

Aurel Stein's Work in the North-West Frontier Province, Pakistan

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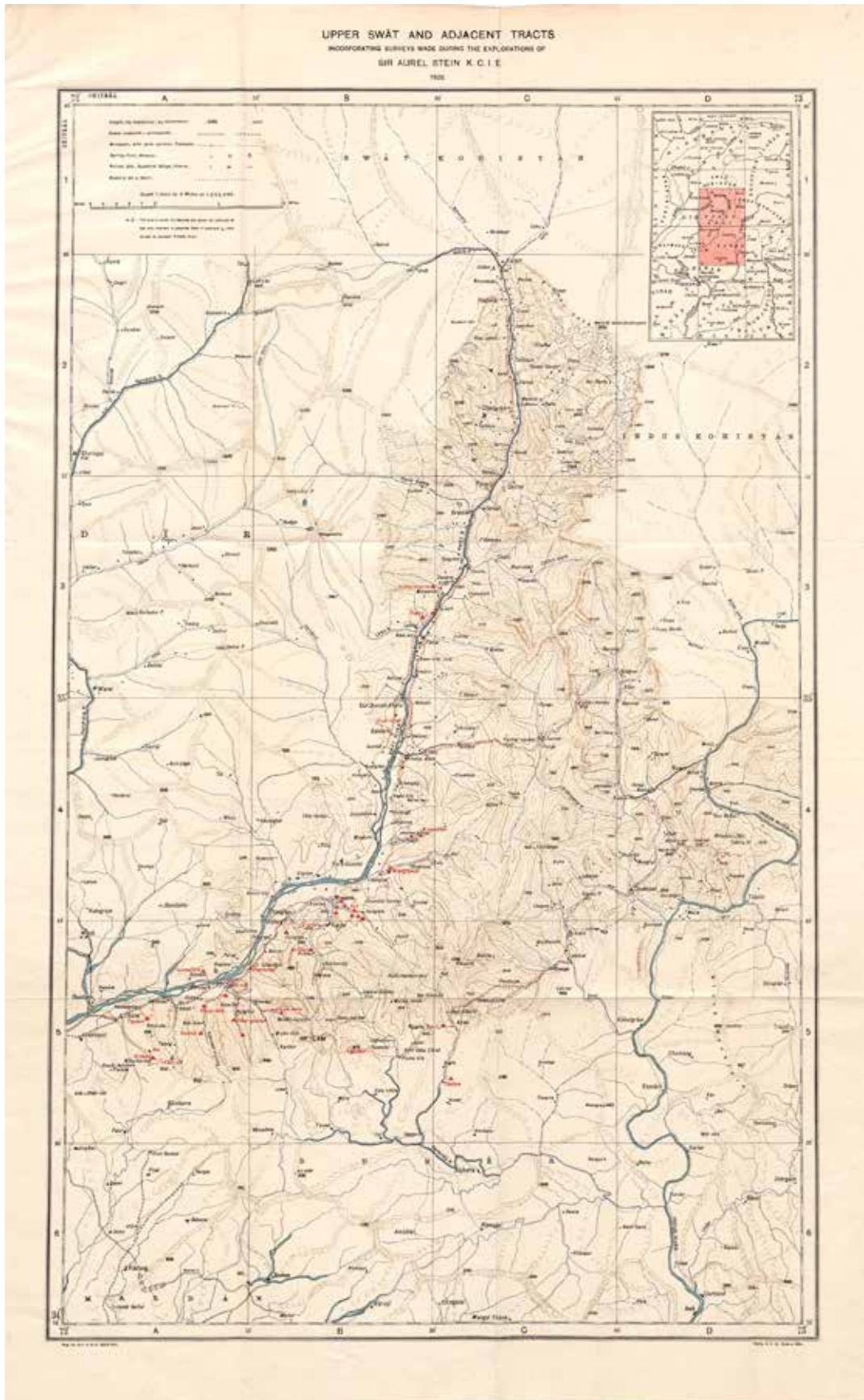
Introduction

Aurel Stein's work in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) (Map 1), Pakistan, includes archaeological tours, survey work and excavations carried out during his service in India from 1898 to 1928. Much of his work received support from Colonel Sir Harold Arthur Deane, the first Political Agent of the Malakand and the first Chief Commissioner of the NWFP, who shared an interest in the antiquity of the region with Stein. Many of the sites visited by Stein had never been explored by Europeans before. Most of them yielded Buddhist remains, though his main interest in this region was to follow Alexander the Great's route to the Indus. Throughout his work, Stein made attempts to identify sites with references to Classical and Buddhist sources. Although not all identifications were correct, some proved to be valid and have paved the way for later archaeologists. Stein's work in the NWFP began in 1898, when he was in his mid-30s occupying the position of Principal of the Oriental College, in Lahore. His subsequent position as Superintendent of Archaeology in NWFP from 1904 to 1917 allowed him to conduct further survey work and excavations in this province. Stein retired from service in India in 1917 but obtained an extension of service on 'special duty' to work on publications, the collections from his third Central Asian expedition and other projects until 1928.¹ It was during this time that he returned to conduct another archaeological tour in Upper Swat, a place he had long wanted to visit, in search of Aornos, the site of Alexander's last siege before advancing to the Indus.

