

EAST AND WEST



I s I A O

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FOREWORD

This triple issue of East and West, edited patiently by one of the most 'senior' collaborators of our Mission in Pakistan, Luca M. Olivieri, accompanies the special volume dedicated to the memory of Maurizio Taddei, edited by Anna Filigenzi and Pierfrancesco Callieri (EW, 55, 1-4, 2005). The present issue is entirely dedicated to an important event in IsIAO history, in particular for that part of the Institute that has taken up the legacy of the IsMEO of Giuseppe Tucci. The event in question is the fiftieth anniversary of the Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, which was founded by Tucci himself. The act of foundation of this institution, the first of its kind outside the Mediterranean, saw Tucci personally involved through what may probably be considered his last great Asian exploration, but also the philological epilogue to his Himalayan expeditions.

From 1956 to the present time, the Mission has carried on an uninterrupted activity with the full support of its institutional referents, in particular the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, always acting in close collaboration with its Pakistani counterpart, the Department of Archaeology and Museums (Government of Pakistan). Without overlooking any of the DOAM representatives, we wish here to recall the unflinching friendship and collaboration of the first Director General, the unforgettable Dr F.A. Khan, as well as the present incumbent, Dr F.D. Kakar, to whom I address my heartfelt thanks, as well as for the strong support afforded to our activities, also for the attention and enterprising spirit with which he has followed the initiatives linked to the commemoration of this event.

On the subject of thanks I would need to add too long a list for the space available to this introduction. I hope I shall be pardoned if, including many others in my thoughts, I limit my thanks to the Ambassador Roberto Mazzotta, our Representative in Islamabad, and the Ambassador Mirza Qamar Beg, the Representative of Pakistan in Rome, for their great interest and material collaboration in favour of our Archaeological Mission.

In my memory however I cannot avoid addressing many sincere thoughts to our Friend, to Maurizio Taddei, who in the Mission took his first scholarly steps beside Tucci, and who was its Director until his untimely death. Before him, for forty years, the animator, indeed the very soul, of the Mission was Domenico Faccenna, the precursor of Buddhist architecture in Italy; today the Director is Prof. Pierfrancesco Callieri, his first pupil in Swat.

The history of the Mission, whose important anniversary we are celebrating today, is therefore, from the human and scientific point of view a history with an astonishing continuity: from Tucci on, the activity of the Mission developed along guidelines that are still valid today. This is further evidence, if any were needed, of the seminal value of Giuseppe Tucci's original intuition: this is demonstrated by many, if not all, of the following articles. Non-Buddhist rock art, the wooden mosques of upper Swat, are but

some of the topics inaugurated by Tucci in 1956 and on which work is still being done today. The research has also been continuous, uninterrupted, and cogent, as is proved by nearly 400 bibliographic titles embracing all fields of historical research.

One consideration must serve as a corollary to the foregoing: this Anniversary coincides with the transfer of the Centre of Excavations of Archaeological Research in Asia from its historical site in Palazzo Brancaccio to the current IsIAO premises. The Centre, unique of its kind in Italy in the years in which it was set up, is part of the history of the Institute, of which the Mission in Pakistan has always been an important but not the only part. Here I would like to recall the activities in Iran, Afghanistan, Nepal, Oman, Yemen, Turkmenistan and Thailand, as but a few of the more important, and certainly that, with greater continuity, have contributed to the high esteem in which the IsIAO Excavations Centre is held and in which the Institute as a whole will hopefully continue to be held in future.

Lastly, it is my pleasure to announce that, following the request I received from the collaborators of the Mission in Pakistan and from its Director, and to which I have great pleasure to accede, this issue of East and West will be offered as a token of respectful friendship and gratitude to a doyen of Italian archaeology in Pakistan, Prof. Giorgio Stacul. On the same occasion, I also wish to announce that the IsIAO Board of Administration, at the request of the Ordinary Member Pierfrancesco Callieri, has decided to confer on him the title of 'Honorary Member' in recognition of his tireless activity in following up Tucci's early intuitions on the protohistory of Swat and his numerous long and felicitous excavation campaigns. Thanks to his work the primacy of our Mission in Pakistan has been definitively consolidated also outside the confines of Buddhist archaeology. To Giorgio go the most sincere best wishes from all of us.

Gherardo Gnoli

Outline History of the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (1956-2006)

by LUCA M. OLIVIERI

Introduction

This year the IsIAO (formerly IsMEO; hereafter Institute) Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (hereafter IAM) celebrates its 50th anniversary of uninterrupted activity (1956-2006) in close cooperation with the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Pakistan (hereafter DAM). Agencies funding this activity over the years, in addition to the Institute, have principally been the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE), but also the National Research Council (CNR), the Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) and the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities (MiBAC).

The year 1956 is considered to mark the beginning of this activity, i.e. the year in which Giuseppe Tucci's decisive reconnaissance was carried out, on the results of which the entire subsequent activity was based, beginning with the excavations at Udegram and Butkara I, which began that same year. It reaching this milestone, IAM has also definitively established two important records. It is the first Italian Archaeological Mission to work outside the Mediterranean and Near East (with the exception of the East African Italian territories), but is also, after the *Délégation Archéologique Française* in Afghanistan (DAFA) (Bernard 2002), the longest-standing foreign mission in Southeast Asia (see DAI 2004). With the establishment of IAM Italy extended its activity beyond the areas in which it had been traditionally involved, not only by means of field activities, but indeed by opening up a line of study (that of the archaeology of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent). Before this, not only had Italy been extraneous to this, with only the UK making any contribution (for obvious reasons) and, to a lesser extent France. This school of studies, thanks also to the results of the other Missions, that the Institute opened in Afghanistan (1957), Iran (1959) and other countries, appreciably changed the panorama of the Italian University Institutions with the setting up of Chairs dedicated to the new topics first in Naples (IUO), then in Rome, Venice, Trieste, Bologna, etc. Furthermore, there was an enormous bibliographic production by IAM, amounting to nearly 400 titles, the publishing burden for which was largely borne by the

Institute, above all with the series 'Reports and Memoirs', established ad hoc by Tucci, and the periodical *East and West*, in which these pages appear.

