gandhara. The name
 Gandhari ^{however} has a meaning
 in Pashto - being the "Oleander"
 which grows in the provinces
 here. A little north of
 Gandhari & not a mile
 from the village the site
 of the Stupa is traceable.
~~See Waterfield's Commandant~~

53 93 47

the Pilgrim (p. 111)

that excavation would
 show this “Infidels Mound”
 Judging by
 to have been a stupa. From
 the ruins, it must have
 been a large one.

Again from this point north
 50 li the Pilgrim describes
 another stupa. This brings
 us a little North East of
 the present village of
 which may be connected
 Gandheri. Leave it

~~to others to say if this~~

~~name is connected with~~

the old name

Gandhara. The name
 however
 Gandheri has a meaning
 ^
 in Pashtu—being the “oleander”

which grows in the ravines

here. A little north of

Gandheri & not a mile

from the village the site

of the stupa is traceable.

~~Mr Waterfield Commandant~~

25

~~of the Askaniya borders~~
~~Military Police who was good~~
~~enough to see work properly~~
~~carried out - obtained from~~
~~the place at~~ Small Vihara
 such as is generally found
 near stupas. ^{from mentioned here} The sculpture ^{is complete.}
 is very old & good and
 much of it - shows traces
 of gilding. ~~To preserve~~
~~it - it was~~ ~~built-up in~~

It has been made over
 to the Imperial Government

~~(Askaniya)~~
~~The sculpture in the that~~
~~obtained in Swat - has now~~
~~been made over to Mr~~
~~A. E. Caddy to take charge~~
~~of for Govt.~~

The whole site near Gandhari
 would repay excavation.
 These last two measurements
 being ~~so~~ correct - I see no
 reason for not locating
 the places mentioned here

~~of the Peshawar Border~~

~~Military Police who was good~~

~~enough to see work properly~~

~~carried out obtained from~~

~~the place~~ A small vihara

such as is generally found

near stupas. ^{was excavated here complete} The sculpture

is very old & good and

much of it shows traces

of gilding. ~~To preserve~~

~~it it was built up in~~

~~Peshawar.~~

~~The sculpture with that~~

~~obtained in Swat has now~~

~~been made over to Mr~~

~~A. E. Caddy to take charge~~

~~of for Govt.~~

The whole site near Gandheri

would repay excavation.

These last two measurements

being ~~so~~ correct I see no

reason for not locating

the places mentioned near

A small vihara, such as is generally found near stupas, was excavated here; the base was standing, and it has since been built up with other portions excavated near it. The sculpture is very old and good, and much of it shows traces of gilding.

It has been made over to the Imperial Museum

is worth exploration.

measurements and distances

55-9548
 Push-ka-levati by accepting
 the Pilypin's measurements
 exactly.

The point thus fixed at
 Gandhari is important,
 for it is from here that
 the Pilypin takes his direction
 & measurement to Po-lu-Ska.

This has been assumed by
 General Sir A Cunningham
 to be Palo-Dhari, a village
 in the Sackum Valley,
 mainly on account of the
 name. The name in this
 case is, I think, no guide.

Palo-Dhari, Palle, Palosi,
 Palosdara are common
 enough names in the country,
 and are exactly directly
 associated with ^{the} Palo tree -
 the acacia modesta, and
 it is from this that Palo-
 Dhari which has only

55 95 47

Push-ka-lavati by accepting
the Pilgrims measurements
exactly.

The point thus fixed at
Gandheri is important,
for it is from here that
the Pilgrim takes his direction
& measurement to Po-lu-sha.

This has been assumed by
General Sir A Cunningham
to be Palo-Dheri, a village
in the Sadhum valley,
mainly on account of the
name. The name in this
case is, I think, no guide.

Palo-Dheri, Palli, Palosi,
Palosdara are common
enough names in the country
and are ~~exactly~~ directly
the
associated with Palo tree—
Λ
the acacia modesta, and
it is from this that Palo-
Dheri which has only

The name in this case...has only *om*. JRAS

56

been founded some 70 years
 - takes its name. The measurement
 does not correspond, and
 Palo-dheri is almost due
 East from Gandheri.
 The difficulty is to find
 any site that does properly
 coincide with the Pilgrims'
 distance & measurement.
 He omits all mention of
 Lakht-i-Baki, Sakri
 Babelol and other
 important places, he must
 have passed en route - ~~and which would~~
 The direction ^{given in Malakand} would carry
 us more correctly, and the
 distance, as correctly, to
 Shahazgarha (the old
 name of which was Mandat)
 as to Palo-dheri, but
 at this place ^{the Pilgrims} ~~we~~ might
 be expected to have mentioned

56

been founded some 70 years

been founded...to have mentioned *om. JRAS*

takes its name. The measurement

does not correspond, and

Palo-dheri is almost due

East from Gandheri.

The difficulty is to find

any site that does properly

coincide with the Pilgrim's

distances & measurement.

He omits all mention of

Takht-i-Bahi, Sahri

Bahlol and other

important sites he must

have passed en route.

~~[and which we wld expect]~~

given in the Records

The direction would carry

^

us more correctly, and the

distance as correctly, to

Shabazgarhi (the old

name of which was Mandat)

as to Palo-dheri, but

the Pilgrim

at this place ~~we~~ might

^

be expected to have mentioned

57 9749
 the Asoka inscription which
 would have furnished a
^{definite}
~~definite~~ clue. The Pilgrim's
 further notes are also against
 Skhalaygarhi, and until
 we know better we can
 only accept the neighbourhood
 of Palo-dhesi as the site
 of Polu-ska. About 3 miles
 north-west and west of
 Palo-dhesi are the ruins
 of a large city now known
 as Savili, outside the
 Eastern gate of which are
 remains of a Sangharama,
 but there is no trace of
 any Stupa to the north
 & this site corresponds
 with the Pilgrim's measure-
 -ments even less than Palo
 dhesi does. The Pilgrim
 says that to the north
 East of the city ~~is~~ is

the Asoka...says that to the *om. JRAS*

57 97 49

the Asoka inscription which
 would have furnished a
 definite
~~definitive~~ clue. The Pilgrim's
 further notes are ~~abe~~ against
 Shabazgarhi, and until
 we know better we can
 only accept the neighbourhood
 of Palo-dheri as the site
 of Polu-sha. About 3 miles
 north west and west of
 Palo-dheri are the ruins
 of a large city now known
 as Tarili, outside the
 Eastern gate of which are
 remains of a Sangharama,
 but there is no trace of
 any stupa to the north
 & this site corresponds
 with the Pilgrim's measure-
 -ments even less than Palo
 Dheri does. The Pilgrim
 says that to the North
 East of the city [erasure] is

Mount Santoloka. The distance he gives is 20 lis. Mount Santoloka was identified by General Sir A Cunningham to be the Sarawar or Paja range lying between British Yusafzai & Buner and no other hill in this neighbourhood answers to the description given by Hsien Tsang.

The Pilgrim mentions two stupas above a ridge of the mountain. No such stupas have yet been found.

I think the line where research may be successful on this point is on a ridge running South East from the peak known as Paja. This ridge has not yet been examined. Judging by the great length of

58

Mount Dantoloka. The distance he gives is 20 lis.

Mount Dantoloka was

identified by General Sir

A Cunningham to be the

Sanawar or Paja range

lying between British Yusafzai

& Boner, and no other hill

in this neighbourhood answers

to the description given by

Hiouen Tsiang.

The Pilgrim mentions two stupas above a ridge of the mountain. No such stupas have yet been found.

I think the line where research may be successful

on this point is on ~~th~~ a

ridge running South East

from the peak known as

Paja. This ridge has not

yet been examined. Judging

by the great length of

North-east of the city was Mount Dantaloka, 20 li distant.

This is the Sanawar or Paja range, north-east of Palo-dheri, as identified by General Sir A. Cunningham.

lying between...great length of *om*. *JRAS*

and down to the Valley
between the hills

9152
old road which can be
traced along the ridge and
which leads from the Kashmir
Smats into ^{on the hill} Doner, the
hill must have been
considerably resorted to.
^{the hill} When he mentions the Strulus
& trees being of a deep red
color. There is one particular
tree (the *pesta-kia interger-*
-kima, but I am not
certain of this name) on
the hill which has red
foliage in Spring & autumn,
and a notable point about
the hill is that during
the autumn, winter and
Spring the limestone
of which it is composed
& the grass growing on the
hill take at sunset
a peculiar red color
which is conspicuous

old road...which is conspicuous *om. IRAS*

and down to the valley
below on the other

59 99 50

old road which can be
traced along the ridge and
which leads from the Kashmir
on the one side
Smats into Boner the
^
hill must have been
considerably resorted to.
The Record
~~Then he~~ mentions the shrubs
& trees being of a deep red
color. There is one particular
tree (the pistachia interger-
-rima, but I am not
certain of this name) on
the hill which has red
foliage in spring and autumn,
and a notable point about
the hill is that during
the autumn, winter and
spring the limestone
of which it is composed
& the grass growing on the
hill take at sunset
a peculiar red color
which is conspicuous

from all quarters of the
 Peshawar district - and which
 distinguishes it - from all
 the adjacent - hills.

The Pilgrim mentions a
 Stone Chamber between
 the Crags of the mountain.
 This may be a small chamber
 or cell ^{which} still existing, built
 into the rock, below the
 Cave temple known as
 Kashmir Smats. This is
 just above the ravine in
 which the trees droop down
 their branches like curtains
 and form a leafy roof
 over the ravine, a favorite
 haunt for pheasants.

Above this woody ravine,
 but not by the side of
 it - as described by the
 Pilgrim is the rocky cave
 known as the Kashmir

60

from all quarters of the
Peshawar District and which
distinguishes it from all
the adjacent hills.

The Pilgrim mentions a
stone chamber between
the crags of the mountain.

This may be a small chamber
which
or cell still exist~~ing~~ built

into the rock, below the
cave temple known as
Kashmir Smats. This is
just above the ravine in
which "the trees droop down
their branches like curtains"
and form a leafy roof
over the ravine, a ~~favourite~~
~~haunt for pheasants.~~

Above this woody ravine,
but not "by the side of
it" as described by the
Pilgrim is the rocky cave
known as the Kashmir

from all quarters...adjacent hills *om. JRAS*

The Pilgrim (p. 113)

the crags of this mountain

②

1015X

Smats. The "Kashmir Smats"
 is an immense Cave piercing
 the hill at an angle of
 about 25° . It runs slightly
 North West. It is a limestone
 formation and the walls &
 roof show fringes of Stalactite,
 masses of which have occasionally
 fallen from the roof or crusted
 off the sides. The entrance
 to the Cave is about 50 feet
 wide with about an equal
 height. At a distance
 of 38 feet from the entrance
 the Cave widens to 80 feet
 with a height of about
 60 feet. At this point a
 flight of steps 17 feet
 wide lead up for another
 38 feet to an octagonal
 vault, the sides of which
 measure $11' 4\frac{1}{2}"$ and $6'$. Small
 niches
~~spaces~~ exist in the walls

61 101 51

Smats. The "Kashmir Smats"

is an immense cave piercing

the hill at an angle of

about 25°. It runs slightly

North West. It is a limestone

formation and the walls &

roof show fringes of staclactyle,

masses of which have occasionally

fallen from the roof or crusted

off the sides. The entrance

to the cave is about 50 feet

wide with about an equal

height. At a distance

of 38 feet from the entrance

the cave widens to 84 feet

with a height of about

60 feet. At this point a

flight of steps 17 feet

wide lead up for another

38 feet to an octagonal

vault, the sides of which

measure 11', 4½' and 6'. Small

niches

[erasure] exist in the walls

it is of a limestone formation

stalactite

exfoliated from the sides

it widens

62
 in which small earthen
 Chinghs were found. ~~see~~
~~note~~ Portions of what appeared
 to be a Sheeshum wood
 Coffins were sometime ago
 found lying buried in the
 debris not far from the
 vault(-)

The Conclusion is that
 this originally lay in the
 vault-. The lid was highly
 ornamented but was ruined
 by a native who carried it
 off to convert into a door.
 On the right of the Chamber
 is a small square ~~lessony~~
 building. In 1888 near this
 I obtained buried in the
 ground which lies around
 four carved sides of a box,
 two wooden plaques and
 a wooden pilaster about
 4 feet in length. I made

62

in which small earthen
 chiraghs were found. [erasure]
 [erasure] Portions of what appeared
 to be a sheeshum wood
 coffin were some time ago
 found lying buried in the
 debris not far from the
 vault.

The conclusion is that
 this originally lay in the
 vault. The lid was highly
 ornamented but was ruined
 by a native who carried it
 off to convert into a door.
 On the right of the chamber
 is a small square masonry
 building. In 1888 near this
 I obtained buried in the
 guano which lies around
 four carved sides of a box,
 two wooden plaques and
 a wooden pilaster about
 4 feet in length. I made

small square masonry room

10252

these over to Dr Burgess,
 Director of Archaeological
 Survey, who placed them in
 the British Museum. These
 are the only carvings in wood
 found hitherto in Gusepzi.
 They were in excellent pre-
 -servation though blackened
 with age.

The Cave beyond this tunnel
 slightly to the West, and at
 a distance of 95 feet - from
 the Vault-harrows to 47 feet.
 A flight of ~~ascending~~ ^{winding} steps
 20 feet wide & extending
 for $68\frac{1}{2}$ feet - leads up to
 the Centre of the Second
 Chamber. At the top of the
 flight of steps is a fragment
 of wall about 10 feet
 high & 24 feet long in
 fair condition, which

26

Archaeological Survey in India

47 feet in width

103 52

these over to Dr Burgess,
 Director of Archaeological
 Survey, who placed them in
 the British Museum. These
 are the only carvings in wood
 found hitherto in Yusafzai.
 They were in excellent pre-
 -servation though blackened
 with age.

The cave beyond this turns
 slightly to the west, and at
 a distance of 95 feet from
 the vault narrows to 47 feet.
winding
 A flight of [erasure] steps
 20 feet wide & extending
 for 68½ feet leads up to
 the centre of the second
 chamber. At the top of the
 flight of steps is a fragment
 of wall about 10 feet
 high & 24 feet long in
 fair condition, which

⁵⁴
 evidently belonged to some
 large building. The cave is
 here 94 feet wide with a
 height of over 100 feet. At
 a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet beyond
 the above wall the cave
 narrows to $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At
 this point another flight
 of steps is reached. To the
 left of the foot of these
 steps is a water tank
 with steps at the lower
 end leading into it. The
 tank is lined with cement
 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and is in
 excellent preservation.
 The flight of steps leading
 onward into the cave is
 well made & in good
 condition. About 50 feet
 further on a natural
 gallery about 30 feet

64

evidently belonged to some

large building. The cave is

here 94 feet wide with a

height of over 100 feet. At

a distance of 7½ feet beyond

the above wall the cave

narrows to 51½ feet. At

this point another flight

of steps is reached. To the

left of the foot of these

steps is a water tank,

with steps at the lower

end leading into it. The

tank is lined with cement

½ inch thick and is in

half an inch

excellent preservation.

The flight of steps leading

onward into the cave is

well made & in good

condition. About 50 feet

About 50 feet further a natural

further on a natural

gallery about 30 feet

65 10553

high leads off ^{on the} the left-
at the entrance to this on
the right-hand side is a
small square masonry
vault - in which a year or
two ago treasure was said
to have been found by some
of the many Gijars who
frequently live in the
Cave. After 20 feet it
takes a sharp turn up a
flight of steps in good
order, and enters a narrower
gallery along which a man
can only crawl on hands
& knees for a short way.
at the top of the steps
on the wall of the Cave
are a few letters in Pali,
but these have been
almost obliterated and

65 105 53

on

leads on to the left

high leads off the left.

^

At the entrance to this on

the right hand side is a

small square masonry

vault in which a year or

two ago treasure was said

to have been found by some

of the many Gujars who

frequently live in the

cave. After 20 feet it

takes a sharp turn up a

flight of steps in good

order, and enters a narrower

along which for a short way a man can only crawl on hands and knees

gallery along which a man

can only crawl on hands

& knees for a short way.

At the top of the steps

on the wall of the cave

are a few letters in Pali,

but these have been

almost obliterated and

117
66
Cannot be read.

The main Cane from the entrance to the gallery winds through a long Vestibule & up a winding flight of steps, protected by a balustrade, the direction being north, to the third Chamber. The steps lead up to a square masonry tower, a part of which to a height of about 10 feet is in good repair. The measurement of the walls is 7 feet 6 inches while the thickness of them is over 2 feet. The roof of the Cane round, away upwards to a height of about 100 feet or may be more, and on the North West side is a flight from

66

cannot be read.

The main cave from the entrance to the gallery winds through a long vestibule & up a winding flight of steps, protected by a balustrade, the direction being north, to the third chamber. The steps lead up to a square masonry tower, a part of which to a height of about 10 feet is in good repair. The measurement of the walls is 7 feet 6 inches while the thickness of them is over 2 feet. The roof of the cave rounds away upwards to a height of about 100 feet or may be more, and on the north west side is a rift from

6 to 10 feet - in diameter ¹⁰⁷~~84~~
which lets in light & air.
The guano lying in this
chamber is about 7 or 8
feet deep.

The whole cave would
probably repay careful
excavation, but it would
be a troublesome under-
-taking.

I attach a rough plan
of the interior - Appendix E
but - having no compass
when it was made the
bearings are not correctly
given.

Looking down from the
entrance to the cave is
a very fine view of what
appears to have been a
monastery & of the gorge
leading up to it.

67 ~~107~~ 57

6 to 10 feet in diameter

which lets in light & air.

The guano lying in this

chamber is about 7 or 8

feet deep.

The whole cave would

probably repay careful

excavation, but it would

be a troublesome under-

-taking.

I attach a rough plan

of the interior—Appendix E

but having no compass

when it was made the

bearings are not correctly

given.

Looking down from the

entrance to the cave is

a very fine view of what

appears to have been a

monastery & of the gorge

leading up to it.

Appendix E is a rough plan of the interior, but the bearings are only approximate

58

Another Cave exists in the cliff not far from the Kashmir Smoky & perhaps more likely to be the place that an old Rishi would be credited with having as his abode. It is inaccessible to any but the best of cragmen. Taking the Stone chamber first mentioned as the point from which to measure & taking the Pelopius measurement & direction, we cross a small range and come to the bounding wall on the south. It brings us to the foot of the Shaklot Pass. After working the map I visited the Shaklot Pass, and a little to the West of the foot of it found the conspicuous remains of a Memorial Stepa.

Sung Yun's account of the apparently the same cave ~~measures~~ ^{is} and its position ^{is} in no corroboration of the identification. Except in the details that the rock cave was SE of the crest of the hill and that it had two chambers - the second cave leading off from the main one probably being the second chamber. Sung Yun calls the Hill Shenshi, and places it ~~about~~ ^{about} 500 li to the South West of the Royal City of Udyana, a direction and distance that would take us ^(accepting Mung-pai as the Royal City) to the ~~North~~ ^{West} side of the Khatka hills on the base of the Indus, some distance below Hoti Raja. Sung Yun mentions a Great Square Stone in front of the cave on which a memorial tower was erected. There is no sign of any such tower. Sung Yun mentions traces of a lion hair & claws on a stone ^{3 1/2} li to the West of cave. About 1/2 a mile West of the cave is curious ornamentation in the rock by the side of the road. He also talks of wild asses frequenting the neighbourhood and ~~at intervals~~ ^{at intervals} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~mountain~~ ^{mountain} ~~side~~ ^{side} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~meant~~ ^{meant} ~~monkeys~~ ^{monkeys} which still frequent it.

In regard to the memorial tower it seems ~~not possible~~ ^{possible} that the tower in the inner chamber of the main cave & not far from the entrance of the smaller ~~cave~~ ^{cave} may be that alluded to. ~~but this is mere conjecture.~~ ^{but this is mere conjecture.} A tower not hardly be built at this point for other than memorial purposes.

68

Another cave exists in the cliff not far from the Kashmir Smats & perhaps more likely to be the place that an old Rishi would be credited with having as his abode. It is inaccessible to any but the best of cragmen. Taking the stone chamber first mentioned [erasure] as the point from which to measure & taking the Pilgrim's measurement & direction, we cross a small range and come to the range bounding Swat on the [erasure] south. It brings us to the foot of the Shahkot Pass. After working this out on the map I visited the Shahkot Pass, and a little to the west of the foot of it found the conspicuous remains of a memorial stupa.

There is another cave in the cliff, JRAS

Sung Yun's account of ~~the~~ apparently the same cave [erasure] [erasure] and its position gives us no corroboration of the identification, except in the details that the rock-cave was SE of the crest of the hill and that it had two chambers—the second cave leading off from the main [erasure] one possibly being the second chamber. Sung Yun calls the hill Shen-shi, and places it ~~south west~~ 500 li to the south west of the Royal City of Udyana, a direction and distance (accepting Mungali as the Royal City) that would take us into the [erasure] Khattak hills on the line of the Indus, some distance below Hodi Raja. Sung Yun mentions a great square stone in front of the cave on which a memorial tower was erected. There is no sign of any such tower. Sung Yun mentions traces of a lions hair & claws on a ^{3 li} stone to the west of cave. About ¹/₂ a mile west of the cave is curious ornamentation in the rock by the side of the road. He also talks of wild asses frequenting the neighbourhood and it [erasure] [erasure] seems more likely he meant monkeys which still frequent it.

In regard to the memorial tower possible it seems ~~not improbable~~ that the tower in the inner chamber of the main cave & not far from the entrance of the smaller offshoot ~~cave~~ may be that alluded to. but this is mere conjecture A tower wd hardly be built at this point for other than memorial purposes.

but it, JRAS

It is noticeable that some of the
 places the rock cross in Udyana
 while others being described
 as being in Gandhara.

89 109 55

These I have not-yet-examined,
 but will describe later.
 The Sangharama has not-
 yet been found though proper
 examination ^{will probably} reveal it.
~~The whole site is much more than a temple.~~
 This Stupa is close to a
 curious old road running
 straight-up a spur leading
 to a point above the Shohkot
 Pass, where there are remains
 of old forts. The road is
 continued down into the Swat
 Valley. The Pathans have
 a tradition that the road
 was made especially for
 bringing elephants up and
 they call it the Pathi-lar,
 but they apply this name
 to most of the old roads.
 On the opposite spur on
 the East is an old road
 with a far better alignment.
 It appears to be older than
 the Pathi-lar & leads
 straight-over the Pass
 & down a well aligned

These have not yet been examined

It is noticeable that Sung Yun places the rock-cave in Udyâna while Hiouen Tsiang describes it as being in 𑀘 Gandhara.

②

69 109 55

These I have not yet examined,

but will describe later.

The Sangharama has not

yet been found though proper

will probably

examination may reveal it.

The whole site is much overgrown with jungle

This stupa is close to a

curious old road running

straight up a spur leading

to a point above the Shakhkot

Pass, where there are remains

of old forts. The road is

continued down into the Swat

valley. The Pathans have

a tradition that the road

was made especially for

bringing elephants up and

they call it the Hathi-lar,

but they apply this name

to most of the old roads.

On the opposite spur on

the East is an old road

with a far better alignment.

