

From 1833–8, Charles Masson (1800–1853) was employed by the British East India Company to explore the ancient sites in south-east Afghanistan. During this period, he surveyed over a hundred Buddhist sites around Kabul, Jalalabad and Wardak, making numerous drawings of the sites, together with maps, compass readings, sections of the stupas and sketches of some of the finds. Small illustrations of a selection of these key sites were published in *Ariana Antiqua* in 1841. However, this represents only a tiny proportion of his official and private correspondence held in the India Office Collection of the British Library which is studied in detail in this publication. It is supplemented online by *The Charles Masson Archive: British Library and British Museum Documents Relating to the 1832–1838 Masson Collection from Afghanistan* (British Museum Research Publication number 216). Together they provide the means for a comprehensive reconstitution of the archaeological record of the sites.

In return for funding his exploration of the ancient sites of Afghanistan, the British East India Company received all of Masson's finds. These were sent to the India Museum in London, and when it closed in 1878 the British Museum was the principal recipient of all the 'archaeological' artefacts and a proportion of the coins. This volume studies the British Museum's collection of the Buddhist relic deposits, including reliquaries, beads and coins, and places them within a wider historical and archaeological context for the first time. Masson's collection of coins and finds from Begram are the subject of a separate study.

Elizabeth Errington first began working on the archaeological records of Charles Masson during research for her doctoral thesis on the 19th-century discovery of the Buddhist sites of Gandhara. She was a curator of South and Central Asian coins in the British Museum (1993–2011) and from 1993 onwards has served as the co-ordinator and principal researcher for the British Museum's Masson Project.

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Charles Masson and the Buddhist Sites of Afghanistan: Explorations, Excavations, Collections 1832–1835

Elizabeth Errington

Research
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215

**Charles Masson
and the Buddhist Sites
of Afghanistan:
Explorations,
Excavations,
Collections
1832–1835**

Elizabeth Errington

With contributions by Piers Baker,
Kirstin Leighton-Boyce, Wannaporn
Kay Rienjang, Chantal Fabrègues,
Ian Freestone, Louise Joyner,
Jonathan Mark Kenoyer and
Margaret Sax

**To Neil Kreitman, Joe Cribb and Charles Masson
without whom the Masson Project would not have existed**

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*Charles Masson and the Buddhist Sites of Afghanistan:
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Elizabeth Errington

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Front cover: The relic deposit from Bimaran stupa 2, 1st century AD.
British Museum (steatite reliquary 1880.27; gold reliquary 1900.0209.1;
coins IOC.201, IOC.202, IOC. 204, 1960.0407.1; signet ring 1880.3855.a;
see **Figs 117** and **119** for all the objects from the relic deposit)

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Contents

Acknowledgements	v
Preface	1
<i>Part 1: Charles Masson and His Contemporaries</i>	
1. The Life of James Lewis / Charles Masson, 1800–53	3
2. The Discovery of Buddhist Sites in Afghanistan, 1824–79	15
3. From Kabul to London and Beyond: The Dispersal of the Masson Collection	22
<i>Part 2: The Stupas and Relic Deposits</i>	
4. The Buddhist Landscape	28
5. The Relic Deposits	32
6. The Buddhist and Historical Context of the Finds	41
7. Sources of Raw Materials Suggested by the Published Literature	45
8. Analysis of the Materials Used for Small Finds from the Relic Deposits <i>Louise Joyner and Ian Freestone</i>	49
9. Stone Beads from the Relic Deposits: A Preliminary Morphological and Technological Analysis <i>Margaret Sax, Wannaporn Kay Rienjang and Jonathan Mark Kenoyer</i>	52
<i>Part 3: Records of the Sites and Catalogue of the Relic Deposits</i>	
10. Bamiyan	59
11. Kabul Sites	66
12. Stupas South-east of Kabul: Shakh Baranta Ridge (Modern Monaray Ghar)	71
13. Sites in Koh-i Daman and Kohistan (between Kabul and Begram)	82
14. Darunta / Siah Koh Sites	85
15. Chahar Bagh Sites	141
16. Sites in the Jalalabad, Kunar and Safed Koh Regions	153
17. Hadda Sites	162
18. Wardak / Kohwat Sites	200
19. Finds without Site Provenance	212

Appendix 1 List of Standardized Spelling	215
Appendix 2 Records Relating to the South Kensington Museum 1880 India Museum Inventory	217
Appendix 3 Documentation of Bead Morphology, Manufacture and Use Wear <i>Jonathan Mark Kenoyer</i>	226
References	230
Index	238

Acknowledgements

When I wandered into the British Library in the early 1990s with the question ‘What are these Masson manuscripts all about then?’, I never dreamt that I would be embarking on a project that would take up the rest of my working life and beyond. Had I foreseen it, would I have fled? Somehow I doubt it, for the subject has held my interest throughout. In my tortoise-paced progress I have been blessed with the encouragement, assistance and hard work of many people over the decades. I owe an immense debt of gratitude above all to two people – Neil Kreitman and Joe Cribb – for their forbearance and unflagging support. The Masson Project was their brainchild and has been generously funded throughout by the Neil Kreitman Foundation (1993–2011), with additional funding from the Townley Group of British Museum Friends (1998–2004), the Royal Numismatic Society and the British Museum Research Board and Asia Department. Publication costs have very kindly been met by the European Research Council (ERC).

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During a heat-wave one summer, Paramdip Khera and Jeanne Dreskin stoically worked in impossible temperatures, recording the contents of each box of relic deposit small finds prior to their registration: the computer overheated and gave up, but they did not. I also greatly appreciate the help from

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Finally I am indebted to Kurt Behrendt for reviewing the volume, Sarah Faulks for seeing it through publication, and my husband Nigel for his endless forbearance and support.

Preface

It is all too easy to condemn 19th-century explorers and excavators of ancient sites as treasure hunters and desecrators. Some undoubtedly were, but arguably not to the destructive extent of modern clandestine diggers and iconoclasts. Charles Masson (1800–53) has also been dismissed in this way, but the present attempt to reconstruct and make public his extensive and meticulous unpublished records hopefully will not only exonerate him in the context of his times, but establish him as a pioneer in the field of archaeology at a time predating the concept of this discipline.

Masson was also an instinctive numismatist, the first to realize the worth of creating as large a coin database as possible and recording patterns of distribution as a means for reconstructing the history of ancient sites and dynasties. To this end he collected thousands of coins and other finds from the urban site of Begram and Kabul bazaar between 1833 and 1838. One of the first benefits of this policy was his realization that the legends in an unknown script on the coin reverses of Indo-Greek coins stood for the same names and epithets in Greek on the obverses (Prinsep 1835, p. 329). This held the key to the decipherment of Kharoshthi. However, it is his surveys and excavations of the Buddhist sites of south-eastern Afghanistan that are under consideration here. The finds of his contemporaries, particularly Martin Honigberger and James Gerard, and later 19th-century investigations by Lt Pigou and William Simpson are also included.

The first site Masson explored in Afghanistan was Bamiyan in late 1832. Between 1833 and 1835 he surveyed and recorded over a hundred sites around Kabul, Jalalabad and Wardak. He also made numerous drawings of the sites, together with maps, compass readings, sections of the stupas and sketches of some of the finds. Small illustrations of a selection of 48 key sites were published in his ‘Memoir of the topes and sepulchral monuments of Afghanistan’ in H.H. Wilson’s *Ariana Antiqua* (Masson 1841), but this barely skims the surface of his unpublished records held in the India Office Collection of the British Library. These are contained in 17 of the numerous volumes of official and private correspondence on political and antiquarian matters, journals, narratives, sketches and drawings (MSS Eur.) and two boxes of miscellaneous Masson Papers (F526/1–2), supplemented by reports in the East India Company *Bombay Dispatches* (E/4) and *Bombay Political Proceedings* (P/387/71). The National Archives at Kew hold the original letters (FO 705/32) from Masson to Henry Pottinger, liaison officer for the Bombay authorities and Resident in Kutch (1820–38) and Sind (1838–9). Copies of the official papers are also held in the National Archives of India in Delhi (Garg 1998). It was the realization of the extent to which this rich resource could inform research on the Masson Collection in the British Museum that led to the creation of the Masson Project in 1993.

In return for funding his exploration of the ancient sites of Afghanistan, the British East India Company received all Masson’s finds. These were sent to the India Museum in London. When it closed in 1878, the British Museum was the principal recipient of all the ‘archaeological’ artefacts and a proportion of the coins, although some items were initially

retained by the South Kensington Museum (precursor of the Victoria and Albert Museum). Initially the brief of the Masson Project was to identify and catalogue the Masson coins (c. 500) and other finds from the Buddhist sites and Begram in the British Museum. But this expanded substantially in 1995, when some 10,000 coins (the residue of the India Office collections including Masson) were transferred on loan from the British Library to the Museum. Small bags of stray finds, predominantly coins, followed in 2007.

Many artefacts, especially coins, had already been dispersed prior to the closure of the India Museum in 1878. More followed subsequently, with a major coin auction being held on 6 August 1887 on behalf of the Government of India (Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge 1887). Smaller collections have been traced to the Fitzwilliam Museum (coins: **FW 1906**) and Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (miscellaneous Begram objects) in Cambridge. Still more are said to have been transferred to the Ashmolean Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society (Desmond 1982, p. 39; not traced) and the Indian Museum Kolkata (unidentified coins: **FW 19-11-1906**). Masson's signed and annotated personal copy of *Ariana Antiqua* survives in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Its bookplate states it was acquired for the Indian Institute via the B.H. Baden-Powell bequest and was 'bought at the sale of coins, medals etc. of the Revd W.C. Neligan at Sotheby's, 15/11/81' (information courtesy of Emma Mathieson, Modern South Asian Studies Librarian, Bodleian Libraries).

The principal aim of the project has been to organize the material into an accessible study collection for research on the archaeology and history of Afghanistan. Until its start, only a few of Masson's more spectacular finds such as the gold and steatite reliquaries from Bimaran stupa 2 or the inscribed copper alloy vase from Wardak stupa 1 had been studied in any detail. The surviving collection actually comprises 31 reliquaries, together with c. 450 beads and c. 400 coins, ornaments and other small items from Buddhist

relic deposits. The coins, ornaments and intaglios purchased in Kabul bazaar and the vast quantity of coins and diverse objects from the urban site of Begram are the subject of a separate study, *Charles Masson: Collections from Begram and Kabul Bazaar, Afghanistan 1833-1838* (Errington *et al.* forthcoming).

Both volumes are connected to two online resources. References highlighted in bold (e.g. **Er61/VII f. 16**) link directly to the relevant record in *The Charles Masson Archive: British Library, British Museum and Other Documents Relating to the 1832-1838 Masson Collection from Afghanistan* (i.e. **Vol. II**). In addition, a search for Charles Masson on the British Museum Collection Online database (www.britishmuseum.org) will bring up the entire Masson Collection of 9,387 entries – 1,970 individual objects or groups of artefacts and 7,417 coins – now in the Department of Asia and the Department of Coins and Medals.

The aim throughout has been to recreate Masson's archaeological record. To this end his own words have been retained as much as possible and it is left to the reader to interpret his meaning. His accurate and often detailed first-hand accounts of what he saw cannot be bettered. It is only his interpretations – dating from the very beginnings of research in the subject – that have suffered from the inevitable advance of knowledge and these for the most part have been omitted.

For simplicity the diverse spellings of place and personal names have been standardized in the text; the variations are listed in Appendix 1. Documentation relating to the South Kensington Museum 1880 *India Museum Inventory* and tying the objects to India Museum (IM), South Kensington Museum (SKM) and initial British Museum (IM.Metal; IM.Gems; IM.Rings) registration numbering systems is found in Appendix 2. In the individual catalogue entries these are abbreviated e.g. 1880.3496, the silver reliquary from Bimaran 4, bears the additional numbers IM 67 / SKM 1068.

Part 1: Charles Masson and His Contemporaries

Chapter 1 The Life of James Lewis/Charles Masson, 1800–53

James Lewis – better known by his assumed name, Charles Masson – was the eldest son of George and Mary Lewis (née Hopcraft), born 16 February 1800 at 58 Aldermanbury, and baptized at St Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, on 23 March 1800 (Guildhall Library **MSS 3572/2; K&J pp. 1272–3**). Aldermanbury lies in the heart of the City of London, on the west side of the Guildhall, between St Paul's Cathedral and the Bank of England. No. 58 was midway along Aldermanbury, on the south-west corner with Addle Street (Horwood 1813). It no longer exists. The entire west side of the street, including the church, was bombed during the Second World War and has been replaced with modern buildings. On the site of no. 58 is the Chartered Standard Bank, 1 Aldermanbury Square. A garden commemorates the site of St Mary Aldermanbury since 1966, when the shell of the Wren church was transported to Fulton, Missouri, and rebuilt in the grounds of Westminster College as a memorial to Winston Churchill.

Masson's father was a member of the Needlemakers Company (**Br91.a.iii**) and is listed in the *Post Office London Directory 1806–14* as 'George Lewis & Co., Oil, Colour [i.e. pigments for artists and dyers], Hop and Seedsman', with premises in the vicinity of Cannon Street. His mother's family were farmers in Croughton, Northamptonshire, who subsequently became brewers (Whitteridge 1986, pp. 1–2). He had a younger brother, George, born 8 January 1803 and baptized on 23 March 1803 at St Stephens, Walbrook (Guildhall Library **MS8320**). In this instance, the baptismal register lists the local parish as St Bennet Sherehog, which was united with St Stephens when its church (originally located at no. 1 Poultry, an extension of Cheapside) burned down in the Great Fire of London in 1666.

Little else was known of his early life. But in the late 1990s, a first edition of Masson's *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab* was acquired by the late American scholar Gregory Possehl (his library now belongs to the Central Academy of Arts, Beijing). Inside its cover was pasted a handwritten account of Masson's early life by William J. Eastwick (1808–89), the British Assistant Resident in Sind 1838–41, and later a Director of the East India Company (1847). The information was probably acquired first hand from Masson himself, when he stayed at the British Residency in Tatta (**Fig. 2**), writing up his notes for publication in 1838–9.

Eastwick identifies Masson as James Lewis and says that he went to school in Walthamstow, 6½ miles (10.46km) north-east of the City of London (Meyer and Brysac 1999, p. 75). This makes sense of another puzzling assumption by one of Masson's correspondents that he had been at Harrow with the barrister, traveller, artist and cricketer, Godfrey Thomas Vigne (1801–63). The two men met up in Kabul in 1836 and went on an excursion together to Begram (Whitteridge 1986, p. 2). Vigne was at Harrow, but only for a year (1817–18) before being accepted to Lincoln Inn to study law. He was born – like Masson – in the City of London, 'within a stone's throw of the Bank of England' into a merchant family of Huguenot descent supplying gunpowder to the East India Company (Keay 1977, pp. 82–3), and baptized in St Stephen, Coleman Street, two streets east of Aldermanbury, another Wren church destroyed in the Blitz on 29 December 1940.

The family home, however, was at Woodford Wells near Walthamstow and he must have received a good, probably local education prior to Harrow. Masson clearly also received a good education, for he knew Latin and Greek. It is probable they both went to the same school in Walthamstow, although it is also possible their fathers knew each other since they both worked in the same part of the City.

At the beginning of the 19th century, boys could only obtain a good, classics-based education at grammar schools. In Walthamstow at that time, the only one of note was Monoux School (now Sir George Monoux College). It was founded as a 'public' – i.e. free – school for the poor in 1527, together with almshouses, by George Monoux (c. 1465–1544), who was born in Walthamstow, but had strong links with the City of London. Initially an alderman, he was appointed a Warden of the Drapers Company in 1506, Sheriff in 1509, Mayor of London in 1514 and Parliamentary Burgess of the City in 1523.

According to Eastwick, on leaving school, Masson worked as a clerk at Durant & Co., brokers for silk, insurance ' & co.' at 11 Copthall Court, again within the square mile of the City, close to the silk manufacturing centre at Spitalfields, which is located just a few streets east of Aldermanbury and north of the Bank of England (National Archives, Kew, PRO: *Robson's New Directory*, London 1819, p. 156; *Post Office London Directory 1840*, p. 81). This was a standard 19th-century route to material and social advancement for young men of good education to take. He evidently maintained contact with the firm, for it is cited as his agent in London in the early 1840s (**E/4/1069**, pp. 408–9). The stated business of the firm being insurance and brokerage connected with the silk trade, it must have been in close contact with the descendants of the local French Huguenot community. Indeed, the name Durant is French in origin and although it first arrived in England with the Norman Conquest in 1066, it was also among the surnames of the later Huguenot refugees.

Following the forced conversions to Catholicism and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which outlawed the practice of Protestantism in France, it is calculated that c. 32,500 of these committed Calvinists settled in Greater London, in particular, in the City, between Spitalfields in the east and Soho in the west (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 27 February 2014). The French Huguenots comprised one of the largest and most distinctive communities in the capital throughout the 18th century. They were associated with clock-making and financial services, but textile manufacturing, particularly silk weaving, was the largest single occupation and it was centred in Spitalfields. At the end of the 18th century, there was another influx of émigrés fleeing the French Revolution.

The fact that Masson was apparently fluent in French has often puzzled commentators, but the concentration of a large community of French origin on his doorstep must have given him ample opportunity to learn the language from an early age. Little wonder that when he met Jean-François Allard (1789–1839) in Lahore in 1829, the two men spoke in French, which Masson noted 'absence and length of years had not disabled me from speaking fluently' (1842, I, p. 405).

Indeed his choice of pseudonym, Masson, is French in origin, and a mistaken assumption as to his nationality earned him an entry in a 19th-century French *Biographie Nationale* (Whitteridge 1986, p. 11).

The Napoleonic wars and process of unification in Italy from the second half of the 18th century onwards also saw Italian political dissidents finding refuge in London. There was already a long-established Italian enclave centred in Clerkenwell (to the north-west of Aldermanbury), but by the early 19th century, this had increased substantially. So Masson grew up in a very cosmopolitan neighbourhood, and it is possible that he learned Italian in much the same way as French, i.e. from native speakers within the local community. In 1841 this was good enough for W.B. Bayley (1782–1860), Chairman of the East India Company Court of Directors, to remark that he had always thought Masson was a Frenchman from the manner in which he wrote French and Italian (E161/VI: C. Brownlow to Masson 7 April 1841). He certainly had a flair for languages, later learning to speak Hindustani and Persian. He also acquired some Pashto, although not enough when initially travelling alone through certain Pathan territories to escape 'notice, inquiry, ridicule and insult' (Masson 1842, I, p. 310). But by 1834, he knew enough to follow the discussion of some men – who presumed he couldn't understand Pashto – openly planning to rob him, and was able to take evasive action (1842, III, pp. 244–5).

According to Eastwick again, a quarrel with his father spurred Masson into enlisting as an infantryman in the army of the British East India Company on 5 October 1821 (Meyer and Brysac 2001, p. 73; IOR.L/MIL/9/85–106 Embarkation Lists, vol. 17, 1821–2, p. 182). He sailed for Bengal on the *Duchess of Atholl* on 17 January 1822 and served in the Third Troop of the First Brigade, Bengal European Artillery, from 6 July that year until 4 July 1827 (IOR.L/MIL/10/143–8 Bengal Army Muster Rolls, 1822–7). According to Whitteridge (1986, p. 2), 'it was not unusual for men of some education to enlist in the Company's artillery in view of the relatively good pay and the excellent prospects of promotion to clerical appointments'. During his service Masson was employed by Major-General Hardwicke, the Commandant, in arranging and depicting zoological specimens for publication (Gray 1832–4).

The 1820s saw little military action in India, apart from at Bharatpur in Rajasthan. As an artilleryman at the siege of this massive fortress (7 January–18 June 1826), Masson would have been employed in the slow, hard work of digging defensive parapets to protect the 130 heavy guns and ammunition, steadily pushing forwards as new parallels were dug, until the breaching batteries were close enough for the successful storming of the fortress by East India Company troops.

On 4 July 1827, while the regiment was at Agra, Masson deserted. He leaves no hint of his reasons for doing so. Whitteridge remarks (1986, p. 4) that desertion at that time was not uncommon, particularly among the troops of the Bengal Artillery during and after the siege of Bharatpur. The impetuous side of Masson's nature – already exhibited by his enlisting in the first place – probably played a part, as much as his urge to travel and explore. Assuming the name



Figure 1 Map of Masson's travels in Iran and Iraq 1830



Figure 2 Map of Masson's travels in Afghanistan and Pakistan 1827-42

of Charles Masson, he travelled on foot with a fellow deserter, Richard Potter (alias John Brown), and for a short time with the American Dr Josiah Harlan, north-west across the Bikaner desert of Rajasthan, reaching Bahawalpur on the Sutlej River and safety from British jurisdiction in autumn 1827 (Whitteridge 1986, p. 3; see **Vol. II, Fig. 1**). It is at this point that his *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab* and knowledge about his life and achievements really begin, although actual dates initially still remain sketchy, and where given, appear to be deliberately a year out (Whitteridge 1986, pp. 5-6).

At Bahawalpur the two men parted, Potter turning north-east to follow the Indus into independent Sikh territory. Masson spent some time making excursions from Bahawalpur to Uch and further downstream, before crossing the Indus and continuing upriver to Dera Ghazi Khan where he spent Christmas 1827. He then followed the route – with several diversions – via Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu and Kohat, reaching Peshawar in June 1828 (Whitteridge 1986, p. 32). Here he seems to have remained for several months, noting that the change ‘from a life wandering to one of repose was not in itself disagreeable’ (Masson 1842, I, pp. 123-4, 145).

Before setting out to tackle the Khyber Pass route into Afghanistan with an anonymous Pathan companion, he was offered money and clothing, but refused both as he had already established through experience ‘I could do without the first, and as to the last, I had purposely abandoned what

I had, to save the Khyberis the trouble of taking them’ (Masson 1842, I, p. 146). However, contrary to expectations, he lost only his shawl and found that being a European was not a disadvantage, although he was expected to treat a number of medical complaints, from pimples to sword wounds (Masson 1842, I, pp. 150-62). When recognized as a European, it was assumed he was on official business: ‘Europeans were considered incomprehensible beings, and the inconveniences I bore from necessity ... my poverty, and my trudging alone, and on foot ... were imputed to choice or ingenuity’ (Masson 1842, I, pp. 2-5, 122). Elsewhere he was thought to be a ‘Mogal’, on account of his colouring, which had the benefit of his being treated with respect (1842, I, p. 385). According to *Hobson Jobson* (Yule and Burnell 1903, p. 570) the term ‘Mogul’/‘Mogal’ (i.e. Mughal) was applied – especially in the Punjab and North-West Frontier – to all foreign Muslims from countries to the west and north-west of India, except the Pathans. There was a further distinction between the Shia *Mughal Irānī* and the Sunni *Mughal Tūrānī* (Turk).

Once through the Khyber, Masson and his companion followed the Kabul River to Basawal, noting the caves and, a bit further on, a stupa at Chahar Deh (see **Figs 186, 231**; 1842, I, p. 169; III, p. 251). A chance meeting near the junction of the Kabul and ‘Kameh’ (i.e. Kunar) River with a friendly local tax collector, led to Masson staying in the neighbourhood for a week or more, gaining information that would prove useful several years later when he began his

archaeological surveys and excavations of the Buddhist sites in the region. At Jalalabad, he also met Nawab Jabar Khan, governor of the Ghilzai tribe between Jalalabad and Kabul, 'a popular chief ... notorious for his good feelings towards Europeans' (1842, I, p. 178). He later proved to be a steadfast supporter of Masson's archaeological activities.

For now the Nawab supplied a guide and a horse for the journey to Kabul, where Masson only stayed for a few days, as there was a cholera epidemic. His mention of the abundance of different fruit available in Kabul suggests that this was in the late summer or autumn of 1828. At Ghazni, his next destination, he met Dost Muhammad Khan (1824–39, 1842–63), the Amir or ruler of Kabul, for the first time, as well as Haji Khan, whom he later accompanied to Bamiyan (Masson 1842, I, pp. 237–44). From Ghazni, Masson then went to Qandahar, where he parted company with the Pathan who had travelled with him from Peshawar. He intended to go to Herat for the winter (1842, I, pp. 295–6). But setting out alone, he found it 'impossible to proceed' and returned to Qandahar after only 12 miles, having been stripped of 'every little article I carried with me'. The next part of his journey – undertaken in winter via the Khojak Pass to Quetta in Baluchistan – was initially also hazardous. Travelling alone in an attempt to catch up with a caravan ahead, he was attacked a number of times, noting that 'robbery, if a necessary evil, [was] a grievous one; but the disposition to [robbery with] violence was a new feature' (1842, I, p. 259).

From Quetta he travelled with a caravan through the Bolan Pass to Shikarpur on the Indus, then upriver to Uch, across the Sutlej River to Multan and on to Lahore. On reaching the city, he records he 'had lived very well on the road' and still had half a rupee from the two he had been given 360 miles/579.36km earlier in Multan (1842, I, p. 405). He spent the monsoon season (June–October 1829) living in 'a very different style' as the guest in the 'superb mansion' of General Allard, enjoying 'all the luxuries of a refined taste' and the company of the European officers in the service of Ranjit Singh. He then retraced his steps back to the Indus, exploring en route the mounds of Harappa, beside the Ravi River, mistaking this c. 2500–2000 BC site for Sangala, the capital of Porus, who was defeated by Alexander the Great in 326 BC (Masson 1842, I, pp. 452–4; Possehl 1990, p. 111). He spent the winter at Hyderabad, before sailing downriver to Tatta and walking on alone to Karachi (1842, I, pp. 467–70).

Around May 1830, he sailed to Muscat, in the Gulf of Oman, then boarded an Arab dhow to 'Kism' (Qeshm Island) at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, where the East India Company had a station at Basaidu. He was given a lift on a passing Company cruiser to Bushire, arriving on 13 June (Whitteridge 1986, pp. 44–7; Masson 1842, II, pp. 1–2). In order to disguise the fact he was a deserter from the Company's army, he pretended to be an American from Kentucky who had spent ten years travelling from the United States through Europe and Russia to Afghanistan and Iran. Still, it is odd that he deliberately sought the company of his fellow countrymen again in this way. Perhaps it was to test safely – i.e. beyond British jurisdiction – whether such a disguise could be successfully perpetrated.

In Bushire he was befriended especially by David Wilson, the British Resident, with whom he stayed for 'three or four months' (July–October 1830). He was persuaded to write a detailed account of his journeys through Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Punjab, which Wilson forwarded on 11 September 1830 to Sir John Malcolm, Governor of the Bombay branch of the EIC (**E/4/1057** *Bombay Dispatches* 1834, p. 790; Masson 1840; 1842, II, p. 2).

From Bushire, Masson took two months to reach Tabriz (November–December 1830), where he stayed a further two months at the British Residency and got to know the newly appointed British Envoy to Persia, John Campbell (1799–1870) and two other members of the mission, John McNeill (1795–1883) and Captain R.D.H. Macdonald. In all this time, his assumed American nationality never appears to have been questioned. Apart from 'the hazard of acquiring a distaste for the rough pleasures of a rude and rambling life', Masson also acquired a patron in John Campbell, who provided funds for him to begin antiquarian research in Afghanistan (1842, II, p. 3). He acknowledged 'if my subsequent labours have proved advantageous to science, it was owing to [Campbell's] generosity that I was placed in the position to prosecute them'. Masson's letter of thanks, dated 6 July 1834, for the receipt of two payments of Rs 500, shows that Campbell continued to subsidize him for more than three years (Whitteridge 1986, p. 47; E161/VII: Masson to Sir John Campbell, 6 July 1834).

In March 1831, MacDonald and Masson went to Baghdad, where they were joined by Captain Frank G. Willock, and together took a boat down the Tigris River to Basra, then via 'Karak' (Kargh Island) back to Bushire. In April, he and Willock sailed to Muscat where they parted, Masson going by dhow back to Karachi. As Whitteridge remarks (1986, p. 47), over a period of 10 months or more, he 'had hobnobbed with a number of British army officers and Company officials without betraying his origins and had established the story of his U.S. citizenship: altogether a remarkable achievement for a ranker and a deserter'.

His arrival at Karachi coincided with that of Alexander Burnes (1805–41), who was seeking permission to travel up the Indus with the British East India Company's gift of two shire horses for Ranjit Singh. The covert intention of Burnes' mission was to assess the navigable potential of the river for the Company; that of the Amirs of Sind was to deny foreigners' access to it. As another 'foreigner' Masson was refused permission to land and went to Ormara on the Makran coast, intending to join a caravan to Qalat in Baluchistan. When there was none, he sailed back to Sonmiani, to the north of Karachi. Here he was invited to travel with a group of Afghan merchants to Qalat, where he remained until autumn. Ill-health and a lack of any caravans to Qandahar prevented him from continuing his journey as originally planned, so he returned to Sonmiani for the winter of 1831. 'In the process of time, many merchants, and others, arrived from Bombay and Sind', and a caravan was formed, bound for Qalat, Qandahar and Kabul (Masson 1842, II, p. 165). From Qalat, Masson joined the group taking the route across the Shorawak plain to the west of Quetta to Qandahar, then on to Ghazni, reaching Kabul in early June 1832, where he settled in the Armenian quarter.

He just missed meeting three other Europeans who had been in the city a few days earlier. In May, the missionary Joseph Wolff had reached Kabul penniless and naked, having been stripped of everything near Qunduz: he was rescued and clothed by Alexander Burnes and Dr James G. Gerard (1795–1835), who were en route for Bukhara (Keay 1977, pp. 69–70). The last two men would play a significant role in Masson's future.

In Kabul, Masson renewed his acquaintance with Haji Khan, the newly appointed tax collector for the Behsud (the major Hazara tribe of central Afghanistan), who was given the additional task of settling affairs in neighbouring Bamiyan, then 'in a precarious state of allegiance' to the Amir of Kabul, Dost Muhammad (1842, II, pp. 312–23). Masson inadvertently got caught up in the resulting power struggle when he innocently accepted an invitation to accompany the khan's troops. He later confessed to being 'perfectly unacquainted with the Khan's political views and ideas, and [having had] no other object than of examining, under favourable circumstances, the antiquities of Bamiyan' (see pp. 59–65 below). His actual stay at Bamiyan was so brief that he 'could do little more than visit and examine the antiquities, with the view to ascertaining what they were' (1842, II, pp. 382–3), before he had to accompany Haji Khan's troops in their campaign in the Saighan district of the province. When they returned to Bamiyan, 'one of the most intense winters remembered' prevented further research (**G42 f. 32**):

But this was not the worst. ... So unsettled a period was not that in which any researches could be conducted, and to crown my misfortunes I had no paper – the stock I had brought with me from Kabul was exhausted in the Hazarajat, chiefly in enabling the soldiers of the camp to write to their friends, [and] a fresh supply I had sent for from Kabul never reached me, our communications with that city having been closed, in the general way, by snow. From Haji Khan's Secretary, who was much in the same dilemma as myself with respect to paper, I obtained as a great favour a single sheet, which I was obliged to employ with care, and only on such objects as seemed to me the most deserving. It was most wretched paper, but I was obliged both to make it serve and be thankful for it.

He finally made it back to Kabul on Christmas Day 1832. He did not regret the failure much at the time, supposing he would have another opportunity to visit Bamiyan at a future date, but this unfortunately never happened.

Throughout his travels up to this point, it is clear Masson survived through the kindness of strangers, who frequently became friends. In Rajasthan, before ever reaching Baluchistan in 1827, he was 'everywhere civilly received and kindly treated' and this was generally the norm. In addition to free board and lodging, he was often given money, clothing and provided with a mount (usually a camel, occasionally a horse and, on the journey from Kohat to Peshawar, an elephant). In one instance, both the camel and its driver set off under the 'exhilaration' of opium: 'the animal became very wild for a time, and ran here and there, little troubling itself about the path. ... My friend as the animal capered about did not fail to encourage me, by telling me to keep a *vadda dil* [big heart] and hold on' (1842, II, pp. 159–60).

In the best circumstances, someone would be deputed by Masson's host to accompany him to his next destination and provide the necessary introductions. Otherwise, if possible, he joined a merchant caravan, which often travelled by night to avoid the heat and also probably to escape attack as well as some of the taxes on merchandise, although one night opportunist robbers 'darted on the hindmost pedestrians of the *kâfila* ... to snatch anything that fell on their way' (Masson 1842, II, p. 171). Normally the duty paid was limited to food, such as a few handfuls of raisins or bunches of grapes, but was demanded by everyone en route, depleting stocks.

In his early penurious years of travelling, Masson was not always able to keep up with the long marches on foot, either from severe blisters or dysentery (1842, I, pp. 106, 341; II, pp. 95, 112). During the boat journey from Muscat to Karachi, the cold weather caused an attack of lock-jaw – not tetanus, but trismus, a temporary condition with similar symptoms – which was subsequently liable to recur (1842, II, pp. 4–5). Similarly, after being robbed of everything except a ragged pair of pyjamas and his shoes – 'being either too large or too small for their several feet' – exposure overnight to 'the heat of the fire in front, and the intensity of the cold behind' left him with what appears to have been a recurring form of rheumatoid arthritis (1842, I, pp. 302, 306–9, 316–17). He also suffered intermittently from malaria – but no longer destitute after his return from Iran with funds from Campbell in 1831 – carried quinine so was able to treat it effectively (1842, I, pp. 8, 16, 456–7; II, p. 93).

Whitteridge remarks that Masson accepted austerity so readily 'it is difficult to imagine that he had ever been prone to excess. He seems to have been indifferent to alcohol; indeed he became a connoisseur of water' (1986, p. 4). In his early travels he also became a connoisseur of fruit, especially mulberries. But he was not indifferent to alcohol, except when it was undrinkable (1842, III, pp. 252, 282; 1843, IV, p. 223). Indeed, in a scrap notebook among his private papers dating from his later years in England, there are weekly calculations headed 'Expenses should have been' and 'were' (the unsuccessful reality). A separate 'Avoidable' list includes basic items like eels, sausages, washing and train fares, but also routinely gin at 1 shilling and 8 pence, and more occasionally, beer at sixpence, and wine at 9 shillings or 4 shillings and 3 pence (F526/2a, ff. 14–17). Henry Rawlinson also mentions finding Masson 'in a wretched hovel' in Karachi, after his wrongful imprisonment in Quetta, 'nearly naked and half drunk ... having dined on a bottle of wine [while sitting up writing the previous night] and risen at daylight, with the fumes still in his head' (Dalrymple 2013, p. 471). It seems rather than being abstemious, he readily adjusted to the reduced or other circumstances in which he found himself. He was also extremely reserved about his private life, a reticence that included any personal relationships, judging from his silence regarding his subsequent marriage and family.

Masson noted with approval that 'Afghans are not particular as to trifles and ... I was just as well received in rags as I should have been had I been more sumptuously arrayed' (1842, I, p. 178). He also mentions in passing a man who 'was wont to walk naked about Qalat; and what in some

countries would have been deemed a proof of insanity, was here judged undeniable evidence of sanctity and wisdom' (1842, II, p. 111). He cared little for his own appearance, giving away on request his old worsted socks and 'lūnghī' – a sarong which he used as a head covering – but was devastated when a book was stolen (1842, II, pp. 123, 162–3; I, pp. 185–6). After his return from Iran, he had so many books, the Baluchis considered that 'if I lived among them I should be revered as a holia, or saint' (1842, II, p. 161). These included the 19th-century medical best-seller, Andrew Duncan's *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, originally published in 1803, reaching a tenth reprint by 1822. This was an essential possession, for as a 'feringhi'/foreigner, he was expected to know how to treat a variety of ailments, not just his own. He seldom travelled with a weapon and considered that 'the solitary traveller is much better without one', thereby gaining the advantage of being able to pass 'without much notice' (Masson 1842, I, p. 469). He did, however, carry a stout stick for a time, 'a present from Captain Willock [which was] a sprig from a tree at Waterloo' (1842, II, p. 59). He also had a camera lucida which he mentions utilizing for portraits (Masson 1842, II, p. 18), and – judging by the accuracy of their execution – also used for sketching views of towns and the Buddhist sites. This is confirmed by his remark in a letter to Gerard, dated 23 March 1834, that 'I have also taken sketches of all [the Darunta stupas], at a certain measured distance, and used a camera lucida, that their comparative dimensions in the sketches might be exactly preserved' (Masson 1834b, p. 331).

At the end of December 1832, a few days after Masson's return from Bamiyan, he received a visit from Karamat 'Ali, the self-styled 'agent of the Supreme Government of India' or 'news-writer' for the British in Kabul (1842, III, pp. 1–4). Karamat 'Ali immediately alerted Claude Wade (1794–1861), the British Political Agent at Ludhiana, to the presence of an 'Englishman by name Masson', who 'understood Persian, had with him two or three books in a foreign character, a compass, a map and an astrolabe. He was shabbily dressed and he had no servant, horse nor mule to carry his baggage' (Whitteridge 1986, p. 61). It is not clear whether Masson had abandoned masquerading as an American by this time, or if the news-writer was remarkably perceptive, or simply did not differentiate between Englishmen and Americans. Certainly, the Company officials in Bombay still believed Masson to be American in December 1833 (**No. 1755**). An uncredited source at this time further described him as having 'grey eyes, red beard, with the hair of his head close cut. He had no stockings or shoes, a green cap on his head, and a *faqir* or dervish drinking cup slung over his shoulder' (Grey 1929, p. 188). This is the only description of his physical appearance; there is no portrait.

Masson was fairly circumspect in starting to investigate the archaeological sites (1842, III, pp. 92–3, 96–7). After a year of living in Afghanistan 'in perfect security' (i.e. since June 1832), he was

emboldened to essay whether objections would be made to the examination of some of the numerous artificial mounds on the skirts or the hills. I was unable to direct my attention to the massive topes, where considerable expense was required; still, the inferior indications of olden time might repay the labour

bestowed upon them, and by testing the feeling which my excavations created I might smooth the way for a time when I should be in condition to undertake the superior monuments. Without asking permission of any one, I commenced an operation upon a mound at the skirt of the hill Koh Takht-i Shah. ... My researches became the subject of conversation in the city, and the son of Akhund Iddaituh having sold the gold leaf he had scraped from the images to a goldsmith, for something less, I believe, than a rupee, my friends prayed me to desist from such labours in the future, ... urging that I should probably get into trouble. I smiled as I essayed ... to point out that little notice would be taken of me so long as broken idols were the fruits of my proceedings.

