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Cover Photo:

Hodur West: Buddha Stupa group, Lotus Sutra, 5th to 8th century (Photo PGAM).

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Editorial Note

The authors are responsible for the linguistic and technical qualities of their texts. The editors only tried to ensure minimum coherence to the articles. The editors always reserve the right to make any changes to manuscripts to maintain the Journal's standards. Articles with serial numbers are evaluated through the blind reviews to ensure compliance with the ethical rules of this Journal and the guidelines of Higher Education Commission (HEC), Pakistan.

Cultural Heritage Management Plan for the Diamer-Bhasha Dam Project Urgent Tasks.

Harald Hauptmann†

Abstract

The note presented here, unpublished, and recently found during a reconnaissance of the materials preserved in Harald Hauptmann's personal archives, presents a brief synopsis of the work conducted by the Pak-German mission in Gilgit-Baltistan and directed until 2013 by the author. The most important part of this note, which was drafted in 2015, however, lies in the ideal program that the author has in fact left in it for future reference for colleagues who would deal, after him, with this important region of Pakistan and its endangered cultural heritage.

Keywords: Karakoram/Karakorum, Upper Indus, Gilgit-Baltistan, rock-art, Diamer-Bhasha Dam.

Editorial Note

Over the past few months in Heidelberg, while organizing the papers in the archive of Harald Hauptmann (Sitara-i Imtiaz), the unforgettable director of the German Mission in Upper Indus, Ms Salwa Hauptmann, with the help of Luca M. Olivieri, found an unpublished manuscript of great importance for the further study and documentation of the extraordinary province of rock art in Gilgit-Baltistan. The text was compiled in September 2015, two years after the last campaign of the program inaugurated in 1979 by A.H. Dani and K. Jettmar, continued and completed in 2013 under the direction of Hauptmann. As the reader will see, The Note is presenting the most urgent task for future archaeologists in the region.¹ Mainly two future activities were considered: the first concerned the compulsory and priority documentation of a selected number of petroglyph groups; the second concerned the excavation and systematic study of a few sites deemed to be of priority importance. Obviously, these selections are calibrated on the area most at risk due to the construction of the Diamer-Bhasha dam and ancillary infrastructures, and therefore mainly refer to the areas affected by these. The project was conceived as phase 2 of the then recently concluded program. Although for well-known reasons (Harald Hauptmann would later leave us in 2018; see JAC 2018, 1-2) this program could not even be initiated by Hauptmann,

¹ [Cf. Jettmar, K. 1959. Urgent Tasks of Research among the Dardic Peoples of Eastern Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan. *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* 2: 85-96.]

the contents of the note published here remain the urgent and unavoidable goals bequeathed to Pakistani and international scholars, and to all those who care about Pakistan's cultural heritage and its delicate cultural ecosystem along the Hindukush-Karakorum-Himalaya belt.

*The note is illustrated by a series of archival images that tell, as it were, the visual history of Pak-German work in the region. One last thing we would like the reader to note: Hauptmann's laconic, very brief recommendation to his future heirs, namely to contextualize rock-art by accompanying it with excavations and site surveys, so as not to leave it as the tip of an unexplored iceberg, but as it was in ancient times, the imaginative kit of a world that had its own social and human three-dimensionality, which only archaeological excavations (Hauptmann was basically an archaeologist) can provide. In this we see how Hauptmann foresaw the possibility of an eventual outgrowth of the methodology elaborated, I would say almost, by K. Jettmar (an anthropologist) and expressed by the latter in his famous contribution to *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, entitled "Archaeology before excavation".² The text is reproduced in full with a few additions and notes. The images were chosen by Salwa Hauptmann. Editorial contributions are placed in square brackets.*

One final note: the title refers to a Cultural Heritage Management Plan for the Diamer-Bhasha Dam Project, which is different from the Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment conducted for WAPDA or to the Cultural Heritage Management Plan produced for WAPDA in 2013.³

Luca M. Olivieri

² [Jettmar, K. 1979. Rock-carvings and Stray Finds in the Mountains of North Pakistan. *Archaeology before Excavation*. In Taddei, M. (ed.) *South Asian Archaeology 1977. Papers from the Fourth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, 2*. IUON, Naples: 917-926.]

³ The title refers to a Cultural Heritage Management Plan for the Diamer-Bhasha Dam Project, which is different from the Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment conducted for WAPDA or to the Cultural Heritage Management Plan produced for WAPDA in 2013.

1. Introduction

In the high mountains of northern Pakistan one of the world's largest rock art provinces is spread along the course of the Upper Indus from Kohistan in the south to Yasin, Hunza and Baltistan in the north. Around 50 000 pictorial carvings and 5000 inscriptions, documented by a Pak-German Mission, represent a space of time of more than 10,000 years until the introduction of Islam during the 16th century. The earliest group of images from Late Stone Age to Neolithic (9th-4th millennium BCE) reveals the archaic world of hunter-gatherers. Giant figures and masks, paralleled in Central Asia, are dated to the Bronze Age (3rd millennium BCE). The third group of Early Iron Age shows images of Eurasian animal style, which testify a new ethnic movement from the northern steppes. With the expansion of the Achaemenid Empire during the 6th century BCE Iranian influence is reflected by petroglyphs of warriors, stylised horses, and fabulous creatures. With the early Buddhist phase (1st-3rd century CE) the region entered the stage of history, as scenes of stūpa veneration and first inscriptions in Kharośthī show (group 5). During the Golden Age of Buddhism (5th-8th century) the existence of three kingdoms, Little Palūr, Great Palūr and the principality of the Dards, is attested by Brāhmī inscriptions. The region reached its historical role between Tibet and China in the north and the Indian kingdoms in the south. Strongholds, monumental Buddha reliefs, and Tibetan inscriptions in Baltistan reveal Tibetan influence. Along the Indus, delicate images of Buddha and stūpas with their worshippers, *jātakas* and episodes of Buddha's life are most striking. More than 700 inscriptions in Sogdian, Bactrian and Parthian testify the importance of the Upper Indus route as the southern branch of the Silk Route for Central Asian traders. The last group of simple drawings of warriors, horsemen with their symbols battle axe and sun disc, and the absence of inscriptions indicate an anti-Buddhist movement and mark the Medieval period since the 9th century.

2. Fieldwork history

The systematic investigation of the rock art province of Gilgit-Baltistan was inaugurated in 1980 after the opening of the 751 km long Karakorum Highway by a Pakistani- German team conducted by Karl Jettmar (1918-2002) and Ahmad Hasan Dani (1920- 2009) with an official license by the

Department of Archaeology & Museums (DoAM) in Karachi (since 1995 in Islamabad).

In 1984 the research project was established at the Heidelberg Academy of Humanities and Sciences as an own research centre 'Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway'. The field research was mainly concentrated on the documentation of historically important clusters of rock images and inscriptions. Since 1989 the Pak-German Archaeological Mission (PGAM) of the Heidelberg Academy under the directorship of Harald Hauptmann has been able to continue and expand this documentation of all archaeological sites between Shatial and Gilgit along the Indus and its tributary Gilgit. The aim of the project was not only focused on the topographic mapping of the rich rock carving sites and the systematic recording of all petroglyphs of every cluster, but also to survey archaeological and historical sites in Iskoman, Ghizer, Yasin, Hunza and Baltistan. The last field survey was undertaken by the PGAM in 2013 in Baltistan.

3. Published Results

The results of more than 30 years of field research by the PGAM, including earlier anthropological, archaeological, and linguistic investigations between 1955 and 1979, have been published in preliminary [monographic] reports, in a dedicated series, articles, and catalogues.⁴

⁴ [Harald Hauptmann (HH), left a voluminous manuscript of over 400 pages with rich illustrations, which he intended as his definitive historical and archaeological study after many years of fieldwork. The volume, in English, was left in the author's personal archive, almost complete at the time of HH's demise, when, at the initiative of his wife, Salwa Hauptmann, it was edited and prepared for printing. The volume has been edited by Luca M. Olivieri, the photographic and cartographic apparatus is by Martin Bemann, the foreword by Hermann Parzinger (President of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation). The printing of the volume is by Heidelberg University Publishing in collaboration with the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities: H. Hauptmann, *Lords of the Mountains. Pre-Islamic Heritage along the Upper Indus in Pakistan* (L.M. Olivieri, ed. in collaboration with M. Bemann; Foreword by H. Parzinger). Heidelberg University Publishing, Heidelberg (forthcoming). At the time this article is published, HH's posthumous volume is in the printing process, and will most likely be available at the end of 2023.]

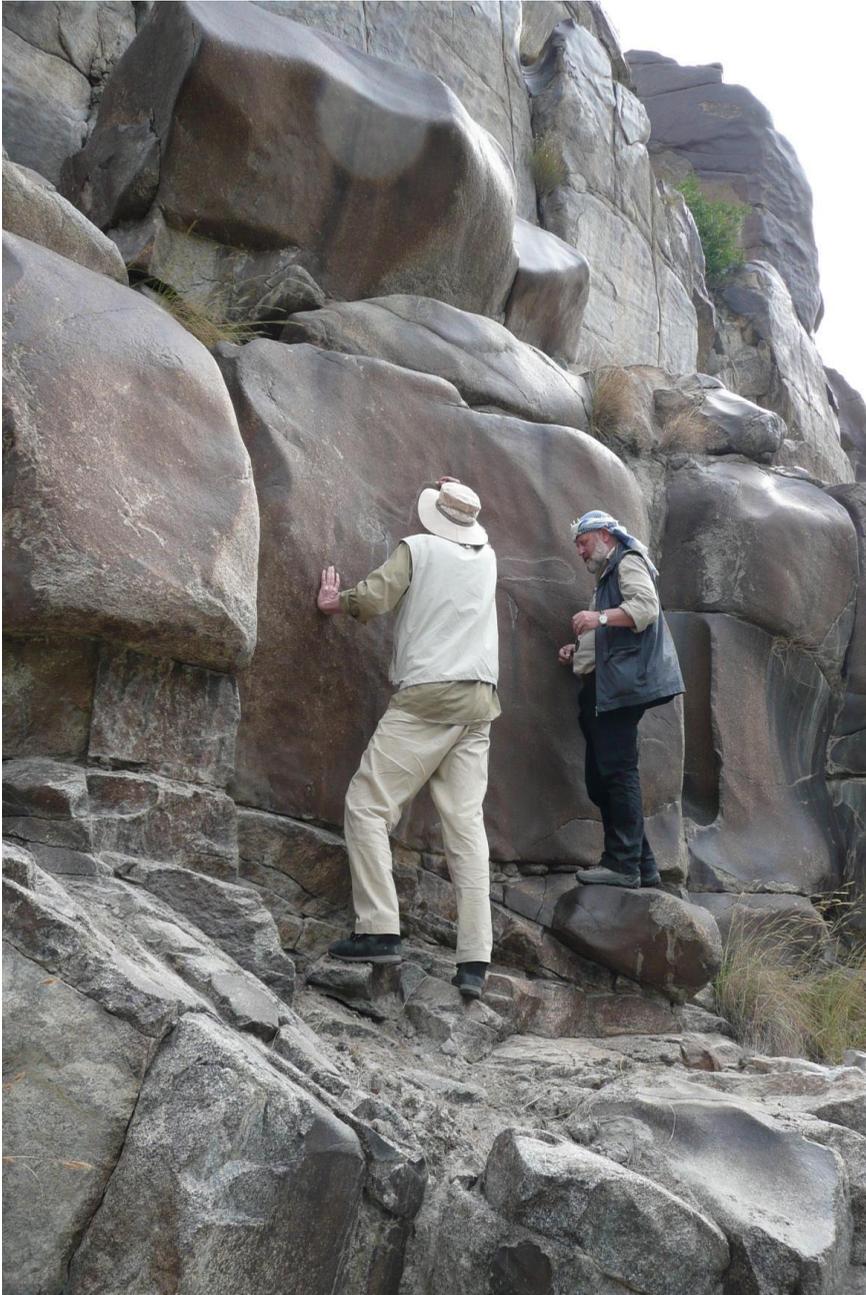


Fig. 1 - PGAM 2009: Giant, rock carving at Helor Das, north bank of Indus, Harald Hauptmann and Martin Bemmman (Photo PGAM).



Fig. 3 - Hodur West: Buddha Stupa group, Lotus Sutra, 5th to 8th century (Photo PGAM).



Fig. 4 - PGAM 2013: Harald Hauptmann (standing, third from right), Martin Bemann (standing, first from left) with the local helpers at Chilas. (Photo PGAM).

3.1 ANP

The series *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan* (ANP; in English, German and French; 1, 1989 – 5, 2004) focuses on specific topics of archaeology, epigraphy (esp. inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Sogdian, and Chinese) and cultural anthropology of Gilgit-Baltistan and neighboring regions. The Iranian and Sogdian inscriptions have been included in the edition of: Sims- Williams, N. 1992. *Sogdian and other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus II. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum: Part II, Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*. London. The ANP issues are published by the Heidelberg Academy of Humanities and Sciences; Publisher: Philp von Zabern, Mainz; the whole series has been digitized in Open Access: <https://digi.hadw-bw.de/view/anp>.

Permalink: <https://katalog.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/titel/68198507>

3.2 MANP

The series *Materials for the Archaeology of the Northern Regions of Pakistan* (MANP; in German with Urdu summary) are dedicated to the systematic edition of the rock carving sites. 11 monographic volumes of the series MANP have been issued between 1994 and 2013. The MANP volumes are all published by the Heidelberg Academy of Humanities and Sciences; Publisher: Philp von Zabern, Mainz; the whole series has been digitized in Open Access: <https://digi.hadw-bw.de/view/manp>.

Permalink: <https://katalog.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/titel/68214817>

[3.2.1 List of the MANP volumes]

MANP 1: Bemann, M. –König, D. *Die Felsbildstation Oshibat* (1994).

MANP 2: König, D. – Fussman, G. *Die Felsbildstation Shatial* (1997).

MANP 3: Bandini-König, D. – Fussman, G. (eds) *Die Felsbildstation Hodar* (1999).

MANP 4: Bandini-König, D. – Hinüber von, O. (eds) *Die Felsbildstationen Shing-Nala und Gichi Nala* (2001).

MANP 5: Bemann, M. *Die Felsbildstation Dadam* (2005).

MANP 6: Bandini-König, D. *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan I: Kataloge Chilas-Brücke und Thalpan (Steine 1-30)* (2003).

- MANP 7: Bandini-König, D. *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan II: Katalog Thalpan (Steine 31-195)* (2005).
- MANP 8: Bandini-König, D. *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan III. Katalog Thalpan (Steine 196-450)* (2007).
- MANP 9: Bandini-König, D. *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan IV. Katalog Thalpan (Steine 451-811)* (2009).
- MANP 10: Bandini-König, D. – Fussman, G. *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan V. Kataloge Ziyarat, Thakot, Khomar Das, Gichoi Das, Dardarbat Das* (2011).
- MANP 11. Bandini-König, D. *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan VI. Ba Das, Ba Das-Ost, Gali, Gukona, Mostar Nala, Ke Ges, Ame Ges und Drang Das. Appendix: Katalog der Inschriften von Thor-Nord* (2013).

4. Urgent tasks for a future field campaign in the Diamer-Bhasha region

The field work along the Upper Indus region, especially in the area endangered by the future Diamer-Bhasha Reservoir, should be concentrated on the two main groups of the ancient heritage: 4.1. the rock carvings and inscriptions, and 4.2. the archaeological sites and other historical architectural remnants.

4.1 Rock carvings and inscriptions

Petroglyphs of ingenious diversity and abundance cover boulders and rock faces not only along the ancient roads on both banks of the Indus, but also grace the routes traversing high mountain passes such as the access to the Babusar Pass through the Thak and Boto Gah nala thus marking the southern branch of the legendary 'Silk Road' system which connected China with historical India. A main cluster of rock carvings, which is endangered by the future Diamer-Bhasha Reservoir, is found between Shatial in Indus-Kohistan and Raikot Bridge extending over a stretch of more than 100 km along the ancient routes. The centre of these unique rock art galleries in the Indus valley is located at the foot of Nanga Parbat (8,125 m) around Chilas in the Diamer District. Altogether more than 50,000 pictorial carvings and 5,000 inscriptions are known from Gilgit-Baltistan representing a space of time of around 12,000 years from the Late Stone Age to the post-Buddhist period (9th century CE) and the gradually

introduction of Islam, i.e. from 9th-8th millennium BCE to the 16th century CE But, the tradition of drawing crude graffiti by shepherds is still alive. The tremendous diversity of the rock art permits insight into the long history of various ethnic groups with their different social-cultural and religious traditions. Together with the inscriptions these monuments represent unique testimonies to reconstruct the previously vaguely known rich culture and history of the vast mountainous region which in its long history likewise separated and connected the great civilisations of High Asia and the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent: the regions, “where the empires meet”.



Fig. 5 - PGAM 2008: Alam Bridge, Harald Hauptmann, Martin Bemman, Akhtar Khan (standing, first form left), and a local helper. Rock carving: Procession with Buddha Statue on Elephant (Photo PGAM)
[See fn. 4 below].⁵

⁵ [Interestingly, the boulder with the graffitied image of the elephant is given as “undocumented” until 2019 in the caption of Figure 20 of Van Aerde, Mohns and Khan 2020. This information, as can be deduced from the photo reproduced above (taken in 2008) Aerde, Mohns and Khan 2020 = Aerde M.E.J.J. van, Mohns A.D.L. and Khan A.G.

In the impending Diamer-Bhasha dam reservoir covering an area of 32,000 acres only 88 archaeological sites including 121 rock carving sites with 37,046 petroglyphs, among them 3,610 inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī, Sogdian, Middle Iranian, and Chinese (one in Hebrew), have been systematically recorded. In 2009 a list of “the rock art sites that will be inundated by the future Diamer-Bhasha Dam Reservoir”, was compiled by the PGAM (in a masterplan). This list has been enlarged and finalized in 2015. The endangered sites along both banks of the Upper Indus are presented with the relevant coordinates. Rock carving sites beyond the borders of the future Diamer-Bhasha Reservoir are also endangered by the widening of the Karakorum Highway and the construction of new roads or merely by the need for building materials. There are many examples in main sites, especially on the southern route between Shatial and Alam Bridge, which testify the ongoing systematic blasting of boulders with petroglyphs.

The rock carvings can be attributed to seven different chronological main stages from the Late Stone Age (9th-8th millennium BCE) to the post-Buddhist period (after 9th century CE). A first selection for a representative exhibition in a local museum has been made by PGAM first in 2009 and from the Heidelberg archive in 2015, but since then many rock carvings have been destroyed or damaged by recently incised pictures and modern inscriptions. The aim of the field campaign around Chilas would be the scrutinizing of the actual condition of the first selection (of around 100 rock images which characterize the time range of around 12 000 years). Some important Buddhist scenes such as in Chilas-Jayachand are painted with election propaganda and afford a cleaning by a specialized conservator to avoid the destruction of the rock's varnish.

