

# **The Geography of Gandhāran Art**

**Proceedings of the Second International  
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Finally, and fundamentally, we wish to express our sincere thanks to the Bagri Foundation and to Neil Kreitman, whose generous support has underpinned the Gandhāra Connections project from the outset.

## Editors' note

### Orthography

The editors have aimed for broad, but not dogmatic, consistency in orthography and use of diacritics, as well as some other conventions, throughout this book. We have endeavoured to apply a reasonable compromise between widely varying practices, embracing inconsistency where appropriate.

### Provenance

The Classical Art Research Centre does not normally publish previously unpublished ancient artefacts which have no recorded provenance and have become known since 1970. We seek to avoid adding value and legitimacy to objects whose origins have not been properly documented. We have chosen to make an exception in the case of the heart-shaped lamp reported to have been found in Malakand District, which Stefan Baums interprets in his paper on the basis of a photograph and information provided to him. There are two reasons for this exception. Firstly, the challenges posed by the loss of provenance information are an explicit focus of the paper, which demonstrates how epigraphic evidence may be used to try and mitigate the problem and partially to re-contextualize unprovenanced objects. Secondly, the historical value of the inscription on this object makes it imperative that it should become available to scholarly discussion.

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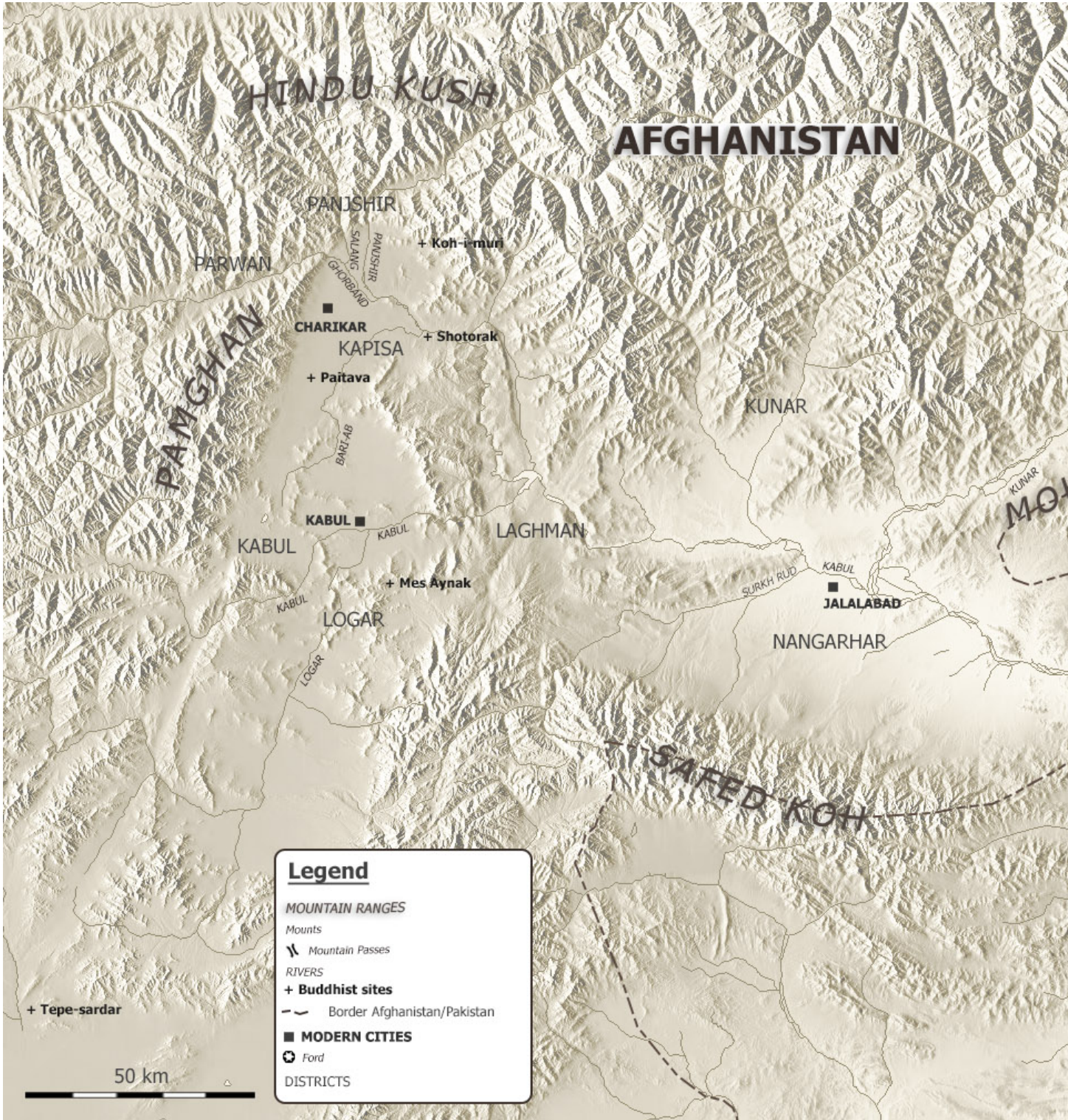
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**Alexandra Vanleene** is an independent scholar specializing in Gandhāran Buddhist art and archaeology. Her research focuses on the artistic tradition of Gandhāran sculptures in Afghanistan, particularly Haḍḍa, the geographic expansion of Gandhāran art, and the development of regional characteristics. She worked in Afghanistan for eight years with the French Archaeological Mission for the prospection and excavation of Bamiyan.



Map of the Greater Gandhāra



region (copyright: Jessie Pons).



# Gandhāran art(s): methodologies and preliminary results of a stylistic analysis

Jessie Pons

The sculptures produced during the first centuries of the Common Era in the region which broadly corresponds to north-west Pakistan and north-east Afghanistan share features which justify the designation of ‘a Gandhāran art’: the predominant use of schist and stucco, the ubiquitous depiction of Buddhist subjects, as well as the aesthetic language which results from the Indian, Iranian and Graeco-Roman heritage of the region. Despite this indubitable homogeneity, local iconographic and formal differences can be identified. Some of these local productions – first and foremost those of the Jambil-Saidu zone in the Swat valley and, to a lesser extent the region of Kāpiśā – have been subjected to extensive analysis (Faccenna 1962; Faccenna 1964; Faccenna 2001; Cambon 1996; Tsuchiya 1999-2000: 97-114; Tarzi 1999-2000: 83-96). In the last decade, isolated studies have also been dedicated to specific sites, such as Zar Dherī or Thareli (Koizumi 2011: 297-380; Naiki 2018). Others however, have remained largely overlooked or at least have received less systematic attention. This has not only made our appreciation of the diversity of Gandhāran artistic idioms and of their synchronic and diachronic relations incomplete, it also potentially undermines our methodological approaches to issues of style.

This paper addresses some of the methodological difficulties I have been confronted with in my research projects on Gandhāran art, both past and present. The first of these projects is my doctoral dissertation on the iconographic and formal variations of Buddhist stone sculptures. In support of a corpus of pieces discovered in archaeological contexts,<sup>1</sup> this project research attempted to provide an extensive, although not exhaustive, characterization of the many sculptural languages which constitute what is commonly referred to as Gandhāran art. The second project is the development of a database of the collection of Buddhist images in both stone and stucco preserved in the Dir Museum, Chakdara (DiGA: Digitization of Gandhāran Artefacts) and of technical tools to manage related metadata.<sup>2</sup>

The challenges I contended with relate to the terminology used by scholars of Gandhāran archaeology, art, and Buddhism to refer to their respective objects of study. What *exactly* do we designate when we use the terms that we use? This contribution will focus on two bodies of terms applied in the study of Gandhāran art, that which relates to geography and that which relates to style, its analysis and its description. It will successively discuss some of the discrepancies and uncertainties encountered with respect to these two topics. It will review methodological tools proposed by scholars of Gandhāran art and when needed – and if possible – suggest additional solutions developed within the frame of the abovementioned projects. Their application will be illustrated by selected case-studies primarily drawn from my doctoral research.

This reflection essentially stems from the analysis of Buddhist sculptures in stone. For this reason, it must be warned at the outset that the results of the stylistic analysis only shed incomplete light into the diversity of Gandhāran art and that the ensuing discussion of methodological questions is partial. Nevertheless, I suspect that scholars who work on different types of material, be they images in stucco or plaster, coins, or manuscripts, are not unfamiliar with some of these difficulties. They might also

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<sup>1</sup> The corpus counts approximately 3,500 pieces for which the provenance has been ascertained based on archaeological reports and museum or library archives (Pons 2011).

<sup>2</sup> For more information about the institutional framework of this project financed by the German Ministry of Higher Education and Research (BMBF) as well as its research and technical goals see: <<https://ceres.rub.de/en/research/projects/diga/>> (last accessed on 27.10.2018).

offer alternative solutions to similar challenges. With this in mind, this contribution is an invitation to unite forces to overcome these challenges and collectively reflect upon common standards used to analyse and describe Gandhāran material. These standards will not only facilitate scholarly exchange between the sub-disciplines of Gandhāran studies – archaeology, art history, numismatics, philology – but also eliminate the discrepancies which hinder our assessment of the material.

### **The geography of Gandhāran art: defining the frame of research**

In the preliminary phase of my doctoral project, I was mainly preoccupied with the following questions: what material to include in the corpus? Where should I set the geographical limits of the study? How to describe the geographical situation of the archaeological sites included? In other words, how to transcribe the information that a map or geographic coordinates provide? The terminology, or rather terminologies, used to define the geographical zone corresponding to the cradle of the so-called Gandhāran School as well as to reference the localization of archaeological sites often mix terms drawn from historical sources (i.e. classical, Indian, Chinese) with others relying on political contours or on reliefs. While these layers are not unrelated, they do not always overlap. This has made it difficult to understand what the term ‘Gandhāra’ precisely covers and to map archaeological sites therein. Added to this, the contours given to the field of research depend on the nature of the corpus and the sites under scrutiny. While the selection of objects is determined by the research questions pursued, it is also informed by art historical conventions which – at times – result from long-standing assumptions – or I dare say expectations – about Gandhāran art. The following section will address these interrelated issues. It will sketch the outlines of the school, examine the terms used to refer to this geographical zone and, at least in its first part, draw attention to possible dichotomies which may arise from diverging perceptions about the region and its art.

### **The geographical limits of the school, or how great is Gandhāra (and should we care)?**

The cradle of the Gandhāran School was first delineated by Alfred Foucher in *L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra* (Figure 1). At the time of his writing during the first half of the twentieth century, knowledge of Gandhāran Buddhist archaeology primarily derived from the pioneering explorations of French and British officers serving for the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the East India Company, and the British Government of Punjab (Lafont 1992; Errington 1987: 29–82). Based on the distribution of Buddhist sculptures ‘typical if not archetypal of this art’<sup>3</sup> excavated by the first decades of the twentieth century, Foucher described the cradle of the Gandhāran School as consisting of:

To mix ancient names [those of Chinese pilgrims] besides Gandhāra proper (the Peshawar District), Kapisa and the Kāboul Valley towards the West, Udyana (Bajaur, Dir, Swāt and Buner) towards the North. One must also add, on the left bank of the Indus, the districts of Hazāra and Rawāl-Pindi. Finally, on the southern side, stray finds have been made in the districts of Kohat and Bannou (probably Fa-hien’s Po-na), and even of Dêra-Ismail-Khân.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> ‘Encore s’agit-il ici de territoires où les fouilles ont fait retrouver les productions type sinon archétype de cet art’ (Foucher 1905-1951: I, 3). It is important to note that it is the sculptures which display the strongest classical features which constitute for Foucher and others an archetype of the school. One should also specify that their style is generally that which is prevalent in the Peshawar basin and as such they only reflect one aspect of the Gandhāran production. In spite of this, they have long been accepted as a benchmark on which to assess other Gandhāran products and the scope of influence of the school. The ideological assumptions which underlay the perception of the Gandhāran style in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as the new course that the discovery of sites in the Swat valley set for the definition of the style have been discussed by several scholars. See in particular: Taddei 1980: 1943-64; Abe 1995: 63-106; Falser 2015: 1-52; Willis 2015: 145-52 and Pons 2017: 199-219.