He was right in thinking that if he 'acted openly and fairly' he should be 'fairly dealt with'. His investigations met with the approval of Muhammad Akbar Khan, one of the sons of Dost Muhammad, who was 'enraptured' by the beauty of two clay heads recovered from Takht-i Shah (see **Figs 41–2**; pp. 68–9 below), and countered accusations of treasure-seeking with the assertion that Masson's only purpose was to advance science. As governor of Kohistan and Ghorband, he also issued orders for local maliks and chiefs of these districts to assist Masson in any research he might undertake.

After his 'pedestrian excursions within a circuit of six miles' (9.65km) around Kabul, by June 1833 Masson felt secure enough to extend the range of his explorations northwards to the Koh-i Daman and Kohistan, as far as Charikar (1842, III, pp. 98–9), with the intention

not so much to examine deeply into the state and antiquities of the districts as to feel my way, and to become acquainted. To a stranger ... travelling without tent or retinue, there is difficulty in procuring a house to pass the night in [while] to pass the night without is neither safe nor seemly. I had succeeded in forming acquaintances at all the stage villages between Kabul and Charikar ... on all the several roads leading between them, and was certain whenever I dropped in at any of them to be received with civility.

On his first visit to Topdara, near Charikar, he simply sketched the stupa and took a few bearings from a hill overlooking the plain, his compass creating 'no small astonishment; I however soon made them familiar with it, and indulged them by looking through it, after I had fixed the hair-line on an object. In this way they became useful as well as pleased, and told me the names of places that I did not know' (see **Fig. 73**, pp. 83–4; 1842, III, pp. 135–6).

A primary object of his 'rambles' in Kohistan was 'to ascertain if any vestiges existed which I might venture to refer to Alexandria ad Caucasum, the site of which, I felt assured, ought to be looked for at the skirts of the Hindu Kush in this quarter' (1842, III, p. 140). It took several visits to gain local trust that – contrary to rumours – he was not going to use forced labour 'to scour the plain in search of antique relics', but was willing to pay for finds, and he was finally taken to see the site of Begram and shown coins and other finds collected from its vicinity. Even so, it was a long time before he 'became fully master of the plain' (1842, III, pp. 142–3).

When Masson returned to Kabul after his first excursion to Begram he found a new European visitor had arrived on 28 June from Lahore: Dr John Martin Honigberger

(c. 1795–1868), who Masson usually refers to as ‘Mr Martine’. The Transylvanian doctor had just completed four years as Ranjit Singh’s personal physician and distiller of alcohol, but ‘affected by nostalgia’, was travelling overland to Europe via Afghanistan, north-westwards through Balkh, Bukhara, Orenburg and Russia (Honigberger 1834 and 1852, p. 56; Grey 1929, pp. 231–9). Prior to setting out on his travels, he had also evidently been recruited to report on Afghanistan by Claude Wade, who had an extensive network of unofficial correspondents. In a letter to the Political Agent at Ludhiana, Honigberger says (1834, pp. 177–8):

There is a European here by name Masson ... [who] has lately come to Kabul; ... he resided some time in Bamiyan where he amused himself in making excavations, and has succeeded in finding several idols [a slight understatement since the colossal Buddhas were impossible to miss]. At Kabul he has been engaged in the same kind of pursuit, and has been rewarded here also by his discovery of several idols quite entire. Among his discoveries [at Takht-i Shah] is an inscription on a piece of paper made of the leaf of a tree [birch bark], but which unhappily is so worm-eaten and injured by the lapse of time as not to be legible.

In autumn Gerard arrived in Kabul on his way back to India from Bukhara, and also became interested in the excavation of the Buddhist stupas, an activity largely initiated by Honigberger under the protection of Nawab Jabar Khan. Honigberger was probably motivated by the success of Jean-Baptiste Ventura (1795–1858), an Italian officer also in the service of Ranjit Singh at Lahore. Adopting the methods of his compatriot Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1823) in Egypt, in 1830 Ventura had dug a vertical shaft through the centre of the Great Stupa at Manikyala in the Punjab, uncovering a series of relic deposits in the process (Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 211–13, fig.177).

Honigberger apparently excavated 20 stupas altogether in the neighbourhoods of Kabul and Jalalabad (**BM OP 21-8-1835**; pp. 71–7, 86–8, 111–13, 116–18, 132–3 below). Masson remarked that had not Honigberger ‘precipitately retired’ back to Kabul, due to ‘apprehensions ... excited by certain rumours’ of a possible outbreak of hostilities between Dost Muhammad and his brother Sultan Muhammad Khan, sirdar of Peshawar, ‘it is possible little would have remained for my ultimate examination’ (1842, III, p. 172). In early December, Honigberger joined a caravan to Bukhara, the next stage of his journey to Europe, having first sent all his stupa finds to Allard in Lahore, who was returning to France by sea.

By the beginning of the winter of 1833, Masson had accumulated 1865 copper coins from Begram, ‘besides a few silver ones, many rings, signets, and other relics’ (1842, III, p. 148). Encouraged by this, towards the end of 1833 he submitted a proposal to the East India Company authorities in Bombay for funding to explore the ancient sites further. This he sent via Henry Pottinger (1789–1856), the British Resident at Kutch (1827–38) and later Sind (1838–9), who became a steadfast and trusted liaison officer between Masson and Bombay. Gerard, in the meantime, advanced Rs 1000 for Masson to continue his research (**P/387/71 no. 2 / E161/VII f. 5**: Masson to Pottinger, 6 July 1834). On 28

November Masson also sent, care of Gerard, his first ‘Memoir’ on the coins from Begram, with six plates of coin drawings, for publication in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Masson 1834a, pp. 152–75).

On his return to Calcutta, Gerard read Masson’s article at the April 1834 meeting of the Asiatic Society. At the same meeting, he submitted his own ‘Memoir on the topes of Afghanistan’ and also proposed that the Society should employ Masson ‘to continue the prosecution of his researches in Afghanistan’ and ‘secure by purchase the possession of the valuable relics he has already collected’ (Gerard 1834a, p. 195). The proposal was referred to the Society’s committee for consideration.

However, Henry Pottinger had already forwarded Masson’s request for funding to Bombay, introducing him as (**E161/I f. 3**, Pottinger to Norris, 27 November 1833)

an American gentleman I believe, who is perhaps not unknown by name to the Right Honourable and Governor in Council, and who has been residing in Afghanistan and the regions to the westwards of the Indies for some years past.

The subject of Mr Masson’s communication is, I am aware, much more of an antiquarian than a political nature, but I nevertheless deem it proper to submit his proposals for the consideration of His Lordship in Council, as it appears to me to be well worthy of the British Government in India to extend its patronage to researches which may throw much light on the antiquities and history of a very interesting portion of Asia.

I have no personal acquaintance with Mr Masson, but I heard of him in Sind (where he had been some years ago) as a gentleman who was well versed in the language of the East, and of mild and conciliatory manner, so that I should think his success in the project he has in view would be certain, were he furnished with the pecuniary means of carrying on his operations.

I have had much pleasure in sending to Mr Masson from my own private resources, the sum of three hundred rupees to meet his personal expenses; he has been disappointed of remittance he expected from Muscat [probably from John Campbell], and should His Lordship in Council feel disposed to countenance his plans, I beg to recommend, that I may be allowed to furnish him, as he may require them, with funds to the extent of fifteen (1500) hundred Bombay rupees.

In reply, the Chief Secretary gave Pottinger the authority on behalf of the Bombay Government (**No. 1755**: Norris to Pottinger, 17 December 1833)

to furnish Mr Masson with funds, not exceeding 1500 [rupees] to enable him to continue his interesting researches, the result of which you will be pleased to communicate to government, and His Lordship in Council further authorizes you to take charge of any articles sent to you by that gentleman.

Pottinger duly forwarded the first payment of 500 Kabul rupees to Masson on 31 December 1833 (**E161/I f. 3**, Pottinger to Masson, no. 498). The Bombay Government ultimately provided Masson with annual funding for archaeological research until 1838, in return for all the finds, which were sent principally to the Company’s India Museum in London.

In November 1833, Masson had moved for the winter to Jalalabad, where he used the Nawab Jabar Khan’s castle at Tatang as a base to explore the surrounding area (1842, III,

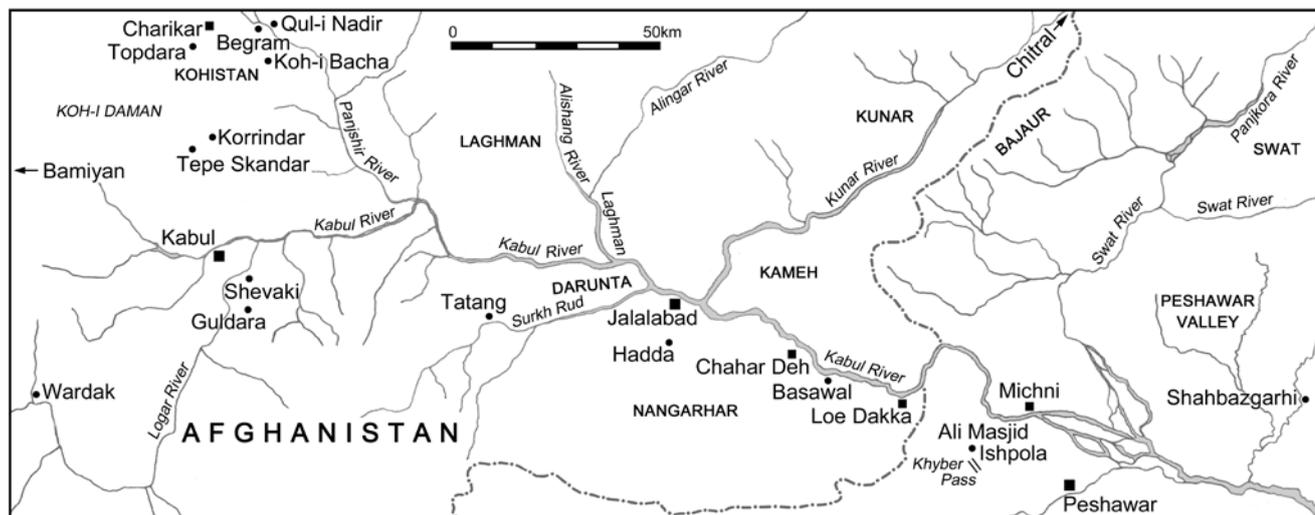


Figure 3 Map of areas explored by Masson

pp. 173–4, 189–95). He soon directed his attention to the stupas of the Darunta district, between Tatang and the Kabul River (1842, III, p. 218), beginning with an ‘excursion’ to Bimaran on 29 January 1834 (**E163 section 16, f. 55**; Masson 1834b, p. 329). In a letter to Pottinger, dated 23 April 1834 from Peshawar (**P/387/71 no. 1 / E161/VII f. 1, f. 2**), he says that ‘I followed up the researches of M. Martine, and I am grateful to relate with success, eight topes and two other monuments were opened under my inspection – from eight of these results were procured satisfactory as to their purpose and origin – one yielded an ambiguous evidence, and the other produced nothing’. The appended list of finds identifies the excavated stupas as Bimaran 1, 2 and 5, Kotpur 2 and 3, Deh Rahman 1, Nandara 1, Gudara, Passani 1 and Passani tumulus 5 (pp. 88–129, 133–6 below).

His exploration was interrupted by a request, which he reluctantly accepted, to accompany Jabar Khan’s son, Abdul Ghias Khan – destined for education in Ludhiana – as far as Peshawar. On arrival, he found the Sikh army in the process of taking over the city, and camped nearby with their European generals, Ventura and Claude-Auguste Court (1793–1880; Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 8–9, 141–52, 212–13, figs 11–13, 124–37, 177). Peshawar had been ruled by Sultan Muhammad Shah, a brother of Dost Muhammad, but in 1833 Shah Shuja, the exiled former ruler of Afghanistan had sold the city to Ranjit Singh in return for military support in what proved to be an abortive attempt to reclaim his throne, and instead favoured Sikh territorial expansion into this region (Yapp 1980, pp. 224–7; Dalrymple 2013, pp. 66–73).

In a letter to Pottinger on 30 September 1834 (**no. 4**, incorrectly dated 1835 on copy: **E161/VII f. 6**), Masson says further that

I had taken the relics [from the Darunta sites listed above] to Peshawar, not for sale to anyone, but for transmission to Dr Gerard [in return for his advance of Rs 1000]. ... The French Officers, particularly M. Ventura and M. Court ... himself an antiquarian ... with the advantages that affluence confers, were conducting their operations on a very magnificent scale, and purchasing coins at very extraordinary prices. They had cleared Peshawar of copper medals at the rate of 4 and 2 for a rupee. I could have sold to them some 2000 coins at that time in

my possession at these rates, but I was not a native of Peshawar without a conscience, but a European with one, and would scarcely have reconciled myself to selling even to Frenchmen two coins for a rupee, which I had purchased for 2 pice.

A clue to the reason for this uncharacteristically overt display of nationalism is given in the introductory sentence: ‘Captain Wade was aware of [the incident], being in continual correspondence with the French Officers, while moreover he would hear of it from the attendants of Abdul Ghias Khan’. Gerard in a letter to Masson dated 22 April 1834, refers sardonically to Wade as ‘His Political Highness’, who ‘is very ready to improve upon suggestions or follow up the footsteps of others in objects of which he had before been wholly oblivious ... he cares little for such researches as yours except it be to oppose another’s pursuits in rivalry’ (**E161/VII f. 6**). It seems from these remarks that the seeds for distrusting Wade had already been sown.

In the event, Masson took his finds back to Afghanistan rather than forwarding them to Gerard. On the way back from Peshawar, he did not go through the Khyber Pass, but took the ‘Abkhana’ route north-west via Michni, crossing the Kabul River on a raft of inflated animal skins, westwards through the Shilman valley, to Loe Dakka and on to Basawal and Jalalabad (**Fig. 3**; 1842, III, pp. 234–48). He did not see any signs of stupas along this route, except at Chahar Deh, north-west of Basawal, which he ‘never had an opportunity to examine’ (1842, III, p. 251).

Using the castle belonging to Naib Yar Muhammad as his headquarters, he resumed his archaeological explorations at Darunta, excavating the large Passani tumulus 7, before moving to Chahar Bagh, on the plain to the south, where he excavated seven stupas: four contained relic deposits; three ‘merely bones without more decisive results’ (**P/387/71 no. 2**, Masson to Pottinger, 6 July 1834; pp. 141–52 below). On 25 June he went to Hadda, ‘where I had been informed there was one tope. I found however many and a vast number of mounds and tumuli’. In his ‘Note of Expenses’ of 6 July for this site, he lists eight excavated stupas, and six ‘in hand’ which kept him occupied until 20 July, when he was forced to quit operations ‘owing to the agitated state of the country’ (**P/387/71 no. 4**, 20 September 1834; pp. 162–98 below).

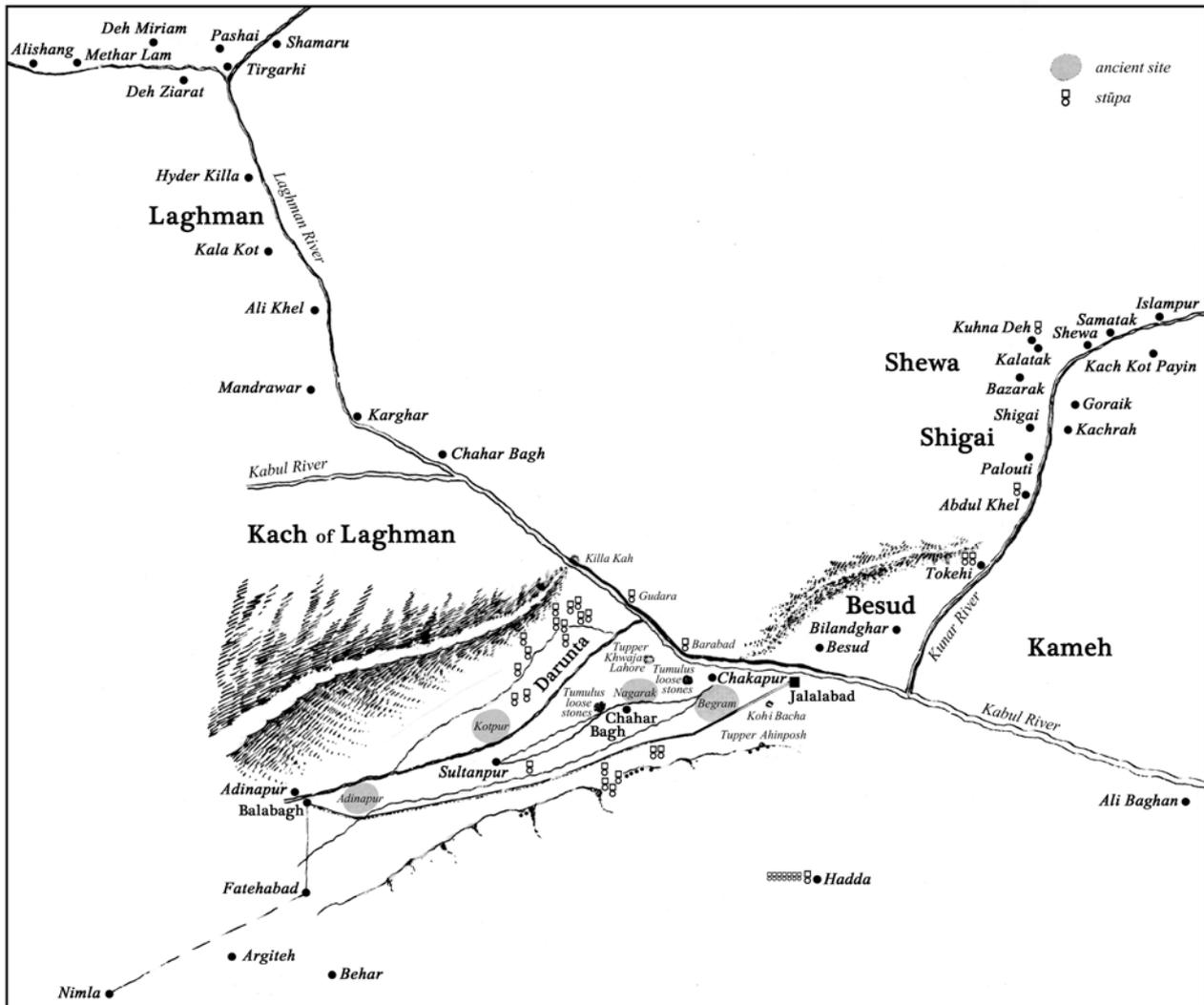


Figure 4 G41 f. 27: Masson's map of surveys along the Kunar and Laghman rivers

In his letter of 20 September to Pottinger (**P/387/71 no. 4**), he further says that

I have still several objects remaining at Jalalabad but I left it about a month since for Kabul, having nearly been laid up by the heat of the weather there. On arrival here, I operated on a tope at a spot called Guldara [pp. 77–81 below] which had been previously opened, but as I conceived, injudiciously by M. Martine [Honigberger]. I rejoice to say that eight fine gold medals [coins] were extracted, seven of the King [Wima] Kadphises, the eighth, of a prince of the same family [Huvishka]. From thence I went to the Kohistan of Kabul and there I placed workmen on two topes, one at a spot called Topdara, the other at the plain of Begram [Koh-i Bacha], the latter is a dangerous site, but I trust my precautions for the safety of my labourers will be effectual. These two topes are now in progress [pp. 82–4 below]; there are two others in the rebellious district of Nijrow in the Kohistan which I shall do my best to open.

On 11 December 1834 (**P/387/71 no. 6 / E161/VII f. 15**), Masson wrote from Kabul 'Since my last letter [in September] I have been prevented by circumstances from operating on two or three topes in the Kohistan, disturbances having arisen there. ... The coins collected at Begram this year, amount to 2120, but the season was an unfavourable one. Seven golden, 165 silver and 453 copper coins have been procured from the bazaar at Kabul'. With

the letter was a 'Memorandum' of the contents of three packages 'of relics, coins &co.' and several larger items (clay and stucco heads: see **Figs 41–2, 270**; an inscribed earthenware pot, a metal lamp and stand), sent the same day to Pottinger, via Wade at Ludhiana, for the Bombay Government (**E161/VII f. 16–f. 22**).

In March 1835, Masson set out for Jalalabad again, having been invited to accompany Nawab Jabar Khan to Bajaur (as part of an Afghan campaign to recapture Peshawar from the Sikhs). This offered an ideal opportunity 'to examine the country and its neighbourhood' (1842, III, p. 320). His brief diary for 1835 lists being at Bimaran on 13 March and 9 May, at Chahar Deh on 11 April, at Hadda 12–29 April, and on 30 April at Darunta again (**E164 1835**). His time was presumably spent sketching the sites and taking measurements and compass readings. Judging from the finds he sent from Kabul on 18 October 1836, he did not undertake any excavations during this visit, for the package only contained 'heads of idols &co.' from 'Tupper Momand' (Hadda stupa 8a), a 'Boot Khanu' [idol house] which had been 'accidentally opened' by villagers some years before (see **Fig. 269; E164 f. 123; E161/VII f. 27**).

While Masson was happily pursuing his 'antiquarian researches', Wade had – since Karamat 'Ali first alerted him in early 1833 – been gathering evidence that revealed his

true identity as James Lewis (Whitteridge, 1986, pp. 101–2; *Bengal Secret Consultations*, 19 June 1834, vol. 380: Wade to Macnaghten, 9 April 1834). In fact, on arrival at Tatang in March 1835, Masson received a letter from Wade ‘informing me that the government, at his recommendation, had been pleased to appoint me their agent for communicating intelligence in these quarters’, on a salary of Rs 250 a month, anticipating that ‘the result of your employment will be alike useful to government and honourable to yourself’ (1842, III, p. 321). Masson remarked sourly ‘I might have supposed it would have been only fair and courteous to have consulted my wishes and views before conferring an appointment which compromised me with the equivocal politics of the country, and threw a suspicion over my proceedings, which did not before attach to them’.

An immediate casualty was his proposed trip to Bajaur with Jabar Khan, who was initially as offended as Masson himself by the news of the unexpected appointment. It also meant Masson no longer had the freedom to pursue his archaeological investigations. Instead, he was forced to delegate excavation of the Wardak stupas, with the result that there is no record of the sites, only a cryptic list of the finds (**Er61/VII f. 27**; Masson 1841, p. 117; pp. 200–11 below). The collections of coins from Begram, however, were uninterrupted. According to Masson’s estimates these were *c.* 3,000 or 4,000 copper coins and ‘a bag of silver coins and fragments’ in 1836; which vastly increased to 52,834 copper and 3,084 (mostly ‘minute’) silver coins in 1837, up until 24 June 1838 (**Er61/IV f. 27, f. 31–f. 33**).

The ‘honourable’ carrot hinted at by Wade was the offer of a pardon for desertion. Masson seems to have thought he could continue to report unofficially on Afghan affairs and not realized, or conveniently forgotten, that the offer of an amnesty was conditional to his accepting the political appointment (Whitteridge 1986, p. 106). In January 1835, Lord Ellenborough, Governor General of India, had written to William IV, recommending a royal pardon for ‘James Lewis a deserter from the Bengal Horse Artillery’ who ‘has assumed the name of Charles Masson’ (National Archives Kew: **PRO 30/12/29/1 no. 54, no. 69**):

He is possessed of much science and ability. He has acquired and communicated much useful information respecting the condition of the People and Territories bordering on the Indus, and is now engaged in prosecuting his enquiries more of a Scientific than a Political nature to the north of the Hindu Kush. The Governor General has deemed it expedient to allow of his being assisted by the Political Agent at Ludhiana to the extent of a thousand Rupees a year. ... This person, whose private character appears to be unimpeached, except as regards the crime of desertion ... seems disposed to atone as far as he can for that crime by useful contributions to the ancient history and to our present knowledge of the nations in the vicinity of the Indus.

Pottinger and John McNeill (then secretary of the Tehran mission) both actively supported Masson’s reinstatement, while Sir John Campbell wrote pragmatically from Tehran to William Mcnaghten (1793–1841), political secretary to the Governor General, that ‘it is of little consequence who or what Mr Masson actually is or has been, so long as ... our museums are furnished with materials in which they are

now deficient’ (Whitteridge 1986, pp. 101, 104). In August 1835, Wade notified Masson that ‘A dispatch has been received from the Honourable Court of Directors dated 9 February last, forwarding a warrant of your free pardon which is now in the hands of the supreme government. The warrant is granted by his majesty to you as James Lewis and ... I sincerely congratulate you on an affair, the happiness of which must have been a subject of anxious interest to you’ (**Er61/II**, Letter no. 13).

Masson remained the British ‘news-writer’ in Kabul for over two years, although he resigned temporarily at the end of 1835. This was as a result of Wade’s underhand – but ultimately unsuccessful – bid to sever Masson’s connection with the Bombay Government via Pottinger and to become himself the sole channel of both antiquarian and political communications with the Supreme Government of India in Calcutta (Whitteridge 1986, pp. 109–11). After Calcutta decreed that the status quo remain unchanged, Masson resumed his duties in the spring of 1836 (1842, III, p. 376).

An important additional factor restricting Masson’s freedom of movement and archaeological explorations was the increasingly unsettled state of the region between the Sikhs, and the two Afghan clans of the Barakzays (Dost Muhammad and his brothers) and Sardozays (Shah Shuja). This was complicated by divisions between the Barakzays following their loss of Peshawar to the Sikhs and the unsuccessful attempt by Shah Shuja to reclaim the Afghan throne. In 1834 and 1835 Dost Muhammad had appealed for British mediation in the Peshawar dispute. This was refused. Instead, tacit British support for the Sardozay claim and Sikh aspirations continued.

The power struggle over Peshawar and between Dost Muhammad and his brothers escalated in 1836–7, with Sikh attempts at suppression of frontier tribal and religious disturbances leading to a second confrontation with the Afghans at the battle of Jamrud on 30 April 1837. The situation was confounded by shifting British policies regarding the creation of a buffer state – initially in Iran, latterly in Afghanistan – against a perceived Russian threat of expansion into the Turkestan khanate of Khiva and Bukhara (Yapp 1980, pp. 224–7; Whitteridge 1986, pp. 112–14).

Also by this period, the imminent death of Ranjit Singh, followed by the disintegration of the Sikh Empire and British annexation of the Punjab, was already anticipated by Government of India officials. This consideration was seen in conjunction with the continued deterioration of the British relationship with Iran, and led to Afghanistan again being proposed as a potentially suitable sphere of British influence, by men who had poor knowledge of the country or its political state. Initial implementation of this policy was a commercial mission to Afghanistan under Alexander Burnes, which arrived in Kabul on 30 September 1837. Its ostensible aims were – like Burnes’ previous mission of 1832 – to ‘open up the Indus’ and establish trade links with Central Asia. However, its political objectives soon became apparent, partly due to the conflicting ambitions of Burnes and Wade (Yapp 1980, pp. 207, 227). Masson was made subject to Burnes’ orders and his direct contact with Wade was suspended (Whitteridge 1986, p. 126).

The key question was whether to support Dost Muhammad or replace him with Shah Shuja in an attempt to unite Afghanistan under a single, pro-British ruler. Acting on his own initiative, Burnes exceeded his instructions, seeing 'his task as the establishment of British influence in Central Asia', and using Kabul as a springboard for interference in northern Afghanistan, Herat and Qandahar (Whitteridge 1986, pp. 126–30). When the British authorities rejected Burnes' proposals in early 1838, he retired to Peshawar (Yapp 1980, pp. 224–40). His mismanagement of the situation, instead of improving Anglo-Afghan relations, resulted in Dost Muhammad's treaty with the Russian envoy in April 1838.

A disillusioned Masson went with Burnes to Peshawar. On 1 October, the Simla Manifesto announced the British invasion of Afghanistan in support of Shah Shuja. William Macnaghten, the former head of the Secret and Political Department (1833–7) and now chief advisor to the Governor General, declined to offer Masson a new appointment in Kabul, so he resigned from government service (1842, III, pp. 492–4; Whitteridge 1986, pp. 136–7).

Before leaving, Masson spent five days at Shahbazarhi in the Peshawar Valley, producing the first complete and accurate facsimile of its rock-cut Kharoshthi inscription. This was achieved not only by making written copies, but also by covering the rock surface with black ink and then taking impressions on cotton cloth, thus obtaining a reverse image of the engraved characters. He reports that the brother of Dost Muhammad Khan and erstwhile Governor of Peshawar (Masson 1846, pp. 294, 301)

Sirdar Saiad Muhammad Khan ... with his little army, was in the immediate vicinity of the place, and involved in hostilities with the people of the country ... we heard reports of cannons and small arms, which continued more or less sustained until afternoon, from which we inferred that Sirdar Saiad Muhammad and his opponents had met in mortal conflict. We did not on their account remit our labours, but completed our impression.

The final impressions of the inscription covered approximately 50 yards of calico, and were presented to the Royal Asiatic Society on Masson's return to London in 1842. The subject matter of the inscription was recognized by E. Norris as being 'intimately connected with the Aśoka edicts from Girnar and Dhanli' already translated by James Prinsep (Masson 1846, p. 303). The Shahbazarhi inscription itself was first translated by Horace Hayman Wilson, then professor of Sanskrit at University College, and director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

After his Shahbazarhi excursion, Masson travelled down the Indus to Karachi and then to Tatta in Sind, where he stayed with Pottinger. He spent 1839 in Sind and Karachi, writing an account of his archaeological explorations (Masson 1841) and one of his travels. Pottinger took the manuscripts to find a publisher in Britain when he returned there on leave in 1840.

In early 1840, believing himself free to go where he pleased, Masson decided to return to Kabul to work on 'further literary and scientific projects' and prepare 'with accuracy' as yet unused research material for publication (1843, IV, pp. 1–2; Whitteridge 1986, p. 145). On 30 April he

left Karachi bound for Qalat, which had been annexed to Afghanistan and now had a new ruler imposed by the British, as well as an inexperienced and arrogant Political Agent, Lieutenant Loveday. In place of the former peaceful, flourishing city, Masson found desolation and a volatile situation. While he was awaiting the arrival of a caravan, the chiefs of Mastung rebelled against the attempted imposition of new rents and laid siege to the citadel of Qalat. Masson felt duty-bound to help Loveday, but after six days, when no relief force came from Quetta, resistance to the insurgents petered out and the two men were taken prisoner. Masson was sent to deliver the rebels' demands to Lieutenant J.D.D. Bean, Political Agent at Quetta, and was immediately imprisoned as a spy and charged with being directly involved in instigating the revolt. In October the uprising was finally suppressed by a force from Qandahar under General Nott, but Loveday was killed by the rebels. A fully exonerated but embittered Masson was eventually released in January 1841.

He proceeded to Karachi, where he received a letter dated 21 July from Pottinger, who was en route to a new post as Envoy to China (and subsequently Governor of Hong Kong). It contained the news that Masson's *Narrative of Various Journeys* had been rejected by publishers as being too critical of the 'public men and measures' involved in the occupation of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and of the events resulting in the First Anglo-Afghan War. It was while Masson was in Karachi, working on a revised and enlarged manuscript, expunging excess criticism, that Rawlinson found him 'half-drunk ... in a wretched hovel' having sat up half the night writing.

Having failed to get compensation for his wrongful imprisonment from the authorities in Calcutta, he decided to seek redress in London. Later in 1841 he went to Bombay, where he surveyed the cave temples on the islands of Salsette (Kanheri) and Elephanta (G43 ff. 1–74), before sailing for Suez. He crossed Egypt overland, then took a boat to France, visiting Paris before reaching London in March 1842 (Whitteridge 1986, pp. 151–7). On 4 May 1842, the Bombay Government was informed from London that 'The donation authorized by Court has been paid to Mr Masson, and on his proceeding overland to England, the Government share of the passage money has been remitted. We approve the indulgence which you have extended to Mr Masson in consideration of his distressed circumstances, and the value of his antiquarian researches' (**E/4/1070**).

In Masson's understandable opinion, his antiquarian researches were not valued enough. One undated letter to the Government of India regarding 'the question of recompense' reveals (**E161/VII f. 68**)

The most costly relic from any tope yet procured is unquestionably the golden casket embellished with sculptures from the tope no. 1 of Darunta [Bimaran 2: see **Fig. 119.1**]. ... By a lucky chance the very trifling expense of 5 Kabul rupees put me in possession of it. This is about 7 shillings and sixpence (7/6) in English money [where 20/- equals £1] and the 5 rupees is the sum I charged to the Government ... £500 is nearly or a little more than half of the total sum I expended on researches.

Masson received a pension of £100 a year from the East India Company, but was never compensated for his

wrongful arrest, however much he tried. He spent most of his time writing and working on his archaeological records and coin collection. On 19 February 1844 he married Mary Ann Kilby, an 18 year old farmer's daughter from Watford. They had two children: a son, Charles Lewis Robert, born 13 October 1850, and a daughter, Isabella Adelaide (subsequently just Adelaide), born 4 March 1853 (**FR 1-3**). Among his papers is a notice with 'Silence to be observed here' written in large letters, which suggests he might have found family life stressful at times (F526/2: **Vol. II, Fig. 2**).

His last datable notes are calculations of expenditure for the year (estimated quarterly) up to 24 March 1854 (F526/2a ff. 14-17). The sums appear to be linked to his giving 6 months' notice in June 1853 to quit the house he was renting in Church Street, Lower Edmonton, north-east London, by 25 December. But before the family could move, Masson died on 5 November 1853, from an 'uncertain disease of the brain'. The most likely cause of his sudden death is a stroke, as he appears to have been perfectly healthy in June. He was buried across the road at All Saints Church on 9 November. No tombstone survives (**FR 4**).

His wife died of pneumonia on 29 September 1855 at her brother's pub, the Three Bells in Watford, leaving an estate of £200 (**FR 5, PROB 6/232**). As recommended by Horace Wilson, on 11 February 1857, the East India Company paid John Kilby, uncle and 'legal guardian of the orphan children ... the sum of £100 for the papers, drawings and coins left by [Masson] at his death' (**IOR/B/233: Vol. II, Fig. 3**).

Adelaide remained with her mother's family in Watford (**AM 1-6**). In the 1881 census she is a 'companion' in Hertford; in the 1901 census, living on her 'own means' with a domestic servant in Knebworth. There is no A. or I. Masson in the 1911 census, or any certificate of marriage, but there is a record of probate at her death (as a widow) on 27 March 1926, when she left £89/17s/9d to Laurina Kilby (widow) and Muriel Alice Ticehurst (wife of John William Ticehurst). Her surname is still given as Masson, so her listed marital status is probably an error. The death register gives her last address as 62 Candlemas Lane, Beaconsfield, an incorrect date of birth (4 March 1856) and her age incorrectly as 70, not 73 years. A similar error already occurs in the 1901 census, where her age is given as 44 years.

Her brother Charles is misspelt 'Mosson' on the 1861 census and his place of birth is incorrectly given as Watford (**CLM 1-2**). He reappears as a 'house decorator' aged '19 years and 9 months' on 15 August 1870, when he was recruited at Woolwich at 8.30pm into the Royal Marines for 12 years in return for '£1 and a free kit' (**CLM 5**). He joined the Artillery on 7 January 1871 and at the time of the census of that year, he was at the Royal Marines Artillery barracks, Portsea Island, Hampshire (**CLM 4**). He was assigned to the crew of the ironclad battleship *HMS Hercules* in service with the Channel Fleet on 8 May 1872. His record of service is blank, apart from his being declared 'absent 39 hours

without leave' on 14 September 1872, for which he appears to have been docked 6 days' leave (**CLM 4 ADM 157/519/229**). However, his Enlistment form (p. 4) is annotated in pencil 'Run 5 May 1874, with a large 'R' in the centre of the form. This, together with the lack of a service history and, by analogy with the use of 'run' on other records where desertion is specifically documented, indicates desertion. He has not been subsequently traced.

Evidently military service agreed with him even less than it had his father. A fragment of a letter to the press gives a succinct illustration of Masson senior's jaundiced view (**E162 Letter 4**):

In your paper today I observe that jackasses are employed in place of camels for the transport service of troops employed in Afghanistan. What can be the reason for such a step. ... Seeing that jackasses have been for a long time employed in the Political Department, is it the commencement of a system to introduce them in to the military one, with a view of establishing uniformity in the services?

[signed] A Camel Driver.

Masson was justified in censuring British policies that led to the disastrous First Anglo-Afghan War, but he was not usually so circumspect in voicing his condemnation. Many of his contemporaries reacted to his outspoken criticism by dismissing him as a deserter, adventurer, spy and writer of bad verse. As a result and partly because of the paucity of published accounts (Masson 1834, 1836, 1841, 1842 *passim*, 1846), the extent of his archaeological contribution has not been fully appreciated. However, his detailed records and illustrations of his discoveries (British Library Masson Manuscripts and Papers), together with his collection of coins, Buddhist relic deposits and other finds, are a rich source of information on the ancient sites of Afghanistan, many of which no longer survive (see also **Vol. II, Figs 1-88**).

He also gained new supporters in the last decade of his life in England, such as social reformer, John Malcolm Forbes Ludlow (1821-1911), who met Masson at dinner with Sir Charles Forbes (1774-1849), head of a Bombay trading company, Member of Parliament (1812-32), and an advocate of Indian reforms. In a letter to the Trustees of the British Museum, Ludlow suggested that the Medal Department employ 'the most deserving and remarkable' Charles Masson (**BM-TM 10-7-1847**):

He is a very modest retiring man, of a very rare character nowadays; one who seeks knowledge for its own sake ... in the knowledge of the ancient coins of that portion of Asia, & generally of its ancient history, there is no man in England who will be found to surpass him.

