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ARCHIVAL STUDIES, 3

The View from Malakand: Harold Deane's 'Note on Udyana and Gandhara'

Llewelyn Morgan
Luca Maria Olivieri

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

and

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



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Foreword

Peter Stewart

(Director of the Classical Art Research Centre)

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

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

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

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

Oxford, March 2022

Foreword

Adriano Valerio Rossi

(President of ISMEO)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rome, March 2022

Introduction

How it all began

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

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

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

The Archive of the License Room

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[L.M.O.]

The hands in the manuscript

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

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

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

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

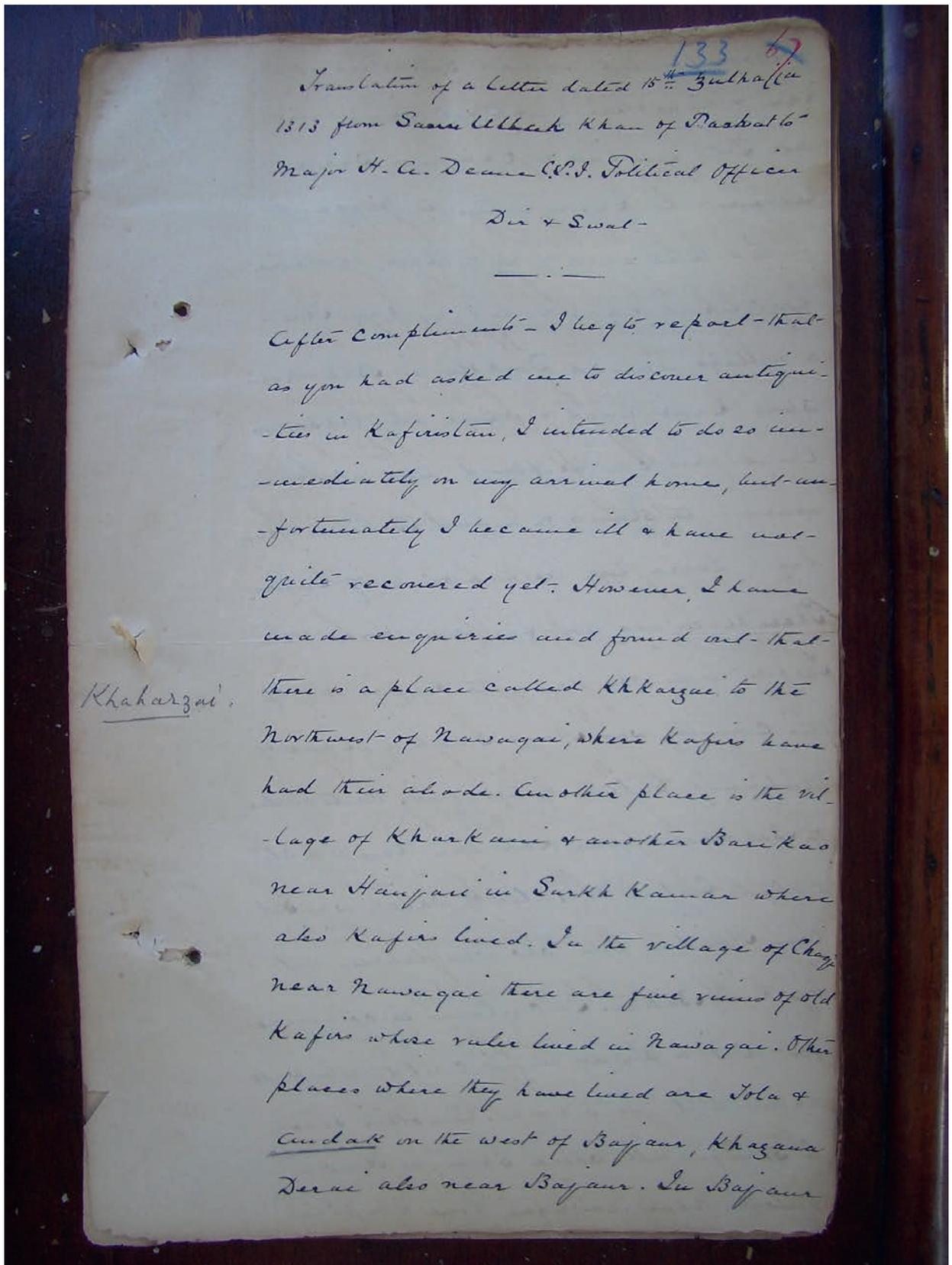


Figure 3. A page from Document 13 in Olivieri 2015, with the handwriting of the first half of the Note MS (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Olivieri 2015a, 171.