<sup>4</sup> ‘En résumé, l’aire géographique de l’école gréco-bouddhique, telle qu’elle est actuellement définie, comprend avant tout, pour mêler les noms anciens aux modernes, outre le Gandhāra proprement dit (district de Pêshawar), à l’Ouest le Kapiça et la vallée de Kāboul, et au Nord l’Udyāna (Bajaur, Dir, Swāt et Bounêr). Il faut y adjoindre encore, sur la rive gauche de l’Indus, les

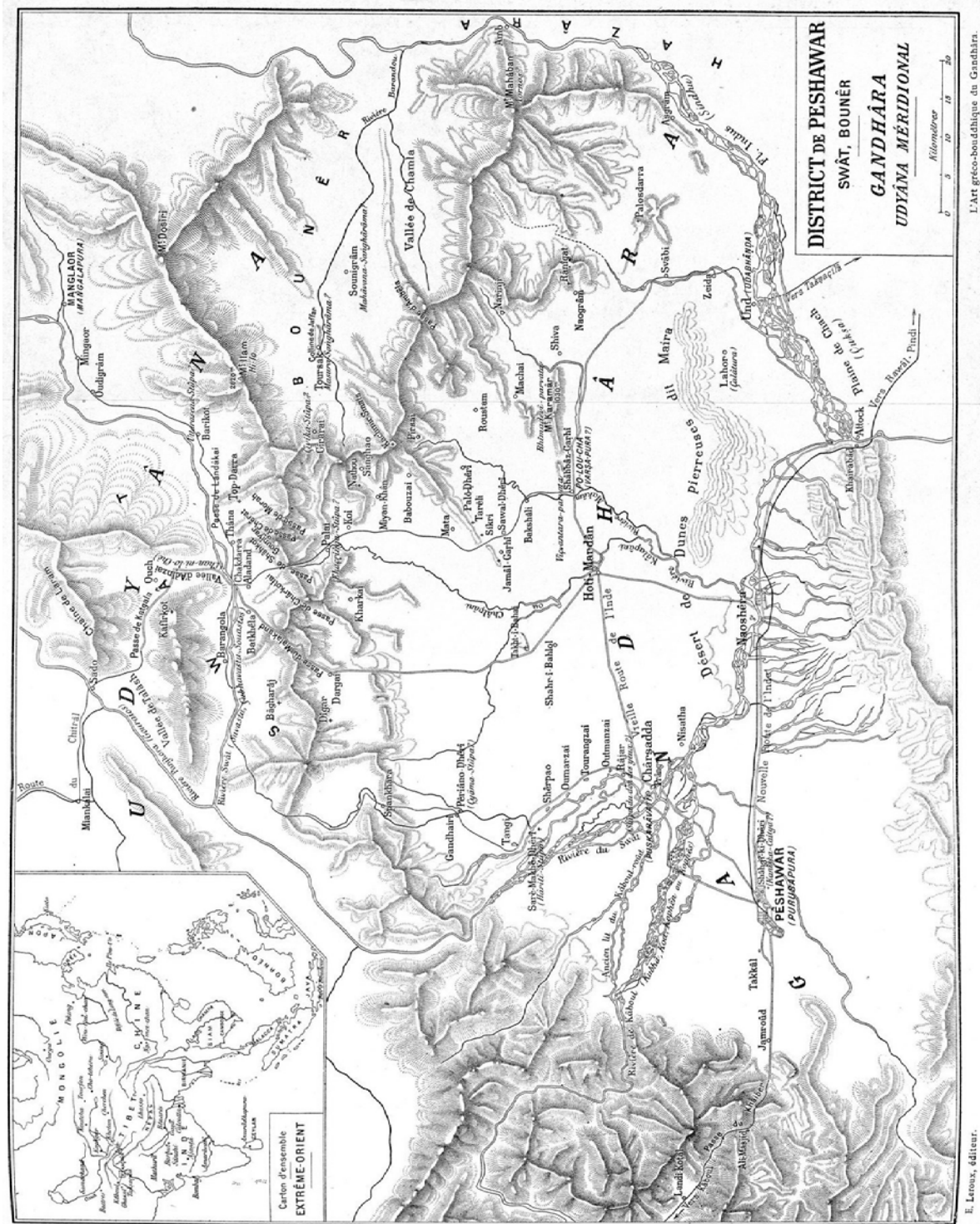


Figure 1. Map of Gandhāra after Alfred Foucher. (Photo: after Foucher 1905-1951.)

Archaeological discoveries made since have not called for a dramatic redefinition of this geographical frame (see map on pages vi-vii). The excavations conducted by the Afghan Institute of Archaeology in the province of Kāpīśā and the region of Kabul, the programmatic investigations of the Swat valley led by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, as well as the surveys coordinated by different Pakistani teams in the districts of Dir and Bajaur have yielded stone sculptures which by and large substantiate Foucher's proposition. According to the present state of archaeological research, the western boundary is marked by the sites located at the confluences of the Panjshīr, Kabul and Logar rivers south of the Hindu Kush.<sup>5</sup> In the north, a concentric line running in a west-east direction is formed by the ruins of Kotkai in Barang Tehsil, Chatpat in Dir and Pānṛ and Butkara I along the Jambil tributary of the Swat River.<sup>6</sup> The excavation of the monastic complex of Zar Ḍherī as well as the identification of ten Buddhist sites following a preliminary archaeological survey push the eastern boundary eastwards to the Siran river.<sup>7</sup> As for the south-eastern limit, although Saifur Rahman Dar sought in 2007 to extend the geographical frame to the left bank of the Jhelum river, on account of six Buddhist images discovered at the sites of Mehlan, Patti Koti, Burarian, Cheyr and Qila Ram Kot (Dar 2007: 45-59),<sup>8</sup> evidence remains insufficient to support his conclusions.<sup>9</sup>

For the last two decades, it has become customary to refer to the cradle of the Gandhāran School or the 'artistic province' (Zwalf 1996: 11)<sup>10</sup> as 'Greater Gandhāra'. The expression was coined by Richard Salomon in his book *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra*, published in 1999. It designates the geographical zone with a shared political and cultural history resulting from being incorporated into 'the several Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, and Kuṣāṇa empires' and from 'their adoption of the distinctive eclectic styles of Gandhāran art as well as by their use of the Gāndhārī language'. It comprises:

besides Gandhāra proper, several neighboring regions, particularly the Swat and other river valleys to the north, the region around the great city of Taxila to the east, and the eastern edge of Afghanistan to the west. These, and later on other, more distant regions as well, came under the cultural influence of Gandhāra proper [...] (Salomon 1999: 3)

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districts de Hazāra et de Rawāl-Pindi. Enfin, du côté du Sud, des trouvailles occasionnelles ont été faites dans les districts de Kohat et de Bannou (probablement le Po-na de Fa-hien), et même de Dēra-Ismaīl Khān' (Foucher 1905-1951: I, 12-13).

<sup>5</sup> Some of the most famous sites which have produced stone sculptures traditionally associated with the Kushan period are Shotorak (Meunié 1942), Paitava (Cambon 1996: 13-28), Koh-e-Mohri in Kham-i-Zargar (Mustamandi & Mustamandi 1968: 67-79) and Mes Aynak. The preliminary results of the excavation of the Buddhist sites of Mes Aynak directed by the Afghan Institute of Archaeology with the support of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (DAFA) have been published in several isolated papers. To date, the most extensive are Engels 2011, Litecka & Engel 2013 and Klimburg-Salter 2018: 213-238.

<sup>6</sup> This overview limits itself to the largest sites or those which have produced the greatest number of sculptures. In 1995, the archaeological explorations of the Bajaur Agency by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan documented over thirty Buddhist sites. These are briefly described in ur-Rehman et al. 1996: 121-75. With respect to Dir, Ahmad Hasan Dani's archaeological reports on the sites clustered around Chakdara are gathered in the fourth volume of the journal *Ancient Pakistan*. See Dani 1968-1969a-f. The systematic survey of the Swat valley by the Italian team has resulted in numerous publications. Concerning the material from Butkara I see: Faccenna 1962; 1964 and Faccenna et al. 1993a for the report on Pānṛ. The analysis of the architectural features of sites in the vicinity (Loebanr, Jurjurai, Gharasa, Arapkanchina) has been published by Faccenna and Spagnesi 2014.

<sup>7</sup> The site of Zar Ḍherī had already been reported by Harold Hargreaves in 1922 (Hargreaves 1923) and placed under legal protection since. The results of the archaeological excavation (1995-2005) and of the survey of the neighbouring area (1992-1995) jointly carried out by the Tokyo National Museum Mission to Pakistan and the Department of Archaeology and Museums of the Government of Pakistan are published by the Tokyo National Museum Mission to Pakistan 2011.

<sup>8</sup> The identification of these sites, which have in fact been submerged since the construction of the Mangla dam in the 1960s, relies on the hearsay of British and Pakistani officials rather than proper archaeological investigation.

<sup>9</sup> The southern limit of the school had been set by Foucher at the Kohāt mounds so as to include the site of Rokhri where a few stucco images had been discovered. Foucher 1905-1951: I, 12-13, n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> The geographical frame which Wladimir Zwalf delimits for the artistic province in his introductory essay to the Gandhāran sculptures preserved in the British Museum broadly corresponds to that delineated here. One notable difference is the eastern boundary which he places at Taxila. The catalogue being published in 1996, the finds of Zar Ḍherī had not been yet fully uncovered.

This expression has largely been adopted by art historians, although not without criticism. The grounds for dissatisfaction may be set out as follows. Firstly, it is not clear what the geographical locus ‘Gandhāra proper’, systematically opposed to Greater Gandhāra, should be. Secondly, the limits of Greater Gandhāra differ according to different scholars. Not all would agree with those delineated above.

‘Gandhāra strictly speaking’ or ‘Gandhāra proper’ (Salomon 1999: 3; Behrendt 2004: 3. Klimburg-Salter 1995: 120-121) is invariably defined as the ancient name of the Peshawar basin.<sup>11</sup> Yet a review of ancient sources reveals that ancient Gandhāra was not everywhere the same. Achaemenid, Greek, and Indian sources are very imprecise and inconstant as to what the term Gandhāra and its cognates correspond.<sup>12</sup> It alternately designates a people, a province, and a kingdom. Herodotus, Strabo, and Ptolemy associate for instance the people<sup>13</sup> with a variety of places which have been tentatively identified with several territories ranging from a (relatively small) district between Attock and the Indus to a (much larger) zone east and south of Bactria.<sup>14</sup> The idea that ‘Gandhāra’ was the former name of the Peshawar basin finds justification in the travelogues of Chinese pilgrims, at least to some extent. In the report of Faxian 法顯 for instance, Gandhāvātī is indeed a realm distinct to those of Udyāna and Suheduo 宿呵多 (Swat), Takṣaśilā (Taxila), and Najie 那竭 (Nagarahāra), broadly situated beyond the hills that delimit the fertile basin of Peshawar.<sup>15</sup> And that some of the Buddhist establishments which he describes in the section on Gandhāvātī have been equated with remains of the Peshawar basin simply cannot be denied. That being said, the works of Max Deeg and Shōshin Kuwayama among others have revealed that Chinese sources are far from being unequivocal. This can be illustrated by two examples. As Deeg points out, Gandhāvātī and Puruṣapura are at the time of Faxian two separate kingdoms (Deeg 2005: 124). The latter is a vivid cultural and religious centre but not yet the capital of Gandhāra (Deeg 2005: 522-24). This, however, has become implicit in Song Yung 宋雲 (Beal 1884: cii) and is explicitly confirmed by Xuanzang 玄奘 (Rongxi 1996: 59). Kuwayama’s analysis of geographical data in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks) compiled and completed by Huijiao 慧皎 in 530, adds another dimension to the problem (Kuwayama 2006: 107-34). The author attempts to identify the region called Jibin 罽賓, known as a great centre of Buddhism and goal of Buddhist pilgrimage. Other scholars had alternately equated Jibin with Kāpiśā and more frequently with Kashmir.<sup>16</sup> Kuwayama concludes that while this identification might prove correct for some sources, the ‘*Gaoseng zhuan*’s fourth- and fifth-century placement of Jibin coincides clearly with the narrower geographical definition of Gandhāra’ (Kuwayama 2006: 110). Central to his demonstration, is the localization of the shrine of the Buddha’s alms bowl – venerated by several monks – at Puruṣapura.<sup>17</sup> What emerges from this brief discussion

<sup>11</sup> Stressing that Gandhāra is a cultural entity distinct to those of Swat and Kāpiśā some scholars have argued that using the term to refer to the broader artistic production is misleading. Some, such as Susan Huntington or Farooq Swāti, have preferred to use other terms: Bactro-Gandhāran school (Huntington 2014: 116) and the Indus-Oxus School of Buddhist Art (Swāti 1997: 1-60).

<sup>12</sup> A helpful overview of these sources is provided by Zwalf (1996: 11, nn. 1-12). The author also tracks the history of the use of the term Gandhāra to designate the sculptural remains from the turn of the nineteenth century to the middle of the 1980s.

<sup>13</sup> These are referred to as the Gandarii by Herodotus (*Historiae* III.91.4), Gandaris and Gandaritis by Strabo (Strab. xv. p. 699 and xv. p. 697), and Gandarea by Ptolemy (7.1.4).

<sup>14</sup> William Smith’s *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* provides a review of the geographical features occurring in Herodotus, Strabo, and Ptolemy and of their interpretation by several authors. An idea of the perplexing information that can be gleaned from classical sources can be gained by a cursory reading of the lemma ‘Gandarae’ which can be accessed online at <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0064:entry=gandarae-geo&highlight=gandarae>> (last accessed on 14.09.2018).