The Museum rejected the proposal (**BM-TM 24-7-1847**). Its Masson Project, inaugurated some 150 years later, is a long overdue attempt to reconstruct the archaeological record of Afghanistan bequeathed by this seeker of knowledge and some of his contemporaries.

Chapter 2

The Discovery of Buddhist Sites in Afghanistan, 1824–79

Europeans first became aware of the extensive Buddhist remains of Afghanistan in the 1820s; in particular those close to the main route between Peshawar and Kabul through the Khyber Pass. The earliest travellers to report on the archaeological sites were William Moorcroft (1767–1825), veterinarian and superintendent of the East India Company stud, and George Trebeck (1800–25), geographer and draftsman, who were on an expedition ostensibly in search of new equestrian breeding stock (Keay 1977, p. 26; Adler 1985). They carried an estimated £3,000 worth of merchandise (mostly bales of cloth), which they intended to trade for horses in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

In 1824, they entered Afghanistan with the troops of Yar Muhammad Khan, the Barakzai governor of Peshawar. Approaching the narrow defile of Ali Masjid en route through the Khyber Pass on 31 May, their ‘attention was caught’ by the Ishpola stupa, ‘standing strongly in relief against a clear sky, and rendered more conspicuous by its situation on an isolated craggy mound’ (Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, vol. 2, pp. 348–51; for a photograph of the site in 1878, see <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/c/largeimage59012.html>). They noted a solid dome, ‘one hundred and ten paces [*c.* 33.5m] in circumference and about fifty feet [15.24m] in height’ resting on a square, two-tiered platform of masonry, with the remains of a flight of steps on the north side. The upper tier was ‘divided into compartments, and ornamented with four pilasters, each a foot and a half [45.7cm] broad’. The dome ‘was without architectural ornament, except two cornices which encircled it, but its facing of masonry was curiously constructed of square stones on edge, divided horizontally by piles of slate of a few inches breadth, and separated into tiers by flat slabs’. Local opinion was divided about its origin, some attributing the structure to the Mughals; others asserting that it contained the ashes of some wealthy Hindu. Moorcroft and Trebeck concluded it was ‘probably a Hindu structure’, and although its purpose was uncertain, it was evidently ‘of great antiquity’, and of the same date as the Manikyala ‘tope’ in the Punjab, recorded by Mountstuart Elphinstone (1815, pp. 213–14). They had visited this stupa on 18 November 1823 and, although not recognizing it as Buddhist, noted its great ‘resemblance to the monumental structures’ of Ladakh which they had seen in their earlier travels (Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, vol. 2, pp. 310–11).

Camping at Sultanpur west of Jalalabad, they heard about the Darunta sites, so crossed the Surkh Rud to see them. The first they came to was probably Kotpur stupa 3, which they found disappointing as it differed considerably from the Ishpola stupa, ‘and, though evidently ancient, was much less substantially built, its exterior being formed for the most part of small irregular pieces of slate piled together without cement. We did not pause long to examine this, as nine others were in sight, one of which, [Nandara stupa 1] ... appeared to be larger than the rest’ (Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, p. 363):

[Nandara stupa 1] was smaller than the tope of Manikyala, although evidently of the same character. Many of the smaller topes seemed to have been simply cylindrical towers surmounted by a dome. The greater part of them were in a very ruinous condition. What might be the nature of these structures

was an object of much speculation. [According to local tradition] ... there had once been an extensive city on the spot, extending beyond the Kabul River. ... The people of the village also said that they had heard that the topes were erected by a Raja named Udi, and that the valley was inhabited by Hindus, who, upon some persecution, fled across the mountains, and were now the people of Kafiristan.

They were also told that two stupas which had been pulled down, had each contained a pottery urn or vase, filled with ashes and fragments of burnt bones. In the light of their earlier experience of Buddhism in the Himalayas, they concluded that the structures were most probably 'tombs of the ashes of Lamas or of persons of rank ... for the general form strongly resembled structures appropriated to the ashes of the Rajas of Ladakh' (Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, pp. 367–8).

The folk memory of an extensive city is reinforced by the remains on the ground. According to Masson (1841, p. 163),

a spot called Begram, about a mile and half or two miles [2.4–3.2km] west of [Jalalabad], would seem to denote ... that a city has flourished here, with its periods of importance and prosperity, we are not permitted to doubt; not merely by considering the actual state of the country and the advantages of position, but from the existence in the neighbourhood of three distinct series of topes, at Darunta, Chahar Bagh and Hadda, without enumerating independent and isolated ones. The vicinity of Begram, indeed the entire plain of Jalalabad, is literally covered with tumuli and mounds.

He further notes that Begram is not the specific name of a city, but a general term 'indicative of the former importance of the site it now designates; undoubtedly signifying the chief city, the capital, the metropolis'. So, in addition to the well-known site of Begram to the north of Kabul near Charikar, there was also a Begram or Bagrami south-east of modern Kabul and another at Peshawar. The Jalalabad Begram is identified as the city of ancient Nagarahara from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims such as Xuanzang (pp. 65–6, fascicle II.878c).

On reaching Bamiyan on 25 June 1824, Moorcroft and Trebeck again recognized that 'the character of the buildings, of the caves, paintings and sculptures' bore 'the same relation to the Lamaism of the west, as Lhasa does now to that of the east' (see below pp. 59–65). They discounted local identification of the two colossal statues as male and female, remarking that 'the general appearance and costume of both are essentially the same, and indicate no difference of sex'. They came close to the true identity of the images in recognizing the 'name of the smaller idol, Shah-muma', as 'evidently only a corruption of Shak-muni [Śākyamuni]' but considered this 'evidence of minor importance'. In fact, although their references to 'Lamaism' indicate an awareness of Buddhism as practised in Tibet and Ladakh, there is nothing in their accounts to suggest that they recognized it as a separate religion to Hinduism. However, from a 'somewhat intimate acquaintance ... with the monasteries in Ladakh', they felt 'legitimately empowered to say that those excavations which were connected by means of galleries and staircases constituted the accommodations of the higher orders of the Lama clergy, and that the insulated cells and caves were the dwelling places of the lower classes of the monastic society'.

In August 1825 on their way back from Bukhara, both men died of fever within a few days of each other in northern Afghanistan. Their papers were later recovered from Murad Beg, chief of Qunduz, by Dr P.B. Lord (1808–40) and forwarded to Calcutta from Peshawar by Alexander Burnes on 28 May 1838 (*Asiatic Intelligence—Calcutta*, 1839, p. 9). The publication of their *Travels*, edited by Wilson, only appeared in 1841, too late for Masson to benefit from its insights while still in Afghanistan.

In May 1833, en route to Bukhara, Alexander Burnes and Dr James Gerard also visited Bamiyan, during which time Burnes produced a drawing and description of the 55m and 38m Buddhas (1833, pp. 561–4, pl. XIX):

The largest idol is mutilated, both legs having been fractured by cannon, and the countenance above the mouth is destroyed. ... The figure is covered by a mantle, which ... seems to have been formed by a kind of plaster, and the image has been studded in various places with wooden pins to assist in fixing it.

Burnes also drew attention to the paintings of seated figures in the niches of both the Buddhas 'which have now disappeared from all parts but that immediately over the heads of the idols. Here the colours are as vivid and the paintings as distinct as in the Egyptian tombs'. He was influenced by the local legends and therefore considered the 38m Buddha and the painted figures to be female. However, Gerard was correct in his identification: 'The figures appear to my eyes more like designs of Buddha than any other' (1833, p. 7). Burnes further claims that (1833, p. 563)

I find in the history of Timourlane [*Ẓafarnāmah*], that both the idols and excavations of Bamiyan are mentioned by Sherif ud Din, his historian [*ʿAlī Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī*]. The idols are described to be so high that none of the archers could strike the head. They are called Lab and Manab [i.e. Allat and Manat], two celebrated idols which are mentioned in the Koran; and the writer also alludes to the road which led up to them from the interior of the hill.

Timur (AH 736–804/AD 1336–1404) has a reputation for having destroyed idolatrous places of worship. Indeed, when describing his campaign in 'Hindostaun', he says 'I established the true faith; and I overturned the habitations of the idols in that country' (Davey 1972, p. 121). Gerard (1833, p. 7) gives similar information on Timur, and also the Persian ruler Nadir Shah (AH 1100–60/AD 1688–1747):

These august idols were mutilated both by Timur the Great and by Nadir Shah: the former discharged arrows, the latter fired shots at them.

On his return from Bukhara to Kabul in autumn 1833, Gerard met Masson and Honigberger and was inspired to attempt excavations of his own. Based on his own discovery of a number of clay images within a domed shrine in a mound at the foot of the eastern slope of Takht-i Shah (see **Figs 41–2**; 1842, II, p. 235; III, pp. 94–5). Masson recommended another nearby mound at the entrance to the 'glens or khols Shams and Magamast ... as one likely to yield some token which [Gerard] was desirous to possess and to carry with him to India. From it he obtained [a] marble sculptured slab' (see **Fig. 43**; Masson 1842, II, pp. 234–5; III, pp. 93–8). Mohan Lal, who accompanied Gerard, also reported digging up the same schist roundel which depicts a

seated Buddha with flaming shoulders (1834a, p. 363, pl. XXVI; Prinsep 1834, pp. 455–6). He says only that it was found ‘two miles [3.22km] south-east of Kabul, near the modern village of Beni hissar’ [now a suburb of Kabul, Bini Hisar, cf. Fussman 2008, p. 80]. The site is identified as lying 3km south-west of the Bala Hisar, between Takht-i Shah and Hashmatkhan, a marshland meadow providing pasture in the dry summer months (Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 121, no. 418). Excavations by the Afghan Institute of Archaeology revealed the huge Buddhist site of Tepe Narenj in this vicinity (Paiman 2005a–b, 2006a–b, 2010, 2013; Fussman 2008, pp. 83–93, 270–5, 302, pls 83–7). It comprises a series of terraces on the eastern slope of Takht-i Shah, facing towards the ancient Begram of Kabul. Paiman locates the area ‘looted’ by Masson around the main stupa (2010, pp. 37–8, 47, fig. 1, zones IV–V), seemingly because two Sikh coins were found in this vicinity and Sikhs were employed by the British during the 1839–42 Anglo-Afghan War. There are several arguments against this identification: firstly, Masson left Afghanistan in 1838, long before the British invasion of Kabul (in which the independent Sikhs under Ranjit Singh took no part, being intent on retaining control of Peshawar), and more importantly, he describes the site as being at the entrance to glens at the base of the Takht-i Shah, i.e. probably in the region of zone XIV (Paiman 2010, fig. 1), not on the stupa terrace which lies higher up the hillside. The presence of Sikh coins is better explained as local interaction between Afghanistan and the adjoining Sikh state.

Gerard also excavated one of the Shevaki stupas (pp. 73–5 below), where he uncovered some lamps, and in the neighbourhood of Jalalabad, where he tunnelled into two of the Chahar Bagh stupas, including the ‘most westerly one’ (1834b, p. 321). This latter identification however appears doubtful, for Masson subsequently states that Gerard excavated the two largest stupas to the east (Chahar Bagh 5–6). Gerard’s attempts were unsuccessful, but Masson uncovered foundation deposits in both stupas 5 and 6, while investigating the six ‘topes’ and a ‘few tumuli’ in this neighbourhood in early summer 1834 (Masson 1841, pp. 103–4; pp. 148–51 below).

During the five months up to the end of November 1833 that Honigberger was in Afghanistan, he claims to have opened a total of 20 stupas in the Kabul and Darunta regions (**BM OP 21–8–1835**), but he only documented the seven stupas containing relic deposits: Shevaki 1, Kamari 2, Seh Top 2, Kotpur 1, Barabad, Bimaran 3 and 5 (Jacquet 1836, pp. 234–77; 1837, pp. 401–40; 1838, pp. 163–97; 1839, pp. 386–404). However Masson provides information on a further ten sites, bringing the total of identified Honigberger excavations to 17: the stupas of Korrindar and Topdara in the Koh-i-Daman to the north of Kabul (Masson 1841, Topes pl. IXc–d); Guldara on the southern side of the Shakh Baranta ridge and, west of Jalalabad, the Darunta sites of Kotpur 3, Passani 2, Bimaran 2, Deh Rahman 2, Surkh Tope and Nandara 1 and 2 (Masson 1841, pp. 64–88, 114–15).

Any finds made by Honigberger seem to have been uncovered more by luck than by any systematic excavation technique, for many of the stupas in which he found nothing later revealed deposits when excavated by Masson. In a

letter to Gerard, Masson also mentions that Honigberger had prepared an account in Persian of his operations and discoveries, intending to send it to Wade, the British Agent at Ludhiana, for publication in the Indian press, but this does not appear to have been done (Masson 1834b, p. 330). However, Jacquet’s illustrated account of the seven relic deposits is evidently based on a written or verbal description supplied by Honigberger. Letters from Honigberger to Edward Hawkins at the British Museum also provide corroboratory information on these seven stupas and their relic deposits (**BM OP 21–8–1835; 22–8–1835**).

Finds by Honigberger included a miniature gold stupa from Bimaran 3; one bark and three steatite reliquaries from Bimaran 5; another two stone reliquaries from Barabad and Shevaki 1 and a silver reliquary from Kamari 2 (see **Figs 125.7, 134.1–2, 171.1, 49.1, 59.5** respectively). He also uncovered a ‘Bactrian inscribed scroll’ (of birch bark, written in Kharoshthi) at Shevaki 1 and ‘the Philosopher’s Stone’, a rough, striated, iron-coloured stony concretion, at Kamari 2 (see **Figs 49.7; 59.6**; Honigberger 1852, p. 60; **BM OP 21–8–1835**, nos 1–2). This find he claimed

could have nearly cost me the loss of my life – the Governor of Bamiyan received orders from his superior the Sardar of Kabul to seize my person and to take from me by force the said box and stone, as it was generally believed ... that I was in actual possession of the Philosopher’s stone. The previous and well calculated precautions in forwarding these objects by General Allard prevented them of their success, and saved me from being ill-treated.

Gerard adds that among Honigberger’s finds there were small burnt clay lamps, ‘square or oblong clay receptacles’ and ‘I think I remarked small golden images of birds’ (Gerard 1834b, p. 328; Jacquet, 1836, pl. XI.4, pl. IX.2). Only this last find is illustrated as part of the foundation deposit from Bimaran 3 (see **Fig. 125.6**). A lamp was uncovered at Seh Top 2, but this is said to have been of serpentine, not clay (see **Fig. 62**). Gerard also supplies a hint of Honigberger’s methods of excavation, in connection with the stupa of Ishpola (1834b, p. 327):

In the gorge of the Khyber Pass which penetrates the country [Afghanistan] from Peshawar, stands a most magnificent edifice, equal to or exceeding that of Manikyala. ... Mr Honigberger sent a servant to explore the antiquities of the district, habited as a faqir or mendicant, his best or only passport among people who live by pillage. He tempted the Khyberis to dig by the prospect of treasure, but they would do nothing without pay, and the object was thus (fortunately) abandoned.

Honigberger entrusted all his finds to Allard, who returned to France by sea, while he himself travelled overland. In 1835, he met Allard at Bordeaux and then proceeded with the finds to London, where he attempted to find a buyer. He focused on the British Museum, but his letters exhibit an unfortunate mixture of obsequiousness and opportunism which did not endear him to the Trustees (**BM-OP 21–8–1835; 22–8–1835; BM-TM 28–8–1835**):

by addressing myself to you ... a gentleman so perfectly skilled in the appreciation of antiquities, it would be utterly impossible for me to fix any particular value on objects of such great and invaluable importance, but in expense of nearly £1,200 I

incurred of making the overland journey from Lahore to London and to the dangers to which I was exposed, the precautions I adopted, the fatigue I underwent, and the difficulties I had to overcome for the sole purpose of seeing these treasures safely lodged in England will enable you to [reach an] adequate idea of the remuneration I deserve from an institution known for its liberality of rewarding enterprise destined solely for the enriching of science in general.

An additional problem for the Museum, apart from the question of cost, is expressed by Hawkins (**BM-OP 20-8-1835; 26-8-1835; 1-9-1835**):

The coins must be true and ... are most important. ... What to say about the boxes I do not know, they are so unlike anything I have seen, we know so absolutely nothing about Bactrian workmanship, that we are unable to form a reasonable judgement how far these people were acquainted with the art of turning as to be likely to produce such specimens. ... Who was the officer who was a relation of Unchristian Observer Wilks; he knew something about Bactria, and may know whether such boxes are likely to be ancient or modern. With some scepticism founded upon the apparent humbug of the German, I am in favour of their antiquity ... buy at least, all you can. ... I would rather the German cheated us, than lose what I think we are very little likely to have another opportunity of procuring.

Although Honigberger subsequently dropped his price to £700, the Museum Trustees unfortunately did not heed Hawkins's advice, and selected only 24 bronze coins and 9 engraved gems (of 20 collected in Bukhara), to the value of £50 (BM C&M Register, September 1835: 1835.0901.1-24; **BM-TM 28-8-1835; 4-9-1835**). Hawkins was reduced to suggesting that 'application should be made to Lord Auckland, Governor General of India, requesting that he would obtain for the Museum, any Indian Antiquities which might be attainable' (**BM-TM 24-10-1835**).

Honigberger mentions selling two gold coins of Wima Kadphises – one of which was from Kamari 2 (see **Fig. 49.7**) – to 'M. Rodin' (*sic*: Rollin), a dealer in Paris, and 'various items' to the 'Cabinets of Saint Petersburg, Vienna, Paris' and to private people in Cairo and Alexandria (1852, pp. 59–60). The Rollin coins were subsequently acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (Rochette 1835, p. 35, n. 1). Honigberger placed the remaining finds in the care of a Viennese banker, Geymüller, who subsequently went bankrupt. The artefacts were then held in a customs house in Vienna for 15 years and finally sold for Geymüller's creditors in July 1850. The whole of Honigberger's collection therefore seems to have been dispersed. The only visual record of it is contained in the drawings of a proportion of the objects published by Jacquet, but apart from the coins now in the British Museum and the Cabinet des Médailles, the remaining finds have not resurfaced. After this experience, Honigberger seems to have lost interest in antiquities, although he returned to the Punjab, where he ended up as superintendent of the jail and lunatic asylum for the British in Lahore.

Between November 1833 and August 1834 and again from March to May 1835 Masson recorded approximately 105 sites (i.e. stupas, 'tumuli' and caves) in eastern Afghanistan south of the Hindu Kush: from Begram in the north, Bamiyan and Wardak in the west, extending from the

Shakh Baranta ridge/Monoray Ghar, south-east of Kabul, eastwards to the Jalalabad region, where he concentrated on Hadda, Chahar Bagh and the Darunta district. As well as documenting Honigberger's finds from 7 stupas, he excavated 67 more, employing a gang of workmen to do the digging, ideally under his supervision, while he used a camera lucida to make accurate drawings of 76 sites, took compass readings and paced the distances to produce comprehensive maps. There are also section drawings of many of the stupas and in some instances sketches of the finds (**F526/1b** ff. 1-3). This was mostly all accomplished in an astonishing nine months, before Masson's appointment as news-writer ended his freedom of movement. The speed of excavation (appalling by present-day standards) reflects the period in which he lived – one predating the concept and tenets of archaeology – yet he exhibited all the instincts of a modern archaeologist. As such he was a pioneer in the field, all the more remarkable since he was working in isolation. His published accounts are supplemented by his extensive manuscript records held by the British Library. The detailed and often unique nature of these records makes them a valuable archaeological resource, particularly since many of the sites were never subsequently investigated and now no longer survive.

In retrospect, the years 1833–5 were particularly productive for research of the Buddhist monuments. Apart from gaining knowledge of the stupas themselves, explorations revealed a hint of the rich paintings and sculpture associated with these monuments. Still to be realized however, was the nature of the adjacent 'mound-enclosed areas' (Masson 1841, p. 89) of the associated monastic complexes, the extent of which was not appreciated by the early investigators.

Any subsequent 19th-century investigation of the sites took place within the context of active British political and military intervention in Afghanistan. In September 1837, Alexander Burnes sent details to the Asiatic Society of Bengal regarding a few of the remains in the region east of Jalalabad. These included the first drawing of Ishpola, the stupa in the Khyber Pass (Prinsep 1837, p. 879, pl. XLVII; Proc. ASB 1837, p. 895). Subsequently, in July 1838, he sent 'five gold coins dug out of the tope of the Khyber. They were found a few feet below the surface by a party of Afghans who were digging a trench on the mound to protect themselves from the attack of another party' (Burnes 1838, p. 667). These appear to have been a coin of Wima Kadphises and 'others of the Kanerkes [i.e. Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva I] group'. Cunningham later identified three as the coins of Vasudeva I (1892, p. 50).

In August 1839, the misconceived restoration of Shah Shuja at Kabul took place with the presence of British troops to maintain the Sardozay ruler in power. Against this political background, some excavations were carried out by enthusiastic amateurs amongst the British officers opportunely stationed near prominent sites. Cunningham, in a letter to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1840, reported briefly that 'Sir Robert Sale [1782–1845; second in command of the British forces in Afghanistan] had been opening a Tope, but was disturbed by Dost Muhammad. Poor Edward Conolly too had commenced upon the great Khyber Tope

[Ishpola]' (1840b, p. 860). One of three 'ill-fated Conolly brothers' serving in Afghanistan, Edward was killed in action in Kohistan in 1840; his brother Arthur was executed by the Amir of Bukhara in 1842; and the third, John, was taken hostage in the retreat from Kabul in January 1842 and died in captivity (Yapp 1980, pp. 412, 522, 546; Sale 1843/1969, p. 160).

The antiquarian interests of the British officers in Afghanistan at this time seem to have focused on the collection of coins and gems, notice of which were regularly sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the years 1838–41 (Prinsep 1838, pp. 636–8; Conolly 1840, pp. 97–9; Cunningham 1840a, pp. 530–44 and 1840b, p. 860; Hay 1840, pp. 68–75; Torrens 1840, pp. 100–6 and 1842, pp. 137–48; Chapman 1841, pp. 613–14). The only reasonably informative account of actual excavations in this period is by Lieutenant R. Pigou of the Engineers, who dug four Darunta stupas before he was killed in Bajaur, when a fuse he had laid to a gate of a fort exploded prematurely. He reports the existence of 11 stupas 'of various sizes' in the neighbourhood, and that 'six of the largest topes' had been opened by Masson and Honigberger (Pigou 1841, p. 381). Although he names three of the stupas (Tope-i Kutchera, Tope-i Hosen-amanat and Tope-i Fasl), they do not equate with any known designations and it is difficult to determine the precise area of his activities. However, one clue is that he describes the caves of Fil Khana or the 'elephant's stable', close to the Gudara stupa, as being 'opposite to the village of Darunta and overhanging the left bank of Jalalabad river'.

Identification of the stupas investigated by Pigou rests on this statement. He clearly does not mean the village now known as Darunta further to the north. Instead, Umar Khel – marked on Simpson's map as Amar Khel (**Vol. II, Fig. 30**), in the area immediately across the river from Gudara – seems most likely to be the village referred to. In this particular area, Masson lists four small stupas which neither he nor Honigberger investigated: one at Deh Rahman, and three at Nandara. He also records a large 'tumulus' further to the south-east, opposite Gudara (Masson 1841, pp. 96–7, map, Topes pl. I). Any of these could have been opened by Pigou (see pp. 130–2).

The withdrawal of British troops from Kabul finally took place at the beginning of January 1842, but the entire force was killed or taken prisoner in the attempt to reach Jalalabad (Sale 1843/1969, pp. 2, 31–48, 221–78; Dalrymple 2013), except for one man, William Brydon, who was left to bring the news to Robert Sale. The remaining survivors became hostages of the Afghan chiefs until Pollock's 'Army of Retribution', having relieved Sale at Jalalabad in April 1842, marched on Kabul, and finally recovered the prisoners in September/October of the same year. The British then withdrew from Afghanistan.

As a result of the wealth of material gathered in Afghanistan and at Manikyala in the Punjab, a basic understanding of the *raison d'être* for these Buddhist monuments had already been reached by the end of the 1830s. The situation was neatly summed up by Horace Wilson. He gives the probable time-span that they remained in cult as the 1st or 2nd century to the 8th century AD and says (1841, p. 45):

all are agreed that the topes are monuments peculiar to the faith of the Buddha; there is some difference, not very material, as to their especial appropriation. Lieutenant Burnes, Mr Masson and M. Court, adopting the notions that prevail amongst the people of the country, are inclined to regard them as regal sepultures; but I am disposed with Mr. Erskine and Mr Hodgson ... to regard them as dagobas on a large scale, that is, as shrines enclosing and protecting some sacred relic, attributed ... to Sakya Sinha or Gautama, or to some inferior representative of him, some Bodhisattva, some high-priest or Lama of local sanctity. Mr Prinsep has manifested a disposition to effect a kind of compromise between these opinions, and suggests ... that the two objects of a memorial to the dead, and a shrine to the divinity, may have been combined in a meritorious erection of these curious monuments.

In the last decade of his life after his return to England in 1842, Masson made significant advances in his understanding of Buddhism and the site data he had amassed in Afghanistan. This is recorded in his treatise on the 'Caves of Jalalabad and Kabul' (**G41 ff. 1–29**), in which he cites the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, although he only had Abel-Rémusat's translation of Faxian (1836) to work from, 'the promised translation' of Xuanzang (Julien 1856) 'being not yet before the world' (**G41 ff. 7–8**; see also pp. 42–3):

The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited Nangarhar in the seventh century, noticed its position as south-east from Lan-pho, presumed to be the present Laghman. ... The distance is stated to be 100 li. ... Laghman ... and Nangarhar are adjoining provinces therefore the distance may be that between their capital cities. Xuanzang, so far as we yet know ... does not specially mention the name of the chief city, but he states that east of it was a stupa, three hundred feet [91.44m] in height or circumference (?) built by the King Aśoka [c. 269–232 BC] and only three li distant. These data should perhaps refer rather to a city west of Jalalabad than to one at or near its site – but there are still difficulties to be got over, not only because the exact measure of the li used by Xuanzang remains to be fixed [and] we are not quite certain what is intended by the 'stupa' built by King Aśoka. Looking at the numbers of topes yet standing on the plain of Jalalabad, and conceding that the word 'tope' or 'tup' is merely a diminutive of the ancient 'Stupa' can we be confident that Aśoka's Stupa was one of these structures? Their examination does not warrant the conclusion, for their erection in these countries does not date prior to the epochs of the later Kosala [Kushan] kings [Kujula Kadphises to Kanishka, c. AD 40–150]. ... This we assert with reference to the coins enclosed within them. Those excellent testimonies attest either that the monuments enclosing them were contemporaneous with themselves, or that they were subsequently raised. It is impossible that the structures exceeded in age the coins deposited in them.

Aśoka flourished in the third century before the Christian era and above nine hundred years before Xuanzang travelled. The interval of time was quite long enough for fable to have usurped the place of fact, and to render uncertain any attribution to the celebrated King, whose fame having been so great as to be preserved in the traditions of the country, would as in other instances, absorb the merit in many cases due to others. If it were fair to judge ... from our knowledge of the Jalalabad topes acquired by actual examination, we might propose that the groups of Darunta and Chahar Bagh had been erected long before Xuanzang visited the country. The Hadda group [is] a very multifarious one, comprising structures even as old as the



Figure 5 Limestone sculptures collected from Hadda in 1878

Darunta group. ... This inference ... does not however assist us in the identification of Xuanzang's city or of Aśoka's stupa, nor does it decide whether the stupa was really a tope, a mound or mound temple or even a rock vihara or monastery – and it may have been either or all combined.

Curiously enough the city in Xuanzang's time was but the successor of a more ancient one whose site was pointed out. He states that 'south-west of the (then) town is a stupa of the ancient city, where Shakya Bodhisattva bought some flowers for the Buddha Dipankara. There was also another built by Aśoka'. Thus it appears that there were three stupas attributed to Aśoka – and that the ancient city was south-west of the then existing one. ...

Faxian, also a Chinese Buddhist, visited the countries west of the Indus [AD 399–414]. ... According to Faxian the province boasted of many relics of Buddha – his skull, a tooth, his staff and four days to the west was a garment of the same venerated

personage. ... several objects of Buddhist homage and worship were near to and around the capital, which had apparently the same name as the province. Two miles [3.22km] south of this chief town was ... the 'shadow' of Buddha, ... and close to it a monastery of seven hundred ecclesiastics with whom were preserved the cuttings of Buddha's hair and nails. We can but suspect this city with its numerous sacred localities must have been in the actual plain of Jalalabad, and somewhere between the site of the present town and Balabagh, but yet we fail in the effort definitely to fix its position, from the impossibility of determining with precision the various sacred localities surrounding it. Another intimation is given by Faxian. ... He states that 3 leagues or 10½ miles [17km] south-east of Na-Kie was the town of Hi-lo ... could we fancy it by any chance to denote Hida, we should be prone to connect it with the modern Hadda.

The First Anglo-Afghan War marks the close of a decade of intense discovery, not only of the Buddhist remains in



Figure 6 Panel showing the Conversion of Nanda, collected by William Simpson at Hadda. British Museum, 1900,0522.1

south-eastern Afghanistan region, but also in the field of Greco-Bactrian and Kushan numismatics. However, their damaging and misinformed meddling in Afghan politics resulted in the British being effectively barred from Afghanistan in the following decades. It was not until 1878 when British forces again invaded Afghanistan and were camped for several months in the Jalalabad region that there was another brief flurry of excavation, undertaken or reported by William Simpson (1823–99), war correspondent and artist for the *Illustrated London News* during the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–80).

In 1878, during a lull in the campaign, Colonel Jenkins of the Guides dug a tunnel into the stupa at Nagara Ghundi, to the south-east of Tepe Khwaja Lahori (see **Figs**

197, 199–200). This was followed up by Simpson, who cleared the stupa base on the north-east side, revealing the flight of stairs at this point. Simpson also investigated the Fil Khana caves (see **Figs 183–4**), excavated the Ghunda Chasma and Ahinposh stupas, and was active at Hadda (see **Figs 240–1, 260, 262, 276**). A series of photographs – apparently taken as part of a Sappers and Miners’ trainee programme in photography – show sculptures collected at this time, including a limestone panel acquired by the British Museum from Simpson and attributed to Hadda (**Figs 5–6**). The remaining sculptures have not been traced. It is frustrating that Simpson leaves no record of the precise site where they were found, particularly since stone sculpture is a relatively rare phenomenon at Hadda.

Chapter 3

From Kabul to London and Beyond: The Dispersal of the Masson Collection

In April 1834 Masson proposed to Henry Pottinger that his first group of Darunta finds (i.e. from Kotpur 2, Passani tumuli 5 and 7, Bimaran 2 and 4, Nandara 1, Deh Rahman 1 and Gudara) be sent to James Gerard, in reimbursement for a letter of credit for Rs 1000 he had provided to fund the initial exploration of the Buddhist sites (**P/387/71 nos 2–3 / E161/VII f. 2, f. 5**). As Masson then received Rs 1500 (the first of several advances) from the Bombay Presidency, he proposed that all subsequent finds should be sent to Pottinger for forwarding to the Bombay authorities. This was agreed by Bombay in February 1835 (**E161/I ff. 8a, 10–11**).

Gerard however died in 1835 before this was done. The packages of relic deposit and coin finds, dispatched 11 December 1834 (**E161/VII f. 16**), also took an inordinately long time to reach Bhuj. Pottinger wrote to Masson in March 1836 that ‘You will be astonished to hear that the original articles which you sent me through Ludhiana have not yet reached me! I believe they are on their way down the Indus, but I am quite unable to account for their detention’ (**E161/VI f. 12**).

The Political Department in Bombay in due course reported that ‘The coins and other articles collected in the years 1833 and 1834’ had eventually reached Pottinger in May 1836 and been forwarded by him to Bombay on the 13 October 1836 (**E/4/1062, § 7**). Finally, at the beginning of May 1838, the finds are said to have arrived in London (**E/4/1062, § 10**). This is the collection published – with a few illustrations – in *Ariana Antiqua* (Wilson/Masson 1841, Antiquities pls I–IV).

A second package – which incorporated ‘relics from the Topes of Wardak’ and ‘heads of idols & co. procured from Hadda’ – took even longer. It was dispatched by Masson from Kabul on 18 October 1836 (**E161/VII f. 27**). A letter dated 24 May 1837 from Lieutenant F. Mackeson, the Political Agent of Peshawar, confirmed its arrival in Multan (**P/388/58 24–5–1837**). But Pottinger reported to Bombay on 26 January 1838 that the parcels of ‘coins and reliquaries’ had still not yet arrived in Hyderabad and were probably still at Multan (**P/388/58 26–1–1838, § 4; E161/VII f. 29**):

I shall now take steps to have a trustworthy man sent by the native agent from Hyderabad to receive and bring them down to that place. It is to be regretted that neither Capt. Burnes nor Lt Mackeson thought it proper to evince a greater interest regarding them than they appear to have done, as they might easily have accompanied some of the bales of useless samples which have long since arrived both at Bombay and Calcutta.

The parcel eventually reached Pottinger at Bhuj in May 1838 (**P/389/I 16–8–1838, § 5**). In September, he was ordered to dispatch to the Bombay Presidency ‘the reliques, coins & co. now in his possession’ and informed ‘that the Government of India have requested that the present collection should be sent to Calcutta, and from thence forwarded to England’ (**P/389/I 28–9–1838, §§ 3, 5**), the idea of the Governor General apparently being that the collections should first be subjected to ‘examination and arrangement by the gentlemen connected with [the Asiatic Society] of Bengal (Proc. ASB 1839a, p. 74), prior to being forwarded to the East India Company Museum in London.

The collections were duly shipped from Bombay in the *John Adam*, only reaching Calcutta in December 1838. On arrival they are said to comprise from four to six thousand coins (from Begram and Kabul bazaar), 'besides the contents of several topes, and casts of figures of Budh [Buddha]. ... The articles have come round in bags without any separate lists, and in one bag there are about two thousand copper coins' (**Proc. ASB 1838**, pp. 1047–8). From this it is clear that the documentation supplied by Masson, comprising 'Manuscripts, notes &co. &co.' packed in a leather bag (**E161/VII f. 27**) had become separated from the objects. According to Pottinger (**P/389/1 16–8–1838**, § 5), he had examined the packages and found them to be all right.

I have also opened, and looked at your [notes] and sketches which are in excellent order, and far more extensive and full, than I had anticipated. ... I have had them sewn up again, and leave them here (at Bhuj) in charge of Captain Melvill until you signify to him your sanction to their being forwarded to Bombay 'en route' to England.

Presumably the documentation for the packaged collections of coins and relic deposits remained with Masson's manuscripts in Bhuj, for there is no record of it in any of the official correspondence and a copy only survives in Masson's manuscripts (**E161/VII f. 27**). According to this list, in addition to the itemized contents from 11 Wardak stupas deposits and sites, the packages included 102 gold 'Kufic' coins found at Ghazni and purchased from Amir Dost Muhammad; 31 gold and 369 silver coins, a gold ring and 2 brass medals bought in Kabul bazaar; 2 bags of (copper?) coins bought in Kabul and Jalalabad; a bag of silver coins and fragments, another of 'copper coins, seals and sundries' collected from Begram during 1836; and the heads of 'idols' (i.e. the Buddha) from Hadda. In Calcutta (**Proc. ASB 1838**, pp. 1047–8; **1839a**, p. 74):

the whole of this collection was by order of government laid upon the table of the Asiatic Society at the meeting of January 1839, but the members present felt that in the absence of their late Secretary [James Prinsep], and likewise of Captain Cunningham, Mr V. Tregear, and Colonel Stacy, there were no persons in Calcutta to whom the examination, arrangement, and report on the coins and relics could be committed with confidence. They came therefore to the unanimous resolution to recommend their being forwarded without delay to England, where the Honourable Court would have the opportunity of submitting them to the inspection of the late Secretary of the Asiatic Society [James Prinsep], jointly with Dr Wilson the librarian at the East India House, and so the ends of science and antiquarian research would be most effectively answered.

The care of this magnificent collection, which is large enough to supply all the museums in Europe, has been kindly undertaken by Mr Cracroft, a very zealous member of the Asiatic Society, and there is ground for hoping that under his superintendence a catalogue might yet be made before he takes his final departure for England.

In April, Henry Thoby Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India Political Department, forwarded 'for deposit in the Society's Museum, coins and reliques of M. Masson collection, being duplicates selected by Mr Cracroft at the time he took charge of the original collection' (**Proc. ASB 1839b**, p. 341). No documentation relating to these

'duplicates' has been traced and no catalogue appears to have been made by Cracroft.

A letter from the Government of India, London, dated 25 March 1840, informed Bombay that 'the articles ... which were subsequently received and forwarded by you to Calcutta, have been transmitted to us by the Supreme Government, and have arrived in England' (**E/4/1065**, § 1). The collection could hardly have reached London in an intact state. Not only had it been examined by members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and an unspecified number of 'duplicates' extracted for their museum, but it had also been inspected in Bhuj and probably Bombay, prior to its transmission to Calcutta, and even earlier, for according to Masson, he had been informed that the packages had been opened on delivery to the agent at Bhawalpur and was 'much astounded, as Lieutenant Mackeson, at least, had recognized them previously' (**E161/VII f. 39**).

This collection arrived in London too late to be included in *Ariana Antiqua*, apart from a few stray references and a supplementary plate of miscellaneous coins added at the end of the volume (Wilson 1841, pp. 258–9, Coins pl. XXI). What remained of the contents of the original package is not clear. In *Ariana Antiqua* Masson mentions 'seven vases of metal and steatite' having been excavated from some of the sites (1841, p. 118), but 11 reliquaries from Wardak are listed in the memorandum documenting the contents of the package sent from Kabul (**E161/VII f. 27**): one bronze (Wardak 1), two 'brass' (Wardak 2–3), one silver (Wardak 3), one bone (Wardak 8) and six gold (Wardak 3–8). Of these only the bronze inscribed Wardak 1 vase and fragments of the bone reliquary now survive in the collection (see **Figs 307.1, 310.1**). There is also a crumpled disc of gold which may have been a reliquary lid (see **Fig. 310.2**).