Only a very small number of boulders with petroglyphs could be transferred from its original location to a future local museum in Chilas, but the most important images, which represent the highlights of the different stages of history such as of the two Buddhist periods, cover rock faces especially in the central region of Chilas-Thalpan. The sometimes-

(2020), Buddha on the Rocks, Gandharan Connections through the Karakorum Mountains. In Rienjang W. and Stewart P. (Eds.), *The Global Connections of Gandharan Art, Proceedings of the Third International Workshop of the Gandhara Connections Project, University of Oxford, 18th-19th March 2019*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd. 105].

proposed sawing petroglyphs from the granite rocks would require both a great expense and an unusual technical process, which would at least result in the destruction of the whole monument. Most of the rock faces beyond it show crevices. The process of cutting out an image would enlarge these fissures and would not lead to the desirable success. A most convenient way for the preservation of the most important around 100 rock images would be their documentation by 3D-scanning. Based on such digital documentation a later replication of the original images could be realized during a longer period by a specialized museum laboratory or a sculptor's workshop (the same procedure is practiced worldwide such as with some of the painted Franco-Cantabrian Stone Age caves in France and Spain). The 3D-scanning of around 100 rock images would afford three months at the minimum, since only one or two items can be coped with for one day.⁶

As a first step, the field work should be concentrated on the rock carving sites around Chilas and Thalpan, where the listed prominent rock images can more easily be examined concerning their conservation and actual condition. Rock carving sites with exceptional images on the northern bank of the Indus (Dardarbat Das, Thor North, Ba Das East, Gukona, etc.), which are only accessible by rafts, should be taken in consideration for the 3D-scanning process in a second step. The technical team should always be accompanied by an experienced archaeologist.

4.2 Archaeological sites and other historical architectural remnants

During the field surveys since 1989 also all historical sites such as ruins of ancient settlements, forts, singular building structures (control posts, fortified camps, rectangular enclosures, and resting places along the ancient routes on both banks of the river), also of possible monasteries or stūpas have been recorded (see the hill settlement of Patel Kot at Hodur village). Based on this documentation sites (such as the possible site of a monastery at Thalpan) should be selected for a systematic excavation. Other places should be exemplary documented by a team of topographers

⁶ [In 2023, 3D technologies are much more advanced than at the time HH wrote these notes. For example, at present, team from LUMS (supported with funds from the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) is actively engaged in a digital survey of the Diamer-Bhasha region (see <http://heritage360.pk/Diamer/Diamer.html>) and has posted almost 2000 3D models of individual rocks to site collections in Sketchfab: <https://sketchfab.com/cvlablums/collections>].

and architects: small settlements with (perhaps seasonal) round buildings at Thor North, Ba Das, Mostar Nala. Rectangular enclosures at Khomar Das, Gali-Gukona. Such sites would not afford a systematic excavation, but in some better-preserved structures a cleaning of the interior space.

[4.2.1 Ancient settlements which could be recommended for an excavation (ref. to MANP maps)]:

- a) Thalpan, eastern part of the terrace: monumental structures with a flight of steps, possible ruins of a stūpa.
- b) Thalpan Village, lower terrace with illicit diggings: stone walls and stucco reliefs may indicate the location of a stūpa.
- c) Hodur: Hill settlement of Patel Kot above the village (see: MANP 3, 1999).
- d) North bank of the Indus: Thor North, Ba Das, Mostar Nala. South bank: Turril Nala. Ruins of ancient settlements with assemblages of round structures (Ba Das: MANP 11). The aim of systematic architectural surveys and documentation of these sites with restricted cleaning of the round or oval stone circles: structure of the seasonal camps and their chronological and typological classification.
- e) Rectangular structures, perhaps fortified camps, or farmsteads: Gichoi Das (MANP 10, map 4.1), Khomar Das (opposite Chilas, MANP 10, map 3.1-2), Ba Das East, Gali – Gukona (MANP 11).
- f) Observation posts: Ba Das (MANP 11), Thak Nala South.
- g) Control posts and resting places for the caravans (simple stone walls for the mule`s or porter`s load (MANP 10/11).
- h) Singular monumental structure at Dardarbat Das (Dadam Das) on terrace above Indus.
- i) Ancient cemeteries or singular graves at different sites have been severely plundered: exemplary is the destruction of the large cemetery with different tomb construction at Ges (with monumental buildings).



Fig. 6 - PGAM 2004: Takot 2004, mapping work by team member (Photo PGAM).

4.3 Methodological addendum

During the systematic field work in Diamer-Bhasha, the activities of both groups concerning rock carvings and other archaeological monuments should always be coordinated.



Fig. 7 - PGAM 2013: Rock paintings at Gohar Abad, Martin Bemann and Akhtar Khan (Photo PGAM).

Harald Hauptmann

Heidelberg, September 2015

About the “Central Asian Phrygians” (on I. Čašule's hypothesis)

Leonid M. Sverchkov

Abstract

In recent years there has been a wide discussion about the relict language of Burushaski, the reason for which was the hypothesis of Ilija Čašule. The author of the hypothesis defines Burushaski as an Indo-European, ancient Balkan language, very probably Phrygian or related to it, although its contacts with the North Caucasian and Yenisei languages are not denied. Leaving the subject of discussion to the linguists, we would like in this connection to draw attention to the problem of the origin of the repeatedly mentioned anonymous Central Asian donor language and, in addition, cite the data of the genetic study of the Cimmerians, as well as the carriers of the Karasuk and Okunevo cultures. In turn, some insight into the complex historical movements of peoples and their cultural contacts can be given by archaeological materials from Central Asia. In particular, we are talking about a peculiar cultural-historical community that spread from the southern Mongolian steppe belt to the Gansu province, the Tarim basin and further southwest to the Central Asian interfluves inclusively.

Keywords: Burushaski, “Phrygians”, Turan, Tocharians, Yuezhi, Kangju, Samarkand, Ferghana, Handmade Painted Pottery unity.

1. Background: language and genes

In recent years, definitions of “Phrygians”, “Phrygian language” have been increasingly heard in relation to some ancient and modern peoples of Central Asia, their languages or individual linguistic correspondences. It seems that the first person who noticed the Phrygian contribution to the culture and ethnogenesis of Central Asia was S.P. Tolstov, who drew attention to the fact that elements inherent in the Phrygian circle were preserved on the territory of the Amirabad culture for a long time, until the early Middle Ages (Tolstov 1948: 202-203). It is difficult to say what exactly inspired this idea: the name of the founder of the Afrigid dynasty Afrig or “Phrygian caps” on the coin images of the rulers of Khorezm, but the grain of truth in this statement is undoubtedly present.

Another mention of Phrygian belongs not to an archaeologist, but to a whole host of linguists who determined the position of the Tocharian languages in the system of Indo-European relations. Almost everyone agreed on the existence of a long period of particularly close contact between native speakers of Tocharian and Phrygian or Thraco-Phrygian. There are also a number of resemblances to Germanic and Balto-Slavic languages (for a detailed review, see Hackstein 2016).

Strangely, since “the Phrygians” found themselves in the extreme west (Khorezm) and the extreme east (Tarim) of Turkestan, how appropriate is the use of this geographical term in relation to such ancient times. L. S. Klein's recent idea about Phrygians in Pakistan seemed even more curious, according to which the Phrygians (Bhrigs) penetrated from the Middle Danube into the Indus Valley around the XII century BC (Klein 2007: 112-113). No matter how extravagant L. S. Klein's assumption may look, it received unexpected confirmation in the studies of the famous linguist Prof. I. Čašule, although it seems that it has been the latter's conclusions that served as the basis for L. S. Klein's hypothesis.

For the past more than twenty years, I. Čašule has been studying the origin and features of the mysterious Burushaski language. Overall, there are about 90,000 native speakers of this language, who live in the depths of the Karakoram Mountain range in North-Western Pakistan. There are three dialects - in Hunza, in Yasin and in Nagar. Researchers define Burushaski as one of the relict languages of Eurasia of the hypothetical Dene-Caucasian (Sino-Caucasian) macrofamily, as in it were found quite distinct signs of affinity with Yenisei and North Caucasian languages (for a detailed review see: Napol'skih 2022: 74-77). Contrary to the general opinion I. Čašule in a number of works tries to prove the Indo-European basis of Burushaski, moreover defines it as “an Indo-European ancient Balkan language, very probably Phrygian or related to it, which very well preserved the basic vocabulary and most of its grammar and which developed by creolization with the language yet to be revealed” (Čašule 2014). In addition, Burushaski isoglosses with 32 Slavic words are noted. According to the author, this fact indicates borrowings from Burushaski into the Proto-Slavic language and that in the distant past their speakers were in close contact (Čašule 2016: 2017).

In a persistent polemic with adherents of the Dene-Caucasian (Sino-Caucasian) theory of the origin of Burushaski, J. Bengston and V. Blažek (Bengston and Blažek 2011), I. Čašule continues to defend his position, although he does not deny the possibility of Burushaski's contacts with the

North Caucasian and Yeniseian languages (Čašule 2022). Moreover, the genetic research on the Y-chromosome of 20 samples generally indicates in favour of Čašule's version. The Burushaski people are genetically completely different from all four groups of the Pakistani population, only, in contrast to L.S. Klein, the authors link the origin of Burushaski language and genes to the conquest campaign of the Greco-Macedonian army of Alexander (Oefner et al. 2013: 839).

The extreme aggravation of the debate about the origin of the Burushaski language is evidenced by the appearance of a number of publications, in some of which it is considered an extinct North-Western Indo-European language that has undergone creolization (Hamp 2012), in others - a classical linguistic isolate that has absorbed several layers of some unknown Indo-European languages (Huld 2012). Properly, all opinions and arguments in favor of one or another version were considered and were summarized in a recent article by L. Alfieri (Alfieri 2020). Its author doubts the Indo-European origin of Burushaski, but does not exclude the influence of some unknown Indo-European language on it in antiquity and recognizes the fact, "that in Burushaski there seems to be some ancient IE elements, which however are not compatible with any known IE language, therefore they may suggest the existence of an extinct branch of the IE family that preserved the velar stops and the difference between PIE *e, *a, *o in the prehistory of the Karakoram area" (Alfieri 2020: 15-16).

For historians-archaeologists, especially those who work in Central Asia, the discussion about the Burushaski is important since it once again drew attention to a certain "foreign" component that existed in Central Asia in ancient times. In this case, it is even not so important how Burushaski meets the criteria of the Indo-European family. It is much more vital, that owing to the research of I. Čašule, a set of isoglosses, which connects Burushaski with Phrygian and Balto-Slavic languages, was revealed. Something similar has been already said about the Tocharian languages, which makes us see this fact not as an accident, but as a pattern. It seems that the conclusions of linguists show us another manifestation of a mysterious unknown Indo-European language close to Phrygian, which has left its traces in many languages and cultures of Central Asia, and Burushaski is no exception here.

How these so-called "Phrygians" found themselves in the depths of Asia, whether these groups were originally separate, at different times, or all of them fragments of a once single community, the future will show, but

for now in this regard we would like to draw attention to a monumental and extremely interesting study by G. Holzer.

In 1989, the Austrian scientist G. Holzer discovered an ancient Indo-European substratum in the Slavic and Baltic languages, consisting of 45 words and not related to any of the currently known languages (Holzer 1989: 9-12). The author of the study gave it the name “Temematic”, dated the time of contacts of its speakers with the Balto-Slavs around the IX century BC and, accordingly, connected the Temematic language with the historical Cimmerians (Holzer 1989: 177-179, 212-214). Referring to the basic works of famous archaeologists, G. Holzer considers a possible source of the Temematic language: the Srubnaya culture (A. I. Terenozhkin) or the Catacomb culture and its derivatives (M. Gimbutas) (Holzer 1989: 215-216).

F. Kortlandt tried to reconstruct the Temematic language and arrived at a conclusion that it is close to the Greco-Phrygian proto-language, although it is difficult to prove the existence of such language. According to some features, the Temematic language is similar to Tocharian, Italian and Anatolian, in some ways to Germanic. Some features, most probably of later origin, unite it with the Daco-Albanian language. Thus, the author reasonably assumed its early separation from the Indo-European core, immediately after the Italo-Celtic and Germanic. Concerning the position of the Temematic language in the circle of related ones, the author determined its proximity to Phrygian (Kortland 2003: 253, 258-260).

In accordance with the traditions of classical education, when mentioning Phrygians, Thracians, Cimmerians, associations inevitably arise with the steppes of the Northern Black Sea region, the Danube and North Balkan plains. However, as a brief brilliant review by N.A. Nikolaeva (Nikolayeva 2017) shows, there probably nothing is more thankless in the archaeology of Eastern Europe than the problem of the Cimmerians' origin. The situation was aggravated or, conversely, clarified by a recent genetic study of samples from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron.

Cimmerians, unlike representatives of the Srubnaya and Alakul cultures, contain a Siberian genetic component, in particular, Paleoasiatic and Native Americans, indicating their Eastern origin. In this respect, the Cimmerians are getting closer to the representatives of the Karasuk culture, thereby confirming the opinion expressed in 1972 by N.L. Chlenova about the existence of the Karasuk-Cimmerian cultural and historical community (Krzewińska et al. 2018: 3-6; Chlenova 1972). The same genetic line with a characteristic component of Asian peoples and Native Americans dates

back to the Okunevo culture of the Bronze Age (Allentoft et al. 2015: 169; Unterländer et al. 2017: 4, 8).

The genetic analysis data on the Cimmerians, Karasuk and Okunevo cultures surprisingly coincide with the linguistic data on the Burushaski language. The unique Burushaski language bears signs of contacts with the most diverse languages of the wide range of language families, and correspondingly, the signs of reverse influence should remain in related groups of the ancient and most ancient population of the Middle East and Central Asia. This makes us turn again to the persistently repeated evidence of the presence in Central Asia of a mysterious Indo-European language, revealed by the latest research in the field of comparative linguistics. G. Carling, remarking the established fact of the absence of links between Tocharian and Indo-Iranian, examines the issues of contacts between Tocharian and Indo-Aryan, which probably occurred no later than the II millennium BC. As a result, a number of early borrowings are found in both Proto-Tocharian and Indo-Iranian/Early Indo-Aryan (probably also in Chinese) from the same unknown donor language that once existed in Central Asia (Carling 2005: 52-54, 66).

In the famous discussion of I.M. Dyakonov with T.V. Gamkrelidze and V.V. Ivanov, the Chinese word *lac “milk (cottage cheese, cheese, butter)” is cited, which dates back not to the Tocharian, but to the ancient Indo-European *Grag “dairy product” (Diakonov 1982 (II): 22-23; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984: 120). Probably, the origin of the Chinese word for dairy product should be explained by the influence of this unknown language as well.

Much earlier, T. Burrow, based on studying documents of the III century from the city of Nia, the capital of the state of Kroraina (Loulan), came to the conclusion about the possibility of the existence of some Indo-European language in the southern regions of the Tarim River basin. He conditionally called it the third “Tocharian C language” as it was very close to Tocharian language (Burrow 1935: 675).

V.V. Napol'skih (2022) also reveals the presence of some unknown language, he named “Paratocharian”, justifying this by the fact that in the Uralic languages, after the collapse of the Proto-Uralic and Proto-Finno-Ugric languages. The borrowings are observed (around during the first half of the II millennium), not from the direct ancestor of the known Tocharian languages, and from a language that had not left any direct descendants alive, but was apparently close to Paratocharian in the early stages of its development (Napol'skih 2022: 38).

It is quite possible that the same unknown language left its trace in the history of Middle Asia. The etymology of the names of Kushan rulers of Bactria with a characteristic suffix -šk- remains unclear: Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasishka (see Zakharov 2002). There is no such suffix in the Bactrian language, however there is one in Tocharian, but Iranian etymologies are better suited for the listed names (Ivanov 1992: 19). Studying Chinese written sources about the Kushan-Yuezhi homeland in the city of Zhao’u, Y. Yoshida also speaks some unknown language, as he suggests, Hephthalite (Yoshida 2003: 51-52, 61).

The origin of many geographical names of Central Asia, even such famous ones as Samarkand, Bukhara, Chach (Tashkent), remains unexplained nowadays as well. The attempts that have been made, as a rule, were exclusively related to Iranian or Türk languages, and therefore they were not successful. The origin of the name of Ferghana has not been clarified yet, although V. A. Livshits proposed its reconstruction: “The spelling of βry’n(’)k in Mug texts shows that the ancient form of the name of the region was *Far(a)gana or *Fragana” (Livshits 2008: 93-94). Perhaps specialists should pay attention to the self-designation of Phrygians - Bhryges with the initial aspirated bh (Klein 2007: 110). To what extent does it correspond to Sogdian βry’n’k or βry’nk - Ferghana, Ferghanian (Sogdian documents from Mt. Mugh. III: 103)?

The example of Ferghana generally is very indicative not only from the point of view of linguistics, but also from the standpoint of archaeology. For a long time, the history of the valley was considered as a kind of isolated island with a peculiar culture, in isolation from its southwestern neighbors and, for one reason or another, eastern ones. In the archaeology of the Ferghana Valley, as in a mirror, the main historical pattern of the historical development of Central Asia is reflected, which consists in the symbiosis of two peoples, two cultures and, accordingly, the bipolarity of two economic systems – agricultural and pastoral. In the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages, the agricultural Chust culture and the cattle-breeding Kairakkum culture interacted in Ferghana, around the middle of the I millennium BC – Eilatan and Aktam, then up to the early Middle Ages – Shurabashat and Kugai-Karabulak.

2. History and archaeology

In the era of Late Bronze and Early Iron, a community of handmade painted ceramics cultures spread over a vast area from the Tarim Basin in Xinjiang

to southern Afghanistan and North-Eastern Iran, the so-called “period of barbaric occupation” begins. The name is generally accepted, but extremely poor, since the percentage of painted dishes is usually extremely low (2-3%), on average about 10%, in the Tarim basin its percentage is usually higher. In the Ferghana Valley, as mentioned above, it is the Chust culture; in the Tashkent region – the Burgulyuk culture; in Southern Uzbekistan, Southern Turkmenistan and North-Eastern Iran - the Yaz-I culture; in Central Uzbekistan, in the valleys of the Zarafshan and Kashkadarya rivers - without a name, just “sites of the Yaz-I type”.

In the period between 1500 and 1000 BC, the area of distribution of the community of handmade painted ceramics reached its maximum, occupying in the south the lands that were deserted after the departure of the carriers of the Bactrian-Margian Archaeological Complex (BMAC). Until 1500 BC, the BMAC occupied a relatively narrow latitudinal strip from North-Eastern Iran to Northern Afghanistan, with the northern edge only slightly capturing the southernmost regions of Central Asia. After 1500 BC, the uninhabited expanses of the famous Central Asian deserts, the Great Khorezm and the steppes of Kazakhstan remained the areas not occupied by the cultures of painted ceramics, where the Eastern Iranian post-Andronovo cultures spread at that time. It should be especially emphasized that the commonality of painted handmade ceramics in all respects is fundamentally different from both the northern, steppe cultures, and the southern, Bactrian, which arose on the basis of the Bactrian-Margiana archaeological complex.