A start in Udyana

The fertile valleys along the Swat River and parts of Buner have long been recognised as forming an ancient place called Udyana (Map 2).² Udyana, or 'garden' in Sanskrit, was visited by Chinese – and later Tibetan – Buddhist pilgrims from the 5th century onwards, who recorded numerous Buddhist sites. The place is also renowned for being the birthplace of Padmasambhava, the sage said to have brought Buddhism to Tibet. Stein's first visits to Udyana were made during his Christmas holidays in 1896 and 1897, just one year after the British Chitral Campaign of 1895. There he visited the Buddhist sites and other ancient remains in the lower part of the Swat River. A year later he made another visit to Udyana. This time he conducted a one-month archaeological tour, with the support of Colonel Deane, who arranged for his expedition to be carried out with the Buner Field Force. During this month Stein made a survey of many ancient sites in several villages in Buner as well as parts of the Mardan and Malakand districts. His record of the survey was published the following year.³ He covered a lot of ground in one month, but the speed of his tour did not allow him much time to make thorough examinations of the sites. Nevertheless, Stein did manage to carry out a brief excavation at Gumbatai (see below).⁴

On visiting several villages in Buner, Stein noted the defensive character of many ruined structures. These structures are situated on a series of rocky ridges, some with traces of ancient fortifications. He did not give any date to them but remarked that they should belong to the pre-Islamic period on the basis of masonry type and coin finds. During



Map 2 Map of Upper Swat and adjacent hill tracts made by Torabaz Khan under Stein's supervision (Stein, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 42, Calcutta (1930), pp. 1–104, Map 1)

his tour around Tursak, the main village of Buner, Stein visited three main Buddhist sites: Girarai, Gumbatai and Pinjkotai.⁵ He identified them with three Buddhist sacred sites recorded by the Chinese pilgrims on the basis of their characters and positions: the Stupa of Dove-ransoming, the *Mo-su* monastery and the *Mahavana* monastery. As recorded by the Chinese pilgrims, these three sites, as well as many other sites in Udyana, are associated with stories of the former lives of the Buddha.⁶ In identifying them, Stein made reference to *Mung-kie-li* which he believed located at Manglawar, a town in Upper Swat. *Mung-kie-li* was said to have been the town of residence of the kings of Swat and was taken by the Chinese pilgrims as the starting point of their visits to the sacred sites in Udyana.⁷ For this reason, Stein started his identification with the *Mahavana* monastery which the Chinese pilgrim Xuan Zang recorded as being situated by the side of a great hill 200 *li* (approx. 100km) south of *Mung-kie-li*.⁸ On visiting the ruins of Pinjkotai, situated on a slope of a spur of a hill approximately 192 *li* (approx. 96km) from Manglawar, Stein identified it with the *Mahavana* monastery. The ruins comprise a large structure and two small circular mounds which Stein ascribed to monastery and stupas, respectively. He disproved Cunningham's identification of the ruins on Mount Mahaban as the *Mahavana* monastery by pointing out that the ruins on Mount Mahaban were situated south east of Manglawar and not to the south as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims.⁹

The remaining two identifications were made with reference to the location of the *Mahavana* monastery/ Pinjkotai. Xuan Zang recorded that 30–40 *li* (approx. 15 to 20km) north-west of the *Mahavana* monastery lies the *Mo-su* monastery and 60–70 *li* (approx. 30 to 35km) west of the latter lies the Stupa of Dove-ransoming.¹⁰ Taking Pinjkotai to be the *Mahavana* monastery, Stein identified the ruins of Gumbatai, 36 *li* (approx. 18km) north-west of Pinjkotai, and the ruined mounds near Girarai, exactly 60 *li* (approx. 30km) west of Gumbatai, as the *Mo-su* monastery and the Stupa of Dove-ransoming, respectively. Stein visited these three sites and carried out a brief excavation at Gumbatai. He attempted to find the original ground level of the monastery but, owing to a lack of time, he was only able to excavate to a depth of 3 feet and did not reach the original level. The identification of *Mung-kie-li*, the town of residence of the kings of Swat was first proposed by V. De Saint-Martin,¹¹ and was accepted by Cunningham,¹² Deane¹³ and Stein. However, this identification was disproved by later archaeologists who placed *Mung-kie-li* further south and identified it with the modern town of Mingora.¹⁴