In 1858 F.W. Thomas published the inscription on one of the brass caskets 'sent home' in Masson's 'last dispatch', which 'seems to have enclosed the usual silver and gold boxes' (1858, I, p. 161, pl. IX.3), a description which fits Masson's record for Wardak 3. This was followed up in 1863 with a second reading of the inscription by J. Dowson (1863, p. 232, pl. IX.3). So it is clear that it too reached the India Museum in London, possibly together with the silver and gold reliquaries from the same deposit. It therefore seems possible that Wilson, in editing Masson's text for publication, may have corrected the number from eleven to seven, thereby indicating the actual number of Wardak reliquaries that reached London.

Nothing further is reported on the collection until 1879 when the India Museum closed. A letter dated 8 July 1879 informed the Trustees of the British Museum that 'the Secretary of State for India in Council had decided to remove the contents of the India Museum to other institutions of a kindred nature, their special Indian character to be preserved; proposing that some portion of the collections be placed in the British Museum on terms to be agreed to' (**BM-TM 12-7-1879**).

Augustus Wollaston Franks, Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities at this time, was actively involved in the transfer, and noted that 'It is much to be regretted that portions of Masson's collection seem to have been dispersed' (**BM-Asia 6-1-1880**, III § 4). He made a systematic

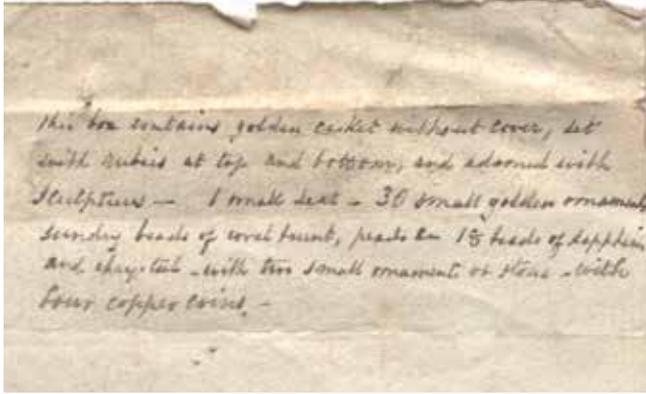


Figure 7 Masson's handwritten label accompanying the Bimaran 2 deposit

attempt to trace the whereabouts of the missing artefacts in order to claim them for the British Museum (**BM-Asia 18-2-1881; 4-4-1881**):

The only information I have is the account in *Ariana Antiqua* and I have made a list of the contents of each tope from that work and compared it with the collection but with very little profit. Many of the objects which might be identified by the descriptions or by Wilson's plates appear to be wanting.

The first transfer from the India Museum to the British Museum took place in February 1881 (**BM-Asia 18-2-1881**). According to Franks:

Among the antiquities transferred ... are a number of card trays which evidently [contain] the bulk of the Masson Collection from the Topes of Afghanistan. These trays have in them loose tickets with numbers in pencil from 1 to 73 with however numerous gaps and in some cases more than one ticket in a tray. There are also written labels probably by Mr Masson [see **Fig. 7; Vol. II, Figs 89-91**] but they seem [to be] rarely in the trays to which they belong. The value of these objects depends ... on their exact history and I am very anxious to separate the objects only discovered in the topes from the miscellaneous things found casually in the plains which seem to be mixed up with them.

The numbered trays and loose tickets are the only evidence that at least an attempt had been made by the India Museum to keep some record of the Masson material, but no complementary inventory of the contents of each tray survives, if indeed it ever existed. Franks however documented this first transfer to the British Museum by compiling a list of the 73 India Museum numbered trays and tickets, noting any gaps in the sequence and describing the contents of the surviving trays (**BM-Asia 18-2-1881a**). A large printed South Kensington Museum number may also be pasted on the side of the trays or, in some cases, on the actual objects (**Fig. 8**). These refer to the South Kensington Museum's *India Museum Inventory of the Collection* transferred to South Kensington on 1 June 1880 (Desmond 1982, p. 180, n. 4). For a correlation between the two numbering systems, see Appendix 2 below.

Working from *Ariana Antiqua* (Wilson/Masson 1841), Franks went on to list the items omitted from the first transfer, concluding that 'the larger part of the smaller objects engraved in the plates are missing as well as some other objects of importance'. This included the Bimaran 2 gold reliquary, which the India Office intended to retain (see

Figs 118a, 119.1). Apart from the steatite reliquary from Passani tumulus 2 (see **Fig. 96.1**), which was also still in the South Kensington Museum at this date, the transfer had included nine others. According to Franks, 'this would account for all the steatite vases excepting those vaguely described by Masson under the tumuli of Kohwat [Wardak] as "seven vases of metal and steatite" [1841, p. 118], and the fragments of a large vase from Hadda 3' (**BM-Asia 18-2-1881**). In fact one of the nine inherited reliquaries does not belong to the Masson collection, but is probably from Taxila (www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.90). The steatite reliquary from Hadda 1 – which would bring the tally up to nine – is unaccounted for and is only recorded by Masson's drawing as being similar to the example from Chahar Bagh 6 (see **Figs 251, 231**).

According to Franks, the principal missing objects were the copper, silver and gold reliquaries from Hadda 10 (Wilson 1841, *Antiquities* pl. II.2-4; see **Fig. 278.30, 37-8**), the copper gilt lamp and stand from Hadda 8, the inscribed earthen vase from Hadda 13, the inscribed Wardak 1 vase (see **Fig. 307.1**), the gold reliquary from Gudara, silver ones from Kotpur 2, Gudara and Chahar Bagh 5, and 'most if not all the coins and smaller objects' from the Hadda 10 deposit said to be in the India Museum in 1841 (Masson/Wilson 1841, p. 105). He concluded

Some of these objects may turn up at South Kensington, but with regard to the smaller objects I think they must be in some drawer or coin cabinet at the India Office. If we are to take charge of the rubbish it seems but fair that we should have the better specimens as well and I need hardly tell you how very desirable it is from an archaeological point of view that these objects thus found together should remain together.

A reply came from the India Office in April to the effect that 'due search having been made, no information regarding the disappearance of the articles mentioned by you can be traced' (**BM-Asia 7-4-1881**). But in March 1882, when the coins from the India Office arrived at the Museum, Reginald Stuart Poole, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, reported that the transfer included 'a tray of signet rings, gems, and bronze fragments; a tray of Minerals; and a box containing a gold relic-holder found at a tope near Jalalabad' i.e. Ahinposh (**BM-TM 25-3-1882**; see **Fig. 241.7**). In August, Franks reported (**BM-Asia 1-8-1882**):

I am happy to be able to tell you that the greater part of the missing specimens have turned up in the drawers of one of the coin cabinets which have been sent by the India Office to the British Museum and there is one whole drawer full of bronze odds and ends from the plain of Begram, also Masson. As these antiquities cannot be considered part of the coin collections, would it not be best to treat them as belonging to those that were previously transferred to us?

On 11 October 1882 the Secretary of State for India authorized the transfer of these objects to the British Museum, but it was 'not thought desirable' to transfer the gold Bimaran 2 reliquary (**BM-TM 14-10-1882**).

A report by Franks, dated 9 July 1885, records the receipt from the South Kensington Museum of the steatite reliquary from Passani tumulus 2 and the bronze inscribed vase from Wardak 1, 'formerly in the India Museum and



Figure 8 Samples of South Kensington Museum and India Museum numbering systems

included in the transfer arranged in 1879–80' (**BM-TM 11-7-1885**).

From the beginning, Franks had campaigned unsuccessfully for the Bimaran casket to be transferred to the British Museum on the grounds that 'it formed part of the Masson collection and we have already the steatite vase in which it was found' (**BM-Asia 4-4-1880**). Finally in 1900, three years after Franks' death in 1897, the gold reliquary was 'transferred from the Victoria and Albert Museum [i.e. South Kensington Museum, renamed in 1899] to the British Museum with sanction of the Secretary of State for India' (**BM-TM 10-3-1900**).

According to Desmond (1982, p. 39), coins were presented not only to the British Museum, but also to the Royal Asiatic Society, the Fitzwilliam Museum (**FW 1906**) and the Ashmolean. In the case of the last museum, this is improbable. Only two Masson coins in its collection are identifiable from their inclusion in *Ariana Antiqua* and both were acquired from private donors, not from the India Museum or India Office. None of these institutions apart from the British Museum have any Masson relic deposit artefacts.

From the documents relating to the transfer of the Masson collection from the India Museum, it has been possible to establish the following:

It is not clear if the Wardak deposits reached London intact, or if a few of the reliquaries along with coins were kept as 'duplicates' by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1866, the archaeological collections of the Society were transferred to the new Calcutta Indian Museum (Anderson 1883, p. vii), but nothing pertaining to the Masson relic deposits has ever surfaced.

Regarding the relic deposits found in the coin cabinets in 1882, the objects were extracted at the time of this discovery and transferred to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, but in most cases the coins remained in the Department of Coins and Medals and the link with their original relic deposit was lost. This is verified by the evidence for Hadda 10. The South Kensington *Inventory* for IM 8/SKM 1061 lists 95 or 100 'Sasanian coins' from the site (actually a mix of Sasanian, Kidarite and Alkhan Hun issues; see Appendix 2, SKM 1061). Some of these coins are identified from illustrations as now being in the British Museum (**Fig. 9; Vol. III, F526/1a**, pls 14–15; Wilson 1841, pp. 397–9, 427, Coins pls XVI.7–20, XVIII.25–6); others

were included in the 'residue' of Masson's coin collection given to the Fitzwilliam Museum by the India Office in 1906 (**FW 1906**; see **Figs 281–2**). The British Museum's examples are from two sources. The first group are registered as India Office Collection, so were part of the 1882 transfer. The second group were bought by Alexander Cunningham at the Government of India coin auction 'of the remains of the Masson collection' in August 1887 (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge 1887, p. 55, lot 753; Cunningham 1895, pp. 106, 111) and subsequently acquired by the Museum in 1894.

The objects illustrated in *Ariana Antiqua*, but noted as missing by Franks in 1881, disappeared from the India Museum at some point after 1841 or possibly 1863 (the date of the last reported sighting of the inscribed 'brass' reliquary from Wardak 3, see above). None have been subsequently traced.

That the India Museum dispersed some of the Masson collection without due record is clear from the correspondence dealing with its transfer to the British Museum. The India Office appears to have continued this tradition and it is difficult to determine who did what and when. The problem is epitomized by a group of British Museum intaglios allegedly from the 'North-West Frontier' donated by the niece of Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen (1834–1923), of the Trigonometrical Survey of India (1852–77), to the British Museum in 1943 and now split between three Museum departments (Asia: 1943,1009.1–51; Middle East: 1943,1009.1–49; Greece and Rome 1943,0921.1–8). The 1943 register entry for the intaglios now in Asia Department states that the seals were said to have been collected in 'N.W. India' by 'Mason of the Calcutta Museum'. Judging from the material, 'Mason' is almost certainly Charles Masson. But does 'Calcutta Museum' mean the Indian Museum, Kolkata, in which case the intaglios are 'duplicates' extracted by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in December 1838, or – as seems more likely – are they from the similarly named, but long defunct and forgotten India Museum in London?

Bits of the collection still emerge from time to time. In 1995, c. 6,500 Masson coins were discovered amongst the India Office collections of the British Library and transferred on loan to the Museum (India Office Loan Collection). Smaller bags of c. 500 coins and objects from Begram followed in 2007. Most recently, in December 2015, Joe Cribb noticed an assemblage of typical Begram bronze

Types of Sassanian coins discovered in the principal Tope of Haddah near Jalalabad.



Figure 9 Vol. III (Errington et al. forthcoming), F526/1a, pl. 14: 'Types of Sasanian coins found in the principal tope at Hadda near Jalalabad' (Hadda 10)

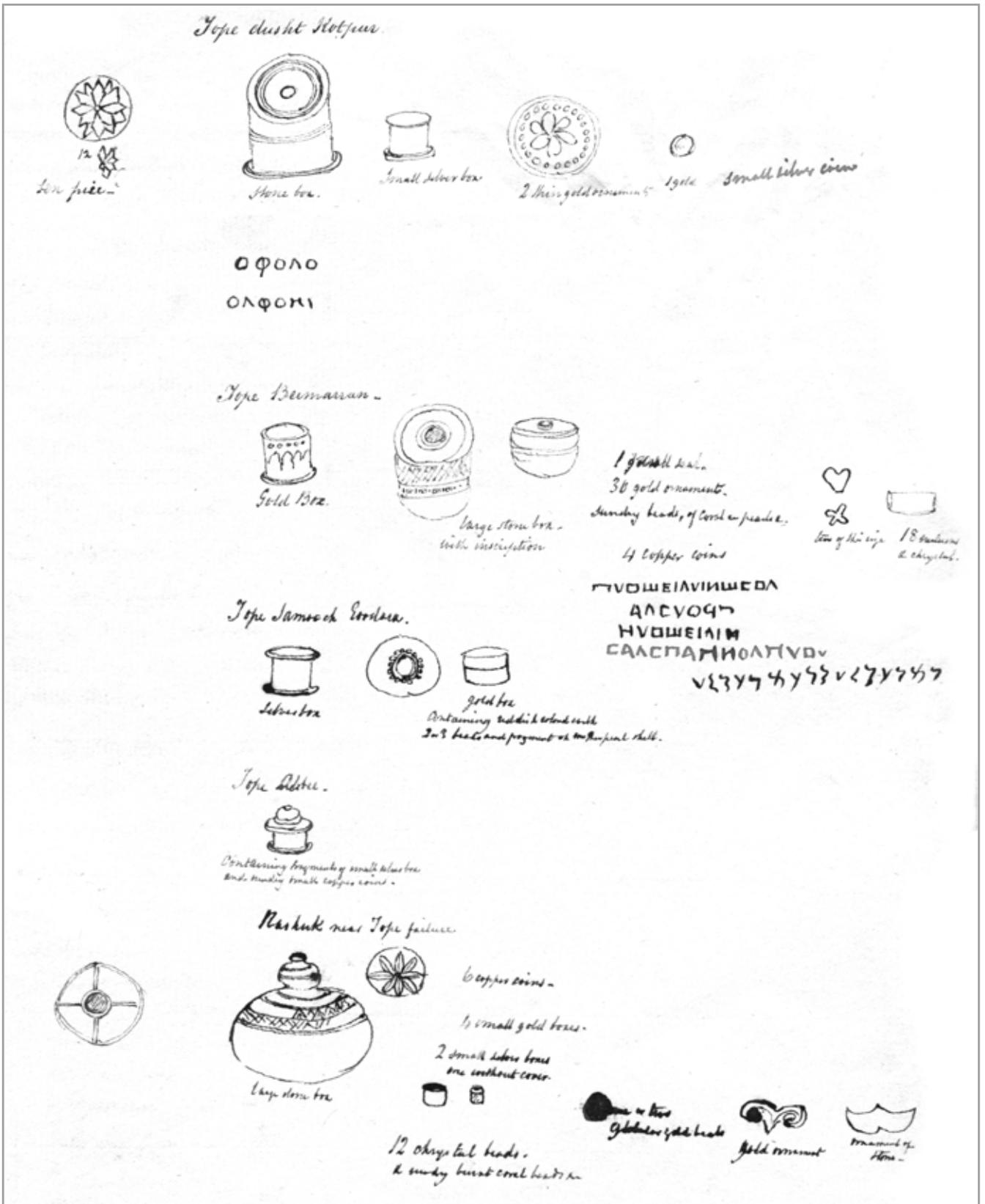


Figure 10 F526/1b f. 1: Masson's sketch of finds from Kotpur 2, Bimaran 2, Gudara, Deh Rahman 1 (Tope Abbie) and Passani tumulus 2

objects on display in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, many of them duplicates of Masson items in the British Museum. The collection (1927.1192) belonged to Sir William Ridgeway (1858–1926), Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge from 1892, so the most feasible explanation is that he acquired it during the period the ‘residue’ coins were in Cambridge pending

selection by the Fitzwilliam Museum (FW 1906).

Despite the relic deposits being unsorted and sparsely documented on arrival at the British Museum, there is still enough information available, especially in Masson's unpublished papers and sketches (Fig. 10; F526/1b, Vol. II, Figs 86–8), to enable the reconstruction of the archaeological record undertaken here.

Part 2: The Stupas and Relic Deposits

Chapter 4 The Buddhist Landscape

Masson uses the terms ‘tope’ and ‘tumulus’ essentially to delineate the architectural differences he perceived between the types of Buddhist stupa remains. ‘Tope’ (*stūpa*) refers to the more prominent, better preserved structures with a high cylindrical drum and a cone-shaped dome. ‘Tumuli’ in contrast, had a low dome, apparently undecorated, which he subdivided into ‘dagope’ (Sinhalese *dāgoba*), i.e. a large tumulus or mound retaining architectural features and ‘tupper’/‘tuppeh’, a small mound without any defining features (**Er64 f. 150a**); with the added proviso that ‘no tope is found without its attendant cluster of tumuli’ (1841, p. 92). ‘Tappa’ or ‘tupper’ is also used in the broader sense of tepe/tapa (mound or hill), as in Tepe Ashrak (1841, p. 99, **Topes pl. VIIc**; see **Figs 193–4**). Masson defines the characteristics of ‘topes’ as follows (1841, pp. 55–6):

A tope is a massive structure comprising two essential parts, the basement and perpendicular body resting thereon. The latter, after a certain elevation, always terminates after the manner of a cupola, sometimes so depressed as to exhibit merely a slight convexity of surface, but more frequently approaching the shape of a cone. At a particular height, belts of ornamental mouldings enclose the circumference of the superior body, frequently containing a succession of arches supported by pilasters. In some cases only pilasters occur, and in still fewer even they are omitted, and the belts of mouldings constitute the decorative characteristics. ...

These monuments are substantially constructed of layers of large stones, cemented with well-prepared and beaten earth. In some the stones employed internally appear to have been rudely fashioned; in others they seem to have been selected from the skirts of the surrounding hills. While the interiors of topes are immense masses of stones and earth, regularly however disposed, the exterior surfaces have been objects of particular care. On the upper portions of a great number of them, from the lower lines of mouldings, concentric lines of fashioned stones, with due intervals between them, have been continued to the summit. ... As the space between these concentric circles is filled up with dark slate, in the most curiously neat manner, topes, or at least many of them, present a very singular and striking appearance, from the chequered arrangement of their upper surfaces [i.e. diaper masonry]. The mouldings, pilasters, arches, and other embellishments stand in relief, and are all formed with slate-stones in the same peculiar neat style [and] utilize the plentiful supply of local, and easily worked slate, of a fine dark colour. ... Originally a surface or covering of white cement overspread the superior portions of the topes, including the circumferent mouldings and decorative belts, also, probably, the lower portions, although from the injuries of time this is not so apparent. Another peculiarity must be noted, with reference to the construction of these topes; which is that in the process of their construction, at intervals of one foot, one foot and a half, or two feet [30.45–60.9cm], thin layers of pounded slate, yellow sand, red ochreous earth or white cement, have been superimposed, so as to form distinct lines of separation between the several strata of stones and earth. In raising these enormous structures it is evident that it became necessary at certain stages of the progress to allow the masses, as they were placed upon each other, to subside and to acquire consistency, as is now observed in the elevation of a normal mud wall.

Local materials seem to have been always used, resulting in variations in construction of the rubble core. For example, the core of Gudara, on the eastern bank of the Kabul River

near Jalalabad, was built of rounded river boulders set in mud (Mizuno 1967, p. 76; pp. 133–6 below). Masson uses the term ‘cement’ broadly to include lime plaster and stucco (used for decorative detailing), not just in its meaning of aggregate mixed with sand, water and often lime. In the context of stupas, Fussman (1974, p. 73) identifies two types of building material: *gel*, i.e. earth mixed with water and packed down; and *kahgel* or cob, i.e. earth mixed with water, straw, sand and clay. Masson (above) also notes the inclusion of ‘pounded slate’ in the mix. When compacted and left to dry, this produced a waterproof surface.

The characteristics of ‘tumuli’ are defined as follows (Masson 1841, pp. 91–2):

Tumuli ... invariably accompany topes, yet very many occur as detached and independent structures. They are readily distinguished from the superior monuments by the absence of the characteristic cylindrical body and [by] the hemispherical form of their cupolas. Indeed, while topes may be correctly defined cylindrical bodies resting upon basements and terminating upwards conically, tumuli may be described as basements surmounted by cupolas. ... The only decorations observable are, in one or two instances, cornices which have been carried around the sides of the square basement near the ground. The tumulus has a striking resemblance to the dagoba of Hindustan. True it is that the great proportion of these monuments, at the present time, are merely circular mounds; but the superior, also the more ancient ones, preserve in part their original outline. ... Several of them ... have yielded large quantities of bones and ashes, seeming to have been erected over spots of cremation; some have enclosed large funeral jars, containing also ... pulverized ... bones and ashes; ... some have produced simple ashes and bones mixed with fragments of charcoal; others have been deficient of even these slender indications. In one or two instances an internal gumbaz or cupola has been discovered, while one only of the many tumuli of Darunta [Passani tumulus 2, pp. 94–8 below] ... afforded relics analogous to those we expect to find in topes.

Here Masson uses ‘gumbaz’ (mausoleum) and ‘cupola’ to designate ‘internal topes, or structures of the same form as the outer mass, only wanting the platform ... they are covered with cement, and their separation from the mass of the monuments is often marked by a line of unburned bricks, sometimes by stones of a description different to that employed in the mass’ (1841, pp. 60–1). These are earlier stupas encased within the core of a later enlarged structure, and referred to as ‘core stupas’ here. In the case of Passani

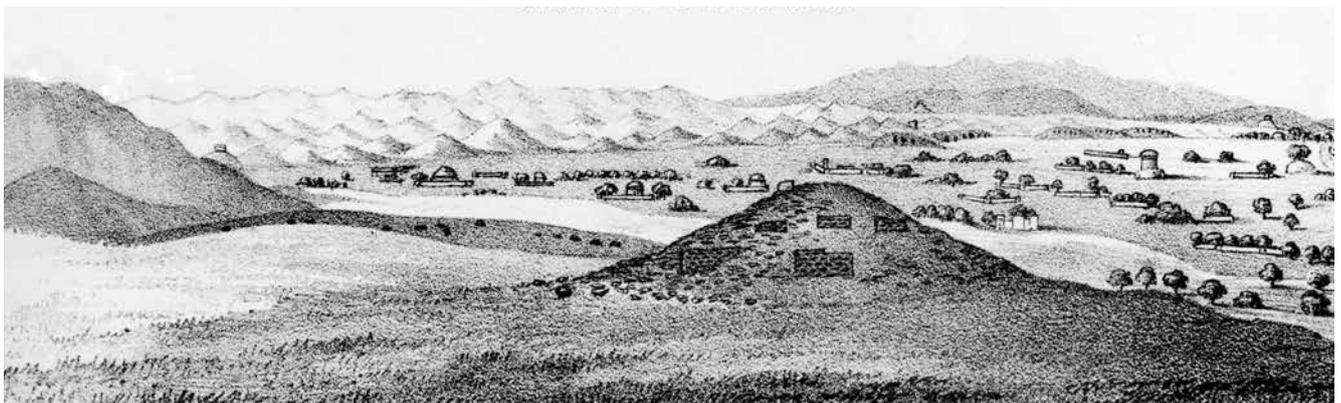
tumulus 5, the plaster facing was decorated with painted flowers (Masson 1841, p. 95).

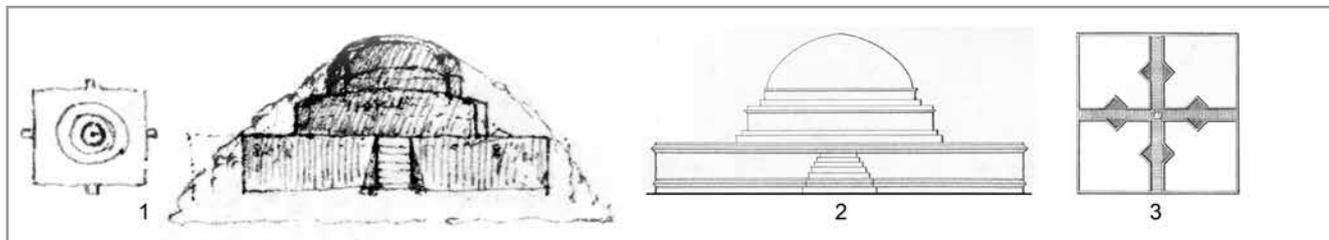
How did the sites fit into what Julia Shaw terms the wider sacred landscape (2000, pp. 28–9)? The area investigated by Masson in eastern Afghanistan south of the Hindu Kush includes four ancient urban centres: Nagarahara (near Jalalabad), Kabul, Begram/Kapisa and Wardak. The Buddhist sites appear to encircle the towns, but are often some distance away and – as far as the first three are concerned – seemingly along the main routes and rivers linking them together (see **Fig. 3**). So in the neighbourhood of Nagarahara/Jalalabad, Masson noted the ‘existence of three distinct series of topes’, at Darunta, Chahar Bagh and Hadda (1841, p. 163). Around Kabul, the sites are located on the lower slopes of the Takht-i Shah and Moneray Ghar/Shakh Baranta ridges to the south-east and Korrindar and Tepe Skandar to the north, with Topdara and Koh-i Bacha, along with Qul-i Nadir, Paitava and Shotorak, closer to Begram (see **Figs 3, 40**). Masson remarks that (1841, p. 57):

Topes must be considered as fronting the east, both because many of their basements are provided with flights of steps at that point, and because others of them have niches facing the east over their ornamental belts. That these niches once held statues is almost certain, from the holes or apertures seen in them, and as is observed in the smaller niches among the caves and temples of Bamiyan, which we know were occupied by statues or idols, from their mutilated remains still to be seen in some of them. Some of the basements of the larger topes had flights of steps at all the cardinal points, others only at the eastern and western points, and others again simply at the eastern points.

The reality seems to have been far more pragmatic. Fussman notes that the stupas of the Moneray Ghar/Shakh Baranta ridge to the south-east of Kabul were placed on the rocky rising ground above the cultivated fields and villages, but within reach of a water source (2008, pp. 16–17; see **Figs 45–6**). Positioning of the site was actually determined by the natural orientation and incline of the particular ridge on which it was located, so that the elevated stupa – usually painted white – was visible to approaching worshippers from a distance, with banners and umbrellas augmenting its height (see **Figs 51–2**). The lesser cult buildings and monasteries were largely hidden from view, being built on artificial terraces behind the main stupa. This can be clearly seen at Guldara, which is sited with its entrance and stupa

Figure 11 ‘Tumulus No. 6 of Darunta’ (Passani tumulus 6) from the north-west. Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. Vc





1. F63 section 2, f. 50v: Sketch showing the form of the large Passani tumuli, with caption 'Platform a square of 56 feet [17m]; first circular 110 [feet: 33.5m] in circumference' (10.66m in diameter)

2. Masson 1841, Topes pl. IVg: 'Section showing the primitive form of the tumulus'

3. Masson 1841, pl. Va: 'Interior construction of the principal tumuli at Darunta'

Figure 12 Masson's concept of a 'tumulus'

with its flight of stairs facing to the south-west, following the alignment of the ridge (see **Figs 63, 65–6**).

Siting religious monuments so as to be visually tied together was important, as is evident at the Darunta sites. Here the topography is different. The stupas are grouped in clusters between the Surkh Rud and the slopes of the Siah Koh, with caves along the escarpment taking the place of monasteries. There is, for example, a concentration of five stupas set amongst the cultivated lands at Bimaran. On higher ground to the west, the stupas and mounds of Passani are visible from below, and in turn overlook the Bimaran stupas on the plain, with Nandara, Gudara, Fil Khana and Barabad in the far distance (**Fig. 11**). The perception of Passani as a consecrated site appears to have continued, for it remained a burial site in Muslim times.

A final point concerning the external appearance of the stupa is that there are several variations in the decorative band (i.e. Masson's 'ornamental belt') encircling the stupa drum. The most common is type 6 (below), followed by type 5, but there seems to be no discernible pattern, stupas relatively far apart using the same design while neighbouring sites differ. The principal differences are as follows:

1. A completely unadorned band, edged top and bottom by a line of mouldings (Bimaran 5: see **Fig. 133**).
2. A simple blind arcade of plain pilasters; there are no dowel holes for attaching sculpture to the stupa façade (Kotpur 2, Bimaran 1: see **Figs 81, 110**).
3. A series of arches supported by plain pilasters and apparently no dowel holes for sculpture (Bimaran 2: see **Fig. 114**).
4. A blind arcade of ogee arches and plain pilasters, with an upper tier of Indo-Corinthian pilasters in the spandrels and no apparent dowel holes (Kotpur 1, Gudara: see **Figs 79, 173**).
5. A blind arcade of ogee arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters, with an upper tier of Indo-Persepolitan pilasters in the spandrels. Variations are a dowel hole beneath each arch for attaching a statue (Kamari 2, Seh Top 4, Topdara: see **Figs 57, 61, 72**); a dowel hole in every alternate arch (Nandara 1, see **Fig. 161**); and no dowel holes (Bimaran 3: see **Fig. 122**).
6. A blind arcade of ogee arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters, with a spindle-shaped stone framework for stucco lotus buds on stalks (not eagles) in the spandrels between the arches (Wardak 1: see **Fig. 306**; Kamari 2: see **Fig. 57**; Shevaki 1–2: see **Figs 48, 54**; Shevaki 3, 7 and 10B; Fussman 2008, pls 25a–b, 51, 56, 61a–b, 65c).

7. A blind arcade of tall regularly spaced Indo-Corinthian pilasters. At the cardinal points two plain pilasters half the height support an ogee arch and an upper Indo-Corinthian pilaster. There are no dowel holes (Barabad: see **Fig. 170**).

8. A blind arcade of alternating trapezoidal and ogee arches supported by Indo-Corinthian pilasters, with spindle-shapes in the spandrels. There are no dowel holes (Guldara, Surkh Tope, see **Figs 64, 149**).

In addition, Shevaki 1 and Topdara each have a trilobed niche for sculpture higher up on the dome (see **Figs 45, 71–2**). These face east. Guldara stupa also has a tall niche for a standing statue on the north-west, north-east and south-east sides of the square base or podium (see **Fig. 67**).

The word *hauz* (also 'houz' or 'cistern') is used frequently throughout the Masson manuscripts to refer to structures associated with the stupas, and is a misinterpretation of monastic ruins. This is made clear by comparing, for example, the notes on Chahar Bagh, where each stupa is said to have a 'houz' (**F63 section 2, f. 54**), with the observation in *Ariana Antiqua* (Masson 1841, p. 100) that adjacent to each stupa is 'a large square or oblong space, enclosed by lofty and ample mounds'. Mizuno (1970–1, pp. 119–22) confirms the existence of monasteries at these sites.

The distinction made by Masson between 'topes' and 'tumuli' was to some extent subjective and depended on how much of the extant remains of each stupa was visible on the surface. He states (1841, p. 96) that excavation of the Passani tumuli 5–7, enabled him 'to accurately determine the original outline' of these structures. His sketches (**F63 ff. 49v, 50v**) show his visual concept of the 'tumulus' form within a mound, from which his schematized section drawing is derived (1841, Topes pl. IVg; **Fig. 12**; see also below: Passani tumulus 7, see **Figs 108–9**). He goes on to say (1841, p. 93):

A peculiarity of the internal structure ... [of] the superior tumuli of Darunta [and absent from topes, is that] the whole mass of the structure is divided into four quarters by passages intersecting each other at right angles. The passages extend the entire depth of the buildings and have a breadth of five or six feet [1.52–1.83m] or more; their interior surfaces are lined with arranged slates, as neatly and carefully as the exterior of the piles: the spaces formed by these passages are filled with the same materials as the rest of the buildings; the essential relics, of whatever nature, being places in the centres, where the avenues meet. Inferior tumuli do not always exhibit this

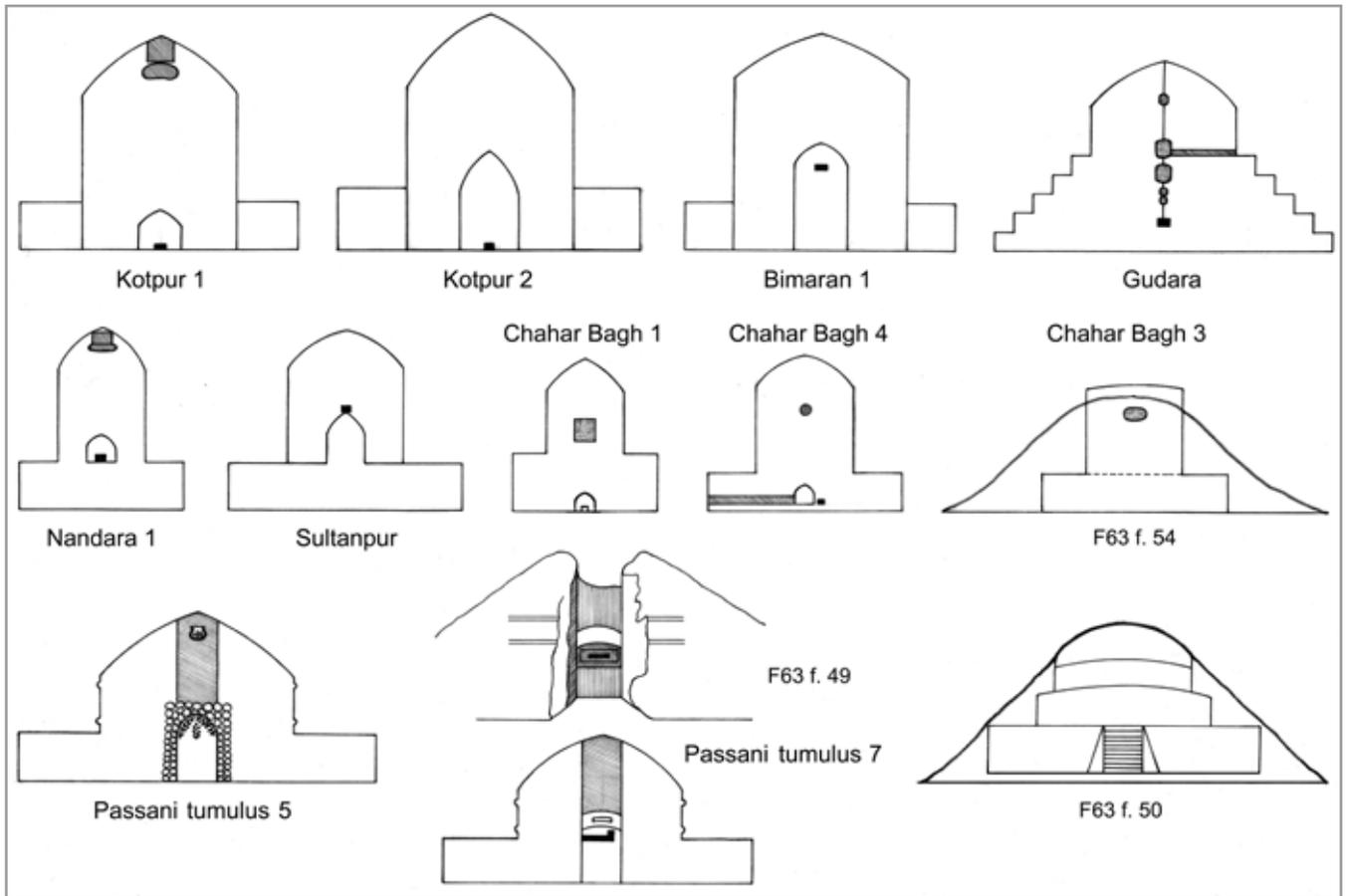


Figure 13 Section drawings of various 'topes' and 'tumuli' (after Masson, F63 section 2, ff. 49–50, 54 and 1841, Topes pls II–VII)

peculiarity of construction ... [but may be] distinguished by slightness of construction ... as they are chiefly composed of materials loosely arranged, or without that view to solidity and duration so apparent in the erection of the superior structures. On their exteriors the same care has been bestowed, and while their surfaces were covered with arranged slates, they were again passed over with cement. Others again, ... and at Darunta they are of inferior size, are as substantially built as topes ... from one of these [Passani tumulus 2] I obtained a set of relics.

When Masson describes tumuli as being divided internally into four quarters by filled 'passages', and speaks also of tunnels within the body of the Gudara and Chahar Bagh 4 stupas, he is clearly referring to the system of internal reinforcement ribs used to strengthen the structures (1841, pp. 87–8, 92–3). The Japanese survey of Gudara found a core of mud and boulders reinforced by eight stone walls radiating from the centre (see Fig. 176; Mizuno 1967, pp. 46–8, plan 11b). Simpson recorded a similar form of construction at Nagara Ghundi, the largest stupa associated with Tepe Khwaja Lahori (see Fig. 199; Simpson 1879–80, p. 53).

Masson often speaks of finding the relic deposit 'at foundation level'. In the case of subsequent enlargements, it can be assumed that it was the norm for the original core structure, which would have become encased in the base platform of the later stupa. But since Masson left the debris surrounding the visible domes largely untouched, he often

had little idea of the actual ground level, or of the architecture of the buried lower structures. Such was the case at Hadda 10, where the square podium with its flight of steps and stucco decoration remained hidden from view until excavated in 1978–9 (Tarzi 1990, figs 5–9). Tarzi's excavation showed further that the relic deposit was located about 2m above the basement within the centre of the stupa dome (see Fig. 274; 1990, pp. 722–3, fig. 15). It appears to have been a primary deposit, its construction dated by the coins found in it to the late 5th century (see pp. 174–91 below).