Around 1000 BC, the Yaz-I culture rolled back to the north, leaving its villages, followed by the Central Iranian Avestan Yaz-II culture occupying the territory of Afghanistan and the south of Central Asia. In Uzbekistan, the latter is recorded only in the southernmost Surkhandarya region (Sverchkov and Boroffka 2015). The conditional border of the two cultures – Yaz-II and painted ceramics - ran along the spurs of the Hissar ridge, i.e. in the same place where many years later the Graeco-Bactria and then the Kushan Empire bordered Sogdiana. For a long time, the historical rivalry between the two political titans of the Middle East – Iran and Turan - took place around this turn. The memory of a common cultural and historical space called Turan, which existed at that time, has been preserved in the extant early parts of the holy book “Avesta” and the late poetic collection of ancient legends “The Shahnameh” by Ferdowsi.

The Avesta reflects the capture of the entire Aryan country by the king of Turan Frangrasyan (Afrasiab) – “Aryānem Vaējah”, Afrasiab even

carried out construction work in Seistan, including near the legendary Lake Hamun (Litvinsky&Ranov 1998: 243). This is fully confirmed by the data of archeology: both by the geography of the painted ceramics culture, and by Yaz-I materials from the lower layers of the Nadi-Ali settlement in Seistan. It is worth mentioning that Seistan is of a crucial importance in the Zoroastrian tradition, and the ruins of Nadi-Ali near the confluence of the Hilmand River into Lake Hamun are considered the capital center of the “Aryan Lands” (Gnoli 1980: 129-136; 1989: 46). Perhaps, since those times, the name Turan, mentioned in the early Sasanian period, has been preserved in Afghan Baluchistan in the south-east of the Iranian Highlands. In any case, in the famous settlement of Mundigak in Afghan Baluchistan, Yaz-I materials are presented quite well.

The central region of Turan called Kangha or Kang is the Zaravshan Valley, where the main communication hub of Central Asia has been located since ancient times. There are two major sites of the culture of handmade painted ceramics – the ancient settlement of Samarkand Afrasiab (lower layer) and the settlement of Koktepa (lower layers) located 25 km north of Samarkand (Isamiddinov 2010). Out of them, Koktepa with an area of only 17 hectares within the defensive walls can be confidently claimed as the capital of Turan - the city of Kang.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, it should be recalled once again that in the Central Asian interflute, unlike the Kazakh steppes, there has never been anything like the Arzhan and Pazyryk mounds. We can address to Scythian culture on the remote outskirts of Central Asia – in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (Greater Khorezm) or to the Scythian-Saka materials of the Pamir, close to the Khotan-Saka, however we observe the classical Scythian triad nowhere in Central Asia, but in Kazakhstan.

Around the V century BC, Iran, more precisely, the Achaemenid Empire significantly pushed Turan, capturing all the northern territories up to the Syr Darya. The cultures of handmade painted ceramics remained in the Tashkent region, in the Ferghana Valley and, obviously, in Xinjiang. The capital centers of Koktepa and Afrasiab were conquered and reconstructed and most likely, the new center of Turan was being forcibly moved to the right bank of the Syr Darya, to the territory of Greater Tashkent. Although in 329-328 BC, all the famous sites of the Achaemenid period of Central Asia were brutally destroyed by the Greek-Macedonian troops. Alexander was supported by allies from among the residents of the Yaksart (Syr Darya) regions. This fact is proofed not only by the chaotic data of classical sources, but also by the finds of handmade and painted

vessels of the Ferghana Eilatán-Aktam type in the same layer with Early Hellenistic ceramics (Sverchkov 2013; Sverchkov, Wu Xin and Boroffka 2013; Sverchkov and Wu Xin 2019).

With the end of the Seleucid period around the middle of the III century BC, long before the "Yuezhi assault" of Graeco-Bactria, Eastern Iranian tribes penetrated into the central regions of Middle Asia. In the south, they stopped at the line of the spurs of the Hissar ridge, in the Tashkent region, the ancient Burguluk culture is absorbed by the sarmatoidKaunchi culture. Approximately beginning this period of time, the ancient name of the political center of Turan, the Kangha region, was restored that sounded in the Chinese transcription of the II century BC (about 128 BC) as Kangyu or Kangju. Since then and up to the present day, the name Kang in the Chinese tradition is associated exclusively with Samarkand and with the proper names of its natives.

The direct genetic line of Turan was preserved only in the Ferghana Valley with its bipolar system of Shurabashat-Kugai-Karabulak cultures, in Southern Xinjiang, Western Gansu and Northern Qinghai, where, undoubtedly, there was a similar agricultural-pastoral and ethnic symbiosis. If in Tarim basin the Tocharian culture of handmade painted ceramics dominated from ancient times, the foothills of Eastern Tien-Shan in X-II centuries BC were occupied by Barkol culture, confidently identified by Chinese researchers with ethnic Yuezhi (Wei Lanhai, Li Hui and Xu Wenkan 2013: 282-285, Fig. 1).

In the II century BC, a particularly powerful migration wave spilled out of Gansu, involving the Eastern Iranian tribes in the general process, which brought the Yuezhi dynasty to the throne of Kushan Bactria with its non-Tocharian and non-Bactrian unrenderable names Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasishka.

As the last direct descendants of the ancient Turks, the mysteriousKidarites (Xiao Yuezhi), Chionites and Hephthalites can be listed, the next enemies of Iran, only already Sasanian, but this is the topic of a separate study. Later, the Türks took up the slack of the wars with Iran after a short alliance, borrowing in a somewhat distorted form the name of the country Turan and the people who inhabited it, but not the language.

The language of the Turs was not Iranian either: neither the name of the Turs nor the name Frangrasyan (Afrasiab) have an Iranian etymology (Pyankov 2006: 232-233). Judging by the "Hymn of Khvarno" of the Avesta, when the king of Turan Frangrasyan, swearing, switched to his native language, the Arians did not understand anything and perceived his

speech as gibberish (Steblin-Kamensky, Yasht 19, VIII: 138). At the same time, it is impossible to recognize the Turanian language as Tocharian, one can only assume their relatively close relationship. Therefore, in the epic tale “The Shahnameh”, a character named Tochar appears on the side of the Turks. In one part of “The Book of Kings”, he is a cunning adviser to Siavush's son Forud, who led the Turan army against Kei Khosrov, in another Tochar is the ruler of Dehistan (Firdousi II: 388-407; III: 356, 461).

Thus, there is no need to link the appearance of signs of the Phrygian language in Central Asia with the descendants of Alexander's warriors, since these signs are present where even Greek influence has never been. Maybe the theory of a “Temematic” language close to Phrygian looks much more winning, which could serve as an anonymous donor for all its numerous neighbors? Taking into account the vast territory where there are manifestations of contacts with an unknown language, it is likely that we are not even talking about any particular language, but rather about one of the oldest language groups of the Indo-European family. Whether this group can be considered a separate branch of a common family is up to specialists to decide. For archaeologists, it is more important to answer the question of how the so-called “Central Asian Phrygians” managed to acquire such a very specific set of contacts – from North Caucasian peoples to Paleoasiatic, and not only.

From the point of view of Central Asian archaeology, the author's opinion has been already stated: the southwestern impulse, which reached about 2400 BC Southern Siberia, is reflected both in archaeological material and in anthropological, and in remarkable rock paintings of the Okunevo culture (Sverchkov 2011: 178-180, 2012).

The most vital origins are seen in the materials of the excavations of the world's first catacomb burial ground of the Halaf culture, in the depths of which the culture of black and gray ceramics of North-Eastern Iran and South-Western Turkmenistan was born and later formed around the middle of the IV millennium BC. After the name of the famous treasure, it is called Astrabad and has always existed in close alliance with the Anau culture of painted ceramics Namazga III-IV. The bipolar agricultural-pastoral symbiosis inherent in this alliance is most clearly represented on the monuments of Shakhri-Sokhte (Tosi 1971; Biscione 1973) and Akdepe (Sarianidi 1976: 91-92). Especially noteworthy in Shakhri-Sokhte is the combination of raw crypts typical of the Anau culture - cysts and pits with the Astrabad catacombs in the same burial ground (Tosi, Piperno 1975). At the beginning of the III millennium BC, metallurgy of arsenic bronzes

flourished in the settlement by the crucible method, and copper processing was carried out by a more progressive method than anywhere else in the Middle East (Hauptmann, Rehren, Schmitt-Strecker: 2003).

A lot has been said about the closest contacts of the Astrabad culture and the neighboring North Caucasian Kuro-Araks culture, as well as about signs of gradual penetration at first, and at the beginning of the III millennium BC explosive migration in the north-east direction. The emergence in China of the vibrant Longshan culture, the appearance of the rudiments of writing and traditional fortune-telling practice, the sudden flourishing of bronze metallurgy and, most importantly, the emergence of already cultivated wheat and barley, as well as cows, goats and sheep constitute the direct and vivid reflection of migration.

Against this background, the area of Okunevo culture, like its successor Karasuk culture, is nothing more than the far northern periphery of the common cultural space, the center of which, apparently, was in the already mentioned in connection with Yuezhi Provinces of Gansu and Qinghai. However, the principle of combining cists, though not of raw bricks, but of stone, and catacomb burials in the Okunev culture was strictly observed in burial practice, with catacomb burials predominating in the early stages.

Alongside the easier-going cattle breeders - native speakers of the "unknown language" (or, mostly, a little later), Proto-Tocharian farmers, which chose the Tarim basin in the neighborhood, arrived. Obviously, the annals of Indo-European studies have already included the decision to recognize the Afanasievo culture as Proto-Tocharians, and it would be really delightful to find at least one archaeological confirmation of this¹. However, the forerunner of the cultures of handmade painted ceramics of Xinjiang cannot be observed anywhere else, except the Anau culture of the southwest so far. Moreover, from the late Eneolithic era to the Early Middle Ages, the distinctive feature of the alliance of the Tocharians and the "Central Asian Phrygians" was so closely intertwined that according to written sources it is almost impossible to distinguish one from another. The similar situation arises with Tocharians and Yuezhi as well as with their predecessors, the Turs. Here it can be watched, that the material culture refers indeed to the pre-Tocharian community of handmade painted

¹Recent genetic studies have completely refuted the Afanasyevo presence in the Tarim Basin (see Fan Zhang et al. 2021).

ceramics, while the names and language belong to “Phrygian” or, maybe, to the hypothetical Temematic.

It is highly likely, that due to the “pseudo-Phrygian” language, it will be possible to translate the inscriptions made in “unknown writing”, which were detected in Bactria right after the “Yuezhi assault”, although the oldest sample of this letter is recorded on a silver platter in the famous Issyk mound of the end of the IV century BC (Vertogradova 1995: 33-36). The raw data on the findings of an unknown writing were also received from the Ferghana Valley, but later they (findings) were attributed to Aramaic, then to Kharoshthi, then to Turkic Runic. It is also quite possible that it will finally be feasible to find out the etymology of the names of the Kushan kings and the suffix - sk-, as well as proper names belonging to Kidarites, Chionites and Heptalites.

3. Conclusions

It appears that Burushaski can bear the signs of contacts with the Temematic language identified by G. Holzer, or, more precisely, with one of the representatives of the related languages, which in ancient times constituted the some proto-lingual group and once spread over a vast territory from southern Siberia to the Himalayas, from the Yenisei to the Danube. The set of contacts of this "unknown language" is much more extensive than that of Tocharian, but their ancestors have always and at all times lived in a very close union. According to the archaeology of Central Asia, the origins of their union are seen in North-Eastern Iran and South-Western Turkmenistan, where a kind of fusion of the Anau agricultural and Astrabad cattle-breeding cultures took place.

In the Bronze Age, they remained their coexistence in the close proximity, but for this time in Central Asia and in direct contact with forest hunter-gatherers – native speakers of Paleoasiatic languages. A distinctive set of genes was consistently reflected in the representatives of the Okunevo culture and the Karasuk-Cimmerian community; the linguistic features of the Burushaski indicate the same signs. The core of the “Phrygian” Temematic language was traditionally located together with the Tocharian - in the south of Xinjiang, west of Gansu and north of Qinghai, including the South Mongolian steppe belt in the north, i.e. the ancestral lands of the “Great Yuezhi”.

Here, due to the southwestern impulse, long before the formation of the Andronovo culture, for the first time in the history of Central Asia, the

principle of a cattle-breeding type of economy with its inherent lifestyle, high mobility and militant psychology emerged. This largely predetermined the course of historical processes in Eurasia, accompanied by periodic outbursts from the unstable zone of multilingual tribal groups in the western and southwestern directions. Over time, ethnic groups changed, but the way of life and harsh environmental conditions pushed them to the west, for example, it is enough to recall the Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns, Türks and Mongols.

In the south-western direction, in Central Asia, the commonality of handmade painted ceramics and its distribution dates back to the time of the existence of the political formation of Turan, where the Tocharo-Turanian symbiosis with the obvious linguistic dominance of the latter was again manifested, judging by the names and toponyms. Certainly, it is incorrect to call the Turanian language “Phrygian”, but it is quite possible to attribute it to the group of hypothetical Temematic. It is significant that a similar situation developed in the Yuezhi-Kushan period, when a country with an Iranian speaking population began to be called Tokharistan, and the owners were Kushans with names of “unknown” origin. It seems that the ethnic Yuezhi of the II century BC were distant descendants of the creators of the Okunevo and Karasuk culture, as, perhaps, the Kidarite-Hephthalite tribes were descendants of the Yuezhi themselves.

From about the II century BC to the V-VII centuries AD the mountain villages of Karakorum, unlike the inhabitants of Nuristan (Kafiristan) in Afghanistan, were by no means isolated from the outside world. At the turn of our era, along the Indus River, including the Burushaski villages, there was a trade route through which goods highly valued in the Roman Empire - silk and the best steel in the known world - arrived from Serindia. Numerous pilgrims and individual embassies and after all, the spread of Buddhism itself into Chinese territory left their incredible traces in the form of rock paintings in North Pakistan (see 1989-2004) and the equally incredible ethnic and genetic diversity of the ancient Ladakh population in North-West India (Rowold et al. 2016).

All of the above applies to no lesser or even greater extent to the territory of the Central Asian interflaves, where since ancient times there have been numerous contacts between representatives of various language families, races, cultures and religions. In a sense, this process continues to this day, reflecting the main pattern of the historical development of Central Asia, no matter what it is called - Turan, Mawarannahr or Turkestan.

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The Uraśa State and its Capital: Some Notes

Shakir Ullah / Muhammad Zahoor

Abstract

This article deals with the toponym Hazāra, and its original Uraśā or Araśa, which still survives in the Damtaur or Dhamtaur valley, Abbotabad. The level plain of Dhamtaur valley is locally known as Rush or Arash. The name variants recorded by the ancient writers were: Arash, Arsa, Uraśa and Uragā. It is not unlikely therefore that the original spelling was Aruśa which, in the course of time, changed into Uraśa.

Keywords: Uraśa, Hazara, Pāṇini, Xuanzang, Ptolemy, Mahābhārata, Rājatarāṅgiṇi

1. Hazara's geography

Hazara is a region in Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province that falls east of the Indus River. It is located between the latitudes of 88° 45' and 85° 2' in the north and 72° 86' and 74° 9' in the east. It mostly comprises a small area of land wedged between the Indus and the Jhelum. The division's width is 40 miles in the centre and 56 miles at its southern base, with its extreme length being 120 miles. Its southern border is formed by the rivers Murree, Rawalpindi, and Attock. It is divided from District Swabi, District Amb, and, in the northern half, the recently established Districts of Tor Ghar and Buner by the River Indus. The Kaghan mountain separates it from Swat, Kohistan, and Chilas on the north. Azad Kashmir is located to the east (Figs. 1-2).

The Hazara region was a part of Punjab province during the British administration in India, up until 1901, when the western portion of that province was divided from Punjab and constituted as a distinct province called North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), which is now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The region around Abbottabad and Mansehra was incorporated into the Peshawar Division's Hazara district. Furthermore, the Hazara Tribal Agency expanded into the lands to the north of this. The

Hazara area and the Hazara Tribal Agency were sandwiched between the Amb and Phulra princely states. This administrative structure persisted until 1950, when the two little princely realms were combined to form the Hazara district. Under the One-Unit policy, the NWFP province was incorporated into West Pakistan from 1955 until 1970. In 1970, the Hazara district was established as a part of the Peshawar Division of West Pakistan following the dissolution of the one-unit plan in July. Later, two tribal groups and the Hazara District were combined to create the new Hazara Division, which has Abbottabad as its capital. Initially, the Hazara division was divided into two districts (Abbottabad and Mansehra), however within a short period of time, Batagram District and Haripur District were separated from Abbottabad and Mansehra Districts (Jadoon 1977).

Until 1976, Hazara was a district before becoming a separate division. Additionally, in October of the same year, Mansehra received the status of a full-fledged district. It began with the Batagram and Mansehra tehsils. As a result, Abbottabad Tehsil was divided from Haripur Tehsil and turned into a district in July 1991. A separate Abbottabad District was established for the remaining portions of the Abbottabad Tehsil. Similar to this, the Hazara supporters' voice has been calling for a separate province for a very long time. In essence, the provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa passed a motion on March 21 calling for the establishment of the Hazara as a distinct province. Administrative divisions were abolished in 2000, and the fourth layer of government was erected to replace them. Currently, the Hazara Division comprises the following districts (Fig. 2):

1. Abbottabad District
2. Haripur District
3. Batagram District
4. Upper Kohistan District
5. Mansehra District
6. Kolai-Palas District
7. Lower Kohistan District
8. Torghar District

2. Uraśa as ancient Hazara

Pāṇini places the ancient *Janapada* (state) of Uraśa on the left bank of the Sindhu (= Agrawala 1963: 44). In the English translation of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, book IV (= Vasu 1896), this name is variously written as Uraśā

and Usaśā (see pp.685, 695, 729, 781). Ptolemy mentions a country called 'Arsa' and its towns 'Ithagouros and Taxila', placing it between the upper waters of the Bidaspes and the Indus that is, in the Hazāra country (Majumdar 1960: 371).