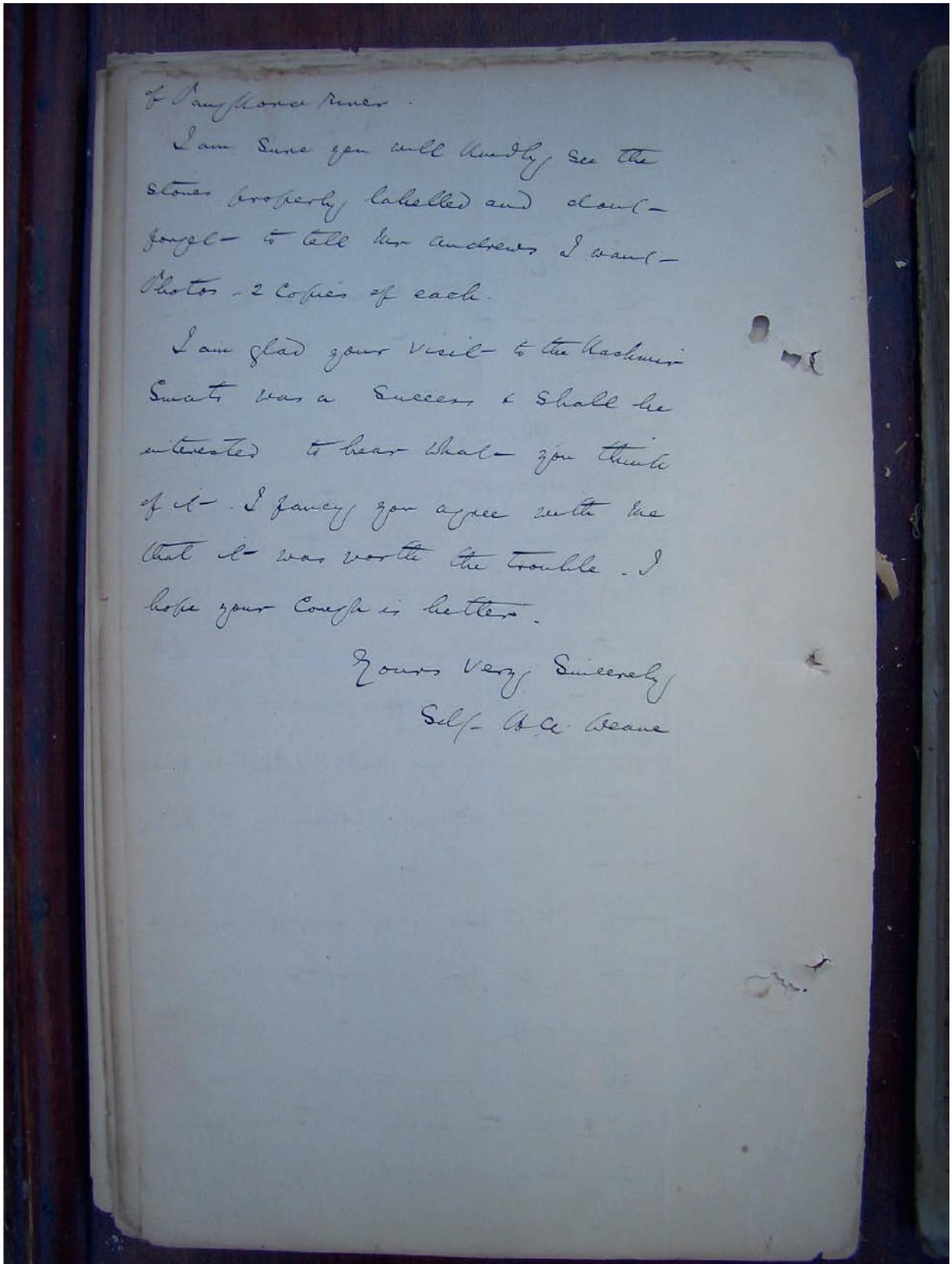


Figure 4. A page from Document 6 with the hand of Gursaran Das (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