Simpson's section drawing of the Ahinposh stupa suggests that the relic deposit (dated to the late 2nd century) was in some instances located where Masson placed it in his sketches: in the centre of the podium, not within the dome (see pp. 156–9, Fig. 241.3–4; Simpson 1879–80, pp. 48–9, pls II–III.1). However, although Simpson states that he dug a tunnel at ground level, in a footnote and in his section drawing he gives a precise measurement for floor of this tunnel and the relic cell as '12 feet 2 inches [3.71m] above the ground floor of the Tope'. This can hardly be classified as ground or foundation level, and evokes the suspicion that an earlier structure could have been buried below this point within the mass of the stupa. From the evidence uncovered by Masson and Honigberger, it is clear that the position of the relic deposit varied according to the type of stupa and whether it had been subjected to any enlargement or not.

Chapter 5

The Relic Deposits

Following Masson's classification and the data from 74 excavated sites (7 by Honigberger and 67 by Masson; see also p. 17 above), there are four groups of stupas based on their internal form (**Table 1**):

1. Core stupa encased within a later enlargement, but no relic cell (6 sites).
2. Core stupa encased within a subsequent enlargement with one or more relic cells. The relic deposit and/or relic cell may be located in either the original or later structure, or in both (12 sites).
3. Stupa with a relic cell, but no core stupa or enlargement (18 sites).
4. Stupa with no evidence of any enlargement or relic cell (38 sites).

The 18 sites of Groups 1–2 all contained some form of funereal deposit, if only ashes, bones and decayed matter or mould. However, it is noteworthy that in Group 1, deposits with reliquaries and other artefacts were only found in the later enlargement. In Group 2 relic deposits could be associated with both the primary construction and/or secondary enlargement. Groups 3–4 comprised 56 sites, the largest number (either with or without a relic cell), although 13 (mostly 'tumuli') contained nothing at all. However Masson also noted that deposits were not always placed in the central shaft of the stupa and could be located at different heights within the mass, all of which may account for the lack of finds in some stupas.

Numismatic evidence

In terms of the content of the 74 excavated stupas, there are also 4 categories: 14 without deposits, 12 containing only bones and ashes; and of the stupas containing relics, 16 without coins and 32 with coins and/or inscribed reliquaries (Kanishka years 18, 28 and 51), i.e. 43% of the deposits contained coins and/or dated inscriptions. The majority of deliberate coin deposits and all the dated inscriptions found by Masson cover a period from the mid-1st century to late 2nd century. Only three of the Hadda stupas – particularly Hadda 10 – contained 3rd- to 5th-century coins.

Overall the numismatic evidence for the Darunta region shows that the largest number of new stupas, or enlargements of earlier structures (e.g. Bimaran stupas 3 and 5), date from the late 1st or early 2nd century (Errington 1999/2000, pp. 214–15). The earliest coins found in the stupas belong to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90), the Indo-Parthian Gondophares (c. AD 32–60) and the Indo-Scythian satrap Mujatria (c. AD 80–90). The core stupa foundation deposit of Kotpur 2 contained Kujula coins (including, uniquely, a gilded silver Heraus obol: see **Fig. 85.1–8, 13**); that of Kotpur 1 held two Mujatria coins (see **Fig. 80.2**); while deposits in the Bimaran 5 stupa enlargement had coins of Mujatria, Kujula (see **Fig. 136.4–24**) and in one instance Gondophares. This indicates that the core stupa of Bimaran 5 and, by extension, the existence of some of the other non-coin bearing Group 1–2 stupas in the region, predate the mid- to late 1st century.

Allied to Kotpur 1 and 2 and Bimaran 5 by virtue of including the same range of coins are four smaller dilapidated stupas: Tope-i Kutchera, Deh Rahman 1, Bimaran 2 (all Group 3 with no enlargement, only a relic

Relic deposit type	1. Core stupa with enlargement 	2. Core stupa, relic cell and enlargement 	3. Relic cell, no enlargement 	4. No cell or enlargement 
No deposit			Passani 1 Surkh Tope	Nandara 2 Passani 2; tumuli 4, 8 Surkh Tope tumulus 1 Chahar Bagh 2, 3 Hadda tumuli 1, 4, 5, 6
Only ashes, bones, decayed matter	Kotpur 3 Hadda 11 + asses' teeth Koh-i Bacha (Begram) all primary deposits	Bimaran 1 a little loose mould Chahar Bagh 1 secondary deposit	Passani tumulus 7 Hadda 12 Topdara	Deh Rahman 2 Passani tumulus 1 Hadda 5, 7 Wardak 9
Deposit without coins	Sultanpur secondary deposit	Nandara 1 Shevaki 1, 2 Seh Top 4 all primary deposits	Barabad Gudara Tope-i Fasl	Passani tumulus 3 Chahar Bagh 6 Hadda 1 Wardak 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Deposit with coins; type not identified		Hadda Tepe Kelan coins: surface find; unknown excavator		Passani tumulus 9 unknown excavator Hadda 9, tumulus 2, 3
Mujatria (c. AD 80–90)	Passani tumulus 5 primary deposit beak; stray coins in enlargement mass	Kotpur 1 primary deposit Bimaran 5 six primary deposits; coins in one of five secondary deposits	Tope-i Kutchera Deh Rahman 1 Bimaran 2	Hadda 3
Gondophares (c. AD 32–60)		Bimaran 5 coin in secondary deposit		Hadda 3
Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90)		Bimaran 5 coins in secondary deposit Kotpur 2 primary deposit	Tope-i Kutchera Deh Rahman 1?	Hadda 3
Soter Megas / Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113)		Bimaran 3 primary deposit; coins in secondary deposit	Bimaran 4 Tope-i Hosen-amanat	Passani tumulus 2
Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113–27)	Chahar Bagh 4 secondary deposit	Kamari 2 primary deposit	Chahar Bagh 5 Ahinposh Hadda 4 Guldara	Hadda 2 Wardak 1 Wardak 11
Kanisha I (c. AD 127–50)	Chahar Bagh 4		Ahinposh	Wardak 1 Wardak 2 or 3 (Year 18)
Huvishka (c. AD 150–90)	Chahar Bagh 4		Ahinposh Hadda 4 Guldara	Hadda 13 (Year 28) Wardak 1 (Year 51)
Later Kushan (3rd–4th century)				Hadda 6 Hadda 8
Sasanian (AD 240–484)				Hadda 10
Kidarite (4th–5th century)				Hadda 10
Alkhan (5th century)				Hadda 10
Shailanavirya (Kashmir 5th century)				Hadda 10
Roman			Ahinposh Domitian, Trajan, Sabina (AD 90–137)	Hadda 10 Theodosius II, Marcianus, Leo (AD 408–74)

Table 1 Types of stupa deposits

cell; see **Figs 167.3–5, 142.2–5, 117.1–4**) and Hadda 3 (Group 4 with no cell or evidence of enlargement; see **Fig. 256.13–28**). Hadda 3 is described as one of five or six very small stupas on Ghundi Kabul, while both Bimaran 2 and Deh Rahman 1 are classified as ‘second class’ or subsidiary stupas by virtue of their extant size (diam. *c.* 12.22m and *c.* 10.47m) in relation to Bimaran stupas 3 and 5 and Deh Rahman 2 (diam. *c.* 13.97m and *c.* 17.46m; see **Vol. II, Fig. 44**). There is nothing in the archaeological record to suggest that the relics in these four stupas were anything other than

foundation deposits. The coins of Kujula and Gondophares are all worn, while the condition of the coins of Mujatria varies considerably between the two types (Cribb 2015; see **Fig. 256.24–8**). The Mujatria coin types are (**Fig. 14**):

1. Base silver coins in the name of Azes, with the addition of the Kharoshthi letter *mu* (obverse: king on horseback/reverse: Tyche).
2. Square copper alloy coins in his own name as son of Kharahostes (obverse: king on horseback/reverse: lion, Apollo or Heracles).



Figure 14 Coin types of Mujatria.

1. Obverse: King on horseback; reverse: Tyche (Bimaran 2. IOC.201, 9.58g, 20mm. Fig. 117.1); 2. (Reproduced courtesy of R. Senior and J. Cribb) Obverse: King on horseback: a. Reverse: lion. Cribb 2015, no. 9, type 1b (Senior collection K1, 6.53g, 20 x 20mm); b. Reverse: Apollo. Cribb 2015, no. 13, type 3a (Ashmolean Senior 2572, 2.42g, 13 x 14mm); c. Reverse: Heracles. Cribb 2015, no. 10, type 2a (Ashmolean Senior 2571, 2.46g, 17 x 17mm)

In describing type 1, Masson notes that the few coins ‘met with’ in the relic deposits were all ‘in excellent preservation, having been inserted new’ (1841, pp. 71, 77). The type 2 coins from the deposits, by contrast, are extremely worn and often only identifiable by size and fabric (see **Fig. 142.2–5**). The exception is Tope-i Kutchera, where the condition of the Mujatria coins is reversed (see **Fig. 167.3–4**). Type 2a, the square horseman/lion example is said to be ‘the only coin in tolerable preservation’, while type 1 (horseman/Tyche) is ‘the only one which we can expect of having undergone the action of fire, but the boxes [reliquaries] bear no traces of this’ (Pigou 1841, pp. 384–6).

Next in the numismatic sequence are four stupa deposits with Soter Megas coins: 27 in Bimaran 3 (see **Fig. 124.3**); 6 in Bimaran 4; 3 in Tope-i Hosen-amanat (see **Fig. 168.2**); and 6 in Passani tumulus 2. Only two examples of a combined original total of 12 from Bimaran 4 and Passani survive in the Masson relic deposits (see **Fig. 129.4, 6**). Both have three-pronged tamghas, suggesting they are issues of Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113), rather than the rarer four-pronged variety thought to belong to Kujula (Cribb 2014, p. 103). As with the previous group of stupas, Bimaran 3, the largest (diam. 13.97m), contained a core stupa with a relic deposit, but coins were only found in the later deposit associated with the subsequent enlargement. Bimaran 4 is classified as a stupa of the ‘third class’ (diam. 10.42m), but is shown to have been little more than a mound at the time of excavation (see **Fig. 126**), while Passani and Hosen-amanat are both small tumuli: none of the three exhibited evidence of any later enlargement. No Darunta deposit contained any coins later than Wima Takto. It is also worth noting that coins of this particular ruler only occur on their own in the relic deposits.

The latest coin in any of the primary core stupas is a gold issue of Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113–27) from the foundation deposit of Kamari 2, south-east of Kabul. Copper alloy coins exclusively of this ruler were also found, presumably as foundation deposits, in Hadda 2 (27 coins), Chahar Bagh 5 (1 coin) and Wardak 11 (5 coins). More usually the deposits had a mix of Kushan coins: Wima Kadphises and Huvishka (c. AD 150–90) in both Guldara (see **Fig. 69.1–7**) and Hadda

4; Wima Kadphises, Kanishka (c. AD 127–50) and Huvishka in the secondary enlargement deposit of Chahar Bagh 4 (see **Fig. 223**), Wardak 1 and Ahinposh (the last with Roman gold aurei of AD 90–137: see **Fig. 242**).

The biggest relic deposit in the Masson collection is from Hadda 10 (Tope Kelan; see **Figs 278.39–43, 281–2**). It included over 200 predominantly silver coins, mostly late 4th- to 5th-century Sasanian issues of Varhran IV (AD 388–99), Yazdagird II (AD 438–57) and Peroz (AD 457/9–84). There were also 5 gold Roman solidi of Theodosius II (AD 408–50), Marcianus (AD 450–7) and Leo (AD 457–74), a number of Hun imitations of Sasanian coins bearing the Alkhan tamgha and 14 silver coins depicting the distinctive elongated heads of the Alkhan Huns. The Roman and Sasanian coins provided a chronological context of the mid or late 5th century, not only for the stupa, but also for the undated Hun coins in the deposit.

Ashes, bones and ‘decayed matter’: evidence of burial practices

Masson recorded 12 small ‘tumuli’ arranged in two rows at right angles to each other to the south of Bimaran stupa 4 (1841, p. 96). These he did not examine, since a number which had ‘become self-exposed’ had only produced ‘large earthen jars inverted [and] containing skulls, bones and ashes’ (F63 section 1, f. 29). A mound to the south-west of Hadda village near Tepe Kelan also produced large numbers of funeral jars (see **Fig. 292**; Masson 1841, pp. 112–13).

Masson remarks that stupas containing traces of human remains ‘seldom prove productive of other relics: their presence I have learned to consider ominous of ill-fortune’ (1841, pp. 60, 94). An exception was Passani tumulus 2: in the centre of the mound was a human skull, and beneath it, a large steatite reliquary containing, inter alia, ‘the usual addenda of ashes’. Passani tumulus 1 contained human bones, while a large burial chamber within Passani tumulus 7 is initially said to have held ‘ashes and human bones’; this is subsequently amended to an intact skeleton, minus the skull (**Er64 f. 150a**; 1841, pp. 94–6). Numerous lime and stucco fragments of Buddha statues, lions and elephants in the mound debris of tumulus 7 attest that the burial was located within the centre of a stupa (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, pl. 29.3; see **Fig. 107**).

According to the Chinese pilgrims Faxian and Xuanzang, skull bone relics of the Buddha (but not the entire skull) were enshrined at Hadda and nearby Nagarahara in the 5th–7th century (Beal 1869, pp. 40–1; Legge 1886, pp. 36–8; Xuanzang, p. 68, section 879a). Skulls and skeletons also feature in Gandharan reliefs such as the Buddha and the skull-tapper (Taddei 2003, pp. 189–227), and at Hadda, in stucco sculptural fragments from Tepe Kelan (Barthoux 1933, pls 39, 101c) and as an aid to meditation in a fresco on a cave wall at Tepe Shotor (**Fig. 15**).

In connection with the story of the skull-tapper, Taddei notes that the fact that the skull of an *arhat* was readily available suggests not only that inhumation was widespread, but that the practice of exposing corpses was accepted even for the most venerable members of the *samgha* (2003, p. 203).

Xuanzang (p. 62, section 877c) confirms that both cremation and inhumation were used in this region as – not



Figure 15 Meditation cave, Tepe Shotor, Hadda. Photograph P. Baker 1979

necessarily Buddhist – methods for disposing bodies. What is unusual about the Passani tumulus 2 and Bimaran tumuli deposits, however, is that the reliquary and earthenware jars presumably contained burnt human (not animal) bones and ashes. However, the skulls – if part of the same body – seem to have undergone a different ritual, because there is little chance that a skull would survive the cremation process intact (Errington in press). So either the skulls were deliberately excluded from the funeral pyre, or – what seems more likely – they belonged to different bodies and a later burial tradition.

Masson also found numerous skulls, some ‘deposited in apartments formed by arranged stones’ at the foot of the mound of Nandara stupa 2 and at Sultanpur Bala, where the modern Muslim cemetery was located on the site of an ancient burial ground (1841, p. 86). In addition, ‘the Surkh Rud had sometimes, in washing away the banks, exposed deposits of skulls’. None of these examples provide evidence of the burial rites of any particular creed. Indeed, the mention of large numbers of skulls brings vividly to mind the common practice for victorious commanders such as Babur, who set up ‘a tower of heads’ of the tribesmen defeated by him when he campaigned in these regions in AH 925/AD 1519 (Beveridge 1922, p. 371). There are also accounts by Masson’s 19th-century contemporaries of two separate local customs with the same outcome. Lady Florentia Sale records that when it was not possible to recover the whole body of any notables slain in battle, just the heads were retrieved for a formal Muslim burial (1843, p. 42); while, according to Alexander Burnes, small mounds were built to inter the decapitated heads of enemies after a victory (Dalrymple 2013, p. 98). So the Passani skull and incomplete skeleton could simply be evidence of the reuse of existing mounds for burial purposes.

Although, according to Masson, the vast majority of stupa deposits contained ash and often burnt bones, none of this material now survives in the collection apart from what could merely be post excavation accumulated dust. Examination of likely fragments, macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb (Department of Archaeology, Cambridge University), found only a single small sample which appears to be bone, with ‘two smooth surface separated by about 3mm of internal trabeculae oriented perpendicularly’. As ‘there are few places in the



Figure 16 Bone sample from Wardak 8, 1880.4114.b (see also Fig. 310.3)

human skeleton with this configuration (an immature pelvis perhaps, but this is not very convincing)’, he concluded it was probably non-human (Robb n.d.). For the other examined samples, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3885.i, 1880.3887.a–b, 1880.3929.l, n, 1880.3962.b, 1880.3994.g, 1880.4110.j, 1880.4114.a–b, 1880.4116.b.

The reliquaries

The later 1st- to early 2nd-century deposits (i.e. those containing Kujula Kadphises, Mujatria or Soter Megas coins) are affiliated through form and content with a group of inscribed reliquaries of an earlier pre-coin period associated with the Apraca rajas (Baums 2012, pp. 202–3, 205–9, 212–13, 216–18, 226–7, 233–4). Although none come from any known excavated context, the Apraca reliquaries are often attributed to Bajaur, the borderland between the Afghanistan province of Kunar and the Dir Agency of Pakistan. Nothing is known of the archaeology of this tribal territory, but Masson recorded a series of stupas along the Kunar River (see pp. 159–61, see **Figs 243–4**) and it is reasonable to assume the Buddhist sites extended further along what was still in Masson’s time (and now unofficially) the major route from Kunar to Dir, Chitral and Swat. Several hoards seen in Peshawar contained base silver coins of Mujatria and the Apraca stratega Aspavarma, together with contemporary 1st-century Indo-Parthian issues of Sasan, Gondophares and Abdagases in circulation in Gandhara and at Taxila (Cribb 2015). Aspavarma subsequently issued coins under the Indo-Parthians, his coins and those of the Apraca raja Indravasu being also found at Taxila. Although the Peshawar hoards all lack site provenance, it is possible that their presence here reflects a political and geographical reality of Apraca control of lands in the region of the Kunar valley, Dir, Chitral and Bajaur, i.e. between the Indo-Scythian satrap Mujatria to the west and the Indo-Parthians to the south-east.

In addition to providing a genealogy of the Apraca rajas, several reliquaries are dated (see also pp. 41, 95, 104 below). Two in particular equate regnal years 27 and 32 of the Apraca king Vijayamitra with Azes years 73 and 78 respectively. If 47/46 BC equals Azes year 1, it provides a regnal date for Vijayamitra of c. AD 1–32 (Falk and Bennett 2009; Salomon 2005, 2012, pp. 186–7). In particular, the year 27/Azes year 73 reliquary – also dated year 201 in the Yona

Bimaran 2	Kotpur 2	Kamari 2	Bimaran 4	Bimaran 2	Passani T2	Bimaran 2, 3	Bimaran 2, 3
Passani T2	Bimaran 5	Passani T2			Sirkap Taxila	Kamari 2	Passani T2
	Chahar Bagh 5	Shevaki 1				Shevaki 1	Shevaki 1
Qul-i Nadir		Qul-i Nadir				Qul-i Nadir	Qul-i Nadir
			Tillya Tepe	Tillya Tepe	Tillya Tepe	Tillya Tepe	Tillya Tepe
Yona				Yona	Yona	Yona	Yona

Table 2 Selection of shared reliquary forms and contents of 1st- to early 2nd-century deposits and burials in Afghanistan ('T' = tumulus)

era (year 1 equalling *c.* BC 174) – shares so many similarities with the Darunta examples as to suggest that they are closely allied in time and region.

Also belonging to this group are the core stupa deposit of Kamari 2 near Kabul and Chahar Bagh 5, both containing a coin of Wima Kadphises (*c.* AD 113–27). Allied to these are the finds from the Qul-i Nadir stupa near Begram and, in a broader context, the six tombs of Tillya Tepe in northern Afghanistan (Hackin, Carl and Meunié 1959, pp. 123–5; Sarianidi 1985; Hiebert and Cambon 2011). There are also connections – but to a lesser extent – with Taxila. Shared links are discussed in more detail in the catalogue of individual items arranged according to site (see below Part 3).

A study by Kay Rienjang (2017, pp. 124–7) has shown that the 1st–2nd-century reliquaries from the Jalalabad and Kabul regions share several distinguishing features. The Qul-i Nadir reliquary has not been examined, but all the other lathe-turned steatite reliquaries have a distinctive rectangular mortise in the base, whereas the reliquaries from Pakistan usually have a flat base, or if the mortise has not been removed, it is usually square.

The body of both globular and cylindrical reliquaries may have zones of cross-hatching or bands of parallel incised lines, while the flat top of the slightly flared lid knob is decorated with a flower. Examples of the globular non-partitioned type are from Bimaran 5, Chahar Bagh 6 and Hadda 1; those of the cylindrical type are from Kotpur 2, Bimaran 5 and Chahar Bagh 5.

Partitioned stone reliquaries (e.g. the Passani tumulus 2, Qul-i Nadir and Yona caskets) appear to have only been produced in Afghanistan. The Bimaran 2 steatite reliquary also belongs to this class although its partitions have been

removed to make room for its gold casket. Only the Passani reliquary is intact indicating that it was made to purpose. The other three all lack their small top lid, suggesting they had served a former function prior to interment.

The relic deposit from Qul-i Nadir near Begram offers many parallels (Hackin, Carl and Meunié 1959, pp. 123–5). Wedged between the top of one of the relic cell side walls and the cell lid was a worn, illegible coin 17–18mm in diameter, the size of which suggests it could have been a Kujula Kadphises contemporary imitation. Its position indicates it was a deliberate deposit. The relic cell itself was painted blue (the cells of Bimaran 1 and Nandara 1 were coloured with red ochre). The partitioned steatite reliquary contained four small parcels of brown silk: one in the central compartment; two in one of the outer partitions and one in another. The remaining two partitions were filled with dried brown substances resembling shelled nuts and dried blackberries or mulberries. The four silk wrappers each contained a silver reliquary, in turn each enclosing a gold reliquary, also wrapped in silk and all with domed lids of the same type as the Kamari 2 reliquary (see **Table 2, Fig. 59.5**). A fragmentary silver lid knob of the same design was also found at Passani tumulus 2 (see **Fig. 96.3**), while Shevaki 1 had a small pyramid of gold globules, evidently also a fragment (see **Fig. 49.4**). The range of beads and gems is also similar: a drop-shaped cabochon-cut turquoise inlay, an irregularly shaped aquamarine, a fragment of agate, two 'ruby' beads (probably garnet), ten misshapen pearls and a number of seed pearl beads. One of the gold reliquaries held small quantities of three different substances: one oatmeal-coloured, one yellow/saffron and one dark brown.

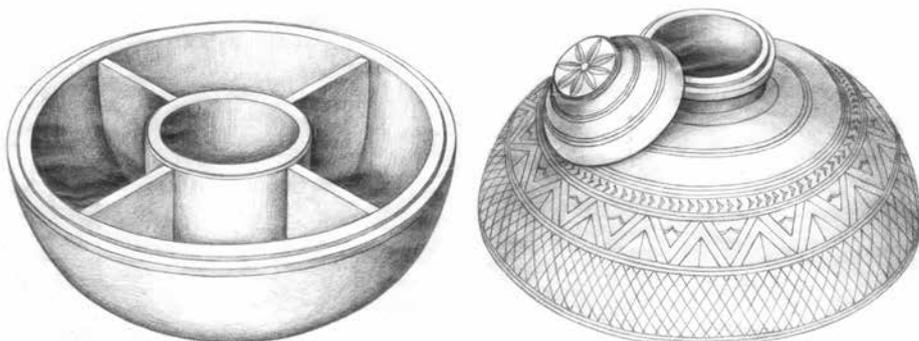


Figure 17 Partitioned reliquary from Passani tumulus 2 (after Masson 1841, Antiquities pl. I.1)



Figure 18 Shells, coral and mother-of-pearl.

1. Striped freshwater shell from Bimaran 2 (?); 2–3. Pierced shell and fragment from Hadda 3; 4. Pierced striped shell from Hadda 10 (?); 5. Two coral beads from Hadda 10 (?); 6. Cone shell bead from Hadda 10; 7. Burnt conch shell bead from Bimaran 2 (?); 8. Conch shell (?) fragment from a Wardak stupa (?); 9. Drilled cabochon-cut mother-of-pearl fragment from Hadda 10; 10. Mother-of-pearl fragment from Gudara

Beads and other small finds

The occurrence of turquoise is restricted to a few of the same group of 1st- to early 2nd-century stupa deposits. The finds include one heart-shaped inlay (flawed, but of good colour) found loose in the Bimaran 2 deposit and the tiny cross-shaped inlays of inferior greyish-green turquoise that originally adorned the gold reliquary from the same stupa (see **Fig. 119.2, 17**). In the Bimaran 3 foundation deposit were two heart-shaped turquoise inlays, the one accompanied by its original gold setting (see **Fig. 125.2, 10**; Jacquet 1836, pls XI.19, 12; XII.16–19). Other examples occurred in the Shevaki 1, Kamari 2, Qul-i Nadir and Yona deposits (see **Figs 49.5, 59.4**; Salomon 2005, p. 389, fig. 8b). The paucity of turquoise inlays in the deposits is in direct contrast to its extensive use at Tillya Tepe. Nevertheless, it seems a limited amount of this material reached south-eastern Afghanistan in the 1st century, where it was combined in the case of the Bimaran 2 reliquary with repoussé gold work and inlaid garnets in a similar way to the Tillya Tepe finds. The small size and scarcity of the inlays in the relic deposits also suggest the recycling of a valued resource. Further direct links with Tillya Tepe exist in the gold beads and ornaments from Shevaki 1, Bimaran 2, Bimaran 3 and Passani tumulus 2 (see **Figs 49.12, 119.4–8, 125.4; 96.10–11**).

Masson's frequent use of the catch-all phrase '&c.' or '&co.' especially when listing the diverse small beads in the relic deposits, means that many site attributions need qualification or remain uncertain. For example, he only records inset 'rubies' (i.e. garnets) from Bimaran 2 and 'ruby gems' from Hadda 10 (1841, pp. 71, 109), but garnet, especially beads – which he does not mention – is included in trays of objects recognizably from both these and other sites such as Passani tumulus 2 and Wardak (see **Figs 96.14, 119.40, 279.23–5, 280.13, 23–5, 307.15–16, 308.3, 313.17–18**). One is a hexagonal tabular bead (see **Fig. 279.23**), some are spherical, the others simply rough-polished and pierced irregular fragments. As Masson does not list any of the small beads in detail, it is possible that they too may be from any of these sites, particularly from one of the Wardak relic deposits, for which there is no documentation.

'Beads of burnt coral' and 'burnt pearls' are said by both Masson and Honigberger to have been in many of the 1st- to early 2nd-century relic deposits (Shevaki 1, Bimaran stupas 2–4, Passani tumulus 2). There are certainly numerous, presumably freshwater, misshapen pearls and seed pearl beads, but they are merely degraded in many instances, not burnt. They also occur in the Qul-i Nadir and Yona deposits and in considerable numbers at Tillya Tepe. In the British

Museum deposits they are mixed with pinkish bone (?) beads, which can probably be equated with Masson's 'burnt coral' (see **Fig. 119.34–7**). But also now included in several separate trays of pearl beads are small gilt beads apparently from Hadda 10 (see **Fig. 279.4**; Masson 1841, p. 109), as well as a quantity of ivory beads not recorded by Masson (see **Figs 119.38; 313.19, 23, 25–6**). Both groups therefore appear to have been added to the pearl trays at some point in their India Museum history. The ivory beads are easily recognizable, even to a non-specialist, so Masson's omission can only be attributed to the probability that they originate from the Wardak sites. Complementary evidence for this comes from a recently found relic deposit which is related by its inscription to the Wardak 1 reliquary and included ivory beads (Falk 2008, pp. 66–8, see **Fig. 304** below).

In addition to pearls, there are several related freshwater and/or marine objects in the collection. A minute shell possibly from Bimaran 2 appears to be a freshwater mollusc, as its size makes it highly unlikely to have been imported (**Fig. 18.1**). A cerith-like shell and larger fragment from Hadda 3 (another late 1st century site) could conceivably also be freshwater molluscs (**Fig. 18.2–3**). But the remaining items are all from the sea. There are two actual coral beads possibly from the c. 5th-century deposit of Hadda 10, but they are not burnt (**Fig. 18.5**). A striped seashell may be from the same site (**Fig. 18.4**), as are unquestionably nine calcite beads probably made from cone shell and dyed green with a copper salt (**Fig. 18.6**). Cone shells live in pan-tropical marine environments, such as the Indian Ocean, so would have been imported into Afghanistan.

There are, however, two smooth, highly polished black beads of Indian Ocean conch shell that have definitely been burnt (**Fig. 18.7; Table 3.5**). Whether this is simply a deliberate manufacturing technique or is due to uncontrolled heating is not clear. One of these blackened shell beads (now in fragments) was strung together in the India Museum with crystal, amethyst and agate beads seemingly from Bimaran 2 (IM 15, see **Fig. 119.19, 29–30**), but it is not certain how correct these strung bead assemblages are.

A large, thick fragment (now in two pieces) possibly also from a conch shell is not recorded by Masson so is probably from one of the Wardak stupas (**Fig. 18.8**). There are also two worked mother-of-pearl fragments, from Hadda 10 and Gudara respectively (**Fig. 18.9–10**). The conch fragment again suggests maritime links, which the Hadda 10 finds indicate continued into the 5th century. But it is not possible to determine whether this is evidence of active maritime trade or merely the incidence of individual traders donating such objects which they had acquired in their travels.

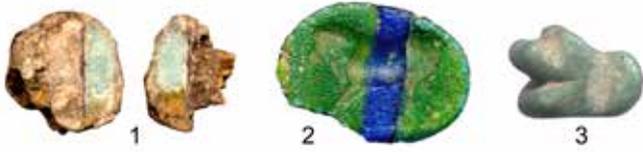


Figure 19 Glass beads and seal.

1. Fractured glass bead from Bimaran 2 (?), see Fig. 119.28; 2. Glass seal from Wardak 1. Opacifier antimony, see Fig. 307.18; 3. Glass lion bead from Hadda 10. Opacifier tin, see Fig. 280.18

The ivory carvings from Begram show that the material – either worked or unworked – was imported from India, it is usually thought in about the 1st century AD (Mehendale 2001; Hiebert and Cambon 2011, pp. 150–67, 186–95). One of two identical disc beads of ivory was included with recognizable Bimaran 2 beads in the India Museum string IM 15 (see **Fig. 119.19, 31**). However, the second bead was located in a large tray of miscellaneous material predominantly from Hadda 10, but also Passani tumulus 2 and Wardak (see Appendix 2 SKM 1122 / IM 45). General indications are that the ivory beads from the relic deposits came from Wardak 1 or possibly also the other Wardak stupas (see **Fig. 307.11, 28–37**). Two Wardak reliquary inscriptions are specifically linked to the Kushans in the 2nd century: Kanishka year 18 (c. AD 145) from Wardak 2 or 3, and year 51 (c. AD 178) from Wardak 1. Two ivory caskets, the one fitting inside the other, came from Hadda 4, a site which also contained Kushan coins (see **Fig. 258.1–2, 6–7**). These suggest probable access to ivory also throughout the 2nd century.

Given the well-known abundant source of lapis lazuli in Badakhshan, northern Afghanistan, its omission in the relic deposits is curious. It occurs at Tillya Tepe and as beads at Begram (Hiebert and Cambon 2011, pp. 150, 242, 246, nos 138, 142). However, it is totally absent in the 1st to early 2nd-century deposits from the Darunta and Kabul sites and seemingly also from Hadda. Masson does mention lapis lazuli in his account of the Hadda 10 deposit, but only in connection with a fluid ‘of a fine blue colour’ which he initially thought was obtained from lapis and various other substances, but which he later amended as being due to verdigris (**E161/VII f. 18**; p. 176 below). Samples of the actual stone only occur in the late 2nd-century stupa deposit of Wardak 1 (see **Fig. 307.9–10, 12–13, 26**). Its absence is perhaps best explained in political terms, i.e. that trading links between Badakhshan and the lands south of the Hindu Kush beyond Begram were disrupted in the 1st century and only resumed during the more settled conditions under Kushan rule in the 2nd century.

So despite the probable contamination between trays of relic items, there seems to be a discernible chronological pattern in the choice of preferred materials for the beads. In the 1st to early 2nd century they are almost exclusively made from semi-precious/hard stones: rock crystal, aquamarine, amethyst, garnet, agate and carnelian. Rubies and emeralds, although occurring in Afghanistan (p. 46 below) are absent from the deposits, presumably because they were too hard to be worked with the existing tools of the time. The crystal and aquamarine beads are usually faceted, the amethyst ones ellipsoidal and the agate bi-cone. All have threading

holes drilled from either end and misaligned in the middle. The garnet beads are small and predominantly rough polished (see **Figs 119.40; 279.24**). The carnelian beads are mostly spherical and drilled from one side only (see **Fig. 129.10–12**). There may be regional differences in the choice of materials which could in part be influenced by date. The late 2nd-century Wardak 1 deposit uniquely contained beads of lapis lazuli and amber, as well as ivory and a black stone, probably serpentinite (see **Fig. 307.6–10, 12–14, 17, 26–37**). There is also a notable tendency at both Wardak 1 and Hadda 10 to include samples of unworked or partially worked stone (see **Figs 307.2–5; 279.30–3**).

Glass

One of four extremely rough, fractured purplish glass beads was strung together with beads apparently from Bimaran 2 (**Figs 19.1, 119.19, 28**), but if from the site, it appears to be a unique occurrence for the 1st-century deposits. One of these beads has broken in half and has a core of pale blue transparent glass. Analysis revealed the colourants as iron, copper and manganese, the surface opaqueness being merely due to weathering (**Table 3.3** below). According to Wypyski, manganese was one of the colourants in common use very early in the history of glass (1992, p. 281).

Judging from the contents probably from the Wardak 1 deposit, glass had already begun to replace semi-precious/hard stone as the material of choice for beads by the later 2nd century. The trend is continued in the 5th-century Hadda 10 deposit. Analysis by Louise Joyner of seven relic deposit beads identified them all as soda-lime silica glasses, a typical Roman glass composition (**Table 3.1–2, 8–9, 11–12, 20–1** below). All included iron and/or copper as colourants. Four of the beads were opacified. One, a blue and green striped seal (**Fig. 19.2**), is coloured with copper, cobalt and tin and has antimony as an opacifier. The remaining three use a lead-tin opacifier, a Roman technique of c. 4th–7th century. This provides a means of differentiation between the glass items of late 2nd-century Wardak 1 and 5th-century Hadda 10.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Casson 1989, 49.23) records the 1st-century export of raw glass from Egypt to Barbarika on the Indus delta. It is tempting to imagine that the glass and also the imported shells in the relic deposits followed the same route as the caravans in Masson’s time, from the Indus delta via Qalat and Qandahar into Afghanistan. In discussing possible sources for Begram glass, Whitehouse points to the probability that ‘objects were made of Roman glass but outside the Roman Empire’ from an early period (2001, p. 444). Wypyski notes further that glass, ‘like metal, was often traded as blocks or ingots, which were melted down and reformed into various objects far from the site where glass was originally made. Broken and scrap glass was also often collected and traded to various glass manufacturers as stock to be re-melted and reformed’ (1992, p. 283). Evidence of local manufacture is supplied by two relic deposit objects. The first is the green and blue striped glass seal from Wardak 1 depicting a horse that closely resembles a stocky Central Asian prototype, not a Roman stallion (**Table 3.21; Figs 19.2, 307.18**). The second, a small opaque green glass lion bead from Hadda 10,



Figure 20 Fragments of silk and textile imprints on corroded copper objects

follows a long Buddhist tradition of lion beads in stone (Table 3.11; Figs 19.3, 280.18).

Wrappings

Prior to opening the small cylindrical gold reliquary from Hadda 10, Masson speculated that it probably contained ‘a fragment of bone with a bead or small gem, enveloped in fine linen or carbasus’ (E161/VII f. 9). This shows that in his excavations he had come across the practice of wrapping reliquaries and/or their contents in cloth, especially silk. In fact, a few textile fragments and imprints survive in the collection, including an impression or the remnant of actual cloth impregnated with the corrosion products from the large broken cylindrical reliquary of Hadda 10 (Fig. 20.1–4):

1. Corroded copper alloy fragment incorporating a piece of tabby weave textile with a blue stripe running through it (1880.3987.c; Hadda 10, see Fig. 278.30, 34).
2. Small knotted fragment of blue and pale yellow ochre silk and fragmentary threads (1880.4110.e, o; Wardak 4, see Fig. 308.6–7).
3. Corroded copper alloy fragment, suffused with resin and the stained remnant of finely woven ochre and blue silk 1880.3929.k; Wardak 4, see Fig. 308.8).
4. Three small fragments of silk (1880.4101.b, see Fig. 313.14; unprovenanced: possibly from Passani tumulus 2, Hadda 4 or Wardak 8).

There are several additional reports of cloth found in the relic deposits:

1. The Kotpur 1 silver reliquary contained a smaller gold reliquary, precious objects, two bronze coins of Mujatria and a brown pungent liquid (Masson 1841, p. 64; Jacquet 1838, pp. 183, 185, pl. XIII.2). The liquid had preserved, in both reliquaries, a piece of very fine fabric – most likely silk – pleated and folded double many times.
2. The Kamari 2 relic deposit was placed in a round, shallow, bronze basin and covered by a very fine, dark red cloth which crumbled to dust (Jacquet 1836, p. 266). Again, this is likely to have been silk. Elsewhere, traces of silk have also been found on the surface of the large copper alloy reliquary from the Manikyala Great Stupa foundation deposit (Zwalf 1996, p. 355, no. 677: BM 1848,0602,1), while at nearby Mera-ka-Pind – dated in the year 18 of Kanishka (i.e. c. AD 145) – the reliquary was wrapped in white linen (Court 1834, pp. 558–9).

Inscriptions

Two inscribed reliquaries survive in the Masson Collection: the steatite example from Bimaran 2 and the copper alloy vase from Wardak 1. There was a third, a ‘brass’ reliquary from Wardak 2 or 3 inscribed on the lid in the year 18 of Kanishka, which Dowson transcribed and translated (1863, p. 232, pl. IX.3), but which has since disappeared (see p. 207 below).