Historical Background of IAM Activities

It was no coincidence that Italy played a major role in the first decade of life of the young Islamic Republic of Pakistan, through two important scientific events. One was the scientific expedition to Karakorum, directed by Ardito Desio, which led to the conquest of Mt K2 (1954). The other was the opening up to foreign archaeological research through the agreements between the Institute and the government of Pakistan wanted by G. Tucci (1955). The two events should be considered as correlated as they were in the view of their champions, Desio and Tucci, who were united by an exceptional mutual respect, just as they were not owing to a traditional interest by Italy in a geographic area now known as Pakistan from the Giolitti government on. Evidence of this are the numerous scientific and mountaineering expeditions (when mountaineering was a tool for geographic knowledge rather than a sport) from the late 19th century on ⁽¹⁾, which laid the groundwork for the Italian victory in the 'race for the K2'. Future studies will tell us more about the political background that made these two great scientific undertakings possible only a few years after a disastrous war. Italy emerged defeated and impoverished from a conflict that took place largely on its territory and in its overseas possessions and, in its new republican history, meets a country, the recent birth of which was troubled by huge human suffering. Some recently discussed documents prove that the word 'Pakistan', the future reality and political idea, had been a household word in the MAE ever since 1942. Mention should be made of the report titled 'What is Pakistan' drawn up by a future Pakistani diplomat, M. Iqbal Shedai (Martelli 2002: 387), but also of the reports despatched to the MAE by P. Quaroni, in those years plenipotentiary minister at the Italian Legation in Kabul. At the time (1942) the great diplomat invited the MAE to consider Pakistan a 'fact' and thus to work in this direction (*ibid.*: 385) ⁽²⁾. Concerning the role and importance of M. Iqbal Shedai others were to write with greater

⁽¹⁾ Starting from the 1st expedition of the Duke of the Abruzzi in 1909 and the reconnaissances by Biasutti and Dainelli during the 2nd expedition in 1913-14, to those of the Duke of Spoleto in 1929 (see references in Desio 1985: 235; recently see Tenderini & Shandrick 2006), of Ardito Desio during the second half of last century on (see Garimoldi, Gualdoni & Mantovani 1991), down to the Hindu Kush expeditions in the 1950s (see Merlante in Maraini 2002).

⁽²⁾ By this the minister Quaroni meant that the MAE should take action also in German diplomatic circles which feared too close an understanding with Muslim nationalist environments regarding the possible relations with other Indian nationalists (see the Note by the Director General of Transoceanic Affairs, Minister R. Prunas to Quaroni, cit. in Martelli 2002: 389). On the strategy initiated by Prunas' predecessor, Minister A. Alessandrini, see the 'Note' of 31 December 1941 (De Felice 1988: 340-48). In general it seems that the prevailing opinion in the diplomatic circles concerned was that postwar India would still be united (among the latest contributions, see the questionable Tahseen 2003).

competence than the present author: however, he may certainly be considered a key character also in view of the future relations between the two young republics ⁽³⁾.

In practically the same years in which the framework of these future relations was being established, while he found himself 'in a small military encampment on a hilltop above Algiers' in August 1943, on the eve of embarking for the Sicily campaign, Sir M. Wheeler, with the rank of brigadier at the time, was transferred to India at the request of the India Office as Director General of Archaeology (Wheeler 1976: 9). It should be borne in mind that Wheeler's appointment came after about five years of profound crisis in the Archaeological Survey of India, described in the report by Sir L. Woolley ⁽⁴⁾. Neglecting the narration of the events that followed, what is certain is that in 1955 Tucci found the results of the profound reorganization carried out by Wheeler of the period of a decade (1943-1953) already in operation ⁽⁵⁾.

Tucci's visit to Swat in 1955 was preceded by a logistics reconnaissance carried out by E. Lizioli, an Italian architect who was already living in Pakistan, and who was always to provide help and support to the IAM archaeologists. At Peshawar an agreement was reached with Mr Gai, a Parsee wine merchant, bookseller and shipping agent, a point of reference for anyone having to face the North-West Frontier Province in those years ⁽⁶⁾. The political-diplomatic support of Tucci's

⁽³⁾ M. Iqbal Shedai was one of the leaders of the Indian independent party of Islamic tendencies, the Gadar Party. Starting in the late 1930s he was the head of his party for Europe; between 1940 and 1944 he lived in Italy, first in Rome, and then in Milan. In April 1942 he became Secretary of the Friends of India Society sponsored by the Ministry of Popular Culture and the MAE, but above all by the Institute, of which it was 'an affiliation', in the words of the President of the Institute and of the Society, Senator G. Gentile (speech delivered at the presentation ceremony, in *Italia e India*, Rome 1942, cit. in De Felice 1988: n. 77). Shedai was also one of the editors of the Italian clandestine Radio Himalaya, which caused so many problems for Allied intelligence owing to its repercussions on the tribes along the Durand Line (Martelli 2002). In 1948 in Paris, Shedai, now member of the Pakistani Legation to the UN, met Quaroni, Ambassador to Paris, who mentions him in his memoirs (Quaroni 1965).

⁽⁴⁾ This was a consequence of the events related to the management of Sir John G. Marshall, whose 'lack of technical knowledge or interest led ultimately to the notorious breakdown of the Survey' (Wheeler 1976: 11); see also Prabha Ray 2004.

⁽⁵⁾ Wheeler carried out much of his teaching activity precisely in Pakistan: the Taxila School of Archaeology (1944), in which A.H. Dani was involved; the Mohenjo-daro School (1950) with Dani, M. Shamsud Ali, Acting Director of Archaeology, F.A. Khan; the excavation of Charsada where Wheeler returned at the invitation of F.A. Khan (DAM Director General) in 1958 to resume the work planned as early as 1944. Why Wheeler later failed to find room for Pakistan in the appendix to his memoirs, entirely dedicated to the further history of the Archaeological Survey of India until 1976, is not clear. In 1958, perhaps even later, Wheeler visited the headquarters of IAM and the excavations in Swat. On one of these occasions, Faccenna, informed by Tucci of his imminent arrival, left Kabul for Peshawar, where Mr Gai (see below) found a second car for him so that he could finally reach Saidu Sharif and organize a party in honour of his distinguished guest.

⁽⁶⁾ They were a Karachi and a Peshawar which were quite different from the present-day cities, although the later conserved its characteristics for a greater length of time (at least until the early 80s). Concerning the Karachi that lives in the memories of the more senior IAM representatives, see the review by P. Callieri of Lari, Y. & M.S. Lari, *The Dual City. Karachi During the Raj*, Karachi 1998, in *EW*, 1998, 48, 1-2, p. 197.