<sup>15</sup> For the Chinese geographical terms found in Faxian’s account and their etymology as well as a discussion of their correspondence (or lack thereof) with the accounts of Song Yun see Deeg 2005: 118-226. For a reassessment of Greek sources from the sixth century BC to the rise of Roman imperial hegemony see Karttunen 1989 and 1997. Klaus Karttunen’s comparative study of Greek and Indian literary evidence shows that the ‘India’ of early Greek sources primarily related to the north-west (present-day Pakistan). The information culled from Greek and Indian sources, only concur to some extent – particularly in early sources – and pertain to the history of the geography of the region, its history and customs.

<sup>16</sup> A brief overview of other interpretations based on sources of the Han 漢, Sui 隋, Tang 唐 and North and South Dynasties periods by Sylvain Lévi, Édouard Chavannes, L. Shiratori and Luciano Petech is provided by Kuwayama (2006: 128, n. 14).

<sup>17</sup> In this respect, Kuwayama builds upon his previous work on the Buddha’s bowl and its relevance for the development of

of primary sources is that the terms used to refer to the area which scholars sometimes designate as ‘Gandhāra proper’ as well as its contours have shifted as knowledge of its geography and of its political and religious history changed over time.

Regardless of the terminology chosen to refer to the broader artistic province,<sup>18</sup> scholars are sometimes at odds over its limits. The Greater Gandhāra of philologists, or at least of Salomon, extends beyond the western foothills of the Hindu Kush and the Karakorum Highway to include parts of Bactria and even parts of the region around the Tarim Basin (Figure 2). As Salomon specifies in *The Buddhist Literature from Ancient Gandhāra*, ‘[t]hus Greater Gandhāra can be understood as a primarily linguistic rather than a political term, that is, as comprising the regions where Gāndhārī was the indigenous or adopted language’ (Salomon 2018: 11). Accordingly, it includes places such as Bamiyan where over two hundred of fragments of manuscripts in Gāndhārī have been discovered along with a larger group of manuscripts in Sanskrit.<sup>19</sup> Bamiyan has however fallen outside the scope of studies dedicated to the Gandhāran School of art. Foucher excluded Bamiyan from the geographical frame of the school because of its distinct artistic language, characterized as Central Asian (Foucher 1942-1947, 2: 307-8). Zmaryalāi Tarzi recognizes the contribution of Gandhāran models in the formation of the artistic language of the site (Tarzi 1977: 125-9). Yet the bulk of the production being later than the Kushan dynasty<sup>20</sup> – to which the heyday of Gandhāran art is traditionally associated – he does not include Bamiyan in Gandhāra. Tarzi does not seem to attribute it to a broader artistic province other than that of the Valley of Bamiyan. To Klimburg-Salter however, Bamiyan is an expression of the art of the Hindu Kush and reflects ‘the earliest phase of the Śāhi art of historical northwest India’ (Klimburg-Salter 1989: 137-8).<sup>21</sup>

This excursus into the linguistic definition of Greater Gandhāra touches upon issues with which art historians are confronted. It raises the question of the scope of influence of Gandhāran artistic models, of the distinction between local production (i.e. ‘indigenous’) and products of importation (i.e. ‘imported’), and how the relationship between sites located in the Peshawar basin, long assumed to reflect the quintessence of the School,<sup>22</sup> and those situated at the periphery is envisaged. This, ultimately, impinges on the limits given to the artistic province. In what follows, I would like to consider one case, that of Tepe Sardar, which encapsulates several of these issues. It will further illustrate how assumptions about the nature of Gandhāran art might determine the inclusion or exclusion of a site.

The Buddhist sanctuary of Tepe Sardar is located four kilometres south-east of the city of Ghazni on a hill dominating the Dasht-i Manara plain (see map on pages vi-vii, lower left corner).<sup>23</sup> The site, which was discovered in the late 1950s and systematically excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan between the late 1960s and the late 1970s, yielded an important sculptural production in unbaked clay as well as some pieces in stucco.<sup>24</sup> Scholars have adopted different attitudes toward

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Gandhāra as a prominent Buddhist centre (Kuwayama 1990: 945-978).

<sup>18</sup> The extent of the latter broadly corresponds to the geographical zone covered by the ancient realm of Gandhāvati as well as those of Udyāna, Suheduo 宿呵多, Takṣaśilā and Najie 那竭.

<sup>19</sup> Most of the manuscripts are now in the Schøyen collection and the rest is distributed between the Hirayama Institute and the Genshu Hayashidera in Japan (Allon 2008: 168-70).

<sup>20</sup> The excavations conducted by Tarzi at the Oriental Monastery in 2003-2004 yielded Kushan-type pottery and confirmed the early occupation of the site. However, no structural or sculptural finds can be securely attributed to this period (Tarzi 2012: 50).

<sup>21</sup> The Buddhist complexes of Folādi, Kakrak, Fondukistan and Nigār constitute other expressions of the art of the Hindu Kush.

<sup>22</sup> See note 3.

<sup>23</sup> Foucher suspected that the domain which he had circumscribed could potentially extend in this direction. Yet, at the time of his writing, no archaeological exploration had uncovered the remains of the numerous Buddhist establishments reported by Xuanzang (Foucher 1905-1951: I, 3, 9).

<sup>24</sup> Excavations were resumed in 2003 and stopped again due to security reasons. For a review of the archaeological campaigns at Tepe Sardar and of the evidence of the site see Filigenzi 2009: 41-57.

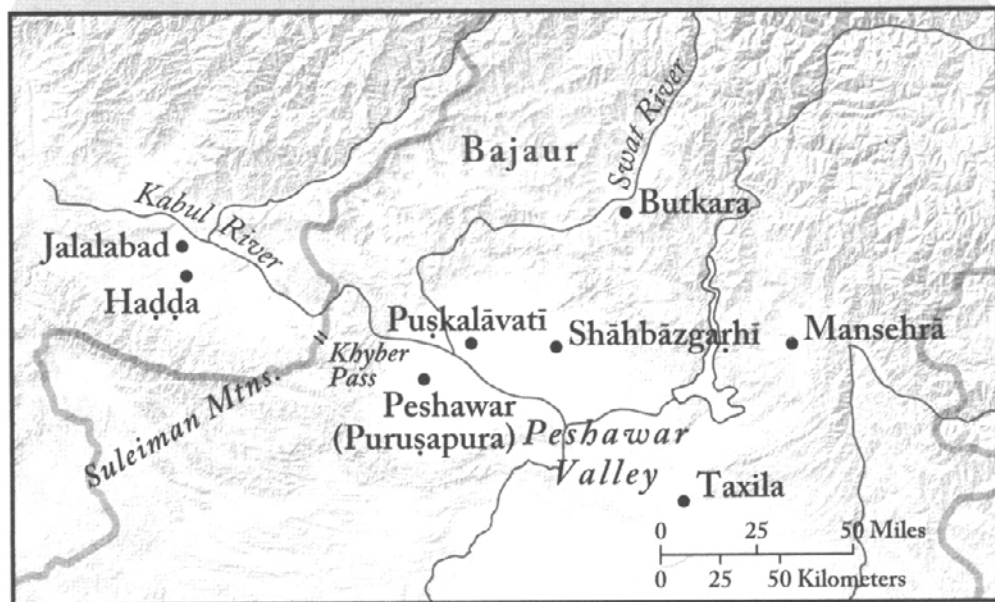
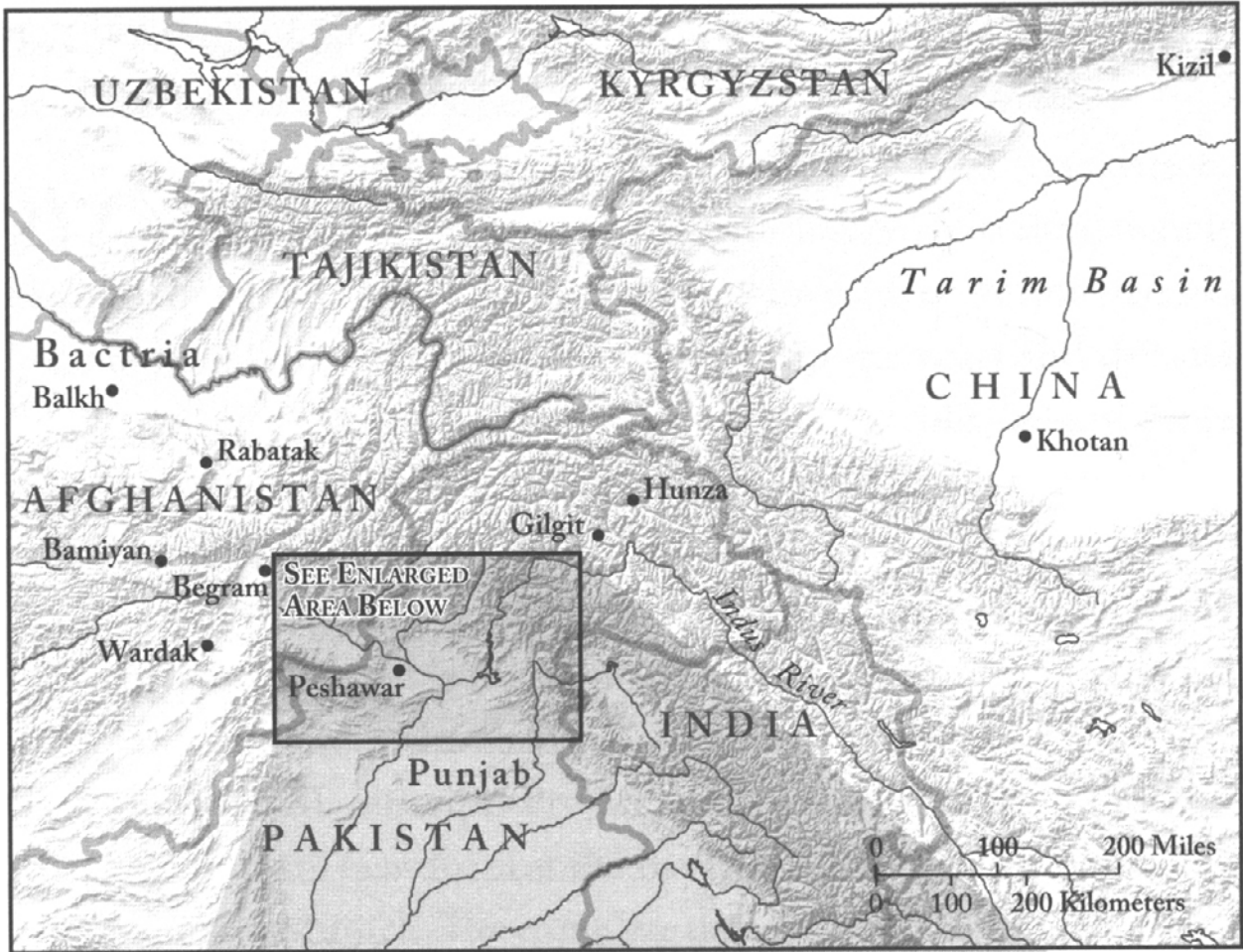


Figure 2. Map of Greater Gandhāra after Richard Salomon.  
(Photo: after Salomon 2018: map 1; © Courtesy of Wisdom Publications.)

this corpus. Wladimir Zwalf, for instance, does not rule out that the clay sculptures associated with late Kushan coinage might invite us to reconsider the southern limits of the artistic province generally set in the Kabul valley. He does not firmly argue for it either.<sup>25</sup> Kurt Behrendt includes the site in his definition of Greater Gandhāra and integrates the finds in his chronological assessment of images in stucco and clay (Behrendt 2004: 21, 277-81). In his review of Behrendt's monograph, Gérard Fussman is hesitant though he does not clearly state the reasons for his hesitation.<sup>26</sup> In fact, scholars hardly ever articulate what motivates the inclusion or the exclusion of Tepe Sardar within the artistic province. One may only speculate that the ambiguity lays in the fact that being composed of images in clay and stucco, the corpus from Tepe Sardar does not match our traditional understanding of Gandhāran art as being – essentially – a production in stone. A second related concern is the issue of dating. The occupation of the site spans from the Kushan period to the late eight/ninth century but evidence is too flimsy to reconstruct a detailed chronological frame for the early – Kushan – period to which the heyday of Gandhāran art is normally attributed. In consequence, Tepe Sardar is situated at the periphery of the artistic province not only geographically but also from the perspective of art historical conventions. It belongs to what Filigenzi calls 'the vague domain of negative nomenclature such as *non-* or *post-*' (Filigenzi 2010: 390). And yet, she argues that the corpus of Tepe Sardar informs us about significant developments in Gandhāran art. In this respect, Filigenzi examines the stucco sculptures from Butkara I *in light of* the material from Tapa Sardar. She identifies the reoccurrence of close parallels between two distinct stylistic groups present at each site – respectively characterized by Hellenistic features and features reminiscent of Gupta images – and attributed to two periods. A date 'earlier – or certainly not later – than the 5th century' is attributed to the first group while the second group can be dated between the seventh and the eighth century. The material from *both* sites, she stresses, thus illustrates an evolution of the stylistic models. Taken together, the evidence from Butkara I *and* Tepe Sardar not only sheds light on the crucial issue of the transition from stone to stucco, but also compels us to reassess the material from other sites, such as Taxila (Filigenzi 2010: 389-406).

