Gandhāran stucco sculptures from Sultan Khel (former Khyber Agency) in the collection of Peshawar Museum: a study in three parts

Zarawar Khan, Fawad Khan and Ghayyur Shahab

Part I: Provenance and acquisition history of the Sultan Khel Collection

The Peshawar Museum of Pakistan was inaugurated in the Victoria Memorial hall of Peshawar by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in 1907, and since then, it has achieved a worldwide reputation for housing one of the best collections of Gandhāran Buddhist sculptures. The antiquities of the Museum have chiefly come from archaeological excavations and explorations of ancient sites and monuments of the former North-West Frontier Province,¹ however, the number of artefacts has also been supplemented by the sculptures donated by the civil and military officials of the British Indian Empire.² Most of the donated and gifted sculptures were collected in military operations or punitive expeditions, or purchased from the local people, as well as confiscated under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904.³

One of the donated collections of the Museum is accessioned with the caption, 'The Lt. Col. W.A. Garstin Collection from Sultan Khel'. It consists of forty-six stucco figures and detached heads of Buddhist sculptures, received at the Museum on the 3rd October 1929. It was supposed to be part of the personal collection of W.A. Garstin, the then Political Agent of Khyber Agency, however, the study of the contemporary report of then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle (hereafter ASIFC), and the archival record of the Political Agent of Khyber Agency, reveals a complete acquisition history of this important collection.

The village of Sultan Khel (the findspot of the W.A. Garstin Collection), is situated in the former Khyber Agency,⁴ about twenty-eight kilometres north-west of Peshawar near the railway track that connects Peshawar with Torkham. The area of Khyber first came under the influence of the British Indian Empire during the first Anglo-Afghan war (1839-1842). After the annexation of Peshawar in 1849, the British authorities took direct control of the Khyber Pass and with the creation of the Khyber Agency in 1879, many tribes surrendered to the British Empire in lieu of military service and allowances (Iqbal 2011: 78). The area at that time was largely populated by the Zakha Khel tribe, while K.S. Abdul Jabbar Khan⁵ was the leading chief (*Malik*) of the tribe and owner of the archaeological site, from which the stucco sculptures of Peshawar Museum originated.

The only available record related to the Buddhist site in the Sultan Khel village of Khyber is a short account published in the annual report of the ASI for the years 1926-27, by H. Hargreaves, the then Superintendent of the ASIFC, after the site was reported to the Political Agent of Khyber (Hargreaves 1930: 125-126).

Apart from that report, additional information about the discovery of Sultan Khel Buddhist site, its occasional excavation by the British military officers and the circumstances under which the collection

¹ Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan

² For instance, the collection donated by P. J. G. Pippon, H.A. Deane, and C.M. Enriquez.

³ The Wali Swat Collection of sixteen sculptures in Peshawar Museum were confiscated in 1935 at Dargai (See Olivieri 2015: document nos. 175 and 176).

⁴ Now district Khyber.

⁵ He had received the title of Khan Sahib on the 3rd June 1924; see The Quarterly List of Civil Officers Serving in the North West Frontier Province, Corrected up to January 1930 (Calcutta, Government Press): 161.

was confiscated and handed over to the Peshawar Museum, is fortunately provided by a set of archival documents, recently surfaced in the Directorate of Archives and Libraries, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar (henceforth the DoAL).

In this connection, one of the folders received by the DoAL Peshawar from the Political Administration of Khyber Agency, contains some files of the years 1926 to 1939. The first file of the folder is titled 'Papering: Excavation of a Graeco Buddhist Shrine in Sultan Khel Limits, Khyber',⁶ while the other file consists of the corresponding letters for the preservation of Shpola Stūpa.⁷ The contents of the first file are extremely important since they throws light on the practice of ancient treasure-hunting and antique-collection, and the involvement of the British officials in the unauthorized diggings at the Buddhist site of Sultan Khel. Besides these valuable documents, there are confidential letters addressed to the Political Administration about the smuggling of Gandhāran sculptures out of Khyber Agency to the markets of Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and onwards to Italy and Europe. It was also recorded that some of the military officials had made their personal collections of Gandhāran sculptures and even corresponded with the ASIFC and British Museum over selling them. We would therefore include some of those letters in the present study in order to reach a proper conclusion.

Document No. 1

Letter No: 122/D File No. 49D/VII, DoAL Bundle No. 33, Serial No. 222 Dated: 25th April 1926 From: The Political Tehsildar, Khyber, Landikotal To: The Assistant Political Officer (APO), Khyber

This is the first document of the file and records the report of the Political Tehsildar to APO, about the possession of some Buddha heads by Captain Bowen, the Officer Commanding Signal at Landikotal. On his request to find out the place where the heads were found, the Tehsildar accompanied him and discovered a place four and half miles from Landikotal towards Ali Masjid, and close to the railway line, where after some digging, more heads made of lime plaster were found. Captain Bowen further requested more excavation at the site and the Tehsildar refers the matter to the Political Agent (PA). It has also been declared that Captain Bowen has paid Rs. 25, to the owner of the site, K.S. Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan, and Rs. 15 in rewards to some men for digging the site.

On the same page, the remark of the PA in black ink is 'forwarded for consideration', with signature and date of 25/4/26. Another signature is added on 26/6/26.

⁶ File No. 49D/VII, S. No. 222, Bundle No. 33.

⁷ File No. 48D/VII, S. No. 241, Bundle No. 36.

Document No. 2

Letter No: unnumbered. Dated: 26th April 1926 From: (Su,) Zerf Mills, Landikotal To: Mr Garrat⁸

This is a covering letter of Zerf Mills for forwarding a copy of the letter of Captain W.O. Bowen of the 6th Gurkha Rifles, 'A' Divisional Signal, to the Head Quarters, 1st Indian Infantry Brigade, at Landikotal. Captain Bowen in his letter has reported the finding of a 'Graeco-Buddhist Shrine' of great archaeological value, about 300 yards north-east of Sultan Khel village in the Khyber Pass, where the ruins are approximately dated to 120 AD, on the basis of personal observation. He has also suggested that an expert in Graeco-Buddhist architecture and art be sent to inspect the site before he embarks on five months' leave on 18th May and if, when the site is excavated, artefacts of value are found. He further requests that Khan Sahib Sirdar Abbas Ali, the Political Tehsildar, and some men from his British NCOs will be kept in consideration for the help they gave him in the discovery of the site.