Although most of the sites Stein visited during this brief tour suggested Buddhist connections, Stein made an attempt to visit Mahaban, the mountain claimed as Aornos, the location of Alexander the Great's famous last battle. However, the submission of the Chamla clans in that year did not permit any advance into the Chamla valley south east of Buner where Mahaban is located. Despite this political restriction, Stein was able to visit the north foot of Mahaban with the help of General Jeffreys of the Buner Field Force, who arranged for him to make a rapid excursion to the Chamla valley and who provided him with an escort from the Xth Regiment Bengal Lancers. Five years later, when Stein

eventually made it to the top of Mahaban, he determined that its identification as Aornos was invalid.¹⁵

Survey work in the NWFP and the first attempt to search for Aornos

In July 1903 Stein was appointed to the new combined post of Inspector-General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor for the NWFP and Baluchistan. He began his survey of the regions in January the following year. The survey encompassed districts of the NWFP and Baluchistan, many of which had not yet been explored by Europeans.¹⁶ Stein carried out the survey, taking 60 photographs and recovering more than 200 pieces of Gandharan sculpture. It was during this survey that Stein visited Mahaban, the first European to do so, accompanied by Rai Lal Singh of the Survey of India, who made a survey map under his supervision.

The trip to Mahaban required careful planning. 'Tribal arrangements' needed to be made and some unforeseen (political) complications arose before the start of the trip. However, with help from Colonel Deane, then Chief Commissioner of the NWFP, P.J.G. Pison, Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Yusufzai District (i.e. the Peshawar valley, then the borderlands between British and independent territories), and some Khans, the tour was eventually made possible. Stein had long wanted to visit Mahaban for a long time. It was 50 years since General Abbott had first identified it as Aornos, observing the mountain from the distant Hazara hills.¹⁷ Colonel Deane had heard from local people that there was an ancient fort on its summit, and this had further stimulated Stein's interest in the mountain.¹⁸ Stein made detailed notes of the ancient remains found on the steep ascent, and on reaching the top of the mountain, he did indeed find an ancient fort. However, careful examination showed that the fort had no connection with Alexander, and that it was probably was of a much later date. Stein concluded that the identification of Mahaban as the Aornos of Alexander's time was invalid.¹⁹ Mahaban had none of the natural features of Aornos as recorded in the classical sources,²⁰ and no local traditions of any kind were attached to the mountain and the fort. Stein spent one night on the summit, where he experienced heavy rain followed by fierce snow at day break. The view from the top of Mahaban was magnificent, he wrote, though it could not compensate for his disappointment in the search for Aornos.

However, the trip to Mahaban was not wasted, for Stein discovered on Banj mountain, south of Mahaban, some ruins that suggested a monastery and stupas: a sacred Buddhist site. Stein identified this site as the 'Buddha's Body-offering'.²¹ According to the Chinese pilgrims, it was where the Buddha, in his former life, was believed to have offered his body to feed a tigress.²² Cunningham had proposed Manikyala, near Rawalpindi, as the location for the Buddha's Body-offering,²³ but this was rejected by Chavannes, who argued that Cunningham had misinterpreted the texts of the Chinese pilgrims, Song Yun and Xuan Zang, and proposed that the site of the Buddha's Body-offering should be located somewhere towards the Mahaban region.²⁴ Stein agreed with Chavannes. Although Stein did not have Xuan Zang's book with him when he discovered the ruins, he recognised the

features described by the Chinese pilgrim, including the red soil said to represent the Buddha's blood. Later, when he checked Xuan Zang's description, he was delighted to find that the positions of most of the ruined structures matched with the pilgrim's description.

Further to the south in the NWFP, Stein made surveys in Kohat, Kurram valley, Bannu and the northern part of Dera Ismail Khan.²⁵ He wondered if the Upper Kurram valley, a strategic location, might have been part of Lo-I [Luoyi], a place described by Fa Xian in the 5th century as having many Buddhist establishments and approximately three thousand monks.²⁶ Stein did not find any ancient structures in the Upper Kurram valley nor was he informed of any. However, he noted the importance of the Kurram route that links Kabul with the central part of the Indus valley, and learnt from the local people that the Sikaram peak of the Safed Koh, a mountain range on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, was still a place of regular annual pilgrimage for Hindus from the Indus to Kabul. In Bannu, he took measurements of the main mound of Akra, and determined that the remains of Akra belonged to the main town of ancient Bannu. He examined the banks of soil laid bare by the previous diggings of villagers, and noted the colours of these soils, the finds in them and their possible indications of an ancient 'culture-stratum'.²⁷ Coins shown to him by the villagers as obtained from Akra ranged from Azes I (c. 46–1 BC) to the 'Little Kushans', the Kidarites, (4th–5th century AD).²⁸