Fig. 1 - From the photographic documentation taken by F. Benuzzi (Swat, 1955). From left: Waliullah Khan, G. Tucci, the Wali of Swat, R. Curiel and F. Benuzzi.

visit was ensured by the work of a great diplomat, First Secretary at our Embassy in Karachi at the time, F. Benuzzi ⁽⁷⁾. Together with Waliullah Khan (Director of the DAM Northern Circle), the young D. Faccenna and R. Curiel, he accompanied Tucci on his first visit to Swat ⁽⁸⁾. R. Curiel, a distinguished French epigrapher and numismatist, who previously collaborated with D. Schlumberger in the DAFA, was Advisor to the DAM, until the first Director General, F.A. Khan ⁽⁹⁾, was appointed.

⁽⁷⁾ He, a future Ambassador to Uruguay and Administrative Councillor of the Institute, distinguished himself in a memorable undertaking in the midst of the war on Mt Kenya (later narrated in Benuzzi 1991²).

⁽⁸⁾ D. Faccenna participated as archaeologist 'seconded from the Fine Arts Direction of our Ministry of Education' (*IsMEO Attività 1955-56*: 11-12).

⁽⁹⁾ About R. Curiel (1913-2000) important pages were written by G. Fussman in *JA* (2000), from which we draw the following information. 'Le Gouvernement du Pakistan cherchait alors un Directeur des Antiquités pour succéder à Sir Mortimer Wheeler et ne voulait pas qu'il fût britannique. Il s'adresse au gouvernement français qui propose le poste à R. Curiel. De Juillet 1953 à Juin 1959, il fût ainsi Directeur du Service des Antiquités du Pakistan, nommé et payé par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères français' (*ibid.*: 241-42). Cosmopolitan, sophisticated and reserved, Curiel was born in Cairo in a family of

All that is left of this first journey is a report, a few photos and a handwritten manuscript by Faccenna⁽¹⁰⁾. In Karachi, during the first three days, the terms were defined for the concession of the excavation licence in Swat⁽¹¹⁾.

The expedition that left Karachi on 25 Nov. 1955 travelled through Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, and reached the capital of the state of Swat on 28/XI. The ground reconnaissance, which began on 28/XI and ended on 2/XII, yielded a clear understanding of the size and importance of the ruins scattered over the region, fully satisfying the purpose for which it had been proposed. (Faccenna, unpubl.: 2).



Fig. 2 - Kalam, 1955. D. Faccenna (in the background) looking at the Wali scouts performing a traditional dance.

This reconnaissance, after taking in the remains of the Buddhist sacred area of Top-dara (outside the borders of the then Yusufzai State of Swat) focused on Udegram (1), Manglawor (2), Tindo-dagh (3), on the Buddhist rock reliefs (4) and on the royal collection of Gandharan art (5). It ultimately reached Kalam, of whose important orographic circle the first Italian description was given (after that in Stein 1930). In those days, Tucci and Faccenna established the first fundamental contacts with the Wali of the State, H.M. Major General Miangul Jahanzeb, the Waliahd H.A. Miangul Auragzeb, also making the acquaintance of the State Badshah Wali Miangul Shahzada. Essential to relations with the royal court was the role of the First Secretary of the State, Ataullah Khan: ‘Tall, well-built,

the *haute juivérie*, although distant from sionist ideals (*ibid.*: 250); he was able, during ‘son expérience pakistanaise, et la comparaison qu’il put faire avec un Afghanistan toujours resté indépendant, lui apprirent aussi à nuancer l’appréciation qu’il portait sur l’œuvre coloniale britannique’ (*ibid.*: 249).

⁽¹⁰⁾ ‘Arrival at Karachi on Monday 21 November 1955 by SAS. Prof. Tucci was in Delhi. Imperial Hotel. Miss Giuseppina Casabianca of the Emb. Karachi’.

⁽¹¹⁾ It should be pointed out that, in the preceding months, Tucci had already reached an agreement with the Nepalese government for an excavation concession. The agreement assigned to Italy ‘the privilege of carrying out archaeological research at Lumbini, the birthplace of the Buddha. Prof. Tucci, with the Secretary General [M. Imperiali], carried out an inspection of this location and, in agreement with the Nepalese government representatives, marked out the zone for the concession of the excavations’ (*IsMEO Attività 1955-56*: 11). However, the excavations in Nepal are known to have begun only thirty years later.



Fig. 3 - Saidu Sharif, mid-Summer 1956: in the garden of the then royal guesthouse (presently the Swat Serena Hotel). From left: R. Graziani, G. Gullini, G. Tucci, F.A. Khan, Francesca Bonardi, D. Faccenna and V. Caroli; the picture was likely taken by M. Valentini.

excellent walker, elegantly dressed, speaks perfect English and is extremely pleasantly mannered' (Tucci 1963a: 28).

Recapitulating, the reconnaissance may be said to have abundantly shown the archaeological importance of the valley, owing to the large area covered and the conspicuousness of the ruins it contains. The features it offers are such as to allow a large-scale excavation and investigation to be implemented. In outline, this would include: a) the archaeological mapping of the whole territory; b) surveying of the ruins, centre by centre, zone by zone (plan view, sections, any graphic reconstructions, etc. etc.), accompanied if necessary by appropriate sondages. Therefore a surveyor with special experience in this kind of archaeological work is needed, assisted by draughtsmen; systematic, regular and complete excavation of the monuments. Apparently of particular importance are those described in nos. 1, 2, 3. (Faccenna, unpubl.: 5).

In other words, here we have a summary of the entire work schedule that IAM was to undertake with lucid continuity and rigour over the next 50 years: in addition to the excavation sites, we already have in a nutshell the project of the Swat



Fig. 4 - Maurizio Taddei (1936-2000).



Fig. 5 - Excavations in the Jambil valley: G. Stacul.

Archaeological Museum, which will be based precisely on the royal collection (5); the work on the *corpus* of Buddhist reliefs, pursued steadfastly, has finally been concluded (Filigenzi, forthcoming f; see also Filigenzi, this issue); the work on the Archaeological Map (AMSV) has long since been an integral part of IAM activities (see Olivieri & Vidale, this issue).