Document No. 3

Letter No: D.O. No. 53-86 Dated: 28th April 1926 From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar To: Lt. Col. R. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber, Peshawar

The letter is with reference to the PA's correspondence no. 1247 of 27th April 1926, concerning the discovery of Buddhist remains near Sultan Khel village in the Khyber Agency. Hargreaves in response says thanks to the PA for the information and states that he should like to inspect the site and will endeavor to arrange with the PA some early date for that inspection. Further, it has been requested that further damage to the remains should be prevented with the cooperation of local Khans.

Document No. 4

Letter No: D.O. No. 53-90 Date: 29th April 1926 From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

This letter was probably issued after some verbal conversation between the two officers and hence no reference is made of any previous correspondence. Hargreaves with reference to his own letter (Document No. 03), writes that he should be pleased if permitted to inspect the Sultan Khel remains on Sunday 2nd May 1926, along with Mr. Lawther, the Superintendent of Police, who promised to take him in his car. 'We propose leaving at 7:30 A.M., and if the Political Tehsildar could meet us, it would greatly facilitate the inspection. Perhaps the Political Tehsildar might be able to inform Captain Bowen of our intended visit to enable him to be present should he so desire.'

At the end of the front page and overleaf of the same letter, there are the handwritten remarks of the Tehsildar, addressed to the PA on the 2nd of May 1926, which state: 'Mr. Hargreaves accompanied by Mr. Lawther inspected the Sultan Khel remains on Sunday the 2nd May. I and Capt. Bowen met them also. Then the party forwarded as far as Landikotal to inspect the Buddha heads collected by Capt. Bowen.

⁸ The Political Agent of Khyber Agency at that time.

The brothers of K.S.M. Abdul Jabbar Zakha Khel offered the Inspector tea in front of his house. The party sat down for almost 10 minutes and took their tea. For perusal and order please.' The letter is stamped on both sides with the green seal of the office of the Political Agent, Khyber, and diary numbers. The first page of the letter is marked with the received date of 29th April and the other by 4th May 1926.

Document No. 5

Letter No: D.O. No. 53-109 Date: 30th April, 1926 From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

The letter informs the PA that, 'The notification prohibiting the bringing or taking into or out of the N.W.F. Province of Gandhara sculptures is No. 1385 of the Government of India of 8th July 1924 and was republished in the Government Gazette N.W.F.P. on page 750 of the Gazette of July 25th 1924'.

Document No. 6

Letter No: D.O. No. 95/145 Date: 7th May, 1926 From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Peshawar To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, I.A. Political Agent, Khyber

This is a two-page letter of H. Hargreaves with reference to previous correspondence no. 1247 of 27th April 1926, regarding his observation on the Sultan Khel site after its inspection on 2nd May 1926. The document is attached with a copy of a detailed note of two pages.⁹ A request is also made to the PA for the preservation of the Sultan Khel site from further unauthorized digging, with the plea that his own office at Peshawar has no power under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act to prevent excavation in the trans-frontier area. He also states that:

the policy of the Government of India is to discourage uncontrolled excavation in this area and to ensure that antiquities recovered are sent to the Director General of Archaeology and to prevent illicit traffic in Gandharan sculptures, for which purpose, notification no. 1385 was issued as recently as 8th July 1924. Under this notification anyone bringing these antiquities into the N.W.F.P. is not only liable to have them confiscated but to be fined Rs. 500/- in addition. If the avarice of the people has been excited it is due to the demands of British officers and if the latter observe the letter and spirit of the orders of the Government these undesirable excavations will automatically cease. I feel sure that K.S. Jabbar Khan, the owner of the area in question can be persuaded to stop these diggings. Later when the Museum extension is completed, this area if the owner is then willing can be carefully excavated by local labourers under the direction of this department. It would be regrettable if these remains were to be entirely destroyed and all evidence lost as will certainly be the case if the present exploration continues. I should therefore be pleased to enlist your interest in this matter and to learn what steps you will be able to take to discourage excavation in the agency, to direct the attention of all concerned to Government of India Notification no. 1385 of 8th July 1924 and to prevent these antiquities being brought into British India, so that I may detail the action taken in my annual report on the working of the Ancient Monument Preservation Act which I am submitting to the Government of India in July 1926.

⁹ Our document No. 7.

The letter was received at the PA Khyber office on 11th May 1926 as shown on the green diary stamp. The black inked remarks of the PA to head clerk read: 'file concerned (DVII/49) has put with a letter from Hargreaves on 30.4.26 & has been returned to record'. He further comments: 'we have already sent a copy of the Govt gazette prohibiting excavation at Sultan Khel'.

Document No. 7

Letter No: unnumbered Date: Peshawar, 3rd May 1926 From: H. Hargreaves, Superintendent ASFC To: The PA Khyber Agency Subject: Report on the Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

This is the draft copy of Mr H. Hargreaves's report on the Buddhist site of Sultan Khel, sent as an annexure to document No. 6. It was published with minor rectification in the annual report of the ASI for the year 1925-27,¹⁰ with the following statement:

Having received from the Political agent Khyber an endorsement No. 1247 of 27th April, 1926 forwarding letters from Col. Willis, Officer Commanding Landikotal, and Captain W.C. Bowen, 6th Gurkha Rifles, Officer Commanding 'A' Divisional Signals, Landikotal, reporting that sculptures from a Buddhist shrine had been discovered near Sultan Khel village in the Khyber Agency, arrangements were made with the Political Agent for the inspection of the site on May 2nd 1926. It was found that the find spot was a low elliptical mound about a quarter of a mile north of the Shpola stupa. The mound which lies in the middle of cultivation is some 70 feet long and 40 feet across and is highest at its northern end where it rises some six feet above the neighbouring fields. This area has been known to yield antiquities for the last forty years and the villagers state that various heads etc. were obtained here more than 30 years ago for Col. Warburton, Political Agent Khyber. Since Col. Warburton's time the place had remained unexploited. Recently, however, certain British officers of the Landikotal garrison having evinced lively interest in these antiquities, one Rauf Shah, a Sayyid of Sultan Khel village began to dig here.