Stein also made a survey of the remains of a mountain stronghold, known locally as Kafirkot, on the Khasor range south-east of the Kurram valley. It comprised ruins of fortifications, temples and shrines of Hindu character. Cunningham had visited this site before and made a brief description of it.²⁹ Stein made a more detailed description and also discovered one shrine which seemed to have escaped Cunningham's notice. Described as the most ornate shrine, Kanjari-Kothi was overgrown with vegetation at the time of discovery (Stein had the trees cut down before taking its photograph). The site seems to have captured Stein's attention as he camped there for a few days and examined the position, character and extent of each ruin in detail. He noted the remarkable extent of the debris of ancient dwellings and the great quantity of potsherds inside the walls of Kafirkot, and the absence of both outside the walls. No coins or inscriptions were found. Stein assigned this site to the Islamic period on architectural grounds. The total absence of any Islamic remains and the strong Hindu character of the ruins led Stein to suggest that the site was abandoned before or about the time of the final Muslim conquest of this region.³⁰

At the end of his survey of the NWFP, Stein had 'put into safe custody' 253 pieces of Gandharan sculpture.³¹ These sculptures were handed over to British officials in the NWFP by village headmen and locals who claimed to have found them during 'accidental excavations'.³² The sculptures ranged from small fragments to statues of almost life-size proportions. The majority of them were given to P.J.G. Pison, Assistant Commissioner at Mardan from 1902 to 1904. At Stein's suggestion, Pison arranged for the sculptures to be transferred to the new Peshawar Museum (which opened in 1907). Stein praised Pison for having kept a careful record of

all the alleged find-places. Stein had the sculptures carefully packed and transported to his office, where every piece was subsequently marked with the name of the collector and its alleged find-spot was recorded, before being transported to the new museum.

Excavations at Sahri Bahlol

The site of Sahri Bahlol is renowned for its wealth of Gandharan sculptures. It is situated in the middle of the fertile Peshawar valley, the heartland of Gandhara. The ancient walled urban site lies buried beneath a modern village (settled from the mid-19th century onwards), which prevents its excavation. The settlement is encircled by numerous mounds, fifteen of which have provided sculptural and/or excavation evidence of being Buddhist (Fig. 1).³³ One of these sites was excavated in the 1860s by H.W. Bellew,³⁴ a further three were explored by Alexander Cunningham,³⁵ and D.B. Spooner conducted the Archaeological Survey excavations of Mounds A and B,³⁶ and produced the first comprehensive plans and photographs of these two Sahri Bahlol sites and finds. Stein, while Superintendent of Archaeology of the NWFP, conducted excavations at Sahri Bahlol from 21 February to the first week of April in 1912.³⁷ His excavations were regarded as the best at the time.³⁸ Stein employed 300 labourers to dig for nine to ten hours every day. Within ten weeks, six mounds had been excavated, 249 photographs had been taken, and sculptures had been selected, carefully packed and transported to the Museum.

The six mounds excavated by Stein (mounds C to H) all proved to be Buddhist in origin, and shared the common feature of being monastic quarters adjoining the shrines. The absence of any superstructures led Stein to suggest that the walls were built of materials of a rapidly decaying nature, such as clay, sun-dried bricks and timber. A particularly interesting feature noted by Stein were the piles of mostly broken sculptures and reliefs found *in situ* on and beside platforms which, he believed, were originally built as bases of stupas or shrines, but later re-used as bases for images (Figs. 2-3). These sculptures vary in style and execution, and Stein described them as being in two categories: the 'superior' type of the earlier period when the Buddhist art of Gandhara was flourishing and the 'decadent' type of the later period. The two categories were found mixed together, with many of the 'superior' type broken, while those of the 'decadent' type were in a better condition. Two mounds (C and D), situated at some distance from the ancient urban area, contained many sculptures of the 'superior' type. Sculptures of the 'decadent' type were found in all mounds, with the smallest quantity at mound D. This led Stein to suggest that mound D ceased to be a place of worship before the others. He noted some sculptures of Hindu character (including a marble lingam), and two copper Hindu Shahi coins (with the titles of Spalapatideva and Vakkadeva, c. AD 750–950)³⁹ in mound E, the mound closest to the ancient urban area, and suggested that the occupation of this mound continued to the 10th century AD. Stein also found coins at other mounds: coins of Azes I (c. 46–1 BC), Vasudeva I (c. AD 191–227) and 'Later Indo-Scythian rulers' (i.e. Late Kushan and imitations, c. AD 250–400) from mound C (providing an occupation date of c. 1st century BC to early 5th century AD); and three copper