It appears to be older than

the Hathi-lar & leads

straight over the Pass

& down a well aligned

road on the north side -
 the making of which through
 solid rock for considerable
 stretches must have entailed
 enormous labor. How this
 road & that over the Malakand
 were cut-through rock is
^{too hard to be made with picks}
~~hard~~ ^{difficult} to conjecture - it may
 have been by lighting fires
 on the rock & pouring
 water in the heated rock
 as I am informed is still
 done in some parts in ^{Southern} ~~Lower~~
 India. At one spot
 only & that on the Shaklot-
 Pass have I noticed any
 old sign of fire. In this
 case about 4 feet up the
 side of the rock through
 which the road had been
 cut - had been calcined
 & partially converted
 into lime.
 On the top of the Shaklot-
 Pass is a large stone

70

road on the north side—
 the making of which through
 solid rock for considerable
 stretches must have entailed
 enormous labor. How this
 road and that over the Malakand

were cut through rock is
~~hard~~ ^{difficult} to conjecture—it may

too hard to break with picks

have been by lighting fires

have been effected

on the rock & pouring

water in the heated rock

as I am informed is still

done in some parts in ^{Southern} ~~Lower~~

India. At one spot

only & that on the Shakhot

Pass have I noticed any

old sign of fire. In this

case about 4 feet up the

side of the rock through

which the road had been

cut had been calcined

& partially converted

into lime.

On the top of the Shakhot

Pass is a large stone

III TT SK
 bearing foot-impresions,
 shown as Buddhas foot-
 marks. They are two impressions
 rather of shoes at right-
 angles to each other with
 nail marks in the heel,
 under the instep & in middle
 of foot. One impression is
 11" long & the other about
 10". They bear no resemblance
 to, so far as I know, any marks
 which are really known as
 Buddhas footmarks. The
 origin of the marks is not
 known, they are said to be
 old and I heard of them a
 long time before we came
 to this Country.

In return to the Pilgrims
 Record, after search extending
 over a long time no trace
 of the figure of Ashima
 here mentioned in the
 Record has been found.

I cannot trace any rock

having foot impressions

111⁷¹~~56~~
 bearing foot impressions,
 shown as Buddhas foot
 marks. They are two impressions
 rather of shoes at right
 angles to each other with
 nail marks in the heel,
 under the instep & in middle
 of foot. One impression is
 11" long & the other about
 10". They bear no resemblance
 to, so far as I know, to any marks
 which are really known as
 Buddhas footmarks. The
 origin of the marks is not
 known, they are said to be
 old and I heard of them a
 long time before we came
 to this country.

to the country

To return to the Pilgrim's
 record, after search extending
 over a long time no trace
 of the figure of Bhima
 Devi mentioned in the
 Record has been found.
 I cannot trace any rock

Bhima Devi (Beal, ii, 113)

cut-figure on the Sarva^h range - though possibly such exists. Rock cut-figures exist on Ilm & there is one on a rock to the South of the Morak, but in the former case the distance is too great - when compared with the Pelypius' measurement, and in the latter case, the direction does not coincide nor does the description of the figure.

From the Temple of Bhima Kionen Tsiang mentions distance & direction to U-to-kia-han-cha. This has been considered by General Sir A. Cunningham as the present Hierid. The difficulty is that we are not sure of the site of Polu-sha & cannot ascertain where the Bhima temple was. The question then where U-to-kia-han-cha

72

cut figure on the Sanawar range, though possibly such exists. Rock cut figures exist on Ilm & there is one on a rock to the south of the Morah, but in the former case the distance is too great when compared with the Pilgrim's measurement, and in the latter case, the direction does not coincide nor does the description of the figure.

Huan Tsiang (p. 114)

This was considered by the late General

Po-lu-sha & cannot therefore ascertain

The question where U-to-kia-han-cha was is accordingly open

From the temple of Bhima Hiouen Tsiang mentions distance & direction to U-to-kia-han-cha. This has been considered by General Sir A Cunningham as the present Hund. The difficulty is that we are not sure of the site of Polu-sha & cannot ascertain where the Bhima temple was. The question then where U-to-kia-han-cha

73 ¹¹³
 was is open to a certain amount
 of ~~Dr. ...~~
 The only Stupa so far found
 near the South East-foot
 of the Sarawar Range,
 which General Sir A. Cunningham
 fixes as Mount-Danta-loka
 is the small one found
 at-Sikri & excavated by
~~the~~ 6 years ago. ^{and now} ~~The base~~
 of it is now in the Lahore
~~Museum~~ ^{Museum}

The ~~general~~ ^{general} description
 given of Mount-Danta-loka
 and the measurement-and
 distance given to the Stupa
 existing at-the foot-of
 the Shakhoh-Pass go to
 support-General Sir A
 Cunningham's identification
 of Mount-Danta-loka.

and consequently that of
 Oshothene with Pulosha,
 though ~~the~~ ^{the}
 he can as yet be no certainly
 as to the exact site of his
 habitation

~~But the principal point~~
~~the city of Pulu She is as~~
~~yet doubtful.~~ The above
 notes go if anything to prove
 the ^{General} ~~wonderful~~ accuracy
 of the Ptolemy's distances

73 113 57

a certain amount
 was is open to ~~argument-~~
~~of doubt~~
 The only stupa so far found
 near the South East foot
 of the Sanawar Range,
 which General Sir A. Cunningham
 fixes as Mount Danta-loka
 is the small one found
 at Sikri & excavated by
~~me~~ ~~6 years ago.~~ ~~The base~~
~~of it is now~~ in the Lahore
 Museum
~~Museum.~~

which is now in

27

The ~~question again~~ description
 given of Mount Danta-loka
 and the measurement and
 distance given to the stupa
 existing at the foot of
 the Shahkot Pass go to
 support General Sir A
 Cunningham's identification
 of Mount Danta-loka.

and consequently that of
 Palodheri with Pulosha,
 though there ~~cannot as yet~~
~~be~~ can as yet be no certainty
 as to the exact site of the
 latter.

The above notes, however, tend to prove

~~But the principal point,~~
~~the city of Polu-sha,~~ is as
~~yet doubtful.~~ The above
 notes go if anything to prove
 the ~~wonderful~~ ~~general~~ accuracy
 of the Pilgrim's distances

70
 generally, and one is better,
 in the face of general accuracy,
 to assume that in one particular
 measurement - or direction
 he has been incorrect.

The correct position of
 U-to-kia-khan-cha depends
 much on the identification
 of Polu-Ska. U-to-kia-
 khan-cha was also known
 as Uda-Khandu, and if
 the possible remnant of an
 old name in a present one
 be taken as a guide it might
 be argued that Kheranda
 (the name bearing no meaning
 in Pashtu) of a village about
 6 miles north-west from
 Kund is connected with the
 subject - ~~that the Indus~~
~~since those days has in the~~
~~past - changed its course which~~
~~is by no means impossible.~~
 The line of the Indus through
 the Peshawar District has
 never been thoroughly examined -
 beginning at ^{extensive ruins} Asgram, a little
 way above where the Indus

~~generally~~, and one is loth,
in the face of general accuracy,
to assume that in one particular
measurement or direction
he has been incorrect.

The correct position of
U-to-kia-han-cha depends
much on the identification
of Polu-sha. U-to-kia-
han-cha was also known
as Udakhanda, and if
the possible remnant of an
old name in a present one
be taken as a guide it might
be argued that Khunda
(the name bearing no meaning
in Pashtu) of a village about
6 miles North West from
Hund is connected with the
subject & ~~that the Indus~~
~~since those days has in this~~
~~part changed its course which~~
~~is by no means impossible.~~

Po-lu-sha

six miles

The line of the Indus through
the Peshawar District has
never been thoroughly examined,
Extensive ruins
beginning at Asgram a little
^
way above where the Indus

examined. Beginning at Asgram, there are extensive ruins a little way
above where the Indus leaves the hills; there are more on a low hill

? Malakand

The point where he
crossed the Indus & the
position of the Rock
Aornos.

leaves the hills, we ~~115~~¹¹⁸ have
 extensive ruins on a low hill
 on the bank of the Indus near
^{Kumandimran}
 Gullai - extensive buried
 ruins near Jalhar and again
 near Jehangira & Gullakhar.
~~The place~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Indus~~ is connected
 also with discussions on an
 earlier record than Hiuen
 Tsiang, that of Alexander's
 march to India; ~~which has~~
~~been mentioned as to the point~~
~~where Alexander crossed the~~
~~Indus & the position of the~~
~~Rock Aornos.~~ General Abbott
 many years ago put forward
 Makalun as Aornos. General
 Sir A Cunningham does not
 accept this identification
 but places it rather at
 the old ruins known as
 Ranigat - though he points
 out arguments also against
 this place. One ^{his} of the ~~last~~
 reasons against Makalun
 was that had there been a
 fort on Makalun the pilgrim
 Hiuen Tsiang would have
 mentioned it.

There does not appear to be
 a well detached

75 115 58

leaves the hills we have

extensive ruins on a low hill

on the bank of the Indus near

known as Imrán

Gullai, extensive buried

^

ruins near Jalbai and again

near Jehangira & Alladher.

~~The place~~ Hund is connected

also with discussions on an

earlier record than Hiouen

Tsiang's, that of Alexander's

march to India; ~~Much has~~

~~been written as to the point~~

~~where Alexander crossed the~~

~~Indus & the position of the~~

~~rock Aornos.~~ General Abbott

many years ago put forward

Mahabun as Aornos. General

Sir A Cunningham does not

accept this identification

but places it rather at

the old ruins known as

Ranigat, though he points

out arguments also against

his

this place. One ~~of the latter's~~

reasons against Mahabun

was that had there been a

fort on Mahabun the Pilgrim

Hiouen Tsiang would have

mentioned it.

There does not appear to be

?Named

Imran; many more buried near Jalbai; and, again, others near Jehangira and Alladher. None of these have ever been systematically explored.

Hund is..to India *om. JRAS*

the point where he crossed the Indus & the position of the Rock Aornos
the point...Rock Aornos *om. JRAS*

28

General Abbott...appear to be *om. JRAS*

known for believing that
Mohen Tsiang necessarily
went to the top of Makabun.

The Sangharama he visited
was by the side of the mountain
& by the Pilgrims mentioning
that ^{when} leaving it - he descended
the hill it may be assumed
the Sangharama was on the
side of the hill.

Again Mohen Tsiang seems
to have troubled himself
very little about - forts. On
Makabun at the fort-known
as Skakhol, are the very

distinct - remains of a large
fort, ~~of which the walls~~ ^{the foundations of the} walls ~~about~~
360 yards by 180 yards with
12 bastions, ^{on the North & South faces, five bastions}
^{on the eastern}
face, outside of which was a
ditch some 30 feet wide, and
4 bastions on the West face,
can be traced. ~~The fort is~~

~~on the~~ The road to the fort
winds up the ~~South~~
Southern faces of the hill,
& below the fort on the South
is a plateau about a mile

76

reason for believing that

reason for...little about forts *om. IRAS*

Hiouen Tsiang necessarily

went to the top of Mahabun—

The Sangharama he visited

was by the side of the mountain

& by the Pilgrims mentioning

when

that leaving it he descended

^

the hill it may be assumed

the Sangharama was on the

side of the hill.

Again Hiouen Tsiang seems

to have troubled himself

very little about forts. On

Mahabun at the point, known

as Shakhkot, are the very

distinct remains of a large

~~with the foundations of the~~
fort, ~~of which the walls about~~

fort, the foundations of which, 360 yards

360 yards by 180 yards with

12 bastions ^{on the North & South faces, five bastions} ~~on the eastern~~

^

face, outside of which was a

(outside which was a ditch some 30 feet wide)

ditch some 30 feet wide, and

4 bastions on the west face,

can be traced. [erasure]

can still be traced

[erasure]. The road to the fort

winds up the [erasure]

Southern faces of the hill,

below it on

& below the fort on the South

is a plateau about a mile

long by 600 yards wide. On
 the North face is a second
 gate with a steep path leading
 to Springs a little way below.
 Below the South-West corner
 of the Fort is a large tank
 protected by three towers -
 Inside the fort are remains
 of two temples & a tank about
 60 paces in circumference.
 The fort is situated on a
 vault-rock & is reported as
 exceedingly difficult of access.

~~There is a...~~
~~...~~

The plateau to the South is
 capable of cultivation and the
 height of the hill agrees
 with that given by the
 Greek historian ~~Pliny~~
~~is yet another point which~~
~~appears to be to bear on~~
~~the subject of Aornos.~~

Below Aornos & not far
 from the River was Penti
 gramma. In his Quindles
 ancient India this is said
 to be possibly "Panjper"
 this may be intended for
 Panjper - a small detached

(B)

Another very strong position on
 Malakand is a spur running South
 from Indus known as Mount Panj
 a fort also exists here and is
 very difficult of access. Built
 into the top of the wall near the
 entrance to this fort was a short
 inscription which I obtained sent
 to the Indian Museum. It has
 not yet been published - (vide
~~photo no 36 opp #~~)

77 117 ~~59~~

long by 600 yards wide. On

the North face is a second

gate with a steep path leading

to springs a little way below.

Below the South-West corner

of the fort is a large tank

protected by three towers.

Inside the fort are remains

of two temples & a tank about

60 paces in circumference.

The fort is situated on a

vast rock & is reported as

exceedingly difficult of access.

[erasure]

[erasure]

The plateau to the South is

capable of cultivation and the

height of the hill agrees

with that given by the

Greek historian. ~~There~~

~~is yet another point which~~

~~appears to me to bear on~~

~~the subject of Aornos.~~

Below Aornos & not far

from the River was Penti

gramma. In McCrindles

Ancient India this is said

to be possibly "Panjpur"—

this may be intended for

Panjpir—a small detached

Inside are remains of two temples

(B)

Another very strong position on Mahabun is a spur running South to the Indus known as Mount Banj. A fort also exists here and is very difficult of access. Built into the foot of the wall near the entrance to this fort was a short inscription which I obtained & sent to the Lahore Museum. It has not yet been published. (Vide ~~photo no. 36 App H~~)

29

The plateau to the South...a small detached *om.* JRAS

78
 will bear the present ~~Street~~
 of Sualbi - here probably it
 is a mistake for Panjtar
 at the foot of Kakaban.
 Close to Panjtar at the
 foot of Kakaban is a
 group of several old towns
 from which I have obtained
 many inscriptions - ~~and~~
~~from~~ further down towards
 where the Indus debouches
 into the plain ~~are some~~
~~are~~ extensive ruins, to which
 my attention was first
 directed by obtaining an
 inscription from them. These
~~some~~ of the ruins are known as
 Asgram, already mentioned.
 The Pathans give this as
 the name of the ruins, stating
 that tradition holds them
 to be of the same period
 as Begram & Kangram
 (Kanigat). If we
 take Ptolemy's map &

Handwritten notes and scribbles on the right side of the page, including the letters 'R' and 'D' written vertically.

78

hill near the present Tehseel

of Swabi—More probably it

is a mistake for Panjtar

at the foot of Mahabun.

Close to Panjtar at the

foot of Mahabun is a

group of several old towns

from which I have obtained

many inscriptions—~~and~~

~~going~~ Further down towards

where the Indus debouches

into the plain—~~we come—~~

~~are~~

~~to~~ extensive ruins, to which

my attention was first

directed by obtaining an

inscription from them. These

~~name of the~~ ruins ~~is~~ ~~are~~ known as

Asgram, already mentioned.

The Pathans give this as

the name of the ruins, stating

that tradition holds them

to be of the same period

as Bêgram & Naugram

(Ranigat). If we

take Ptolemy's map &

hill near the present...mistake for Panjtar at the foot of Mahabun *om. JRAS*

Taking Ptolemy's map

The Crucible as a guide
 we find a hitherto unidentified
 -field place Asiagramma
 Close to the bank of the
 river bearing the same
 relative position to Aornos
 and Pentiagramma as
 shown on his map, as
 Asiagram bears to Mastabara
 & Panjar. ~~Asiagram was above~~
~~Asiagram and if the identification~~
~~others to draw their own~~
~~of Asiagram be accepted, the claims~~
~~conclusion from the above.~~
 of both Hudi Raja & Panjar are
 disposed of and there are no
 the line taken by Alexander

remain much of my troops from the Kabul to
 the Indus has, as yet
 by no means, been satisfac-
 -tively followed out. But
 anything further connected
 with that must be the
 subject of a separate
 note. I have mentioned
 the above point as regards

must have been an
 maintenance.
 miles here (B)

79 119 60

McCrinkle as a guide
we find a hitherto unidenti-
-fied place Asigramma
close to the bank of the
river bearing the same
relative position to Aornos
and Pentigramma as
shown on his map, as

on the map

Asgram bears to Mahabun
Aornos was above
& Panjtar. ~~I leave it to~~
Asigramma and if the identification
~~others to draw their own~~
of Asgram be accepted, the claims
~~conclusions from the above.~~
of both Hodi Raja & Ranigat are
disposed of, and there does not

identification of Asgram with Asigramma

*remain much if any
doubt as to Aornos
having been on
Mahabun.*

Enter here (B)

on Mahaban as described above

The line taken by Alexander's
troops from the Kabul to
the Indus has as yet
by no means been satisfac-
-torily followed out. But
anything further connected
with that must be the
subject of a separate
note. I have mentioned
the above point as regards

81
 Udyana as being of
 particular interest.

For further research in
 Udyana an accurate map
 of this Country is required.

When one is published
 it will be easy to mark
 on it all the ruins which
 can be traced. This will
 show what a field for
 research exists even in
 the portion only of the
 Country to which we have
 free access.

Careful enquiry amongst
 the Gujars will elicit
 much information as to old
 names still known to
 them, but not now in general
 use. If this be fixed down
 & then photographs &
 plans made an useful

81

Aornos as being of

particular interest.

For further research in

Udyâna an accurate map

of their country is required.

When one is published

it will be easy to mark

on it all the ruins which

can be traced. This will

show what a field for

research exists even in

the portion only of the

country to which we have

free access.

Careful enquiry amongst

the Gujars will elicit

much information as to old

names still known to

them, but not now in general

use. If this be first done

& then photographs &

plans made an useful

121 X

record will be obtained
and excavation if properly
conducted will produce
much of interest.

As an appendix to this
note I attach photographs
of some of the inscriptions
which I have from time to
time obtained (vide App. H.)

There are a few other
actual inscriptions and
a few impressions lately
obtained of which I have
~~not yet received photographs~~

Harold Deane Major

Political Officer

21¹¹/₇₅

Dir. & Secy

121 ~~61~~

record will be obtained
and excavation if properly
conducted will produce
much of interest.

much of great interest.

~~As an **appendix** to this
note I attach photographs
of some of the inscriptions
which I have from time to
time obtained (. vide App H.)~~

~~There are a few other
actual inscriptions and
a few impressions lately
obtained of which I have
~~not yet received photographs.~~~~

H A Deane Major

Political Officer

21 11 Dir & Swat
95

123 62

List of inscriptions

Rpp. H.

- ✓ 1. Found at Dewal on a Southern spur of Makabum - inscribed on 2 faces.
- ✓ 2. Found at Ranikot in Gudum territory inscribed on 3 faces.
- ✓ 3. Found amongst ruins at Isalai-dkari, Khuddu Alhel territory - inscribed on 2 faces.
- ✓ 4. From Cherorai on North East Makabum.
- ✓ 5. From Mount-Banj - a Southern spur of Makabum.
- ✓ 6. From Kothai on South slopes of Makabum.
- ✓ 7. From Dewal - Makabum.
- ✓ 8. From Asgram.
- ✓ 9. From Mount Banj.
- ✓ 10. From Sulu-dkari.
- ✓ 11. From Dewai on a spur of Makabum. Stone found fixed in side of doorway of a house.
- ✓ 12. } Found lying near doorway of quarter
- ✓ 13. } in old part at Isalai-dkari.
- ✓ 14. From Dewal - Makabum.
- ✓ 15. } Same as 12 and 13.
- ✓ 16. }

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List of inscriptions

App. H ----- “ -----

- ✓ 1. Found at Dewal on a Southern spur of Mahabun—inscribed on 2 faces.
- ✓ 2. Found at Ranikot in Gadun territory inscribed on 3 faces.
- ✓ 3. Found amongst ruins at Tsalai-dheri, Khuddu Khel territory—inscribed on 2 faces.
- ✓ 4. From Cherorai on North East Mahabun.
- ✓ 5. From Mount Banj—a southern spur of Mahabun.
- ✓ 6. From Kotkai on south slopes of Mahabun.
- ✓ 7. From Dewal—Mahabun.
- ✓ 8. From Asgram.
- ✓ 9. From Mount Banj.
- ✓ 10. From Suludheri.
- ✓ 11. From Dewai on a spur of Mahabun. Stone found fixed in side of doorway of a house.
- ✓ 12.
 - } Found lying near doorways of quarters in old fort at Tsalai-dheri.
- ✓ 13.
- ✓ 14. From Dewal—Mahabun.
- ✓ 15.
 - } Same as 12 and 13.
- ✓ 16.

17. From Sulu-dheri - Khuddu Uhel territory ✓
18. Found built-in to each wall of old house at - Palordarra, facing the door-way. Palordarra is near British village of Boka on Khuddu Uhel border.
19. Found built-into wall of old house - near the doorway.
20. From Dewal - Mahabun.
21. From Asgram.
22. From Dewai - Mahabun - found fixed in front of wall of old house.
23. From Dewai - found in doorway of old house.
24. Found in old mound, Karakhai Dheri, near Maini, Gusa Bzai.
25. Found fixed in outer wall of old house at - Palordarra.
26. Found lying in spindle hole in a deep ravine near - Spar Kharra, Uthman Uhel border.
27. From Dewal - found lying amongst ruins
28. Impression of inscription on stone lying near Bikhounai - sheet of Iron

17. From Sulu-dheri—Khuddu Khel territory ✓

18. Found built into back wall of old house at Palosdarra, facing the door-way. Palosdara is near British village of Boka on Khuddu Khel border.

19. Found built into wall of old house—near the doorway.

20. From Dewal—Mahabun.

21. From Asgram.

22. From Dewai—Mahabun—found fixed in front of wall of old house.

23. From Dewai—found in doorway of old house.

24. Found in old mound, Karachai Dheri, near Maini, Yusafzai.

25. Found fixed in outer wall of old house at Palosdarra.

26. Found lying in Zhindeh Nullah a deep ravine near Span Kharra, Utman Khel border.

27. From Dewal—found lying amongst ruins.

28. Impression of inscription on stone lying near Bichounai—skirts of Ilm—

125 62

Bones

29. Impressions taken from rock near
30. } ruins at Bichounai.
31. From a stone built into wall of a Masjid at Ilm-o-Miang, a Miran's village in Ilm-Boner.
32. Record lost.
33. From a stone built into wall of a Mullas' house at Lorasah-Boner. This stone & 31 were taken from old ruins for building purposes.
34. From Ranigat (Kangram)
35. Found buried amongst ruins - Mount Banj.
36. From in situ at foot of wall on right of doorway of old fort on Mount Banj.
37. Found amongst ruins at Shakhaz Gashi - Gurasgari.
38. From Cherosai - Makahun.
39. Found at - Machai - Gurasgari.
40. From rock known as Khazana-gat near Minglaur, Swat.
41. From rock known as Abagat near

Boner.

29. Impressions taken from rock near
} ruins at Bichounai.

30.

31. From a stone built into wall of
a Masjid at Ilm-o-Mianz, a Miana's
village on Ilm—Bonar.

32. Record lost.

33. From a stone built into wall of a
Mulla's house at Torsak—Bonar. This
stone & 31 were taken from old ruins
for building purposes.

34. From Ranigat (Naugram)

35. Found buried amongst ruins—Mount
Banj.

36. From in situ at foot of wall
on right of doorway of old fort on
Mount Banj.

37. Found amongst ruins at Shahbaz
Garhi—Yusafzai.

38. From Cherorai—Mahabun.

39. Found at Machai—Yusafzai.

40. From Rock known as Khazana-
-gat near Minglaur, Swat.

41. From Rock known as Aba-gat near

Swat.