Later Capt. Bowen started regular excavations and engaged men who continued the operations for four or five days. A portion of the finds seems to have been taken to Landikotal and I saw in possession of Captain Bowen several complete seated Buddha figures from a frieze as well as other Buddha and Bodhisattva heads. Rauf Shah had also a number of stucco heads, some larger than life size. These he offers for sale to visitors to the Khyber and a lady in Peshawar bought one in the Pass about the 27th April 1926 for two rupees. One figure which from the description given was seemingly of great interest has entirely vanished before my arrival, and I was unable to learn from Captain Bowen what had become of it.

Practically everything had been removed from the trenches which marked the recent excavations. The walls exposed are of the larger type of diaper of 2nd century A.D. but some of the stucco figures seem to be of later date and may be renovations. From Captain Bowen's description of his excavations he appears to have stripped off seated Buddha figures from a frieze but some large heads may originally have adorned the chapels.

Excavations of this type are not desirable. No detailed record of operations is kept, no list of finds made, antiquities are broken for convenience of transport, no plan is prepared and these excavations resolve into a mere scramble for portable antiquities and in consequence valuable

¹⁰ Hargreaves 1930: 125-126.

archaeological evidence is destroyed for ever. These operations are entirely contrary to both the letter and spirit of the orders of the Government of India as expressed in the letters quoted in the margin (Government of India Revenue and Agriculture Department Cir. No. 48-82-2 of 31-10-1902, and Government of India Home Department No. 242-249 of 23-5-1905).

Colonel Willis remarks that the avarice of the local inhabitants has been aroused, but this is entirely due to the military officers in the Khyber and if the demand cease, digging will stop, though there is still the fear that dealers may learn of these discoveries and attempt to revive the forbidden traffic in these antiquities. That this fear is not unjustified is proved by an advertisement in a recent issue of the 'Pioneer' offering for sale of Gandhara sculptures which must have been obtained from similar unauthorized excavations.

As the Peshawar Museum is already overcrowded the immediate exploration of this site is not recommended. The Political Agent Khyber is being requested to discourage excavation in the agency and to direct the attention of all concerned to Government of India Notification No.1385 of 8-7-1924.

Document No. 8

Letter: D.O. No. 95/23-C Date: 16th June, 1926 From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Camp Nathiagali¹¹ To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

With reference to our document No. 6, H. Hargreaves in the letter wants to learn about the steps taken by the PA to discourage archaeological excavations in Khyber agency and to prevent the antiquities obtained at Sultan Khel being brought into British India. Hargreaves further requests that:

Captain Bowen may be not permitted to take away from the Khyber Agency any of the antiquities he recovered without my written permission according to Government no. 1385 of 8.7.1924. Captain Bowen has stated in a letter of 25.4.1926 to Head Quarters Peshawar District that he is taking 6 heads of Gandharan sculptures with him to England. In acting thus, Capt. Bowen is failing to carry out the very clear instructions of the Government and renders himself liable to the penalties prescribed in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, Section 17(2) (3). This notification of the Government has been published both in the Civil Gazette and the Military Orders. I should be pleased to have a very early reply to this letter as I am referring the matter to the Government of India.

The remarks of the PA on the letter with black ink indicate, 'a copy of the Govt. notification has been sent to Col. Commandant Landikotal'.

¹¹ Nathiagali, in the Abbottabad district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Summer Camp of the Indian Government Officials serving in Peshawar.

Document No. 9

Letter: D.O. No. 95/133-C Date: 13th August, 1926 From: H. Hargreaves, ASIFC, Camp Nathiagali To: Lt. Col. R.C. Garratt, IA Political Agent, Khyber

With reference to the PA letter no. 1944/D-VII-49 of the 26th June 1926, Hargreaves with great regret states that he has been informed by the local administration about the taking away of six heads to England by Capt. Bowen, which he excavated at Sultan Khel. References to the previous correspondence in this regard are recalled and a further request for the preservation of the site is made to the Political Agent. It is also pointed out that Capt. Bowen has praised the Political Tehsildar, K.S. Sirdar Abbas Ali for helping in the excavation, and therefore he and all officials in the agency may be discouraged from assisting similar excavations in the future.

On the 17th and 18th August 1926, the PA Khyber adds a remark in black ink: 'A copy of notification 1385 was sent to Col. Commandant Landikotal for information' and 'Enquire from earlier date on which Capt. Bowen left Landikotal'.

Document No. 10

Letter No: 4798-99/11-26-26 Dated: Nathiagali, the 6th September 1926 From: Lt. Col. M.E. Rae IA, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, NWF Province To: (1) The Head Quarters, Peshawar District; (2) The Political Agent, Khyber Subject: Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

The letter is with reference to a previous correspondence with the Head Quarters Peshawar District, no. 9434/5/A, of 2nd July 1926, with a copy of the report of H. Hargreaves (the annexure of our document No. 6). A request is made here for the stoppage of further excavation in Khyber. The Secretary further states: 'I understand that the 6 heads removed by Capt. Bowen are only part of the antiquities recovered in these excavations and I have the honour to request that arrangements may be made to hand over the remaining images etc to the Superintendent Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle'.

A copy of this letter is also forwarded to the Superintendent ASIFC, with reference to his letter no. 95/141-C, of 16th August 1926 and paragraph 5 of no. 95/142-C of the same date. On 12th September 1926, the PA Khyber directs his subordinates to forward the copy of this letter to the political Tehsildar Landikotal for information and further guidance. Another remark of 13th September is not fully legible but mentions 'heads to be returned and then...'. On the overleaf of the letter the head clerk states that the file on the subject was put up on 24th August 1926 and has not yet been back in record.

Document No. 11

Draft No: 6746 File No: D-VII/49 Dated: 20th October 1928 From: Lt. Col. W.A. Garstin, OBE, Political Agent, Khyber To: The Head Quarters, Peshawar District, Peshawar Subject: Excavations from Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

This is the draft letter of the PA with reference to document No. 10, and states that in ignorance of those orders,¹² Captain W.A. Whitehead RE (Garrison Engineer), on the morning of the 16th instant removed some images from the site and has been purchasing statue heads removed from this site by the local inhabitants. The PA, while reminding the recipients of the instructions of the Chief Commissioner, stresses that excavations should stop, and requests the Head Quarters Landikotal Brigade to direct Capt. Whitehead and other officers who have got similar antiquities to hand them over to the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar.