The Archaeology of Buddhism (1956-1966)

The scientific reasons underlying Tucci's journey to Swat have already been discussed (Callieri, this issue; Tucci 1958a, 1963a = (1978²), 1977; see also Faccenna 1995b) and need not be repeated here. In the Summer of 1956 Tucci travelled to Saidu Sharif on the famous reconnaissance, in the company of Francesca Bonardi and F.A. Khan, who was still DAM Director of the Excavation and Exploration Branch at the time. At the end of the Summer they were joined by Faccenna and G. Gullini. In the weeks that followed Swat was visited by the assistants G. Graziani and M. Valentini and the draughtsman V. Caroli (¹²). Even though the first decade

(¹²) Graziani and Valentini (from the Archaeological Superintendency of Rome and Lazio) later regularly took part in the archaeological campaigns in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, as staff members of the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale (hereafter MNAOR). Caroli (Superintendency of the Foro Romano) was the first, unforgettable, draughtsman of IAM. Highly esteemed by Faccenna, he was an excellent hunter (there were memorable beats with the Waliahd). On a wall in the dining room of IAM headquarters in Saidu Sharif there still is a fine view of the Scalinata di Piazza di Spagna painted by him in the space of one day. As well as a hunter he was also a tireless taxodermist; amusing anecdotes



Fig. 6 - The wooden mosque of Karang (Kandia), 1983: U. Scerrato and N. Olivieri are visible.

of research took in also the archaeology of the civil and military settlements of the historic period (Udegram), as well as the protohistoric phase (Butkara II, Katelai, Loebanr), the greatest effort was directed towards the excavation of the Buddhist sacred areas, Butkara I and then Panr I. The meticulous stratigraphic methodology to the excavation of Buddhist sites represented a completely new approach which has remained a valid example for decades (see Fussman 1996). Although mention was made in the 1955 report of the intention to excavate the site of Manglawor, which had been identified as the site of the ancient capital of Swat, referred to in the Chinese sources as Mêng-jieli, subsequent studies, and in particular the 1956 reconnaissance, had persuaded Tucci that the latter should be sought in the area of Mingora, the main centre of modern Swat. Consequently it was decided to concentrate excavation work at the site of Butkara I, identified as the T'o-lo sanctuary of the Chinese sources on the outskirts of Mingora (Tucci 1958a).

In 1961 the Institute renewed the excavation licence while, pursuant to the 1955 agreements, it proceeded to divide up the 'material found during these first five years.

are told in this connection which, perhaps unjustifiably, we shall spare the reader (as well as many others of a zoological nature, such as when Graziani found a cobra coiled round a pipe in the bathroom, or when G. Stacul, on reopening his room after several months' absence, found a monitor lizard that had grown up there undisturbed in that year of *beata solitudo*).

The part of this material due to Ismeo [*sic*] [...] will be deposited in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale with its headquarters at the Institute itself' (*IsMEO Attività* 1962: 8) ⁽¹³⁾.

Precisely in view of these possibilities, in 1957, at the initiative of Tucci the Museo Nazionale di Arte Orientale (MNAOR) was established within the Fine Arts Direction of our Ministry of Education (see Mazzeo 2006).

The Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia dell'IsMEO e di Torino ⁽¹⁴⁾, established in 1961, was the first in Italy outside the Public Administration and provided the Institute with a means for managing the archaeological campaigns in Asia. The Centro had its headquarters in Rome, at the Institute, while the photograph library, the map library and the drawings and plaster casts were at the MNAOR.

The year 1962 was a particularly important year for IAM owing to two events having great significance for the future. The first is related to what appears in the archives as the 'withdrawal from the agreements with the Agencies of Turin' (*IsMEO Attività* 1963: 5). The 'withdrawal' from the agreements with Turin indirectly implied a different orientation of the scientific interests of G. Gullini, whose activity thereafter would be focused principally on Iraq. As a result of this, the Centro Scavi redefined its nature, its structure and its role even more accurately. In this environment, the Centro, led by D. Faccenna, who was also the MNAOR Director, carefully defined all the aspects of its activities: the rules governing stratigraphic excavation, documentation, restoration, analysis, publications, dissemination, health, also by means of trainings courses run by the MNAOR (see Callieri, this issue: 19). The other episode is related to the start on excavating the protohistoric graveyards of Katelai I and Loebanr I. The discovery of these graveyards dates back to the 1956 reconnaissance, even though the first, limited, excavation was entrusted to a working group led by S. Puglisi (composed of Editta Castaldi and Chiara Silvi Antonini). The research carried out prior to 1964



Fig. 7 - Saidu Sharif 1960 (?), IAM headquarters: Akam Khan (to the left) and Akhtar Manir.

⁽¹³⁾ In 1960 two other activities were carried out outside the IAM in Pakistan: the series of lectures by A. Bausani and a field research by P. Graziosi in Chitral. Bausani and Faccenna would later receive the Sitara-e-Imtyaz award from the Government of Pakistan. Graziosi's anthropological mission was sponsored by the Institute (*IsMEO Attività* 1962: 15, 17).

⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus denoted because of its collaboration with several Turin Agencies.

may be considered as leading up to the great leap forward given by G. Stacul to the study of protohistoric Swat with the great excavations of Ghalegay, Aligrama (continued by S. Tusa) and Bir-kot-ghwandai. While the research on the earlier phases of the valley began, the year 1961 saw a start made on the excavation of the sacred area of Panr I. In the meantime, the material unearthed was progressively catalogued, photographed and restored according to an extremely detailed working protocol, which also served to training IAM local collaborators. Under the leadership of Francesca Bonardi, an exceptional photographer, Franca Callori di Vignale, restorer and others (above all architects and draughtsmen) ⁽¹⁵⁾, but also under the guidance of such excellent excavators such as D. Faccenna, N. Bonacasa, S. Puglisi, M. Taddei, U. Scerrato important skills were passed on in the field of documentation, restoration and excavation ⁽¹⁶⁾. Let us recall but a few names of long-term collaborators: the assistant photographer Dowar Khan and the assistant restorer Akram Khan (aka Akam Khan), who later became respectively custodian and cook of the IAM, the assistant surveyor Abdul Ghafur, the current head restorer Akhtar Manir, the extraordinary foremen Zamani and Fazal Mahmud, who together with the chief accountant Fazal Wahid, unfortunately passed away several years back and were replaced by younger collaborators who had been trained in their school. In December 1962, the chronicles tell us, 'at the conclusion of the Swat excavation campaign, a reception was given at the headquarters of the [Italian Cultural] Centre attended, together with Prof. Tucci, by VIPs, scholars and representatives of the diplomatic and cultural worlds' (*ibid.*: 21) ⁽¹⁷⁾.