42. From same as 41 - the two inscriptions being about 30 feet apart.
43. From Agram.
44. From an old wall on Sarpathi, a spur of Mahabun overlooking Chamla.
45. Found lying amongst ruins at Agram.
46. Found buried in ground near an old spring at Elai - Buner.
47. From Span Khassa - Utman Akel.
48. Found on hill above Elai - Buner.
49. Found in situ in old wall - Palodera.
50. ~~From~~ ^{From} Khrappa, Panjpas - Buner.
51. Found in situ in old wall at Sulucheri.
52. Found in situ in old wall at Palodera.
53. Found at Langi Khan Banda, Buner. Had been removed from old ruins & built into wall of Masjid.
54. Found in an old burying ground at Badin, on the road between Munda and Kanbat in the Jandol valley.
55. Found 180 yards west of an old burying ground at Badin, on the road between ^{Munda} & Kanbat in

Minglaur, Swat.

42. From same as 41—the two inscriptions being about 30 feet apart.

43. From Asgram.

44. From an old wall on Sarpath, a spur of Mahabun overlooking Chamla.

45. Found lying amongst ruins at Asgram.

46. Found buried in ground near an old spring at Elai—Boner.

47. From Span Kharra—Utman Khel.

48. Found on hill above Elai—Boner.

49. Found in situ in old wall—Palosdarra.

From

50. Found Khrappa, Panjpao—Boner.

51. Found in situ in old wall at Suludheri.

52. Found in situ in old wall at Palosdarra.

53. Found at Tangi Kham Banda, Boner. Had been removed from old ruins & built into wall of Masjid.

54. Found in an old burying ground at Badin, on the road between Munda and Kanbat in the Jandol valley.

55. Found 180 yards West of an old burying ground
Munda
at Badin, on the road between & Kanbat in

Λ

127 ~~607~~

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the Jandak Valley.

56. (In 3 pieces) Persian inscriptions obtained from Sapri Kalan in the Maidan Banda Valley.
57. Obtained from an old wall two miles N.W. from Kanbal; not far from an old ruined city and close to the old road leading to the Bishki Fan.
58. (In 2 pieces) Obtained from Turwar in Maidan Banda, and not far from Kotak on right-bank of Panjkora river.
59. From Kaldarā, near Dargai.
60. Found near Badwan on the right-bank of the Swat-River.

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the Jandol valley.

56. (In 3 pieces) Persian inscriptions obtained from Sapri Kalan in the Maidan Banda valley.

57. Obtained from an old wall two miles N. W. from Kanbat, not far from an old ruined city and close to the old road leading to the Binshi Pass.

58. (In 2 pieces) Obtained from Tarwar in Maidan Banda, and not far from Kotah on right bank of Panjkora river.

59. From Kaldarra, near Dargai.

^

60. Found near Badwan on the right bank of the Swat River.

Archaeological Comments on the Note

1. The identification of Mengjieli¹

The *Note* starts with some consideration of the whereabouts of the ancient capital of Uddiyana, Mungali or Mengjieli, whether it should be located at Mingora or Manglawar.

Data nowadays tend to rule out the possibility that Manglawar,² a large temple and pilgrimage site in Late Antiquity, was the capital of Uddiyana reported by Xuanzang. So it appears that Deane was wrong here and Cunningham³ possibly right: Mengjieli has to be located under the present Mingora, rather than at Manglawar. There is a little more data on this matter to be added to what has been already stated in Tucci 1958 and Tucci 1977.

Mengjieli is the modern pronunciation of the transcription of the name of the ancient capital as given by Xuanzang, and we do not know its original name. If we assume that Mengjieli is to be located at Mingora (Mingawāra), it must have been very close to the modern toponym. The earliest known transcription of that place name is ‘Minkrawara’ (Court 1840: map). The etymology is unclear but reflects a pre-Pashto linguistic context (De Chiara 2020).

Xuanzang, who here seems not to exaggerate with distances, reports that a few *li* from Mengjieli, ‘the royal town of Oḍḍiyāna’, there was a famous sanctuary that stood on the site where the Buddha lived in a previous life as the infinitely patient Kṣānti-rṣi. Topographical reconstruction identifies this sanctuary with the shrine of Butkara I, which is located 4-5 *li* east of the centre of Mengjieli-Mingora.⁴ Butkara I, as we know from excavations (Faccenna 1980-1981), was still an active centre of worship in the seventh century: its ruins would still be visible to Tibetan pilgrims in the 13th century (Tucci 1940).⁵ In the sixth century, when Song Yun visited the city, the shrine of Butkara I (known as Tolo) was the royal sanctuary, at which the king held an assembly every year in the presence of the Buddhist clergy.

In earlier times Butkara I stood at the periphery of the city. Near this site, just upstream, therefore in an *extra muros* area, there was a burial ground, Butkara IV, where a tripartite family mausoleum, tombs and cenotaphs were discovered (Olivieri 2019a). On the other side of the Jambil river, just in front of Butkara I, was a defensive stronghold, Barama I, designed to guard the eastern entrance of the town (Faccenna 1964-1965; Iori and Olivieri 2016).

1 Many toponyms included in the *Note* are discussed in the toponymy atlas of the Swat valley (De Chiara 2020), to which I direct the reader for further elucidation, see ‘Index of Placenames’ (p. 264). The paragraph on Manjieli is freely elaborated after Olivieri 2022.

2 On the research and fieldwork carried out at the site of Jahanabad/Manglawar by the ISMEO Italian Archaeological Mission see Filigenzi 2015 (see here refs to the inscriptions mentioned in the *Note*), Olivieri 2017 and Filigenzi 2020.

3 Or better, the survey of Mirza Mogal Beg, the surveyor of Francis Wilford, whose manuscript was in the possession of Cunningham (1871a: 164, 180).

4 At the time of Xuanzang one *li* was equivalent to just over 300 metres. In Song Yun’s account Butkara I is called Tolo, like Dhumat ‘ala, in Tibetan accounts (Olivieri 2017 with previous bibliography, especially Tucci 1958).

5 Xuanzang reports that it was to the north of the city, whereas it would actually be to the east. In fact north of Mengjieli (Mingora) is the Swat River. The reason for Xuanzang’s error may be that if an observer were standing before the city (entering from the valley, i.e. from the southwest), they would have the (correct) impression that the site of Butkara I is beyond the city, thus, imagining the direction of the Swat River, to the north. This error is more frequent especially in autumn-winter as sunrise and sunset are more towards the south-east and south-west respectively. Now, in the Mingora section, the river actually makes a bend and flows in a south-westerly direction, no longer south. In fact, as I have noted several times, especially in my first years of reconnaissance, this radical change in the direction of the river’s course, if not kept in mind, can lead to a misrepresentation of topographical relationships and in the memory of directions. In any case, on several occasions one gets the impression that the Chinese pilgrim is mistaken or has inaccurate information. More important here, however, is Xuanzang’s information on the distance of the sanctuary from the city of Mengjieli, which matches the distance between it and Butkara I.

Thanks to aerial photographs taken of Mingora for the IsMEO Italian Archaeological Mission, we know that the centre of the city was located at the confluence of the Jambil river (which flows from the east) and the Saidu river (which flows from the south) before their short joint course flows into the Swat River.⁶ The isthmus of land between the two rivers, on the archaeological evidence, was the centre of a large ancient city. The indications of the city are clearly legible in the detail of one of the aerial photographs in a sector of the modern settlement, known as Grassy Ground, which today houses the football and cricket fields of Mingora and Saidu Sharif, a place for political meetings and assemblies, and which, at the time of the Yusufzai State of Swat, was the *Campus Martius* of the state capital (Saidu Sharif). Obviously, we cannot know whether these structures are all contemporary (Faccenna 1980-1981, 4: pl. XXVIII).

The image shows a very regular road and housing fabric with large streets including the main north-south street axis (visible on the east side of the urban grid).⁷ Long rectangular buildings are separated by alleyways, while the rear part of the buildings is flanked by a smaller back road. The main axis is bounded by a structure, running the length of the street, which may be the western sector of the defensive moat. Beyond it there is a gap extending to the end of the Grassy Ground.

Inside the built-up area we can recognize a large building, backed by an alleyway, articulated with rooms marked by central pillars and open courtyards obeying no apparent order. On the other side of the street is a large structure. On the other side of this structure there is also empty space up to the end of the Grassy Ground. It is possible that this latter structure is also related to the defensive wall or an outcrop of the town on the south side (one might also recognize a slightly offset postern at the north-south road). What is revealed by the aerial photograph is therefore the south-western corner of the ancient capital. The visible area would correspond to a little more than one hectare. If we consider Butkara I as the possible opposite end of the city, the long side of the city would have measured about one kilometre.

On this side of the city, an obvious limit is represented in the 1st century by the burial area of Butkara IV, which must have been situated outside the city limits. The later Buddhist sanctuary of Butkara III was also located *extra muros*.

In an easterly and southerly direction, the two valleys of the Jambil and the Saidu represented the agricultural reserve of the city. Along these two valleys there were also access routes to the southern plains and the Indus. In particular, the Saidu valley was one of two important routes to Mount Ilam, the Aornos of the Greeks, and thence to the Indus plain (Coloru and Olivieri 2019).⁸ Both the Saidu and Jambil valleys were colonized from the second century onwards by numerous Buddhist shrines and monasteries, many of which were still in operation around the seventh-eighth century, and certainly were at the time of Xuanzang's visit.

To the north the city extended as far as the left bank of the Swat River. The Jambil River presumably ran through the centre of the city. If we accept this reconstruction, then in the other direction the city may have extended for over a kilometre before meeting the foothills of Mingora.

In total the extent of this city could thus have well exceeded 100-120 hectares, which would have made it as large as Puṣkalāvātī (including Bala Hisar) and as large as Sirkap/Taxila (including Mahal Hill).⁹

6 Overflight of 26th May 1959.

7 For a detailed description of the evidence visible in the aerial photo see Olivieri 2022.

8 The other route is from Barikot (Bazira) to Amluk-dara or the Karakar pass (Coloru and Olivieri 2019).

9 According to my calculations (based on Schlingloff 2013), a town of 15 hectares like Barikot could have had about 5,000 inhabitants. Ancient Swat could not have supported more than 300,000 inhabitants (Olivieri in press a). Mengjieli may have boasted 50,000 inhabitants, as much as one-sixth of the entire population of Swat.



Figure 10. Mingora: aerial view N to the left (1959) (Courtesy of ISMEO).

2. The *dēva* temples

Exploration of the Swat region has long revealed the existence of scattered structures, mostly military installations, belonging to the Śāhi phases (750-1020 AD).¹⁰ Only a few of them have been properly excavated: Damkot, Udegram, and Barikot. But excavations at Barikot have definitively reopened the question of Brahmanical temples in the region, and made it possible also to reevaluate all the previous data to present a more comprehensive picture.

Temples at Velanai/Shingardar

The earliest information was collected and published by Deane, who spoke of the antiquities near Shingardar (*Note* 660; cf. *Note* MS 23-4):

[...] from what I can understand from the people, there is also a fine Deva temple near it. The hill to the south of the present village of Shankardar [Shingardar], a spur of Ilm [Mt Ilam], is known as Velanai [Manyar]. Extensive ruins on this spur are connected by tradition with an old ruler, Viru, in whom we seem to have Rāja Vara.

Later surveys carried out in the Velanai/Manyar area revealed late antique ruins but in particular several rock-carvings representing Hindu deities, including Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu (Filigenzi 2015:



Figure 11. Zalam-kot or Hathi-darra: the Śāhi temple (North side) (Photo by Sirat Gohar/ISMEO).

¹⁰ As part of a fortified boundary of the Śāhi territories from Kunar to Buner, Swabi, and Hund: Olivieri 2003; Olivieri 2010. See also Abdur Rahman 1979; Ijaz Khan 2017.



Figure 12. Shahkot pass or Hathi-darra: the Hathi-lar Buddhist road seen from Zalam-kot (2008) (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

221-224). On the opposite spur of Tindo-dag, inside the cave of Hindu-ghar, a second image with Sūrya and Gaṇeśa was found. In 2012 a small set of *t'sa t'sa* (small clay stupas) with tablets inscribed in Brahmi were recovered at Manyar (Zarawar Khan and Wahab 2012: 61-62, pls 18a-c, 19). In 2020 excavations at Barikot revealed two *t'sa t'sa* in layers associated with post-Śāhi phases. The archaeological evidence of Manyar and its connections with Barikot had already been discussed and associated with a potential dynastic religious complex of the Turki-Śāhis and later rulers (Filigenzi 2006, Filigenzi 2010, Filigenzi 2011).

Zalam-kot: a missing temple

Leaving Kashmir Smast on the way north to Swat, two roads climb the Shahkot pass, the lowermost of the passes connecting Gandhara proper (the lower districts of Mardan, Charsadda, Swabi and Peshawar) to Swat (*Note*: 671-672; *Note MS* 68-71) through the pass of Hathi-darra. One of the two roads (on the western side) is still known as 'Hathi-lar' (the 'Elephant road' or metaphorically the 'King road').¹¹

On the Swat side of the 'Hathi-lar', among the 'remains of old forts', Deane missed the presence of a temple. The latter was later discovered by A. Foucher (1901: 167) who called it 'the Takht':

[...] une magnifique terrasse dallée à laquelle on accédait du côté du Nord per un bel escalier, et dont les larges moulures et les pilastres nous rappellent les soubassements des temples du Kachmir.

Surveys carried out at the site in 2005 and 2006 allowed for a more detailed description (Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006: 119-120; Olivieri forth.).

On the way to Kunar: the temple of Gumbat

Deane lastly included in his note the existence of a fourth (now lost) temple in the side valley of Talash, a very important topographic connector that links the Kunar province of Afghanistan to Swat and the lower districts. Ruins of coeval *dēva* temples were documented in the Kunar valley (northeastern Afghanistan, close to the northwestern Pakistani district of Bajaur).¹²

A former Khan of Dir¹³ almost ruined an old Deva temple at Gumbat, in the Talash valley, the stone being carried off to Dir. Portions of it, however, in excellent preservation, still remain. (*Note* 664; cf. *Note MS* 37).

When Stein first saw the temple in 1897, the wall decoration was still visible. But by 1906, at the time of his second Central Asian expedition, the temple had been almost completely plundered (Stein 1921: 21-23, fig. 3, pl. I). As remarked in Deane's *Note*, part of the decoration was re-employed in the early twentieth-century graves of the nearby Islamic cemetery of Ziarat (Fawad Khan 2018): 'It is curious to see old sculptured stones used in the Muhammadan graves' (*Note MS* 37). This notice is not reproduced in the printed version of the *Note*. The re-use of *spolia* in Islamic graves is a pretty common trend in early twentieth-century graves in Dir and Malakand, less common in Swat. During the fifth Gandhara Connections workshop (University of Oxford, 2022), Fozia Naz presented examples of reuse of Gandharan

11 Also known as the 'Buddhist roads' (see Neelis 2011: 238) by the early archaeologists, antiquarians and by the British officers posted at Malakand (Olivieri 2015a). The two roads are still visible, despite the recent construction of the tunnels of the Swat Motorway (opened in 2019-2020). At Zalamkot was discovered a Islamic grave with a bilingual inscription dated to June 1011 AD (Abdur Rahman 1998; Shavarebi and Strauch, forth.).

12 Lentz 1937: Abb. [fig.] 114.; Edelberg 1957; Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1959; Fischer 1969.

13 On this Khan of Dir see Olivieri 2015a: 39; Olivieri 2019b, and Rafiullah Khan 2020: 140.

pieces in graves at Malakand. Similarly, in a cemetery at Chiga-sarai,¹⁴ in lower Kunar, Afghanistan, elements of a destroyed Śāhi temple were found reused in the local cemetery (Lentz 1937: 247-284, Abb. 114; Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1969).

In the Talash valley of Dir just opposite Gumbat, in a place known either as Gumbatuna or Stargo-manai, a palatial site partly explored by Abdur Rahman (1979), was located an āmalaka stone (an architectural feature of a Hindu temple), later transported to the local Dir Museum.

The absence of Barikot

In the *Note* the only Barikot which is cited is a second village located in the Upper Kumrat valley (Dir District). It is stated that 'At Barikot near Patrak distinct ruins are said to exist and a stupa is said to have existed there which was overthrown by one Ilias Akhund, about two generations ago.' (*Note* 663; *Note* MS 34).¹⁵ The site corresponds to the village later visited by S. H. Godfrey (1912: 50-51). The site was founded by a Dardic clan which was forced by the Pakhtuns in the sixteenth century to leave their homeland in Barikot, Swat and relocate to the Panjkora upper valley. Excavations and radiocarbon dates at Barikot, Swat have demonstrated that the Dardic village was abandoned around that time (1σ=1517-1594 80%; 2σ= 1484-1644 AD 100%). The chief of the clan is reported as 'Baria Khan' by the oral tradition collected by S.H. Godfrey (1912), which has been recently confirmed by my interviews in Panjkora (with the form 'Bera'; 2020). The Bera/Baira clan renamed the new settlement Barikot, like the previous one. The tradition is still alive amongst the elders both at Barikot in Swat, and at new Barikot.

The original Barikot was of course the more famous homonymous site in Swat. Strangely the built-up landmark of the Barikot ruins, a dominating presence right at the centre of the Swat valley in front of Mt Ilam and Karakar pass, well visible from a distance, was not described in Deane's *Note*. After its publication an inscription found on the Barikot hilltop by a native subordinate of Deane was sent by him to the Lahore Museum with a new list (LM 119; see the contribution by O. von Hinüber in Callieri and Olivieri 2020, p. 54-5). The inscription is not part of the *List* MS annexed to the *Note* MS (= Olivieri 2015a, Document 10 bis), but rather of a second longer list in the same file (dated 1898), where the Barikot inscription is present under the entry LXIV (= Olivieri 2015a, Document 20). The fragmentary text of the inscription preserves the name of a Śāhi king Jayapāladeva (late-tenth century CE) and the place name of Vajirasthāna (i.e. Barikot). The other lines possibly bore the names, now lost, of three individuals who patronised the foundation or reconstruction of a religious building (line 3 mentions a *devakule*). On the top of the hill (the ancient acropolis of Barikot) we found and excavated a large Vishnuite temple with its sculptural decoration (Callieri *et al.* 1998-1999, Callieri *et al.* 1999-2000; Olivieri in press b). Interesting chronological data from excavations at the site set it firmly in the Śāhi phases: the first living phase of the monument is associated with the late-seventh/early-eighth century AD (1σ = 690-750 AD 86%; 2σ = 670-778 AD 93%); the abandonment of the temple is dated to a late-Śāhi/early Ghaznavid chronology: 1σ= 969-1018 AD 100%; 2σ=942-1024 AD 84%.

Clearly the name shared between the two Barikot (in Swat and Kumrat/Panjkora) is reflected in the name of the Dardic clan Bera/Baria, and it also recalls the ancient name of the city Vajra/Veira. With reference to the traditions linked to the original Barikot (in Swat), Stefan Baums (2019) writes (L.M.O.'s footnotes):

It is instructive, in this connection, to consider the two different name forms transmitted for the city of Barikot (Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai) in the classical sources: Curtius Rufus calls the city Beira,¹⁶ while

¹⁴ Chigan Sarai in the *Bāburnāma*, ff. 134, 134b, 144 (Tackston 2002).

¹⁵ Further surveys carried out in 2021 revealed the presence of scattered ruins and pottery shards on the top of the Bari-dheri, but no trace of the 'stupa' reported by Deane.

¹⁶ Curtius, *Historiae*, VIII 10, 22.

Arrian refers to it as Bazira.¹⁷ The latter form can be interpreted quite straightforwardly as Sanskrit vajra ‘thunderbolt’ with superficial epenthetic i. [...] The former form, Curtius’ Beira, has, however, so far remained obscure. I would like to suggest that it reflects a vernacular, Middle Indo-Aryan pronunciation of the same place-name. As written, we would expect Beira to be based on a Greek spelling *Βεῖρα with a pronunciation [vejira]. This then corresponds quite precisely to the Gāndhārī form of the word, spelt vayira in CKI 249 and 367, vaira in CKI 367, and likewise pronounced [vejirə]. In other words, the sources of Curtius Rufus on the one hand and of Ptolemy on the other appear to have ultimately drawn from two different sociolinguistic levels among their Indian informants (one using the vernacular, the other Sanskrit) when eliciting the name of the city of Barikot.¹⁸

In the Śāraḍa inscriptions LM 119, a Sanskritized form – Vajira(sthāna) – was preferred. The ancient form (Vajra/Veira) survived in the pre-modern Dardic toponym Bera which became established in the modern toponym Bir-kot, Barikot (in Pashto Bir-, in Urdu Bari-),¹⁹ both in Swat and in Panjkora. One new element on the toponym Vajirasthāna is offered by a neglected passage of the celebrated fifteen-century Tibetan text known as *The Blue Annals* (Roerich 1976²: 361 = VII 5a) where Buddha himself casts a kind of prophecy on king Indrabuthi, whose seat was located ‘In the northern quarter, in Śrī-Vajrasthāna, Oḍḍiyāna’.

Other dēva temples

Deane located a second temple at Kashmir Smast (‘the cave temple’; *Note*: 665, 668-669, Appendix E; *Note* MS 60-67), where three magnificent examples of the wooden art of the Śāhi, now at the British Museum, were found by Deane himself or by his agents.²⁰ The site has been associated with the Brahmanical



Figure 13. The Barikot top hill (acropolis) (Courtesy of ISMEO).

¹⁷ Arrian, *Anabasis*, IV 27, 5.

¹⁸ Baums 2019: 169-70.

¹⁹ The earliest mention of Barikot (Swat) is found in Court 1840: ‘Berikoot’ (p. 307), ‘Berikout’ (ibid.: map).

²⁰ On Kashmir Smast there is an extensive bibliography from the *Note* to Nasim Khan 2006. A later temple is located to the north-east of Peshawar city at Panj Tirath (*Note*: 666).



Figure 14. A *Šāhi* watchtower in the Cherat Pass (see Olivieri 2003: fig. 48) (Photo by Elisa Iori/ISMEO). Cf. Foucher 1899: fig. 27, Olivieri 2003: fig. 48.

sanctuary described by Xuanzang (see also Filigenzi 2020: 396-397). The site belongs more to Gandhara proper than to proper 'Uddiyana'.²¹

²¹ 'Sung Yun places the rock-cave in Udyana, while Huan Tsiang describes it as being in Gandhara' (Note: 671).

3. The river of Mt Ilam

The river of Mt Ilam, which, according to Xuanzang, after flowing westwards flows in the opposite direction (East) is not the Swat, rather maybe the long and detouring course of the Barandu River in Buner (at the foot of the southern cliff of Mt Ilam). The ‘couches’ described by Xuanzang, were later located near the top of Mt Ilam by Aurel Stein (1930). The Hodi Raja mentioned in the text corresponds to the present toponym of Raja Hodi near Attock.

4. The Suma stupa and the ruins in the Adinzai

Various sites have been surveyed by the University of Peshawar in the large valley of Talash/Uch (i.e. Adinzai) to the north of Chakdara (see Dani 1968-1969).

Deane apparently missed the unique ‘Indian’ stupa of Chakpat, described and documented in Foucher 1905: figs 10-12), now completely lost. The Suma stupa of the *Note* (Deane’s images of it are in his Appendix A) can be identified with one of the stupas of Andhan-dheri (‘About three and a half miles north of Chakdara is a site which was plainly at one time occupied by a stupa’, *Note*: 657; *Note* MS 12). The site was later excavated by the University of Peshawar team (Dani 1968-1969). The towering structures described as near Chakdara (‘Shamli spur’ in *Note*, Appendix D; cf. *Note* MS 15) can be identified with the site known as Shamlai and Damkot (see Dani 1968-1969). On the ruins opposite Damkot, near the Chakdara Fort, i.e. the so-called ‘Ionic temple’ at Chakdara, see the contribution of K. Behrendt in Olivieri 2015a. On the inscription of Sado (or Saddo), located on the left bank of the Panjkora River, see Nasim Khan, in press.