A copy of the letter was also forwarded to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner NWFP, Peshawar, with reference to his Letter no. 4798-99/11-26-26 (our document No. 10), the Head Quarters Landikotal Brigade, and the Superintendent of ASIFC, Peshawar.

Document No. 12

Letter No: D.VII/49-682 Date: 22nd February 1929 From: Lt. Col. W. A. Garstin, OBE, Political Agent, Khyber To: C.R.E.,¹³ Peshawar District, Peshawar Subject: Excavations from Buddhist site in the Khyber Pass

The letter is with reference to correspondence no. 340/115 (E.2), dated 14th January 1929, and asks about the expected arrival of Capt. Whitehead.

Document No. 13

Letter No: 3464/ D.VII-49 Dated: 29th August 1929 From: Lt. Col. W. A. Garstin, OBE, Political Agent, Khyber To: Headquarters, Landikotal Brigade, Landikotal Subject: Removal of Buddhist Remains in the Khyber Agency Reference: Draft Landikotal Brigade Order, dated 20th October 1898 [sic]

This is a two-page, typeset document and shows the grave concern of the PA about the purchase of Buddhist sculptures by the Garrison Engineer and other British officers at the village of Sultan Khel. The PA states that in the last two or three weeks, his administration has succeeded in discovering a regular agency for the sale of Buddhist remains in Peshawar city, for export down country, in flagrant contravention of the Government of India's Gazette Notification of 8th July 1924. The matter is being dealt with by him, but is made less easy as he has been informed that the British officers of the Khyber Garrison have also been purchasing images. The Archaeology Department is anxious that the Buddhist

12 The orders issued by the Commissioner in the concluding remarks of his letter no. 4798-99-G.N. dated 26.10.1926, to which this draft was in reference.

13 Commanding Royal Engineer.

site near the *stūpa* in the Khyber Pass should be left untouched and the cooperation of officers is also asked in putting a stop to this trade, by refusing themselves to purchase any image and avoiding visiting the site of the remains. For further information, the PA attaches the notification of the 8th July 1924 for publication in the Brigade's order, and forwards a copy of this letter to Head Quarters Peshawar, through no. 3465/D-VII-49, dated 29th August 1929

Document No. 14

Letter No: 3640/ D.VII-49 Dated: 9/10th September 1929 From: Lt. Col. W.A. Garstin, Political Agent, Khyber To: Secretary to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province, Nathia Gali Subject: Illicit Export of Buddhist images from the Khyber Pass to British India Reference: Gazette of India Notification of 8th July 1924

In this letter, the PA reports to the Chief Commissioner that a regular trade has come to light in export of Buddhist images and remains from the Buddhist site near the village of Sultan Khel in the Khyber Pass, and regular agencies exists in Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and possibly Lahore, for the surreptitious exploitation of the site. He states that he has been able to stop the export into British India of a number of images and in one case, two Hindus of Rawalpindi have been prosecuted under section 17 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (Act VII of 1904) Traffic in Antiquities, and each fined Rs 75/- for trying to export a box containing a few images. The PA further states that:

I am anxious to bring the whole matter to the personal notice of H. Hargreaves so that he might take steps to deal with the agencies in British India on information I am in a position to supply him. I have not however, been able to get into touch with Mr. Hargreaves personally, and therefore I would suggest that the matter be brought to the notice of the Director General Archaeological Survey of India, Simla, with a view of putting a stop to the trade in these relics in British India, if the Director General would care to write to me, I could let him have confidentially all the information I have been able to procure regarding these agencies in British India. There is not the least doubt that a large trade is being carried on in these relics, and I would ask for the co-operation of the Archaeological department in controlling the activities of the agencies in British India.

Document No. 15

Confidential letter No: 159 S.C. Dated: Peshawar, the 16th September 1929 From: Lt. Col. W. A. Garstin, Political Agent, Khyber To: Senior Superintendent of Police, Peshawar Subject: Illicit export of Buddhist images from the Khyber Pass into British India

In this confidential letter the PA states that:

it has come to light recently that a regular trade in the export of Buddhist relics from the Khyber Agency into India is being carried on in contravention of Government of India's Gazette notification, dated 8th July 1924 republished on page 150 of N.W.F.P. Government Gazette dated July 25th, 1924. One of the persons engaged in this illicit traffic is reported to me to be one Haider son of Akbar an Afghan employed in the North-western Railway at Peshawar Cantonment Station. He is said to have a large number of images in his house which he sells to Hindus in Rawalpindi. I pass this information on to you for such action as you think necessary.

Document No. 16

Letter: D.O. No. 512-90/Con. Dated: 7th October 1929 From: Office of the Director General of Archaeology in India To: Lieut. Col. W.A. Garstin, CBE, IA Political Agent, Khyber

This is a confidential letter from H. Hargreaves and states as follows:

I have just received from the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, North West Frontier Province, a copy of your Memorandum No. 3640/D. VII-49, dated the 9th/10th September 1929, concerning the illicit export of Buddhist sculptures from the Khyber Pass into British India. I see in that letter you wished to get into touch with me. By bringing the matter to the notice of the Director General of Archaeology, you have succeeded in doing so. I much appreciate your activity in this direction and the trouble you have taken in endeavouring to stop this traffic. If, therefore, you will let me have confidentially all the information you have been able to procure regarding the agencies in British India concerned in this trade, I will endeavour to take action through Mr. Ewart, Deputy Inspector General, Criminal Investigation Department Punjab. I should also be grateful if you could let me have particulars of those cases of smuggling, which have come to your notice, and particulars of those persons which have been punished, as I should like to refer to this matter of traffic in antiquities in the annual report of Archaeological Survey for the year 1928-29, which is now in press.