Kharoshthi inscriptions were far more pervasive than extant examples indicate, but those using fragile materials, even if in good condition when found, have not survived. There are reports of birch bark manuscripts in the relic deposits of Shevaki 1 (a folded ‘papyrus’ with traces of ‘Bactrian characters’, i.e. Kharoshthi; see Fig. 49.7); Hadda 1 (‘a twist of tuz-leaf’: Masson 1841, p. 106); Nandara 1 (fragments of inscribed ‘tuz-leaves’ completely pulverized, but originally formed into a twist, and bound with thread; see Fig. 162.1, 5); and Passani tumulus 2 (‘twist of coarse tuz-leaf inscribed with Bactro-Pali characters’; see Fig. 96.26). The stone slab sealing the large burial chamber in the centre of Passani tumulus 7 was actually covered with layers of bark, but there is no record that they were inscribed (E164 f. 150a).

Inscriptions written in ink have also not survived. The Shevaki 1 stone reliquary had traces of an illegible ink inscription on the lid (Baums 2012, p. 250, no. 55; see Fig. 49.1). Masson records a few Kharoshthi letters on one of the funeral jars he found at Hadda (E164 f. 113; see Fig. 292.3, ‘No. 3’), while at Hadda 13 a small earthen jar containing a stone ‘wrapped in tuz-leaves’ had a carelessly written ink inscription dated in the year 28 of Kanishka (Baums 2012, p. 243, no. 40; CKI 155; p. 193 below). Masson copied it, in case the ‘testimony might become obliterated, or suffer in its journey from Kabul’. This proved to be the case, its current reading deriving from several transcriptions found among his papers in the India Office (Thomas 1915). In fact, the containers themselves have also all disappeared, along with the ‘brass’ reliquary from Wardak 2 or 3.

Allied to inscriptions are three clay sealings – one from Nandara 1, two from Wardak 7 – and the sketch of a fourth from Kotpur 2 (Fig. 21). The Kotpur 2 deposit contained coins of Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 60–90), suggesting an approximately similar 1st-century date for the sealing (Fig. 21.1).

The Nandara 1 sealing (Fig. 21.2) was no doubt originally attached with thread to the ‘twist’ of inscribed ‘tuz-leaves’ found in the same deposit (see Fig. 162.1, 5). Although worn, it distinctly shows the standing figures of a



Figure 21 Clay sealings.

1. Sketch of a sealing from Kotpur 2, showing a standing figure with a lance and a shield (Wilson 1841, *Antiquities* pl. IV.6; see Fig. 85.14); 2. Sealing from Nandara 1 depicting a loving couple (see Fig. 162.4); 3. Box seal with (a) a figure standing at a fire-altar on one face and (b) a loving couple on another. Kushan, 3rd-4th-century, from Begram or Kabul bazaar. See www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.4073; 4. Abraded sealing from Wardak 7 perhaps depicting a standing figure before a fire-altar (see Fig. 309.2); 5. Sealing from Wardak 7 depicting a reclining figure in a similar pose to that of the king on coins of Huvishka (see Fig. 309.1); 6. Coin of Huvishka depicting the king reclining on a couch (IOC.355)

woman (left) and a man facing each other holding hands. The same subject is represented on one of the sides of a rectangular copper alloy box seal in the Masson Collection from Begram or Kabul bazaar (**Fig. 21.3b**) and, like it, the clay impression has undulating scarf-like lines trailing down behind each figure and possibly also lines representing the pleated folds of the man's trousers.

On the second face of the Begram/Kabul seal (**Fig. 21.3a**) is a figure in Kushan dress standing at a fire-altar. The curved hemline of the tunic in this depiction is first seen on coins of Vasishka (c. AD 247–67), suggesting a 3rd-century date for the seal and, more tenuously, perhaps also the Nandara 1 sealing and its accompanying stupa deposit.

The image on the first Wardak 7 sealing is very indistinct (**Fig. 21.4**), but appears to show a figure with right arm outstretched perhaps standing before a fire-altar, i.e. in a similar stance to the representation on the Begram/Kabul bazaar seal (**Fig. 21.3a**). The image on the second Wardak 7 sealing (**Fig. 21.5**) is a reclining figure in a pose reminiscent of the reclining king on coins of Huvishka (c. AD 150–90; **Fig. 21.6**). So, either by subject matter or association, all four sealings can be linked to the Kushan period.

Some of the materials used in the relic deposits have been touched on. Possible sources of these materials, together with technical analysis of some of the glass, gemstones and beads are discussed in Chapters 7–9.

Chapter 6

The Buddhist and Historical Context of the Finds

The information from Masson's discoveries is supplemented by inscriptions, Buddhist texts and the literary accounts of Chinese pilgrims and Muslim observers. These primary sources place the finds in a historical context and provide a fuller picture of the course of Buddhism in Afghanistan.

The Buddhist texts, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI.99) and *Mahāvāṃsa* (V.79, 173) credit Ashoka (c. 269–232 BC) with establishing Buddhist monuments in 84,000 towns throughout the Mauryan empire (Lamotte 1988, p. 250). Even in AD 629–45, when the Chinese monk Xuanzang (AD 596–664) visited Afghanistan and northern India, a significant number of stupas were still said to have been founded by Ashoka, including one to the east of the city of Nagarahara (near Jalalabad) commemorating the site of the Dīpaṅkara jātaka (Xuanzang fasc. II.878b–c; Lamotte 1988, p. 333; p. 155 below). This attribution reflects the Buddhist tradition of the ruler as a convert and promulgator of the faith, but has not been verified on the ground. However, there is an inscribed schist reliquary purporting to be from Bajaur (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which records the rededication of 'relics from a Maurya period stūpa' by the Apraca prince Indravarma in year 63 of Azes (c. AD 16/17; Baums 2012, no. 8, pp. 207–8). This suggests that in the early 1st century there was already a tradition of ascribing the foundation of stupas to Ashoka.

The Indo-Greek king Menander I (c. 155–130 BC) is also credited as a convert to Buddhism in the *Milindapañha*, 'The questions of Menander' (Rhys Davids 1890–4). He is cited in an inscription on the lid of a relic casket from Shinkot in Bajaur (Lamotte 1988, p. 422; Baums 2012, no. 1, pp. 202–3), but it has been argued that this part of the inscription is a later forgery (Falk 2005, pp. 349–53). So although it is feasible that Buddhism could have been established in Afghanistan at any time during the last two or three centuries BC, it is not until the advent of the 1st century AD that there is any really tangible chronological evidence in the form of dated inscriptions and the inclusion of coins in the relic deposits.

As far as inscriptions are concerned, the earliest are dated in the Azes era (year 1 equating with c. 47/46 BC, cf. Falk and Bennett 2009). Twelve inscriptions are linked to the 1st-century Apraca rajas, thought to have ruled in Bajaur, the mountainous borderland east of Jalalabad (Baums 2012, nos 1, 5–6, 8–10, 13–15, 17–19; see also pp. 35–6 above). In addition to the Azes era, some Apraca inscriptions are also dated in regnal years of their king Vijayamitra (c. AD 1–32). The Shinkot casket, for example, was rededicated in year 5 of Vijayamitra. According to their dated inscriptions, they span the first 32 years of the 1st century, while the earliest coin evidence from Darunta and Hadda fits the period from the second half of the 1st century into the early 2nd.

Although precise dates for the introduction of Buddhism into Afghanistan remains uncertain, Masson's research provides some chronological insights. There is, for example, a discernible hierarchy in the relationship between groups of stupas. This is most evident at Darunta, especially Bimaran, where Masson identified three classes, Bimaran 3 and 5 being the principal monuments; then Bimaran 1 ('of the second class, but a superior one': Masson 1841, p. 69; **Vol. II, Fig. 44**), Bimaran 2 and 4 (even though these two held the richest

deposits); and lastly, a series of smaller subsidiary stupas or possibly mere burial mounds not necessarily of the Buddhist period. It is notable that the two smaller stupas 2 and 4 were less substantially built than Bimaran 1, 3 and 5, and consequently little or nothing of their exterior form survived.

The relic deposits of all five Bimaran stupas were located in specially constructed cells (pp. 101–21). In addition, Bimaran 1, 3 and 5 contained earlier stupas and deposits encased within their subsequently enlarged structures, but Bimaran 1 held only mould. The lack of coins in the Bimaran 3 and 5 core stupa deposits indicates that they predate the other stupas of Bimaran. The numismatic evidence associates the enlargement of Bimaran 5 with coins of Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90) and Mujatria (c. AD 80–90); that of Bimaran 3 with coins of Soter Megas/Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113), i.e. in the same late 1st- to early 2nd-century AD period as the construction of Bimaran 2 (Mujatria) and Bimaran 4 (Soter Megas). The relic deposits in the core stupas of nearby Kotpur 1 and 2 contained coins of Mujatria and Kujula Kadphises respectively (pp. 86–91), so have affinities both in content and date with Bimaran 2 and the enlargement of Bimaran 5. The steatite and gold reliquaries of Bimaran 2 sustained injury prior to burial, but both they and their contents exhibit a consistent date of the 1st century AD. So either the relics were rescued from an earlier structure (but still of the 1st century) and buried afresh, or they were perhaps exhibited in an open shrine and only interred after they had been damaged.

Although Passani tumulus 2 lacked a relic cell, its size and the content of its deposit – including Soter Megas coins – places it in the same category as Bimaran 2 and 4. It is notable that all three deposits were found in the core of a smallish stupa where there was no evidence of any earlier or later structure. This suggests the three were purpose built to house their particular relics. Like Bimaran 2, the Passani deposit contained an inscription, but on birch bark which unfortunately has not survived. The uniquely intact state of its steatite reliquary indicates it was specifically made to purpose, not reused like the Bimaran 2 reliquary, but it contained a similar range of both broken and intact small gold and silver artefacts, seed pearls and semi-precious stone beads. The contents of these reliquaries seemingly reflect the tradition that the Buddha's own relics (*sarīra*) were three types: 'like jasmine buds, like washed pearls, like (nuggets) of gold'. So pearls, gold fragments and crystalline beads of different colours and sizes, were seemingly considered 'the results of a process of metamorphosis brought on by the fire of cremation and the perfections of the saint whose body they represent' (Strong 2004, pp. 10–12). The artefacts also fit within the same cultural milieu as Tillya Tepe and Taxila. There was evidently a fluid exchange of objects and ideas in both directions, for Tillya Tepe burials 4 and 5 contained the inscribed gold medallion depicting Heracles pushing the Buddhist wheel of the law and an amber lion bead respectively (Hiebert and Cambon 2011, no. 200, p. 276; no. 213, p. 283), both items suggesting interaction between Buddhism and the lands north of the Hindu Kush in this period.

Overall the numismatic material and inscriptions from the relic deposits in the Kabul, Jalalabad and Wardak regions show a high incidence of the foundation of new

stupas and enlargement of existing ones from the late 1st century onwards. The dated and allied Apraca reliquaries, although lacking site provenance, push the starting point for this activity at least to the early 1st century.

Further expansion of Buddhism in Afghanistan coincided with the consolidation of the Kushan empire in the 2nd century, and no doubt benefited from the apparently general climate of prosperity and religious tolerance of that time. Coins of Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113–27) were found on their own in three stupas (pp. 76, 149, 164): a gold example in the primary deposit of Kamari 2 (p. 33, **Table 1**, Group 2); and copper alloy examples in Chahar Bagh 5 (a Group 3 stupa with a relic cell but no enlargement: 1 coin), and Hadda 2 (a small Group 4 stupa with no cell or enlargement: 27 coins).

Given Kanishka I's (c. AD 127–50) unique gold issue bearing the image of the Buddha (see **Fig. 242.11**), and his revered reputation as the convenor of a Buddhist Council in Kashmir and founder of the renowned Kanishka stupa at Peshawar (Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 130–1), it is perhaps surprising that the only evidence from the Masson sites of the establishment of stupas during his reign is an inscription dated in year 18 (c. AD 145) from Wardak 2 or 3 (p. 207). The other two inscriptions in his era (year 28 from Hadda 13 and year 51 from Wardak 1) both date to the reign of Huvishka (c. AD 150–90), while any coins of Kanishka – at Chahar Bagh 4 (a secondary deposit), Ahinposh and Wardak 1 – all occur together with coins of Wima Kadphises and Huvishka (pp. 33, 144–8, 156–9, 202–6). Guldara and Hadda 4 contained coins of the last two rulers only (pp. 77–81, 168–70). The coins and inscriptions therefore give a total of five new stupas and one enlargement in the time of Huvishka. As Salomon has pointed out (2012, p. 165), after the reign of Huvishka, inscribed reliquaries 'abruptly disappear, presumably due to the decline of the Kushan Empire and the lavish patronage that Buddhist institutions enjoyed under it'.

There is also a numismatic gap in the Masson relic deposit finds after the time of Huvishka. The later Kushan period is only represented by stray finds near the 'summits' of two stupas: Hadda 6 had a copper alloy coin of the time of Vasudeva II (c. AD 280–320; see **Fig. 259**); Hadda 8 similarly held some Kushan coins 'of the more recent classes' (Masson 1841, pp. 107, 110). But there is no reason why some of the 56 stupas without coins (**Table 1**, Groups 3–4) could not date from 3rd–5th century. There is also numismatic evidence – albeit not from Masson – of two new foundations in this period. The first is the silver reliquary in the form of a stupa found with gold coins of Vasudeva I (c. AD 190–227) and Vasishka (c. AD 247–67) in a stupa deposit at Ali Masjid in the Khyber Pass on the border of Afghanistan (Errington and Cribb 1992, p. 181; BM 1887,0717.20, 1979,0215.1–2). The second is Tepe Maranjan 2 near Kabul, where the relic cell of the main stupa contained four reliquaries in addition to seven very corroded copper alloy coins: six contemporary copies of Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90) and one imitation of Vasudeva II (c. AD 280–320; identification courtesy of Joe Cribb, from images supplied by Noor Agha Noor, Kabul Museum reg. nos 13.45.13.21–27).

At the time of Faxian's pilgrimage soon after AD 400 to Nagarhara (modern Nangarhar) and elsewhere in

Afghanistan, there were still large flourishing Buddhist communities everywhere (Beal 1869, pp. xxiii–lxxxiii). Coins of Kidarite and Alkhan Hun coins (including issues of Khingila), together with 3rd–5th-century Sasanian coins and contemporary Roman aurei in the relic deposit of Hadda 10 show that substantial new stupas were still being built and consecrated in the late 5th century (Figs 278, 281–2). At the same time as Hun raids into India took place under Toramana (AD 485–515), he was cited as *devarāja* together with fellow Alkhan rulers Mehama, Khingila and Javukha in a stupa consecration inscription said to be from northern Afghanistan (Melzer 2006, p. 256). At Wardak, the relic deposit of the stupa of Vagamarega's daughter, dated in the year 51 of Kanishka (c. AD 178), was rededicated in the 6th–7th century when two Napki Malka silver coins of the Nezak Huns were added to the relic deposit (Vondrovec 2010, pp. 170–3, coin type 198; Falk 2008, pp. 66–7, figs 6–7; Baums 2012, pp. 245–6).

It is clear from the writings of Xuanzang, however, that by AD 632, although the majority of the population was still Buddhist in Nagarahara and Udyana (Swat), many monasteries had been abandoned, many stupas were ruined and only a few monks remained (Watters 1904, pp. 226–40). A crucial factor causing the collapse appears to have been a cataclysmic earthquake and floods, evidence of which has been found at sites such as Butkara 1 and Barikot in Swat (Faccenna 1980–1, part 1, pp. 134–5; Callieri 2010, pp. 376–7; Klimburg-Salter 2010, p. 40) and which could equally have affected Afghanistan south of the Hindu Kush. However, the subsequent decline and abandonment of the numerous monasteries did not take place at the same moment in every locality. It was a more gradual process of disintegration.

To the south-east of the Hindu Kush, moreover, the decline of Buddhism was evidently accompanied by the growth in popularity of other religions, as Xuanzang speaks of a number of 'Deva temples' in Udyana, Nagarahara and Laghman, non-Buddhists being most numerous in the latter country. Also in the 7th century, the Turki dynasty of Kabul Shahs became established as far as the Punjab, and although Buddhism continued under their rule, the cult of Hindu gods, particularly Shiva and Durga, was also prominent (MacDowall and Taddei 1978, p. 235). Excavations at Tepe Sardar, Ghazni, although of a later period (c. 8th century), provide evidence of this, for an image of Mahisasuramardini (a form of Durga) was found placed in an otherwise purely Buddhist context (Taddei 1973, pp. 203–13, pl. 15.5).

In the first quarter of the 8th century, the dynasty ruling Bamiyan apparently still professed Buddhism (Chavannes 1903, pp. 291–2), for the Korean monk Hyecho found it a flourishing cult centre in AD 727 (Tarzi 1977, p. 183). At Tepe Sardar there are indications of an earlier abandonment and subsequent restoration by devotees of a later school, probably in the aftermath of earthquake damage and/or the Arab occupation of Arachosia (Baladhuri, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, II, pp. 144–8). Further south, at the site of Shahr-i Kohna (Old Qandahar), the lowest levels of a clay stupa contained a hoard of 68 mostly Hun coins and at least one Umayyad coin (Blurton 1981, p. 439; Helms 1997, p. 98). There is no doubt therefore that a substantial Buddhist

culture still survived at sites such as Bamiyan, Tepe Skandar and Qandahar.

However, Buddhism had to contend with the ever-increasing pressure of Islam, following Arab conquests in Afghanistan from the 7th century onwards. How permanent or effective each 'conquest' was is uncertain, for historical sources have little to report of the fate of the monasteries and no living traditions are preserved in the earliest Islamic records of the 9th century. Yet one essentially accurate description of Buddhist ritual at Nawbahar (Skt. *Nava-vihāra*), the 'New Monastery' at Balkh does survive in the accounts of several writers of the late 9th to early 13th century, which shows that their source probably had first-hand experience of these events (Ibn al-Faḥīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, p. 322; Mas'udi, *Murūğ ad-dahab*, pp. 47–79; Yaḥyā al-Rūmī, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, pp. 817–20; cf. Melikian-Chirvani 1974, pp. 10–20):

The Barāmika were prominent people at Balkh ... and their religion was the worship of idols ... they founded a place of worship which they call in Balkh the Nawbahār – that is to say, 'the new' [*vihāra*]. The Iranians revere this sanctuary and they go there on pilgrimage, they take offerings to it, they dress it in silk and place banners on the dome, which they call 'ustup' [stupa]. The cupola is 100 cubits in diameter, with a circular gallery around it. Around the sanctuary there are 360 cells where the monks and their novices live. The kings of China and the Kabulshah worshipped here and when they made pilgrimage to it, they used to prostrate themselves before the largest of the idols.

According to Yaḥyā (AD 1179–1229), who quotes as his source 'Umar b. al-'Azraq al-Kirmani, the Barmakid ruler of Balkh became Muslim following the Arab conquest of Khurasan in the mid-7th century, but this may have been a token conversion only and does not necessarily mean that the Buddhist cult centres immediately ceased to function. The fact that the monastery at Nawbahar is explained as an attempted imitation of the Ka'ba at Mecca by Muslim writers, implies that justification was found for its continued use as a place of worship, and that the conversion from Buddhism to Islam took several generations. Baladhuri (d. AD 892) states that Nawbahar was attacked by the Arabs, probably shortly after AD 663/4, during the rebellion of Balkh (*Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 170). Yaḥyā claims that the monastery was completely destroyed at this time (Melikian-Chirvani 1974, pp. 21–2), but this is unlikely, for according to Tabari (AD 839–923), the native princes still prayed there in AD 708–9 (*Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, II, p. 1205, cf. 'Balkh', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II). Archaeological evidence suggests that Tepe Sardar at Ghazni and Fondukistan continued in cult throughout the 8th century (Taddei 1968, pp. 119–20; Taddei and Verardi 1978, pp. 134–5; Carl 1940; Hackin 1959, pp. 49–58, fig. 206). At Bamiyan a similar situation seems to have evolved with Islamization probably only gradually taking place following its capture by Ya'qub b. Layth in AD 871 (see below p. 65).

Nevertheless, official Muslim ideology rejected the forms of Buddhist and Hindu worship, and there are numerous references to the active implementation of this policy. According to Ya'qubi (*Kitāb al-buldān*, p. 106), in AD 792/3, Fadl b. Yahya b. Khalid b. Barmak, the governor of

Khurasan and grandson of the last Barmak ruler of Balkh, sent a force against the Kabul Shah:

These troops invaded the country, took possession of Ghūrwand, Fajj-Ghūrwand, Shārajwadh, Yandil-Istān and Shahbahār, where one finds the idol worshipped by the local people. This idol was destroyed and burnt.

According to David Bihar, an alternate reading of ‘Yandil-Istān’ is ‘Bandukistān’, while ‘Shahbahār’ equals Chahbahar at the end of the Panjshir valley (personal communication). From this Yandil-Istān’ or ‘Bandukistān’ is identifiable as the neighbouring Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan.

Following his capture of Bamiyan in AD 871, Ya‘qub b. Layth is reputed to have sent 50 idols of gold and silver from there to the caliph in Baghdad. According to the anonymous 11th-century *Tarikh-e Sistan* (p. 171), these were subsequently buried under the Ka‘ba at Mecca. In the time of Maḥmud of Ghazna in particular, emphasis was laid on such activities as the ‘breaking of idols’, enshrined in the Afghan place name Butkhak, ‘the dust of idols’, a halting point on the road east from Kabul.

Although the destruction of idols was officially encouraged, at the same time more sensitive Muslim observers in the region evinced some interest in the relics of Buddhist monasteries, which must have included numerous impressive monuments. Thus the anonymous *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (pp. 108–9, 337), in AD 982/3, speaks of the wonders of Nawbahar, even though it was in ruins by this time, and reports the existence at Bamiyan of two substantial idols, known as Surkh-but and Khing-but (the Red Buddha and the Grey Buddha). This tradition was also known a half century later to the Ghaznavid laureate, ‘Unsuri (d. AD 1049/50), who wrote a poem entitled *Khing But ū-surkh But*, ‘The grey and red idols’, which has not survived (‘Unṣurī, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I).

Al-Biruni (AD 973–1048), a contemporary of ‘Unsuri, apparently visited Bamiyan on his journey to Ghazni and mentions ‘in its escarpment are the red and dark-grey Buddhas, each one of 70 cubits’ (*al-Qānūn al-Mas‘ūdī*, p. 573, translation courtesy of David Bihar). He also wrote an ‘Explanation of the two idols of Bamiyan’, unfortunately no longer preserved (Boillot 1955, p. 203, no. 83). In contrast to this author’s enlightened researches into Hindu civilization, enshrined in his *Tahqiq ma li-l-Hind* (Sachau 1888), he displays little first-hand information on the Buddhist communities and their history, already perhaps an indication that the monasteries had not been peopled within the living memory of his time. Nevertheless, Buddhist figures made so deep an impression on the Persian poets of the Ghaznavid, and perhaps Samanid courts, that the term *but* became a commonplace metaphor for a type of physical beauty. Nawbahar, the New Monastery at Balkh, was immortalized by its association with the Barmakid family, and poets turned to account the *double-entendre* in Persian which gave its name the meaning, and associations, of spring. Also celebrated was Shahbahar, the ‘Royal Monastery’ (Tepe Sardar) at Ghazni (Muhammad b. Mansur, *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa-l-shā‘a*, p. 441).

This brief survey highlights the fact that the chronological evidence for the foundation of stupas and the expansion of Buddhism in Afghanistan in the 1st–5th century AD is largely provided by coins and inscriptions. What Masson also records in passing is how the sanctity of sites such as Passani was preserved through their use as burial grounds into the Muslim period. Despite destruction due to claims of iconoclasm, or early explorers, or natural causes such as earthquakes, the rich Buddhist heritage of Afghanistan survived to a remarkable degree. The devastation and destruction of many sites in recent times makes Masson’s detailed archaeological record all the more important.

Chapter 7

Sources of Raw Materials Suggested by the Published Literature

Following his survey and excavations of stupas in Darunta in 1834, Masson set off on a tour of the Kunar region to the north-east. He crossed the Kabul River by ferry at Barabad, where he saw ‘the process of washing for gold’ (1842, III, p. 274). He says further that (1842, I, pp. 213–14)

It is also universally believed that gold is found in large quantities in this country [the Kunar region between Chitral and Jalalabad], and it is fancied that it grows with the grain. The metal is pale-coloured, and is called Tilla Kahí, or straw-coloured gold, of the same quality as, I believe, Chinese gold generally is. The rivers flowing through Kafiristan [on the Afghanistan/Pakistan border, south-west of Chitral] undoubtedly bring down gold with them. There are constantly numbers of gold-washers employed near Peshatt [Pashat] on the river of Chitral and Kameh [i.e. Kunar River and its tributaries the Chitral and Bashgul rivers]. The metal is also found in the rivers of Laghman [and tributaries Alishang and Alingar], and in the river of Kabul, into which they fall, and is sometimes collected near Kergah and Chahar Bagh of Laghman, and again near Jalalabad. On the joint river of the Kohistan of Kabul [Panjshir and Ghorband Rivers], before it enters the Safi hills, there is a spot preserving the name of Zir Shuí, though now unfrequented, and it is certain that all, or nearly all the rivers flowing from the north [i.e. rising in the Hindu Kush] have auriferous sands, as quantities of the metal are procured in the Yusufzai districts [Peshawar Valley, i.e. from the Panjkora and Swat Rivers]. It may be worthy of note, that the people who search for gold are not of the countries, but of the Punjab; many are natives of Jhelum, on the river of that name. It is not improbable that the rivers of Kafiristan, when increased in volume, may pass over soils enriched with gold and carry down the precious particles with them. At such times they necessarily flood the narrow valleys through which they pass, and the little patches or plots in them, sown with maize or other grains. On their subsidence, it is possible, that grains of the metal may be found adhering to the roots of the plants, which have arrested their progress; whence the fiction of the growth of gold with the grain of the country.

In conversation with Haji Khan, the tax collector for the Beshud near Bamiyan, concerning a proposed visit to the site to see ‘the immense colossal statues’ and caves, Masson says further that (1842, II, p. 293)

He gave an account of the metals to be found in the hills, asserting there were gold, silver, copper, lead, antimony, &c. &c., adding that he and his people were khurs, or asses, and did not know how to extract them.

Gold appears to have been abundant in Afghanistan and ‘it is unlikely that imported gold would have been needed to supply local workshops’ (Reedy 1992, p. 259). Masson’s reports of potential sources of gold and known alluvial deposits finds support from a modern assessment of the mineral resources of Afghanistan carried out in 2007 and 2008 by the American and Afghan Geological Surveys. They located a concentrated tract of lode gold (i.e. low sulphide gold-quartz veins) associated with metamorphic and intrusive igneous rocks stretching along the length of the Hindu Kush from Badakhshan south-west through Takhar to Baghlan, Parvan and the north-eastern part of Bamiyan province (US Geological Survey 2007, 5.2, p. 194, fig. 5.2–1; Abdullah and Chmyriov 2008, pp. 186–7, 191, 193). This type of deposit, through weathering, water erosion and the

disintegration of gold-rich rocks and veins, also commonly generates secondary alluvial placer gold deposits. The freed gold collects in the sands and gravels of rivers often far downstream from its original source.

One of the largest areas now known of alluvial deposits of this type lies along the border of Takhar and Badakhshan provinces (US Geological Survey 2007, 9.1, p. 420; 10.2, p. 473; Abdullah and Chmyriov 2008, p. 194). A second is the Panj/Pyandzh River, a tributary of the Amu Darya, which forms the border between Afghanistan and Tajikistan (Abdullah and Chmyriov 2008, p. 29). The Nuristan area further south along the Kunar River – and adjoining the border with Bajaur, Chitral and Kafiristan in Pakistan – is largely inaccessible to modern survey, but all the rivers mentioned by Masson rise in the Hindu Kush and are likely to contain placer gold deposits. Reedy says that ‘the best condition for the concentration of gold in alluvial deposits is when the river gradient is moderate, with a balanced combination of erosion and deposition’ (1992, p. 157). The wide, shallow stretch of the Kabul River between Barabad – where Masson saw men panning for gold – downstream to the point where it joins the lower reaches of the Kunar River would seem to be ideal.

A second concentration of lode gold deposits associated with plutonic igneous rocks (polymetallic gold-quartz veins and skarns) is found in the provinces of south-western Ghazni, north-western Zabul and northern Qandahar. Placer gold deposits are also found in the streams that drain the Zarkashan copper and lode gold deposits in southern Ghazni province (US Geological Survey 2007, 5.2, pp. 194–5; 10.2, pp. 473, 480–2; Abdullah and Chmyriov 2008, pp. 188–90, 192–3). According to Reedy (1992, pp. 257–8), most of the gold produced in antiquity was placer or alluvial gold. ‘Exploitation of the original parent deposits would not have been profitable, but erosion of the matrix and the subsequent concentration of the gold left accumulations that were of economic value’.

Metal analysis of gold artefacts in the Masson collection has been limited to the Bimaran casket. This was done in the 1890s and gave the ratio of 90.85% gold to 5.63% silver and 3.65% copper for the reliquary. A not dissimilar result of 96.96% gold to 2.41% silver and 0.64% copper is cited in the same report for an ‘Indo-Scythian’ i.e. Kushan gold coin, possibly also from Afghanistan (Wingham 1896, pp. 85–6).

Polymetallic vein deposits usually contain important amounts of gold and silver in the form of electrum (US Geological Survey 2007, 5.1, p. 132). The deposits surveyed were principally gold and lacking in silver or base metals; only a handful were silver-rich deposits. However Afghanistan was a known source of silver in the past. According to Abu’l-Fidā (AH 672–732/AD 1273–1331; *Taqwīm al-buldān*), 10,000 men were employed digging horizontal adits into the mountain slopes around Panjshir in search of silver: ‘The people of Pandjhir made the mountain and the market-place like a sieve because of the many pits. They only follow veins leading to silver and if they find a vein they dig continuously until they reach silver’. From the 9th to early 11th century Panjshir was also the site of the silver mint for Samanid and Saffarid coinage (‘Pandjhir’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, p. 258). The US Geological

Survey records a silver-lead vein at Surkhbed, in northern Qandahar Province (2007, 4.2.2, pp. 118–19), and notes the probable existence of silver-bearing sulphosalts and galenas (a mineral of lead sulphide and an important ore source of silver). Silver can also be obtained from copper ores.

En route from Kabul to Jalalabad, Masson says that as he approached Tezīn – beyond Butkhak, in the hills leading up to the Lataband Pass – ‘the rocks were remarkably contorted, and throughout the defiles were many indications of copper, a metal more or less abundant in the hills of this part of the country’ (1842, III, p. 177). The area around Aynak, 30km south-south-east of Kabul, has been a centre of copper mining since ancient times, as evidenced by numerous old excavations and pits, and the remains of smelting furnaces, both here and at nearby Darband and Jawkhar (Afghanistan Geological Survey, http://www.bgs.ac.uk/afghanminerals/docs/aynak_a4.pdf: ‘The Aynak copper deposit’).

Aynak (currently the richest copper mine in the world), together with Darband, Jawkhar and Taghar, contain estimated resources of 12.3 million metric tons of copper. Results from the recent US Geological Survey predict the likely occurrence of several more undiscovered sediment-hosted copper deposits in the Kabul and Logar basin areas, which could contain as much as 16.9 million metric tons of copper, 7,670 metric tons of silver, and 601,500 metric tons of cobalt. The estimated amount of copper available from sedimentary rocks suggests it may be the most substantial non-ferrous metal resource in Afghanistan (US Geological Survey 2007, p. xxxii). Igneous rocks typical of geologic provinces containing porphyry copper deposits also are common in Afghanistan, although, as yet, there are no known deposits.

Masson also records being told that ‘a stone resembling’ lapis lazuli and indications of copper were to be found south of Peshawar, in the rocks between Kohat and Hangu, close to the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The Kohat district is said further to contain deposits of coal, iron, asbestos, jet and ‘other bituminous products’ (1842, I, pp. 114–15).

Assessment of the Masson Collection relic deposits show that in addition to gold, the materials used are primarily a variety of gems, semi-precious and other stones, glass and shell, with seed pearls, bone and ivory being mostly reserved for small beads.

Afghanistan lies at the western end of the continental collision zone between the Asian and Indian plates, with metamorphosed limestones (marbles, composed of recrystallized carbonate minerals) and associated gneisses deposited along the margins of one or both plates (Bowersox *et al.* 2000, pp. 112–13, fig. 3). This is a rich source of precious and semi-precious stones. The main gemstone producing areas are currently the Panjshir valley, Parvan province (emeralds), Jegdalek, Kabul province (rubies and sapphires), while the most abundant source of lapis lazuli is Badakhshan (Abdullah and Chmyriov 2008, p. 6). The mountainous region stretching across Nuristan, Laghman and Kunar provinces in eastern Afghanistan comprises one of the largest known fields of pegmatite, i.e. very crystalline, intrusive igneous rocks composed of large interlocking crystals. These host a wide variety of minerals, gems

(including kunzite) and semi-precious stones such as tourmaline, aquamarine, topaz, garnet, fluorite and varieties of quartz (McIntosh 2007, pp. 3–4). Identified modern sources are as follows:

- **Amethyst:** Badakhshan. The Jegdalek ruby mine at Gandamak, Kabul province, also produces amethyst-coloured kunzite and blue and pink sapphires (Bowersox 1985, p. 200, fig. 10; p. 202). An alternate name for amethyst is purple sapphire.
- **Beryl – aquamarine:** Kunar village and Gur Salat in Nuristan (McIntosh 2007, p. 5; Bowersox 1985, pp. 198, 202).
- **Garnet:** Darra-i Pesh (extracted with kunzite), Pachighram, Parun and Surkh Rud pegmatite fields in Nangarhar province and Panjshir in Parvan province. An ancient site of ruby, spinel and garnet mining was also found in Badakhshan (Bowersox 1985, p. 202; US Geological Survey 2007, p. 126, fig. 4.3–1; 12.2, p. 707). In 1820, William Moorcroft and George Trebeck were shown ‘some small garnets, or coarse rubies’ by a Tajik chief of Laghman, who he said that they were ‘found amongst his mountains [i.e. the Hindu Kush] in such profusion that the common people use them as shot in shooting small birds’ (1842, II, p. 368). Masson further reports that from a spring south-west of Alishang in Laghman ‘fragments of rubies are ejected, and ... parcels of them have been collected’ and ground down for use as ‘mending stones’ (1842, III, p. 295). This description brings to mind pebbles of quartz-micaceous (?) schist, bearing small industrial-quality rubies, found in the sands of the Swat River. Quern stones of the same material were used in Takht-i-Bahi village in the Peshawar valley (personal observation 1983; identified by David Kempe, former Keeper of Geology, Natural History Museum).
- **Sapphire:** in addition to Jegdalek, Wardak province is reported as a source for blue sapphires (McIntosh 2007, p. 5).
- **Rock crystal:** a large deposit in Ghazni province (‘Crystal, rock’, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/crystal-rock-bolur-bolur-ekuhi>).

Masson records that only two Buddhist relic deposits contained ‘rubies’ (actually garnets): Hadda 10 (‘three plain rubies’: **Fig. 280.23**; and one intaglio: **Fig. 279.19**) and Bimaran 2 (‘two rows of twelve rubies’ on the gold reliquary: actually one row of 12 and one of 14 cabochon-cut, polished and inlaid garnets. Of the original 26, one had fallen out (see **Fig. 119.3**) and two are missing (E161/VII ff. 2, 9, 16, 18–19). There are, in addition, two engraved broken ornaments (see **Figs 306.15, 312.17**), two cabochon-cut stones (one broken) and a thin worked fragment with a bevelled edge (see **Fig. 279.23–5**) and 18 small garnet beads mixed in with finds from other sites (p. 37 above). Given the proximity of Bimaran and Hadda in particular to the good garnet deposits at Darra-i Pesh, Surkh Rud and Pachighram, it is probable that they utilized local sources. Garnet beads from excavated sites in Central and South Asia only appear in small numbers – if at all – unlike quartz beads. Noël Adams suggests (2011, pp. 13–14) that this scarcity of garnet may be attributed in part to its relative hardness. She notes further

that although ‘India’ or ‘Bactria’ supplied stones to the Hellenistic Greeks in the West, the local population appears to have used garnet themselves only rarely, or at least not extensively, until the 1st millennium AD.

Examination of a selection of 39 of the stone beads from the relic deposits by Margaret Sax in January 2014, led her to the conclusion that they are predominantly varieties of quartz, possibly mainly acquired from sources in the same or surrounding regions (see p. 52). She divides the quartz into two types (1996, p. 63, fig. 1): ‘macro-quartz’ (i.e. macro-crystalline or coarse-grained; commonly transparent to translucent e.g. rock crystal, smoky quartz, amethyst) and ‘micro-quartz’ (i.e. micro-crystalline/crypto-crystalline or fine-grained; commonly translucent to opaque e.g. chalcedony, carnelian, agate, jasper, sard, bloodstone). All these materials are found in the beads from the relic deposits (see also pp. 50–1) and the intaglios bought by Masson in Kabul bazaar.

Agate, carnelian, jasper and rock crystal are commonly used for beads in the relic deposits. Malachite and lapis lazuli are occasionally used. Turquoise is rare and restricted to inlays. The intaglios are worked in a wider range of quartz varieties, including sard and heliotrope or bloodstone. A similar range of semi-precious stones is found in the 1st-century AD Tillya Tepe burials, especially garnet, agate, carnelian and occasionally lapis, but it is turquoise that is used extensively here.