In the case of Tepe Sardar, the inclusion or exclusion of the site and its corresponding corpus is determined by notions of materiality (clay and stucco 'instead of' stone) and date. In other instances, say rock carvings, a different criterion – medium (a stone boulder or rock monument 'instead of' of a hewed stone block) – might be at play. Their date also being fairly late (sixth/seventh century) these do not conform with the taxonomy of Gandhāran art, although they offer a window into the changing face of Buddhism in the region. On the basis of the rock monuments of Jare near Tirat (Filigenzi 2015: 218-9), the northernmost examples documented, the limits of Gandhāra could subsequently extend to the upper section of the Middle Swat Valley. Though I fear that I might be making the matter more complicated or the problems more dramatic than they are by restating the obvious, I contend that the framework within which Gandhāran art is approached is worth discussing in this context. Although it might not matter all that much whether one uses 'Gandhāra' or 'Greater Gandhāra', it is important to bear in mind that the terms which we chose and the conventions we rely upon, however helpful and necessary they are, can be loaded with misconceptions and assumptions about the objects they designate.<sup>27</sup> These inform our selection of the objects upon which the analysis of the school relies and potentially engender discrepancies in our

<sup>25</sup> 'Although the Kābul valley is generally the southern limit of sites, in Afghanistan Tapa Sardār near Ghazni has yielded clay sculpture of Gandhāra type associated with late Kuṣāna coinage [...]. Zwalf 1996: 11. The author lists additional sites where sculptures have been found and which could potentially amend the southern limit of the school but does not clearly voice his opinion.

<sup>26</sup> 'As for Ghazni, if it is to be included in Kurt Behrendt's "Greater Gandhāra [...]".' (Fussman 2004: 238).

<sup>27</sup> Commenting on this contribution in private correspondence, Anna Filigenzi underlined the problem of the unevenness of the level of information, documentation, and investigation methods which prevents us from formulating a more appropriate definition which 'may do justice to the multiple voices of this artistic phenomenon.' Until better knowledge about single sites or clusters of sites is gained, the old conventional term 'Gandhāra' is preferable lest we substitute 'a historicized, though unsatisfactory definition, with other unsatisfactory definitions lacking the critical neutrality with which 'Gandhāra' is being presently used.' Private communication: 25.11.2018.

perception of its geographical frame. They impinge upon how the synchronic and diachronic relationships between the various productions are defined, how questions of diffusion patterns are articulated, and how broader comparisons between visual and textual corpora are put into operation. Ultimately, these discrepancies bear consequences for the conclusions which we draw.

### Referencing the localization of archaeological sites

During the preliminary inventory for my PhD research, I was confronted by an unexpected difficulty related to the definition of archaeological sites. By ‘definition’ I mean something as straightforward as the designation by a name and their precise geographic localization. The tumultuous history of the region which was under British rule and which then became a province of Pakistan (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, known as the North-West Frontier Province until 2010), as well as the evolution of the structure of the institutions in charge of the study and preservation of its archaeological heritage, complicate the reconstruction of the archaeological map. For instance, between 1902 and 1947, Gandhāran archaeology has fallen within the scope of no fewer than four of the Circles of the Archaeological Survey of India: the Northwestern Provinces and Central Provinces Circle and the Panjab, Baluchistan and Ajmer Circle from 1902 to 1906; and the Frontier Circle (i.e. Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan) and the Northern Circle (i.e. United Provinces, Panjab, Ajmer, Kashmir, and Nepal) from 1906 to 1947. Information about a given site must in consequence be retrieved from the corresponding annual archaeological reports. But beyond the mere practical irritations it causes, this complex situation may elicit misconceptions and misunderstandings of the type that the two examples below seek to illustrate.

The first example is that of the so-called Yusufzai country. This term – the name of a Pashtun tribe – is at times equated with Buner or designates the area where the sites of Mala Tāngi, Mīr Jān, Shangao, Nathu, Rhode Tope, Koī Tāngi and Miān Khān are located. This equation presumably relies on the activity report of Major H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments in India in the early 1880s, who discovered an important number of Buddhist sculptures at these sites. In the winters of 1883 and 1884, with the permission of the Government of Punjab, Cole opened a series of excavations ‘on the Swat and Buneyr frontier in the Yusufzai District’ (Cole 1885: 1) which had remained unexplored. As stated in his introduction to the *Memorandum on Ancient Monuments to Eusofzai*, Cole builds upon the work carried out by Henry Walter Bellew, Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner, and Alexander Cunningham to name but a few, at the sites of Sahrī Bāhloḷ, Sawal Dheyr, Takht-i-Bāhī, Jamālgarhī, Kharkāi, Charsaḍḍa, and Karamar Hill (Cole 1883: 1).<sup>28</sup> Though the limits of the Yusufzai country shifted over time, it is clear at the time of Cole’s report that it was far from being limited to Buner. In fact, Cunningham gives a definition of this country, to which the fifth volume of his reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, published in 1875, is dedicated (Cunningham 1875: 7):<sup>29</sup>

Yusufzai is the common name of the country which is now occupied by the Yusufzai Afghans. It comprises the independent districts of Suwāt and Buhner, to the north of the Hazārno and the Mahāban range of mountains, and the level plains to the south of the mountains lying between the Suwāt River and the Indus. Its boundaries are Chitrāl and Yasin to the north, Bajāwar and the Suwāt River to the West, the Indus to the east, and the Kābul River to the south. The southern half of Yusufzai, which is now under British rule, is the only portion of the country that is accessible to Europeans.

In other words, the Yusufzai country (Figure 3) covers much of what some scholars refer to as Gandhāra ‘strictly speaking’. Consequently, the mention of ‘Yusufzai’ attributed to about one hundred of sculptures preserved in the India Museum in Kolkata provides no indication as to their precise provenance, let

<sup>28</sup> For an overview of the preceding excavations mentioned by Cole see Errington 1987.

<sup>29</sup> See also Zwalf 1996: 14.



alone Buner: the excavated sites by Cole are not located in Buner in the first place but in the north-east of the Peshawar basin (Sengupta & Das 1991: 59-69).<sup>30</sup>

Another disorienting example is related to generic toponyms in Pashto used to designate ancient ruins across the region. Among these are Kāfir Koṭ (fort of infidels), Gumbat (dome) and Gumbatuna (domes), or Nawāgai (new or small valley) which I would like to briefly consider. To most, Nawāgai is the name of a group of Buddhist ruins located on the road from Barikot to the Karakar Pass and Buner, half a mile before the village of the same name in the *tehsil* (sub-district) of Barikot. The ancient site was first cleared by Evert Barger and Philip Wright before independence (Barger & Wright 1941: 26) and more systematically excavated by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan (hereafter the Department of Archaeology) in the 1990s (Qamar 2004: 181-221). The toponym Nawāgai is however found in two other contexts. It is mentioned in the report of the *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Gandhara* conducted by the Department of Archaeology and Museum in 1991-1992 in the section dedicated to Bajaur Agency of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (which became a District of the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2018). In this instance, Nawāgai is not only the name of a town but also that of a valley and a *tehsil* – on the same basis as Barikot – in which several ruins are found (Khan et al. 1999-2000: 13). To add to the nascent confusion, the same toponym also refers to a site identified during the archaeological survey of Buner by the Archaeology Department (2014-2015) near the village of Girārai in the Union Council of Ābkhel (Samad & Khan 2016: 13). To cut a complicated story short, the toponym Nawāgai applies to at least three distinct groups of ancient ruins – the documentation of which varies in degrees of precision – respectively located in the modern Districts of Swat, Bajaur, and Buner (the latter being a part of the Swat District until 1991!) of the Province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (see map on pages vi-vii).

The grounds for the scholar's perplexity are numerous and rather than enumerating them all, one might attempt to find solutions. The geographic coordinate system and GPS tracking obviously constitute a salutary instrument for mapping sites. There are several platforms from which one can retrieve the coordinates of sites across the world and of those located in Pakistan and Afghanistan in particular. The *Getty Thesaurus of Geographic Names® Online* as well as *GeoNames* are two geographical databases which have become standard in projects which include a digital component with a geo-spacing function. Yet the percentage of ancient sites (Buddhist and non-Buddhist) covered for the area corresponding to Gandhāra is negligible. Other independent projects which rely on a scientific collaboration network, more specifically concerned with the archaeology of Asian Buddhism (*Mapping Buddhist Monasteries*) or the archaeological heritage of Gandhāra (*The Archaeological Gazetteer of Gandhāra*), have designed tools that are more adapted to our field of research. Unfortunately, for lack of institutional support, these projects cannot ensure the systematic cataloguing of sites and of their related metadata, crucial to this kind of endeavour.

Within the frame of my doctoral research, a terminology that would transcribe the information provided by the aforementioned digital instruments needed to be developed to refer to the geographical units to which the sites belong. Sites may cluster around an area; this is for instance the case for Jamālgarhī, Thareli and Sikrī or for Sahrī Bāhlol, Takht-i-Bāhī and Muhammad Nāri. Furthermore, formal and iconographic patterns reoccur across the sculptural productions of clusters. In the first example, the majority of bodhisattvas are depicted with a soft or stylized knot divided by a web of ornament. This fashion distinguishes them from their counterparts from Sahrī Bāhlol and Takht-i-Bāhī who, in most cases, sport a *krobylos* (knot of hair). What name should we give to these two areas, as well as their respective sculptural languages? In my research, I have come down on the side of physical geography, which is more constant than historical or political geography, and formulated a terminology whereby the denomination is no longer determined by the name of people or modern frontiers but by that of

<sup>30</sup> Although it is true that a large portion of the sculptures excavated under the supervision of Cole were sent to the Indian Museum and might, potentially, come from the sites mentioned above, their entry into that specific collection was so poorly documented, that one should probably use caution before making any attribution.

rivers, mountains, and valleys. Accordingly, the ‘Middle Gadar Valley’ refers to the zone around which Jamālgarhī, Thareli and Sikrī cluster while the ‘Middle Kalpani Valley’ designates that in which Sahrī Bāhlol, Takht-i-Bāhī and Muhammad Nāri are located. An extensive list of these geographical units is given in the Appendix to this article.

### **From Gandhāran art to Gandhāran arts: what methods for stylistic analysis?**

In the second phase of my doctoral research, namely the assessment of the various sculptural languages and of their levels of relationship, I was concerned with new issues: how to characterize the material as objectively and as accurately as possible? How to name and categorize the sculptural languages reflected in the iconographic and formal variations? To what extent do they inform us about the dynamics of Gandhāran art, its modes of production and patterns of diffusion? The first of these questions, connected to the development of a fitting vocabulary, is in fact extremely relevant to digitization projects such as DiGA. Within the frame of these, the use of established ontologies is one of the criteria with which the digital concept should comply. These standard vocabularies guarantee the long-term availability of the information, ensure the cross-linking of collections of not only images but also of texts and facilitate their simultaneous analysis. Hence, they foster cross-disciplinary collaboration between archaeologists, art historians, numismatists, historians, and philologists. There exist several established ontologies used for the descriptions of architecture and works of art: *The Art & Architecture Thesaurus® Online* and *Iconclass* and, more specific to our discipline and discussed in more detail below, the *Repertory of Terms for Cataloguing Gandharan Sculptures* (hereafter *Repertory of Terms*). These tools focus in the main on iconographic motifs. While this is certainly an important aspect, one might question the extent to which a stylistic analysis which primarily relies on iconographic features can capture the multiplicity of Gandhāran sculptural expressions. A style results from certain iconographic choices but also from the treatment of the composition, particularly in the case of narrative episodes, the formal rendering (i.e. proportions, measurements, volumes) which is, at least partly, dependent upon material and technique. All these aspects must accordingly be taken into consideration.

The procedure, which encompasses several levels of analysis – ‘technical features, craftsmanship, extrinsic, typological and intrinsic, stylistic’ – was fully articulated by Domenico Faccenna in 2001 (Faccenna 2001: 30). This is, according to the author, ‘the most correct way’ not only to define the production of one site but also to reconstruct the synchronic and – on the basis of evidence of the re-worked reliefs and the few dated pieces – the diachronic links between the productions within one site. By applying this method to each artistic centre and comparing their production ‘proceeding in ever widening circles’, one may solve issues connected to the development of Gandhāran art. While the method found its fullest expression in the analysis of the sculptures of Saidu Sharif and Butkara I published in 2001,<sup>31</sup> it is worth exploring for the present purpose some of the tools now available to implement Faccenna’s programmatic approach.