Christian Lassen (cit. in Weber 1873) was the first to recognize in Urasa the territory of Ptolemy's 'Arsa' and 'Uragā' mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (ii, 1027) as the name of a country lying between Abhisāri (Kashmīr?) and Simhapura (Salt Range), a slightly corrupted form of the same name.¹

Xuanzang (= Beal 1969: 147) records *Wu-la-shi* (Uraśa) as the name of the country situated to the north-west of Kashmīr and dependent upon it. The king of this region figures under the name of Arsakes in the account of Alexander's Indian campaign (326 BCE). The Kashmīrian king Saṅkaravarman (CE 883-902) was fatally wounded while passing through Uraśa (Stein 1900: 215-16). From its position recorded by different writers, A. Conningham (1871: 87), concludes that Uraśā may at once be identified with *Varsa Regio* of Ptolemy and with the modern district of *Rash* in Dhantāwar (Damtaur).

As described above, the word 'Urasa' (or whatever its original form) is recorded by ancient writers in different variants. Accordingly, Pāṇiṇi (= Agrawala 1953) identifies the name as Uraṣā and Uras, Ptolemy calls as Arsa or Ovarsa, the *Mahābhārata* (= Ganguli 1883-1896) mentions with Uragā, Xuanzang (= Beal 1884) finds it *Wu-la-shi* (Uraśa) and Kalhana reports Uraśā. The diverse form of names indicates that the correct orthography can't be ascertained at this stage of research.

Presumably the original form of the subject name was Aruśā. If so, it suits the peculiar mode of expression prevalent in Hazāra with regard not only to metathesis but also to vowel changes. In certain names the medial *a* in the second syllable is converted into *u* or *o*. Thus, the Arabic word Hazrat is

¹ From Abhisāri could be derived Abisares, the name of a king who sent support to Swat, Assakenians during the siege of Ora (Udegram) by Alexander the Great (327 B.C.). "On this see Eggermont 1970: 114-15. The name of the sovereign is mentioned (apart from Strabo, *Geog.*, XV 28) also on the occasion of the battle Alexander fought against Porus as the latter's ally (*Anabasis*, V 20, 5; *Bibl. Hist.*, XVII 87, 2; 90, 4). As Arrian cites this toponym (*Indica*, IV 12), it is perhaps a reference to the Ousara of Ptolemy (on this see Berthelot 1930: 272); see also Stein 1927: 426; *it can probably be located in Hazara.*"(Olivieri 1996: 57, fn. 18; the italics is ours. for the references cited by Olivieri see the article accessible online at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29757254>.

generally pronounced as ‘Hazrot’ (further corrupted into Hazro, the name of a village); Aṭak as Attok (written as Aṭtock) and Akbar as ‘Akbor’.

It is interesting to note that Aruśa (Aruśahan) was the name of the most favourite Vedic Aryan god, Indra, the killer of enemies (Monier-Williams 1899: 88), the “who strikes the red (clouds)” (*Rg-veda* x, 116, 4). About 250 hymns of the *Rg-veda* (= Griffith 1895) are addressed to him. He smashes Vṛitra, the demon who holds up waters. It is suggested that the Vṛitra myth came with the Aryans from Kashmir or the north-western countries into the Punjab (Majumdar 1951: 371). The Vṛitra myth continued down to the Buddhist period in the guise of nāga Apalāla, but this theme was amply discussed by Giuseppe Tucci in various articles and notes, and by Olivieri et al. 2006.²

The Xuanzang’s dimension of Urasa, 2000 *li* (or 333 miles) in circuit was measured by Cunningham (1871: 88) as correct. He further remarks, that the length from the source of the Kunaṛ river to the Gandgrah mountain is not less than 100 miles, and its breath from the Indus to the Jhelam is 55 miles in its narrowest part.

3. Historical Accounts

Preliminary excavations of the nature of a trial trench in the Khanpur cave near Haripur, and the surveys conducted by the Department of Archaeology, Hazara University Mansehra, have brought to light new evidence and a number of ancient sites. But detailed investigations of these works are awaited. The first two rays of light piercing the pitch darkness in which the early history of Urasa is enveloped are: the antiquity of Hindko language

² “One of the most interesting legends of Buddhist Swat is that of the naga Apalāla. In the myth (disregarding any detailed exegesis) Apalāla appears as a powerful pre-Buddhist indigenous entity. Originally kept at bay by the payment of regular contributions, the naga guaranteed control of the water. But when the collective contributions were neglected, Apalāla unleashed hydraulic disorder, devastating Swat and causing destruction and famine. It was then converted and placated by Buddha himself, who extended to the river-serpent the right to perform periodic flooding (Tucci 1958a: n. 18). The possible interpretations - beyond the superficial [i.e. “obvious”] coincidence with the Rigvedic myth of Indra and Vṛitra - are various. However, the idea may well be present that efficient hydraulic control and the agricultural potential of the entire valley depended in the past on the work of complex social organisations (from the late Bronze Age on?), while periods of political and organisational crisis may have exposed the communities to disastrous events.” (Olivieri et al. 2006: 132; for the references cited by Olivieri see the article accessible online at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29757683>).

and the Aśokan Rock Edicts of Mansehra. It is generally believed that Hindko, the language of Hazara, presently under much pressure from Pashto, is a language of the Middle Aryan family, which might have been spoken in the region far before the arrival of Pushto. Since then, Hindko, although has been transformed in the course of centuries, has not only stood fast in front of alien invaders (like Dari, Turkish and Pashto-speakers) but also absorbed them to a great extent. The Pashto-speaking Tarīn tribe, for instance, has completely changed over to Hindko. Secondly, the strategic position of Mansehra, situated as it is almost midway on the route linking Taxila with Kashmīr did not escape the notice of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (3rd century BCE) who not only installed his proclamations, the Mansehra Rock Edicts, but also dispatched a Buddhist Monk Majjhantika for the propagation of Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kashmir.

Urasa comes in the full light of history in the 12th century when the Kashmīrian poet Kalhaṇa Stein 1900: 218) narrates that the Kashmīri king Saṁkravarma (883-902), while passing through the territory of Urasa was fatally wounded by the arrow of a person whom Kalhaṇa derisively dubs as Śvapāka ('dog-cooker'). Kalhaṇa's frequent references to Urasa suggests that it was closely connected with Kashmir (Stein 1900: 585). In the 11th century, Urasa was occupied by a Kashmīri force (Stein 1900: 585) during the rule of Kalaśa (CE 1063-1089). Saṁgata, the king of Urasa, along with other dependent princes appeared in the court of Kalaśa (Stein 1900: 589). In another reference to Urasa, Harṣas's son Bhoja was married to the princess Vibhavamati, the daughter of king Abhaya of Urasa (Stein 1900: 16-18). In the reign of the Kashmīri king Sussala (CE 1112-20) tribute was levied from the ruler of Urasa (Stein 1900: 574).

In the 12th century Dvitiya, the lord of Urasa, was defeated by Jayasimha (CE 1128-49). After this the name Urasa disappears from historical records. But, in a much-restricted sense, it still exists as the name of a small portion of the Damtauṛ valley.

In the 14th century Urasa came to be known as Pakhli, which owes its origin to the Gibari Sultan Fakhal. Darwezā (1940: 107) records that Sultan Fakhal, conquered the hilly countries of Bajaur, Swat and Kashmīr, while his brother, Sultan Bahram held Tirāh and the Kabul valley from their capital Pāpin near Jalalabad. Behram was succeeded by his son Tumnā, and likewise Fakhal by his son Awais. They continued to rule over these parts until the period of Amīr Tīmūr's invasion (CE 1398-99). Thereafter, they became vassal kings to Tīmūr and his successors. In course of time these local rulers also lost their nominal power in their respective states.

Akhund Darwezā's list of the Gibari rulers shows that Qirān was the last among them to have taken the honorific title *sultān* (king) and that his successors- Bālo, Dāwaryāe, Nazo-all had the comparatively inferior title *malik*. This may be taken to suggest that Timūr's invasion (CE 1398-99) took place during the reign of Qirān and that his great-grandfather, Sultan Bahrām, must have died long before this invasion, perhaps in the year 1350 or little earlier. As Sultān Fakhal (Pakhal), was a brother of Sultān Bahram and is known to have completed his military exploit during the life of his brother, took control of the land of Urasa, we are naturally driven to the conclusion that Fakhal's occupation must be dated in the first half of the 14th century and that this was the time when the term Pakhli (often softened as Pakli) came into vogue.

Abu al-Fazl, the learned vizier of the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605), writes (Jarret 1949: 397) that Pakli is bounded on the east by Kashmīr, west by Aṭak Banāras, north by Kator and south by the tract of country in which the Gakhar tribe dwells. Its length is 35 and breadth 25 *kos*. The emperor Jahangir (1605-1628), Akbar's son and successor, follows Abu al-Fazl in his Tuzuk-I Jahangīrīr (Rogers 1909: 126). Both tell us that Amir Timūr on his way back from Hindustān to Turān placed a body of his soldiery to hold the country of Pakli.

Another change in the nomenclature of the ancient land of Aruśa appeared after Timur's return to Turān. This time the *raison d'être* was the settling down of the Qarlugh Turks in the *Pakli Sarkar*. One of the *mings* (Regiments) of Amir Timūr's army was composed of Qarlughs. A large portion of them were left in Pakli to hold possession of the land. As the Turkish *ming* consisted of one thousand, Hazār in Persian, the land of Pakli came to be known as Hazarāh. After some time Hazarāh was divided into two parts: 1) Qarlugh Hazarāh and 2) Chachh Hazarāh. It is noteworthy that all this happened not by design but by fault. Neither the Gibari Sultan Pakhal, nor Timur issued any proclamation to change the name from rush to Pakhli or Pakhli to Hazarāh. With the expansion of the Pukhtūn tribes in the region, the Qarlughs were driven out and their land was occupied by the Jadūns or Gadūns.

4. A Final Note on Māngal and Damtaur (Abbottabad)

The celebrated Chinese pilgrim and traveller Xuanzang visited Uraśā and mentioned the existence of a stupa and monastery 4 or 5 *li* (1km) to the south of Uraśā's capital. A recent survey conducted by the writers confirms

the truthfulness of this statement. Much dilapidated remains of a Buddhist establishment at the site of Mochikot were seen at about the same distance from Māngal, the probable capital of Rash (Figs. 3-4).

Damtaur (correctly Dharmtaur i.e. ‘religious enclosure’) is a small *daráh* (valley) enclosed within mountain ranges of Uraśa, in the Abbottabad District. Damtaur is also the name of a village situated on a top of the hill and presently occupied by the Gadūn (Jadūn) tribe. In the west of the village, there are two small rivers coming from the north-east and north respectively. One of these, the Doṛ river flows south of the village, and the other, the Durgun, on the north side (Pl. IIa, b). The former one comes from the Wairan or Bairan Gali side and the latter from Kohistān of the Māngali side. After their junction at this point, the united streams are called as the river of Damtaur. The subject river flows towards west and there it joins another small river known as Siran (Figs. 5-6).

The lands dependent on Damtaur, Damtaur Rujūiyah, Nawan Shahr and Māngal, in the open part of valley are known as the Zamīn-i-Rash or Arash (Fig. 1). Raverty remarks about this name that it is probably derived from the Tājik (Dari Persian) word ‘*rash*’ signifying ‘full of ups and downs’, ‘hills and ravines’, or possibly from the Arabic ‘*rashsh*’, which means ‘gently trickling as water or flowing gently’ (1888: 287-88). If this statement of Raverty is accepted as correct, then it suits the marshy nature of the Zamīn-i-Rash as described earlier. But in this way the toponym ‘Rash’ would have to be mediaeval at the earliest, since we know that Persian and Arabic may have reached Damtaur no earlier than the 10th century. After all, the word Rash could be derived directly from ‘Uraśa’, although we recognize that this hypothesis is purely speculative.³

³ The above interpretation, if accepted, resolves the question as to what was the ‘Enclosure’ meant for. This apparently was the place which housed an object (or perhaps image) symbolically representing Indra. The *Rg-veda* does not unequivocally record that Indra image existed at that early age of Aryan expansion. But something like this, a felish, did exist, for, in the opinion of a Rigvedic poet ten cows were not an adequate price for such an object (or image). This is how the poet interprets it: “Who for ten mileh-kine purchase them from me this Indra who is mine. When he hath slain the Vṛtras let the buyers give him back to me” (Griffith 1895: 218).

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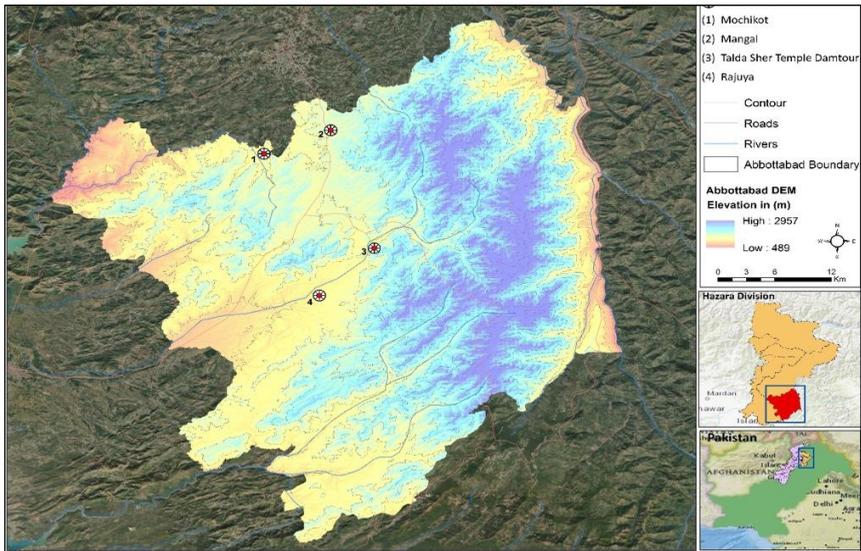


Fig. 1 - Map showing the area of Zamin-i-Rash (Map by Muhammad Zahoor).

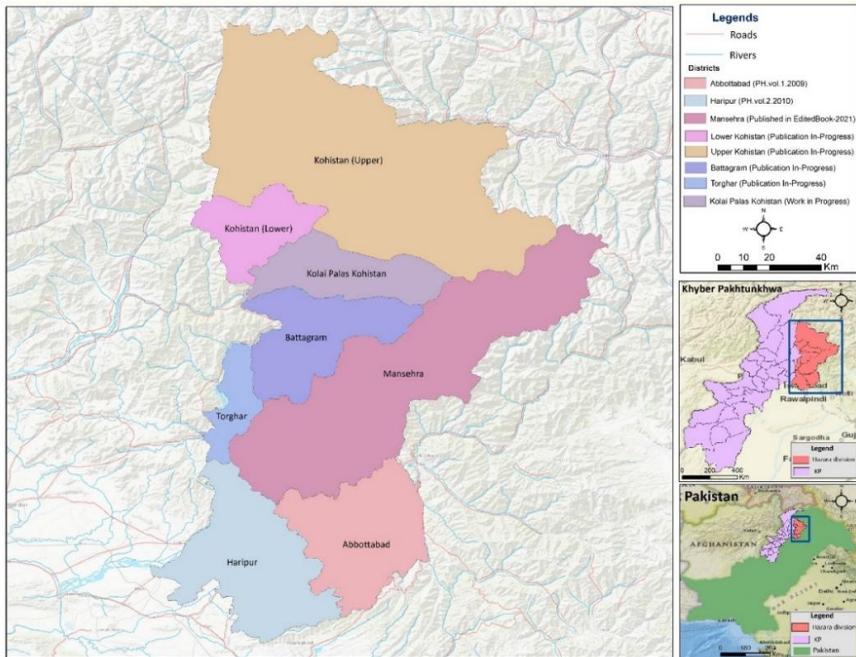


Fig. 2 - Map showing present location Hazara (Map by Muhammad Zahoor).



Fig. 3 - Māngal (Abbottabad); view of Mochikot site with both seasonal streams, Māngal katha from its east and Sherwan katha from west (Photo: GoogleEarth).



Figs 4a-b - Māngal (Abbottabad); showing the stupa wall in diaper masonry and other ruins (Photo by Shakirullah).



Fig. 5 - Damtaur (Abbottabad); A view of the site Damtaur (Talda sher)
(Photo by Shakirullah).



Fig. 6 - Damtaur (Abbottabad); view of the site from south showing both the rivers (khwar) Durgun and Dor (Photo by Shakirullah).

Advisory Council of Swat State (1954-1969): An Appraisal

Jalal Uddin

Abstract

The princely State of Swat had very cordial relations with the Government of Pakistan since partition in August 1947. However, soon after independence there were voices for popular government and democratisation of Swat State. The ruler of Swat State had to respond to such demands and to take such steps that may appease the dissenting elements. In response to such demands within the State, an Advisory Council was introduced in Swat State in 1954 and it remained operative till 1969. The Council consisted of both nominated and elected members. The sessions of the Advisory Council were held regularly. In this article an attempt has been made to trace the historical background of the Council, conduct of elections to the proposed Council and its membership. Further, the proceedings of the Council have also been covered.

Keyword: Advisory Council, Swat State, Pakistan, Election, Membership.

1. Background

After the partition of the Indian Subcontinent on 15th August 1947, the princely states that formed about one-third of the total area of Indian Subcontinent had either to accede to Pakistan or India. Out of the 560 odd princely states, very few states acceded to Pakistan and an overwhelming majority of States joined India. The rulers of the four Frontier States [Swat, Dir, Chitral and Amb] executed the Instrument of Accessions with the Government of Pakistan soon after partition. By virtue of these Instruments of Accessions, the rulers of princely states surrendered their sovereign rights with regard to defence, external Affairs, currency and communication to the Government and in this way these states became integral part of Pakistan (File No.235-246, Bundle No.16 (A), TARC Misc, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar). It is worth mentioning that after partition of Indian Subcontinent, the ruler of Swat State, Miangul Abdul Wadud (1881-1971) popularly known as Badshah Sahib, signed Instrument of Accession with Pakistan that was executed by him on 3rd November 1947 and was accepted by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 24

November 1947 (Bangash 2015: 132). In the Instrument of Accessions with princely states, 59 subjects were surrendered to the Federation of Pakistan (Sarfraz 2015: 256).

At the time of partition, Miangul Abdul Wadud was the ruler of Swat State (1917-1949). He initiated correspondence with the officials of Government of Pakistan in order to formulate the modalities of handing over the authority of the State to his son and Heir Apparent, Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb, popularly known as Wali Sahib. Miangul Abdul Wadud wrote to the Political Agent, Malakand on 14th August 1949:

This is to state that I had applied to the Govt. [Government of Pakistan] that my son Jahanzeb [Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb] may be recognized as Wali-Ahd (Heir Apparent). The Govt. acceded to my wish and in 1933 recognized him as Wali-Ahd. I have been giving him the necessary training to shoulder the responsibilities of the administration of the State. I am very pleased with what he is doing. The entire public and myself are very pleased with his work. His work and administration is to my entire satisfaction so much so that I wish to hand him over all the powers of the State. I have lost all interest in administration and I now wish to abdicate in his favour giving him the full ruling powers. I further wish to see that during my lifetime he takes up successfully the full responsibility of the State. I find further difficulty in language. I cannot give my full expression of view in any other language except Pashtu without being interpreted and I find Jahanzeb can better fulfill this deficiency and therefore wish to hand over all the ruling powers to him and make him the Ruler instead. My idea is to get this done some time in the middle of December on a date to be fixed later on. Kindly let me know what procedure to adopt for the handing over of the Ruling Powers to him and in what manner is the ceremony to be performed (Copy of D.O No.654, dated: 14.8.1949, File No. 133-STI, 1949, 433, TARC, Peshawar).