Turquoise is a hydrous copper aluminium phosphate mineral (from chalcophyrite, malachite or azurite and feldspar). No sources of turquoise have yet been pin-pointed conclusively in Afghanistan. However, according to Tosi (1974, p. 150; Moorey 1994, p. 102), there is a potential source at Koh-i Dasht, south of Herat, while some websites say it is mined in Afghanistan (e.g. <http://mines.pajhwok.com/news/mineral-resources-maidan-wardak-province>; <http://www.gemselect.com/other-info/afghanistan-gems.php>; <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR358-Afghanistan-s-Emerging-Mining-Oligarchy.pdf>). Tillya Tepe certainly had an abundant supply of the material, but it could have been imported from the rich, not too distant, deposits around Nishapur, near Mashhad in Khorasan Province, Iran. These had been mined since ancient times (Lowry 2010, p. 51). Turquoise occurs rarely in the Buddhist relic deposits further east, being limited to a few stray inlays in several stupas of the 1st–2nd century around Kabul and Darunta (see p. 37).

The abundant pegmatite occurrences in north-eastern and eastern Afghanistan are predominantly composed of quartz and feldspars. It therefore is probable that the varieties of chalcedony (a cryptocrystalline form of silica composed of quartz and moganite) were – like the rock crystal and garnet – sourced locally (US Geological Survey 2007, 4.3.1, pp. 123, 126). Malachite results from the weathering of copper ores. It is found with azurite and, given the large copper deposit at Aynak in Logar province, is also likely to have been sourced locally. Indeed, the Afghan Geological Survey reporting on the silver deposits at Surkhbed in Qandahar Province, says that the vein carries malachite, as well as 0.24–0.25% copper and traces of gold (Abdullah and Chmyriov 2008, pp. 198–9).

Masson records seeing two types of stone containing fossils in the course of his travels. In the hills near Khanak, south-west of Quetta, close to the border of Baluchistan with Afghanistan, he found fossil shells and corals embedded in grey limestone (1842, II, p. 78):

This rock was of polished surface, and so transparent as nearly to approach marble. The shells were marine, of four varieties, and at once recognizable as identical with those now picked up on the sea-coast of Makran [the semi-desert coastal strip stretching from Baluchistan to the Gulf of Oman]. The coral was clearly the white coral, whose fragments strew the same coast, and which occurs so abundantly in beds on the opposite, or Arabian coast. The outlines of the petrifications were beautifully defined by minute crystallizations.

Masson also mentions that near the village of Khurd Kabul, to the south-east of Kabul, ‘fragments of marly rock everywhere strewing the surface of the soil were full of fossilized shells’ (1842, III, p. 304). Elsewhere, he describes the same material as ‘a white argillaceous [clayey] stone, containing fossil freshwater shells’, which was so plentiful on the plains of Khurd Kabul, that it was used in building (1842, I, p. 188). It seems possible that it can be identified as limestone, specifically shelly limestone, a sedimentary rock combining broken shells with calcite, which is usually a grey colour in its raw state, but when weathered possibly white, attaining a more yellowish hue when polished. There are three beads of shelly limestone seemingly from the relic deposit of Passani tumulus 2 (see **Fig. 96.12**).

In discussing the mineralogy of the region Masson says (1843, IV, p. 462)

as we proceed northwards, and approach the superior belt of Caucasus [i.e. Hindu Kush], in the vicinity of Kabul, the ridges are composed of gneiss and mica slates. There are also ridges of pure granite; and there is one circumstance which struck me – that the pure granite is always attended by genuine slate, while the spurious granite, or gneiss, is never without mica slate.

En route to Jalalabad, along the Kabul River, halfway between Basawal and Mian Ali Sahib (Ali Boghan), near Chahar Deh and the ford to Goshta, Masson noted a stupa, and to the north of it, a hill that was quarried for steatite (1842, I, p. 169). He also says (1842, III, p. 156) that in the ‘inferior hills’ of the Hindu Kush, to the north of Qal’-i Bulend and Begram, ‘steatite is so abundant that the people dwelling in them make their cooking utensils of it; and steatite, with jade, and other magnesian green stones, are found together in the lower hills of the Safid Koh range, south of the valley of Jalalabad’. Elsewhere (1842, III, p. 302), he says specifically that ‘the subordinate hills of the Safid Koh in the neighbourhood of Murkhi Khel are interesting, as containing prase [a translucent green variety of quartz], steatite and other magnesian minerals’. So again, there are potential local sources for the stone used for most of the reliquaries from Darunta, Chahar Bagh and Hadda. Similarly Paul Bernard noted that the large number of schist objects produced by the workshops at Ai Khanum used the local greyish, more rarely bluish, stone obtained from the mountains of Afghanistan (2011, p. 117).

Finally near Tatang, in the Darunta district west of Jalalabad, Masson explored ‘a glen, called Kajari’, which extended in a north-west direction to the Siah Koh. The entrance was flanked by hills of conglomerate comprising boulders and a calcareous cement, but he found ‘a series of stratified and schistose rocks, at first barely peering above the surface, but gradually rising in altitude’ the higher he climbed (1842, III, p. 190). It therefore seems likely that there are supplies of schist in the largely unexplored, rich mineral and other resources of Afghanistan, which begs the question of why this material was so little used in Buddhist sculpture of the region, unlike neighbouring Gandhara. It also suggests that the – as yet undiscovered – schist and steatite quarries for the numerous Gandharan sculptures from the Peshawar Valley, Swat and Taxila may similarly have been located in the same extended mountainous chain in adjoining north-western Pakistan.

Chapter 8

Analysis of the Materials Used for Small Finds from the Relic Deposits

Louise Joyner and Ian Freestone

Fourteen beads, six stones and a seal (**Table 3**) from the relic deposits were investigated by the British Museum Department of Scientific Research in 2002. A number of analytical techniques were used to determine their identifications for an exhibition in the British Museum, 'Discovering Ancient Afghanistan: The Masson Collection' (12 September 2002–9 January 2003).

Analytical methods

A range of analytical techniques was employed to identify the materials used. Each of the 21 objects was examined under a gemmological microscope and analysed using a Raman microscope. Some beads were analysed by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry to determine their chemical composition, and one problematic bead was analysed also by X-ray diffraction.

Optical microscopy

A Leica gemmological microscope (MZ6) with bright field, dark field and reflected light facilities was used to examine all the beads. Some of the beads were additionally examined by Caroline Cartwright using a Leica Aristomet biological optical microscope with bright field, dark field, polarising and interference contrast reflected light facilities.

Raman microscopy

The Raman microscope in the Department of Scientific Research at the British Museum is a Dilor LabRam infinity model equipped with a Nd:YAG green laser at 532nm and a near infrared diode laser at 784 nm. It has a conventional microscope stage and objectives as well as an open-beam horizontal microscope attachment. The conventional microscope stage was used with a x50 long working distance objective. The gemstone to be analysed was positioned directly under the laser beam, for count times between 5 and 20 seconds for 5 to 10 accumulations. It was possible to identify most of the gemstones from their Raman spectra, by comparison with a database of known reference Raman spectra of gemstones. The database includes spectra recorded using both the green and near infrared lasers of gemstones identified by standard gemmological techniques and X-ray diffraction. This technique is non-destructive and requires no specimen preparation.

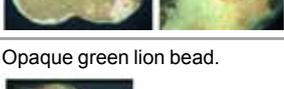
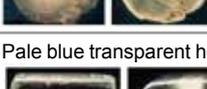
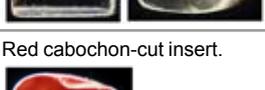
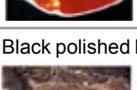
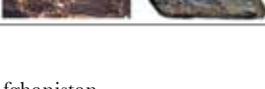
X-Ray fluorescence spectrometry

An air-path X-ray fluorescence spectrometer (XRF) with energy dispersive analysis facility was used to identify the heavier element composition of some of the gemstones being tested. The beads were positioned in front of the X-ray beam for an analysis time of 300 seconds. This technique is non-destructive.

X-Ray diffraction

X-ray diffraction (XRD) using a Debye-Scherrer powder camera was used to identify one bead (Bead 10). Although this technique is not strictly non-destructive, the sample required is extremely small. The results are listed in **Table**

3.

BMRL No.	Registration no.	Description	Material identification
7277-1-K	1 1880.3921.a IM.Metal &c.129 Hadda Stupa 10? Fig. 278.36	Opaque royal blue tubular bead with elongated bubbles. 	Glass (colourants Fe, Cu & Mn). Dark field. b. Close-up of elongated bubbles.
7277-2-M	2 1880.3699.c IM 15 / SKM 1108 Bimaran Stupa 2 Fig. 119.28	Rough fractured spherical purple bead. 	Glass (colourants Fe, Cu & Mn). Reflected light.
7277-3-P	3 1880.3699.a IM 15 / SKM 1108 Bimaran Stupa 2 Fig. 119.24	Colourless, transparent barrel bead. 	Rock crystal. Dark field.
7277-4-R	4 1880.3699.b IM 15 / SKM 1108 Bimaran Stupa 2 Fig. 119.25	Pale green transparent bi-cone bead. 	Rock crystal with applied green coating. Dark field.
7277-5-W	5 1880.3699.d IM 15 / SKM 1108 Bimaran Stupa 2 Fig. 119.30	Part of polished spherical black bead. 	Burnt shell; with traces of opaline silica (possibly originally shale). Reflected light. Intact bead: 1880.3983.c; Fig. 119.29 .
7277-6-Y	6 1880.3975.b IM 6 Wardak Stupa 1	Opaque brown tabular rectangular bead. 	Amber. Reflected light.
7277-7-L	7 1880.3992.a IM 6 Hadda Stupa 10 Fig. 280.5	Light green opaque barrel bead. 	Shell (calcite) – dyed green with a copper salt. Reflected light.
7277-8-N	8 1880.3992.c IM 6 Hadda Stupa 10 Fig. 280.6	Grey-green opaque tubular half bead. 	Glass (colourants Cu, Fe & opacifier Sn). Reflected light.
7277-9-Q	9 1880.3884.h IM 53 / SKM 1077 Hadda Stupa 10 Fig. 279.27	Brown-yellow cabochon insert. 	Glass (colourant Fe). a. Reflected light. b–c. Dark field.
7277-10-M	10 1880.4101.a Passani tumulus 2 Fig. 96.11	Turquoise-green double crescent flat bead. 	Malachite (weathered). Reflected light.
7277-11-P	11 1880.3992.s IM 6 Hadda Stupa 10 Fig. 280.18	Opaque green lion bead. 	Glass (colourants Fe, Cu, Zn & opacifier Sn). Reflected light.
7277-12-R	12 1880.3992.t IM 6 Hadda Stupa 10 Fig. 279.26	Transparent colourless cabochon insert. 	Rock crystal. a. Reflected light. b. Dark field; 2 healed fractures.
7277-13-W	13 1880.3893.c IM 14 / SKM 1104 Bimaran Stupa 2 Fig. 119.18	Pale blue transparent hexagonal tabular bead. 	Beryl – aquamarine. Dark field.
7277-14-Y	14 1880.3893.d IM 14 / SKM 1104 Hadda 10 Fig. 279.25	Red cabochon-cut insert. 	Garnet – rhodolite (almandine-rich). Dark field.
7277-15-L	15 1880.3993.a IM 2? / SKM 1062? Hadda Stupa 13? Fig. 288	Black polished block, broken at one end. 	Serpentine. Reflected light.

7277-16-N	16 1880.3983.d IM 2 / SKM 1062 Hadda Stupa 3 Fig. 256.7	Pale blue colourless hexagonal bead with red deposit on 	Fentler (beryl) – aquamarine. Dark field.
7277-17-Q	17 1880.3983.g IM 2 / SKM 1062 Hadda Stupa 3 Fig. 256.10	Pink transparent polished/faceted stone. 	Pink spinel. a. Dark field. b–c. Healed fractures.
7277-18-T	18 1880.4116.f IM 3? / SKM 1052? Passani tumulus 2 Fig. 96.12	Brown and yellow patterned spherical bead. 	Shelly limestone. Reflected light.
7277-19-X	19 1880.4110.a IM 56 / SKM 1095 Wardak Stupa 4	Pale yellow-red irregularly faceted bead. 	Quartz. a. Reflected light. b–c. Dark field.
7277-20-R	20 1880.4110.b IM 56 / SKM 1095 Wardak Stupa 4	Yellow-green segmented bead. 	Glass (colourants Fe, Cu; opacifier Sn). a. Reflected light. b–c. Dark field.
7277-21-W	21 1880.4109.n IM 42? / SKM 1122? Wardak Stupa 1	Green seal with blue banded inlay. 	Glass (colourants Co for blue; Sn and Cu; opacifier Sb).

Table 3 The materials used for 21 selected beads and small finds from the relic deposits (BMRL= British Museum Research Laboratory; Co = cobalt; Cu = copper; Fe = iron; Mg = magnesium; Mn = manganese; Pb = lead; Sb = antimony; Sn = tin; Zn = zinc)

Rock crystal, aquamarine, garnet and spinel all gave distinctive Raman spectra which allowed their identification (nos 3–4, 12–14, 16–17). Other examples, such as the dyed shell bead (no. 7) and the shelly limestone bead (no. 18), gave Raman spectra of calcite, but were identified more specifically from their texture, observed using the optical microscope. The amber bead (no. 6) and the broken black bead (no. 5) were also identified using the optical microscope. However, the identification of opaline silica on bead 5 seems to have only been from part of the object. A subsequent examination using optical microscopy also revealed the presence of burnt shell. The identification of the weathered malachite bead (no. 10) was problematic, but this was resolved by XRD.

The glass (paste) beads all gave characteristically broad Raman peaks (nos 1–2, 8–9, 11, 20–1). XRF analysis suggested that the glass beads have a typical Roman glass composition, being soda-lime silica glasses. The opaque glass beads were opacified by adding a lead-tin opacifier and coloured using brass (Cu and Zn; e.g. nos 8, 11, 20).

In the transparent hard stones, drill holes that pierce the length of the bead can be seen. They have been drilled from either end; the position where the drill holes meet inside is clearly visible in the transparent gems under the optical microscope (see nos 3–4, 13, 16, 19). Often there is a slight misalignment of the drill holes (see below p. 55, **Fig. 22.1–2**).

Sources of raw materials

About half of the materials used in the analysed sample are likely to have come from a number of sources in Afghanistan, which is renowned for its rich mineral resources. Materials which may have come from a local source include aquamarine, garnet, spinel, rock crystal and serpentinite (no. 15). Other beads made of malachite, shelly limestone (nos 10, 18) and carnelian (not examined) could also potentially have an Afghanistan source. The Hindu Kush region in particular has a wealth of mineral resources including gemstones, some of which have been exploited since antiquity, and others which are only now coming to light.

However, some of the materials may have been imported from some distance. It is possible that red amber (no. 6) may have come from a source in China. The green dyed shell bead probably comes from a cone shell (no. 7). These are found living in pan-tropical marine environments, such as the Mediterranean Sea or the Indian Ocean, so would have been imported into Afghanistan. Bead simulants in glass (paste) could have come from the Roman Empire, either as ingots for local manufacture or as imported objects (nos 1–2, 8–9, 11, 20–1). The opaque glass – opacified by a lead-tin opacifier and coloured using brass – probably came from the Roman world (nos 8, 11, 20). The presence of tin in some of the glass beads suggests a Late Roman date (4th–7th centuries AD).

Chapter 9

Stone Beads from the Relic Deposits: A Preliminary Morphological and Technological Analysis

Wannaporn Kay Rienjang,
Jonathan Mark Kenoyer and
Margaret Sax

The relic deposits contain 61 hard stone (Mohs' scale of 7 or more) and 10 lapis lazuli beads. These beads were found in relic caskets with other offerings or associated with relic deposits in stupas in three areas, Darunta, Hadda and Wardak. The date range of coins associated with these deposits is between the 1st and early 6th century AD. The materials of six hard stone beads were analysed by Louise Joyner, using Raman Microscopy and X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (**Table 3.3–4, 10, 13, 16, 19**). The remaining beads were identified on the basis of colour and texture by Margaret Sax and Elizabeth Errington. The majority of the hard stone beads (50 out of 61) belong to the quartz family. They include both macro-crystalline varieties of quartz and micro-crystalline varieties of quartz, the former commonly being transparent (rock crystal, amethyst), and the latter being translucent or opaque (agate, carnelian, chalcedony, jasper) (Sax 1996). Other hard-stone beads in the Masson collection are composed of beryl (aquamarine) and garnet (pyrope).

In order to investigate the cultural contexts in which the beads existed before they were placed as votive offerings in stupas and entered the archaeological record, a study was made of 33 hard stone and lapis lazuli beads from the three areas mentioned above (**Table 4**). The beads were selected to include all the raw materials and a variety of bead forms. The morphology of each bead was recorded, their dimensions were measured using a digital caliper and the external surfaces were examined for tool marks and evidence of use wear, both visually and by optical microscopy. In order to examine the internal surfaces of the beads, detailed moulds were made of the perforations using silicone dental material (hydrophillic vinyl polysiloxane) and the moulds were examined by Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) (Kenoyer 2017). Our observations provided evidence for various stages of their manufacture: the methods used to shape, smooth, polish and perforate the beads. They also provided tentative indications of use wear. The morphology of the beads, the characteristics of their external and internal surfaces and our interpretations are summarized in Appendix 3, pp. 226–9 below. Further details are discussed below.

Raw materials

Quartz, aquamarine and garnet are known to be locally available in south-eastern Afghanistan, and sources of agate and carnelian are widely available in Iran as well as in peninsular India, the closest major source being in Gujarat, Western India (Bowersox and Chamberlain 1995; Adams *et al.* 2011; Law 2011; Allchin 1979). The most abundant source of lapis lazuli known is in the Badakhshan region of north-eastern Afghanistan (Bowersox and Chamberlain 1995; Law 2011). It is noticeable that remarkably few beads were worked in flawless material that does not contain other coloured or foreign inclusions. They comprise three aquamarine beads (Kr. 6, 26–27; **Fig. 22.1**); the rock crystal bead (Kr. 4, **Fig. 22.2**); the grey chalcedony bead (Kr. 11); two beads that were probably originally worked in finely banded greyish agate then artificially dyed brown and white (Kr. 12–13); and two beads made from fine blue lapis lazuli (Kr. 29–30). In contrast, the rock crystal used for a further eight beads,

Cast no. (Kr.)	Museum Reg. no. Cat. no.	Bead image	Site provenance
1	1880.3699.a Fig. 119.24		Bimaran 2
2	1880.3884.g Fig. 119.22		Bimaran 2
3	1880.3699.h Fig. 119.23		Bimaran 2
4	1880.3699.f Fig. 119.26		Bimaran 2
5	1880.3893.b Fig. 129.15		Bimaran 4
6	1880.3893.c Fig. 119.18		Bimaran 2
7	1880.3699.g Fig. 119.20		Bimaran 2
8	1880.3855.c Fig. 119.21		Bimaran 2
9	1880.3893.n Fig. 313.18		Wardak 1-8
10	1880.3884.e Fig. 280.24		Hadda 10
11	1880.3893.l Fig. 119.32		Bimaran 2
12	1880.3893.h Fig. 96.25		Passani T2
13	1880.3699.e Fig. 119.27		Bimaran 2
14	1880.3984.a Fig. 96.18		Passani T2
15	1880.3984.b Fig. 96.18		Passani T2
16	1880.3984.c Fig. 96.18		Passani T2
17	1880.3536 Fig. 313.7		Wardak 1-8?

Cast no. (Kr.)	Museum Reg. no. Cat. no.	Bead image	Site provenance
18	1880.3888.a Fig. 129.11		Bimaran 4
19	1880.3992.d Fig. 129.17		Bimaran 4
20	1880.3992.e Fig. 129.12		Bimaran 4
21	1880.3995.a Fig. 129.10		Bimaran 4
22	1880.3995.b Fig. 129.10		Bimaran 4
23	1880.3995.c Fig. 129.10		Bimaran 4
24	1880.3992.f Fig. 129.16		Bimaran 4
25	1880.3992.i Fig. 129.14		Bimaran 4
26	1880.3983.d Fig. 256.7		Hadda 3
27	1880.3983.e Fig. 256.9		Hadda 3
28	1880.3983.f Fig. 256.8		Hadda 3
29	1880.3975.a Fig. 307.26		Wardak 1
30	1880.4109.j Fig. 307.10		Wardak 1
31	1880.3908.e Fig. 280.13		Hadda 10
32	1880.3992.b Fig. 307.9		Wardak 1
33	1880.4110.a Fig. 308.1		Wardak 4

Table 4 Selected beads for silicone impression (30 hard-stone, 3 lapis lazuli; T = tumulus)

frequently contains cloudy white streaks (Fig. 22.4) and/or coloured inclusions. It may also contain aggregates of smaller crystals (Fig. 23.1) and some bodies are discoloured. The remaining one lapis lazuli bead (Kr. 32) and the quartz bead (Kr. 33) have coloured inclusions. The amethyst (Kr. 2, 7–8), garnet (Kr. 9, 10, 31) and carnelian (Kr. 17–24, Fig. 22.3) beads have uneven colouring and some contain other coloured inclusions.

Stone bead production

Shaping and smoothing

Most beads (23 out of 33) were simply shaped and smoothed, and show irregular faceting with curved edges between facets. Six carnelian beads are sub-spherical (Kr. 18–23) with some irregularly shaped, flat to slightly recessed concave surfaces, resembling facets. Three amethyst beads (Kr. 2, 7–8) have irregular elliptical barrel forms. Eight rock crystal beads were worked with six longitudinally faceted surfaces and have irregular hexagonal transverse sections and barrel shaped longitudinal sections (Kr. 1, 3, 5, 14–16, 25, 28). Simple pebbles or flakes of material appear to have

been used for two garnet beads (Kr. 9–10). The remaining garnet bead (Kr. 31) is sub-spherical with irregular ground surfaces. One aquamarine bead (Kr. 27) has five irregular facets (pentagonal) with a barrel shaped longitudinal section. Two lapis lazuli beads were simply shaped, one as a short cylinder (Kr. 30) and the other in sub-quadrangular form (Kr. 32). Two beads were carved in the shape of a crouching lion, one from lapis lazuli (Kr. 29) and the other shaped more elaborately from carnelian (Kr. 17). Seven beads were more precisely shaped. The rock crystal bead (Kr. 4) has a plano-convex transverse section and a pronounced barrel/sub-spherical longitudinal section. The chalcedony bead or ring stone (Kr. 11) was worked in a relatively even quadrangular, plano convex oval form. The aquamarine beads (Kr. 6, 26) are faceted longitudinally and have hexagonal transverse sections and long rectangular longitudinal sections. The precisely shaped beads also include one carnelian (Kr. 24) and two agate beads (Kr. 12–13) worked in barrel and biconical forms.

The quartz beads in the collection are likely to have been initially shaped by knapping and chipping the pebbles or bead rough-outs with a soft hammer over a pointed metal

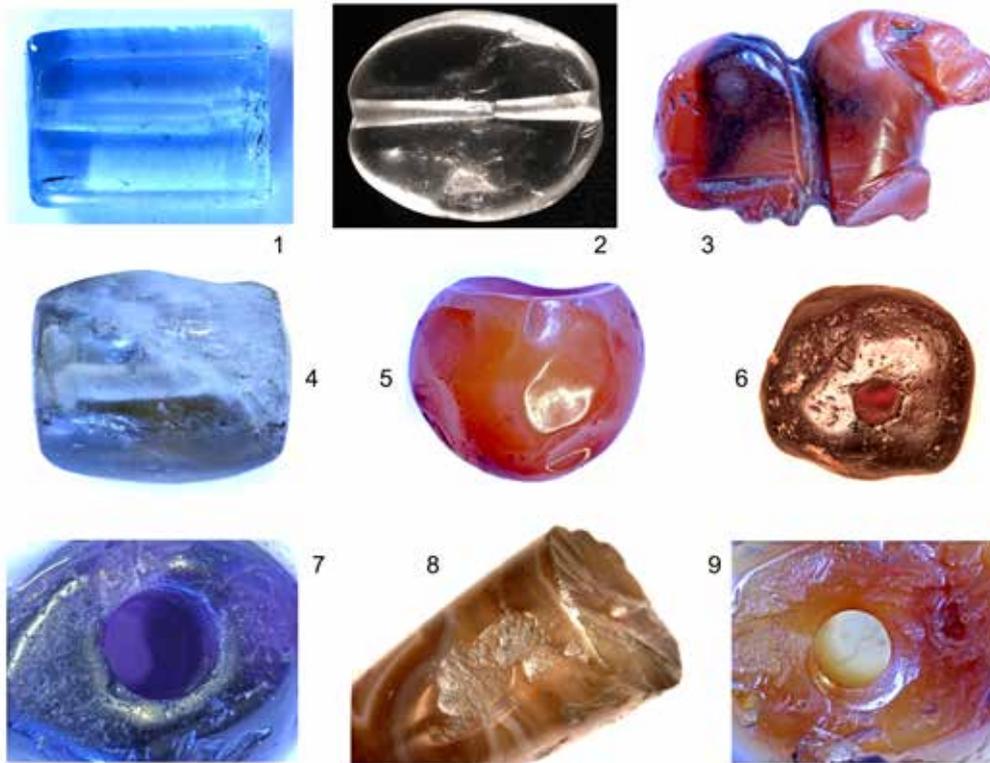


Figure 22 Selection of beads showing production and use wear.

1. Kr. 6 (1880.3893.c); 2. Kr. 4 (1880.3699.f); 3. Kr. 17 (1880.3536); 4. Kr. 1 (1880.3699.a); 5. Kr. 21 (1880.3995.a); 6. Kr. 10 (1880.3884.e); 7. Kr. 2 (1880.3884.g); 8. Kr. 12 (1880.3893.h); 9. Kr. 13 (1880.3699.e)

rod (Kenoyer 2003). Because the rough, chipped surfaces were then usually ground smooth, little evidence for knapping remains on the beads. However, fine even chipping is present around the ends of the perforation through the rock crystal bead (Kr. 4) that appears to have been produced by systematic knapping during the fine shaping of the bead (Sax *et al.* 1998). This chipping may have deliberately been retained to facilitate the accurate positioning or ‘seating’ of the drill(s) at the opposite ends of the bead. In contrast, random chips of varying size are present on all beads. They have probably been incurred accidentally during manufacture and use (see below evidence for use wear).

The traditional methods of grinding used in Khambhat at the beginning of the 20th century involved grinding faceted beads on a flat abrasive wheel, made from a mixture of emery abrasive and lac. These wheels were either mounted horizontally on a spindle (lap wheel) and rotated by a hand operated device or mounted vertically and rotated with a bow (Karanth 1992). Non-rotary methods were however also used for grinding quartz and carnelian beads. The external surfaces of many of the faceted beads in the collection are characterized by groups of linear parallel striae, indicative of the use of fine-grained sandstone or abrasive sands for grinding (Fig. 23.1; Sax *et al.* 1998).

According to Sax, the linear, rather than curved, characteristics of the striae suggest that the beads were either rubbed backwards and forwards over grinding slabs, or worked with straight files, or possibly they may have been held against the thick circular edge of a vertically mounted grinding wheel. In contrast to the traditional non rotary method used to grind spherical beads at Khambhat, which

involved the use of grooved sandstone slabs, the sides of the six sub-spherical carnelian (Kr. 18–23) and garnet beads (Kr. 10, 31) in this collection may not have been worked in this way. As mentioned above, their ground surfaces are marked by irregular areas that are flat or have slightly concave depths (Fig. 22.5), suggesting that these beads may have been ground on the curved side of a wheel. Single striae in random orientations are also present on some beads such as Kr. 4, 6, 11, 14–16 and 33. They may be due to the use of abrasives of uneven grain size for grinding the surfaces. Alternatively, they may be scratches incurred when the beads were worn. However, Kenoyer disagrees with this interpretation and feels that further studies are needed to determine the precise nature of the grinding used to make these specific beads.

Polishing

The 33 beads show differing degrees and methods of polishing. Most beads have a low polish. Higher polishes are present on the agate beads (Kr. 12–13) and amethyst beads (Kr. 2, 7–8). All the aquamarine beads (Kr. 6, 26–27) have an exceptional polish. Polishing usually involves the use of a finely powdered abrasive that may have been applied to the bead surfaces with non-rotary or rotary tools made of a soft material. Beads whose surfaces show remnant linear striae appear to have been hand polished. The striae are usually very fine, and longitudinal or diagonal. Eight beads in the Masson collection were apparently finished by tumbling or bag polishing (Kr. 2, 7–8, 10, 21–23, 31). They are characterized by finely pitted surfaces without linear striae characteristic of hand smoothing or polishing (Fig. 22.5–6; Gwinnett and Gorelick 1989). Bag polishing involves putting

beads in a leather bag with fine abrasive slurry and rolling it back and forth for at least 15 days to polish the finely ground surface. Although it was not possible to determine whether most beads were perforated before or after the final polishing, the ends of perforations drilled prior to bag polishing have rounded and smooth edges like those of the three amethyst beads (Kr. 2, 7–8, **Fig. 22.7**).

Perforating

One bead (Kr. 11) is not perforated and appears to have been worked as a ring stone rather than a bead. Two relatively short holes were drilled from the opposite ends of this piece and do not join. The remaining beads were perforated by drilling. Holes were worked from the opposite ends of 24 of the 33 beads. The exceptions are the aquamarine faceted bead (Kr. 26), the lapis lazuli lion bead (Kr. 29), the sub-spherical garnet beads (Kr. 10, 31; **Fig. 22.6**) and five of the sub-spherical carnelian beads (Kr. 18, 20–3), which were drilled from one end only. Beads are usually held in a vice for perforating (Kenoyer 2003). When drilled from one end, the pressure applied over the drill by the lapidary usually causes fracturing at the opposite end with the loss of flakes that are often cone shaped. The perforations of the five sub-spherical carnelian beads drilled in this way each have a broad conical recess at the opposite end (**Fig. 22.5**). When drilled from opposite ends, the first hole is worked approximately half way down the length of the bead; the bead is then turned over and the second hole worked from the opposite end. The length of the two holes made in each of the 24 Masson beads always differs, sometimes only slightly but sometimes significantly. The lapidary can use a bow drill that is stabilized with the hand or a drill mounted in drill press, but either way the driller must be extremely skilled to drill precisely in the centre of the bead and in a vertical position in order to have the two drill holes meet in perfect alignment. The drill holes were well aligned in just over half the beads (13 out of 24). Of the remaining beads, nine have misaligned drill holes that did overlap sufficiently to perforate the beads and two have holes that did not touch. In both these cases, the perforations were completed by pressure fracturing. Based on the similarity between the drill holes of the Masson beads and ethnographic examples from Khambhat, Gujarat (Kenoyer 1986; Kenoyer, Vidale and Bhan 1994), it seems most likely that the Masson beads were drilled using a bow drill stabilized by hand, not in a drill press. In most cases the size of the drills used for working the two holes was the same, but in two rock crystal beads with hexagonal faceting (Kr. 14, 16), there is evidence for the use of smaller diameter drills on one side. Because of the almost identical pattern of drilling, these two beads may have been made by the same craftspeople in the same workshop. The textures of the side walls and the profiles of the holes in the Masson beads indicate that two drilling techniques were used: the first involving diamond drills and the second probably involving metal drills applied with an abrasive. The two techniques are described below.

Diamond drills

Diamond drilling technology was first developed in ancient India and is well documented from around 300 BC, though

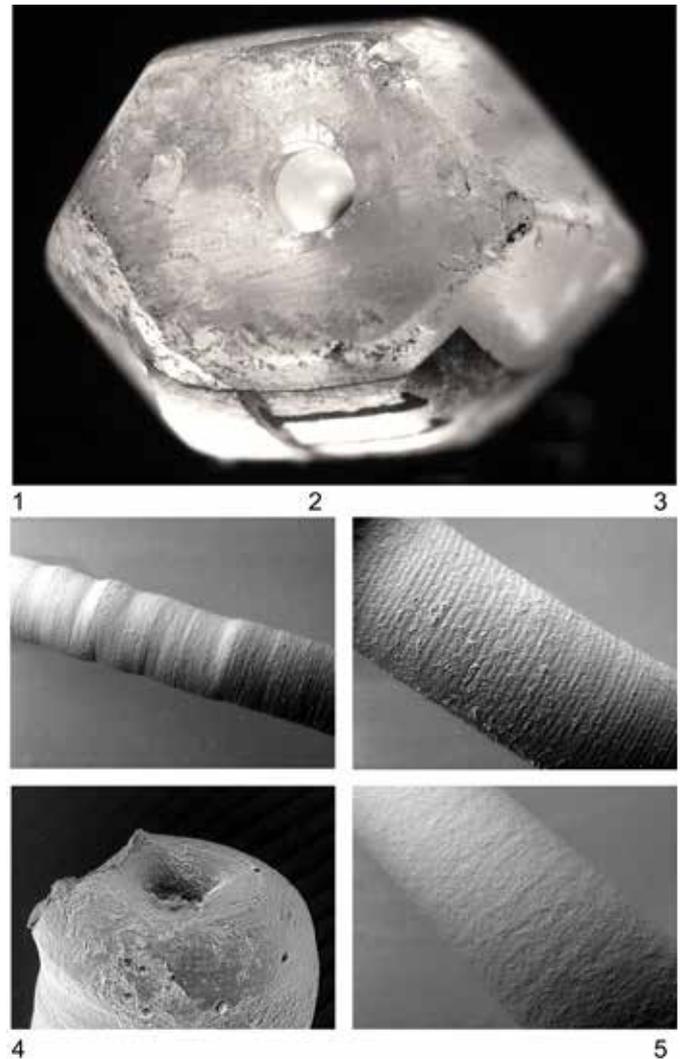


Figure 23 End surfaces and impressions of drill holes.

1. End surface of Kr. 1 (1880.3699.a) showing aggregates of small crystals on the top left, and the parallel linear striae as a result of grinding; 2–5 SEM images of impressions of drill holes (2. Kr. 27 (1880.3983.e) at 50x; 3. Kr. 33 (1880.4110.a) at 50x; 4. Kr. 12 (1880.3893.h) drill working edge at 40x; 5. Kr. 4 (1880.3699.f) at 40x

it could have been used as early as 600 BC (Kenoyer 2003; in press). Evidence for the diamond drilling of stone beads in Sri Lanka is also documented (Gwinnett and Gorelick 1986), but it seems likely that the technology spread there from peninsular India. Beads perforated with diamond drills can be identified on the basis of the relatively straight cylindrical perforations produced by them that have coarse parallel drilling striae or grooves (Kenoyer and Vidale 1992, figs 4a, 5a; Kenoyer 2003, pp. 17–18). Ethno-archaeological studies in the Indian Peninsular provide evidence for two types of drills: single diamond drills and double diamond drills. The single diamond drill has a single diamond chip crimped to the tip of an iron rod, and the double diamond drill has two tiny chips or splinters of diamond embedded in the opposite edges of the tip of an iron rod (Kenoyer 1992, pp. 72–3; Wright 1982). The holes made with single diamond drills are usually narrower than those made with double diamond drills. Also, the edges of the holes (or profiles) may be undulating (**Fig. 23.2**), whereas those made by double diamond drills are usually straight sided (**Fig. 23.3**). Depending on the ways in which the two diamond chips are

mounted, these drills also produce a central rounded or circular protrusion at the end of holes (see the dimple in the impression of a hole in **Fig. 23.4**: Kr. 12; Kenoyer 2017).

Thirty of the selected beads were perforated using diamond drills. On some of these beads, the grooves are uniform and distinct with almost uniform spacing between each groove; on others, the parallel striae are closer together and not as pronounced. These variations reflect differences in the pressure of drilling and also the freshness of the diamond chips in the drill. Newly mounted, fresh diamond chips have sharp angular edges that leave deep grooves, while worn diamond chips with rounded edges leave less pronounced grooves and do not cut as deeply into the stone. Controlled experimental studies are needed to improve the interpretation of the depth and width of the drilling striae. The perforations of the five sub-spherical carnelian beads drilled from one end only reflect a very low level of rapid production (**Fig. 22.5**). In contrast, many other beads were drilled from both ends and the drill holes of some of them are perfectly aligned. Such examples reflect careful and time-consuming production and a higher degree of manufacturing skill. Further studies comparing these beads with ones found from other excavated sites may help to determine possible links to different production regions or periods.

Metal drills with abrasives

Three beads appear to have been perforated using a metal drill and an abrasive (Kr. 4, 9, 29). A copper or iron drill would have been used with finely ground emery or quartz abrasive. The shape of holes worked in this way is typically conical or tapered (**Figs 22.2; 23.5**). The garnet bead (Kr. 9) was probably perforated using a metal drill and an abrasive. The two holes made from opposite ends are a convex cone shape. SEM examination shows that the surface of the hole is characterized with irregular fine striae that do not continue around the whole hole. There is also some stepping and narrowing of the drill tip resulting from the variable pressure of the drill and wearing away of the metal during the process of drilling. The rock crystal bead (Kr. 4; **Fig. 22.2**), which was also drilled from opposite ends, has a long conical hole made from each side. Under SEM examination, the surface of the holes appears to have low rough striae with some depressions that do not continue around the whole drill hole. A third example probably drilled with metal and an abrasive is the lapis lazuli lion bead (Kr. 29). The single drill hole has a long tapered cylindrical shape. Lapis lazuli is softer than garnet or rock crystal, and drilling striae are barely visible under the SEM; the fine striae on the surface around the hole and the overall shape of the hole are not consistent with the use of a double diamond drill.

Evidence of use wear

As mentioned above, all the beads are damaged by chipping. The external edges of the ends of the beads, those between adjoining facets and the edges around the ends of the perforations are particularly badly chipped. The chipping may have arisen accidentally due to the use of flawed material, micro-fractures initially created during manufacture and/or

use wear incurred when the beads were used as ornaments. As also mentioned above, some of the single striae present in random orientation on the surfaces of beads may be scratch marks incurred when the beads were used as ornaments (for example Kr. 4, 6, 11). Use wear is additionally seen as irregular rounding and loss of lustre along the protruding edges of the bead (Kr. 4) that might have resulted from rubbing against others whilst being worn. The dyed brown and white agate bead Kr. 12 (**Fig. 22.8**) is fractured and preserved in two pieces; although the break probably occurred recently since its discovery by Masson, the body may have been weakened by heating during the dying process after manufacture. Any existing damage to beads is likely to have been enhanced by weathering during their burial within stupas.