Document No. 17

Letter No: 4294-DVII/49 Dated: 23rd October 1929 From: Lieut. Col. W. A. Garstin, CBE, IA Political Agent, Khyber To: H. Hargreaves Officiating Director General of Archaeology in India, Delhi

This is the draft of a confidential letter with an attached note of two pages regarding illicit export of Buddhist relics from the Khyber Pass. The PA with reference to document no. 16, states that he encloses a note of the information regarding the illicit export of Buddhist relics from Khyber Pass, and the firm who sent his representative to Khyber for the illicit export is R.C. Roop Lal & Co., Jewellers and old coins exporter, Lunda Bazar, Rawalpindi city (India). Garstin adds, 'I have been told that there is a market for these images in Italy where good prices are paid especially for heads that are not damaged.'¹⁴

The confidential note records as follows:

On 10th August 1929 information was received at Landikotal that a consignment of Buddhist relics would be exported to India in a few days. The Political authorities at Jamrud were directed to keep a look out accordingly. As a result the following persons were detained at Jamrud with images as noted:-

¹⁴ A copy of this letter was sent to the Political Agent of Malakand (see Olivieri 2015: Document No. 170).

Date	Name of Exporter	Relics
14-8-29	Hassan Gul Zakha Khel, a man of Said Afzal Kuki Khel	3 boxes containing 62 images
24-8-29	Said Afzal Kuki Khel	3 boxes containing 64 images
24-8-29	Shaikh Abdulla Jan Sultan Khel Lal Chand s/o Bhagat Singh Roop Lal s/o Ram Chand	One box containing 9 images
25-8-29	Ghazo, Zakha Khel	1 box

Out of the images captured 73 were sent on 3rd October 1929 to the Curator Peshawar Museum. The two Hindus accused namely Lal Chand and Roop Lal were fined by the PA Khyber Rs:75/-each. The following persons were reported by the Political Tehsildar, Landikotal, to be carrying on trade in these Buddhist images:-

- 1. Rauf s/o Sarwar, Akhundzada, Sultan Khel Zakha Khel formerly a points-man in Railway Department.
- 2. Haider, cousin of Rauf, wireman or lineman in Railway Station Peshawar cantonment.
- 3. Said Afzal, Kuki Khel residing with Azim Khan, Dalil Khel in Zaid Khan Village.
- 4. Hassan s/o Ghulam Rasool Sultan Khel of Qalander Shah village. Working jointly with no. 3 above.
- 5. Suleman. Jalat s/o Suleman, Hamsayas of K.S. Abdul Jabbar Khan and shopkeeper near the Ziarat.
- 6. Kochi, Sultan Khel working with No. 5 above.
- 7. Mian Khan s/o hamid Khan Sultan Khel of Khyber (Mess road Jamadar).
- 8. Jalil Khassadar, a nephew of K.S. Malik Abdul Jabbar Khan
- 9. Amin, Latif, Nurullah sons of K.S. Malik Abdul Jabbar Khan
- 10. Ram Chand of Loargi.

No. 2 above Haider Khan s/o Akbar a Pathan employed in the in the N.W. Railway Peshawar Cantonment is known to assist in the receipt and dispatch of consignments to Rawalpindi.

The images excavated from the Sultan Khel Buddhist site are also sold to 2 Hindu Goldsmiths in Andhar Shehr Peshawar City. Their names have not yet been disclosed.

The full address of the two Hindus of Rawalpindi is:- R.C. Roop Lal & Co. Jewellers and old coins exporters, Lunda Bazar, Rawalpindi city.

Senior Superintendent of Police Peshawar has been informed against Haider.

Political Agent, Khyber Agency

Commentary

The archival documents of File No. DVII/49 unveil an interesting, behind-the-scenes history of the rich Buddhist site of Sultan Khel. It is interesting to note that the site was known to British military officers like Warburton as early as the last decades of the nineteenth century; however, no record exists of the images discovered and transported to British India or elsewhere. It was in 1926 that the practice of exhuming sculptures from the site was resumed by Capt. W.D. Bowen, with the cooperation of the natives of the Zakha Khel tribe. As the guilty officers and the locals could not be dealt with an iron hand due to the exemption of Khyber Agency from the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904, Mr R. Garratt, the then Political Agent of Khyber, chose to invite the superintendent ASIFC to make a record of whatever Buddhist remains were left intact at the site. From this stage, the acquisition history of

the stucco figures from Sultan Khel in the Peshawar Museum develops. In view of the Archaeological importance of the site, Mr. H. Hargreaves visited Khyber on 2nd May 1926 and inspected the site, which according to him was a low elliptical mound about a quarter of a mile north of the great Shpola Stūpa, and badly injured by Rauf Shah, a local Sayyad.¹⁵ Hargreaves returned from Khyber without securing any of the images from Captain W.D. Bowen or from the locals.

With the passage of time, avarice arose among the locals,¹⁶ and thus the illicit export of sculptures to Peshawar and Rawalpindi took place. Similarly, the owner of the site, K.S. Malik Abdul Jabbar Khan of the Zaka Khel tribe, was an influential person and instead of banning the digging of the Sultan Khel site, he encouraged his own sons and relatives in its ruthless destruction and trafficking of images to Peshawar and Rawalpindi. The trafficking of images was not confined to British India; rather, some images were transported to England and perhaps somewhere else by Captain W.C. Bowen, and Captain W.A. Whitehead¹⁷ in contravention of the Government of India's Gazette notification No. 1385 of the 8th July 1924.

However, the arrival of W.A. Garstin as the PA of Khyber marked a real milestone in the controlling of illicit trafficking of antiquities from Sultan Khel to British India. He took a very bold step by reporting Captain W.A. Whitehead of the Garrison Engineers, Landikotal to the Head Quarters, Peshawar District, with the request that the antiquities he had collected at Sultan Khel should be handed over to the Superintendent ASIFC, Peshawar. Moreover, he secured information about certain agencies of antiquities dealing, and a market in Italy where good prices were paid for undamaged heads.¹⁸ It was due to his efforts that the two Hindus exporters, Lal Chand and Roop Lal were arrested and fined Rs 75/- under section 17 of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (Act VII of 1904), while out of the 135 confiscated sculptures, seventy-three were sent to Peshawar Museum and are presently known as the Garstin collection from Sultan Khel.¹⁹

[Z.K.]