In 1963 the Swat Museum, whose initial collection comprised the collection of the Wali, and subsequently the Italian excavation material, was established in Saidu Sharif. The Institute's contribution to the establishment of this museum was decisive: Tucci's brand new idea was to create a 'regional' museum, the collections in which would largely come from scientific excavations and would be catalogued following a very advanced protocol for the time. It is no coincidence that, since then, IAM has always collaborated closely with the Saidu Sharif Museum down to the current project (funded by the MAE) to computerize the collections, also to enhance traceability and recovery in the case of unlawful scattering, which is a step towards achieving one of the priority objectives that DAM has set itself. The Swat Museum was opened on 10 November; at the opening ceremony a message was read out from the President of the Italian Republic, A. Segni, received through the Italian Embassy.

⁽¹⁵⁾ V. Caroli, T. Tamagnini, L. Mariani, G. Ioppolo, G. Tilia, N. Olivieri, F. Martore, R. Sabelli to mention some of the more assiduous.

⁽¹⁶⁾ U. Scerrato, continuously present in Swat from 1983 on, took part in several excavation campaigns in Udegram starting from 1959 (see the evidence in Scerrato 1995a).

⁽¹⁷⁾ In April, in Peshawar, an exhibition was held on Italian archaeological activities. It should be noted that in 1965 the Italian Cultural Centre in Karachi had already been closed due to problems of funding, which was borne partly by the Institute.

An address was given by Tucci in the presence of the President of Pakistan, M.G. Ayub Khan (*IsMEO Activities 1963*: 287-89).

In Autumn the same year in Kabul Tucci met C.A. 'Betto' Pinelli, who was returning from the 'Oxus Expedition '63' of the Italian Alpine Club (CAI) and invited him to visit Upper Swat for a climbing programme within a vaster project that Tucci was preparing in agreement with the Wali concerning the development of the Kalam area (Pinelli 1964a, 1964b). These interesting, and partly unpublished, events will be described in the Appendix to the present notes. However, one important sign of the meeting with Pinelli remains. The following year, on the return of the SUCAI-IsMEO expedition to Miangul-sar (dedicated by the Italian mountaineers to the reigning family of Swat) ⁽¹⁸⁾, P. Gui and E. Cimmino remained for more than one year in the IAM headquarters and Tucci made use of their experience as photographers and topographers to make the first Archaeological Map of Jambil, the valley leading into the site of Butkara I ⁽¹⁹⁾.

Research on Prehistory and Protohistory (1967-1983)

In 1966 the excavation of the Buddhist sacred area and monastery at Saidu Sharif I began under the direction of Faccenna, while the excavation of Katelai I and of Gogdara III, directed by Chiara Silvi Antonini, began together with that of Aligrama, directed by G. Stacul ⁽²⁰⁾. These three excavations mark the past and future of the incipient research on Swat protohistory. While the excavation of Katelai I was decisive for the preliminary reconstruction of the protohistoric phases and the excavation of Gogdara III (1958, 1963 and 1966) had not led to results of any particular

⁽¹⁸⁾ This was the first international expedition organized by the Council of the University Section of the CAI (SUCAI).

⁽¹⁹⁾ The sojourn of the two Italians was funded by the General Direction for Cooperation of MAE, which also paid for the two year stay (1964-1966) of one of the future main figures of IAM research, G. Stacul. P. Gui was still in Swat in the Summer of 1965, when it joined the 'City of Teramo' Expedition to the Hindu Raj led by C.A. Pinelli. During the expedition the second war between Pakistan and India broke out. The expedition was interrupted; Gui and Pinelli returned later and managed to find the money for the return, setting up a little shop at the Chitral bazaar to sell the material abandoned by their companions (mostly tinned food). On returning to Saidu Sharif an exposure meter and a camera on the Chakdara bridge cost them a night in a cell in the fort of Malakand, with several tragi-comical consequences, which will also be glossed over here. Pinelli therefore returned to Peshawar in time for the bombing of the city and its airfield. Tucci, from Kabul, organized his return to Italy. From Saidu Sharif Gui, through the good offices of the Chief Secretary, succeeded in avoiding the consequences of the arrest and to return to our Embassy and then to Italy. Stacul therefore spent that year together with his wife Mariuccia in Saidu Sharif.

⁽²⁰⁾ The information concerning the activities from 1963 to 1986 have been taken from *IsMEO Activities*, which was published in *East and West*.

importance⁽²¹⁾, the site of Aligrama, a very important protohistoric settlement with attached graveyards would become one of the main working sites of IAM in the years '70-'80, later under the leadership of S. Tusa. In the meantime, the materials of Butkara I, Panr I, Saidu Sharif I, Butkara II, Katelai I and Loebanr I were divided up.

However, it was the excavation of the Ghalegay shelter, commenced by Stacul in 1968 which yielded the first highly important results allowing the scholar to process the preliminary sequence into 7 periods of pre-protolithic occupation phases from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age (Swat Cultural Sequence, aka SCS). Again in 1967-68 Stacul carried out reconnaissances and excavations in Buner, in Upper Swat (Kalam) and in Chitral, while in progress the Saidu Sharif I excavation was still. In the same period an architectural and ethnographic study of wooden architecture in Upper Swat began – mosques, but also places of worship of the non Islamized Dardic people, traces of whom could still be found in those years. The 1967 reconnaissances involved the localities of Utrot, Kalam, Bahrein I and II, Khwazakhela, Ushu, Arianai, Pashmal, Laikot I and II, Fatehpur, Myandam, Madyan I and II, were carried out by G. Zander, L. Mariani and Francesca Bonardi. The research continued until 1970 (Khwazakhela, Jare, Pya, Myandam, Bashkhela), after which it was interrupted before being resumed in 1980 by Scerrato with the help of F. Noci. This early ethnographic research included also the studies, strongly desired by Tucci, on oral tradition, in which many pre-Islamic elements clearly emerged, carried out by Inayat-ur-Rahman, the then Director of the Swat Museum, and co-published by the Institute in two volumes.