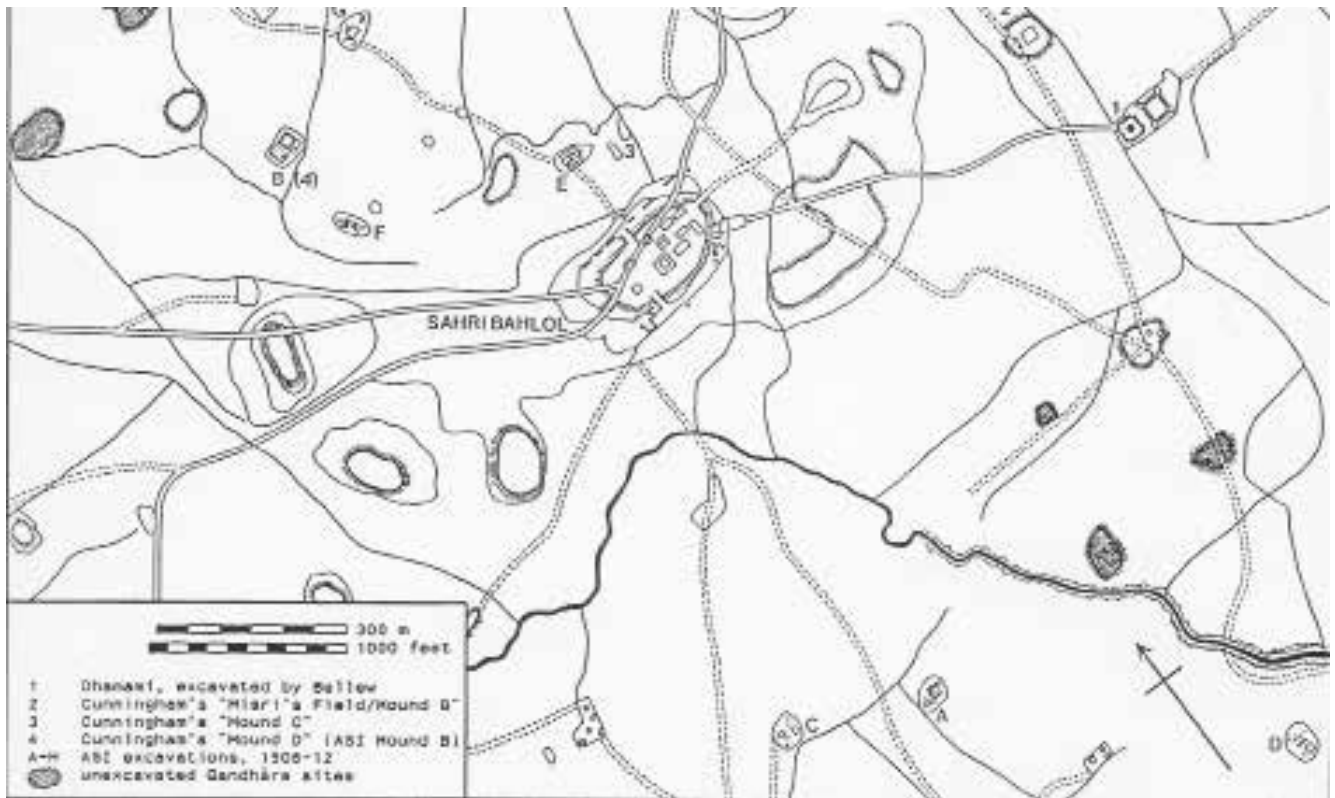


Figure 1 The site of Sahri-Bahlol (Courtesy of E. Errington, 'In search of Palusha', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute: Iranian Studies in Honor of A.D.H. Bivar*, vol. 7 (1993), fig. 3)



Figure 2 Stupa bases at Mound D, Sahri-Bahlol, with re-used sculptures in situ (From M.A. Stein, 'Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol', *Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle 1911-12*, Peshawar, 1912, part 2, section 5; also M.A. Stein, 'Excavations at Sahri Bahlol', *Archaeological Survey of India 1911-12*, Calcutta, 1915, A. No. 371, S. No. 1199)