Part II: Documentation of the Sultan Khel Collection

The Sultan Khel stucco collection of Peshawar Museum incorporates detached heads of the Buddha, bodhisattvas, royal figures, shaven-headed monks, and headless bodies, as well as a complete image of a princely figure. Some of the heads still retain traces of red paint and gold wash and provide convincing evidence that the monument on which these were employed was richly ornamented, probably analogous to the Buddhist sites of Hadda and Mes Aynak (Afghanistan) and other sites in ancient Gandhāra. Moreover, the colossal size of some the heads is also worth noting and, as rightly pointed out by Mr H. Hargreaves, these were destined for the adoration of chapels surrounding the Buddhist shrine.²⁰ All these figures were delicately severed from their counterparts so that, except for minor injuries, no major breakage occurred to devalue them in the black markets of that time.²¹

¹⁵ The site was photographed by the ASIFC, perhaps after the visit of Hargreaves, and the negatives/photographs preserved in the Lahore office were included in the *List of Archaeological Photo-Negatives of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Kashmir & the Punjab (Muhammadan & British Monuments)*, 1931: 12, Negatives Nos. 852-855.

¹⁶ See Document Nos. 6 and 7

¹⁷ He had secured about fifty stucco heads and Buddhist sculptures from Sultan Khel, and offered them for sale to the ASIFC and British Museum, London (see copy of his unnumbered letter dated 13th March 1929 to the Director General ASI: File No. 49D/VII, DoAL Bundle No. 33, Serial No. 222.

¹⁸ On this issue, see Olivieri 2015: 213.

¹⁹ We could trace forty-six stucco figures of the Sultan Khel collection in the stores of the Peshawar Museum. The other figures are yet to be separated from the bulk of stucco images and detached heads on which the accession numbers have been obliterated by the humid atmosphere and the elapse of many decades.

²⁰ Hargreaves 1930: 125.

²¹ As noted by Garstin in document No. 16.

The inventory of the figures was prepared on the 3rd October 1929, in which each figure was allotted a registration number in continuation to the already registered objects, but with the addition of a Roman letter 'M' (corresponding to miscellaneous artefacts) just to distinguish them from those antiquities which came to the Museum from known archaeological provenances. After the elapse of a few decades, the overall collection of the Museum was re-numbered with the addition of capital Roman letters 'PM'²² marked in prefix to the inventory number inside a small triangle. Thus, the Sultan Khel Collection now bears double identification marks, i.e. the 'M' and 'PM'. However, one of the major errors made probably by the subaltern and inexperienced staff of the Museum is that the facial beauty of some of the figures has been stigmatized in the process of marking new numbering (see Figures 1, 20, 29, 30, 31, and 46). Apart from that, some of the heads were originally adorned either with gold wash or golden colour (Figures 8 and 10) but were scraped either by the excavator of the site or the person who owned these figures prior to their acquisition by Peshawar Museum (see Figure 23).

As most of the stuccos of the Sultan Khel collection remained confined to the reserve collection of Peshawar Museum, and placed under vigilant custody, only the displayed figures were known to visitors and art historians, whereas the others remained out of the sight of scholars and academicians. However, we are grateful to the concerned authority for allowing us to trace most of the stored pieces of this important collection in the light of available records. A catalogue with a brief description of the illustrated figures is included in the present study just to show how important were the contributions made by the artists of Gandhāra in the field of stucco art.



Figure 1

Inventory no: PM_1860 and M_1012

Measurement (height by width): 16.52 x 11.44 cm

The figure represents the bust of the Buddha wrapped in a monastic robe that covers both his shoulders. The head is broken at the neck level and temporarily rejoined, while the fleshy face is slightly chipped. The eyes are shown half open, lips closed, and the elongated ears partially damaged. The halo behind the neck is broken and missing and the snail-shell hair is tied by a ribbon to form an *uṣn̄ṣa*.

²² An abbreviation for Peshawar Museum



PM_1972 and M_1035

20.33 x 12.71cm

This is the head of a devotee or princely figure, probably fixed to the exterior of a shrine from where it was sawn. The right side of the face of the figure is cracked and restored with cement or other binding material and a thick layer of lime. The long hairs are combed and fall behind the neck while the lips are closed, one eye half open and the other partially broken. An object of curved shape, probably an ear pendant, is visible on the left cheek.



Figure 3 PM_1976 and M_1029 12.71 x 8.90cm

This is the bust of a maned lion with open mouth and outstretching tongue. The frontal feet are placed straight, whereas the nose, eyes, and ears are chipped and worn.



PM_1977 and M_998 20.33 x 10.17 cm

This beautiful head of the Buddha is almost complete except for the left ear which is broken and missing. The oval face of the figure shows closed lips, half open eyes, elongated ears, $\bar{u}rn\bar{a}$ at the forehead, and $usn\bar{s}a$ at the skull. Traces of gold wash are visible at the forehead and cheeks.



Figure 5

PM_1981 & M_1020 10.17 x 7.62 cm

This head of the Buddha is chipped and worn out and only the closed lips, elongated ears and portion of neck and *uṣṇīṣa* are partially preserved.



PM_2001 & M_1021

12.71 x 7.62 cm

This is a head of the Buddha with closed lips and half open eyes. The nose is chipped and one ear worn out. The *uṣṇīṣa* is also partially damaged.



Figure 7

PM_2011 & M_1061 10.17 x 6.35 cm

This head of a princely figure, probably of a bodhisattva, is provided with *makuta* and *uṣṇīṣa*. The face is mutilated and partially worn.



PM_2022 & M_999 Size: 15.25 x 7.62 cm

Head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck, elongated ears, closed lips, half open eyes, nose, and *uṣṇīṣa*. Traces of red paint and probably gold wash are visible at the lips, eyebrow and forehead.



Figure 9

PM_2028 & M_1014

12.71 x 8.90 cm

Head of the Buddha. It is mutilated and one side of the face is cut off and wanting. It has an *uṣṇīṣa* at the skull, and the eyes, nose, and lips are partially chipped.



PM_2035 & M_1016 12.71 x 8.90 cm

This is the detached head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck and *uṣṇīṣa* on the skull. The fleshy face is provided with elongated ears, half open eyes, and closed mouth, whereas the nose and one side of the forehead are chipped and worn. Traces of yellow colour, probably gold wash can be viewed on the eyebrows and hair.



Figure 11 PM_2051 & M_1000 19.06 x 10.17 cm

This figure also represents the head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck and other details like those of Figure 4.



PM_2063 & M_1042

15.25 x 8.90 cm

A princely head with a portion of the neck. The curly hair is bound by a diadem showing traces of red paint. The chin and one ear are damaged.