Accordingly, the modalities of handing over authority to Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb were finalised. The then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan visited Swat State and administered the coronation ceremony that was held on 12th December 1949. The influential *Malaks* and *Khans* of various tribes also attended the ceremony and showed their confidence in the newly ruler of Swat State (Uddin 2019).

After his accession as ruler of the State, Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb (also known as the last Wali of Swat, Wali e Swat and Wali Sahib respectively) gave new dimensions to the State's administration and its

resource management (Rahim and Viaro 2002: 81). He was a ruler with a vision and contributed a lot to the physical development of the valley on modern lines (Fleischner 2011: 2). His emphasis was mainly on development of infrastructure, dissemination of formal education and creation of health facilities in the State (Fleischner 2011: 2). The rule of the ‘enlightened despot’ and ‘benevolent autocrat’ was exemplary and his ruling era is still widely remembered and admired by all and sundry. His reminiscence and admiration is ‘not with just nostalgia’ but has ‘firm grains of reality’ (Bangash 2018). In Peter Mayne words, “In fact Swat State is an example of how very benevolent an autocracy can be.” (Mayne 1955: 187).

Under the ‘Establishment of West Pakistan Act’ that was passed on 30th September 1955, all the Princely States in Pakistan were merged into the new West Pakistan Unit except the Frontier States and tribal areas. Thus the Baluchistan States Union, Khairpur, and Bahawalpur were wiped out as separate States and their rulers lost all their powers retaining only personal privileges (Bangash 2015: 259). The four Frontier States [Swat, Dir, Chitral and Amb] along with Hunza and Nagar, survived the formal establishment of the One Unit on 14th October 1955. Under the Establishment of West Pakistan Act 1955, the Frontier States were designated as Special/Tribal Areas and were left as they were (Bangash 2015: 259). It is worth mentioning that when the Constituent Assembly (after One-Unit) was formed in July 1955, the Frontier States were allotted one Seat to which the ruler of Swat State was elected whereas the tribal areas were allotted two seats. In the Provincial Assembly of West Pakistan, Frontier States were allotted nine seats (Chitral 1, Dir 2 and Swat 6). The members of the Council of Elders (*jirgas*) in each of the States of Swat and Chitral elected their State’s representative to the Interim Legislature of West Pakistan. No election could take place in Dir State due to the old Nawab’s un-helpful attitude (File No.235-246, Bundle No.16 (A), Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar).

In the following years, the relations of ruler of Swat State with Government of Pakistan developed very cordially and Wali Sahib was held in high esteem by officials of Government due to his enlightened policy towards the masses within the State (Uddin 2021: 65). The Government of Pakistan hence stayed aloof from indulging itself in the internal politics of Swat State for a period of seven years following independence. The officials were cautious while dealing with Swat State. According to historian, Yaqub Ahmad Bangash:

The relations of Swat State with the central government developed very differently compared to those of the other Frontier States. Swat was by far the most developed and progressive state on the Frontier and its ruler, Miangul Jahanzeb, who had taken over in 1949 after the abdication of his father, was very loyal to Pakistan. As a result, the Government of Pakistan wanted to strengthen his rule, rather than weaken it through democratisation. Nevertheless, reforms in adjoining states put pressure on the central government to press for the federation of Swat with Pakistan (Bangash 2015: 240).

It is worth mentioning that voices for democratic reforms in Swat State were raised in the early 1950s (Danishwar 2016: 189-190). In the changed circumstances and due to the voices of democratisation and responsible governments in Princely States, the last Wali of Swat was asked by the Government to take steps in this regard as well. The official also pointed out that it was in his own interest to introduce reforms in his State. It is also generally argued that "...the Government of Pakistan was not prepared to permit democratic reforms to weaken the control of a loyal ruler" (Bangash 2015: 241). About the changing scenario, the then Ruler of Swat State, Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb wrote:

In 1953 I was approached by the Pakistani Government, that I must sign some sort of constitution...it was formulated as "Supplementary Instrument of Accession" – but in practice it restated things as they already were, in most important respects... and I signed on the 12th February 1954, in the Governor House, Peshawar...in other States – Bahawalpur, Khairpur, and the Baluchistan States – the Rulers was made a constitutional head and all the power was put into the hands of a Chief Minister. Whereas they did not impose any Chief Minister on me; I was President of the Council, Chief Minister, and Ruler. I think their idea was merely to bind me legally, for the future (Barth 1985: 109-110).

The Governor of the then North West Frontier Province, Mr. Shahab-Ud-Din, Chief Secretary, his Political Secretary and Political Agent Malakand held a meeting with the last Wali of Swat at the scenic valley of Kalam. Miangul Jahanzeb wrote about these negotiations:

We sat down around the table – it was August 1953 – and the Governor wanted to speak first. I said: "No, I will speak first: He said: "No, I will speak!" Then his Chief Secretary and the others told me to please let His Excellency speak first – at the time he used to be called His Excellency;

after 1956 this Excellency business was abolished. I said: “No. Let me speak. If I can say it all, why have two speeches?” So he agreed and said: “Oh, all right, you have your say.” I said: “It is quite simple. You want to convince me. I am already convinced. And now you want to make a big story of it, how in Kalam after intricate negotiations we did this and we did that. If I wanted to refuse, I have in fact some very good arguments. Number one: Ask the people of Swat.” – At that time, in 1953, my people were so devoted to me, because of the development I was making. – “But I am not going to say that you must ask the people. Number two: I can make another excuse – that if the Nawab of Dir signs it, then I will sign it.” – “No, no” they said, “if you sign it then Dir will sign it!” – Though he never signed. – “But I am already convinced. I am a loyal Pakistani, a patriot, I am going to sign it. but show me what you have brought, and allow me half an hour to go to my tent and read it first, before signing.” So they gave me the document they had already drawn up, in writing, and I read it, and I said: “O.K., finished”. And I signed on the 12th February 1954, in the Governor's House, Peshawar (Barth 1985: 109-110).

Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb thus surrendered his administrative authority to a greater extent by signing the Supplementary Instrument of Accession in 1954 (Bangash 2015: 132). The Supplementary Instrument of Accession of 1954, authorised the Federal Legislature of Pakistan to make laws and to exercise executive authority in Swat State on the same lines as in the rest of the country (Bangash 2015: 255-257). Under the provisions of the Act, Miangul Jahanzeb was asked to form an Advisory Council (Barth 1985: 109-110). The main features of the Supplementary of Instrument of Accession were:

1. There should be an Advisory Council of 25 members, 15 elected and 10 nominated by the Wali of Swat.
2. The proposed Advisory Council was to advise Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb in the matters of general policy, administration, legislation, development, implementation and finance.
3. The Ruler of Swat State was to act as the President of the Advisory Council.

4. The Council was not eligible to advise on matters for which the Ruler of Swat/ President had the power of discretion or individual judgment.
5. The State had the power to make laws on the subjects enunciated in Part III of the Schedule appended with the Supplementary Instrument of Accession.
6. The office of the Ruler of Swat State was declared as hereditary.
7. The Ruler was made the Chief Executive of the Administration of the State.
8. There was a whole time Chief Secretary to the Advisory Council and other Secretariat Staff who assisted the Ruler in the affairs of the administration.
9. The Ruler had the power to dissolve the Advisory Council.
10. The Ruler had full powers to grant pardons, reprieve, respite or remit punishment.
11. The Ruler was immune from Civil and Criminal Proceedings.
12. All rights, authority and jurisdiction vested in the Ruler.
13. All the expenses on account of the running administration were met out for the State Revenue (File No.235-246, Bundle No.16 (A), Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar).

Furthermore, under the provision of the same Act, the Government of Pakistan got control over some matters of Swat State. Now they could interference certain matters like:

1. Directions could be issued to guide the Ruler in exercise of his discretion and individual judgement.
2. In case of dispute whether any matter legitimately fell within the discretion or individual judgement, the decision of the Government was final.

3. On request of the Ruler, any officer of the Government could attend the meeting of the Advisory Council to explain and give the benefit of his advice on the matter under consideration.
4. On request of the Ruler, the Government of Pakistan could constitute a High Court for the State or declare any court in any province of Pakistan to be the High Court for the State (File No.235-246, Bundle No.16 (A), Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar).

The Act further stated that the Government of Pakistan had full powers to make laws and to extend any of the existing laws on the subjects included in Part I and part II of the Schedule appended to Supplementary Instrument of Accession. For the execution of authority of Pakistan, the Ruler of Swat was to serve on behalf of Pakistan or through a representative of Government of Pakistan (File No.235-246, Bundle No.16 (A), Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar). The Supplementary Instrument of Accession and the Interim Constitution came into force in September 1954. (Bangash 2015: 321-322). According to a Government Report, an agreement was executed with the Wali of Swat on 12th February 1954 whereby he was appointed as Administrator of Kalam to run the administration with the help of an Advisory Council (File No.235-246, Bundle No.16 (A), Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar). It is pertinent to mention here that besides, the Advisory Council of Swat State, Wali Sahib also nominated members to the system introduced by Ayub Khan after taking power in the shape of Basic Democracies (Rahim and Viaro 2002: 280).

2. Conduct of Elections to the Advisory Council

Under the Supplementary Instrument of Accession, the last Wali of Swat took measures for conducting the elections of the Advisory Council (Shahab, 104). Accordingly, elections for the first Advisory Council were held on 20th, 21st and 22nd December 1954 respectively. Prior to the conduct of elections, the standard procedure of preparation of electoral rolls, its publishing, appointment of Returning Officers, list of Polling Stations, filing of Nomination Papers, Scrutiny of Nomination Papers and withdrawal of Nomination Papers was followed. For the delimitation of the Swat State into electoral constituencies, Wali Sahib appointed a Delimitation

Committee. The Delimitation Committee included Ataullah Khan, Chief Secretary, Swat State as its President and Sher Mohammad Khan, *Wazir e Mal*, Swat State, Amir Said, *Mushir*, Swat State and I Ahmadud Din Khan, Asst: Sam Ranizai, Malakand, as its Members (No. 2089-C/St/15, Dated: 30th July 1954, B.No. 59, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar, NWFP).

In delimiting the constituencies in Swat State, consideration was given to the population, the geographical position and the tribal affinity of the people. Thus, after all this process, the following 15 Constituencies were formed.

1. Chamla and Totalai Amazai (Buner)....1
2. Daggar, Salarzai and Gadezai (Buner)....1
3. Chakesar and Besham (Shangla)....1
4. Puran and Martung (Shangla)....1
5. Indus Kohistan1
6. Shamuzai, Barikot, Aba Khel and Barat Khel (Swat)....1
7. Saidu , Mingora and Charbagh (Swat)....2
8. Azikhel and Fatehpur (Swat).....1
9. Madyan and Bahrain (Swat)....1
10. Bar Swat (Swat)....2
11. Nikpi khel valley (Swat)....2
12. Gagra and Chagarzai (Buner)...1

For the conduct of elections to the proposed Advisory Council, the ruler of Swat also set up an Election Board comprising of Ataullah Khan, Chief Secretary to ruler of Swat, Purdil Khan, Secretary to the Ruler and Ihsanuddin Khan, Asst; Swat Ranizai (No. 2089-C/St/15, Dated:30th July 1954, File No. 37-S/54, Bundle No. 59, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar, NWFP).

David Ditcher wrote in 1967, “The Wali maintains an Advisory Council consisting of 25 members, 15 of whom have been elected by male adult franchise, while the remaining 10 are appointed directly by the ruler” (Dichter 1967: 51). Akhtar Ali contended in 1963 that the elections to the Advisory Council were held on the basis of an adult franchise. He further stated that the elected members to the Council were the representatives of the people and that these institutions were aimed at introducing democratic institutions in the State. The elections of the Council were held on a regular basis and without any rigging on the part of the ruler of Swat State. The

election process was conducted in a peaceful way without any traditional hue and cry (Ali 1963: 62).

The procedure followed for voting to the Advisory Council was very interesting in nature. The supporters of contesting were asked to gather in a wide-open space and vote for their candidate. The voters were then counted, and the winning candidate was announced (Uddin 2019). The Council was elected for a period of four years. Wali of Swat served as the President of the Council and presented the annual budget of the State before the Council. The members had the right to speak on the various aspects of the budget and had freedom to express their views (Ali 1963: 63).

Membership

The Council consisted of 25 members that included fifteen elected members and ten nominated members by the ruler of the State (Ali 1963: 63). The elected members to the first and inaugural Swat State Advisory Council included:

1. Ahmad Khan, Chinglai, Tehsil Khudu Khel, Swat
2. Zarin Khan, Kalpanai, Tehsil Gagra, Buner
3. Ghoray Malik, Illai, Tehsil Daggar, Buner
4. Sayed Rahim Shah, Qambar, tehsil Abakhel Baratkhel, Swat
5. Kamran Khan, Mingora, Tehsil Babuzai, Swat
6. Sayed Abdul Jabbar, charbagh, tehsil Charbagh, Swat
7. Abdul Qudus, Nawikali, Tehsil Azikhel, Swat
8. Hazrat Ali, Gornai, Bahrain, Swat Kohistan
9. Mian Nurul Hadi, Kanju, Tehsil Nikpi Khel, Swat
10. M Afarin Khan, Chakesar, Tehsil Chakesar, Shangla
11. Faiz M Khan, Bingalai, Puran, Shangla
12. Alimullah, Duber, Tehsil Duber, Indus Kohistan
13. Adalat Khan, Jura, Bar Swat, Swat
14. Dost M Khan, Kana, Tehsil Kana, Shangla
15. Jamshed Khan, Bandai, Nikpi Khel, Swat

The Nominated Members to the Advisory Council of Swat State included:

1. Sayed Sikander Shah of Malka, Buner
2. Ahmad Khan of Chagharzai, Buner
3. Rahamdal Khan of Kota (Musa khel), Swat

4. Dost M Khan of Manglawar, Swat
5. Mukaram Khan of Dakurak, Charbagh, Swat
6. Muhammad Afzal Khan, Bar Swat, Swat
7. Fateh M Khan of Sher Palam, Bar Swat, Swat
8. Mir Alam Khan of Patan, Indus Kohistan
9. Mir Akhtar Khan of Kotkai, Shangla
10. Amir Said Khan, Musheer ul Mulk, Swat (Bundle No. 59, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar, North-West Frontier Province).

According to Saranzeb Khan Swati, Swat State Advisory Council was formed in the era of Shahab Uddin, the then Governor N.W.FP. The members of that particular Advisory Council included Abdul Matten (Chamla, Buner), Abdur Rahim (Badkata, Buner), Sikandar Khan (Gadezai, Buner), Safdar Khan (Chakisar), Faiz Muhammad Khan (Puran), Aleem Ullah (Dubair), Sayed Hussain Shah (Tindodog), Sohrab Khan (Mingora), Abdus Sattar (Jahan Abad, Babozai), Qubad Khan (Jano), Nishan Mian (Shahgram, Madyan), Muhammad Adalat Khan (Jura, Upper Swat), Rahim Ullah Khan (Ronyal), Aziz Ur Rehman (Nikpi Khel), Dost Muhammad Khan (Kana), Abdullah Khan (Totalai, Buner), Sherdad (Bazargay, Buner), Raifa (Pattan), Amir Bacha (Lilonai), Sharafat Ali (Sher Palam), Malak Nawab (Durush Khela), Jamshed Khan (Bandai, Nikpi Khel), Umara Khan (Shamozai), Sayid Karim Bakhsh (Mingora) and Anat Khan (Chamgarai, Behrain). Further Union Council Members included Raham Dal Khan (Chariman Kota, Tehsil Barikot), Sayyid Sikandar Shah (Chairman Malka, Tehsil Khadu Khel), Farid Ullah (Chairman Garahai, Behrain), Rangeen (Chairman Maira, Besham) and Mahmood Khan (Chairman Fateh Pur, Jinki Khel). The State nominated members included Miangul Aurangzeb (Wali Ahd), Attaullah Khan (Chief Secretary), Amir Saeed Khan (Wazir e Mulk), Mohammad Majid Khan (Masheer), Kishwar Khan (Masheer), Taj Mohammad Khan (Masheer), Umara Khan (Naib Salar), Dr. Najib Ullah (Director Health), Sayid Yousaf Ali Shah (Director Education) and Sarfaraz Khan (Commander). Saranzeb Khan Swat gave the Council the name of 'State Assembly' that could make recommendations to the Ruler of Swat State on financial matters. Interestingly, Saranzeb's father applied to the ticket of Council but was rejected by the Ruler of Swat State (Swati 1984: 194).

3. Proceedings of the Council

After the conduct of elections to the Advisory Council from the 20th to the 22nd December 1954, the Wali of Swat intimated the Chief Secretary to the Government of North-West Frontier Province on 26th December 1954. He stated:

The list of 15 successful candidates is enclosed for the information of the Local Administration. The list of 10 Members nominated... is also enclosed. According to the programme, the first session of the Advisory Council is due to the beginning of January 1955. As this is a first step in the State towards the introduction of Constitutional reforms, it is highly desirable that the proceedings of the opening ceremony may be presided over by His Excellency the Governor, NWFP (No. s3088, dated 26th December 1954. File No. 37-S/54, Bundle No. 59, Provincial Archives, Peshawar, NWFP).

As mentioned before, the sessions of the Advisory Council of Swat State were held regularly. The annual budget of Swat State was presented before the Council. The budget copies were provided to the members before the session so that they may read it and express their opinion on it during the session (Uddin 2020). Similarly, the members of the Council were asked to provide their resolutions to the Secretary of the Council prior to the session (Uddin 2019). There were also instances when two sessions were held in a single year. Besides the budget's approval, the members also presented important matters of their constituencies to the ruler of Swat State and he responded to the suggestions and demands on the spot. The proceedings of the Council were recorded in Urdu language and were communicated to the higher authorities in the country as well. The recorded proceedings show that the members of the Council came up with their demands before the last Wali of Swat and attended the meetings in maximum number. The important State's officials were also called by Wali Sahib to take part in these sessions and put before the members the various schemes that were undertaken by him. The key officials of the education department, health department and construction department highlighted the various ongoing projects in the State (Uddin 2020). Interestingly, the members were paid Rs. 200 per session by the State for attending the session.