Figure 3 Detail of a stupa base at Mound D, Sahri-Bahlol, with re-used sculptures *in situ* (From M.A. Stein, 'Excavations at Sahri Bahlol', 1912, Negative No. I.O. 1213)

coins all of the 'Later Kushans' (i.e. Kanishka II to Kipunada, c. mid 3rd–4th century AD) and their successors (i.e. Kidarites, 4th–5th century AD) from mound F.⁴⁰

Stein recorded six small cinerary urns found in the shrine areas of two mounds (D and E). The first was found on the northern end of a platform in mound D. It contained small fragments of burnt bones and a coin too corroded to permit identification. The second urn was found at the back of a large platform also in mound D. The remaining four urns were found deposited near the earliest section of the main platform in mound E. Stein did not record the content of the last five urns but noted the similarity of these funerary deposits with those found at the foot of several Buddhist shrines and stupas in Xinjiang during his First Central Asian Expedition.

The sculptural finds resulting from these excavations amounted to over 1200 pieces, ranging from small fragments to large statues. Stein recorded that of all the colossal statues, whether in stone or stucco, only the heads had survived. He noted that the seated images were in better condition than the standing ones. Among the images, those of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas were the most popular, with the latter being most numerous. After the excavation, he spent over two weeks selecting, packing and transporting these sculptures to the Peshawar Museum.

The return to Udyana and the identification of Pir-Sar as Aornos

Thirty years after his first visit to Udyana in 1896, Stein returned to this familiar place again in the spring of 1926. He was now in his sixties, retired, but on an extension of 'special duty' service to work on books and other projects. Following his first attempt in 1905 to search for Alexander's Aornos on Mahaban and the invalidation of such a claim for the mountain, Stein had hoped to search for the true site of the

famous rock stronghold which he thought was located somewhere higher up on the right bank of the Indus.⁴¹ The unsettled tribal politics in Upper Swat and the surrounding areas at the time had precluded him from realising this pursuit. Almost two decades later, when the situation was calmer, Stein had a chance to resume his search in 1921, making a rapid tour along the left bank of the Indus, where he tried to find information on the possible site of Aornos.⁴² The situation became more favourable a few years later when Upper Swat (including the areas between the Swat watershed and the Indus) was consolidated under Miangul Gulshahzada. This new ruler of Swat had close and friendly relations with the British administration of the NWFP, and Stein's old friend, Colonel E.H.S. James, was at that time Political Agent for Dir, Swat and Chitral. At last, Stein might realise his long-cherished plan. In 1925, he re-submitted a proposal to visit the possible site of Aornos. The new ruler of Swat not only granted him permission to visit the proposed area, but also allowed him survey most areas of his territory. He also mentioned in his letter to Stein that the site he wished to visit was locally known as Pir-Sar. Stein received 2000 rupees from the Archaeological Department for expenses during this expedition. He was also provided with a fully trained surveyor from the Survey of India Department, Torabaz Khan, who made a map of Upper Swat and the surrounding areas.

The extent of the expedition includes areas along the Swat River and parts of the area on the right bank of the Indus above Buner (Map 2). The expedition started from Lower Swat, then reached further up to Central and Upper Swat, before cutting east to Pir-Sar and south to Mount Ilam.⁴³ Most of these areas had never been visited by Europeans before. The expedition took place in the spring of 1926 and lasted for two and a half months. Stein spent his time identifying sites associated with Alexander's operations

in Swat and the Buddhist sacred sites mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, though paid more attention to the former. He identified Birkot with Bazira, and Udegram with Ora, the two towns captured by Alexander. These identifications were soon widely accepted, and when Birkot was excavated by later archaeologists it revealed an urban settlement dating from the Indo-Greek period.⁴⁴ However, Stein's identification of Pir-Sar with Aornos was rejected by later archaeologists.⁴⁵

On his map, Stein had the Buddhist sites and mounds suggestive of Buddhist sites found during this survey marked in red (in the form of a stupa) (Map 2). Most of these sites and mounds were found clustered along the central and lower Swat River. Among them, Stein noted various mounds at Butkara, south of Mingora, and took measurements of the mound he thought might have been a stupa (marked as a red stupa without a name on his map).⁴⁶ The site of Butkara I was subsequently excavated by Italian archaeologists and proved, according to numismatic evidence, to be one of the first Buddhist establishments in NWFP.⁴⁷ Modern excavations have further revealed Buddhist structures along the central and lower Swat River, especially near Mingora, in particular, the sites of Butkara III, Panr I, and Saidu Sharif I.⁴⁸ As mentioned above, Stein believed that Manglawar was *Mung-kie-li*, the town of residence of the kings of Swat, and based most of his identifications of the Buddhist sacred sites on their distances from it. This may explain why many of the sites around Mingora, believed to be *Mung-kie-li* by later archaeologists,⁴⁹ escaped Stein's attention when it came to identifying the places mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.