### **The objective characterization of sculptures**

#### ***Iconography***

The work of Francine Tissot, Domenico Faccenna, and Anna Filigenzi has greatly contributed to the standardization of descriptions of iconographies. The typology developed by Tissot (1985) takes a broad range of categories into account and gives a detailed description for each of the types identified.<sup>32</sup> Yet

<sup>31</sup> The classification of the sculptures from Butkara I in three stylistic groups each composed of several series was published in 1962 and 1964 (Faccenna 1962; 1964). Their complete analysis however was not published until 2001 in the volume dedicated to the narrative friezes from Saidu Sharif (Faccenna 2001).

<sup>32</sup> The typology is dedicated to architecture and decor, costumes and hairstyles, jewellery, furniture and utensils.

it has received little attention outside French-speaking scholarship, though it constitutes the main reference work for the more widely used *Repertory of Terms* published in 2007 (Faccenna & Filigenzi 2007: 16). This project was born out of Faccenna's desire to create a digital catalogue for the sculptures of Gandhāran art. The development of a terminology as precise and consistent as possible that would allow for an objective description of the pieces and their systematic classification rapidly appeared as a prerequisite to the project Faccenna had envisioned. In view of this, the *Repertory of Terms* covers glossaries related to material (i.e. Parts 1 and 2: the sculptor's work and architecture) as well as to subject matter (i.e. Parts 3-12: decorative motifs, people, fauna, flora, weapons, musical instruments, ceremonial objects, everyday objects, furniture, and means of transport). One cannot stress enough how valuable this tool is. Yet, as signalled by Filigenzi, the coordinator of the project, the *Repertory of Terms* is not exhaustive and deserves to be further refined over time (Faccenna & Filigenzi 2007: 15). With this invitation in mind, one may suggest two areas which could be expanded.

Firstly, since the *Repertory of Terms* initially sought to facilitate the cataloguing of sculptures excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, its terminology primarily relies on material from the Swat valley. Although it gradually incorporated material from other regions and time-periods, certain motifs or figures – such as Vajrapāṇi – still await a more comprehensive treatment. The Buddha's companion – or rather, his attribute – is only dealt with in one place in the *Repertory of Terms* (Faccenna & Filigenzi 2007: 181). A typology of his modes of portrayal across Gandhāra would provide a substantial basis on which to reassess issues linked to his problematic nature. Secondly, the range of subject headings could be enlarged to include a terminology of Buddhist narratives (i.e. *jātakas* and episodes of the Buddha's last existence) illustrated on the reliefs as well as of the countless generic scenes such as those depicting the Buddha or bodhisattvas flanked by groups of monks, devotees, or donors. These three terms are often used interchangeably, though the reliefs undoubtedly convey distinct messages about the Buddha and his community of followers, as well as about Buddhist cosmology (Amato forthcoming). There is clearly no consensus on how to designate numerous scenes and yet, it is important to agree on how we refer to the objects of our comparisons.<sup>33</sup>

### **Narrative scenes**

With respect to narrative reliefs, a helpful methodology can be drawn from the works of Lolita Nehru, Vidya Dehejia, and Martina Stoye (Nehru 1989; Dehejia 1997; Stoye 2008: 1-35). None of these authors were occupied with the identification of regional variations. Yet despite the unrelated motivations of their research and regardless of whether one agrees with their respective conclusions, Nehru, Dehejia and Stoye altogether put forward a series of criteria which can be applied to the identification of workshops. Nehru sought to unravel the processes underlying the formation of the Gandhāra style and the assimilation of stylistic imports. In this respect, she examined three aspects: the treatments of the concepts of time, space, and the human figure (Nehru 1989: 15-28). The second is particularly valuable for our purpose. The analysis includes the distribution of space within a composition, its definition as a physical setting for narrative through the use of landscape elements, architectural features or interiors, and finally the rendering of spatial depth (Nehru 1989: 17-22).<sup>34</sup> Concerning Dehejia, she proposes to fulfil a desideratum in the study of ancient Buddhist art – primarily concerned with issues of chronology, stylistic development, and the identification of iconographies – and explores the 'manner of storytelling' (Dehejia 1997: vii). In her seminal investigation of the techniques by which Buddhist stories are

<sup>33</sup> Although largely descriptive and therefore lacking the synthetic quality to be included in a tool such as the *Repertory of Terms*, the stylistic study of Gandhāran Buddha images by Juhyung Rhi is worth mentioning in this context (Rhi 2008: 43-85). The five visual types he circumscribes across Gandhāra are treated by Rhi as 'synchronic units'. The identification of such units is, according to the author, a preliminary step to any investigation regarding the mutual relationships between productions.

<sup>34</sup> For additional contributions to the study of the treatment of space, and more specifically perspective, on Gandhāran reliefs see di Pascale Piccolino 1981: 12-25 and Bussagli 1984: 404-427.

communicated, Dehejia identifies seven modes of visual narration (Dehejia 1997: 3-35).<sup>35</sup> Although these are not strictly specific to South Asian art and equally found in other geographical contexts, the seven-part typology provides a valuable tool to deal with the corpus of ancient Buddhist art.<sup>36</sup> As for Stoye, her aim was to ascertain the source of inspiration for the visual formulation of Buddhist legends and more specifically of the ‘iconographic nucleus’, defined as the ‘basic and compulsory constellation to the depiction’ of the episode. She opposes the latter to the ‘picture periphery’ which includes optional sets of motifs which the artists may introduce according to their taste. These methodological tools not only enable the viewer to understand the artistic principles which lie beneath the visual rendering of Buddhist episodes, they also bring norms and codes in this rendering to light. By contrast, iconographic solutions which break away from these norms and codes become apparent and regional preferences discernible.

### **Material analysis**

Several petrographic surveys carried out since the 1990s have built upon the research by Liliane Courtois, David R. C. Kempe and Richard Newman (Courtois 1962: 107-13; Kempe 1982: 25-8; 1986: 79-88; Newman 1984; 1992: 163-4). The analyses of a selection of sculptures in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Musée Guimet and the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale ‘Giuseppe Tucci’ (Reedy 1992: 264-77; Cambon & Leclaire 1999: 135-47; Guida et al. 2015: 46-51) as well as well the survey of rock outcroppings and quarries in Buner and Swat (Di Florio et al. 1993: 63-74; Faccenna et al. 1993b: 257-70) have complemented the typology of lithotypes and the map of their potential quarry sites or zones. These analyses having been conducted on a limited number of sculptures (just under 230 objects in total), their results represent only a small portion of the true range of Gandhāran lithotypes and possible sources of supply. Nevertheless, they demonstrate their potential for the identification of workshops and of exchange patterns across Gandhāra. For instance, the analyses of the pieces kept in Rome show a correlation between the stylistic groups of Saidu Sharif and the types of stones employed. Incidentally, they point to an evolution – in this case a reduction – in the range of stone types used at this site. The same petrographic investigation also suggests that sculptural materials are not necessarily homogeneous within a cluster of sites. In fact, those found at Pānṛ and Saidu Sharif seem to differ to some extent (Guida et al. 2015: 46-51; Giuliano 2015: 17-20). Furthermore, the investigations carried out on the English and French collections have highlighted lithotypes specific to each region. The sculptures from Kāpiśā excavated by the DAFA (Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan) for example, are made in a ‘schist quartzeux, calcaire et chloriteux’ (quartz-calcite-chlorite schist) and are clearly distinguishable from those excavated at Haḍḍa. These are made in dark chloritoid schist (Cambon & Leclaire 1999: 141), common for sculptures from the Peshawar basin. Additional analysis on this latter group and their comparison with local extraction quarries on the one hand and with pieces from the Peshawar Basin on the other hand would help determine whether these sculptures were produced locally or – as it was long-assumed – imported from another region (Dagens 1964: 11-39). The map of Gandhāran lithic materials deserves to be complemented by the data that investigations on other collections of sculptures from known archaeological contexts would yield. This would not only shed light on issues of intra-regional distinctions and on the networks of exchanges across Gandhāra, it would also provide a tool to ascertain the provenance of undocumented pieces.

### **Production techniques**

Several studies dedicated to tool marks and assemblage techniques published in the last decade have shed light on manufacturing processes on a micro level. In his careful reassessment of the unfinished

<sup>35</sup> Dehejia’s seven modes of visual narration are: monoscenic narrative: theme of action; monoscenic narrative: being in state versus being in action; continuous narrative; sequential narrative; synoptic narrative; conflated narrative; narrative networks.

<sup>36</sup> For critical discussion of Dehejia’s methodological approach see Brown 2001: 355-358.

panel from Takht-i-Bāhī, Peter Rockwell identified several stages of carving, progressing from laying out the outline of the composition to finishing the panel (Rockwell 2006: 157-79). He observes that different craftsmen were respectively in charge of the overall design, chiselling the panel, and carving out the final details, a task for which they enjoyed relative freedom. According to Rockwell, '[t]he work crew would then be a group with different specializations' (Rockwell 2006: 177). The hypothesis that Gandhāran sculptors were not only diversified but also specialized in certain tasks or techniques is confirmed by the study of tool marks left on thirty sculptures from Saidu Sharif, Pānṛ, and Butkara I (Vidale et al. 2015: 45). This provides evidence on the organization of labour both within specialized workshops and on the building yard. The identification of the marks left by different types of chisels, burin, caliper or compass, and drill points to a standardization of the carving technique into a sequence of steps carried out by distinct craftsmen, some of whom were specialized in the production of luxurious items. This division of labour enabled artists to meet a demand for different types of objects that was rapidly increasing during the first centuries of the Common Era. The results that these analyses yielded are of enormous potential not only for understanding the manufacturing processes of Gandhāran sculptures but also for the identification of workshops. As the contribution by Pia Brancaccio and Luca Maria Olivieri in this volume demonstrates, technical expertise sometimes went hand in hand with a specialization in depicting a selection of subjects or scenes. This correlation points to the existence of workshops – in this case on the left bank of the Upper Swat – dedicated to the production of specific reliefs.

### **Formal treatment**

Formal treatment is a delicate matter. Opinions about the quality of a piece having largely dominated the debate around the chronology of Gandhāran art during the first half of the twentieth century, one may mistrust the appliance of this essentially value-based judgment in an analysis which strives for objectivity. The proportion of figures, the rendering of their anatomy and physiognomy, the treatment of the drapery in relation to the volumes of the body have often been interpreted as tokens of the antiquity or the maturity of a piece.<sup>37</sup> As demonstrated by Faccenna's meticulous examination of the sculptures from Saidu Sharif and Butkara I, these features are paramount to discern the mark of an artisan and situate a sculpture or a group of sculptures in their larger artistic context. Reviewing in detail the stylistic vocabulary he employs would be unnecessarily cumbersome in this context and one can only refer to Faccenna's analysis, a true literary *tour de force*. Rather, in the following, I would like to show how a method inspired by the contributions of the scholars mentioned above can help to highlight local specificities in the treatment of narrative episodes. I will concentrate on one case-study drawn from my doctoral research, namely depictions of the Mahāparinirvāṇa. In this respect, I will attempt to situate in its broader stylistic context a relief from Marjanai (Figure 4),<sup>38</sup> a site located in the Middle Swat Valley, on the right bank of the River Swat about 21 km northwest of Mingora.

### **Application**

The image carved on the right of the frieze depicts the Buddha completely wrapped in a shroud, lying on his right side on a bed with turned legs. The mode of portrayal is also found on a relief from Butkara I (Figure 5) where the Buddha is seen from the back. By virtue of this motif, the scene may evoke the Buddha's obsequies rather than his passing. However, the relief from Marjanai differs from other visual renderings of this episode, at least on reliefs for which the provenance is ascertained. Another relief from Butkara I (Figure 6) shows the Buddha wrapped in the shroud and lying on a bed or a table which

<sup>37</sup> I have dealt elsewhere, in connection to the sculptures from Sikri, how stylistic features have had variable chronological implications for different authors (Pons 2017: 206-09).

<sup>38</sup> For a photograph of the piece see Khan 1995: 55, pl. 17a.

is lifted by two figures. On other reliefs from Koī Tangi (Figure 7)<sup>39</sup> and Sanghao (Figure 8), the Buddha is replaced by the closed coffin and the bed or table is on the ground. Neither of these illustrations depicts a group of figures in the foreground as is the case at Marjanai. In fact, the position of the protagonist, assumed to be Ānanda, lying on the ground, is found in most representations of the Mahāparinirvāṇa. The rest of the composition arranged in superimposed registers is also comparable to other illustrations of the Buddha's passing. Based on what precedes, one may suggest that the relief from Marjanai either gives an original rendering of the Mahāparinirvāṇa following the monoscenic mode of narration or it conflates the Mahāparinirvāṇa and the Buddha's obsequies (i.e. conflated narrative). It would achieve this by simultaneously depicting the Buddha wrapped in the shroud and Ānanda grieving.