5. Gira of Odigram or Raja Gira

The site today known as Mt Raja Gira corresponds to the upper cliff of the Udegram valley where the ISMEO mission discovered and excavated a Ghaznavid mosque. A digression on the toponym can be found in the final excavation report (Bagnera 2015). On the Odigram inscriptions see Olivieri 2015a: 174-175.

6. The stupa between Ghaligai and Shankardar

The stupa, today known as Shingardar, is still an impressive sight on the right side of the main Malakand-Mingora road (Stein 1930; Faccenna and Spagnesi 2004).

7. The fortress above Malakand

Almost nothing can be said of the ruins surveyed in *Note*’s Appendix B (cf. *Note* 663; *Note* MS 33), as they are now either obliterated by the later British and Pakistani fort and compound, or inaccessible as part of the military zone. In 2008 during an authorized survey at the place I recorded scattered portions of wall, almost hidden behind the recent pine-tree forest cover.

8. The ‘city’ in the Jandul valley

The Jandul valley connects by a pass the Panjkora valley (which flows into the Swat gorges) to Talash. On the right side of the Jandul Deane noted ‘a city on the hills’ (*Note* MS 36) or ‘a large city’ (*Note* 664). This may correspond either to the place later known as Stargo-manai a.k.a. Gumbatuna, a later Śāhi fortress still visible on the spur (see above), or to the ruins of Katgala, which were erroneously identified by Olaf Caroe as a possible location of Massaka/Massaga of Alexander’s historians (Caroe 1958: 51-53). Gumbatuna was sondaged in the 1970s, leading to the discovery of a long slab with a Brāhmi-Śarada inscription (Abdur Rahman 1979).



Figure 15. 'Shankardar Stupa 14/04/1930' (a view from West) (Courtesy of Miangul Archives).

The inscriptions recovered at the site, later sent to Lahore Museum, which are mentioned in the *Note*, may correspond to nos. 54, 55, 57, 58 and 56 (in Persian) of the *List MS* annexed to the *Note MS*. A survey of the Brāhmi-Śarada inscriptions in the Lahore Museum did not yield any result, except possibly LM 94 from Gahai (?) Swat, and LM 35 (from ?) (Rodziadi Khaw 2016).²²

The inscriptions are mentioned in Document 6 of the 'Malakand Fund':

Document 6) p. 35, \\18\\, letter, handwritten, dated Malakand, 8 <...> 1895, from Deane to A.E. Caddy

A.E. Caddy was the delegate of the Government of Bengal who was to take delivery of the Deane-Maisey collection and take it to Calcutta.²³ In this letter Deane describes for Caddy the provenance of 8 fragments of inscriptions: the first two from the Jandul valley; the third, fourth and fifth, three fragments from a single inscription from <Safri> Kalam near Maidan-bandai [Sapri Kalan, Maida[n] Banda in the *Note MS*] in the Panjikora [Panjkora] valley or Jandul; the sixth from an unidentified area 'not far from an old ruined city in the same area'; the seventh and eighth from a single inscription, from the right bank of the Panjkora, near Maidan-bandai. A description of these inscriptions is given also in the 'List of inscriptions', App. H. to the manuscript of the *Note* (Document 10 = *List MS* in this Volume). At the end of the letter Deane mentions F.H. Andrews, Curator Lahore Museum.

[L.M.O.]

²² The comparison between *List MS* and *CKI* (*Corpus of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*; see Baums and Glass 2002-) is inconclusive: no. 17 = *CKI* 51(?), no. 39 = *CKI* 47, no. 59 = *CKI* 57; *CKI* 110 = no. 7, 14, 20 or 27 (?); *CKI* 52 = no. 5, 9, 35 or 36 (?); nos. 40-42 = (Bühler 1896-97). A full investigation of the correspondences between Deane's lists and *CKI* should in future include the analysis of both the 1895 and 1898 documents (= Documents 6, 7, 9, 20-26 in Olivieri 2015a).

²³ In the original letter, with reference to a previous letter from the addressee, protocol no. 4433 and dated 28 December 1895, it is declared that nihil obstat to Caddy's reconnaissance 'crossing the frontier for the purpose of collecting Buddhist remains in the Swat valley under the orders of the Government of Bengal'. 'The permission – the letter continues – is accorded on the understanding that Mr Caddy will be strictly guided in his movements by the advice of the Political Officer and will abide by all instructions he may receive from either the Political or the Military authorities' (Olivieri 2015a: Document 11).



Map 1. Map showing the sites mentioned in the text (GoogleEarth, elaborated by L.M.O.).

General Notes

1. Uḍḍiyāna

‘Uḍḍiyana’ is the true ancient name of Swat, ‘udyāna’ the Sanskrit for garden or park. Stein 1929: 13 explains the sanctity of Swat that allowed the confusion of the two forms: ‘Fertile as Swat still is, and thickly populated as it once was, the whole of the great valley must have been crowded with Buddhist sanctuaries and religious establishments in the centuries immediately before and after Christ.¹ This explains the care taken by the old Chinese pilgrims to visit Swat on their way from the Hindukush to the sacred sites of India, and the glowing account that they have left us of the land. No doubt, they and other pious visitors knew also how to appreciate the material attractions of Swat, the abundance and variety of its produce, its temperate climate, and the beauty of its scenery. These attractions are significantly reflected in the popular etymology that has transformed the ancient name of the country, Uḍḍiyana, into Sanskrit Udyāna, the ‘Garden’, as it meets us in the narrative of old Hsüan-tsang, the most famous of those old Chinese travellers.’

2. Chief Political Officer etc.

For Deane’s roles during and after the relief of Chitral, see pp. 10-11.

3. Beale’s Records of the Western World

Samuel Beal (1825-89) was a sinologist and expert in Chinese Buddhism, having learned Chinese, colloquial and literary, as a naval chaplain while stationed in China. In later life he was a parish priest and Professor of Chinese at University College, London. His two-volume translation, *Si-yu-ki : Buddhist records of the western world* (London, 1884), of the Chinese monk Xuanzang’s (Hiouen Tsiang, Huan Tsiang, Hsüan-tsang) account of his journey to India in the Seventh Century, *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, which included also the accounts of the earlier pilgrims Faxian and Song Yun, was not the first translation of Xuanzang – Stanislas Julien had produced a French translation, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1857, 1858), on which Cunningham (see below) was dependent, for instance – but it did make the itineraries of the pilgrims widely available to British officials in India, and they were a constant point of reference for Deane and his collaborators. In 1888 had followed *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang by the Shamans Hwui Li and Yen-Tsung*. For Beal’s remarkable life see Douglas, R., and Ryan, J. *Beal, Samuel (1825-1889), Sinologist. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 3rd August 2021, from <<https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2648/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1797>>. In what follows, Deane is referring to Xuanzang’s account of Uddiyana, Beal Vol. 1, 119-35; and thereafter his account of Gandhara, 97-118. In the printed article the relevant volume of Beal is consistently misstated as being Vol. 2.

4. Sangharamas

Buddhist monasteries.

5. General Sir A. Cunningham

Alexander Cunningham, who had died in 1893, was the Grand Old Man of Indian Archaeology, founder of what became the Archaeological Survey of India, which he led for fifteen years. Formerly a military engineer, his work cited by Deane, *The Ancient Geography of India, Vol. 1: The Buddhist Period, including*

¹ The term certainly has to do with the Oḍiraja, possibly as “way of the Oḍi”. Only subsequently, through paretymology and correspondence with the agricultural wealth of Swat, was the place name Oḍḍiyāna attributed with the meaning of “garden” (Olivieri 2022: 23, fn. 18).

the Campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Thsang (Cambridge, 1871), had been written after the termination of his position as archaeological surveyor to the Government of India. The establishment of what would be the Archaeological Survey in 1870, with Cunningham as Director-General, prevented him from ever writing Vol. 2. Deane cites Cunningham's book recurrently in the remainder of the article; Cunningham's theory on Alexander's route, specifically, and on the location of Aornos, originally presented in Cunningham 1848, has been superseded by that of James Abbott (Abbott 1854; see below p. 214), and Deane subsequently endorses the latter.

6. Wilfords surveyor

Deane is reading Cunningham 1871: 82, where information about Swat provided to Francis Wilford by the surveyor Mogal Beg is discussed. From Benares Wilford (1761-1822) had submitted a series of wildly speculative articles to *Asiatick Researches*, journal of William Jones' Asiatick Society, later the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on Indian geography and mythology. His work nevertheless, in the case especially of Wilford 1799, exerted considerable influence on the Romantic movement in Europe. The relevant name in Cunningham/Wilford is in fact Mangora, which Deane tacitly corrects to the existing name Mingora. On Wilford see Leask 2000.

7. Professor Bühler

(Johann) Georg Bühler was a Sanskritist and Professor at the University of Vienna from 1881, after two decades of teaching and research in India. Deane refers to Bühler 1896-97, a publication of three inscriptions of which Deane had sent him impressions via Dr E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist (the process is elucidated in Document 9 of Olivieri 2015a; Document 14 is a copy of this published article). Georg Bühler drowned in Lake Constance in somewhat mysterious circumstances in 1898. In one of his last publications (Bühler 1897: 12-14) he addressed the inscription accompanying the Buddhas' feet that Deane discusses on p. 5 of *Note MS*.

8. Surg: Major Waddell

Lawrence Austine Waddell was an officer in the Indian Medical Service, Surgeon-Major in 1895, who, after serving in Burma and developing an intense interest also in Tibetan Buddhism (he would later serve on the Younghusband invasion of Tibet in 1903-4, but had not managed to access Tibet before then), had made himself an expert on the Buddhist sites of the Gangetic plain, doing much to elucidate the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims and to identify the sites of the events of the Buddha's lifetime and ministry. In July and August 1895 Waddell was deputed by the government of Bengal to go to Swat and carry out archaeological research on the skirts of the British occupying force involved in the relief of Chitral, partly at least with a view to securing Gandharan material for the Indian Museum in Calcutta (also called by Deane the Imperial Museum): the manuscript betrays some confusion as to how and by whom material already gathered by Deane and Major Maisey (see below p. 213) at Dargai is going to be transferred to the museum (see p. 20 above). Deane refers to Waddell's two reports, copies of which survive as Documents 3 and 4 in the Malakand Fund, and which he had been sent in the previous month: Waddell also published the reports in *The Academy* (Waddell 1895). In the first report Waddell describes himself and Deane discussing the Chinese pilgrims' visits to 'Udyana'/Swat (and other details in both his reports and this MS point to conversations between the two); here Deane refers to a detail of the second report. On Waddell see Errington 1990; Rafiullah Khan 2020; Olivieri 2015a, 172-3; Allen 2008.

9. military posts

For the British dispositions in Lower Swat, see p. 11.

10. **chiraghs**

Earthenware lamps.

11. **Chaitya**

An arched hall containing a stupa.

12. **Alexander's military engines**

For Alexander's progress through Swat see Olivieri 1996, Coloru and Olivieri 2019, pp. 257-63 below; and for the importance it held for men like Deane, see p. 21-22.

13. **Viharas**

The dwelling areas of a monastery.

14. **If I remember rightly**

This appears to be a reminiscence of a conversation between the two men rather than anything published, for which we have further evidence (see p. 22).

15. **Guraeus**

The identification of this river is also discussed in McCrindle's letter to Deane (see p. 245).

16. **Mr Caddy**

Alexander Caddy, representing the Indian Museum in Calcutta, made two visits to Swat or its vicinity, only the first of which is reflected in the text of the manuscript. In 1895, apparently in support of Surgn.-Major Waddell, Caddy came to collect Buddhist material in the possession of Deane, and more excavated by Major Maisey at Dargai (see p. 213 below) at the southern foot of the Malakand pass, in order to transport it to the museum in Calcutta. It seems from the evidence forthcoming from Malakand that subsequently a competing claim, at least to the material from Dargai, was lodged by the Government of the Punjab in favour of its museum in Lahore. Caddy's second visit, which included extensive survey of archaeological sites, and excavation most notably of a possibly Ionic temple at Chakdara and a Buddhist site at Loriyan Tangai (from where material did go to the Indian Museum), is recorded in a report the only surviving copy of which is in the 'Malakand Fund', Document 42 (Olivieri 2015a). The chronology, and controversy, is meticulously reconstructed by Rafiullah Khan 2020. For the details of Caddy's second visit, photographs from which are preserved at the British Library, see Behrendt 2015.

17. **Dr Hoernle**

(Augustus Frederic) Rudolf Hoernlé was an expert in Indian and Central Asian languages, and an important friend and supporter of Aurel Stein, who was Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa from 1881 until his retirement to Oxford in 1899: Sweet, W. *Hoernlé, (Reinhold Friedrich) Alfred (1880-1943), philosopher and social reformer in South Africa. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 4th August 2021, from <<https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2648/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-94419>>.

18. Sir G. Robertson's book

George Scott Robertson was Medical Officer to the Political Agent, and then himself Political Agent, in Gilgit. From 1890 to 1891 he spent almost a year living among the Kafirs, non-Muslims, on the border between Chitral and Afghanistan. His *Kafiristan and its people* was published in 1895, but his major work on the subject, *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, not until the following year, so it is the first that Deane is here lacking. Robertson discusses the sanctions for murder among the Kafirs at Robertson 1895: 29-30. It was the siege of Robertson and his small force in Chitral fort, after he had intervened in a dynastic dispute in Chitral, which provoked the 'Relief of Chitral', the capture of Malakand and the establishment of British control in Lower Swat with Deane as Political Agent.

19. cow-herds

The 'Greek historians' who offer (very approximate) accounts of the Indian caste system are Strabo 15.1.39-49, Arrian, *Indica* 11.11-12, and Diodorus 2.40-41, all of them indebted to Megasthenes and all counting herdsmen as the third class. Deane may have been consulting McCrindle 1877 (on McCrindle see p. 214 below).

20. Major Maisey

Frederick Charles Maisey was an officer in the 30th Punjab Infantry who, while serving in the campaign to relieve Chitral in 1895, guarding the main force's lines of communication, excavated the Buddhist site of Dargai at the southern foot of the Malakand Pass, a location formerly outside British jurisdiction. Maisey's father, also Frederick Charles, had also served in Indian Army, rising to the rank of General. But there was also a family tradition of excavating Buddhist remains, as his father had collaborated with Alexander Cunningham in the survey and excavations at Sanchi in 1851. Those excavations are the starting point of the enlightening discussion of colonial collection and postcolonial restitution in Mathur 2007: 133-64.

21. M. Emile Senart

Émile Charles Marie Senart was an Indologist and a Professor at the Collège de France. Senart 1894 is his publication of the inscriptions shared by Deane.

22. the 12th Edict

In 1889 Deane had discovered the missing element of an inscription of the Emperor Ashoka at Shahbazgarhi near Mardan. The fourteen Edicts of Ashoka were set up around the edges of his realm, and Claude-Auguste Court, a French general of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, had found thirteen of the examples at Shahbazgarhi. Deane discovered the missing Edict XII, the Toleration Edict (cf. p. 16); Hultzsch 1925: xii.

23. Baber

The passages in Xuanzang and Babur referred to are Beal 1884: 1.99 and Babur, Waddington, Erskine and Leyden 1826: 157.

24. Avatibile

Paolo Crescenzo Avitabile was a Napoleonic officer who along with others such as Jean-François Allard and Claude-Auguste Court found employment after Waterloo in Persia and then in the Sikh Empire of

Maharajah Ranjit Singh. The administration of 'Abu Tabela' as Governor of Peshawar from 1834 to 1843, after the capture of the city by Ranjit Singh from the Afghans, was long remembered for its ruthlessness, but Lafont 1992: 190-199 offers a careful analysis of his governorship of Peshawar and Wazirabad before that; see also Maiello 1990.

25. Mr Waterfield

Stuart Shakspear Waterfield was, like Deane, a political officer with the Chitral Relief force, and Commandant of the Peshawar Border Military Police from October 1893. He would be appointed Political Agent for Kurram in 1902: see Government of India 1905: 641.

26. Dr Burgess

James Burgess was an archaeologist of India, and Alexander Cunningham's successor at Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1886 to 1889.

27. Sikri

For Deane's archaeological activities at **Sikri**, see p. 16.

28. General Abbott

James Abbott was an officer in the Indian Army and participant in intelligence operations beyond the North-West Frontier. While Commissioner of Hazara (1845-53, including the Second Anglo-Sikh War), on the eastern side of the Indus, he established the town of Abbottabad and wrote Abbott 1854: his argument in this article for the identity of Aornos with Mt. Mahaban in Buner, which he had studied (and sketched and painted) from the far side of the Indus, held sway until Aurel Stein's visit to Mahaban in 1903.

29. McCrindles Ancient India

John Watson McCrindle was the author of series of books that collected together the Greco-Roman sources for the ancient history of India. McCrindle taught at schools in Edinburgh and schools and higher education institutions in India before retiring as Principal of Patna College in 1880, after which he returned to Edinburgh and devoted himself to his publications. A letter datable to 1896 from McCrindle to Deane, published here as an appendix (pp. 240-63), sets out for Deane the route of Alexander from the Hindu Kush to the Indus as it emerges from the ancient sources, but here in *Note* MS Deane is consulting McCrindle 1885: 142-3.

[Ll. M.]

Deane's Article

H.A. Deane, 'Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1896, 655-75.

The following images of Deane's published article are reproduced with the permission of the Wright Library at Princeton Theological Seminary.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XIV.—*Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra.* By H. A.
DEANE.

As the Swat valley, and neighbourhood, which constitute the principal portion of the old province of Udyāna, have hitherto been inaccessible for archæological research, the following rough notes (made during the little time at my disposal as Chief Political Officer with the Chitral Relief Force, and lately as Political Officer for Dir and Swat) may induce others better qualified to devote some attention to this interesting neighbourhood. They are principally connected with the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Huan Tsiang, as given in Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World."

The Pilgrim says (Beal, ii, 120) that there were 1400 old Sanghārāmas on the banks of the river Su-po-fa-sutu, the present Swat river. This was probably no exaggeration, as ruins are now found all through the country. Unfortunately, however, the majority lie in Upper Swat, which is at present closed to Europeans.

The old capital of the province in the Pilgrim's time was Mungali, or Mung Kie-li. General Sir A. Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India, Buddhist Period,"

p. 82, thought that this place could be identified with Minglaur, a large and important village lying at the foot of one of the north-western spurs of the Dosirri mountain. Dosirri and its neighbouring peak, Ilm, belong to the Dūma range, which here divides Swat from Boner. General Sir A. Cunningham also thought Mingaur, or Mingora of Wilford's Surveyor, to be the same place.

The identity of Minglaur with Mungali is undoubted, though the main site of the old town lay (from the reports of men I have at times despatched to Minglaur) about a mile to the east-south-east of the present village. Mingaur is a separate place, lying some five miles to the west of Minglaur. The ruins about Minglaur are described as very extensive. On cliffs not far from them deeply-cut Sanskrit inscriptions exist. Three of these, impressions of which I obtained last year, have been translated by Professor Bühler, and are now being published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The Pilgrim states that to the north-east of Mungali, about 250 or 260 *li*, a great mountain range is entered, and the fountain of Nāga Apalāla is reached, this being the source of the Su-po-fa-sutu river. The distance and direction given by the Pilgrim bring us exactly to Kalām, the point at which the Utrot and Laspur (Ushu in our maps) streams meet. The junction of these is the present head of the Swat river.

South, about 200 *li* from Mungali, the Pilgrim mentions the Mahāvana Sanghārāma. This was apparently on the western, or north-western, slopes of the present Mahaban. Numerous ruins exist on the lower slopes and also on the higher portions of Mahaban. A portion of an inscription which I obtained from this hill recorded the deposit of a relic at some place on the hill, on which there must therefore have been a stūpa or sanghārāma of noted sanctity.

Going west 60 or 70 *li*, he next describes a stūpa built by Aśoka Rāja. The measurements and distance given bring us within the present borders of the Peshawar district. On

this side, hitherto, though many ruins and remains are found, no stūpa has yet been discovered. There are ruins named Chānai on low hills above the present village of Surkhāvi, and in the Narinji valley adjoining these low hills on the south, much sculpture which denoted the previous existence of a sanghārāma; and some which may have belonged to a stūpa, has at various times been found by the natives, and destroyed by them.

From either Chānai or the Narinji valley the Pilgrim's next measurement, 200 *li* north-west, leads to the Adinzai valley, entered from Swat at Chakdara. This may be identified with the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley of the Records.

About three and a half miles north of Chakdara is a site which was plainly at one time occupied by a stūpa. It has not yet, however, been excavated. Not far off, to the north of this, are the remains of a large stūpa. The greatest feature of interest in this stūpa is, that it is still known to some of the people by the name of Sūma, the name mentioned by Huan Tsiang (Beal, ii, 125). It is difficult to fix the site of the convent, but possibly it was on the spur overlooking the passage of the Swat river on which military posts are now being erected. Débris and portions of well-built walls exist on this site to a great depth¹; and though there were defensive towers on the higher points, the few relics found point to former occupation of the spot for other than military purposes. These relics comprise a portion of a head of a very large figure of Buddha, a portion of a finely-carved cover of a small oblong box (in soapstone), and old ornamented "chiraghs."

Adjoining this site is a detached rock close to the river, on which there are remains of old walls. The broken top of a "chaitya" was also found here. Amid the débris on this rock were also found two oval stones, weighing about 5 lbs. each, which appear to have been artificially shaped, and which are suggestive of Alexander's military engines;

¹ Appendix D is a plan of the foundations as far as they can be traced.

also the iron head of an axe—the latter found at a depth of fifteen feet.

As regards the Sūma stūpa, I will refer to the attached plan, Appendix A, which shows measurements. The height of the remains is 35 feet. The centre of the stūpa has not yet been excavated, and I have been loth to open it, as if anything of value were found it would lead to wholesale destruction by the natives of other stūpa remains, many of which exist in the country. The outside of this stūpa was built with carefully-dressed granite, well laid and fitted; on the outside it was covered with lime-plaster, much of which still remains. The interior was carefully laid in horizontal strata. Nothing remains of the chaitya except a small portion of the interior. Possibly portions of it might be found under the large mass of rubbish lying around. To the west are the remains of a platform 90' by 190', to which apparently the steps of the stūpa led down; and on it are mounds which have not been examined, but which are possibly sites of small square vihāras, or of monks' dwelling-places. The platform is slightly raised from the ground to the level of the foundation of the stūpa. Such portion of it as has been preserved owes its existence to a curious custom on the part of the Pathan inhabitants of the country, whose tradition is that a notorious thug was once executed at this spot. It is incumbent on every good Muhammadan, as he passes the place, to support the execution by throwing a stone on to the mound, saying at the same time—"I swear by God he was a thug." The south and west faces are in the best state of preservation.

The stūpa alluded to by the Pilgrim (p. 126) to the north of the valley, by the side of a steep rock, lies slightly north-east from the Sūma stūpa, about two and a half miles distant. The mound is at present known as Badshah Dheri. It has not yet been excavated. Between this and Sūma another site, somewhat to the east, also exists, which appears to have been similarly occupied.

The abundant stream alluded to by the Pilgrim is, I think, to be found in a spring on the south slope of

the Laram to the north of Uch. There is a story current in the valley regarding this spring. After a fight with an invading Muhammadan force, the old inhabitants of the valley, being defeated, concealed the spring with a large cup-shaped stone, and covered it over with earth, completely closing it. Some years ago signs of water being found, the source of the spring was traced; its covering was found and removed, and the water now flows freely. I recovered the stone cover from a Masjid in the village of Gudia Khwar, where the Pathans had placed it. It seems to have been the cupola of a large chaitya. It has a diameter of 2' 6½'' and a height of 1' 1½''. There is no trace of the lake mentioned in the Records, and the stopping up of the spring for many centuries may explain its non-existence.