According to a Government report, the "Rulers specifically declared in these Supplementary Instruments of Accession that the constitution of Pakistan when framed would be the constitution of their States and shall be enforced in their respective territories. No such Instrument of Accession was executed by the Ruler of Dir."(File No.235-246, Directorate of

Archives and Libraries, Peshawar). The Report further added that with the signing of the Supplementary Instrument of Accessions with Princely States, the pending enactments of the Constitution of Pakistan were extended to the States. The Rulers with the exception of Nawab of Dir introduced reforms and promulgated the Interim Constitution Acts. Under the provisions of these Interim Constitution Acts, Advisory Councils, comprising both elected and nominated members, were constituted to advise the Rulers concerned on general matters of administration including development and finance. Further, unlike the other acceded States to Pakistan in 1954, no merger agreements were executed with the rulers of Frontier States. The rulers of Swat State and Chitral State also signed the agreement regarding privy purse, private property, Rights and Privileges. Even this time no agreement was signed by the Ruler of Dir (The North West Frontier of Pakistan, 1960-1961, File No.235-246, Bundle No.16 (A), TARC Misc, Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Peshawar).

4. Critical Appraisal of the Advisory Council

Yaqoob Khan Bangash argues that through the Government of Swat Act 1954 (Interim Constitution) , the authority of Miangul Jahanzeb was not disturbed much as no advisor or *Wazir* was imposed on him as was in the case of other Princely States in Pakistan. He was left undisturbed at the helm of affairs and the Advisory Council had not any substantial authority (Bangash 2015: 240). He adds:

The English daily, Dawn clearly saw the wool this Act had pulled over the eyes of the people of Swat as it only further consolidated the power of the Wali, now with the official blessing of the central government. In a scathing editorial Dawn noted: the Council is only advisory and can only advise on matters on which the Wali is pleased to refer to it. Even then, since Wali will be the President of the Council, he will be in the position of advising himself on matters chosen by himself (Bangash 2015: 240).

Interestingly, the Act was seen as a measure of representative government in the State and the general public in the State welcomed it. It also “took some steam out of the agitation of Muslim League workers for the time being” (Bangash 2015: 321-322). Wali Sahib judged the Supplementary Instrument of Accession in pragmatic and tactical terms and not in the support of legitimization of his rule (Barth 1985: 175).

It is worth mentioning that the other Frontier States of Chitral and Amb had advisory councils by 1954 with minor changes in the number of elected members and its advisory powers. These councils were seen as a token gesture towards democratic reforms; however, these lacked any real power and influence. There was a mindset prevailing in the official circles of Pakistan that Princely States in the North West Frontier were not yet ready for democratisation and any drastic reforms in the State would fail to work (Bangash 2015: 390). The views of Wali Sahib about the Advisory Council were:

In fact, the formal system they created made no difference. They stipulated that there should be a State Council, with 15 elected members and 10 members nominated by me, and that I would be the President of the Council. And then the Government fixed my Privy Purse - from the revenue of my own State. It was ample, and provided what I needed to spend on myself and my family. The Council had no real power. I collected them twice a year, and always told them what to do. Some people would make suggestions that were important for their village. So I generally said I would do it, but that they must always look to the State's overall priorities and needs. Other people just praised me and said: "You are doing everything, so what can we suggest?" Then in June I presented the budget of the State, and discussed it with them. In some ways, this Supplementary Instrument of Accession strengthened me, in some ways it limited my power. Now suppose I had changed the constitution of the State without the permission of the Government, giving people more rights and so on, then the Government would have thought that I was encouraging an idea among my people of independence from Pakistan. SO I could not dare to do that. From the point of view of Pakistan, I became a sort of caretaker administrator. Though they did not interfere in my internal affairs, everybody knew that I could be removed and the State could be merged. Politicians might also start their agitation here - a few of the parties did (Barth 1985: 110-111).

Fredrik Barth argued that the most notable fact in Swat State era was the marked concentration of power and initiative in the person of the Ruler of Swat State and that at no time during the existence of Swat State, his authority was balanced or otherwise curtailed by any other formally constituted body. The "State Council" imposed by the Pakistani authorities never exercised any substantial influence as could be seen from the

composition and organisation of the Council and Wali of Swat gave it little importance (Barth 1985: 161).

However, Akhtar Ali maintained that due to the elections to the Advisory Council, the masses got awareness about the importance of the voting system and the democratic norms were observed in the state. The State was now following the democratic norms in the State (Ali 1963: 63). Interestingly, Taj Muhammad Khan Zebsar, who was a close associate of Miangul Jahanzeb and also served as a member of the Council, argued that though the Council was formed but had no usefulness for the State. He was of the opinion that Wali Sahib established the Council due to the needs of the time and he merely presented the State budget before it (File No. Swat State Budget, 1967-1968, 201-ST5 (A)-I, office of Commissioner (FR), Peshawar, 88/Swat (21 Swat), TARC Peshawar.). The members have been given the right to give suggestions and also put their demands before the ruler in the Council (Zebsar 1955: 78). Taj Muhammad Khan Zebsar predicted that Wali Sahib will have to face difficulties in the training and educating these members and making them aware of their responsibilities (Zebsar 1955: 78). In support of his assertion, Zebsar added that a member of the State Advisory council asked the Wali of Swat to give favour to his native village. Wali Sahib advised the member not to merely advocate the extension of facilities to his native village but rather act as a representative of the whole constituency that had elected him (Zebsar 1955: 79). Similarly, a member of the Council demanded that a cannon may be installed in his constituency so that it can be used for informing the people in the evening, in the holy month of *Ramadan* (fasting month). The ruler of Swat State responded that the practice of firing cannon during *Ramadan* was only prevailing in the capital of the state (Saidu Sharif) for a long time. He further argued that if a cannon was installed in the constituency of the member, then there will be an increasing demand from the other members of the Council. The demand was thus put down (Zebsar 1955: 79). Zebsar asserted that the members of the Council were not fully trained and were unaware of their true responsibilities. Their suggestions were not up to the required standard and that the Wali of Swat was intelligent enough to decide on his own rather than consulting those inexperienced members (Zebsar 1955: 80; Barikoti 1955: 248). James W. Spain rightly asserts that though the Advisory Council was in place since 1954, yet “the reins of government remain almost entirely in the Wali’s hands (Spain 1985: 223).”

5. Conclusions

So it can be concluded that the Advisory Council of Swat State was an effort on the part of the Government of Pakistan to introduce democratic reforms in Swat State. The Council was composed of elected and selected members that mainly approved the State's budget and discussed its various aspects. However, it did not possess any real powers. The Council provided a forum for the members where they could put their grievances and demands before the ruler of Swat State. The ruler responded to the queries on the spot and decided on the genuineness of a particular demand. The forum, though devised by the authorities in Pakistan to introduce democratic reforms in the State, could not appease the critics of the State. The ruler's discretion to select ten members of his own choice further strengthened his authority within the State. The institution of the Advisory Council served till the merger of the State in 1969.

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Notes and Items for Discussion

Buddhist fascination?

Some notes on cultural archeology during the British Raj

Marta Varini

Abstract

The following pages present an overview on the archeological history in the Indian Subcontinent. This paper will also underline a few problematic terms and concepts, unavoidably incurred during the research: the use of the term Civilization, the overbearing employment of “Orientalism”, the fragile notion of “Graeco-Buddhist art”, the idea of superiority of “classicism” in canons and traditions, and so on. Systematic research was conducted by intellectuals who were moved by contemporary Romantic sentiment, in their quest for elegant canons of classical antiquity, as much as they were imbued with a sense of superiority of one tradition (Buddhism) over another, but made possible the founding and development of the Archaeological Survey of India, the main agency responsible for archaeological research and the conservation during the British Raj.

Keywords: Archaeological Survey of India, Buddhism, Greek influence, The Asiatic Society.

1. Introduction

These notes will attempt to open a discussion on the early archaeology of India under the British rule so to understand the role of Buddhism-related findings in the larger context composed by British romanticism, colonial political agendas, and pro-Hellenic academic interests.

The first section will deal with the emergence of Orientalist studies, such as the systematic research of the languages, cultures and antiquities of the Indian subcontinent driven, as we shall see, by authoritative intellectual projects, as well as by political agendas aimed at legitimizing the British government. Starting from the 18th century, the first part of the paper will attempt to introduce the context of the birth of the first Societies, as specialized and voluntary institutions.

The second section is an overview on the Archeology of the Indian Subcontinent, devoted particularly to its beginnings, under the supervision of the early directors of the Archeological Survey of India. This section will, through the discoveries and choice of excavations conducted, attempt to introduce the imbalance of interest that began to manifest itself with the leadership of some of the Survey’s directors.

The final section will consider the long-standing issue of the so-called Buddhist fascination and will try to explain why the – claimed – rediscovery of the lost magnificence of ancient India finds Buddhism, in its traditional, architectural and historical forms, as its main subject.

The issue of museum display will only be touched upon, although it is equally central in the study, as it results from the investigations dealt with in the article.

Even though the paper does not pretend to exhaust every aspect of the topic, it aims to present the complexity that characterizes the birth and development of archeology in the Indian subcontinent, the extent to which colonial legacy has influenced the interpretation of excavations, how much “Buddhist fascination” is related to political agendas or simply to a comparative approach moved by a human interest to decode the “novel” through “classical” canons, known or considered universally valid at the time.

2. The birth of Orientalism

In 1758, Warren Hastings (1732-1818) resided with the Raja of Murshidabad and quickly achieved his political career by becoming Governor of Bengal in 1772, and Governor-General the following year.

Hastings’ cultural policy buttressed his belief that good governance of British India lay in knowledge of its culture and languages. Indeed, during his rule (1772-1785) he engaged in the protection of scholarly figures such as Hindu Pundits and Muslim Maulvis, to the point of founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784). This new institution, devoted to early Indological studies, heralded the beginning of the 100-year tradition of Orientalist studies.

British Supreme Court judge Sir William Jones (1746-1794) joined him in the fledgling project of systematic research of the Indian subcontinent, marked by spontaneous and dispassionate cultural interest, devoid of snobbery and in strong collaboration with Indian scholars. (Thapar 1990: 106-130)

Having laid the foundations for modern Orientalism, scholars moved their interest toward antiquity, the true place to find the essence of Indian civilization: given the background of the researchers themselves – together with the importance of ancient Greek and Latin – the greater interest concerned the discovery of a distant, pre-Islamic past that could legitimize the conquest and presence of the British Raj.

The process, triggered by the need to give intellectual depth to self-legitimization, pushed dangerously toward cultural homogenization. This process of cultural involution would later be confirmed in the nineteenth century when the ideology of “traditional” India was formed: economically stagnant and culturally divided between different religious and caste groups, presented as unchanging and forever the same. (Humes 2012: 180)

As the strand of Indological studies was deeply rooted in the history of British colonialism in India, it led to the formation of theories that continue to find strong resonance till date – in political and academic contexts.

2.1 The Societies

As seen previously, the beginnings of systematic research into the history of the Indian subcontinent and developments in archeological institutions are closely linked to the birth of the Asiatic Society and its founder Sir William Jones.

Jones was a judge in the Supreme Court of Justice at Fort William in Calcutta (1783) and a prominent linguist, philologist and pioneer of Orientalist studies. The Asiatic Society, established in Calcutta on January 15, 1784, would become a model for many other societies devoted to the study of ancient texts and interpretation of prominent inscriptions. These associations, though formed in the interest of knowledge of Indian history, «closely intertwined with the colonial administration» (Humes 2012: 180) – also because they were attended by members of the East India Company.

Sir W. Jones was one of the first scholars to propose a theory regarding the relationship between Sanskrit, vernacular languages of India and European languages: the fundamental relationship between Indo-European languages and the theories derived from Jones' studies would (along with the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization) lead to the consolidation of the debate regarding the migrations-invasions of India.

Notable achievements included the publication of the periodical journal *Asiatic Researches* from 1788 and the decipherment of the Brahmi script in 1837 by the *Scientific Enquirer*, James Prinsep, who would in fact find in numismatics (as in James Tod's collection) the possibility of applying the scientific method. (Allen 2002: 152)

Noteworthy among its early members was Charles Wilkins who published the first English translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* in 1785 under the patronage of the then governor-general of Bengal, Warren Hastings. Wilkins, moreover, would be instrumental in studies of the Gupta Brahmi, which he defines as “pseudo-Greek” in his study of the Firoz Shah pillar, (Allen 2002: 50) and because of his great linguistic expertise, he achieved a major political goal in 1778 with the publication of the *Grammar of the Bengali language*: for the first time, governing authorities were able to disseminate edicts and regulations directly into the vernacular of the governed. (Allen 2002: 47)

3. Archaeological Survey of India: the debut

Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893) arrived in India in 1833 as an engineer following the East India Company Army and remained in the service of the British Army until 1860. In 1848, the year Punjab was annexed into British rule, Cunningham was one of the first to explore the Peshawar Valley:

«In describing the ancient state of the Panjab, the most interesting subject of enquiry is the identification of those famous peoples and cities, whose names have become familiar to the whole world through the expeditions of Alexander the Great.[...] This plan has a double advantage for as Chinese pilgrims, as well as Macedonian invaders entered India from the West, the routes of the conquerors and the pilgrims will mutually illustrate each other». (Cunningham 1872: 1-2)

That same year, after assisting the research of Orientalist James Prinsep (1799-1840), he formulated an archeological survey plan to present to the governors of the British Raj. After the failure achieved with the proposed archeological project and the following the tensions and sanctions due to the Indian Wars of Independence of 1857, a new opportunity arose. Thanks to the attention and correspondence with Charles John Canning (later appointed viceroy of India), Cunningham established the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861, and became its first Director-General (1871-1885). Due to lack of funds, the first surveys (largely following in the footsteps of the Xuanzang's pilgrimage) were temporarily suspended between 1861 and 1865. Thanks to the new viceroy Lord Lawrence, the Survey was restored as a separate department independent of the government and Cunningham honored as director in February 1871. In Memorandum of Instructions (1871) – originally addressed to his assistant – he states his ideology in no uncertain terms:

«Archaeology is not limited to broken sculptures, old buildings and mounds of ruins, but includes everything that belonged to the world's history ... our researches should be extended to all ancient remains, whatever that will help to illustrate the manners and customs of former times». (Chakrabarti 1982: 333)

His dedication to Chinese pilgrimages remains a prominent element among his distinct interests, from Faxian to Xuangzang (Allen 2002: 180): thanks to the coeval translations of Chinese texts, Cunningham – flanked by Prinsep and Markham Kittoe – led the first excavation of the Dharmarajika stupa, in Taxila. His research, in the footsteps of Alexander the Great's history, also led him to discovering one of Ashoka Maurya's rock edicts, near Shahbazgarhi, and the Buddhist monasteries of Jamalgarhi and Ranighat, of which he sought to bring out the Greek influence. (Prabha Ray 2014: 66-71)

The archeological department, thus restored, aimed to pursue organic and systematic research throughout India (made so by the work of experts such as James Fergusson). Such research ushered in a marked fascination with Buddhist monuments and the image of the Buddha (understood by him as a true social reformer). Thus, Cunningham tried to project excavations – sometimes forcibly – as discoveries of Buddhist-related artifacts and monuments, for two main reasons: one, he was in search of evidence that would show that the Brahmanical tradition did not represent the only religious and traditional spectrum of ancient India, and

two, he attempted to find justifications that could lend validation to British power in India through archeological findings and interpretation.

Indeed, Cunningham believed that the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India was a key resource for the colonial state and could influence the British public: in this sense, demonstrating that the Brahmanical tradition was of relatively recent origin could prove useful for the spread of Christianity in the subcontinent. In support of his vision, he published *The Ancient Geography of India* (1871), in which he outlined the boundaries of India's sacred geography (divided into three periods, Brahmanical, Buddhist and modern Islamic). It was a project of great ambition, and he conducted his survey committing several errors: he referred only to the areas of northern India (Pakistan, Kashmir, Myanmar and Uttar Pradesh), never going beyond Maharashtra; secondly, for the entire volume, he took sources relating to the activities of Alexander the Great (ca. 4th century) as guidelines, parallelly with those of the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (texts from a thousand years later).

Cunningham's investigations would lead to several discoveries of monolithic capitals and other remains datable to the Maurya power, specimens of Gupta and post-Gupta period architecture, the great stupa at Bharhut, Gupta inscriptions at Eran, sites at Udayagiri. In 1872, after the devastation of the site caused by the construction of the railway from Lahore to Multan, he organized the first excavation at Harappa.

Cunningham's work certainly also had great relevance to the establishment of archaeology as an essential discipline for the Raj, but his investigation was so broad and sometimes so rushed that it was almost never comprehensive or professional. (Prabha Ray 2014: 58) Indeed, it should not be forgotten that due to the unscientific nature of the research and methodological imprecision, he would compromise the excavations, for example, of the Dhamek stupa in Sarnath (1843).

3.1 James Burgess' interlude and John Marshall's debut

With the rise of anti-British movements, Lord Curzon (1859-1925), Viceroy of the Raj from 1899 to 1905, entered the political landscape. This period is often considered to coincide with the empire reaching the apex of its political parabola. Characterized by efficiency at work, toughness and impartiality in law enforcement, Lord Curzon is also considered a key figure in the revival of the Archaeological Survey of India: measures included reform of the municipality in Calcutta (1899) and the universities (1904).

At the end of 1885, Alexander Cunningham's tenure ended, and he was succeeded by James Burgess (1832-1916).

Mainly inspired by the tradition of architectural studies begun by James Fergusson, he founded the annual journal *The Indian Antiquary* (1872), whose annual

epigraphic publication *Epigraphia Indica* (1882) would become a supplement, edited by such great scholars as Georg Bühler (1837-1898), Lorenz Franz Kielhorn (1840-1908) and Julius Eggeling (1842-1918). (Chakrabarti 1982: 333-4)

Among the major merits attributed to the new director-general of the archaeological mission is his contribution to the unification of the three fields of exploration, conservation and epigraphy within the Survey. Once again due to lack of funds, James Burgess's work was suspended in 1889 and not reinstated until 1902. This period, also known as the "Buck Crisis" (1888-1898), suffered heavy pressure from Sir Edward Charles Buck (1838-1916), caused by government expenditure cuts on the Archaeological Survey of India.

Although Burgess's monographs and publications constitute some of the major studies of Indian architecture of the period, the phase following Cunningham's direction is generally characterized by insufficient work. The arrival of John Marshall (1755-1835) determines the golden period for the development of archeology in the Indian subcontinent, which some historians have come to describe as «glorious and 'imperial'». (Chakrabarti 1982: 334) The excavations he initiated were mainly related to the period of Buddhist India.

The investigations carried out by Alexander Cunningham in the area of Harappa, Pakistan (1860-70) and interrupted by the British construction of the new railway link, were not resumed until 1920-21 precisely because of John Marshall's efforts.