From a formal point of view, the relief from Marjanai belongs to the 'drawing style' identified at sites in the Jambīl-Saidu zone. It is characterized by the prevalence of a feeling for line over volume, a treatment of drapery folds in parallels grooves and angular faces (see also the contributions by Naiki and Lone in this volume). Yet the resemblance goes beyond the affiliation to a same stylistic group. As a matter of fact, some of the reliefs from Butkara I seem to be directly quoted in the dividing frames of reliefs belonging to the same narrative sequence as the panel under consideration. The donors dressed in a long jacket and in trousers of the Central Asian type (Figure 9) or in a *paridhāna* and an *uttarīya* (Figure 4) recall the masculine figures typical of the drawing style at Butkara I (Figures 10 and 11). As for the donors and devotees sculpted on the reliefs depicting the bath of Siddhārtha Gautama (Figure 12)<sup>40</sup> and the infant going to school (Figure 13), their jackets and trousers with decorated bands and

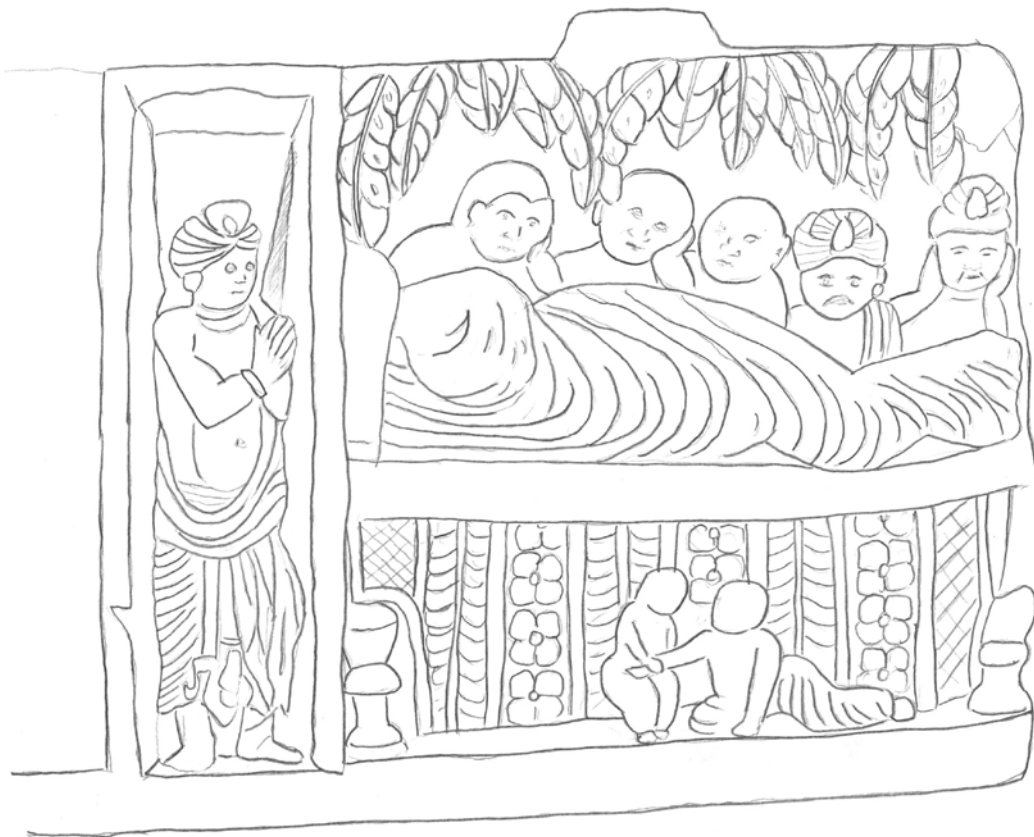


Figure 4. The Mahāparinirvāṇa; relief from Marjanai. Peshawar, University Museum (15). (Drawing: Jessie Pons.)

<sup>39</sup> For a good reproduction of the piece see Klimburg-Salter 1995: no. 180.

<sup>40</sup> For a photograph of the piece see Khan 1995: pl. 10b.



Figure 5. *The Mahāparinirvāṇa*; relief from Butkara I. Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (B3591). (Photo: after Faccenna 1962: II.2, pl. CCLXXXVIIIa. Courtesy of ISMEO – Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.)



Figure 6. *The Buddha's obsequies*; relief from Butkara I. Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (B2549 and B7136). (Photo: after Faccenna 1962: II.2, pl. CCLXXXVIIIb. Courtesy of ISMEO – Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.)

their Phrygian caps display striking similarities with those worn by a dancer on a fragment from Butkara I (Figure 14). The position of the devotee on Figure 12 undoubtedly draws from the latter image. The imitation is however maladroit, and these reliefs depart from Butkara I in their bad management of space and their crammed compositions. The awkward treatment of foreshortening and of perspective is visible in the representation in the exaggerated elongation of human figures stretched across the height of the relief. The positions of the figures with the hip depicted in front view and the legs in three-quarter view bespeak clumsy craftsmanship.

The filiation between the reliefs from Marjanai and the models from Butkara I was previously noted by Filigenzi. According to her, the group from Marjanai represents a 'local variant' of the drawing style identified at Butkara I (Filigenzi 2006: 68, n. 2). But how to make sense of this 'local variant' and position the production of Marjanai in relation to that of Butkara I? Do these borrowings speak of 'provincial streams' whose models are those of the main artistic centres of Butkara I and Saidu Sharif, as Filigenzi suggests? Or do they simply bear testimony to the vivid impression that the images from Butkara I left on an unskilful craftsman? In truth, the exact dynamics which underlay the filiation between Marjanai and Butkara I may never fully unfold. However partial our grasp of the ties between artistic production in different places will always be, it is important to ponder a terminology to name and classify the numerous sculptural languages.

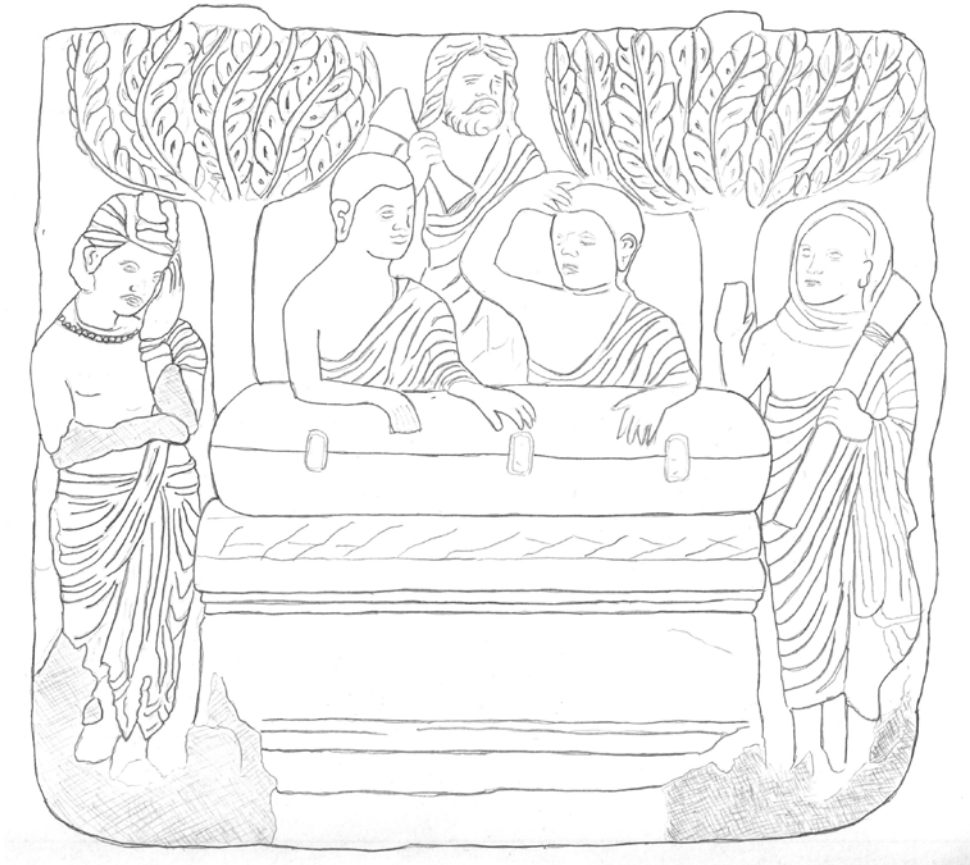


Figure 7. The Buddha's obsequies; relief from Kōi Tangi. Calcutta, Indian Museum (2402).  
(Drawing: Jessie Pons.)



Figure 8. The Buddha's obsequies, relief from Sanghao, Lahore Museum (1111).  
(Photo: after Foucher 1905-1951: I, fig. 285.)



Figure 9. *The return to Kapilavastu; relief from Marjanai. Peshawar, University Museum (MJN-1983-1-86). (Photo: after Drachenfels & Luczanits 2008: no. 150; P. Oszvald © KAH Bonn and Peshawar University Museum.)*



Figure 10. *Donor; statue from Butkara I. Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (B2598). (Photo: after Faccenna 1962: I.3, pl. CDXXX. Courtesy of ISMEO - Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.)*



Figure 11. *Donor; statue from Butkara I. Rome, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale (539). (Photo: after Faccenna 2001: pl. XCIIIa. Courtesy of ISMEO - Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.)*



Figure 12. *Detail of a devotee on a relief of the bath of Siddhārtha Gautama; relief from Marjanai. Peshawar, University Museum (11). (Drawing: Jessie Pons.)*



Figure 13. The young Siddhārtha Gautama going to school, relief from Marjanai; Peshawar, University Museum (MJN-1983-1-87). (Photo: after Drachenfels & Luczanits 2008: no. 152; P. Oszvald © KAH Bonn and Peshawar University Museum.)



### Naming and categorizing the different sculptural languages

According to the procedure laid out by Faccenna, the step subsequent to the definition of the various artistic productions is to determine the relatedness of the diverse styles circumscribed. The reconstruction of these sculptural language families – to draw a parallel with the field of comparative linguistics – is a prerequisite for understanding the dynamics of the production both at a local level (i.e. a site) and a regional level (i.e. across clusters of sites). But the issue at hand is not only the reconstruction of the different levels of relatedness; the difficulty is also to communicate them. To reiterate the question formulated above: how to name and categorize the sculptural languages reflected in the iconographic and formal variations and, one may add, in the modes of production? Faccenna and Swāti have proposed terminologies designating these types of relationship (Swāti 1997: 1-60). That of Faccenna is now familiar to all: the various stages of the stylistic analysis of the material from Butkara I allow him to identify three stylistic ‘groups’ (i.e. ‘drawing’, ‘naturalistic’, ‘stereometric’) and several ‘series’ within each group.

Figure 14. Dancer; relief from Butkara I. Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum (B5938). (Photo: after Drachenfels & Luczanits 2008: no. 185; P. Oszvald © KAH Bonn and Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif.)

Swāti's terminology offers the regional counterpart to the local study by Faccenna. It must also be added that his classification system is already interpretive. Scholars probably being less aware of the latter, I will discuss it in more detail (it is revisited in Lone's paper in this volume).