It is noticeable that all the fortifications in the Shan-ni-lo-shi, and in the neighbouring valley of Talash, are on the south. There is no trace of any on the Laram Hill, nor anywhere to the north, nor on the spurs of the Laram running down to the Panjkora. Near Sado, which was a post held during the Chitral Relief Expedition, there are a few ruins traceable, but these appear to be of ordinary dwellings. From the fortifications on the south, and the absence of any on the Laram range on the north, it may, perhaps, be assumed that the people of the Shan-ni-lo-shi valley were more or less connected with their neighbours to the north in the valley of the Panjkora.

Whether Adinzai, or Adinazai, is connected with Udyāna, I do not presume to say. Adinapur, near Jellalabad, I have seen held to be a corruption of Udyānapur. Old names certainly survive in this country, and in the Adinzai valley: among the most striking are Uch and Uchana, the latter appearing to be the same as Uchanga, an old name of this country generally.

The Pilgrim now starts again from Mungali, and mentions (p. 126) a stūpa 60 or 70 *li* to the south-east, on the east of the river; this river is, of course, the Swat. The measurement brings us to an extensive group of ruins—

Balogram, Odigram, and Panjigram, and a little lower down, Shankardar.

In the neighbourhood of Odigram inscriptions exist. A little further down the river, between Ghaligai and Shankardar, the natives of the country describe the remains of a stūpa as still standing; and this is undoubtedly that referred to by the Pilgrim—for the Pilgrim records next (p. 127) a large rock on the bank of the great river, shaped like an elephant. This rock is a conspicuous landmark existing near the river, about twelve miles from the village of Thana, and near Ghaligai. It is well known to the inhabitants of the valley, the name of which, Hathidarra, was derived from it. The stūpa is described by natives as still standing a few hundred yards distant from this rock; and, from what I can understand from the people, there is also a fine Deva temple near it.

The hill to the south of the present village of Shankardar, a spur of Ilm, is known as Velanai. Extensive ruins on this spur are connected by tradition with an old ruler, Viru, in whom we seem to have Rāja Vara.

Next the Pilgrim takes a measurement of 50 *li* or so west of Mungali, and brings us to a stūpa across the river. This is close to a village now called Hazara, and natives describe the stūpa as still existing. It is also said that the next one he mentions, 30 *li* north-east of Mungali, still exists. In this neighbourhood Sung Yun mentions the temple of Tolu to the north of the city, and says there were sixty full-length golden figures of Buddha in it. A few months ago a golden Buddha was dug up in this region. The people at first asked the fabulous sum of Rs. 4000 for it. It fell, however, into the hands of a jeweller, who found it to be as I suspected, a stone thinly plated with gold, which he has now stripped off it. The practice of plating sculpture with gold was not uncommon in the neighbouring province of Gandhāra.

From the stūpa north-east of Mungali, Huan Tsiang crosses the river, and, going west, arrives at Vihāra (p. 127). In regard to this locality I am unable to say anything at

present; but the point is important, as from it another line of 140 or 150 *li* north-west is given to the mountain Lun-po-lu, on which the Pilgrim (p. 128) describes the Dragon lake.

This measurement brings us exactly to the head of the Aushiri valley, which drains into the Panjkora near Darora. How the Pilgrim got his distance over several valleys and intervening high spurs, it is difficult to conjecture. But on the hill to which it brings us there is found a large lake, more than a mile in length. It is apparently fed by snow. Unfortunately, pressure of work in connection with the retirement of the Chitral Relief Force prevented a survey of the lake from being made.

The lake itself is now known as Saidgai, and the same name is applied to the hill; another point of the hill, not far off, being known as Lālkōh. There are several stories current as to the wonderful sights to be seen at this lake, the most persistent being that of "Jins," who live in and near it. These Jins, with half human forms, are said to be constantly seen on the banks of the lake; and one old gentleman of the country assures me that he lately saw three sitting together, who vanished as he approached them. At other times food and rice are said to be found on the bank of the lake, placed there in some mysterious way. This story of the Jins adds strongly to the probability of the identification of this lake with that mentioned by the Pilgrim as haunted by Nāgas.

Some of the former tribes that inhabited Udyāna and neighbouring countries can be traced in the present day.

Kafiristan undoubtedly is populated by the descendants of those who were driven back from other tracts, mostly from the Afghanistan side: their many Hindu customs, the many Sanskrit words in their language, and their traditions, point clearly to their origin. It is to be hoped that some one with opportunities will deal with that important point, the language of the Kafirs. From the few investigations I have made, I have found many Sanskrit words in use among them.

In Kafiristan the custom of the women wearing horns as head ornaments, mentioned by Sung Yun as prevalent amongst the Ye-tha, still exists. One kind worn is a veritable pair of horns, made of hair and shaped like the short horns of cattle. Another kind is made of manāl feathers, with a tuft at the top arranged and bound round a stick about nine inches in length.

If I remember rightly (I have not Sir G. Robertson's book on the Kafirs to refer to), Sir G. Robertson mentions a custom amongst the Kafirs of banishing a man who has committed murder to the hills; and Sung Yun describes the same custom as belonging to Udyāna, whence it is reasonable to assume the custom was carried to the present Kafiristan.

Another, and distinct, remnant of the old races will undoubtedly be found in the large clan of Gujars, extending from Kunar on the west to Kashmir on the east. A very interesting point is noticeable regarding these Gujars. In the Peshawar district, and on the hills bordering on the Peshawar district, the Gujars all speak Pashtu, and in some ways are more Pathan than the Pathans themselves. In the hills across the Swat valley the Gujars understand and use at times Hindi, though they speak Pashtu. At Dir and on the high ranges beyond, the same clan of Gujars use Hindi entirely in their houses and amongst themselves. The Greek historians describe the cowherds as one of the classes inhabiting this country, and there can be little doubt the clan of Gujars represents the men they wrote about. Those about Dir and the neighbourhood were only converted to Islām between 250 or 300 years ago, some of them even later. Conversion in Bashghar of the Kohistanis, Gurialis, and others, who are undoubtedly a remnant of the former inhabitants of Udyāna, was brought about at this period, according to local history, through Mussamat Ram, daughter of one Barah, who fell in love with an Akhundzada named Salak Baba. Through her and her family, these people are said to have been brought over to Islām.

Lastly may be mentioned the Ghorī, a small clan subservient to the Pathans, on the right bank of the Panjkora river.

The extensive manner in which the Udyāna is fortified on the south speaks of anything but the supposed peaceable nature of the people, or their cordial relations with their neighbours in Gandhāra, the present Peshawar district. Appendix B is a plan of the old fortifications on the Malakand Pass.

Beyond the Swat, Adinzai, and Talash valleys, remains of former habitation become more indistinct. Up the valley of the Panjkora there are considerable traces of ruins as far as the Aushiri. At Barikot, near Patrak, distinct ruins are said to be found, and a stūpa is said to have existed there which was overthrown by one Iliās Akhund, about two generations ago.

Throughout the Panjkora valley there are remains of old terraced cultivation, entirely deserted in the present day, and declared by the Muhammadan population not to belong to the Muhammadan period. This points to a different previous condition in the valley: this condition was probably that the land along the banks of the river was during Buddhist occupation swamp, and incapable of cultivation to the same extent as now. The process of the bed of the river deepening, and swampy land being gradually reclaimed and brought under cultivation, goes on now. The people of the valley also talk of a much heavier rainfall in former days, which has doubtless been much reduced by the wholesale destruction of forests.

To the west of the Panjkora, the Jandol valley, occupied during the expedition by our troops, is too thickly populated for many traces of former occupation to remain undisturbed. An old road leads over the Binshi Pass into Asmar from the Jandol valley. The only good site noted was of a city on the hills to the west of Kanbat. Near this I obtained an inscription. I also obtained two inscriptions near Badin, between Munda and Kanbat, in the Jandol valley—one from Tarawar in the Maidan Banda valley, near the

Panjhora; and a Persian one, broken into three pieces, near Sapri Kalan, in the same valley. These have all been sent to the Lahore Museum.

A former Khan of Dir almost ruined an old Deva temple at Gumbat, in the Talash valley, the stone being carried off to Dir. Portions of it, however, in excellent preservation, still remain. Ruins and inscriptions exist on the ranges from the Binshi Pass to the south-west, and near Nawagai are remains of a large city. Unfortunately these are inaccessible for examination.

Such sculptures as have been found have been obtained chiefly from the Swat valley and from Dargai, where also a Buddhist relic in a small gold casket was found. This has been made over to the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

Considerable damage has been done in places by irresponsible digging, and especially at a place on the north slope of the Morah Pass, called Kafirkot, which must have been a place of much importance. Here there are extensive remains of a large monastery, within which stood a stūpa, the base of which is still *in situ*. The diameter of the inner circle is 24 feet, to which may be added a projecting plinth of 10 inches. The diameter of the outer circle base is $24 + 13 \cdot 10 = 37$ ft. 10 in. Some sculpture obtained from this place has been sent to the Imperial Museum. Near this place I noticed two other stūpas, and in the plain below, a mound, from which Pathans not long ago obtained some gold sword-hilts and other pieces of valuable property which cannot now be traced. These stūpas are all worth proper examination. The sculpture from Dargai is of the Gandhāra type, and that from the Swat valley is of the same type, but in some respects superior, and principally in that the figures are better proportioned.

The country to the south of the Malakand ridge is rich in ruins, and has not been properly worked. There is much to be done in this quarter.

Hitherto not many inscriptions have been found in Swat, and those found are mostly in Sanskrit. Many others undoubtedly exist which we are unable to obtain at present.

I have lately procured one or two small ones in the same unknown character which has been found on small stones in old houses on the slopes of Mahaban. M. Emile Senart lately published several in the *Journal Asiatique*.

In this note on Udyāna I have recorded only what I have been able to ascertain from cursory inquiry and research. There is a large field for anyone who can systematically prosecute research. I offer the opinion that Udyāna was on the north bounded by the high range of hills above Dir and Swat, which would seem to be the Tsungling mountains mentioned by the Pilgrim (p. 119 and elsewhere). These hills now divide Swat and Dir from Gilgit and Chitral territory. On the west I do not think Udyāna extended further than the line of the Panjkora; the Pilgrim's descriptions take us nowhere into Bajaur. On the south, the watershed of the hills bordering the present Peshawar district would appear from the extensive fortifications to have been the boundary. On the side of Boner the watershed would also appear to have been the boundary, as the cave temple on that border on the western watershed is described as being in Gandhāra. Further south on this line we are brought within the present limits of our British border at Surkhāvi and Narinji, and thence, down to the Indus, the lower spur bordering British Yusafzai would appear to have been within Udyāna limits. My opinion on this point is based on small inscriptions being found amongst ruins on these spurs which are not found in Gandhāra.

The Pilgrim, after leaving Udyāna, went up the line of the Sintu or Indus river. But it is said that he went first north-west from Mungali, which would take him on to the line of the Indus *via* Gilgit. At Mungali he was within fairly easy range of the Indus on the east and north-east; and by going north-west, over a range of hills and through a valley, it would seem probable that he took the route *via* Kalam and the Laspur Pass to Drasan, from which point he would reach the Indus by the easiest line. It seems not unlikely that Sung Yun also entered Udyāna by this route.

I add here a few notes I have made from time to time regarding the adjoining province of Gandhāra, the British district of Peshawar.

Huan Tsiang, in his *Records* (Beal, ii, 97), first describes Po-lu-sha-pa-lo, which has been identified as the present Peshawar. One of the first points he notices (p. 99) is the large pipal-tree, which is mentioned later by Baber. Peshawar having a considerable Hindu population, it is natural to look for the site of this tree amongst places still, or until lately, held by them in reverence.

A mistake we are apt to be led into in such research is to disregard the fact that the site of the city itself may have been changed. On this point there is ample evidence that within quite recent times a portion of the city, which occupied the site of the present commissariat lines, near the present cantonments, was demolished, and the city perforce extended in the opposite direction. At the corner of what is now known as the Pipal Mandi, is an old pipal-tree. According to Hindu tradition, this tree is at least 500 years old. Until recent years, during which a market has grown up around it, it was the great meeting-place and resting-place for Yogis. There are other places in and near Peshawar which at the present day are regarded as more important than this—notably, a tank and temple known as Panj-tirath, surrounded by large pipal-trees, to the north-east of the city—but those places are all of comparatively recent date. After inquiry, which I have made during the last three years, I have come to the conclusion that the pipal-tree now standing in the Pipal Mandi is on the site of the old one mentioned in history. We may be sure that such a spot would not be lost sight of by the Hindus, though circumstances now render its former use impracticable.

Of the stūpas mentioned by the Pilgrim there are few traces left. The sites of five can be traced at a place about a mile south-east of the present city. The place is known as Shahji-ki-Dheri, and is below Hazar Khani, on the old road to Lahore. I obtained from this place a small figure of

a sitting Buddha, and a very interesting flint cameo—a figure of a man mounted on a horse. These were obtained from a corner where cultivation is commencing to cut into the site, which has not been excavated.

The Peshawar city now covers such an extent of land, and every available piece of land near it is so highly cultivated, that it is hopeless to try and follow the Pilgrim further in his descriptions in detail.

Going north-east from Peshawar, the Pilgrim (Beal, ii, 109) takes us across a great river to Pushkalavati. This has been identified as the Penkelaotis of Arrian and the present Charsadda. It is probable that the main site lay a little lower down, where extensive mounds, wells, etc., mark the old site of a city very distinctly. This place would repay excavation.

If we follow Huan Tsiang's distances carefully from these old mounds, we come eventually to the eastern end of the mass of buried ruins known as Shahr-i-Narparsan, between the present villages of Rajar and Utmanzai. The stone from these has for years been abstracted for building purposes, and it is impossible to trace what existed. I found here portions of the top of a chaitya. Accepting the Pilgrim's measurements and directions to be correct, and assuming that the large stūpas mentioned by him stood at the east end of these extensive ruins, to which point the measurements bring us exactly, we get a point from which the Pilgrim (p. 110) gives a further line to a position 50 *li* north-west. Here he mentions another stūpa. The direction and measurement lead direct to a mound of ruins, hitherto, so far as I know, not excavated, and known as Dheri Kafiran. This stands not far from the village of Sher-pao, in Hashtnagar. There can be little doubt that excavation would show this "Infidel's mound" to have been a stūpa. Judging by the ruins, it must have been a large one.

Again, from this point north 50 *li* the Pilgrim (p. 111) describes another stūpa. This brings us a little north-east of the present village of Gandheri, which may be connected

with the old name Gandhāra. The name Gandheri, however, has a meaning in Pashtu, being the "oleander" which grows in the ravines here. A little north of Gandheri, and not a mile from the village, the site of a stūpa is traceable. A small vihāra, such as is generally found near stūpas, was excavated here; the base was standing, and it has since been built up with other portions excavated near it. The sculpture is very old and good, and much of it shows traces of gilding. It has been made over to the Imperial Museum. The whole site near Gandheri is worth exploration.

These last two measurements and distances being correct, I see no reason for not locating the places mentioned near Pushkalavati by accepting the Pilgrim's measurements exactly.

The point thus fixed at Gandheri is important, for it is from here that the Pilgrim takes his direction and measurement to Po-lu-sha. This has been assumed by General Sir A. Cunningham to be Palo-dheri, a village in the Sadhum valley, mainly on account of the name. North-east of the city was Mount Dantaloka, 20 *li* distant. This is the Sanawar or Paja range, north-east of Palo-dheri, as identified by General Sir A. Cunningham.

The Pilgrim (p. 113) mentions a stone chamber between the crags of this mountain. This may be a small chamber or cell, which still exists, built into the rock, below the cave temple known as Kashmir Smats. This is just above the ravine in which "the trees droop down their branches like curtains," and form a leafy roof over the ravine. Above this woody ravine, but not "by the side of it," as described by the Pilgrim, is the rocky cave known as the Kashmir Smats. The Kashmir Smats is an immense cave piercing the hill at an angle of about 25°. It runs slightly north-west. It is of a limestone formation, and the walls and roof show fringes of stalactite, masses of which have occasionally fallen from the roof or exfoliated from the sides. The entrance to the cave is about 50 feet wide, with about an equal height. At a distance of 38 feet from the entrance, it widens to

84 feet, with a height of about 60 feet. At this point a flight of steps 17 feet wide leads up for another 38 feet to an octagonal vault, the sides of which measure 11 feet, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and 6 feet. Small niches exist in the walls, in which small earthen chiraghs were found. Portions of what appeared to be a sheeshum-wood coffin were some time ago found lying buried in the débris not far from the vault. The conclusion is, that this originally lay in the vault. The lid was highly ornamented, but was ruined by a native who carried it off to convert into a door. On the right of the chamber is a small square masonry room. In 1888, near this I obtained, buried in the guano which lies around, four carved sides of a box, two wooden plaques, and a wooden pilaster about 4 feet in length. I made these over to Dr. Burgess, Director of Archæological Survey in India, who placed them in the British Museum. These are the only carvings in wood found hitherto in Yusafzai. They were in excellent preservation, though blackened with age.

The cave beyond this turns slightly to the west, and at a distance of 95 feet from the vault narrows to 47 feet in width. A flight of winding steps 20 feet wide, and extending for $68\frac{1}{2}$ feet, leads up to the centre of the second chamber. At the top of the flight of steps is a fragment of wall about 10 feet high and 24 feet long, in fair condition, which evidently belonged to some large building. The cave is here 94 feet wide, with a height of over 100 feet. At a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet beyond the above wall the cave narrows to $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At this point another flight of steps is reached. To the left of the foot of these steps is a water-tank, with steps at the lower end leading into it. The tank is lined with cement half an inch thick, and is in excellent preservation.

The flight of steps leading onward into the cave is well made, and in good condition. About 50 feet further a natural gallery, about 30 feet high, leads on to the left. At the entrance to this, on the right-hand side, is a small square masonry vault, in which a year or two ago treasure

is said to have been found by some of the many Gujars, who frequently live in the cave. After 20 feet it takes a sharp turn up a flight of steps, in good order, and enters a narrower gallery, along which for a short way a man can only crawl on hands and knees. At the top of the steps, on the wall of the cave, are a few letters in Pāli; but these have been almost obliterated, and cannot be read.

The main cave from the entrance to the gallery winds through a long vestibule and up a winding flight of steps, protected by a balustrade, the direction being north, to the third chamber. The steps lead up to a square masonry tower, a part of which, to a height of about 10 feet, is in good repair. The measurement of the walls is 7 feet 6 inches, while the thickness of them is over 2 feet. The roof of the cave rounds away upwards to a height of about 100 feet, or may be more, and on the north-west side is a rift from 6 to 10 feet in diameter, which lets in light and air. The guano lying in this chamber is about 7 or 8 feet deep. The whole cave would probably repay careful excavation, but it would be a troublesome undertaking.

Appendix E is a rough plan of the interior, but the bearings are only approximate.

Looking down from the entrance to the cave, is a very fine view of what appears to have been a monastery, and of the gorge leading up to it.

There is another cave in the cliff not far from the Kashmir Smats, and perhaps more likely to be the place that an old Rishi would be credited with having as his abode. It is inaccessible to any but the best of cragmen.

Sung Yun's account of apparently the same cave, and its position, gives us no corroboration of the identification, except in the details that the rock-cave was south-east of the crest of the hill, and that it had two chambers, the second cave leading off from the main one possibly being the second chamber.

Sung Yun calls the hill Shen-shi, and places it 500 *li* to the south-west of the royal city of Udyāna, a direction

and distance that would take us (accepting Mungali as the royal city) into the Khattak hills on the line of the Indus, some distance below Hodi Raja. Sung Yun mentions a great square stone in front of the cave, on which a memorial tower was erected. There is no sign of any such tower. Sung Yun mentions traces of a lion's hair and claws on a stone three *li* to the west of the cave. About half a mile west of the cave is curious ornamentation on the rock by the side of the road. He also writes of wild asses frequenting the neighbourhood, but it seems more likely he meant monkeys, which still frequent it.

In regard to the memorial tower, it seems possible that the tower in the inner chamber of the main cave, and not far from the entrance of the smaller offshoot, may be that alluded to; but this is mere conjecture. A tower would hardly be built at this point for other than memorial purposes.

It is noticeable that Sung Yun places the rock-cave in Udyāna, while Huan Tsiang describes it as being in Gandhāra.

Taking the stone chamber first mentioned as the point from which to measure, and taking the Pilgrim's measurement and direction, we cross a small range and come to the range bounding Swat on the south. It brings us to the foot of the Shahkot Pass. After working this out on the map, I visited the Shahkot Pass, and a little to the west of the foot of it found the conspicuous remains of a memorial stūpa. These have not yet been examined.

The Sanghārāma has not yet been found, though proper examination will probably reveal it. The whole site is much overgrown with jungle. This stūpa is close to a curious old road running straight up a spur leading to a point above the Shahkot Pass, where there are remains of old forts. The road is continued down into the Swat valley. The Pathans have a tradition that the road was made especially for bringing elephants up, and they call it the Hathi-lar, but they apply this name to most of the old roads. On the opposite spur on the east is an old road

with a far better alignment. It appears to be older than the Hathi-lar, and leads straight over the pass and down a well-aligned road on the north side, the making of which through solid rock for considerable stretches must have entailed enormous labour. How this road, and that over the Malakand, were cut through rock too hard to break with picks, is difficult to conjecture: it may have been effected by lighting fires on the rock and pouring water in the heated rock, as I am informed is still done in some parts in Southern India. At one spot only, and that on the Shahkot Pass, have I noticed any old sign of fire. In this case, about four feet up the hill-side, the rock through which the road had been cut was calcined, and partially converted into lime.

On the top of the Shahkot Pass is a large stone having foot impressions, shown as Buddha's footmarks. They are two impressions rather of shoes at right angles to each other, with nail-marks in the heel, under the instep, and in the middle of the foot. One impression is eleven inches long and the other about ten inches. They bear no resemblance, so far as I know, to any marks which are really known as Buddha's footmarks. The origin of these marks is not known; they are said to be old, and I heard of them a long time before we came to the country.

To return to the Pilgrim's record, after search extending over a long time no trace of the figure of Bhima Devi (Beal, ii, 113) has been found. I cannot trace any rock-cut figure on the Sanawar range, though possibly such exists. Rock-cut figures exist on Ilm, and there is one on a rock to the south of the Morah; but in the former case the distance is too great when compared with the Pilgrim's measurement, and in the latter case the direction does not coincide, nor does the description of the figure.

From the temple of Bhima, Huan Tsiang (p. 114) mentions distance and direction to U-to-kia-han-cha. This was considered by the late General Sir A. Cunningham as the present Hund. The difficulty is, that we are not certain of the site of Po-lu-sha, and cannot therefore ascertain

where the Bhima temple was. The question where U-to-kia-han-cha was is accordingly open to a certain amount of doubt. The only stūpa so far found near the south-east foot of the Sanawar range, which General Sir A. Cunningham fixes as Mount Danto-loka, is the small one found at Sikri and excavated six years ago, which is now in the Lahore Museum.

The description given of Mount Danto-loka, and the measurement and distance given to the stūpa existing at the foot of the Shahkot Pass, go to support General Sir A. Cunningham's identification of Mount Danto-loka, and consequently that of Palo-dheri with Po-lu-sha, though there can as yet be no certainty as to the exact site of the latter. The above notes, however, tend to prove the general accuracy of the Pilgrim's distances, and one is loth, in the face of general accuracy, to assume that in one particular measurement or direction he has been incorrect.