However, the true purpose of Stein's tour was not to identify the Buddhist sacred sites or to follow the routes of the Chinese pilgrims, but to trace the locations of Alexander's

operations in Swat. Stein declared his motivation in the form of a confession to his 'Chinese patron saint', Xuan Zang, at the beginning of *On Alexander's Tract to the Indus*, his published account of this expedition.⁵⁰ The idea of Pir-Sar as the possible rock stronghold of Aornos first came to Stein from Colonel R.A. Wauhope of the Survey of India.⁵¹ According to Arrian, the three towns in Swat captured by Alexander before his advance towards the Indus are Massaga, Ora and Bazira, and when they heard of the fall of Ora, the people of Bazira and other towns in Swat fled to a rock called Aornos.⁵² Stein did not identify Massaga but believed that its location should be somewhere south of Bazira (Birkot). This belief also led him to think that the most logical direction to look for Aornos was towards the east, for the other directions would have already been barred by the Macedonians. The Macedonians came from the west, and they had already captured the north (Ora/Udegram) and south (Massaga and Charsadda). Stein supported his identification by noting that several passes provided routes for fugitives from Bazira eastwards to Pir-Sar, noting as well as the great height, the steep incline and the flat expanse at the top of Pir-sar (**Fig. 4**).⁵³ Stein climbed to the top of Pir-Sar and described the mountain in detail. He also supervised Torabaz Khan, the surveyor, in the making of a map of Pir-sar and its environs.⁵⁴ To support his identification, Stein sought information that might link Pir-Sar with Alexander from the Gujars, the local people of this area. They were not able to tell him of any such local traditions.

Stein's expedition in Udyana ended with his ascent of Mount Ilam, or Ilam-Sar. Situated to the south east of Birkot, this mountain has the reputation of being a sacred place for both Hindus and Buddhists (**Fig. 5**). For this reason, it had



Figure 4 Pir-Sar ridge (From M.A. Stein, 'An archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjacent hill tracts', *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 42, Calcutta, 1930, fig. 38)



Figure 5 Ilam-Sar with sacred pool and Xuan Zang's 'stone couches' (From M.A. Stein, 'An archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjacent hill tracts' 1930, fig. 66)

long been of interest to Stein, and he was determined to reach its summit. Less than two weeks after his ascent of Pir-sar, Stein reached the summit of Mount Ilam. He saw what he expected to see: the oblong stone heap believed by Hindus to be the seat of Rama and the couch-like rocks recorded by Xuan Zang as the place where the Buddha in his former life renounced the world.⁵⁵ While surveying Pir-Sar, Stein had noted that the distance from Birkot (the town from where people fled to Aornos) to Ilam was closer than the distance from Birkot to Pir-Sar. Therefore, he suggested, in terms of distance, it would be more logical for the people of Birkot to flee to Ilam.⁵⁶ However, because Stein believed that Massaga, the first town seized by Alexander, was situated to the south of Birkot, he thought it would not make sense to flee southwards (where Ilam was) as this would not offer safe refuge, given that the area was occupied by the Macedonians. For this reason, when Stein visited Ilam, he did not make the link with Alexander, and thus occupied himself with the sacred sites of Hindus and Buddhists instead.

On this expedition, Stein set out in search of Aornos. He thought he had found it in Pir-sar. It would take another 50 years before the last mountain he climbed – Ilam – would be identified as the true Aornos.⁵⁷ His search for Aornos may have been proved unsuccessful, but his work in the NWFP has left us a wealth of knowledge about a place which is almost as inaccessible today as it was in his time.

Notes

- 1 A. Walker, Sir Aurel Stein, *Pioneer of the Silk Road*, London, 1995, esp. the Chronology, reproduced in with H. Wang and J. Perkins (eds), *Handbook to the Collections of Sir Aurel Stein in the UK*, British Museum Research Publication 129, 2008, pp. 48–9, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_publications/online_research_publications/handbook_stein_collection.aspx
- 2 A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India: the Buddhist period, including the campaigns of Alexander, and the travels of Hwen-Tsang*, London, 1871.
- 3 M.A. Stein, 'Detailed report of an archaeological tour with the Buner Field-Force', *Indian Antiquary* 28 (1899), pp. 14–28, 33–46, 58–64.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 S. Beal, Si-Yu-Ki: *Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hieun Tsiang (AD 629)*, London, 1884; also J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms being an account by the Chinese monk of his travels in India and Ceylon (AD 399–414) in search of the Buddhist books of discipline. Translated and annotated with a Korean recension of the Chinese text*. Oxford, 1886.
- 7 Beal, *op. cit.*; also Legge, *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*.
- 8 Beal, *op. cit.*
- 9 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India (1871)*.
- 10 Beal, *op. cit.*
- 11 S. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, Paris, 1857–8, ii, p. 314.
- 12 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India (1871)*.
- 13 H.A. Deane, 'Note on Udyana and Gandhara', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Oct 1896, pp. 655–75.
- 14 For example, G. Tucci, 'Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat', *East and West*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1958), pp. 279–328.
- 15 M.A. Stein, *Report of the Archaeological Survey Work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan*, January 1904–March 1905, Peshawar, 1905.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 J. Abbott, 'Gradus ad Aornum', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 4 (1854), pp. 309–63.
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- 19 Stein, *Report of Archaeological Survey Work (1905)*, p. 30.
- 20 Flavius Arrianus (tr. E.J. Chinnock), *The Anabasis of Alexander*,