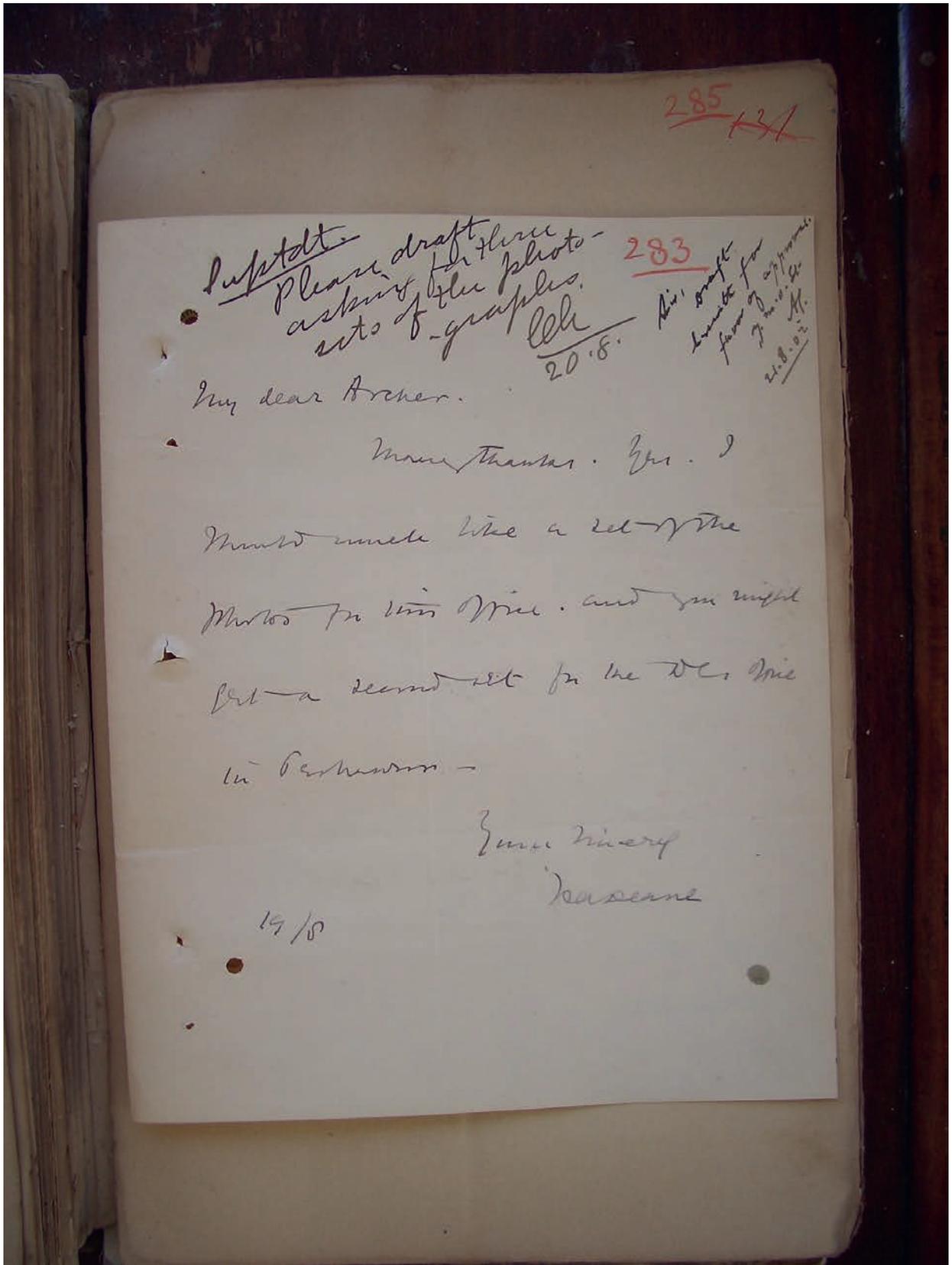


Figure 5. Harold Deane's hand (and signature) in Document 44 (Photo by L.M.O./ISMEO).

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

[L.M.]