The correct position of U-to-kia-han-cha depends much on the correct identification of Po-lu-sha. U-to-kia-han-cha was also known as Udakhanda; and if the possible remnant of an old name in a present one be taken as a guide, it might be argued that Khunda, the name (bearing no meaning in Pashtu) of a village about six miles north-west from Hund, is connected with the subject.

The line of the Indus through the Peshawar district has never been thoroughly examined. Beginning at Asgram, there are extensive ruins a little way above where the Indus leaves the hills; there are more on a low hill on the bank of the Indus near Gullai, known as Imran; many more buried near Jalbai; and, again, others near Jehangira and Alladher. None of these have ever been systematically explored.

The following brief note has reference to Aornos, which was situated either in Udyāna or Gandhara.

On Mahaban, at the point known as Shahkot, are the very distinct remains of a large fort, the foundations of which, 360 yards by 180 yards, with twelve bastions on the north and south faces, five bastions on the east face

(outside which was a ditch some 30 feet wide), and four bastions on the west face, can still be traced. The road to the fort winds up the southern face of the hill, and below it on the south is a plateau about a mile long by 600 yards wide. On the north face is a second gate, with a steep path leading to springs a little way below. Below the south-west corner is a large tank protected by three towers. Inside are remains of two temples and a tank about 60 paces in circumference. The fort is situated on a vast rock, and is reported as exceedingly difficult of access.

Close to Panjtar, at the foot of Mahaban, is a group of several old towns, from which I have obtained many inscriptions. Further down, towards where the Indus debouches into the plain, are extensive ruins, to which my attention was first directed by obtaining an inscription from them. These ruins are known as Asgram, already mentioned. The Pathans give this as the name of the ruins, stating that tradition holds them to be of the same period as Bēgram and Naugram (Ranigat). Taking Ptolemy's map and McCrindle as a guide, we find a hitherto unidentified place, Asigramma, close to the bank of the river, bearing the same relative position to Aornos and Pentigramma, as shown on the map, as Asgram bears to Mahaban and Panjtar. Aornos was above Asigramma; and if the identification of Asgram with Asigramma be accepted, the claims of both Hodi Raja and Ranigat are disposed of, and there does not remain much, if any, doubt as to Aornos having been on Mahaban as described above. Another very strong position on Mahaban is a spur running to the Indus known as Mount Banj. A fort also exists here, and is very difficult of access. Built into the foot of the wall, near the entrance to this fort, was a short inscription, which I obtained and sent to the Lahore Museum. It has not yet been published.

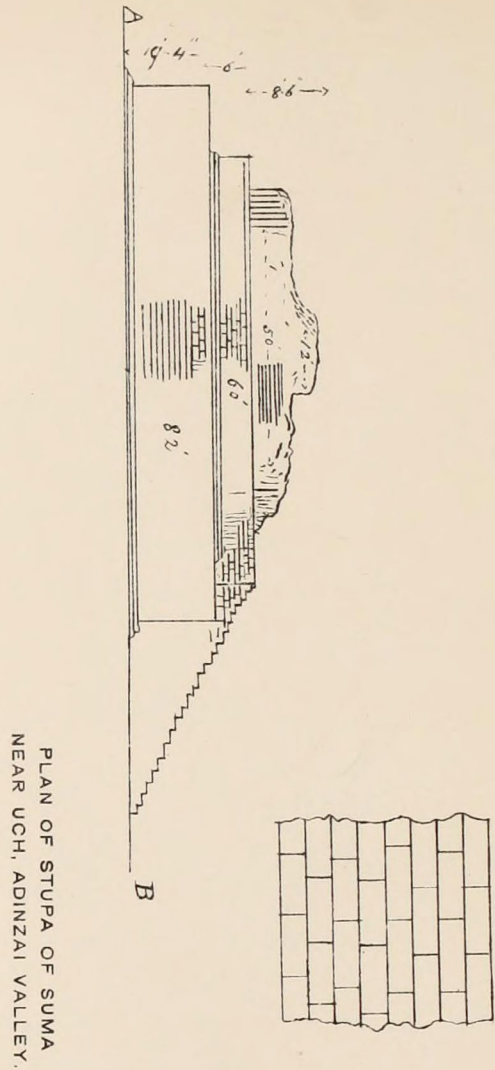
The line taken by Alexander's troops from the Kabul to the Indus has as yet by no means been satisfactorily followed out. But anything further connected with that must be the subject of a separate note, I have mentioned

the above point as regards Aornos as being of particular interest.

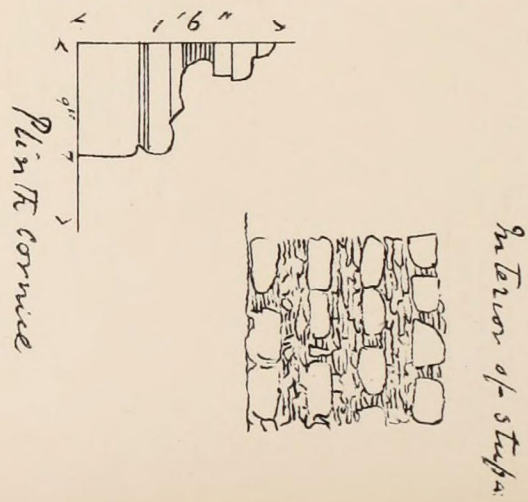
For further research in Udyāna, an accurate map of the country is required. When one is published, it will be easy to mark on it all the ruins which can be traced. This will show what a field for research still exists, even in the portion only of the country to which we have free access.

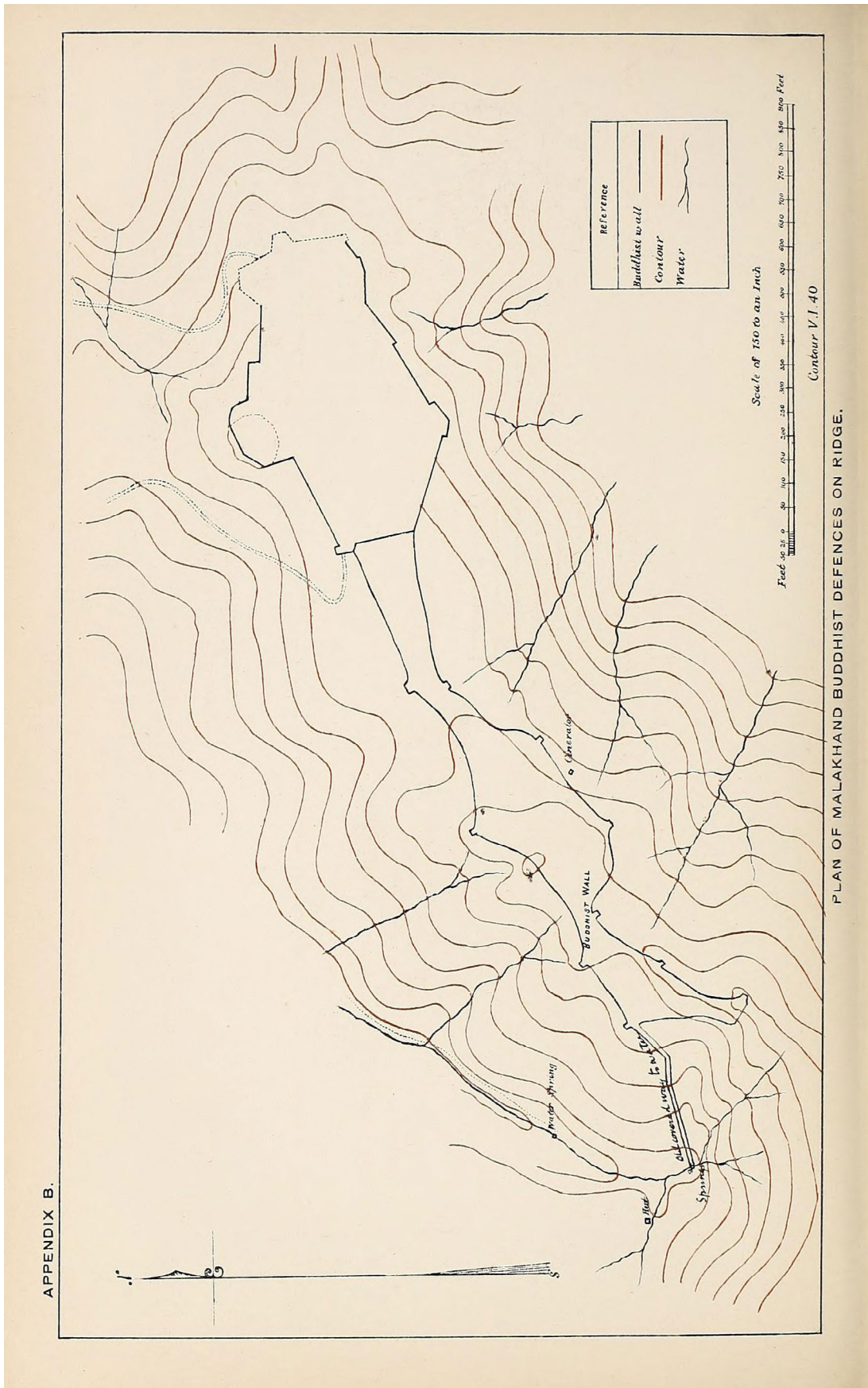
Careful inquiry amongst the Gujars will elicit much information as to old names still known to them, but not now in general use. If this be first done, and then photographs and plans made, a useful record will be obtained, and excavation, if properly conducted, will produce much of great interest.

APPENDIX A.

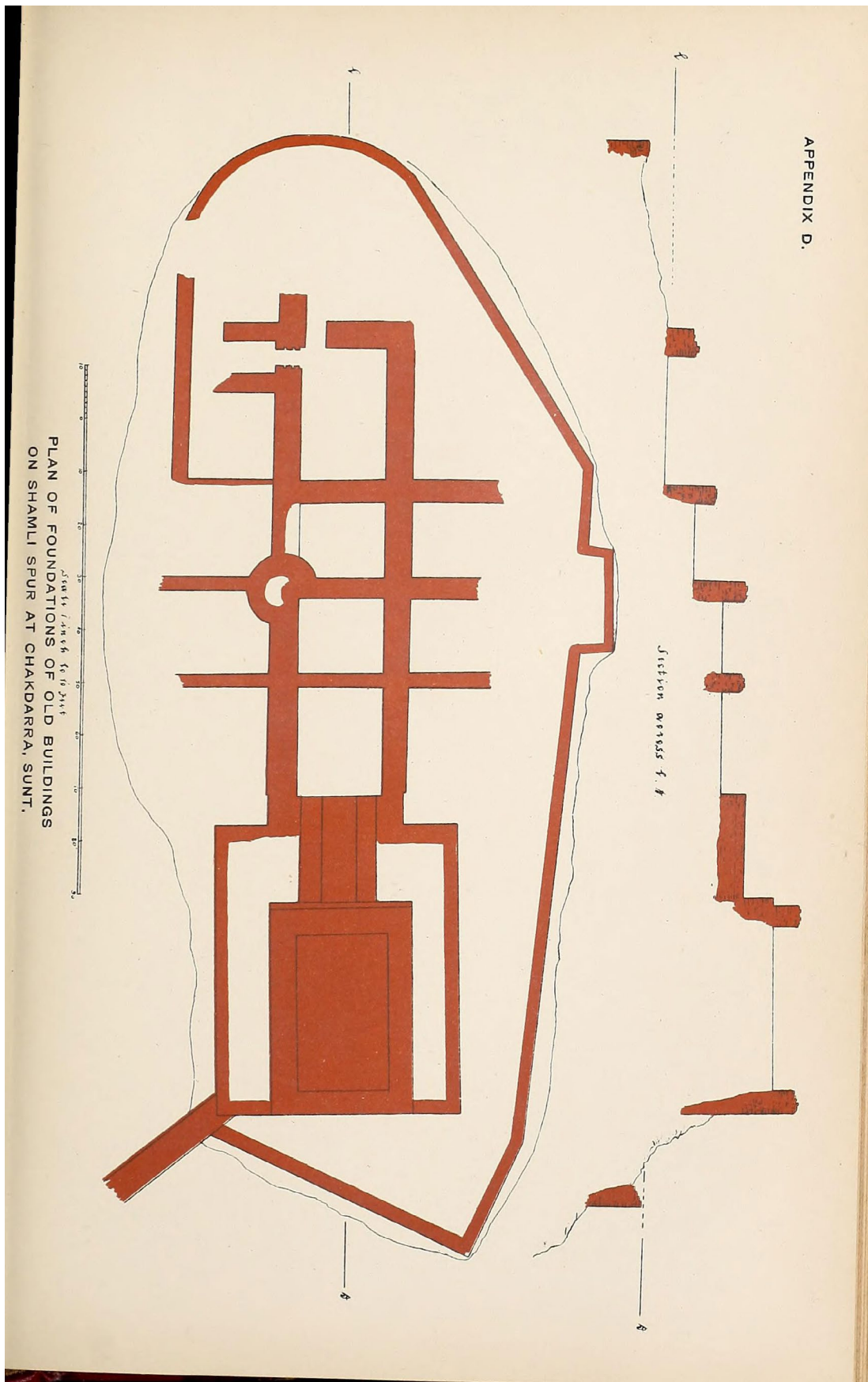


PLAN OF STUPA OF SUMA
NEAR UCH, ADINZAI VALLEY.

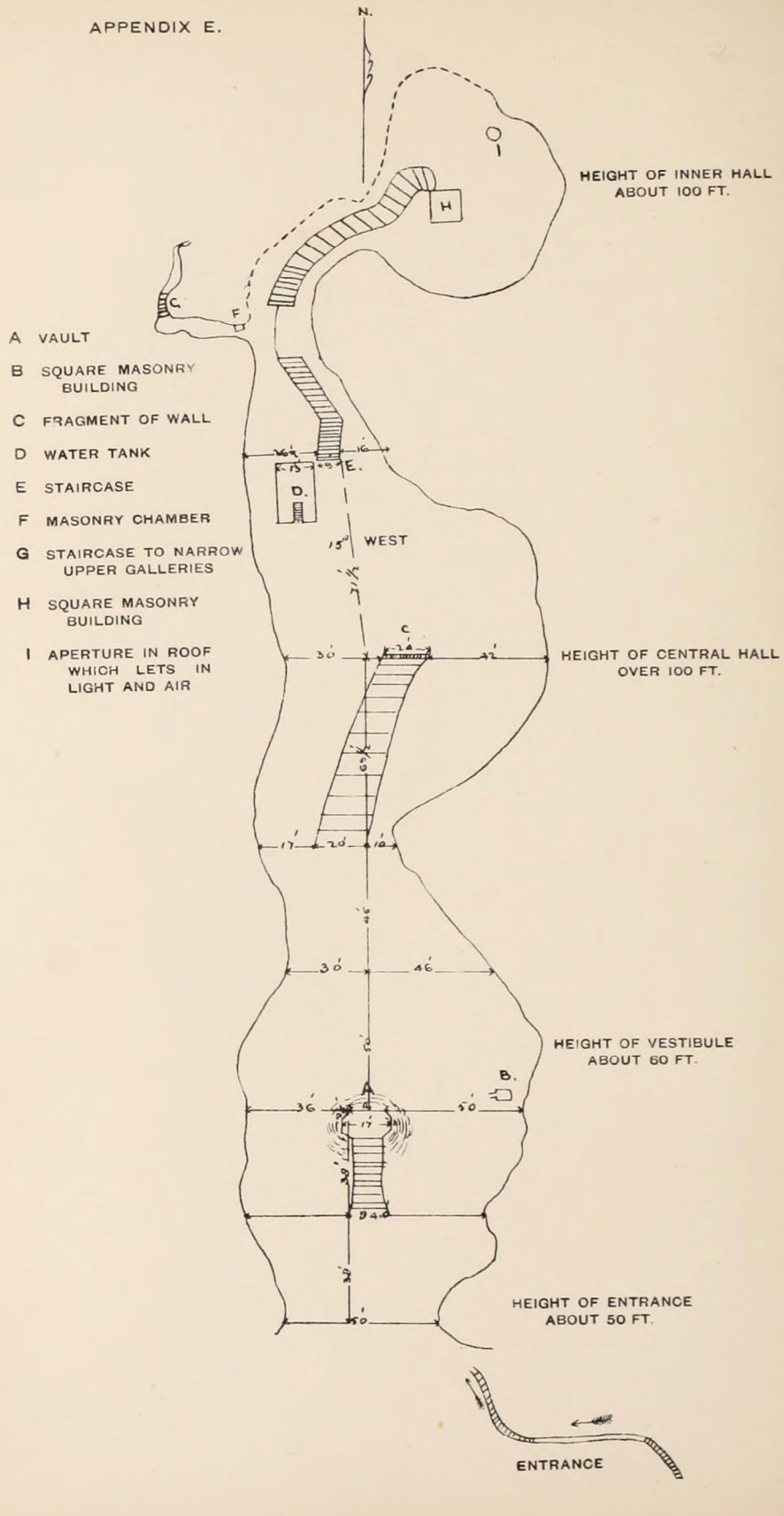




PLAN OF MALAKHAND BUDDHIST DEFENCES ON RIDGE.



APPENDIX E.



McCrimdle's Letter

For the significance of John Watson McCrimdle, and his relevance to Deane's topic in his article, see pp. 21-2 and 214.

This letter from McCrimdle is not addressed to anyone as it stands, and a personalized cover page is missing. But it has been in the possession of Deane's great-grandson, and was once clearly in the possession of Deane himself. It is also addressed to someone on the ground in the part of the world discussed who might be in a position to confirm McCrimdle's speculations. 'References in Strabo' in blue pencil at the top of the P.S. is compatible with the hand of the annotations in the article MS, i.e. Deane's own.

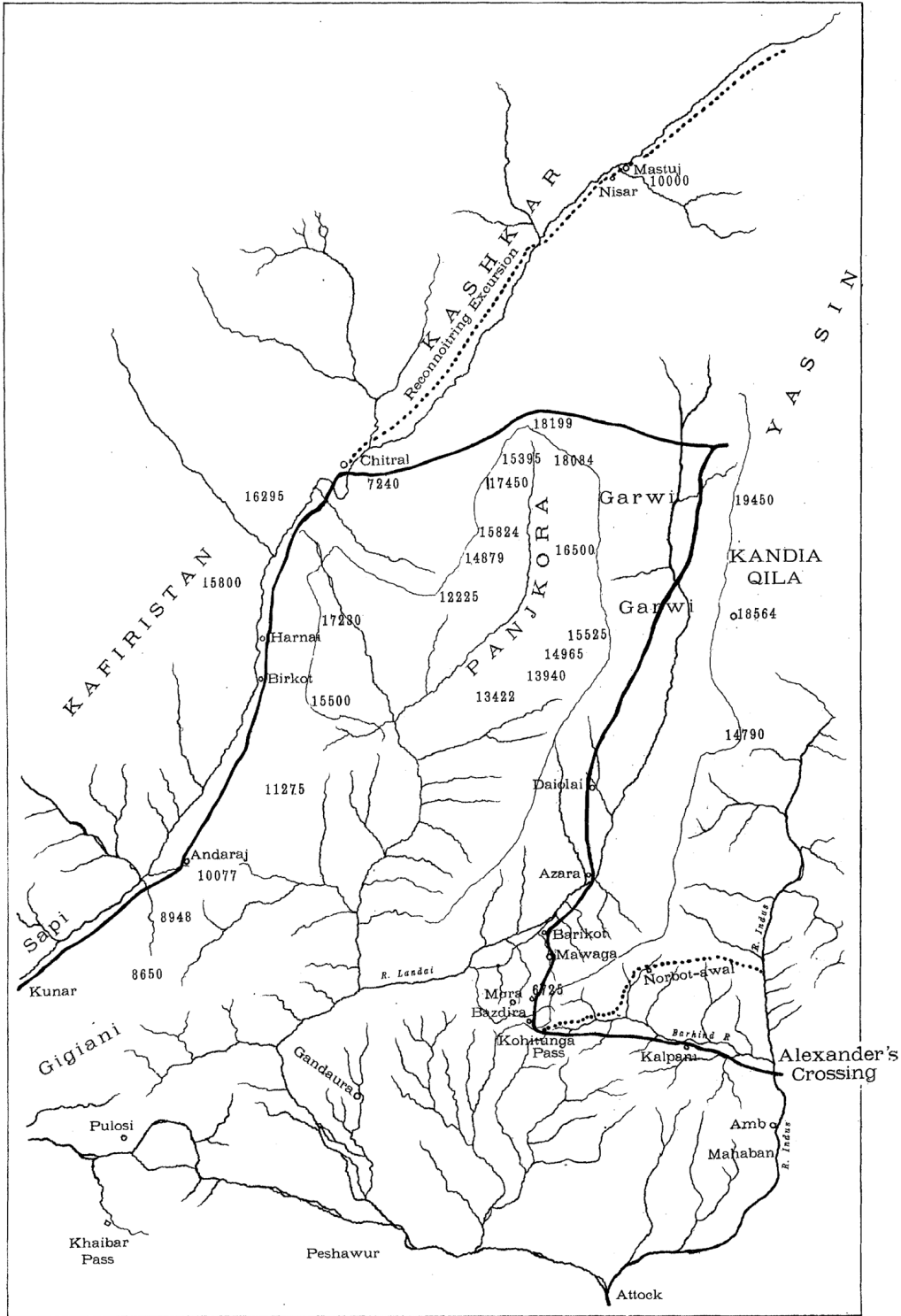
The pages carry Arabic numbers in McCrimdle's hand, and Roman numerals in blue pencil. The heading of the P.S. 'References in Strabo' is also in blue pencil.

The letter is written recto and verso, 1-2, 3-6, 4-5. Page 6 is thus out of sequence on the verso of 3 and it is written laterally across the page. The paper is a standard letter size, lined, 9 ½" x 7 ½". The P.S. is on a note-sized page, 5" x 8", unlined, the text written crosswise. '9 WESTHALL GARDENS EDINBURGH', the same address as given in the preface to McCrimdle 1893 and under McCrimdle's signature on p. 6, is printed on the verso of the P.S.

The letter is quite precisely datable to 1896, thus later than the main text of Deane's MS. McCrimdle has published McCrimdle 1893 on Alexander (p. 2) thus there is a weak *terminus post quem* of 1893, but there is a much stronger *terminus* in the article of Holdich from 'January last' (p. 3), which is January 1896: we must necessarily also be before January 1897. Deane's MS is dated 21/11/95, but in its final form with corrections we are presumably looking at a rather later date. Deane's article is published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in October 1896.

Indications that Deane used this information from McCrimdle are not strong. On p. 23 of *Note MS* Deane discusses (in an annotation in black ink) the ancient name of the river Panjkora, but this does not seem to reflect McCrimdle's account of the same. This discussion is then omitted from the published article. The published article also removes a mild criticism of McCrimdle's scholarship from the earlier text at *Note MS* pp. 77-8. The direct influence is thus perhaps slight, but the letter offers a precious insight nevertheless into the people with whom Deane was in communication, and the questions that he was asking.

McCrimdle's P.S. appears to be answering (in the negative) a specific enquiry from Deane regarding the old road over the Malakand Pass (on which, see *Note MS* p. 70; and p. 22).



ROUTE OF ALEXANDER'S ARMY THROUGH KAFIRISTAN, CHITRAL, AND SWAT.

The course and heights of the mountain ranges are indicated by figures.

Map from Pincott 1894.