- London, 1884, (Anabasis, IV, xxviii, 2).
- 21 Stein, Report of *Archaeological Survey Work* (1905), p. 38.
- 22 Beal, *op.cit.*
- 23 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1871).
- 24 E. Chavannes, *Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyana et le Gandhara. Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi*, 1903, pp. 379–441.
- 25 Stein, *Report of Archaeological Survey Work* (1905).
- 26 J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms being an account by the Chinese monk of his travels in India and Ceylon (AD 399–414) in search of the Buddhist books of discipline. Translated and annotated with a Korean recension of the Chinese text.* Oxford, 1886.
- 27 Stein, 'Report of the Archaeological Survey Work' (1905), p. 8.
- 28 See J. Cribb, 'Coins reported from Akra', *Ancient Pakistan* 15 (2002), pp. 65–84; also J. Cribb, 'The Kidarites, The Numismatic Evidence' (with an Analytical Appendix by A. Oddy), in M. Alram et al. (eds) *Coins, Art, and Chronology II. The First Millennium C.E. in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, Vienna, 2010, pp. 263–318.
- 29 A. Cunningham, 'Kafirkot of Til Raja', *Archaeological Survey of India* 1878–79, vol. 14 (Calcutta, 1882), pp. 26–7.
- 30 Stein, 'Report of the Archaeological Survey Work' (1905).
- 31 *Ibid.* p. iii.
- 32 *Ibid.*
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- 34 H.W. Bellew, *A General Report on the Yusufzais*, 1864 (repr., Lahore, 1977).
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- 37 See M.A. Stein, 'Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol', *Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle 1911–12*, Peshawar, 1912, part 2, section 5, pp. 9–16; also M.A. Stein, 'Excavations at Sahri Bahlol', *Archaeological Survey of India 1911–12*, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 95–119.
- 38 F. Tissot, 'The Site of Sahri-Bahlol in Gandhara', in J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei (eds) *South Asian Archaeology, 1983: Papers from the Seventh International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe*, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, 1985, pp. 597–614.
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- 40 See Stein, 'Excavations at Sahri Bahlol' (1915), pp. 101–109, 116–7); also E. Errington, 'Numismatic Evidence for dating the Buddhist remains of Gandhara', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology 6: Papers in Honour of Francine Tissot*, 1999/2000, pp. 191–216; and E. Errington and V.S. Curtis, *From Persepolis to the Punjab: Exploring ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan*, London, 2007.
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- 45 For example, G. Tucci, 'On Swat, the Dards and Connected Problems', *East and West* 27 (1977), pp. 9–104.
- 46 Stein, 'An archaeological tour in Upper Swat', pp. 42–3.
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- 48 See A. Rahman, 'Butkara III: A Preliminary Report', in M. Taddei (ed.) *South Asian Archaeology, 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe*, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Rome, 1990, pp. 693–706; also D. Faccenna, Panr I (Swat, Pakistan). *Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Centro Studi e Scavi archeologici in Asia. Reports and memoirs*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Rome, 1993); and P. Callieri, P. Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan). *Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Centro Studi e Scavi archeologici in Asia. Reports and memoirs* 23 (Rome, 1989), p. 1.
- 49 For example, G. Tucci, 'Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat'.
- 50 Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, London, 1929, p.2.
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- 52 Falvius Arrianus, *The Anabasis of Alexander* (tr. E.J. Chinnock), London 1884 (IV.xxviii, 2).
- 53 Stein, 'Alexander's Campaign (contd.)', p. 526.
- 54 Stein, 'An archaeological tour in Upper Swat', map 2.
- 55 Beal, *op. cit.*
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- 57 Tucci, 'On Swat, the Dards and Connected Problems'. See pp. 52–5 for Tucci's discussion on his inclination towards Ilam as Aornos.