Figure 13 PM_2067 & M_1058

15.25 x 11.44 cm

This head of a princely figure most probably represents the Buddha, with nose, ears, and skull partially broken and missing. Traces of red paint and gold wash are clearly visible.



Figure 14 PM_2089 & M_996 7.62 x 5.08 cm This is also the head of the Buddha, analogous to Figure 10.



Figure 15
PM_2093 & M_1008
7.62 x 5.08 cm
Head of the Buddha with wavy hair and round uṣṇīṣa, closed lips, half open eyes, and the forehead marked by an ūrṇā. One ear is broken and the nose is slightly worn out. Trace of red paint at the lips and gold wash on the forehead.



PM_2101 & M_1045

7.62 x 6.35 cm

Head of a female devotee with fleshy face and coiled hair bound by a band of leafy jewelry. She probably wears an ear pendant. The nose is chipped, eyes half open, and lips closed.



Figure 17 PM_2113 & M_1009 7.62x5.08cm

This is an incrusted head of the Buddha with one ear elongated and the other broken. The thick lips are pressed closed, the *usnīsa* missing, and a line of red paint near the right ear.



Figure 18 PM_2116 & M_1030 7.62 x 6.35 cm This is a head of a shaven-headed monk with a portion of the neck, slightly turning to the right. Face and right ear are damaged.



Figure 19

PM_2116 & M_1030

7.62 x 6.35 cm

This is an incrusted head of a male figure bedecked with heavy headdress and a band of beaded design. The face is fleshy, and the small mouth exhibits traces of red paint. A similar figure is recently acquired by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Peshawar through the Yakatooth Police Station, of Peshawar city.²³

²³ See Nasim Khan 2015: fig. 49.



PM_2121 & M_1038

10.17 x 6.35 cm

This is the head of a bodhisattva wearing an impressive headdress of fantail design and beaded bands and fillet. The head is cut off at the neck and is almost complete except for the halo which is half broken. The small mouth and closed lips are marked by a thin moustache above; the eyes are half closed and the ears are provided with hanging rings. The long curly hair falls behind the left shoulder. A trace of gold wash is visible on the nose and forehead of the figure.



Figure 21 PM_2141 & M_1038 10.17 x 7.62 cm The figure represents a lion-head, badly mutilated and worn. Only the open mouth and outstretched tongue preserved.



PM_2142 & M_995

8.90 x 5.02 cm

This is an incrusted Buddha head with dotted hair and round *uṣṇīṣa*, elongated ears, closed lips and half open eyes. Traces of golden colour are still retained on the forehead.



Figure 23

PM_2148 & M_1006 10.17 x 6.35 cm

A head of the Buddha sawn at the neck. It has half open eyes, closed mouth, and elongated ears, of which the right one is broken and missing. The skull is topped by a round *usnīsa*.



PM_2152 & M_1062 7.5 x 6.35 cm

Head of a devotee with combed hair pressed by a twisted band. The fleshy face is partially damaged. Golden colour is applied on the face and hair.



Figure 25 PM_2160 & M_Nil 13 x 6.35 cm This beautiful hea

This beautiful head of the Buddha has a pyramidal *uṣṇīṣa* marked by an incised line and includes a portion of the neck. The elongated ears are partially damaged, eyes half open, mouth closed and nose slightly chipped.



Figure 26 PM_2172 & M_1054 11.44 x 10.17 cm

This incrusted head of a male figure is devoid of ears and provided with an elaborate headdress with flat top and a band with incised lines. The headdress is comparable with the stucco figure of Yakatoot collection.²⁴



Figure 27 PM_2175 & M_1005 7.62 x 5.08 cm Head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck, round *uṣṇīṣa*, elongated ears, and closed mouth. It can be compared with Figure 23.

²⁴ Nasim Khan 2015: fig. 50.



PM_2202 & M_1004

Measurements not available

This beautiful head of the Buddha with a prominent uṣṇīṣa on the dotted hair and a fleshy face is provided with a small and closed mouth, open eyes, and elongated ears. The lips are painted red and the forehead and cheeks show signs of gold wash.



Figure 29 PM_2259 & M_1043 19.06 x 16.52 cm

This is the head of a princely figure with wavy hair. The fleshy face has open eyes and a closed mouth. A portion of the neck is preserved. Traces of red and golden paint can be viewed at the forehead.



PM_2266 & M_1024

16.52 x 15.25 cm

Headless body the Buddha wrapped in a monastic garment. He is shown in *dhyānamudrā*. Red paint can be seen on the right hand and belly.



Figure 31 PM_2353 & M_1052

17.79 x 13.98 cm

Seated figure of a bodhisattva, probably representing Maitreya in *dhyānamudrā* and holding an inverted lotus or pot hanging from the left hand. The headless body is bedecked with *uttarīya*, necklace, and arm band. The naked belly reveals a prominent abdomen and navel.



Figure 32 PM_2354 & M_? 15.25x15.25cm This is also a headless body of the Buddha, like the one shown in Figure 30.



Figure 33 PM_2363 & M_1059 7.62 x 5.08 cm This is head of a male figure but in bad state of preservation.



PM_2365 & M_1052 7.62 x 5.08 cm

This is a beautiful head of a princely figure with an impressive headdress of incised arches. The face turns slightly to the right. Signs of gold wash and red paint are still retained on the figure.



Figure 35 PM_3303 & M_1037 14.7 x 25 cm

A princely figure is shown in kneeling position with folded hands and bedecked with *uttarīya* and *paridhāna*, elaborate headdress, ear-rings, and bangles. The fingers of the hands are broken and missing and one knee is also slightly damaged.





Figure 36 PM_3313 & M_1044 11.5 x 7 cm

Head of a male figure wearing barbaric type headdress with an object the shape of coiffure on the head. He probably wears earrings and the fleshy face is marked by closed mouth, half open eyes, and straight nose. A thick line of red paint is applied around the face and also on the lips.

Figure 37 PM_3336 & M_1033 29.5 x 17 cm

This beautiful head probably belongs to a princely figure or a bodhisattva. He is wearing a band of bead-and-reel design and his wavy hair is arranged in coils of which some are falling on the forehead and shoulders, whereas the long hair is tied with a ribbon and forms the coiffure.