- Alexander's Campaign in Afghanistan - I

We have only two narratives of Alexander's operations in ^{Afghanistan} India, one by Arrian, the other by Curtius - Arrian is much the better authority. Taking his account, we find that Alexander after crossing the Hindu-Kush from Bactria arrived at Alexandria apud Caucasum, the ruins of which are near Bharikhar. Hence he marched to Nikaia where he was joined by Taxiles whose capital Taxila lay near Kala-Ka Sarai and by chiefs whose lands were to west of the Indus - Here he divided his army into two - Various opinions have been held as to the position of Nikaia - It must have been to the east of Kabul. Abbott considered that Nangrahar 5 miles from Jalalabad marks its site - Be that as it may Alex^d despatched from it one division of his forces to proceed to the Indus by the Khaiber Pass under the guidance of Taxiles, and the other chief, while he marched in a ^{northern} ~~northern~~ ^{eastern} direction through the country of the Aspessians Gouraians and Assakenians - His route which was hilly lay along the course of the river called the Khôês, and he had difficulty in crossing it. It is difficult to determine what river is meant. Does the name designate the upper part of the Kôphês or Kôphês, i.e. the Kabul R., or the Abogher R. now called the Kow? Lassen took it to be the Kunâr R., but the Kunâr is generally taken to be the Choraspe of the Greeks. After crossing the Khôês Alex^d seems to have marched up the valley of the Kunâr along the left bank - He attacked and captured a town, and then advanced to the river Quaspla. This must be the Choraspe or Kunâr - Here the chief of the Aspessians had his capital, and this Alexander reached on the second day. As the town of Kures is about 27 miles from the Kabul R. the site of the Aspesian Capital

- Alexander's Campaign in Afghanistan –

Afghanistan

We have only two narratives of Alexander's operation in ~~India~~, one by Arrian, the other by Curtius. Arrian is much the better authority. Taking his account, we find that Alexander after crossing the Hindu-Kush from Baktria arrived at Alexandria apud Caucasum, the ruins of which are near Charikâr. Thence he marched to Nikaia where he was joined by Taxiles whose capital Taxila lay near Kâla-ka Sarai and by chiefs whose lands were to west of the Indus. Here he divided his army into two. Various opinions have been held as to the position of Nikaia. It must have been to the east of Kabul. Abbott considered that Nangnihar 5 miles from Jalâlâbâd marks its site. Be that as it may Alexr. despatched from it one division of his forces to proceed to the Indus by the Khaibar Pass under the guidance of Taxiles and the other chiefs, while he marched in a ^{-eastern} ~~northern~~ direction through the country of the Aspasiens Gouraians and Assakenians. His route which was hilly lay along the course of the river called the Khôês, and he had difficulty in crossing it. It is difficult to determine what river is meant. Does the name designate the upper part of the Kôphên or Kôphês, i.e. the Kabul R., or the Alingar R. now called the Kow?¹ Lassen took it to be the Kunâr R., but the Kunâr is generally taken to be the Choaspes of the Greeks. After crossing the Khôês Alexr. seems to have marched up the valley of the Kunâr along the left bank. He attacked and captured a town, and then advanced to the river Euaspla. This must be the Choaspes or Kunar. Here the chief of the Aspasiens had his capital, and this Alexander reached on the second day. As the town of Kunar is about 27 miles from the Kabul R. the site of the Aspasian capital

¹ Cf. Thornton 1844: 1.51, 'Alingar, called also the Kow, a river of Afghanistan'.

2 II

may have ^{been} there or near there - After defeating the Chief Alex^s crossed the mountains and came to Arigaion. The villoge of Naoghi in Bajaur might represent this place, if, as Arrian says, it stands in a commanding position - Alex^s marched thence to a place where the fugitive ^{Aspasians} had posted themselves, and encamped at the foot of a mountain. A great battle ensued in which the Aspasians were totally routed, and the Macedonians obtained a great booty, 230,000 men. The scene of this battle must thus have been in a very fertile district. The victors then advanced through the country of the Gouraians to the river Gouraios. The Gouraios is the river Parjkoré - the latter part of the name apparently preserving the ancient designation. It is the Gauri of the Mahābhārata and is there mentioned with the ^(Sutakre) ~~Sutakre~~ and the Kumparā. Is there a Ghoie tribe anywhere in these parts? It would be very interesting if the spot could be identified where Alexander crossed the ^{Parjkoré} passage, Arrian says was difficult on account of the depth & swiftness of the stream and because the stones at the bottom were so smooth and round that the men who stepped on them risked stumbling. Next follows the siege of Mazaga or Messaga or Masoga the capital of the Assakenians. The siege is so described both by Arrian & Curtius that from their combined indications its site might be accurately determined - In a note in my work on Alex^s Invasion of India I have said: "The Emperor Baber states in his Memoirs that at the distance of two rapid marches from the town of Bajore lying to the west of the river Parjkoré there was a town called Mashanagar on the river of Sivad (Swāt). Rennell identified this name with the Massaga of

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3

Alexander's historians. . . M. Fouret learned from the natives that at 24 miles from Bajor there exists a ruined site known under the double name of Mas Khine and Massagal (Massanagar). In the Grammar again of Pāṇini, who was a native of Gāndhāra. . . the word Māsakāvate occurs given as the name both of a river and a district - now further tells us that an impetuous stream running between steep banks made access to Massaga difficult on the east side; Can such a stream be found thereabouts? Yes, it is - the Māsakāvate of Pāṇini -

In Curtius the episode of Nysa immediately precedes his account of the siege & capture of Massaga, but in Arrian a chapter is devoted to the subject after he has finished his account of the Afghan Campaign. It is clear that Arrian regarded the stories about Nysa as belonging to the province of romance rather than to that of history, he treated the subject separately in disregard of its chronological order. Following General Sir H. Cunningham I took Nysa to be probably the city which Ptolemy calls Nagara or Dionysopolis and which must be Nanghenker 5 miles W from Jalalabad. This place was called also Udyānapura = City of Gardens, and this the Greeks form some resemblance of the name translated into Dionysopolis - Eastward from this but on the opposite side of the river is a Mountain Meer-Koh (Smoke-hill) which may be Mount Meru. Colonel Holdich has, however, in the Journal of the Royal Geog. Society for January last proposed a better identification. He says (p. 43): "On the right bank of the Panjkora river (the ancient Ghorna), nearly opposite to its junction with the river of Sarat (Suasto) is a very conspicuous mountain, whose three headed outline

III 3

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² Strict quotation from his own work ends at 'district'. 'Now Curtius ... east side' continue to paraphrase himself, however.

³ Holditch 1896: 42-9.

Page 6

Remarks advanced from Indo-Iranian to the Indus - The dotted line shows the route generally adopted and ^{that} which I regard as most nearly approximating to his actual route - The names generally in red ink have been inserted by myself -

J. W. M. C. [unclear]
9 West Hill Gardens, London

Works of reference - General Abbott's Graculus ad Coromundum - Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India - Dr. Bellew's Journal - Vivien de Saint-André's Etude sur le géographie de l'Inde - de L'Inde et sur l'Inde de l'Inde - Lassen's Indische Alterthums-Kunde Vol. II - Cunningham's History of Ancient Geography

The sketch map is a copy of that in the Journal of the Asiatic Socy & illustrated the article referred to. The line in red shows the route the writer proposed. The dotted line merely roughly indicates my own view.

Page 6

VI

Alexander advanced from Jalâlâbâd to the Indus. The dotted lines that show the route generally adopted and ^ which I regard as most nearly approximating to his actual route. The names ~~generally~~ in red ink have been inserted by myself.

J.W. Mc.Crindle

9 Westhall Gardens Edinburgh

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IV 4

can be distinctly seen from the Peshawar cantonment, known as the
 Moh-i-mud, or *Motā of Muz*. On the Southern slopes of this Mountain,
 near the foot of it is a large scattered village called Muzai, or Muzar.
 The sides of the *Motā* spurs are clothed with the same forest & jungle
 - amidst which is to be found the wild vine & wj -

after the ^{capture} ~~stage~~ of Massaga comes that of Bagia - which Cunningham
 identifies with Bāgia, which he describes as a large village on the
 Kalpan or Kāli-pāni river, as standing midway between the Swāt R. & the
 Indus, & as having been from time immemorial the entrepot of trade between
 Swāt Valley & towns on the Kabul & the Indus. The rock across to which
 the natives fled must be Makābar as General Abbott pointed out. His
 identification has been accepted by Dr. Bellon and by Colonel Holdich. ~~Which~~
 Drum or Malka on the heights of Makābar was the stronghold of the
 Wahabis in 1864. The next place mentioned is Arabats. Fortunately
 this is a sure land-mark. Hephaestion came to it in advancing from
 the Penkalavts (somewhere about Hasti-nagar or the Landai R.) to the
 Indus - The position & name of Arabatt, a village on the left bank of the
 Landai & near Naostora show its identity with Arabats. Ruins are found in
 its neighbourhood & it is probably the *Arrippa* of the Ravennas geographer.

Alexander himself marching to the Indus by way of Penkalavts & Arabats
 came to Bombolima a place near Aorax ^{in the name of} ~~the name of~~ which *Amb* is recognizable.
 After the capture of the Rock Alexander invaded the land of the Assak-
 enians in pursuit of the brother of Abisares (King of Hazāra or *Arab* also
 of Kashmir) who had crossed the Indus to stir up opposition to the invaders.

5 ✓

He advanced to Dypta which has generally been identified with Dir. It seems an objection to this identification that Dir lies so remote from the Indus and was not in Assakenian territory. The next question is at what point did Alexander cross the Indus. It can hardly be doubted that the passage was made at Attock the point afterwards selected by Boakes, and indeed the ordinary passage at all times. A writer however in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Socy. who has proposed quite a different route from all preceding authorities makes Alex. cross at a point above and below the mouth of the Barakish (the Parenois of the Greeks) - Well, if Alexander had attempted to cross there he would have found the Indus confined between steep banks and flowing with a rapid current and moreover on landing on the left bank he would have been assailed by the forces of Abisares who had already shown his determination to oppose him. The division of his army moreover ~~had~~ which proceeded by the Khaiber Pass had orders to make all the necessary preparations for crossing and would naturally be conducted by Taxiles to that part of the Indus where the passage ^{was easy and} led into his own dominions - We know besides from what happened at the Hydaspes that Alexander would not have dared to cross in face of a hostile force ready to oppose his landing - He had to wait long at the Hydaspes before he succeeded in hoodwinking Porus and securing a passage - I enclose copy of the sketch-map which accompanied the article in the R.A. Society's Journal (that for Oct. 1894). The red line shows the route by which the writer of the article supposes

see page 6 for continuation.

5 V

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see page 6 for
continuation

⁶ Pincott 1894, an explicit response to McCrindle. The map to which McCrindle refers here and on p. 6 prefaces this article by Pincott, and precedes this transcription.

P.S. With regard to the road of the Malakand Top - the
 only passages I can find in Strabo which can refer to it
 are - Book XVI. i. 26 "He (Alex.) turned toward India and toward
 its western boundaries and the river Kōphos & Choaspes. The
 latter river empties itself into the Kōphos near Plamyrion
 after passing by another City Gorys² in its course through Bando-
 hienē and Gandaritis. 27. After the river Kōphos follows the Gdhr.
 The country lying between these two rivers is occupied by
 Astakeni (Assakeni) Massiani, ~~Spasici~~ and Hippisii (Hephaisi). Next is
 the territory of Assakans where is the City Masoga - the royal resi-
 -dence - Near the Gdhr is another city Pencilaitis. At this place a
 bridge which was constructed afforded a passage for the army.
 1. V. l. Plégion - 2. V. l. Goryndalē -
 These are the only passages in Strabo which can have reference
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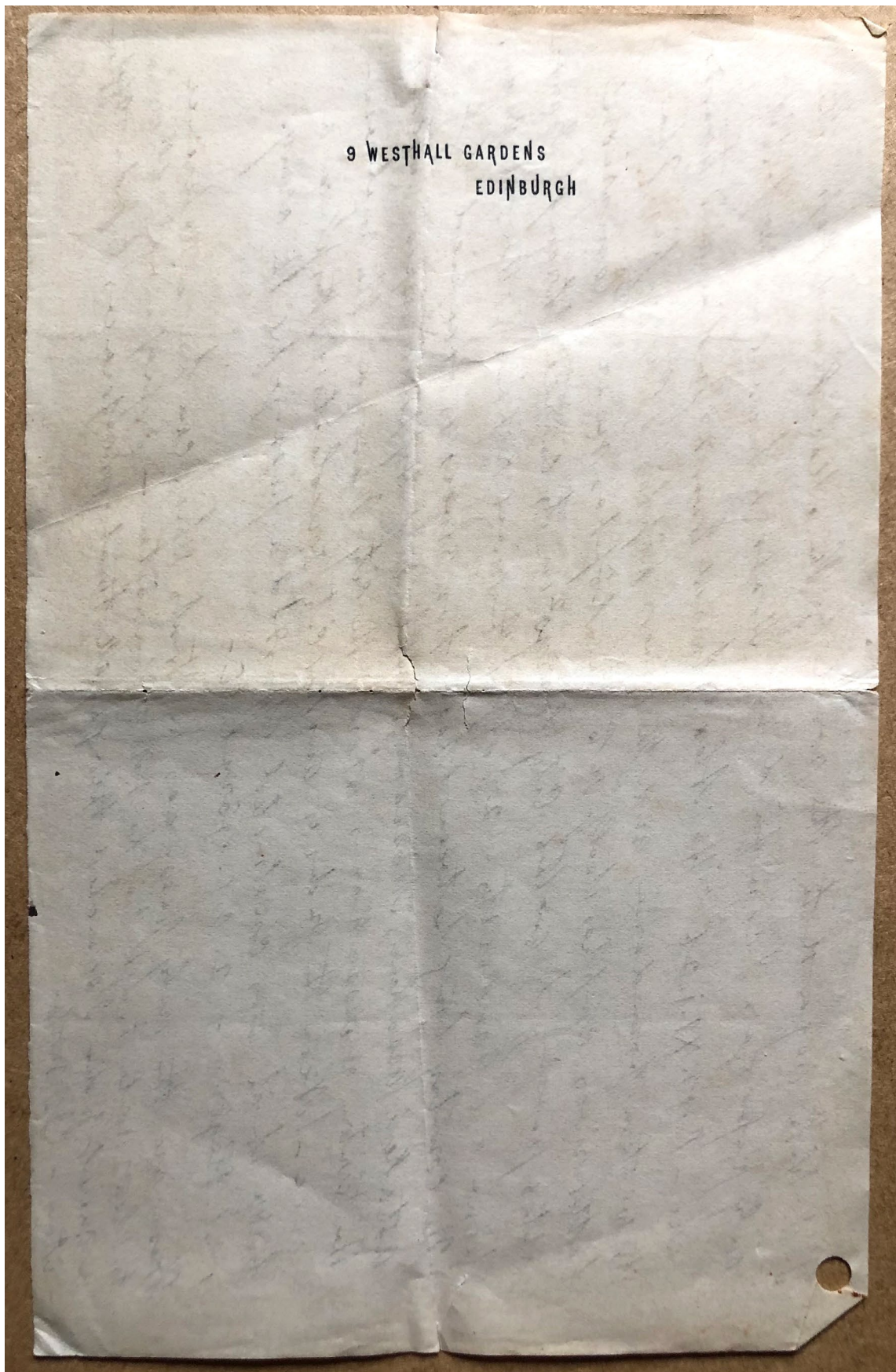
References in Strabo

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1 v.l. Plêgêrion. 2 v.l. Gôrydalê⁷

These are the only passages in Strabo which can have reference to Alexr.'s route through that part of Afghanistan. In preparing a 6th volume on Ancient India I searched through all Strabo for references to India & Afghanistan. J.W.Mc.C.

⁷ McCrindle was perhaps consulting the edition of Müller and Dübner 1853 in which these variant readings are prominent: 2.1033.



Commentary on McCrindle's Letter

The reconstruction contained in this *Letter MS* is based on the information collected by Court (1840) and Cunningham (1875). The focus of this information was Bajaur and Kunar from one side, Swabi on the other side. Those sources of McCrindle help to explain his reconstruction of Alexander's itinerary, which excludes Dir and Adinzai. The amount of data gathered between the two military campaigns of 1885 (Buner) and 1895 (Malakand), partly published in Deane's *Note*, may well have made the letter of the British scholar already outdated in the eyes of Deane himself. This is perhaps the reason why McCrindle's expertise was ultimately ignored in the *Note*. The new focus of Deane's research was Dir and Adinzai, which became for Deane what Bajaur was for Court. It is also possible that behind the reconstruction proposed by Caroe (1958), which located Massaka at the Katgala/Kotgala pass (Dir), there was the idea that there there was 'a city on the hills' or 'a large city' (*Note MS* 36-7; *Note* 663-4) (see above 'Archaeological Comments', p. 207). That 'city', Caroe concluded (Caroe 1958: 52-53), could not but be the fabled capital captured by Alexander.¹

Stein, after his detailed reconnaissance on the ground (Stein 1930) changed the perspective radically, heading in a direction which has been by and large confirmed by the recent scholarship and fieldwork. With one single exception: Aornos, which was located by Stein far away, close to the Indus, on the Pir-sar,² but which Tucci, Eggermont and others located on Mt. Ilam, in front of Bazira (Barikot). We here refer to the three main accounts *qui supersunt*: Arrian, Curtius Rufus (CR), and Diodorus, complemented where necessary by other sources. All of these narratives are the result of the merging of earlier lost *prima manu* reports, sometimes significantly reworked and possibly misunderstood.

The following notes are freely elaborated from a longer article written with Omar Coloru (Coloru and Olivieri 2020). I thank my colleague for having permitted me to harvest our co-authored paper extensively for this commentary.

Mt Ilam

The identification of Aornos with Mount Pir-Sar was the keystone of Sir Aurel Stein's interpretation of Alexander's track through the Swat region. His reconstruction was almost totally based on Arrian's somewhat misleading account.³ On the antecedents that led Stein to the Pir-Sar hypothesis, new archival documents can be informative (Olivieri 2015b).

1 The geography of Alexander's itinerary, a true myth for colonial military enterprises in India, was regularly deformed and intertwined with the known (military) geography of the protagonists, i.e. with the spatial mental modelling or ideal (self-) projection of the latter. For Court the mental space of the itinerary was Bajaur, for Abbot and McCrindle was Swabi, for Deane was both Swabi and Dir, for Stein was Swat and the Indus. Only with the latter, and especially with Tucci, reconstructions started being based on archaeological facts (see L.M. Olivieri's note in De Chiara 2020: 237-238). With Omar Coloru we are preparing a study on this phenomenon, following the research lines pioneered by Klaus Geus and his team.

2 We cannot stress too much how disappointing the archaeological data collected both on the Pir-sar and Mount Ilam (Jogiano-sar) by recent and previous surveys have been, including those carried out by Sir Aurel Stein and Giorgio Stacul.

3 Bosworth (1976: 117-139) says: 'I shall try to prove that Arrian was prone to the errors of misunderstanding and faulty source conflation that one would expect in a secondary historian of antiquity' (117); 'There are even more striking examples of Arrian's maladroit use of sources in the narrative of Alexander's Indus voyage' (127); 'Above all, Arrian is too fallible in his handling of sources for his narrative ever to be dispensed from cross-examination. [...] He requires constant assessment against the rest of the tradition' (138-139). On these issues see Olivieri 1996: 45-78; Rapin and Grenet 2018: 141-181. The two main traditions on the Indian campaign of Alexander are the authors of the so-called *Vulgata* (IV-III century BC: Cleitarchus, followed by Curtius Rufus) and that of Arrian (who follows Ptolemy and Aristobulus). The *Vulgata* offers a more coherent narrative, while Arrian's narrative offers misleading information, especially on the geographical details (according to Olivieri 1996, these are evident when you compare the *Anabasis* and the *Indike* of Arrian). The importance of Curtius has been re-evaluated by Atkinson 1980, Atkinson 1994, Baynham 1998, and Atkinson and Yardley 2009.

In general, sources say that Aornos is placed at a short distance from settlements that undoubtedly belong to the Swat area. The Bazirenes abandoned their town (Bazira) at midnight and fled to the rock (Arr. 4.28.1). Other 'barbarians', after leaving their towns, fled to the rock called Aornos (*ibid.*). After the conquest of Nora/Ora many strongholds were abandoned by their inhabitants who occupied in arms the rock called Aornos (CR 8.11.2). After the conquest of Massaga and a number of other cities, the natives took refuge on the rock called Aornos (Diodorus 17.85.1). It is all but certain that 'the rock' and 'the rock called Aornos' are the same mountain. Nowhere do we find it said, something that only Stein proposed,⁴ that the Bazirenes escaped to their own rock (Mount Ilam) while the other people went to another one located on Aornos/Pir-Sar.⁵

Mount Ilam is the most significant landmark in Swat, visible from positions throughout the Swat valley. The reader should remember that Arrian (4.28.1) states that Aornos was a large mountain located in that very region, i.e. Swat. Thus, the sources indicate that not only the Bazirenes, but all the Assakenians took refuge on Aornos, and it is quite improbable that they travelled as far as the Pir-Sar (more than 60 km as the crow flies, which means three days of hard terrain walk).⁶ As regards the Pir-sar, Miangul Badshah wrote to Aurel Stein, when he was planning to go there from Swat, 'Swat is not the best and shortest way to reach the mountain.'⁷ The only element that could link Pir-Sar to Aornos is the claim made in Curtius that the Indus flows at its foot (*radices eius*) on its southern side.⁸ However, Curtius also says that it took 15 stages for Alexander to reach the Indus once he had left the site of Embolima, a place which is said to be close to Aornos.⁹ Therefore, the proximity of Aornos to the Indus is certainly to be understood figuratively.¹⁰ Another solution is that the Barandu River (see above 'Archaeological Comments', p. 207), which flows at the foot of the Aornos/Ilam, was confused with the Indus. We know that hydrography is possibly the most confused information contained in the Classical geographers and historians' accounts of these regions (see Olivieri 1996).

The itinerary

After the summer harvest time of 327 BC, Alexander attacked Swat (*Daedala regio* in Curtius, the land of the Dards). If one follows Arrian, Alexander, on his arrival at Massaga (the capital of the Assakenoi) or immediately after it, sent Coenus to take Bazira/Beira¹¹ (Barikot), while other generals were besieging Ora (Udegram). Curtius (8.10.22) reports that Alexander first arrived at Beira, where he left Coenus to besiege the city while he proceeded himself to Mazagae.¹²

4 'In view of these local observations the suggestion appears to me justified that the place of safety sought by the fugitives from Bazira was much more likely to have been Mount Ilam than the distant Aornos by the Indus.' (Stein 1930: 30).

5 Arr. 4.28.1 ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὴν πόλιν ἐκλείπουσιν, ἔφυγον δὲ εἰς τὴν πέτραν. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἔπραττον: ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις ξύμπαντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν Ἄορνον καλουμένην. It is evident that the solution of two rocks, proposed by Stein 1930: 30, has to be seen as a stretch of the Arrian text.

6 Arrian says that the totality (ξύμπαντες) of the inhabitants of the neighborhood went to Aornos, which is located in that very region (μέγα γάρ τι τοῦτο χρέμα πέτρας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐστὶ).

7 Olivieri 2015b: 59.

8 Curtius Rufus 8.11.7; Diodorus 17.85.3; Strabo 15.1.8.

9 Embolima (skt. *Ambulima*) could be identified with modern Ambela, see Eggermont 1970: 90-94. Even Bosworth 1995: 185 admits that this would be a suitable location as provisioning centre for the army of Alexander if Aornos was located at Mount Ilam but this argument would mean contradicting Arrian's tradition about the proximity of the Indus to Aornos as well as Stein's identification of Aornos with Mount Pir-Sar. Thus, he opts for Kabulgram, 30 km NE of Ambela.

10 See Olivieri 1996: 65.

11 According to Arr. 4.27.5 this happened after the conquest of Massaga, while CR 8.10.22 states that the column led by Coenus was sent to Bazira before this episode.