Some of the sites overseen by John Marshall, thanks to renewed attention to the preservation of monuments and finds, are still overseen by ASI today. Marshall consolidated the organization of archeological investigation through a new model governed by circular divisions: organizational decentralization allowed by the various archeological circles paved the way for the formation of more working groups and more "specialized" officers at different sites. The Annual Reports following this innovation show how the quantity of excavations carried out simultaneously (Chakrabarti 1982: 334-5) contributed positively to the preservation and protection of monuments by repealing the remarkable Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in 1904.

Followed by architect and archeologist Daya Ram Sahni (1879-1939), the new ASI director investigated the city of Harappa and probed the site of Mohenjo Daro, which would prove to be a major discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization. But problems arose under his direction: in fact, Marshall would not take a polycentric view (unlike Aurel Stein), often tackling research elements individually and tracing their relationship to the rest of the excavation area only later; moreover, his method of excavation, determined by a fixed level that set chronological depth, would be deemed particularly unsuitable.

Although he strongly supported a centrally managed Survey (in 1912, the government in fact considered abolishing the post of Director General), he collaborated with senior colleagues, such as Aurel Stein (in Baluchistan) and N.

G. Majumdar (in Taxila), as well as Indian scholars Ram Raj, Bhagwanlal Indraji, and Rajendralal Mitra.

Following the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms (1919) and changes brought about by the Devolution Rules (1921), Sir John Marshall relinquished office between 1928 and 1931.

This was followed by the brief directorships of H. Hargreaves (1928), Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni (1931) and J. F. Blakiston (1935).

3.2 Archeology and prehistory: the directorate of Mortimer Wheeler

In 1939, Leonard Woolley made a seething criticism of the work of the ASI, mainly directed at the problem related to the opening of excavations and archeological finds to the public. A few years later, following financial cuts imposed yet again by the Indian government, followed by the end of Marshall's term, Mortimer Wheeler (1944-1948) was appointed, and in the capacity of the Survey's new Director General proposed innovations in line with Woolley's criticism. Wheeler promoted the release of a new publication, *Ancient India* (1946), and edited its first five issues. A comprehensive scholarly retrospective of prehistoric archeology, Wheeler's work focused primarily on exemplary sources from the Indus Valley Civilization – especially concerning the cities of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa.

With a great sense of planning in archeological analysis and research, he tackled sites like Taxila, Harappa and Arikamedu (getting university students to do fieldwork) and introduced the concept of archeological stratigraphy, thereby inaugurating his own tradition of excavation methodology, and leading to a source of both success and dissent.

The so-called three-dimensional recording is the technique devised by Wheeler for the identification of pits within trench sections, mainly used to achieve greater chronological accuracy of material evidence (see Fig. 1). In adopting this method, he consequently supported the comparative study of the various stratifications of ceramic objects in order to determine the succession history of a material culture of the sites under consideration.

The development of archeology in the Indian subcontinent of this period (taking its first steps as early as the 1820s and 1830s) is characterized by the introduction of systematic studies of the protohistoric and prehistoric phases of India, generated by discoveries related to excavations in Gandhara and the Gangetic Valley. Wheeler, in fact, projected modern archeology in a very ancient direction: from the discovery of iron tools at the excavations directed by him, he hypothesized the arrival of iron in the Indus Valley only in 400 B.C. (evidence of a prejudicial view) and, in the present city of Pondicherry, he defines an architectural structure as an Indo-Roman emporium (we now know that the Roman component is not the main one in this context).

4. «A forgotten age revealed»: the Buddhist slant

The relentless march of scientific archeology from the 18th century onward, as a result of the Romantic sensibility of the time, is deeply linked to the idea of the changing nature of classical antiquity. For instance, in these years the German art historian and archeologist Johann J. Winckelmann (1717-1768) as the highest theoretician of neo-classicism, championed theories on the Romantic image of ancient Greece. The primitive simplicity, architectural elegance, and order of classical antiquity became the formal canons that the innate and profound humanistic need attempted to unveil, moved by the deep Romantic desire to know classical Greco-Roman and Gothic – considered two sides of the same coin. (Mitter 2001: 13-33)

As we have seen through the brief *détour* on the emergence of the first systematic studies of languages and cultures of the Indian subcontinent, the origin of the Societies and the genesis of ASI, the birth of Orientalism entails a shift in gaze in both geographical and semantic terms: the meaning of Oriental art ceases in fact to refer solely to Egyptian and Persian experiences (Mitter 1977: 145) and expands to include the monuments of the Indian subcontinent. From this point on, a «golden age» (Mitter 1977: 143), that is the period that blended archeological finds in territories conquered by the British Raj with western influence or belonging, would be discovered and established.

As the active interest of the British government (encouraged by archeologists and officials) also grew, so too did concern for the preservation of antiquities and sites (in the days of the East India Company devoted especially to sites such as Bombay, Elephanta, Kanheri, Madapeswar, Ellora, Mamallapuram, Tanjore, Madurai, etc.).

With the emergence of classical archeology, the adoption of new methods of scientific investigation, and the influences of pro-Hellenic Romanticism, Greek antiquity became part of the «European ‘classic’» (Falser, 2015: 6) However, it was around 1833 that European scholars finally became aware of Gandhara art. Henry Hardy Cole (1843-1916), who had never doubted the perfection of classical art, in the face of the magnificence of the discovery in Gandhara, proposed a statement that would mark the beginning of an ideological and interpretative strand of cardinal importance for future research developments. Indeed, according to Cole, the early style of Buddhist art was superior to the later Hindu style, a predominance justified by Buddhist simplicity that recalled classical Greek elegance. Considering Sanchi’s revealing example, he argues that the formative period of Buddhist art was generated by the influence of Greek powers:

«There is reason to believe that Buddhist art was a good deal influenced by that of the Graeco-Bactrians. The Greek colonies in the Panjab have left a number of cravings and coins so far south-west as Mattra, and the exceptional excellence of

the Sanchi bas-reliefs suggests that Greek masons, or possibly designers, may have been called in to assist the great work.» (Mitter 1977: 279)

In a period dominated by the Victorian sentiment of pursuit of the “sublime”, the concept of picturesque became a spokesman for the Romantic Orientalist strand: among the most emblematic figures, both for their advocacy of this vision and for the academic and stylistic impact of Indian painting, Thomas and William Daniell stand out. Fergusson embraced the coeval trend and, as is clear from his publication *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan* (1848), he defined the “picturesque” as «the only available frame of representation». (Guha-Thakurta 2006: 8)

As an example among many, this growing fascination with the various aspects of Buddhist ritual and tradition in the Gandhara context leads to new relevant discoveries, such as Shahji-ki-Dheri site tackled by David Brainerd Spooner (from ASI), with the accreditation of Alfred Foucher.

The Gandharic area thus provided archeologists and prominent figures such as James Fergusson (1808-1886) with the right yardstick for an esthetic measurement that took into account classical canons.

Vincent Smith, for example, was determined to show the indelible imprint of Greek dominance on Buddhist art, analyzing – often simplistically – the “local” art style of sites such as Bharhut, Sanchi, Ajanta and Amaravati deemed excellent examples of Western contact.

Among those who turned to Gandhara was Harold Arthur Deane (1854-1908), a soldier and officer of Malakand and the North-West Frontier under British rule. During his tenure as administrator of the far-western territories of the Raj, he witnessed a period of severe internal and external conflicts and uprisings, and began to compose a narrative account. The itinerary he traced, from the Swat valley to the northernmost areas of Gandhara (the Panjkora and Barawal valleys) would take shape in the pioneering 1896 publication: the Harold Deane manuscript *Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra* was not only the ambitious drafting of an ancient topography of Swat (Morgan, Olivieri 2022), but also revealed the extent to which the «great classical bias» coloured the perception of Gandhara archeology. (Morgan, Olivieri 2022: 9)

Dean’s investigation fits neatly into the coeval imperialist trend enraptured by India’s antiquities, with a focus on Grecian touch (Morgan, Olivieri, 2022: 24): indeed, the manuscript, which completely ignores the centuries of Islam in Swat, reveals the – decidedly Victorian – slant of the investigation, aimed at demonstrating how much Buddhist tradition could be a spokesperson for the apogee of Indian civilization as it was inextricably intertwined with Greek, i.e. Western, aesthetic and cultural intervention.

Thus, these years of reflections and visceral debates would result not only in the Buddhist visual ideal finding its best expression in the “Greco-Roman” art

of Gandhara, but also in the emergence of a profound polarity between Buddhist artistic tradition (classical and “Greek”) and Hindu production (primitive and indigenous).

Already with Cunningham, there was a strong distrust of historical and cultural value in Hindu tradition, so far as defining the eighteen Puranas as «the printing of all rubbish [...]», comparing publications of ancient architectural and sculptural remains, to accounting documents. (Guha-Thakurta 2006: 32)

Similarly, James Mill (1773-1836) too defined Indian art as not only grotesque in taste and form, but also «offensive and not infrequently disgusting» (Mill 1818: 354). While William Hodges (1744-1797) went so far as to speak of the «Barbarick splendor of those Asiatick Buildings.» (Mitter 1977: 270)

Thus, it can be deduced that the great fascination for Buddhism was not a phenomenon solely generated by purposes of legitimization of British power (as seen in the preceding paragraphs) and resemblance to Greco-Roman artistic vocabulary: the emergence of this phenomenon also involved a debate on the superiority (in chronological and esthetic terms) of Buddhism over the Brahmanical tradition (thus, even before the well-known division between pre-Islamic and Islamic periods).

The rediscovery of such “lost greatness” of Indian civilization generated a profound paradox that would deeply affect not only European perception of British India, but even Indian perception of its own identity.

As already mentioned, the discovery of the ancient Indus Valley civilization was announced in the weekly newspaper *The Illustrated London News* on September 20, 1924 (Humes, 2012: 185): «The two sites where these somewhat startling remains have been discovered are some 400 miles apart – the one being at Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Panjab, and the other at Mohenjodaro in the Larkana District of Sindh. Both these places contain a vast expanse of artificial mounds evidently covering the remains of once flourishing cities, which... must have been in existence for many hundreds of years.» (See Fig. 3)

As much as there was a paucity of traditions of archeological studies related, for example, to Jainism, the line of research immediately found great fascination and interest in Buddhist production.

As is well known, Buddhist art – especially figurative art – had a strong impact on European scholars, who now faced a new but readable common language: Buddhist production discovered by archeological excavations between Gandhara and northwest India was immediately associated with the Indo-Greek presence, with a Hellenistic vocabulary. Alfred Foucher, first head of the *Délégation Archéologique Française*, concluded that the figure of the Buddha and the figurative development of Buddhism, were innovations to be attributed to Greek coexistence. (Falser, 2015: 43)

The debate inaugurated by the Orientalist Foucher on the origins of the Buddha image engaged the attention of many scholars, again promoting studies of Gandharic art using a Greco-Hellenistic lens.

However, this debate was characterized by a focus on form rather than context. One reason lay in the issue of museum collections and exhibitions. For example, Buddhist art can be said as representing a kind of visual illustration of Siddhartha's story.

Among the many stupas, reliquaries, monasteries and Buddhist works excavated by teams of archeologists from the late 1800s onward, much of the related material culture had come into the possession of private individuals or state museums (in Britain as well as the Subcontinent).

Many nineteenth-century collectors and antiquarians were interested in Buddhist sculptures, for example, without particular care to record them chronologically or in terms of geographic and architectural location.

In fact, there is not much methodology in this regard: similarly, there is no all-encompassing strand exhibiting Greco-Roman history, nor examples of heterogeneous itinerary projects composed of artifacts explaining, for instance, the history of Rome.

This model can be approached in the Buddhist case: as seen throughout this short paper, given its role in India's colonial and independent history, and given the multiple implications of its study by past academics, it also acquired a special position in the expository context.

5. Conclusions

This essay firstly aimed to analyze the emergence of Orientalist studies, as a general and prolific environment characterized by a strong interest in the knowledge of the material culture and languages of Indian territory. By this reckoning, the context emerges as a historical contingency of the political-organizational needs of British rule:

«Professor Said's central assertion was that Orientalism was an instrument of Western imperialism, in the form of "an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness" whereby, in setting out to "discover" the cultures of Asia, Orientalists reshaped an Orient to suit their own Occidental prejudices.» (Allen 2002: 4)

As observed, systematic research conducted by intellectuals (professionals as well as amateurs), made possible the founding and development of the Archaeological Survey of India. In this regard, the chief concern of this paper has been to open up to the directorships ranging from Alexander Cunningham (1871-1885) to

Mortimer Wheeler (1944-1948), who eventually left charge to N. P. Chakravarti (1948-1950).

The examples of case study are not exhaustive, as it would have been possible to narrate several other exhaustive motifs, monuments, events related to Buddhism in Swat Valley.

Yet, the most important point that this article tries to stress, by way of conclusion, concerns Greek and Buddhist “classicism”, and can be summarized in three points. The engaging period of “Buddhist fascination” was indeed achieved by the observation of canons (architectural elegance and order in classical antiquity); secondly, by acknowledging the superiority of Buddhism, as Henry Hardy Cole asserts (1843-1916):

«There is reason to believe that Buddhist art was a good deal influenced by that of the Graeco- Bactrians. The Greek colonies in the Panjab have left a number of carvings and coins so far south-west as Mattra, and the exceptional excellence of the Sanchi bas-reliefs suggests that Greek masons, or possibly designers, may have been called in to assist the great work». (Allen 2002)

Finally, the coeval Romantic sentiment, or humanistic pro-Hellenic interest, as seen in the framework of Introduction à l’histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, by Eugène Burnouf (1844): «Romantics like Schlegel had earlier seen Buddhism as a primal fons et origo out of which all religions had sprung, a universal truth that answered to their romantic longing.» (Allen 2002: 198)

The final thoughts of this paper might (want to) emphasize some problematic terms and concepts that persist in this field of study, meaning the use of the term Civilization, the selfsame overbearing – sometimes abusive – employment of Orientalism, as well as of “Graeco-Buddhist art”:

«The excavations of Marshall and Spooner at Taxila and elsewhere (...) produced a wealth of wonderfully fluid Buddhist sculptures from the first to the fourth centuries CE that (...) showed clear evidence of Hellenistic influence, and were therefore termed “Graeco-Buddhist”. (...) It is generally agreed that the Kushans, lacking any monumental artistic heritage of their own, adopted and then developed the Greek traditions of their Bactrian predecessors.» (Allen 2002: 287)

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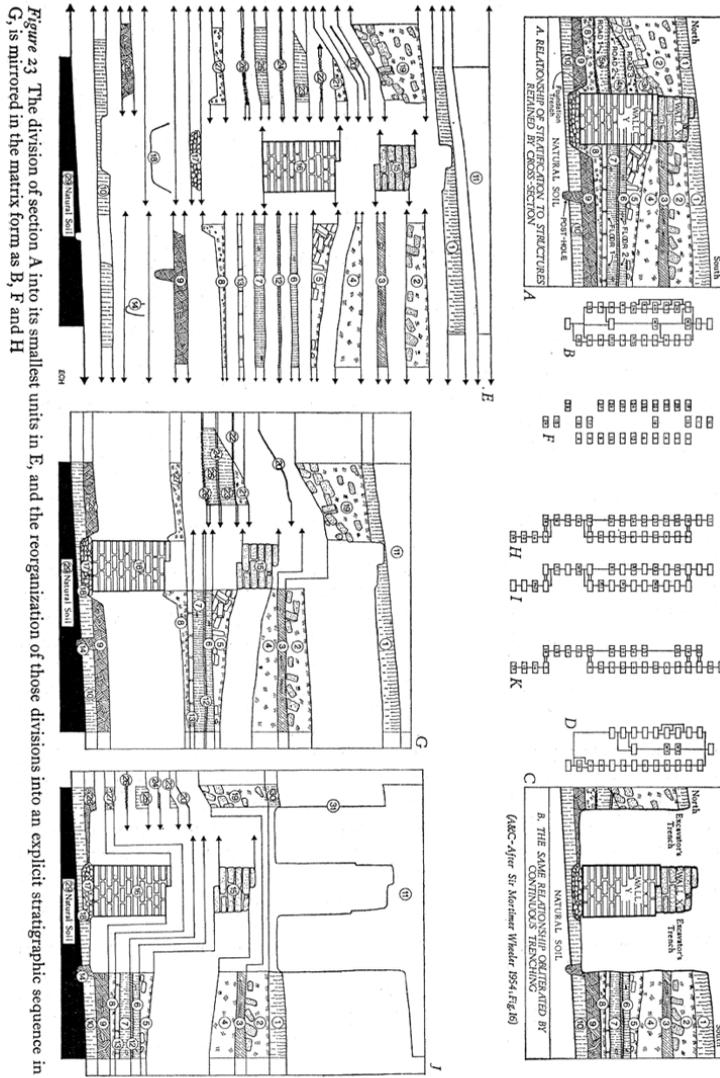


Figure 23 The division of section A into its smallest units in E, and the reorganization of those divisions into an explicit stratigraphic sequence in G, is mirrored in the matrix form as B, F and H

Fig. 1 - Example of three-dimensional recording by Mortimer Wheeler (after Harris 1975: fig.23).



Fig. 2 - Excavation of Sirkap, SKR, Taxila, 1944-45
(after Sudeshna 2003: fig.1).

NO. 4427 - VOLUME 165 The Illustrated London News, September 20, 1924.

ANAGLYPHS; AND WONDERFUL INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS 1/-

AN INDIAN "TIRYNS" AND "MYCENÆ": A FORGOTTEN AGE REVEALED.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, WESTERN CHINA. BY COURTESY OF SIR JOHN MARSHALL, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDIA.



ONE OF THE TWO SITES WHOSE REMAINS ARE ELDER THAN ANYTHING YET KNOWN IN INDIA: PREHISTORIC BUILDINGS EXCAVATED AT MOHENJO-DARO, SIND, DATING PROBABLY BETWEEN 3000 AND 400 B.C.

WITH FLOORING AND CORRIDOR OF GLAZED BRICK: A PREHISTORIC ROOM AT MOHENJO-DARO.



TO HOLD A BURNED BODY: A 3-FT. LONG BRICK GRAVE BUILT IN THE WALL OF A ROOM AT MOHENJO-DARO.

BUILT MORE THAN 2000 YEARS AGO, BUT COVERING TWO STAGES OF EARLIER REMAINS: THE SECOND-CENTURY B.C. STUPA AT MOHENJO-DARO, ON AN ISLAND IN THE DRY RIVER-BED.



SHOWING A POT IN FOREGROUND THAT CONTAINED EARLY INDIAN BELOW "PUNIC-MARKED" COIN (LEUCOPHAPSIS); BRICKS, BUILT IN THE SECOND AND THIRD PERIODS AT MOHENJO-DARO.

ON THE OTHER NEWLY DISCOVERED PREHISTORIC SITE IN INDIA, OCCUPIED FOR MANY HUNDREDS OF YEARS BEFORE THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.: EXCAVATIONS AT HARAPPA, IN THE PUNJAB.