PM_3375 & M_1032 16.8 x 10.1 cm

This is the head of a princely figure with coiled hair arranged under a band of twisted threads, which also passes through a large rectangular bead. A thick earring is provided to the right ear while the left one is broken and missing. The eyes of the figure are wide open and the mouth is closed. Traces of gold wash and red paint are visible on the face.



Figure 39 PM_3397 & M_1026

H: 12.4 cm

This is a headless body of the Buddha, wearing *uttarīya* across the left shoulder and making the *dharmachakramudrā*. The left shoulder of the figure is left bare.



PM_3400 & M_1022

H: 19.8 cm Seated figure of the Buddha in *dyānamudrā*, and wrapped in monastic robe. The head is rejoined with cement. Traces of red paint can be seen on the belly and knees of the figure.



Figure 41 PM_3405 & M_993

H: 15.6 cm

This is a head of the Buddha with a portion of the neck. The wavy hair is topped by an usnisa. The oval face has half-open eyes, elongated ears, closed lips and straight nose, and an $\bar{u}rn\bar{a}$ on the forehead. Traces of red paint are visible on the throat, cheeks, and forehead.





Figure 42 PM_3410 & M_1007 H: 12.1 cm This is a head of Buddha with dotted hair and *uṣṇīṣa*, closed lips and open eyes. The ears are partially damaged.

Figure 43

PM_3412 & M_992 20 x 9.2 cm A head of the Buddha with the right side of the face slightly concave and chin partially broken. It exhibits a prominent *uṣṇīṣa* and hair with nail impressions. There is an *ūrṇā* at forehead, open eyes, closed mouth, and elongated ears. A line of red paint is applied on the throat below.

PM_3415 & M_1063 16.3 x 11.2 cm

This detached head of the Buddha is badly injured at the chin, cheeks, and both the ears, which are cut off and missing. The curly hair is topped by an *uṣṇīṣa*; the eyes are half-open and the mouth closed.

Figure 45 PM_3424 & M_1002 25.7 x 11.1 cm Another Buddha head with both ears slightly damaged and a hair-style comparable with Figure 43.





Figure 46 PM_2143 & M_1046 8.7 x 3.4 cm

This is a princely figure and wears a crown of lotus leaf design and a band of three beads at the forehead. The face was probably gold-washed and red paint dots are visible on crown.

[F.K.]

Part III: Material analysis of the Sultan Khel stucco figures through XRD and EDX

During the course of documenting the Gandhāran stuccos housed in the Peshawar Museum, for my PhD dissertation, I came across some of the displayed figures of the Sultan Khel Collection, of which two specimens were selected for the XRD (X-ray powder diffraction) and Energy-dispersive X-ray (EDX) for identifying the mineral composition of the stucco and tracing the workshop in which the Sultan Khel collection was manufactured. The small particles obtained from the back side of the two detached heads (Figures 20 and 27), were converted into powdered form and submitted for EDX and XRD analysis to the laboratory of the Centre of Excellence in Geology, University of Peshawar. The result obtained from the mineral analysis shows that the materials of both the stucco heads consist of lime, that is calcite (see Figures 47b, and 48c-d) with the inclusion of particles of sand and quartz. Besides these, the mineralogical assemblages of samples are predominantly composed of metamorphic minerals, spessartine and wollustonite (Figures 48c-d). All these minerals are naturally available in the rocks of Khyber and the Peshawar basin.

The analysis therefore reveals that the stucco figures from Sultan Khel were most likely locally manufactured, from the materials available locally in Khyber or most probably near a Buddhist establishment of Sultan Khel. Lime was the basic material for moulding the figures while other minerals



Figure 47. (a) and (b) Results of XRD analysis on one of the stucco heads, carried out by the Centre of Excellence in Geology, University of Peshawar.





Figure 48. Results of XRD analysis (a) and (b), and EDX analysis (c) (overleaf) and (d) (overleaf), carried out on one of the stucco heads by the Centre of Excellence in Geology, University of Peshawar.

2175		
		1

Spectrum processing : No peaks omitted

Processing option : All elements analyzed (Normalised) Number of iterations = 5
--

Standard :
C CaCO3 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
O SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Mg MgO 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Al Al2O3 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Si SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
K MAD-10 Feldspar 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Ca Wollastonite 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM
Element Weight% Atomic%

СК	16.11	24.97
OK	49.83	58.00
MgK	1.55	1.19
AIK	0.75	0.52
Si K	2.87	1.90
KK	0.29	0.14
Ca K	28.60	13.29
Totals	100.00	



2175

Spectrum processing : No peaks omitted

Processing option : All elements analyzed (Normalised) Number of iterations = 5

- Standard : C CaCO3 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM O SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM Mg MgO 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM AI AI2O3 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM Si SiO2 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM K MAD-10 Feldspar 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM Fe Fe 1-Jun-1999 12:00 AM

Element	Weight%	Atomic%

Treight /	Atomicile
12.29	19.72
51.06	61.50
1.51	1.19
0.85	0.61
2.96	2.03
0.23	0.12
30.16	14.50
0.94	0.32
100.00	
	51.06 1.51 0.85 2.96 0.23 30.16 0.94



were used to prevent the figures from cracking, the effect of direct sun light, and other natural hazards, since these figures were employed on the exterior of *stūpas* and other holy shrines.

[G.S.]

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to acknowledge the moral and material encouragement of the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and the curatorial staff of the Peshawar Museum for allowing us to study and publish the Sultan Khel collection. We are also grateful to Mr Muhammad Kashif, the professional photographer of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Peshawar for the photography of the stucco figures included in the present study.

References

Hargreaves H. 1930. Some Monuments in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. Pages 120-127 in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1926-27* (Calcutta: Government Press).

- Iqbal J. 2011. An Overview of British Administrative Set-up and Strategy in the Khyber 1849-1947. *IPRI Journal (Islamabad Policy Research Institute Journal)* 11/1: 77-95.
- Nasim Khan M. 2015. Gandhāran Buddhist Paintings and Sculptures Antiquities from Yakatoot Peshawar. *Gandhāran Studies* 9: 37-86.
- Olivieri L.M. 2015. *Sir Aurel Stein and the 'Lords of the Marches': New Archival Materials*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.