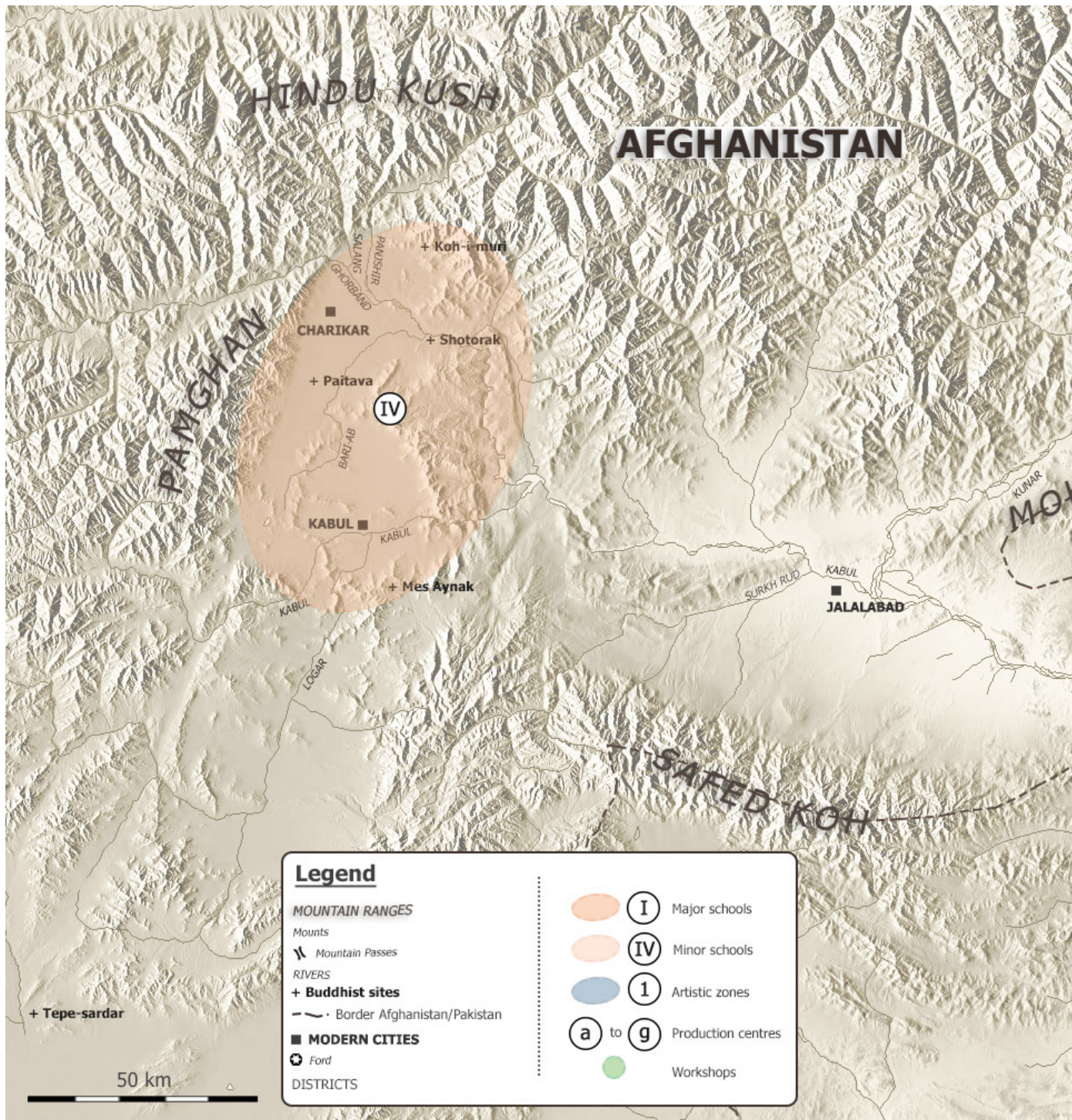
In his examination of the sculptural production from the Swat valley, Swāti isolates three stylistic levels. He differentiates a common style which encompasses all the regional styles which he names 'School of Indus-Oxus Buddhist Art' (equivalent to the Gandhāran School), 'regional styles', such as that of the Swat valley, then 'zonal styles' and 'zonal workshops'. The term 'zonal workshops' corresponds to a cluster of workshops located within each sub-valley of tributaries to the Swat River (see Appendix) and which each produces sculptures with distinct features. However divergent their respective productions are from that of the neighbouring workshops, they also share similarities. It is the sum of these shared traits which constitutes the 'zonal style'. While these similarities bear testimony to interactions and mutual contacts among these workshops, Swāti rejects the possibility that a single industrial site supplied sculptures for all sites in the region. The author remains ambiguous on one point. Indeed, it is difficult to determine whether he equates a 'zonal workshop' with one site or whether several workshops could be located at a single site. While one might not entirely agree with the terms chosen and despite the shortcomings of Swāti's contribution,<sup>41</sup> the latter has the merit of offering a rational alternative to the somewhat opaque 'school', 'style', and 'sub-style'.

I have partially adopted these terminologies and adjusted them to underline their correlation with Gandhāran geography. The 'regional school' corresponds to the style of a region (e.g. the Peshawar Basin or the Swat valley). The 'artistic zone' refers to that of a geographical unit or cluster of sites (e.g. the Middle Gadar Valley or the Jambil-Saidu zone). For instance, the examination of sculptures discovered across the sites located within a single cluster allows the recognition of common iconographic and formal motifs. These common features circumscribe and characterize an artistic zone and, in this sense, correspond to Swāti's zonal style. Finally, the terms 'production centre' and 'workshop' respectively designate a site (e.g. Jamālgarhī or Butkara I) and one of the artistic traditions within that site. Some motifs are endemic to a site. I have considered these particularisms as the mark of a workshop when they appear on one delimited group – or 'series', to refer to Faccenna's terminology – of sculptures, or as the mark of a centre of production when they occur on the majority or the totality of sculptures from one site.

### ***Application***

The analysis of the corpus of provenanced sculptures carried out for my doctoral research allowed identification and localising of a multiplicity of sculptural languages. These first results will have to be refined in the light of a systematic examination of other aspects, such as production techniques and lithotypes, naturally difficult to conduct within the frame of an individual project of research. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to speak of geographical tendencies in the distribution of iconographic and formal motifs. This cautionary notice aside, I would like to propose a map of the sculptural languages that can be sketched (Map 1). A full account of these languages is outside of the scope of this article and for the present purpose, I will limit myself to delineating a first outline of a 'geography of Gandhāran arts'. It is possible to circumscribe two major regional schools, those of the Swat valley and of the Peshawar basin. Across both schools, one can recognize three artistic zones located in: 1. the Jambil-Saidu zone 2. the Middle Kalpani Valley and 3. the Middle Gadar Valley. Several important production centres are situated in these artistic zones: a. Butkara I b. Saidu Sharif c. Sahrī Bāhlol d. Takht-i-Bāhī e. Jamālgarhī f. Thareli and

<sup>41</sup> Although not devoid of interest, Swāti's contributions are undermined by the author's whimsical dating and regionalist orientation. The author presents the Swat Valley as the origin of all Gandhāran schools. According to Swāti, the development of Buddhist art in Swat dates back to the last quarter of the second century BC. Faccenna had attributed the oldest sculptures of Butkara I to the first century BC but F. Swāti states that the style and historical context compel a revision to this date without further substantiating his claims (Swāti 1997: 5).



Map 1. Overview of Gandhāran regional schools, artistic



zones, production centres and workshops. (Jessie Pons).

g. Sikrī. Two minor schools can also be identified, that of the Northern Passes and that of Kāpisā. Finally, a series of workshops with their unique languages can be located in each of these regions, as well as at Zar Dherī, in the Haro-Tamra zone and the Lower Swat Valley zone.

This reconstruction comes with three disclaimers. Firstly, these four terms do not stand for concrete material entities. Workshops (in the sense of studios where craftsmen worked) certainly existed but aside from the results of the studies previously discussed, archaeological traces thereof are still scarce. Secondly, this hierarchic classification is not always possible. For instance, some of the monasteries have yielded sculptures reflecting heterogeneous styles which contradict the idea of an artistic zone.<sup>42</sup> In other cases, the coherence within one artistic zone is such that local specificities are absent.<sup>43</sup> One is left to wonder whether one or several workshops had to comply with strict formal and iconographic norms or whether, contrary to what Swāti argued, one workshop supplied several monasteries. This hypothesis is in fact corroborated by the contribution by Brancaccio and Olivieri. Thirdly, this map may give the impression that these visual languages developed simultaneously and that the various workshops were coeval. This is not the intention. Nevertheless, it is my contention that to shed light on the diachronic dimension of Gandhāran art, one should first reconstruct its synchronic dimension, albeit an ideal one. It is precisely phenomena such as that observed in the production of Marjanai that can help decode diachronic ties and, progressively, restore a more dynamic image of Gandhāran art.

### Some avenues for future research

By way of conclusion, I would like to propose a few avenues for future research, or strategies which, if implemented, could substantially advance our understanding of the geography of Gandhāran art(s). These have already been mentioned in this contribution.

To this day, no archeological gazetteer or archaeological map exists for the region of Gandhāra. Recently, DAFA has initiated in collaboration with the Government of Afghanistan a vast programme aimed at the creation of a Geographic Information System for the discovery, the study, and the management of archaeological sites. Likewise, the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan has produced an Archaeological Map of the Swat valley which takes sites spanning from the pre-historical to the historical period into account. Other regions however, such as the Peshawar basin, have been neglected. Our understanding of the geography of Gandhāran art would benefit from similar cartographic projects. In consequence, there exists no standard map that includes the totality of Buddhist sites from the western slopes of the Hindu Kush to the Siran valley, albeit the most important ones. One might also recommend that the creation of an archaeological gazetteer be carried out alongside the normalization of the terminology used to refer to sites and to their corresponding geographic units. In the long run, the latter could perhaps integrate historical toponyms such as place-names identified by Stefan Baums in Gāndhārī inscriptions or those mentioned by Chinese pilgrims in relation to the Buddhist legends discussed by Jason Neelis in this volume.

The expansion of ontologies related to the description, naming, and categorizing of sculptural languages also appears a necessity. The Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan has achieved substantial work in this domain. One may only invite new initiatives to supplement the *Repertory of Terms* with terminologies related to motifs which are non-Swat-specific, to the titles of Buddhist narratives and to the designations of generic scenes.

<sup>42</sup> This can be observed at the sites around Taxila, in the Haro-Tamra zone where the sculptural production can be broadly divided into two trends: heterogeneous local idioms on the one hand and models from the Swat valley and the Peshawar basin on the other hand (Marshall 1951: I, 228-29; Faccenna 2005: 81-102; Pons 2011: 217-30).

<sup>43</sup> This is to some extent what the representation of bodhisattvas, triads, and intricate stele from Takht-i-Bāhī, Sarhī Bāhlol, and Muhammad Nāri suggest. The close iconographic and stylistic similarities have been discussed by Rhi in the context of the development of Mahāyāna imageries (Rhi 2003: 152-90; 2006: 151-82).

As demonstrated by the results of the study of tool-marks and of the petrographic examinations mentioned above, these types of analyses hold significant potential for understanding manufacturing processes. What is more, they bring additional data for the identification of intra- and inter-regional distinctions beyond the study of iconographic and formal variations. While the heavy logistics of such surveys preclude them from being conducted outside an institutional frame, the study of assembly-techniques that Satoshi Naiki contributes to this volume shows that individual researchers can also efficiently contribute to this issue.

This is a vast programme! The focus on specific case-studies on single collections and/or sites can cover several of these aspects at once and collectively contribute to other desiderata such as the update of terminologies. This contribution presents some of the challenges with which I was confronted and some of the methods that I have opted for in my attempt to shed light on geographical tendencies in the distribution of iconographic and formal motifs in Gandhāran stones sculptures. These reflections on methodological difficulties and the solutions that are proposed here will hopefully provide a springboard for the community of scholars of Gandhāran art and Gandhāran studies to develop other, better tuned tools that can enhance our understanding of Gandhāran art, its geography, and its history.

### **Acknowledgments**

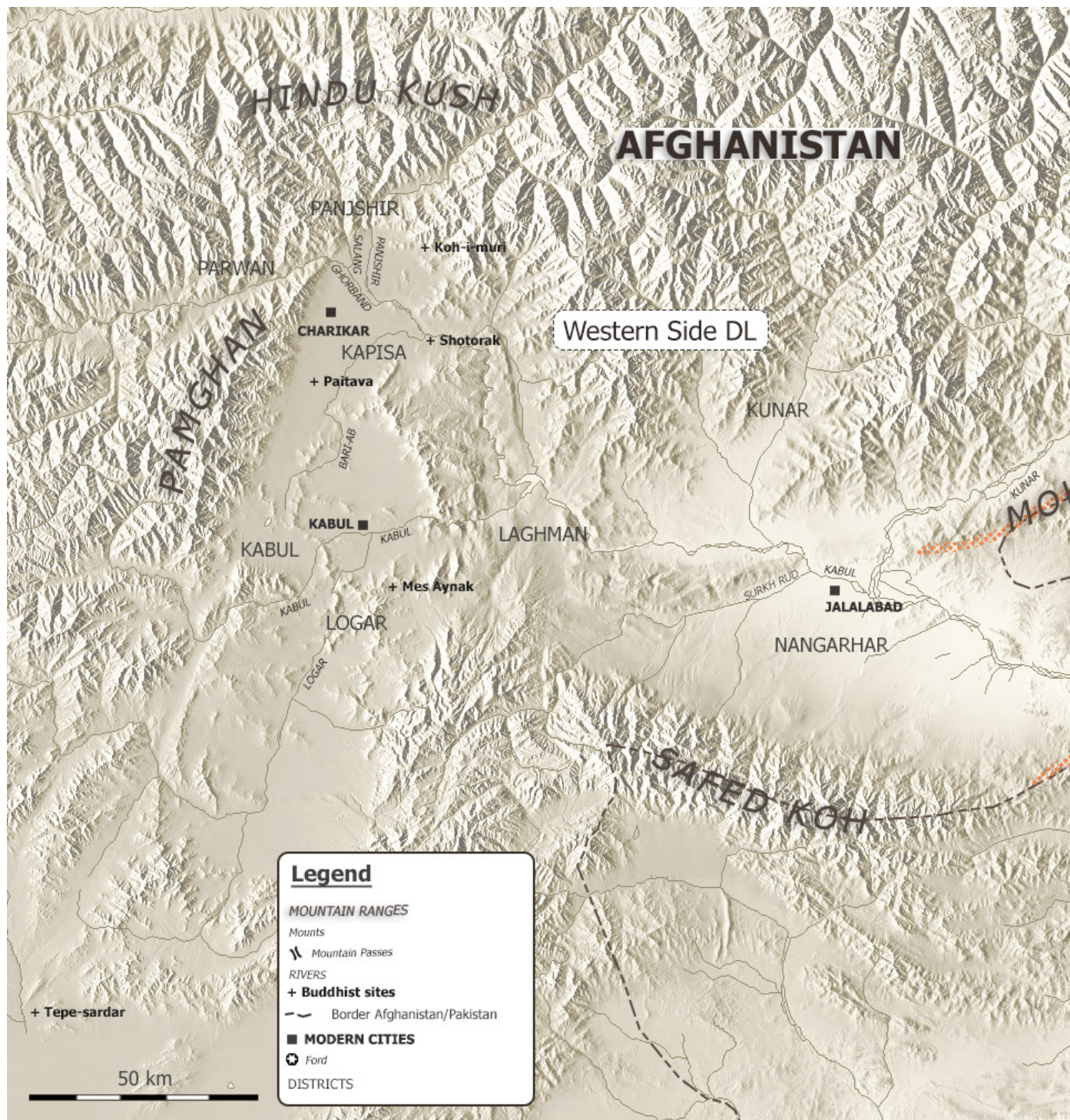
I would like to thank Osmund Boppearachchi, Max Deeg, Anna Filigenzi and Luca Maria Olivieri for their encouragement and invaluable comments and help in improving this paper. My thanks also go to Antonio Amato and Frederik Elwert, researchers within the DiGA project, who have enthusiastically discussed the difficult problem of nomenclatures applied to the study of Gandhāran art or of cultural heritage in general. I am also very grateful to Kay Rienjang and Peter Stewart for their editing work on this article and for organizing, since 2016, the series of events which have both promoted and advanced research on Gandhāra and its art.