The remarkable discoveries here illustrated put back by several centuries the date of the earliest known remains of Indian civilization. In his deeply interesting article describing them (see page 523) Sir John Marshall compares them to the work of civilization at Tyros and Mycenæ, whose likeness it fell to the archaeologist to break new ground and reveal the relics of a long-forgotten past. "It looks at the moment," writes Sir John, "as if we were on the threshold of such a discovery in the plains of the Indus. Up to the present our knowledge of Indian antiquities has carried us back hardly further than the third century before Christ. . . . The two sites where these somewhat startling remains have been discovered are some 400 miles apart—the one being at Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab, the other at Mohenjo-Daro in the Larkana District of Sind. At both these places there is a vast expanse of artificial mounds evidently covering the remains of once-flourishing cities, which . . . must have been in existence for many hundreds of years." The excavations at Mohenjo-Daro were made by Mr. Harerji. "At Harappa, Mr. Daya Ram Sahni's excavations disclosed in many an open or slight masonry level, demonstrating the long and continuous occupation of the site during many hundreds of years prior to the third century B.C."

Fig. 3 - Article in The Illustrated London News, September 20, 1924 (after Mehta 2016: fig.2).

CRAFTS OF A NEWLY DISCOVERED PREHISTORIC RACE.
 COURTESY OF SIR JOHN MARSHALL, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA.

FROM BALUCHISTAN, THROUGH WHICH THE DRAVIDIAN RACES PROBABLY ENTERED INDIA: PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY SIMILAR TO THE NEW DISCOVERIES.

POSSIBLY WORN ON THE WRISTS OF PREHISTORIC INDIAN BEAUTIES SOME 3000 YEARS AGO: BANGLES (ABOUT 2 1/2 IN. ACROSS) OF BLUE GLASS PASTE, FOUND AT HARAPPA.

TRINKETS WORN BY PREHISTORIC INDIAN PEOPLE: MISCELLANEOUS BEADS OF CORNELLIAN, SHELL, AND SO ON, FROM MOHENJO-DARO.

USED IN PREHISTORIC URN-BURIAL TO HOLD FOOD OR RAIMENT AND PLACED WITH THE URN INSIDE A LARGER JAR: MINIATURE FUNERAL POTTERY (1 TO 1 1/2 IN. HIGH) FROM MOHENJO-DARO.

INDICATING A HIGH DEGREE OF DECORATIVE ART IN THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD AT MOHENJO-DARO: THESE FRAGMENTS OF POLYCHROME POTTERY WITH DESIGNS OF VARIOUS PATTERNS.

BEAUTIFULLY SHAPED AND PROPORTIONED: A COMPLETE PAINTED VASE (ABOUT 8 IN. HIGH) OF THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD FOUND DURING THE EXCAVATIONS AT HARAPPA.

INDICATING AN ANALOGY BETWEEN THE PREHISTORIC ART OF THE INDUS VALLEY AND THAT OF BALUCHISTAN: POLYCHROME POTTERY FROM THE LATTER COUNTRY (LOWER ROW) COMPARED WITH EXAMPLES FROM MOHENJO-DARO (TOP ROW).

were in some way connected with the *Shartaris*, or shrines of eternal fire. They are of all sizes, from that of a small napkin ring up to 50 lb. in weight, and are made of various coloured stones or marble; but what is particularly curious about them is that in many specimens, the upper and lower surfaces are undulating. Another remarkable and significant feature at the Mohenjo-Daro site is the character of the burial customs. In the earliest period the practice was to bury the body in a hunched position in a brick tomb (see page 529). Later on the custom obtained of burning the body, as is commonly done in India to-day, and depositing the ashes in a small urn which, along with two or three others, was placed inside a larger round jar, accompanied by several miniature vessels containing food or raiment. It is an interesting problem who these prehistoric people were, and whence they came. Painted pottery and other objects somewhat analogous to those from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have been found in Baluchistan, and there are linguistic reasons for believing that it was by way of Baluchistan that the Dravidian races (thought by some writers to have been originally connected with the Mediterranean) entered India.

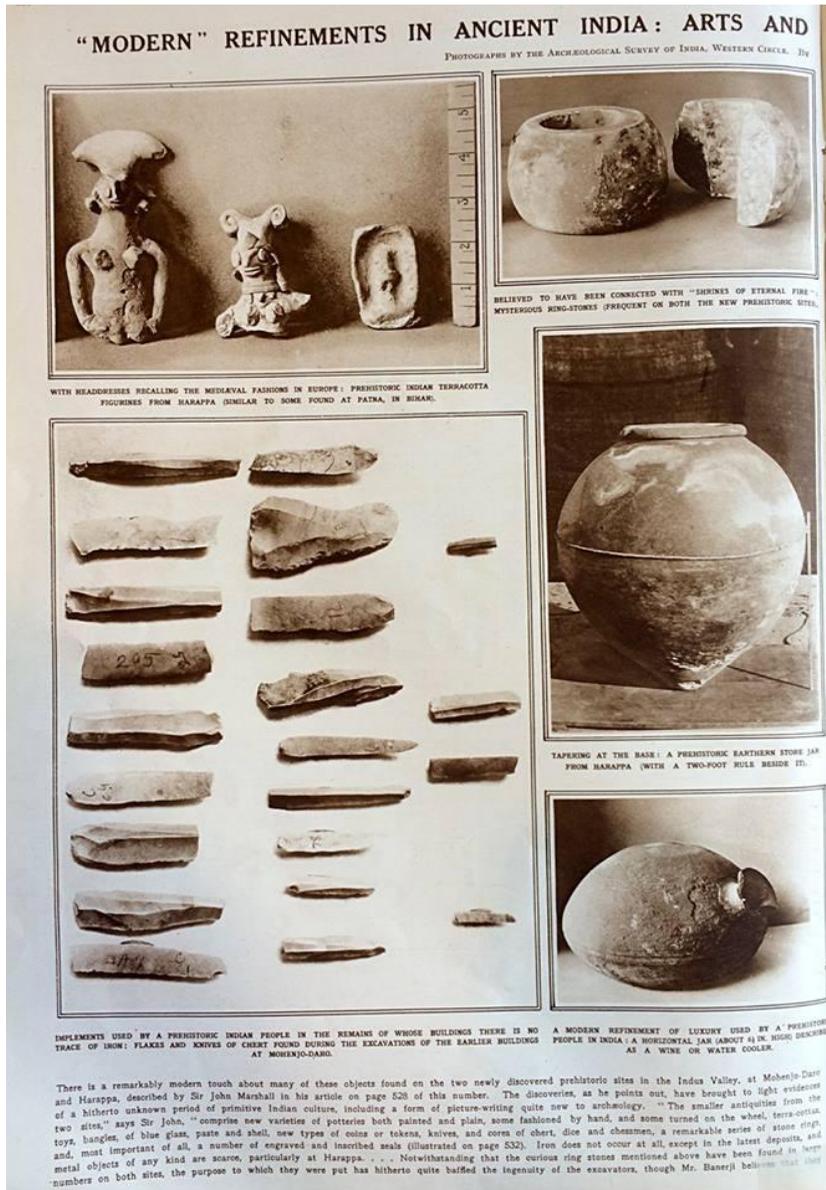


Fig. 4 - The dating of the ancient Indus civilization was actually done through a letter to the Editor of the Illustrated London News by Professor A.H. Sayce on September 27, 1924. (Allen, 2002) This was the issue right after Marshall's sensational article on the discovery of the mysterious new cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro seven days earlier (after Possehl 2019: fig. 2-3).

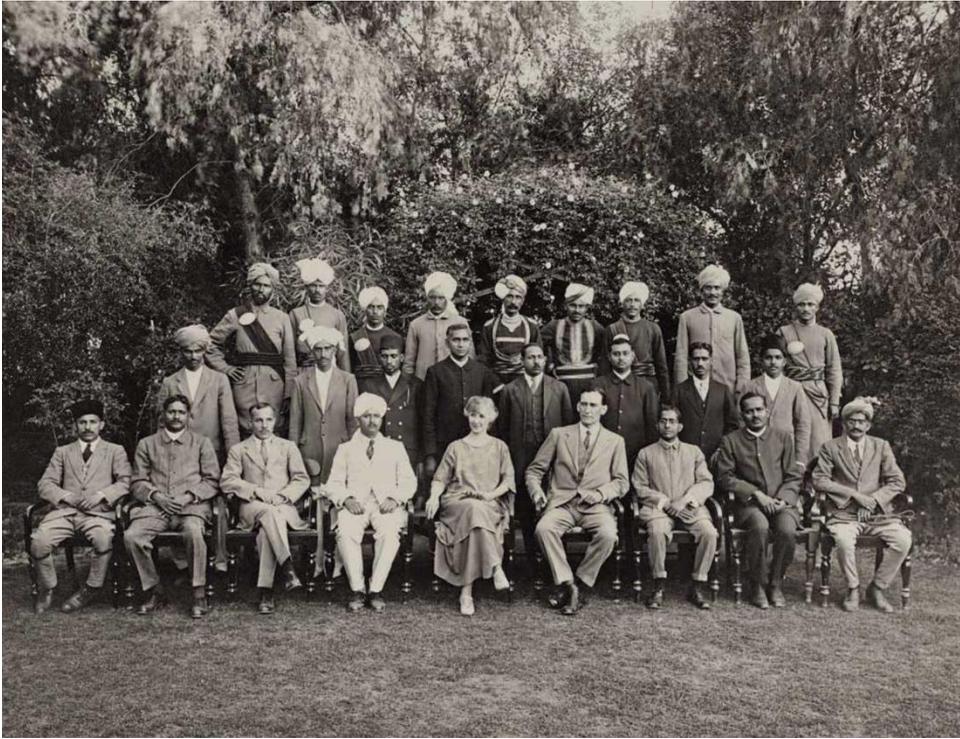
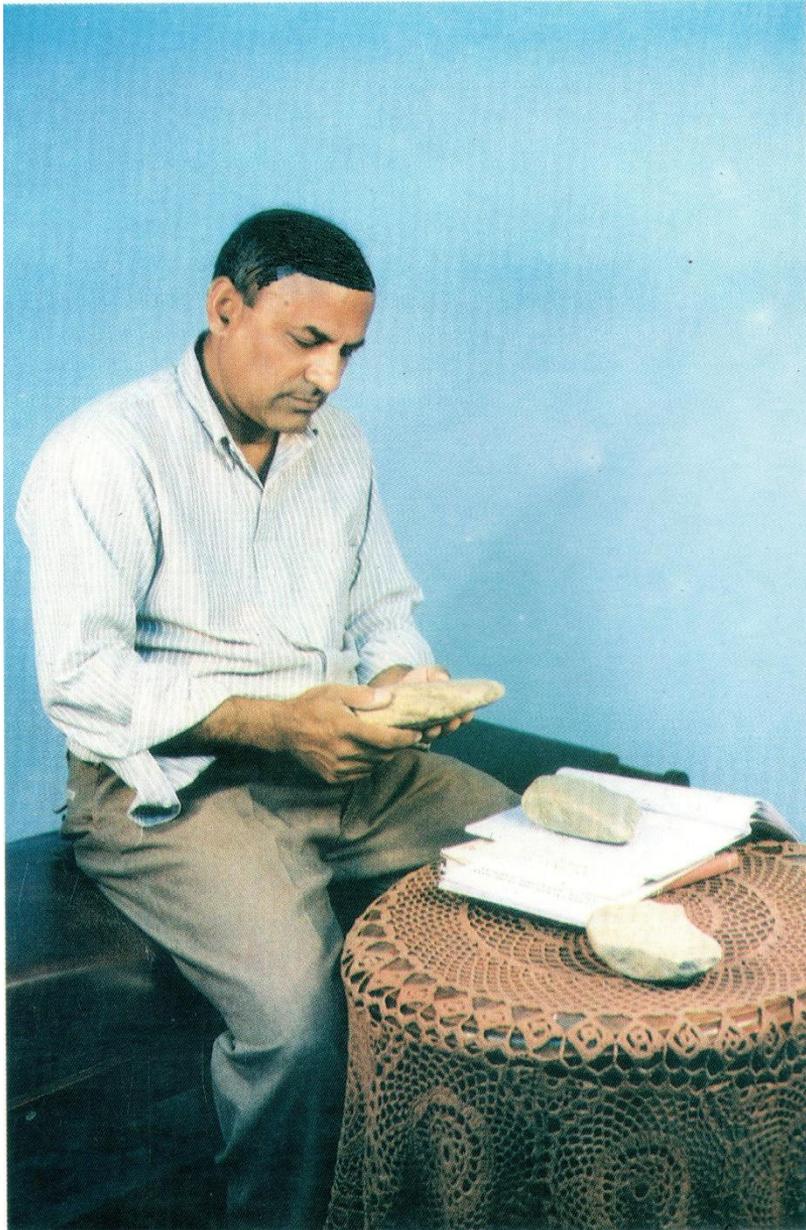


Fig. 5 - Archeological Survey of India; John and Florence Marshall with Officers and Staff of the Archeological Survey, Simla, 25 April 1925, Silver Gelatin Print, 212 x 183 mm (after Guha 2010: fig.1).

Obituary



Dr. M. Salim
1945-2022

**In Pursuit of Palaeolithic Cultures:
The Lifelong Contributions of Dr. Muhammad Salim**

Asif Ali / Sirat Gohar

There are few popular names in the long list of Pakistani archaeologists, who received a special position in the studies of Pakistan archaeology. Dr. Muhammad Salim was one of them who had an impressive and long-lasting contribution to the field of prehistory, remembered for their groundbreaking research on the palaeolithic cultures of the country. This short note in his memory therefore contains a bibliography of his publications beside a very brief and introductory note on his education and career, particularly his service rendered to the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations.

He was born in a village located in the Gujrat district of the Punjab province of Pakistan on 9th September 1945. After getting his early education in his village, he went to Lahore and got admission to Walton Police Academy School where he completed his school and college education (secondary and higher secondary level). For higher education, he joined the University of the Punjab, Lahore, and earned his undergraduate (Bachelor of Arts) degree. After this, he completed his Master of Arts (MA) in archaeology at the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. After this initial training in archaeology, he went to London for a research degree and did his Master of Philosophy (MPhil) in Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. Later, he completed his Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Archaeology at the Department of Archaeology, Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur in the Sindh province of Pakistan in 1980s.

Dr. Salim joined the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilization (formerly Center for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, during the tenure of Professor Ahmad Hassan Dani in 1985. He worked there as the Assistant Director under Prof. Dani, who was the then Director of the Center. In 2006, he retired as the Director of the Center. Further, in 2017-2018, in the last years of his life, he joined the Institute as visiting faculty to teach prehistory to the students and instructed prehistory-related courses in the undergraduate degree program. After remaining sick for a long period, he passed away to eternity on 30th of January 2022, leaving behind his contributions for the future pre-historians.

Known for his incredible research on the palaeolithic cultures of Pakistan, particularly Pothohar (which is written as Potwar in his publications), Dr. Salim published his work in books and several articles on the early phases of the Stone Age in Pakistan. He has also published an article on the archaeology of Bhera, a modern town located in the Pothohar region, and one of his articles is about the Macedonian Alexander's crossing of the Jehlum River. The following is the selected bibliography of his publications including books, articles, book reviews and obituaries.

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^{1*} The order follows list of contents.

Journal of Asian Civilizations

Instructions for Authors: standard formatting/style guidelines.

1a. Language standards and general structure of the paper

Both British and American English standards are acceptable; however, the preferred language should be consistently utilized throughout the paper. Generally, the whole text, excluding title, abstract, keywords, borrowed wordings, captions, and footnotes, should be in Times New Roman 12 (size of characters) with inter-space 1.0. Please avoid using Page Numbers, Headers, and Footers.

1b. Footnotes

Footnotes should be used only if necessary. They will be in Times New Roman 10, inter-space 1.0, and will be indicated by numerals (1, 2, ...)¹

2. Title

The title should reflect the contents of the paper presented in **bold** characters **Times New Roman 14**, inter-space 1.0.

3. Name of author/s

The author's name should in **bold** Times New Roman 12. In the case of more than a single author, between every author's name, there should be the mark of slash “/”.

4. Abstracts

The abstract of 250-300 words should establish a relationship between the title and content of the research paper, containing a central theme of the paper. It should briefly introduce the topic at first, the scope of study at second, a short note about the adopted methodology and analysis at third, structure and outline of the research paper at fourth, and a tentative conclusion at the end. It should be in Times New Roman 11 'italics' with inter-space 1.0. Non-English terms, as they are italicized within the text, are required to be kept as normal.

¹ Required details as footnotes should be here.

3. Name of author/s

The author's name should in **bold** Times New Roman 12. In the case of more than a single author, between every author's name, there should be the mark of slash “/”.

4. Abstracts

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5. Keywords: There should be a maximum of seven keywords, in Times New Roman 11.

6. Headings and sub-headings

Every heading should be **bold** Times New Roman 12 and should be represented with serial numbers in Arabic numerals. Sub-heading should be *italicized*.

7a. Figures, plates and tables

Pictures should be abbreviated and capitalized within the text as “Fig. 11”, “Figs. 10-11”. “Fig.”, “Figs.”, can include photos, ink drawings, sketch drawings, graphics, and charts (if not exceeding one page).

For longer data-sheets, and charts longer than one page, the term Table (not abbreviated) should be utilized.

Plate/Plates, “Pl. 1”, “Pls. 1-2”, refer to the illustrations put at the end of the article. There should be a space of 1.0 between picture and caption.

7b. Captions

Captions should be in Times New Roman 11, and they should always include credits (ex.: “Photo/Drawings by the Author/by [name].”, “Photo by [name]; Courtesy Lahore Museum [proper credits].”, “Photo after Dani 1992; fig. 5; Courtesy *Journal of Asian Civilization*.”).

Fig. 2 - The W section of the hallway (Drawings by the Author).

Pl. 4 - Gumbat (Swat): the Main Stupa, E side (Drawings by the Author).

8. Citation within the text

Single citation of reference should be as (Dani 1989: 34) or (Dani 1992: fig. 32) (in case of citations, figures, plates = fig., figs., / pl., pls., should not be capitalized). In the case of two or more references chronological order should be preferred (Dani 1989: 34-37, Tucci 2016²: 20-21, Hakal 2019: 174). New editions should be indicated with superscript (Tucci 2016²; Stein 2002³).

9. Indentation required for borrowed wordings

The borrowed wordings required to be placed in the text should be in Times New Roman 11 with inter-space 1.0, enclosed within “apostrophes” and indented to 1 inch from the left-hand side.

10. References

Books:

Bahrani, Z. (2014) *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*. London.

New editions should be indicated with a super-script:

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Book sections/chapters:

Abe, Stanley K. (1995) Inside the Wonder House: Buddhist Art and the West. In D.S. Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, pp. 63-106.

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