In 1972 the Aligrama excavation resumed, and continued uninterruptedly until 1983, with the collaboration of Tusa, Inayat-ur-Rahman and A. Ghafur, but later also of M. Seddiq and K. Mohammad and N.A. Khan, who succeeded one another as directors of the Swat Museum⁽²²⁾. From 1976 on the excavations were increasingly under the responsibility of Tusa, while Stacul began to excavate the dwelling area of Loebanr III and then Loebanr II. In 1976 the last subdivision of materials between Italy and Pakistan took place (Loebanr III, Kherai, Lalbatei, Sogolai, Barikot, Ghalegay, Barama, Udegram, Gogdara): from that year on, at the Institute's request, the materials were always delivered to the DAM to be exhibited in the museums of Pakistan.

⁽²¹⁾ As had already happened in the case of Gullini and Bonacasa's excavation (1958) of the archaeological deposit covering the Gogdara I incisions (Bronze-Early Iron Age) (see Olivieri 1998).

⁽²²⁾ Participating in the Aligrama excavations were experts from the University of Trieste (Institute of Geodesy and Geophysics) starting in 1974, G. Manzoni and M. Cucarzi. In 1977 Patrizia Zolese began collaborating in the excavations while the same year saw the collaboration of R. Ciarla, current Director of the IsIAO Italo-Thai Mission in Lopburi, as well as of P. Genovese as draughtsman. The year 1978 saw the participation of G. La Monica of the Institute of Geology of Rome University. In 1979 G. Almerigogna participated as draughtsman. Starting in 1980 Tusa was assisted by I. Valente as well as by Zolese. In 1982 the archaeozoologist of the University of Rome, B. Compagnoni, and the draughtsman C. Di Stefano also participated.

In 1977, after a reconnaissance campaign in the Ghorband valley, Stacul began excavating one of the key sites in IAM research in the closing years of the 20th century: Bir-kot-ghwandai. The site was excavated by Stacul between 1977 and 1987, while the historical phases, including the great fortified built-up area of Indo-Greek foundation were the object of the excavations carried out between 1984 and 2006 by P. Callieri (see Olivieri 2003a) who began his *cursus* with the excavation of the monastery of Saidu Sharif I in 1977 ⁽²³⁾.

In 1980 Stacul concluded the Ghalegay excavation. Just prior to the conclusion of the Autumn working campaign, Stacul, Noci, Tusa and Scerrato made a very important reconnaissance of the valley of the Darel, the right hand tributary of the Indus, a remote area completely closed to foreigners at the time and well known for the fabulous description made of it in the Chinese sources. The Darel survey, which had allowed new directions of study at the borders between Swat and the Karakoram of Chilas to be glimpsed, has to be considered as a parenthesis, also because in the following two decades, the local tribes, also due to the increased trade flow after the opening of the 'Karakorum Highway', displayed increasing desire to maintain their threatened isolation.

The following year, as part of the 1st International Conference on Pakistan Archaeology (Dept. of Archaeology, Peshawar University), a photographic exhibition of the Mission's activities was held. Among the exhibits those dedicated to wooden architecture stood out. This was a research sector to which, as we have seen, fresh impulse was given starting in 1980. In 1982 Scerrato, Noci, and the draughtsman N. Olivieri visited the areas of Durushkhela, Malamjabba and Puran; in 1983 the areas of Torwali and Dir, as well as Pattan, Kandya, Gilgit, Hunza, Baltistan (together with A.H. Dani); in 1984 they continued research in the Northern Areas (Scerrato 1984). Today the huge harvest of documentation, photographs and drawings is being published (F. Noci and L. Mariani are collaborating): the study failed to avoid the devastation of this architecture, although it will enable an almost complete documentation of a world that now belongs definitively to the past to be ordered and presented.

The Archaeology of the Historic Settlements (1984-2006)

The first steps in the research on the historic settlements of Swat were certainly those of Gullini's excavations at Udegram, but above all the topographic research in the Mingora area, culminating in the excavation of several trenches at the site of Barama I carried out by Faccenna in 1963. Precisely in the course of the latter

⁽²³⁾ Mention should be made of the collaboration at Saidu Sharif I of the architects P. Genovese and G. Almerigogna, as well as the above cited Tilia and Martore. Professor Tucci's last visit in Swat occurred in 1977. He was accompanied by his cardiologist, the then Colonel (Army Medical Corps) Prof. Michele Anaclerio (now Major General, Advisor for Health, Ministry of Defence).

activity, there emerged the clear awareness of a fundamental deficiency in the sector of the study of pottery and other craft activities. This detracted considerably from the effectiveness of the activities of recognition and study of the territory. The need to make up for this shortcoming corresponded both to the urgent need to produce an archaeological documentation that would allow the local authorities to proceed to protect an urban site of the historic period on which both Stein and Tucci had expressed their opinion: Bir-kot-ghwandai. Faccenna, once the excavation of Saidu Sharif I had been completed, decided to accept Callieri's proposal to resume the study of the civil and military settlements. This was done above all by resuming the Bir-kot-ghwandai excavations, where Stacul had already worked, but also by implementing a new programme of reconnaissances (focused on the documentation of the late-historic fortifications and tower-house settlements). The choice of excavation site was particularly significant: in the 1980s, the area of Bir-kot-ghwandai had begun to be threatened by an alarming building activity. The IAM at that stage became involved in a series of fortunate 'salvage' operations carried out with a thorough methodology⁽²⁴⁾. From 1984 on there was a rush of work (1984, 1985, 1987, 1990-1992, 1998-2000 and 2006) and reconnaissances (1991-1997) which led to the discovery of an Indo-Greek fortified city with successive important Saka-Parthian, Kushan and Kushano-Sasanid phases; to the documentation of a late-ancient dwelling area half way up the acropolis hill overlooking the site; to the discovery of the protohistoric and early historic phases of the occupation of the acropolis; and lastly to the discovery, again on the acropolis of a Brahmanic temple, never before document in Swat.