### **Explanatory note on the appendix**

The table below provides an inventory of archaeological sites which have yielded Buddhist material. The inventory results from a methodical review of published excavation reports and archaeological surveys undertaken by official institutions in Pakistan and Afghanistan. However, it does not claim to be exhaustive.

The layout and classification system have been elaborated following an initial concept by Luca Maria Olivieri. The structure represents the broad geographical and political divisions and can be thought of as a ‘tabulated map’. The grey columns schematically stand for the mountain ranges and rivers which separate the different regions of Gandhāra with from left to right – or rather from west to east – the mountain ranges of the Mohmand, the Malakand and south of it the Safed Koh, the Mount Ilam and the Indus. Within each section or region, the list of sites proceeds in a north → east → south → west direction following a two-fold classification which integrates two types of information:

1. Political and administrative divisions. This includes: the country (Pakistan and Afghanistan); the modern district (e.g. Buner, Mardan, etc.) and well as the modern city in the vicinity of the sites (i.e. zone).
2. Physical geography. This includes: river valleys (e.g. Swat, Kabul, etc.), their stretch and bank as well as their tributary. Information regarding these last three categories is only given for the larger regions of Swat and the Peshawar basin.



Map 2. Archaeological sites which



have yielded Buddhist material

AFGHANISTAN												
WESTERN SIDE DURAND LINE				EASTERN SIDE DURAND LINE				NORTHERN SIDE				
SITE	ZONE	VALLEY	DISTRICT	DISTRICT	VALLEY	ZONE	SITE	DISTRICT	VALLEY	STRETCH	ZONE	BANK
			KUNAR	BAJAUR				SWAT				
		Kunar			Panjkora				Indus			
Tchaghasarai						Utmarkhel					Besham	
			NANGARHAR				Balakot					
		Kabul					Bam-pukha					
	Jalalabad						Bando-dheri-bagh		Swat			
Tepe-shotor							Barghalai-dheri-spin-ragai			Upper Swat		
Deh-goundi							Chinar-tangai					Right bank
Top-e-kalan/Bordji-kafariha							Chorai					
Tepe-kafariha							Sar-gurgura					Left bank
Tepe-kalan							Tangu				Manglawar	
Bagh-gai					Barang							
Gar-nao						Barang						
Tepe-safed							Dherai-sar					
Tapa-e-top-e-khalan							Kotkai					
		Surkh-rud					Wrana-manai					
Gudara							Takhat			Middle Swat		
Fil-khana caves							Tito-bai					Right bank
Kajikut caves							Warana-manai					
Bahrabad							Zaga					
Tapakhwajalahoree					Panjkora (Tributary 1)							
Tapa-ashrak						Khar						
Chahar-bagh							Charkaro (Chingazer)					
Sultanpur-tope							Khazani-sangar				Mingora	
Allahnazar caves							Shinkot					Left bank
Kotpur					Panjkora (Tributary 2)							
Passani						Mamund						
							Aporai					
Bimaran							Gulmah					
Surkh-tope							Khara-dheri					
Deh-rahman							Mianz-umarai					
Nandara							Niag-zangal					
			PARWAN/KABUL				Nakhtar-shah					
		Kabul				Charmang						
	Kabul						Nawagai					
Tepe-maranjan							Nawagai					
Burj-hulaku							Badshahighat					
Tepe-narenj							Khara					

PAKISTAN												
		SOUTHERN SIDE							EASTERN SIDE			
TRIBUTARY	SITE	SITE	TRIBUTARY	BANK	ZONE	STRETCH	VALLEY	DISTRICT	DISTRICT	VALLEY	ZONE	SITE
								MALAKAND	MANSHERA			
							Kharkai			Allai		
		Kharkai										Pokal stupa
Lusesar		Dargai								Nandihar		
	Mandonakander	Kalgarga										Zar-dheri (Batgram)
								BUNER		Sarai		
							Sandas					Zar-dheri (Kuza-banda)
				Right						Siran		
	Jare	Gokand										Zar-dheri
		Kandar										Zar-dheri 2
		Top-dara										
Ugad		Bingalai										
	Banjot						Surkhao					
	Jahanabad			Right								Baba-pongori
	Nangrial	Kafero Gumbatuna								Haro		
	Malam-jabba	Kot stupa										Dokhar
							Burbura					Chutto-dheri
				Right								Injel-sur
	Marjanai	Bagh										Khoi-khazana
	Dodeharra	Gumbatuna (Dherai-kaly)							HARIPUR			
	Parrai						Girarai-dara			Haro		
	Gumbatuna	Ali Khan-kote										Bhamala
	Nimogram						Legwanai-jowar		RAWALPINDI			
		Tangai								Damra/Lundikas		
							Kawga-balokhan – Bhai Kalai					Mohramoradu
Jambil		Bhai										Pippala
	Panr						Barandu					Jaulian
	Butkara (I and III)	Tursak								Tamra		
	Leobanr	Sunigram										Sirkap
	Jurjurai	Gumbatai										Kunala
	Garasa	Panjkotai										Dharmarajika
Saidu		Takhta-band										Kalawan
	Saidu-sharif						Naranji					Giri
	Bologram	Naranji								Riwat-ka-san		Mera-ka-dheri
	Katelai						Badri					Sonala-pind
	Kukrai	Ranigat										Kota-ka-dheri
	Shahneshah							SWABI				Pari-ki-dheri
	Katelai						Yaro					Syadon-ka-mora

AFGHANISTAN												
WESTERN SIDE DURAND LINE				EASTERN SIDE DURAND LINE				NORTHERN SIDE				
SITE	ZONE	VALLEY	DISTRICT	DISTRICT	VALLEY	ZONE	SITE	DISTRICT	VALLEY	STRETCH	ZONE	BANK
Qol-e-tut							Mohmad-ghat				Ghalegai	
Chechme-e-kandhariyan							Swara-gata					
Ziarat-i Saxi							Jarando-kamar					
Tepe-khazana					Babukara							
Khwaja-safa						Salarzai						
Pai-minar							Chal-ghaze				Barikot	
		Logar					Chara-ghundai					
Shevaki (1-12)							Gagra					
Minar-e Chakri							Ghundai-chinar					
Gul-dara							Kherai					
Kamari (1-3)							Kotkai					
Seh-topan (1-4; 6)							Tabai					
			LOGAR				Tarala					
Mes-aynak				TRIBAL AREA								
			PARWAN/KAPISA		Khyber							
		Salang				Khyber						
	Gul-bahar						Sphola-stupa					
Jabal-us-seraj												
		Panjshir										
Gul-bahar												
Koh-e-muri												
Koh-e-muri bis?												
								SHANGLA				
Kuratas?												
	Begram											
Borj-e Abdallah												
Begram												
Karratcha?								MALAKAND				
Shotorak?											Thana	
Tope												
Ruin X												
Qol-i-nader												
Ruin Z												
Kafir-kala												
		Bari-ab										
	Tepe-skandar											
Sarai-khuja (bazar)												
Kurrindar												
	Istalif							DIR				
Paitava											Chakdara	

PAKISTAN												
		SOUTHERN SIDE							EASTERN SIDE			
TRIBUTARY	SITE	SITE	TRIBUTARY	BANK	ZONE	STRETCH	VALLEY	DISTRICT	DISTRICT	VALLEY	ZONE	SITE
		Aziz-dheri										Kotera-kadheri
	Gog-dara						Kandah/Guntal					Rozi-ki-mera
	Balogram	Banr-dheri (Maini)										Mahal
	Shingardar	Muradu-dheri (Maini)										Katyal
	Manyar	Shado-dheri (Maini)										Manikyala
		Ajumair hill (Maini)										Makam-kapind
Karakar		Sale-dheri										
	Nawagai						Polal					
	Amluk-dara	Momani-garai										
	Tok-dara	Banj										
	Kanderai							NOWSHERA				
Najigram							Kalpani					
	Tokar-dara					Lower						
	Najigram			Left								
	Abbasah-china	Raees-dheri										
Kandak		Mashrang-dheri										
	Kanjar-kote			Right								
	Gumbat	Khkari-dheri III										
	Amluk-dara	Gandheri-payan										
	China-bara						Shahidam					
Kotah		Attock stupa										
	Sandoka	Shah-pinda										
		Gudi										
Itai		Pindi site										
	Bunerwal						Urmanda & Shahkot					
	Kafir-dheri	Kafirano-dheri (Jalozai)										
	Choga	Kafirano-dheri (Otai)										
		Banda-patai										
		Kurkai										
Cherat		Safare-adokeh										
	Kafir-kot						Kabul					
Gunyar		Sikano-dheri										
	Gunyar	Butano-dheri										
Shah-kot		Zagai-dheri										
	Allahdand-dheri							PESHAWAR				
	Zalam-kot						Kabul					
	Loriyan-tangai			Right								
	Chatpat		Bara									
		Takhal										
		Shahjiki-dheri										



PAKISTAN												
		SOUTHERN SIDE							EASTERN SIDE			
TRIBUTARY	SITE	SITE	TRIBUTARY	BANK	ZONE	STRETCH	VALLEY	DISTRICT	DISTRICT	VALLEY	ZONE	SITE
		Pipal-mandir										
Talash								CHARSADDA				
	Bambolai						Swat					
	Ramora					Lower						
	Damkot				Charsadda							
	Andand-dheri			Left								
Jandul		Skarah-dheri										
	Gumbatuna	Tarnab										
		Shaikhan-dheri										
		Kula-dheri										
		Palatu-dheri										
		Dur-marjan										
		Sare-mekhe-dheri										
		Mra-dheri										
								MARDAN				
							Gadar					
						Upper						
		Sanghao										
		Nathu										
		Nullah										
		Rhode-tope										
		Koi-tangi										
		Mian-khan										
		Jao										
						Middle						
		Jamalgarhi										
		Sikri										
		Thareli										
							Badra					
						Upper						
		Rustam										
						Middle						
		Shahbazgarhi										
		Mekha-sanda										
		Chanaka-dheri										
							Kalpani					
						Middle						
				Right								
		Takht-i-bahi										
		Sahri-bahlol										
		Muhammad-nari										
		Mamane-dheri										

Geographical units or clusters of sites such as those of Takht-i-Bāhī, Sahrī Bāhloḷ, Muhammad-Nāri and Mamāne-Ḍherī in the Middle Kalpani Valley appear more immediately.

The format used for the transliteration of toponyms in Pashto (not applied in the article) follows the recommendation by Matteo de Chiara, lecturer in Pashto at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris who has recently completed his habilitation at INALCO on Swat toponyms. In accordance with his remarks, the format uses:

- a hyphenated form to indicate that the two elements of the toponym form a single name.
- a non-capitalized second element which, in most cases, is a generic geonym (ex: dheri).

This format was utilized for Swat in the publications where data from the AMSV (Archaeological Map of the Swat Valley) fieldwork were incorporated (Olivieri & Vidale 2006; Olivieri 2015a; 2015b; Filigenzi 2015).

These decisions with respect to the classification system and the transliteration might generate some discrepancies with other standards used in literature such as by D. Faccenna and P. Spagnesi (Faccenna & Spagnesi 2014) and Gérard Fussman (Fussman 2008). In these studies, sites are grouped differently, and the toponyms (whether in Pashto or Dari) are not hyphenated and both terms are capitalized. Readers will decide for themselves which system they prefer to use. I have only sought to explain the logics behind that which is proposed here and which strives for coherence.

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