12 This information seems to strengthen the reconstruction of the itinerary of Alexander in Swat proposed by Olivieri 1996: 54-57, who thinks that the first military objective of Alexander in Swat was Barikot.

We have already learned that when, according to both Arrian and Curtius, Alexander took Ora,¹³ the Bazirenes left and took refuge on Aornos. It is here, between the episode of Massaga and the siege of Aornos, that Arrian inserts an anachronistic passage relating a siege of the town of Peucelaotis (Pushakalavati), located not far from the Indus. This is clearly a mistake, as Pushakalavati is located below Swat, on the lower course of the river near the junction with the Kabul River. The entire story would imply a long detour down to Pushakalavati/Charsadda, and it should therefore be considered spurious.¹⁴ After this episode Alexander supposedly moved to the town of Embolima, next to Aornos. This is another confusing point in Arrian, as we know that the best location for Embolima is Ambela, which is after Aornos if the latter is Mt Ilam, between the latter and the Indus. Here also then Curtius (and Diodoros) should be preferred.¹⁵

Arrian

Massaga → Ora → Bazira → Peucelaotis → Embolima → Aornos → invasion of the territory controlled by a brother of king Assacenus

Diodorus

? → Massaga → Ora and other unnamed settlements → Aornos → fight against Aphrices → Indus

Curtius Rufus

→ Beira → Mazagae → Nora and other unnamed settlements → Aornos → Ecbolima, fight against Erices → Indus

The role of Barikot

It is evident that the site of Barikot played a key role in the theatre of the Macedonian operations in late summer of 327 BC.

The archaeological and chrono-stratigraphic evidence of the site is based on an accurate excavation methodology and on a sound sequence of radiocarbon dates.¹⁶ These data become even more relevant when seen in the light of the now certain identification of Barikot with the ancient city known as Bazira (Arrian 4.27.1-3) or Beira (CR 8.10.22).¹⁷

The first person to associate the latter with Bazira/Beira was Sir Aurel Stein (Stein 1930: 28-29), who visited Swat in March-May 1926 (on this see Olivieri 2015b). The missing element for the assimilation of Βάζιρα and Beira was provided by Stefan Baums: 'Given that the best approximation for the pronunciation of va(y)ira is [ve(j)irə], the information provided by Curtius Rufus on the pronunciation of the local name [*Beira incolae vocant*] seems extremely precise, thus revealing that the source that he

¹³ Coenus was facing great difficulties in taking the town because of its natural defenses and its fortifications. When Alexander was planning to support Coenus at Bazira, he was informed that king Abisares (from Hazara?) was sending troops in support to Ora. Therefore, he first marched towards Ora and ordered Coenus to join him after leaving a garrison in a fortified position in order to prevent the inhabitants at at Bazira escaping. Seeing that, the Bazirenes attacked the garrison but they suffered heavy losses. In a second attempt they managed to flee to Aornos.

¹⁴ See also Olivieri 1996: 71-72. The impossible existence of two Peucelaotises was proposed by Bosworth 1995 (183-184). *Contra* see Rapin and Grenet 2018: 165-167. Both Strabo and Arrian (and Megasthenes) locate Peucelaotis not far from the Cophen (Kabul) and the Indus.

¹⁵ On Erices/Aphrices see Heckel 2006: 40. Diodorus says that Aphrices (Erices) controlled the area, and put the episode in the same chronological order as Curtius. At Embolima Alexander stored the grain confiscated in Swat (Arrian 4.28).

¹⁶ The new radiocarbon dates (26 new AMS-C14 dates) are published in Olivieri *et al.* 2019.

¹⁷ In contrast with what I too earlier thought (Olivieri 1996: 50). The new archaeological and archival data (e.g. Olivieri 2015b) became available after 2015. That explains why R. Rolliger did not include them in his erudite study on Aornos (2014).



Figure 16. The Barikot/Bazira excavations with Mt ilam/Aornos in the background (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

used was particularly reliable on this point' (Baums in Tribulato and Olivieri 2017: 129; see also Baums 2019: 169-170). Curtius' potential reliability was even admitted by Sir Aurel Stein in his letter written in 1933 to B.J. Gould, Malakand Political Agent (Olivieri 2015b: 63).¹⁸

Why was Bazira/Beira a target for Alexander? Recent archaeological fieldwork has revealed that the foundation at Barikot of a proper city, interpreted as the centre of an agrarian colony, occurred as early as the 6th century BC (Olivieri *et al.* 2019). At the time of Alexander's enterprise, the archaeological evidence at Bazira shows a temporary contraction (in a phase defined by the following radiocarbon date: 369–201 100% 2σ cal BC). Nevertheless, the agricultural wealth of the city, given its description by a first-hand source of Curtius Rufus as *opulenta*, a term very parsimoniously used in his *Historiae*, cannot be doubted.¹⁹ In the light of the economic importance of the Swat valley, the detour of Alexander in Swat is best explained by the necessity of providing his army with food resources. He entered Swat at the time of the summer yield, when rice was harvested. From a first-hand source of Arrian – Alexander's general and future king of Egypt, Ptolemy I Soter – we gather that c. 230,000 oxen were seized in Swat by the Macedonians (Arr. 4.25.4).²⁰

Aornos again

Once the position of Bazira/Beira is established, the sequence of events narrated by Curtius Rufus, as presented above, makes good sense. However, the routes taken to Aornos by the Bazirenes and by the inhabitants of the upper Swat valley's towns will not have been the same.

Most probably the inhabitants of Bazira/Beira would have reached the mountain by the shortest route from the town along the Karakar valley and the Amluk-dara upper stream (10km, which can be covered in 5-6 hours). The 'other Assakenoi', given the presence of Alexander's army in the centre of the Swat valley, must have reached it from the Saidu valley. This path up the Saidu valley leads to the village of Ilam and the peak of the mountain in less than 5 hours. I have tried both paths and found the second one even easier and faster than the first one, although it is twice as long.²¹

Another source, considerably later, may nevertheless be helpful here. The itinerary of the Tibetan pilgrim O rgyan pa in Swat/Uddiyana (second half of the thirteenth century) is described in his travelogue translated by Tucci (1940; see also Id. 1977). O rgyan pa's itinerary started from Tibet, passed through the Punjab plain, the Salt Range, then crossed the Indus. Once O rgyan pa crossed the Indus he believed that he had entered Uddiyana, then he entered Buner (in the text: 'Bhonele') and forded a river (Barandu?), halted at Siddhapur (Daggar?). From there in one day he reached K'a rag k 'ar (Karakar) which marked (as it does today) a boundary.

From the top of Karakar O rgyan pa – having Mount Ilam (Ilo) to his right-hand side – contemplated the green valley of the Kodambhar, which should be the ancient name of the Karakar River.

Standing on the top of Karakar, O rgyan pa says:

18 '[...] If only Curtius' topographical details could be relied upon there ought to be a fair chance of locating the site [of Massaga]'. In the same article (Olivieri 2015b) I showed beyond any doubt that Sir Aurel Stein was convinced that Pir-Sar was Aornos, years before he actually saw the mountain (*infra*: 58-59). It is not necessary to reiterate here that the entire reconstruction of the events made by Stein is based on the text of Arrian (see above).

19 Only for Tarsos, Babylonia, Persepolis, and Bactra. I owe this information to my colleague Luisa Prandi of the University of Verona.

20 In Alexander's mind the Macedonian control was not going to be ephemeral. According to Arrian (4.28.4) Alexander built fortresses (*phrouria*) at Ora (modern Udegram, see below) and Massaga for the defence of the region, and *fortified the city of Bazira* (τὰ μὲν δὴ ὄρα καὶ τὰ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας, τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ <τὴν> πόλιν ἐξέτειχε).

21 Following this path, I could reach the top of Mount Ilam and return to Mingora on the same day.



Figure 17. 'From Karakar towards Buner by Gen. Haughton 1937' (Courtesy of Miangul Archives).

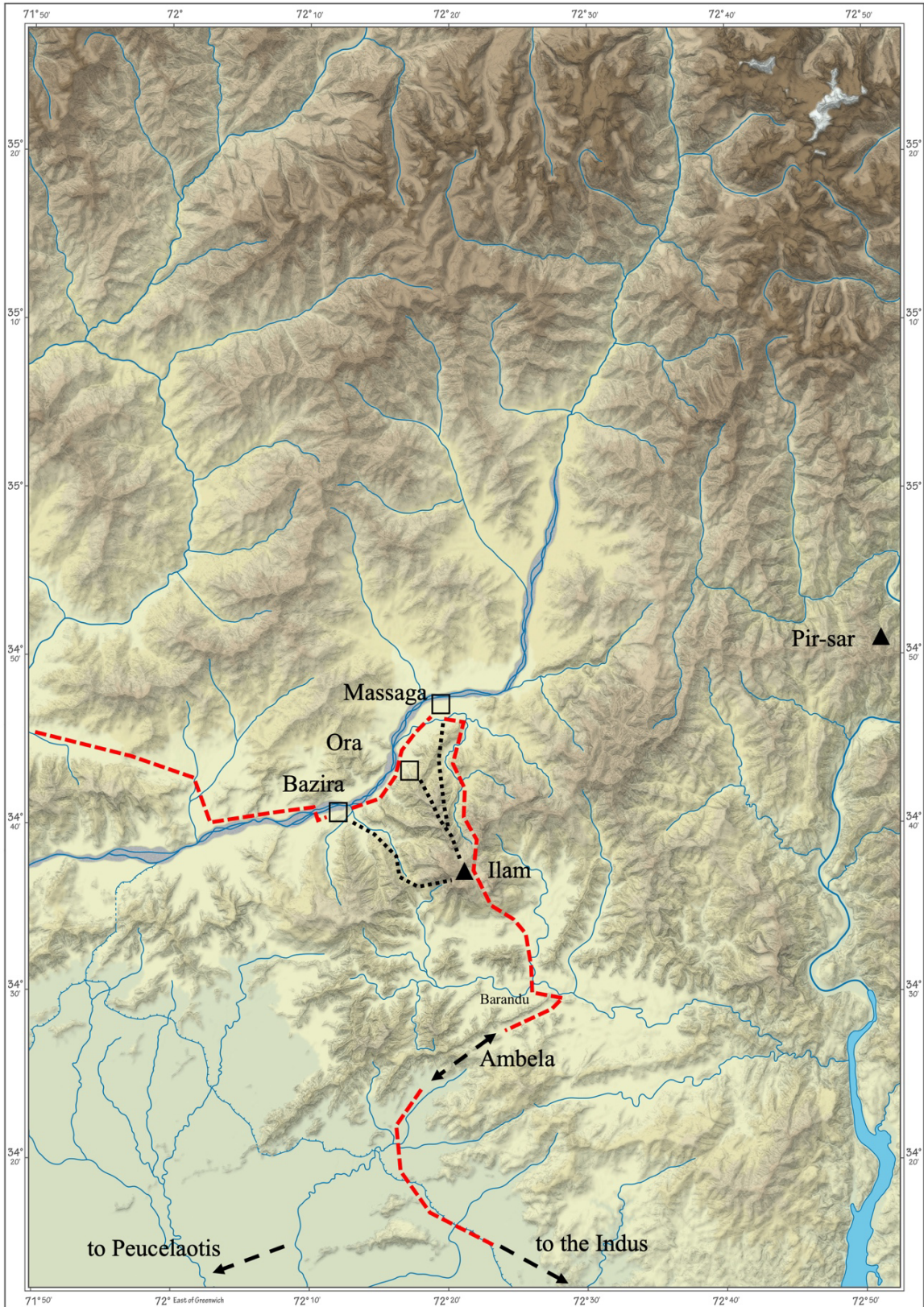
[To] the east there is the mountain Ilo [...] the foremost of all mountains of Jambudvīpa. There is no medical herb growing on the earth, which does not grow there. It is charming on account of its herbs, stalks, leaves and flowers. *Sarabhas* [a mythological animal, similar to a gryphon] and other antelopes wander there quite freely. There are many gardens of grape, beautiful birds of every kind and of gracious colours make a deep chattering (Tucci 1940: 28).

From the top of Karakar he moved to the core of Uddiyana. Since in the itinerary it is evident that O rgyan pa did not enter the Karakar valley to reach the Swat valley (which is not mentioned), it is certain that O rgyan pa followed the traditional eastern route which, from Karakar, reaches Saidu via Sarbab. From there he must have descended into the Saidu valley where he easily reached the sanctuary of Dhumat 'ala, which was 'the core of the miraculous country of U rgyan [Uddiyana]'. This place was identified by Tucci with Butkara I (Tucci 1940: 29, fn. 103; Id. 1958: 65, 78, fn. 12; Id. 1977: 177, 227, fn. 19), the great Buddhist sanctuary excavated by D. Faccenna on the outskirts of Mingora (Faccenna 1980-1981; Iori and Olivieri 2016). From Dhumat 'ala the pilgrim could quickly reach Manglawar (Maṅgalaor), where once stood the 'temple founded by king Indrabhoti [Indrabhuti]', which was the final destination of his journey.

In practice, O rgyan pa must have followed the same route which was adopted, in the opposite direction, by the other Assakenoi 'after leaving their towns'.

On his route to Swat from the Indus, meanwhile, the Tibetan pilgrim had followed the same itinerary as Alexander's army, but in the opposite direction (see ref. in Olivieri 1996: 69, n. 34).

[L.M.O.]



Map 2. Map showing the three paths to Mount Ilam (dotted line, black), and the reconstruction of the Macedonian army operations in Summer/Autumn 327 BC (dashed line, red) (Courtesy of ISMEO/University of Vienna; elaborated by K. Kriz and D. Nell).

Index of Placenames

Placename	Other forms	Page (Note MS)	No. (List MS)	Modern toponym [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	Etymological parallels [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	De Chiara 2020
Ab-gat			41, 42	Ob-gat (Jahanabad)	Obo	965
Adinapur		59		–		
Adinzai	Adinazai	41, 47, 49, 57, 59, 83, 93		Adinzai (tribe) territory = Talash		
Alladher		175		–		
Aornos		175, 179, 183, 185		Mt Ilam (Jogiano-sar)	→	504
Asgram	Asigramma	173, 181, 183	8, 21, 43, 45	–		
Asmar		97		–		
Attock		37		Attock		
Aushiri		77, 93		Ushiri		
Badin		97	54, 55	Badin		
Badshah Dheri		63		Badshah-dherai (Rafiullah Khan 2014)		
Badwan			60	Badwan		
Bajaur		113		Bajaur District		
Balogram		69		Balogram	→	95
Banj		179	5, 9, 35, 36	Mt Banj	Banj-	111-113
Baraul		101		Barawal	Baranwal	130
Barikot		93		Barikot, Dir	Barikot	147
Barwa		99		Ziarat	Barwa, Barwai	170, 171
Bashghar		91		–	Bashkal	174
Bêgram		181		–		
Bichounai			28, 29, 30	Bishunai		
Binshi		97, 99	57	–	Bishai	212
Boner		113, 141, 143	28, 31, 33, 46	Buner District		
Chakdarra	Chakdara	47		Chakdara, Chakdarra		
Chamla		43	44	Chamla	Cham	229-234
Chánai	Chānai, Surkhawai	45		Chanai		
Charsadda		125		Charsadda		

Placename	Other forms	Page (Note MS)	No. (List MS)	Modern toponym [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	Etymological parallels [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	De Chiara 2020
Cherorai			4, 38	Cherorai		
Chitral		113		Chitral District		
Dargai		101, 103, 107	59	Dargai		
Darora		77, 101		Darora		
Dewai			11, 22, 23	Dewai		
Dewal			1, 7, 14, 20, 27	Dewal		
Dharpura		61		–	<i>Dharmapura?</i>	
Dheri Kafiran		129		Charsadda, Bala Hisar?		
Dir		89, 99, 113		Dir District		
Dosirri		29		Mt Dwo-sar, Dosara	→	377
Drasan		115		Drasan		
Dúma	Dūma	29		Duma range		
Elai			46, 48	Elai		
Gadun				Gadun		
Gandheri		131, 133, 135, 137		Gandheri	Ganderai	410, 411
Gari		69		Gari, Garai		415-421
Ghaligai		71, 73		Ghaligay	→	437
Ghorband		111		Ghorband (Shangla)	Ghor-	441, 443
Gilgit		113		Gilgit District		
Giria	Odigram	69		Raja Gira		
Gudia Khwar		65		–		
Gullai		175		–		
Gumbat		99		Gumbat	Gumbat-	483, p. 242
Hashtnagar		129		Hasht-nagar, Charsadda		
Hathi Darra	Shahkot	73		Zalam-kot, Shahkot pass		
Hathi-lar		163		Hathi-lar, Hathiano-kandao		
Hazar Khani		123		–		
Hazara		75		Hazara		499
Hodi Raja		37, 39, 68, 161, 183		Raja Hodi		

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Placename	Other forms	Page (Note MS)	No. (List MS)	Modern toponym [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	Etymological parallels [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	De Chiara 2020
Hund		169, 173, 175		Hund		
İlm		29, 39, 71, 81, 111, 169	28, 31	Mt İlam, (Jogiano-sar)	→	504
İlm-o-Mianz			31	Miagan		
Imrán	Imran	175		-		
Indus		41, 37, 113, 115, 161, 173, 175, 179, 181, 183				
Jalbai		175		Jalbai	Jalb-	524-526
Jandol		95, 97, 101	54, 55	Jandul Valley		
Jehangira		175		Jehangira District		
Jellalabad		59, 85		Jalalabad		
Kafirkot		103		Kafir-kot	→	p. 243
Kalam	Kalám	33, 35, 115		Kalam	→	588
Kanbat		97	54, 55, 57	Kambat		
Karachai Dheri	Maini		24	Maina, Miana (Rafiullah Khan 2014)		
Kashmir		87		Kashmir region		
Kashmir Smats		143-161		Kashmir Smast		
Kaldarra		197	59	Kaldara	Gul-darai	478
Katgola		67		Katgala, Kotgala		
Khairabad		37		Khairabad	→	665
Khazano-gat			40	Khazano-gat (Jahanabad)	Khazana-	683-684
Khrappa			50	Krapa-kandao (Rafiullah Khan 2014)		
Khunda		173		Khunda	Kund	745
Kotah			58	Kotah	→	722
Kotkai			6	Kotkai	Kot	719-721
Kunar		87		Kunar River		
Lal Koh		79		Kooh Lake		
Laram		63, 67		Mt Laram-ghar		
Laspur	Ushu	33, 35, 115		Laspur pass		

Placename	Other forms	Page (Note MS)	No. (List MS)	Modern toponym [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	Etymological parallels [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	De Chiara 2020
Machai			39	Macha	→	823
Mahaban		43, 109, 175- 183		Mt Mahaban		
Maida Banda	Maidan Banda	97	56, 58	Maida-banda	Maira-banda	834
Mandat	Shabazgahri	137		Shahbaz-garhi, Shahbazgarhi		
Mingaur		29, 31		Mingora, Mingaora	→	509
Minglaur	Minglawar [Note]	29, 31	40, 41	Manglaor, Manglawar	→	858
Morah		103, 169		Mora (pass, village)	→	916
Morah Banda		73		Mt Mora-sar	see above	
Munda		97	54, 55	Munda		
Narinji		45, 47, 113		Naranj	Naranj-	937
Naugram		181	34	Ranigat		
Nawagai		99		Nawagay	Nawagay	945
Odigram	Giria	69, 71, 111		Udigram	→	1335
Paja	Sanawar	141		Paja Range	Paja	975
Palli		135		Palli		
Palo-Dheri	Palodheri	135, 137, 139, 141, 171		Palo-dheri		
Palosdara	Palosdarra	113, 135, 191	18, 19, 25, 49, 52	Palosa-dara		
Palosi		135		Palosa		
Panj Tirath		121		Panj Tirath	Panjao	981
Panjigram		69		Pajigram	Panjgram	982
Panjitar	Panjpir, Panipur, Pentigramma	179, 181, 183		Panjtar	see above	
Panjkora		67, 71, 77, 91, 93, 95, 101, 113	58	Panjkora River		
Panjpao			50	Panjpao (Rafiullah Khan 2014)	see above	
Patrak		93		Patrak		
Peshawar		41, 45, 87, 91, 113, 115, 117, 119, 125, 133, 145, 173		Peshawar (city, District)		
Pipal Mandi		119, 121		Pipal Mandi		+

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Placename	Other forms	Page (Note MS)	No. (List MS)	Modern toponym [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	Etymological parallels [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	De Chiara 2020
Rajar		127		Rajar (Charsadda)		
Ramora	[Amora]	65		Ramora		
Ranigat	Ranikot (?), Naugram	175, 181, 183	2, 34	Ranigat		
Sadhum		135		Sudhum valley		
Sado		67		Sado	Saidu-	1069
Sahri Bahlol		137		Sahri-bahlol		
Saidgai		79		Saidgai Lake		
Sanawar	Paja	141, 169, 171		Paja Range	see Paja	
Sapri Kalan		97	56	Sapri-kalay (Rafiullah Khan 2014)	Saprai	1087
Sarpath			44	Surpatti (Rafiullah Khan 2014)	Surbat	1239
Shabazgarhi	Shahbaz Garha, Mandat	115, 137, 139	37	Shahbaz-garhi, Shahbazgarhi		
Shahkot	Hati-darra	161, 163, 165, 171, 177		Shahkot pass		
Shahr-i-Narparan	Shahr-i-Narpusan	127		Charsadda, Shaikhan-dheri?		
Shahji-ki-Dheri		123		Shaji-ki-dheri		
Shamli		55		Shamlai	Shamelai-	1164
Shankardar		69, 71, 73		Shingardar		1195
Sherpao		129		Sherpao		
Shewa		47		Shewa	Shewa-	1194
Sikri		171		Sikri		
Span Kharra			26, 47	-		
Sulu Dheri			10, 17, 51	Salo-dherai (Rafiullah Khan 2014)		
Sûma		51, 55, 61, 63		Andhan-dheri		
Surkhavi	Chanai	45, 47, 113		Surhawai (Rafiullah Khan 2014)		
Surah		43		Sura (Rafiullah Khan 2014)		

Placename	Other forms	Page (Note MS)	No. (List MS)	Modern toponym [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	Etymological parallels [consult De Chiara 2020 →]	De Chiara 2020
Swat		27, 29, 33, 35, 39, 41, 47, 49, 51, 65, 69, 85, 89, 91, 93, 99, 101, 107, 109, 111, 113, 133, 161, 163	40, 41, 60	Swat river	→	1246
Takht-i-Bahi		137		Takht-i-bahi		
Talash		61, 67, 79, 81		Talash Valley	Tal-	1256-1257
Tangi Kham Banda			53	Tangai	Tangai	1268
Tarawar	Tarwar	97	58	Tarwar, Tarwai		
Tarili		139		Thareli		
Thana		73		Thana		
Torsak			33	Tursak (Tor-warsak: Rafiullah Khan 2014)		
Tsalai-dheri		113	3, 12, 13, 15, 16			
Uch		41, 59, 63		Uch, Uchh Valley	Uech-tangai Wuch	p. 246 1354
Uchána		59		-		
Ushu	Laspur	33		Ushu-gol (Usho)	→	1342 (1341)
Utmanzai		127		Utmanzai (tribe) territory =Charsadda		
Utrót		33		Utrot	→	1345
Velanai		71, 73		Manyar	→	874
Yusafzai		111, 113, 141, 151	24, 37, 39	Yusufzai (tribe) territory = Swat; British Yusufzai = Mardan, Palai, Dargai		
Zhindeh Nullah			26	-	Zindwala	1370



Undated photograph of Harold Deane, courtesy of Owen Humphrys



Undated photograph of Harold Deane, courtesy of Owen Humphrys

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