The other important project was that of the excavation of the Ghaznavid mosque on Mt Raja Gira at Udegram, directed by Scerrato. The project, which saw the light after the finding of the inscription referring to the foundation of the mosque (the third oldest in Pakistan, but the oldest in the northern regions),

(24) At the Bir-kot-ghwandai excavations, the methodology devised in accordance with E.C. Harris' indications was introduced for the first time in the archaeological area of Gandhara. For the reconstruction of the working phases see further Olivieri 2003a. Participating in the campaigns directed by Callieri were mainly, the archaeologists Anna Filigenzi, present director of the IsIAO Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan (1984, 1985, 1987, 1990, 2000), L.M. Olivieri (1987, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2006), M. Nascari (1987, 1990, 1991, 1992), R. Micheli (1998, 1999, 2006), L. Colliva (1999, 2000, 2006), P. Brocato (1990), E. Morigi (2006); the anthropologist R. Macchiarelli and the archaeobotanist L. Costantini participated in the work of the 1987 campaign, the former to study the bone remains of Saidu Sharif I and of the Islamic age graveyard in trench BKG 3, and the latter to study the fossil plant remains conserved in the paste of the protohistoric pottery. Participating as draughtsmen were F. Belisario (1984), F. Cocchi and M. Cafaro (1987), N. Olivieri (1985, 1990), R. Sabelli, Rita Galanti, Anna Mannari (1991, 1992), R. Micheli (1998, 1999, 2006), F. Martore (1999, 2000). The reconnaissances (1991-1997) were carried out by Olivieri, together with Nascari, Sabelli, Mannari and Galanti (1991, 1992). A. Aftab Khan (1985-1987), A. Azim and Saeed Taera Tanneer (1990), A. Nasir Khan (1991-1992, 1998-2000) and Faiz-ur-Rahman (2006) participated as DAM assistants.

involved the complete definition and excavation of the building, the study of the dwelling area and the graveyard (1985, 1986, 1989, 1996, 1999), providing extremely precious elements for a knowledge of the first, incomplete, Islamization of Swat in the 11th-14th century ⁽²⁵⁾.

In the meantime, other non secondary research was implemented and completed within the framework of IAM activities in these years: in 1987 a reconnaissance programme was begun with a view to defining the *corpus* of Buddhist rock sculptures in Swat ⁽²⁶⁾; in 1989 a programme was begun on the ancient quality stone quarries ⁽²⁷⁾; in 1989 Stacul began excavating the farm settlement of Kalako-dherai (1989-1996) ⁽²⁸⁾; the reconnaissances of the civil and military settlements and on the ancient topography of Swat ⁽²⁹⁾; the study and documentation of the 'Great Buddhist Monuments' of Swat (carried out in 1993-2000 with the help of Nascari and the group of draughtsmen directed by Sabelli), recently completed with the help of Martore and in the frame of a project led by P. Spagnesi with the assistance of Maria Grazia Turco (2004-2006; see Spagnesi, this issue). Other projects could not even be commenced for various different reasons: for the past, we mention the excavation of a Buddhist site nearby Shigar in Baltistan, wanted by both K. Jettmar and Tucci (today the site is almost completely plundered); more recently (1993), the project of graphic documentation of Takht-i Bahi planned by Taddei and K. Kuwayama.

⁽²⁵⁾ Participating in the campaigns, directed by Scerrato, were F. Noci (1985-1986; he had participated to the works at Saidu Sharif I), archaeologist, as director assistant, Alessandra Bagnera (1989, 1993), I. Chiesi (1989), L. Declich (1989), Roberta Giunta (1993, 1996-97, 1999), B. Genito, director of the IsMEO Archaeological Mission in Hungary and presently director of the IsIAO Archaeological Mission in Esfahan (Iran) (1996-97), Ilaria E. Scerrato (1999) as archaeologists; N. Olivieri (1985-86, 1989) and D. Rosati (1993, 1996-97, 1999) as draughtsmen; R. Macchiarelli directed the anthropological analyses (1989). The excavations have been carried on in collaboration with the DAM with the participation of Ahmed Aftab Khan (1985, 1986), Muhammad Afzal Khan (1989), Abdul Nasir Khan (1993, 1996, 1999).

⁽²⁶⁾ The programme, directed by Filigenzi and Olivieri, involved the latter in reconnaissances in 1987 and in 1989-1994.

⁽²⁷⁾ The programme, in collaboration with the Department of Geomineralogy of the University of Bari, was directed by S. Lorenzoni and Eleonora Zanettin Lorenzoni, with collaborators from their Department; Olivieri participated in it as archaeologists in 1989 and 1991, and C. Faccenna as a geologist in 1989.

⁽²⁸⁾ The excavation benefited from the collaboration of Micheli as archaeologist and draughtsman (1990-1998); A. Azim (1990), A. Nasir Khan (1991, 1993-96), Badshah Sardar (1992) and Tahir Saeed (1996) participated as DAM assistants.

⁽²⁹⁾ The research, carried out by Olivieri between 1990 and 1997, involved the collaboration of P. Brocato (1990), but above all the help and logistical assistance of the head of the local UNDP bureau, V. Venturello, a tireless walker and unforgettable guest with his wife Delphine. With them and other NGO friends present in Swat in those years, as well as our dear friend from Barikot, Arshad Khan, numerous small mountaineering expeditions were organized in which sport was combined with topographic research (for instance, the climbs at Ilam, Loe-sar, Dwa-sarai, all around 3000 m asl, and the reconnaissance in the valleys of Bahandra and Ushu in 1993). This tradition of excursions, without doubt inaugurated by Tucci, had two tireless adepts in Tusa and Stacul (of the former we mention the crossing from Kalam to Gilgit; of the two together, the ascension of the Pir-sar).

Conclusions

The closing five years of the century were marked by a growing atmosphere of insecurity, culminating, through the events of 1995 and 1998, in the tragic events of 2001⁽³⁰⁾. To these were added, in addition to a gradual reduction of funding available to IAM, also some sad events, such as the death of valuable collaborators like Zamani (1995), Fazal Wahid (1997) and Fazal Mahmud (1998), as well as the premature death of Maurizio Taddei (2000), who in 1995 had taken on the direction of IAM, after Domenico Faccenna had generously decided to pass the baton on to the next generation. These objective conditions penalized most severely the large-scale projects, such as the excavation of Bir-kot-ghwandai and the Udegram mosque. The excavated remains of the trenches of these two sites are still urgent tasks, which the Italian and Pakistani governments should give definitive approval to proceed with. This would finally allow their final acquisition by the Government of Pakistan as well as a proper conservation of the structures and their musealization, with significant returns in touristic terms for the Swat District. Also for the site of Saidu Sharif I a positive response is expected, in particular from the UNESCO, for the project that would allow conservation and also some restoration⁽³¹⁾. In the meantime IAM was in any case committed to the implementation of 1st phase of the archaeological map (AMSV Project) and to the study of non Buddhist rock art, which allows Italy finally to align itself with the great tradition of studies on this region (largely due to the efforts of the Pak-German working group, directed first by K. Jettmar and today by H. von Hauptmann). But all this is still not history, just recent scientific events, and ample information about it will be given in the pages below.

APPENDIX

Italian Mountaineering in Swat Kohistan

Mention has already been made of the SUCAI Roma expedition of 1964. It was part of a project in which the Institute collaborated with the Government of Swat in various

⁽³⁰⁾ In 1995 Swat was a theatre of turbulence, which led to skirmishes over the control of the airport of Saidu Sharif; in 1998, after the protests at the US missile attack in Afghanistan, which followed the tragic events of that Summer in Africa, the Pakistani authorities deemed it advisable to evacuate the IAM to the Italian Embassy. In April 2001, shortly after the Bamiyan episode, the platform of the temple on the acropolis of Bir-kot-ghwandai was seriously damaged. However, it should be borne in mind that, over the years, also in the more 'difficult' ones, IAM never ran any serious danger, included as it was in a wide-ranging network of mutual relations of respect and benevolence.

⁽³¹⁾ A project in this sense was taken on board by the Cultural Heritage bureau of UNESCO which officially adopted it on the occasion of the participation of its director, L. Lévi-Strauss and his head in Pakistan, J. Khi, at the opening of the exhibition 'Il Maestro di Saidu Sharif', held at MNAOR in the Spring of 2001. The project intended to be funded with the Funds-in-Trust of the Italian government at UNESCO was overtaken at the last minute by other initiatives despite the pressing recommendations of the Institute.

aspects of cultural policy, including the tourist promotion of the valley. One of the aims of the expedition was indeed to draw up a 'Guide to the Mountains of Swat', as well as to carry out preliminary reconnaissance in view of the promotion of the Kalam area for winter tourism (Pinelli 1964a). If carried through to its conclusion, this project would doubtless have limited the unrestricted exploitation that afflicted part of these areas in the 1980s-1990s. This history of this expedition was born in Kabul with this question from Tucci: 'Dear Pinelli, since you are here, why don't you hop over to Swat?' (*ibid.*: 70). In order to examine this story closer at hand, we arranged a meeting with C.A. 'Betto' Pinelli, a CAI Academic and member of the Institute. He clearly illustrated for us the history of these mountains in those years almost all unconquered, with their uncertain when not actually unknown topography⁽³²⁾.

The first Italian to explore the Swat Kohistan was M. Botteri who wrote a report about it for *Alpi Venete* in 1960. After passing through IAM headquarters, he crossed the passes that run from Kalam towards the E, towards Kandia, and was the first to describe the Batin-sar group.

As well as of Pinelli, the SUCAI group was composed of E. Costantini, V. Camilleri, F. Cravino, E. Cimmino, P. Gui, L. 'Gigi' Mario, L. Pieruccini, B. Marsili and P. Roncoroni. The mountaineering-geographic programme involved the Falak-sar group, where a large peak had been surveyed (without however naming it), the reconnaissance of the Sirri-darra (6,200 m asl) first surveyed by Pinelli and Mario, but above all the reconnaissance of the valleys that were



Fig. 8 - Sirri-darra group, side N; standing, to the left, L. Mario. (Photo by C.A. Pinelli).



Fig. 9 - C.A. Pinelli at the Biasin pass; in the background the Miangul-sar. (Photo by L. Mario).

⁽³²⁾ From a letter Pinelli wrote to Tucci on 29 August 1964: 'The choice of this zone [for the Base Camp: S of the Kachi-khani passes] delighted the Chief Secretary and the Wali himself. The Government of Swat already has plans for a new road to the lake of Mahodand. The zone will therefore become the ideal mountain tourist centre for Swat. The Wali kindly received us this morning and

supposed to connect Swat and Chitral to the SW of the Kachi-khani pass. These valleys did not exist and so the group made a substantial contribution to the solution of a non secondary geographic problem (Pinelli 1964b). Also explored were the passes leading NE towards Gilgit (Dadarili pass). In the zone of the Kachi-khani numerous first climbs were made, with the consequent naming of the peaks ⁽³³⁾. From this zone two passes were explored that were supposed to lead to the Gabral valley, in the case of the northernmost one, and in the case of the other one to the Bahandra valley, the left hand tributary of the Gabral valley. The atmospheric conditions forced a withdrawal from the northernmost one (Ghurbi-la, 4,600 m asl). In the meantime, narrates Pinelli, he and 'Gigi' Mario tackled a pass further south (again at an altitude of 4,600 m), named the Biasin pass, after a dear deceased friend of his from Verona. The two thus reached the base of the SW wall of an unconquered mountain, a large pyramid in the centre of the fork formed by the Bahandra and Ushu valleys, which they called 'Myangul-sar' or better 'Miangul-sar' (5,700 m asl) in honour of the reigning house of Swat. Unfortunately, the two mountaineers had to withdraw owing to the dramatically loose conditions of the snow only 100 m from the peak. The peak was conquered the following year, Pinelli told us, by a group of students from Oxford University ⁽³⁴⁾.

showed considerable interest in our work. We will have with us an interpreter and two armed guards. Mail will be forwarded to us from the Archaeological Mission twice a week. This evening also Prof. Caroli arrived together with two "new acquisitions": Stacul and the restorer'. The following year, on 15 March, Pinelli gave a lecture at the Institute entitled 'The Exploration of the Mountains of Swat'.

⁽³³⁾ From documents in Pinelli's possession we transcribe the following dates, climbs and technical data: '5/9/64: Pierluigi Peak 5,200, 4th/3rd, Camilleri, Cravino and Marsili; Cervinetta 5,000 m, 2nd, Costantini and Gui. 7/9/64: Punta Giovanna (or 'delle Giovanne') 5,050 m, 2nd-3rd Camilleri and Cravino; Anna Maria Peak 5,300 m, 4th(-5th), Camilleri and Cravino. 14/9/64: Spid Bad Ban 5,400 m, ice, Costantini, Cravino and Cimmino'. An initial search indicates that the place names, although duly registered through the CAI, have not been acquired at the international level.

⁽³⁴⁾ The mountain today has been given the simplified name of 'Miangul-sar' (see *American Alpine Journal*, 1968: 227; 1969: 459).

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