Finally, the edges of the perforations in Kr. 13 exhibit use wear from string and silt abrasion. Beads worn over a long period may develop partially smooth drill hole edges as the string and silt cut into the edge. Such wear is usually limited to one edge of the drill hole (**Fig. 22.9**), whereas wear due to bag polishing is around the entire circumference of the drill hole.

Summary

The results from the above analysis show that the selected beads were produced using different manufacturing techniques and have undergone differing levels of use. It is not possible to determine if the selected beads were made in nearby towns and production centres in Afghanistan, or if they come from more distant centres such as those documented in Taxila (Beck 1941) or at other contemporaneous sites in peninsular India. There are, however, a few fragments of unfinished soft stone beads (talc) in the Masson collection that were perforated but had not been shaped (e.g. 1880.4109a–b; see **Fig. 307.3** below). These unfinished beads suggest that there was at least one local bead workshop in Afghanistan. The impurities such as coloured or foreign inclusions in many of the hard stone beads may suggest that many of the raw materials were acquired locally, rather than imported as flawless materials from further afield. Chemical and trace element studies using various scientific techniques could be undertaken to determine the source of specific raw materials. The use of diamond drills, especially the double diamond drill, suggests that all but three of the beads were made by this distinctive South Asian technology. Three beads perforated using metal drills with abrasives suggest that they were probably worked in different workshops or regions. For example, these beads may have been made in South Asia, where this technology is also documented during the Harappan period c. 2600–1900 BC (Kenoyer 2005). Further studies are needed to determine the longevity of this type of drilling in South Asia as well as the spread of diamond drilling to regions outside of the subcontinent.

Although the sample of beads examined for this study is relatively small, it provides new insights into the nature of offerings included in the relic deposits of Buddhist stupas. The range of bead forms, manufacturing techniques and quality of finishing represented, indicates that they were made in multiple workshops and may suggest that the donors

included both extremely wealthy individuals and people with less valuable offerings. The variety of forms and quality of production also indicates that a wide range of bead forms was considered appropriate for deposit as votive offerings. Since the beads appear to have been used and worn before

being deposited in the relic caskets, they may represent personal items contributed by donors and were not prepared specifically for ritual offering. Some of these beads exhibit surface crazing, while others show large-scale chipping on the surface.

Part 3: Records of the Sites and Catalogue of the Relic Deposits

Introduction

Masson recorded different aspects of the Buddhist sites on a number of occasions, both in published works (1834a–b, 1835, 1836a–d, 1841, 1842) and in his unpublished manuscripts and drawings now in the British Library. The synthesis below draws on all of this material and the accounts of his contemporaries, especially Martin Honigberger, and later excavators such as William Simpson. The reconstruction of the 19th-century archaeological record is supplemented by more recent research and surveys, particularly by the Délégation Archéologique française en Afghanistan in the 1930s, Tarzi and Klimburg-Salter at Bamiyan, Kyoto University in the Jalalabad region and Fussman at Wardak and the sites to the north and south-east of Kabul. A list of the main references is given at the beginning of each site together with its co-ordinates as listed in Ball and Gardin 1982. An illustrated description of the site follows, using Masson's own words and drawings to recreate as comprehensibly as possible his archaeological record. Finally there is a catalogue of the finds from each site. The images of all the relic deposit finds – including the gold casket from Bimaran 2 – are reproduced actual size. Only the larger reliquaries are not to scale.

The arrangement of sites is broadly chronological, adhering for the most part to the sequence of exploration. It begins with Masson's investigations at Bamiyan in late 1832, followed by excavations to the south-east of Kabul (Takht-i Shah and Monaray Ghar/Shakh Baranta), then to the north (Topdara, Korrindar). Next are the sites of the Jalalabad region (Darunta, Chahar Bagh, Kunar and Hadda), and finally Wardak, to the south-west of Kabul.

Chapter 10

Bamiyan

Burnes 1833, pp. 561–4, pl. XIX. Masson 1836c, p. 188, pl. VI.1; 1836d, pp. 707–20; 1842, II, pp. 378–88. Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, pp. 387–93; Hackin and Carl 1933; Tarzi 1977; Klimburg-Salter 1989; Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 100, p. 49, maps 8, 107; lat. 34°50'N, long. 67°49'E (**Figs 24–5**).

Masson 1836d, pp. 707–10:

Bamiyan is situated ... about 80 or 85 miles [128.75–136.79km] from Kabul, bearing N75°W. The valley is deep, the enclosing hills on either side exhibiting, to a greater or less extent, perpendicular walls of rock, whence their convenience and adaptation for the construction of caves. The rock is called mung, being a conglomerate of small pebbles, sand and divers coloured earth, remarkably compact and hard. The length of the valley is about nine or ten miles [14.48–16.09km], in direction from east to west. Its breadth is ... greatest at the particular spot in it, pre-eminently called Bamiyan. ...

The principal antiquities of Bamiyan are its idols and caves, which have manifestly a connection with each other, the castle of Zohak, so called, and the remains of the city and citadel of Ghulghula. ...

On the northern side [of the valley, the caves] uninterruptedly occur for a distance of six or seven miles [9.65–11.26km]. At the spot called Bamiyan, the elevation of the cliffs, being most considerable, there are found the greater number of caves. ... Among these caves stand in niches the two large idols ... and between them are two other niches, in one of which are the fragments of a former idol and the other as certainly once contained one. Opposite to these, diverging to the south-west is the [Foladi] valley ... and eastward of the citadel of Ghulghula is a valley stretching to the south. The hills to the north and east of both these valleys are also perforated with caves, and among those of the latter is a large idol inferior only in size to the two superior ones at Bamiyan. ...

The 38m and 55m Buddha statues

The idols are cut or hewn in the rock and have been covered with a surface of cement [stucco]. They are erect figures, with their hands extended, and supporting the folds of drapery with which they have been clothed. Their features have been destroyed, by removing one-half of their heads, or as far as the lips, leaving the hinder halves with the ears, enormously large, appended. ...



Figure 24 Bamiyan from the south-east, with Shahr-i Ghulghula in the foreground. Photograph © F. Tissot c. 1970

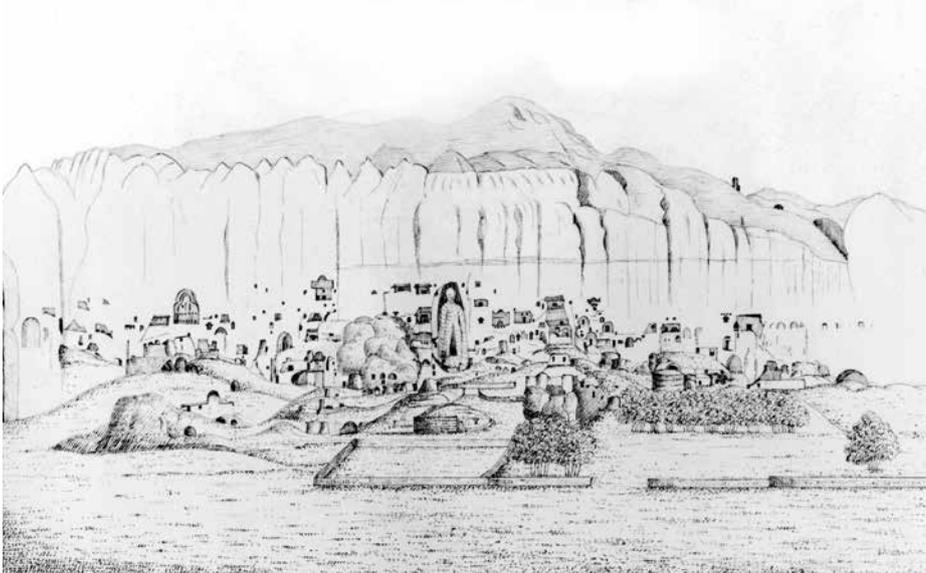


Figure 25 G40 f. 31: Untitled view of Bamiyan and the 38m Buddha in 1832.
Another version – G42 f. 35: 'Second idol and adjacent caves' – omits the outline of the 55m Buddha (extreme left)

The idols stand in vast niches formed in the rock [Figs 26–7]. ... On either side of the niches are series of stairs, cut in the rock, which conduct to their summits or to the heads of the idols. Each series of steps leads to a small square apartment, and these several apartments have been superbly decorated with gilding and lapis lazuli.

To illumine these passages, apertures have been cut through the rock towards the idols. We ascended to the summit of the second idol by the passage on the one side, and walking round the hinder part of its head, descended by the steps on the other side. Near the summit or above the lines of paintings the niches have been widened, and on either side has been formed a takht or sofa, obviously for the convenience of sitting upon. The superior idol has or had the same facilities of ascent to the summit, but at the time of our visit the lower caves near it were occupied by an unaccommodating Tajik, who had stowed in the passage his stock of provender. We could not prevail upon him by menace or entreaty to open the path, and he evasively affirmed that he had never heard of one. ...

Between the legs of the superior idol are entrances conducting into spacious apartments surmounted with domes—and there are many other caves at Bamiyan which display the dome or cupola: these we imagine to have been particularly temples. They, in common with all other caves, were covered with cement [lime plaster and stucco], in which the lines of moulding surrounding their circumferences, with the ornaments at the summits of the domes, have been formed. The interiors of all of them are of a glossy black colour, from the smoke of fires which were or have been kept up in them. Many of the caves at Bamiyan are remarkable for their dimensions, and have other peculiarities in their form and embellishments.

The account of Moorcroft and Trebeck complements Masson's. They had arrived at Bamiyan on 25 June 1824 and recorded that the site was usually designated 'Bhut, or Idol-Bamiyan, from two remarkable statues carved on the face of the rock in its vicinity' (1841, pp. 387–93):



Figure 26 (left) Buddha, 55m.
Photograph © D. Peate 1982

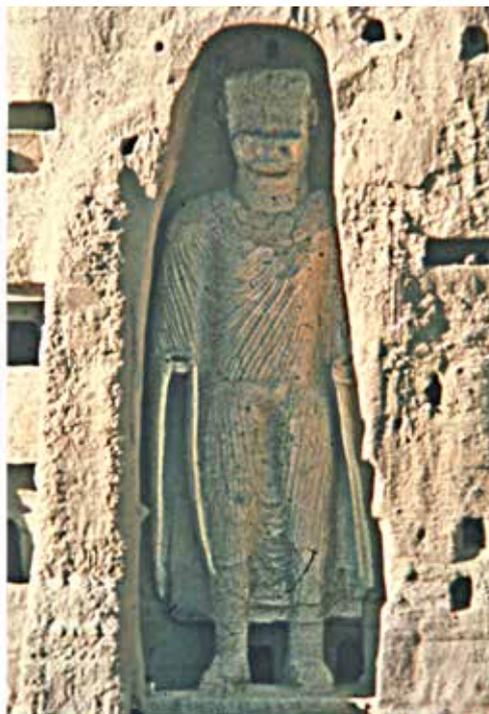


Figure 27 (right) Buddha, 38m.
Photograph © F. Tissot c. 1970



Figure 28 G42 f. 41: 'Selected specimens, in outline, of the pictorial embellishments of the Second Great Idol'. British Library

On either side of the [two colossal] figures are numerous caves excavated in the rock, usually with vaulted roofs, which are sometimes carved with flowers. The figures stand in porches or recesses cut out of the rock, the upper part of which is arched, so as to form an alcove or vaulted canopy over the head of the figure; the sides advance so as to form wings, in which are staircases ascending to a gallery behind the neck of the statue, while other galleries run off from their sides, right and left, into the rock. The flights of steps of the larger image were so much decayed as to be inaccessible, but one of those on the side of the smaller was tolerably entire, and led to the head of the figure. Both figures have been mutilated ... The faces and forearms of both were knocked off, and a thigh of the larger was broken. They are both clad in long loose robes, descending below the knee. The height of the smaller figure was one hundred and seventeen feet [35.66m: this was approximately the height prior to clearance of the debris at the foot of the 38m statue in the 20th century]; that of the larger we could not measure, but it must have been about one-third more [i.e. 156ft/48m; actually 55m]. The inside of the alcove, or top of the porch, was covered with fresco paintings of flying figures, and a border contained various half-length figures, whose heads were invested with a halo. Paintings of this kind had descended to within thirty feet [9.14m] of the ground, but the plaster had, for the most part, peeled off. An embellishment of the ground, a white ball with a pyramid rising from it, a common ornament of sculpture in Tibet, was frequent here. Four figures under the spring of the arch of the alcove were of very beautiful delineation, and painted with much delicacy of colouring; below them was the head of a male figure, which resembled in expression the divinity called by the Tibetans Cham-ba [Jambhala (?) god of wealth].

This description apparently includes the fresco on the soffit of the 38m Buddha, which depicts Surya, the sun god, with a winged figure on either side, riding in a chariot drawn by winged horses (Tarzi 1977, pl. A1; Klimburg-Salter 1989, p. 155, pl. XXLVIII, figs 50–1). The 'white ball with a pyramid' possibly describes the depiction of a stupa crowned with umbrellas of diminishing size (see for example Klimburg-Salter 1989, pls LVIII.75, LXXXII.106).

Masson describes the figures as follows (G42 f. 34; Fig. 28):

The figures here represented ... occur on the line to the right of the niche [of the 38m Buddha]. There are twelve on the line ... and they are all busts instead of the entire figures. Two of the figures in this selection are males, two females [sic]. The male on the right and the female on the left [actually the Buddha] have no haloes surrounding their heads. They are, it may be presumed, lay personages. The male on the left with a halo around his head, is a sacred or inspired person, and is evidently delineated as earnestly impressing some truth or doctrine upon the female on the left. The male on the right, alike an attentive



Figure 29 Detail of the east side of the tri-lobed arch above the 38m Buddha showing the same figures (courtesy of Tarzi 1977, pl. A1, E2–5)

listener, it is essential to notice, is habited in such a costume, that we at once recognize ... he is a monarch. That there should be no doubt of his royal character, we have the orb and crescent over his head attire, and those peculiar badges issuing from the shoulders, familiar to all conversant with Sasanian coins. It must be observed, however, that ... such badges were not restricted to the Sasanian princes of Persia. The female on the left, it will be seen has also the royal badges, she may therefore be supposed a queen.

As Klimburg-Salter has established, the figures are in fact a crowned Buddha with floating diadems, wearing a three-pointed cape and seated on a lotus; followed by the busts of three figures behind a balcony (Fig. 29). These are a monk in profile holding an offering in his right hand and a stupa in his left; and two royal donors (Klimburg-Salter 1989, pp. 155–6, pl. IV, CB.1E, D.1E-D.3E). Contrary to what Masson thought he saw, all have haloes. He also missed the fact that the Buddhas are all represented as 'entire' seated figures; only the donors are screened by balconies.

Turning to the paintings in the niche of the 55m Buddha, Masson writes (G42 f. 34):

Plate VI [Fig. 30] three of the figures (there are twelve altogether) found in the line of them on the [viewer's] right hand side of the niche in which the idol stands. ... The haloes or nimbi encircling the heads of these figures would seem to distinguish them as being of a sacred character. All the figures in this niche, whether on either side or encircling its curve at the summit, are females [sic], and they are all seated cross-legged.

The same Plate (VI) [includes an] inscription ... which is seen at the summit of the niche, and therefore exactly above the head of the Idol. It may be feared it is but a fragment, and ... an attempt has been made ... to give an idea of the space it occupied when complete. The portion with a blue ground is

Figure 30 G42 f. 40: 'Selected specimens of the pictorial embellishment of the First or Great Idol ... and Inscription'. British Library



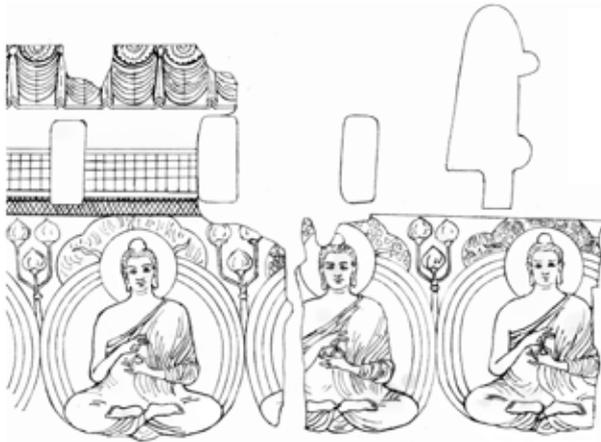


Figure 31 Detail of the eastern cusp of the vault showing three images of the Buddha seated in *padmāsana* under the Bodhi tree (after Klimburg-Salter 1989, pp. 170–1, pl. XLII, fig. 49; Tarzi 1977, série A.4)

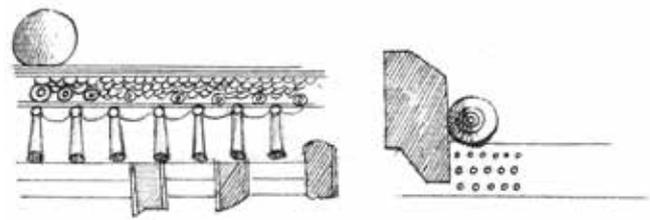
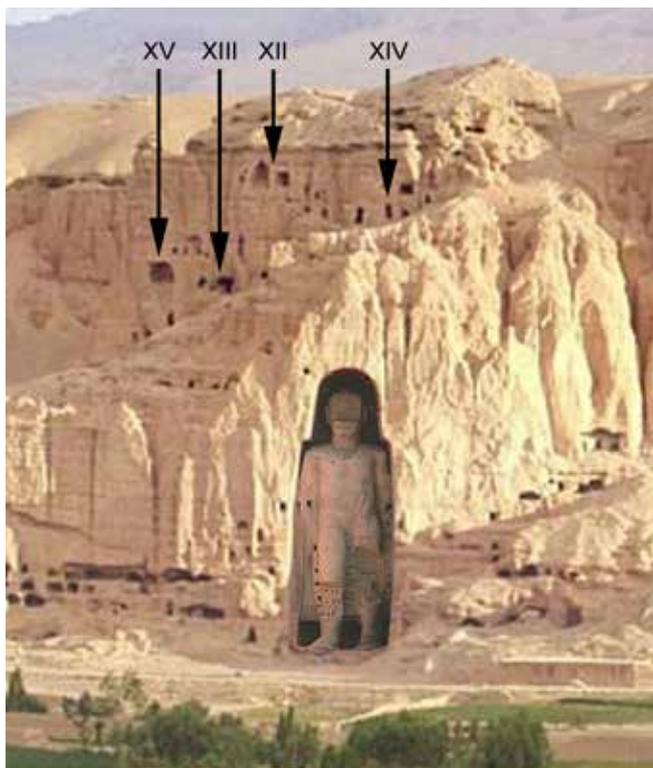
what time has spared, and I am not certain but the ground is yellow instead of blue – the letters, however, are white.

Masson thought that the ‘inscription’ comprised ‘but six characters [which] ... appeared to me to approach nearest to those of the Pahlavi of Sasanian coins from Marsden ... and attempting to write it ... I produced **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**’ (1836c, p. 188).

The three figures he copied (**Fig. 30**) formed part of a row of seated Buddhas painted underneath the western cusp of the vaulted niche containing the 55m Buddha (**Fig. 31**). The better preserved duplicated images on the east side had golden haloes and four-coloured mandorlas, and were seated in

Figure 33 Location of Sanctuaries XII–XV

(Tarzi 1977, p. 71, fig. B147; Masson G42 ff. 33–9). These correspond with Masson numbers (G42 ff. 33–9) as follows: XII: –; XIII: Group 2, cave 3; XIV: Group 1, caves 1–4; XV: Group 2, cave 4



Painted figures in the niche of the superior idol at Bamiān

Figure 32 F526/1: ‘Painted figures in the niche of the superior idol’, i.e. detail of the decorative band above the row of seated Buddhas in the cusp of the vaulted niche of the 55m Buddha. British Library

padmāsana with the right shoulder uncovered, beneath stylized Bodhi trees (Klimburg-Salter 1989, p. 171). The corresponding shapes between these and the so-called inscribed panel suggests Masson mistook the motifs decorating one of the Bodhi trees as an inscription (see Klimburg-Salter 1989, pl. XLII, fig. 49: upside-down top row, third Buddha from the left; **Fig. 31**, first figure on left). He also used an imaginative colour scheme, particularly noticeable in the variously coloured robes which are usually a uniform red.

The caves

If any fool this high samotch explore,
Know Charles Masson has been here before

This scribbled memento of Masson’s visit in 1832 was found a century later in Sanctuary XII, one of caves set back on the cliff face above and to the west of the 55m Buddha (Hackin and Carl 1933, p. 2). There are four groups of caves in this vicinity, i.e. Sanctuaries XII–XV (**Fig. 33**; Tarzi 1977, pp. 14, 71, figs B28, B147). Even in 1976 traces of a signature ‘Charles Masson’ and a date – misread as ‘1833’ instead of 1832 and possibly a separate bit of graffiti – still survived in one of the caves (Possehl 1990, pp. 118–19, fig. 7). According to Masson (**G42 f. 33**):

There are two remarkable groups or suites of caves at Bamiyan, which from their peculiarity of construction as well from the circumstance of their being unoccupied are pointed out by the inhabitants of that place to the notice of strangers. They have been formed in a cliff rising about that in which the superior idol is placed, so that in pacing forwards from them, we come upon the edge of the scarped rock in which that prominent sculpture is exposed to view. They are reached by a path a little to the left or west of the Great Idol, and exhibit two distinct groups each comprising four caves [Group 1 and Group 2]. ...

Group 1

[**G42 f. 36**, Plate II gives] the exterior view of the Group ... No. 1. That the original aspect of the entrances to so important a group was somewhat different from the rude one it now wears may perhaps be assumed, or possibly some means may have been adopted to conceal its rudeness.

From Masson’s sketches (**Fig. 35**; F64 f. 197, **G42 f. 36**), ‘Group 1’ caves 2–3 are identifiable with those subsequently

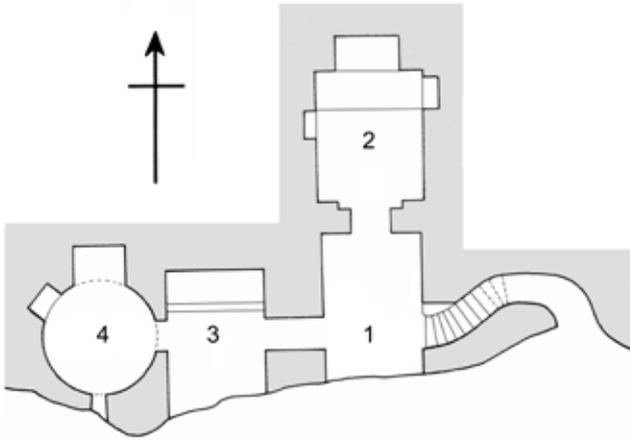


Figure 34 Plan of Sanctuary XII (after Tarzi 1977, p.123, pl. D26)

numbered XIV and XIVa (Tarzi 1977, p. 71, fig. B147). However, 'No. 4' (F64 f. 199: **Fig. 36**) is identified by its plan, section drawing and photographs as part of the same cave as 'No. 3'/XIVa (Tarzi 1977, pp. 73, 125, figs B152, pl. D27b) although apparently with its own entrance.

G42 f. 33, pl. III (Fig. 36): 'The interior disposition and arrangement of the several caves of Group No. 1'.

As regards Caves No. 1, 2 & 3 the sketches truly represent their relative proportions in size to each other. No. 4 sketch is not in the same category. ... Within the entrance leading to Cave No. 1 [are] the names W. Moorcroft, W. Trebeck, and G. Guthrie, written with charcoal and by the same hand; ... in a bend of the passage, a little farther on, the date '1824 Aug[ust]' also in charcoal [records the] month and year the spot was visited by them. The Cave [No. 1] proves to be fifteen feet [4.57m] in length, eleven feet [3.35m] in breadth and fourteen feet [4.26m] in height. At the upper end is an arched niche or recess. On the right side is an arched aperture or doorway by which the cave is entered from the passage just mentioned, and on the left or opposite side is a small niche. The interior surface throughout was originally coated with cement [lime plaster], but it has generally disappeared, leaving bare the horizontal strata of sand, pebbles and coloured earths of which the rock is composed. This cave or apartment has no trace of painting or having been otherwise decorated. ... It does not appear that this cave has any communication directly with the others. ...

Cave No. 2 [entered from the exterior] has a length of twenty feet [6.09m], a breadth of seven feet [2.13m] and a height of ten feet [3.05m]. At the upper end is also an arched recess, but with some peculiarity of form. On the right side are two small square

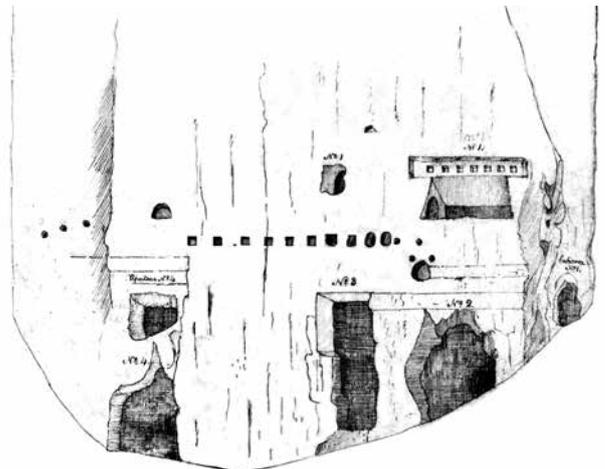


Figure 35 F64 f. 197: Caves above and west of the 55m Buddha.

British Library.

The same drawing is reproduced without numbering as G42 f. 36: 'Entrances to Group No. 1 caves at Bamiyan'. Tarzi (1977, p. 14, pl. B28; p. 71, fig. B147) Sanctuaries XIV–XIVa correspond with Masson's numbers as follows: No. 1: –; No. 2: Cave XIV (Tarzi 1977, p. 73, fig. B151); No. 3: Cave XIVa; No. 4: Cave XIVa (Tarzi 1977, pp. 73, 125, figs B152–3, pl. D27b)

niches and a smaller arched one on the opposite side. The cave was originally covered with cement [lime plaster], but in other respects seems to have been perfectly unadorned [**F64 f. 197v:** 22ft (6.7m) in length, 8½ft (2.59m) in breadth].

The next cave ... is No. 3, a spacious apartment, forty one feet [12.49m] in length, twelve feet [3.65m] in breadth and fifteen feet [4.57m] in height. It has the usual recess at its upper extremity, but before it projects a step or platform. On the right side, and near the recess, is a large square niche, and on the left are two other niches, the smaller being arched, the larger double arched. This apartment was like the rest covered with cement [lime plaster], and the recess at the extremity with the niches on either side were painted of a bright ultra-marine blue [**F64 f. 197v:** 49½ft (15m) in length, from 13 to 15ft (3.96–4.57m) in breadth, 17 to 18ft (5.18–5.48m) in height. ... The hill here is composed of light red clay stone].

Cave No. 4, is very different in form and embellishment from the preceding ones. Its base, not a perfect square, has a length of fifteen feet [4.57m] by a breadth of twelve feet [3.65m]. The height of the apartment is about twenty four feet [7.31m]. Its construction is singular. The sides are carried up perpendicularly from the base for about six feet [1.83m], when they meet a massive belt of mouldings, from which [they] ascend with an inward and sloping inclination to the ceiling,

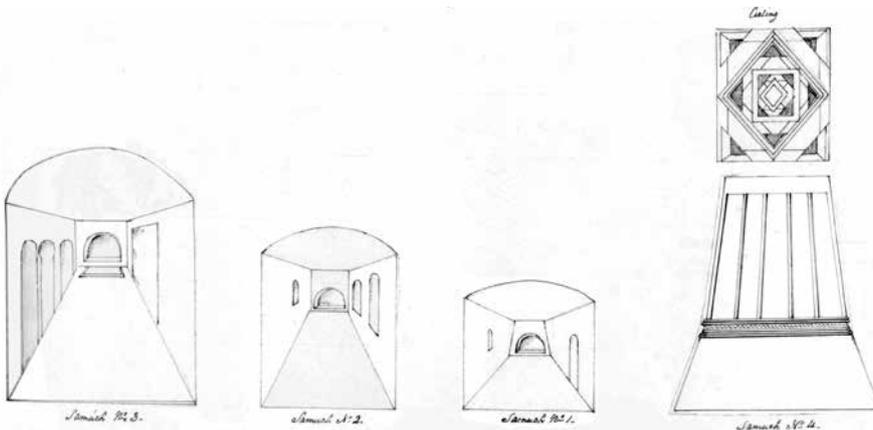


Figure 36 F64 f. 199: 'Group No. 1' caves at Bamiyan. **British Library.**

Group 1. No. 2: Tarzi 1977, cave XIV, p. 73, fig. B151. Nos 3–4: Tarzi 1977, cave XIVa, p. 125, pl. D27b. Also reproduced as G42 f. 37 and titled 'Plate III. Group No. 1 Bamiyan. Interior disposition' (with the interior of niches in cave no. 3 coloured blue). F64 f. 197v (original sketch on blue paper) gives different measurements

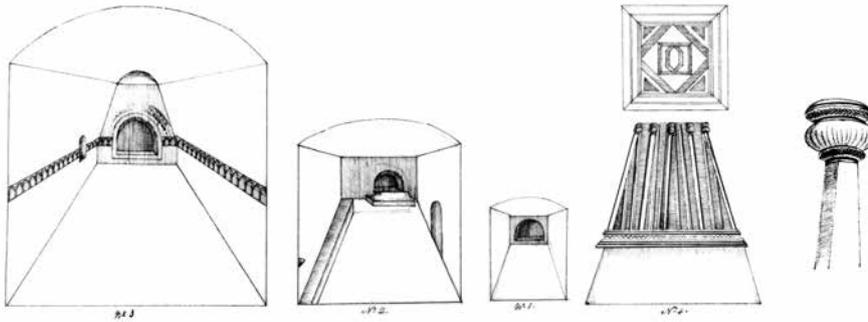


Figure 37 G42 f. 38: 'Plate IV. Group No. 2. Bamiyan. Interior Disposition'. British Library. See also G42 f. 42, the same drawing minus the pilaster, with added captions: No. 1: –; No. 2: –; No. 3 or the Divan Khana' (Tarzi 1977, cave XIII, pp. 71–2, 124, 135, figs B148–50, pls D27a, D39b); 'No. 4 or Chehel Situn' (Tarzi 1977, cave XV, pp. 74, 126, fig. B154, pl. D28)

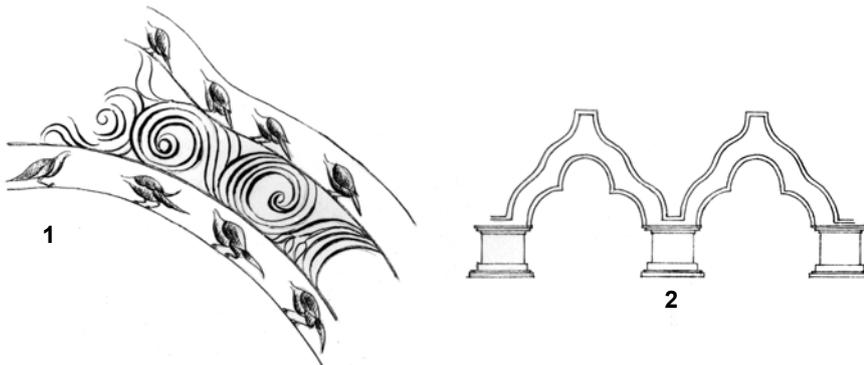


Figure 38 G42 f. 39: 'Plate V. Ornamental designs of the Divan Khana' (Cave No. 3). British Library.

1. The ornamental border encircling the arched recess at the extremity of the Divan Khana;
2. The design of the belt carried around the sides of the same apartment

which is flat and curiously yet simply ornamented. It should have been noticed that the ceilings or roofs of the other caves are vaulted. Over the entrance to this cave is an aperture for the admission of light [F64 f. 197v: 18ft (5.48m) in length, 15½ft (4.72m) in breadth. This compartment was originally highly ornamented – the ceiling is most entire, the sides or rather the cement thereof has either fallen in or has been defaced. The hill (is) composed of the same red clay stone as No. 3. The whole was once covered with a cement of gutch (lime plaster) upon which the carvings were executed. The ceiling is smaller than the floor, the elevations of the sides inclining upwards].

Group 2

G42 f. 33: Group 2 (Fig. 37) is reached 'by ascending [*sic*: descending] the rock a little to the left' of Group 1.

[Group 2 has] two entrances close to each other, the one square, the other arched. The larger of these is but breast high, and about six feet [1.82m] in breadth. By creeping through it, a cave [No. 3] is entered. [It measures] fifty feet [15.24m] in length, twenty five feet [7.62m] in breadth and about thirty feet [9.14m] in height. ... [Known as] Divan Khana or Hall of Audience ... it astonishes the spectator as much by the nature of its embellishments as by its dimensions [Tarzi 1977, cave XIII, pp. 71–2, 124, 135, figs B148–50, pls D27a, D39b]. ... At its upper extremity is an arched recess, around which an ornamental border was carried, a fragment of which remains, and discloses the design of a series of circular scrolls surrounded above and below by lines of small birds [Fig. 38.1]. ... A broad and handsome belt has also been extended along the entire apartment, except where its continuity is interrupted by the recess at the far extremity. This belt exhibits the design of a series of square pedestals supporting segmental wreaths or arches [Fig. 38.2]. ... It is difficult with this, as with other caves, to decide whether or not it was originally painted or spread over with a coat of colouring matter, by reason of the smoky particles having deposited a crust which has much obscured the interior surface. The belt, however, surrounding

this apartment was clearly washed with a bright yellow tint. In this chamber again is seen the name W Moorcroft, which being written in a different handwriting from the memorial before mentioned, may possibly be an autograph of that lamented gentleman. This cave [has a] dome over the recess at the upper end [and] an arched niche on the left side. ... Over its two entrances is an extensive aperture for the admission of light, and near the former is ... a doorway [leading] into Cave No. 1, which thus forms a kind of anti-chamber. Cave No. 1 is sixteen feet [4.87m] in length, ten feet [3.05m] in breadth and about six feet [1.82m] in height. It is wholly without decoration or appendage.

From No. 1, Cave No. 2 is readily gained. It had, however, an independent entrance from the exterior, extending along its entire front, but the road thereto from the rock's decomposition has become difficult. This apartment has a length of forty feet [12.19m], a breadth of thirty one feet [9.45m], and a height of about sixteen feet [4.87m]. It has an arched recess at its upper end, with a step and platform before it, similar to No. 3 of Group 1; likewise an arched niche on the right side which leads into Cave No. 1. On the left side near the original front entrance, and about four feet [1.22m] from the ground is a small segmental niche in the wall.

[G42 f. 34] Immediately without this cave, a small entrance opens into a passage slightly curved into an apartment, highly finished ... [and known as] Khana Chehel Situn, or the Chamber of Forty Pillars [G42 ff. 38, 42, No. 4; Tarzi 1977, pp. 74, 126, 137, fig. B154, pls D28, D39a: cave XV]. The dimensions of this singular excavation, as well as its form correspond with those of No. 4 of Group 1, of which it is indeed the counterpart, only the architecture is more ornate. The ceiling, of the same general design, merely varies in its details. ... The superabundance of pillars radiating from it down the inclined sides of the apartment to the belt of mouldings constitutes the principal distinction, that of a higher degree of embellishment. On each side are three pillars, with ornamental capitals, besides the four angular ones, making a sum of sixteen pillars. Between each of these pillars are two flat double

pilasters, making a sum of thirty-two double pilasters, or a total of forty-eight pillars and pilasters. ... The belt of moulding on which the pillars rest, it will be observed, strictly accords with the similar appendages in No. 4 of the first group. ... In No. 3 of this group, a bench has been formed in the left side. This feature is not apparent in our sketch of the corresponding chamber of Group 1. Is it possible that we have omitted it?

Moorcroft and Trebeck also describe cave No. 4 / XV (1841, p. 390):

At the western end of the range which we ascended we found a number of caves, one of which, of a quadrangular form, displayed considerable architectural decoration. The front had fallen in, but the sides were made up of fluted and square pillars, with and without capitals, at intervals not greater than the breadth of a pillar. The roof was carved so as to represent tiers of beams crossing each other at angles, and diminishing their distance as they ascended, until they left an octangular space of about twenty inches [50.8cm] only, imitating the roof of a log-house in Tibet and Kashmir. The pillared cells communicated by a gallery with a large vault [No. 2], and beyond that with a chamber fifty-three feet [16.15m] long, thirty-eight [11.58m] broad, and forty [12.19m] high, along the side of which were a number of small arched recesses, in which the vestiges of fresco painting might be discovered, although impaired by time and blackened by smoke [G42 ff. 38–9, 42, No. 3; Tarzi 1977, pp. 71–2, 124, 135, figs B148–50, pls D27a, D39b: cave XIII]. At the end, opposite the entrance, a large recess indicated the site of a statue, and a small portion of frieze at the angle of the arch showed the perfection to which the art of sculpture had been brought at the period when the chamber was constructed. This was about two feet and a half [76cm] long, and eighteen inches [45cm] broad, divided, as to its subject, into three compartments: a superior and inferior fillet contained representations of pheasants [or geese] in high relief; the middle band consisted of foliage [acanthus scrolls; G42 f. 39]; and the whole was executed with singular truth and spirit.

Masson's views on the identity of the colossal figures

Masson's visits to the rock-cut Buddhist caves at Kanheri/Salsette and Elephanta in 1841, while in Bombay awaiting passage to England, gave him a greater understanding of Bamiyan (1842, pp. 384–5):

Certainly there can be no doubt of the resemblance between the colossal figures of Buddha in ... the Buddhist temples in the island of Salsette [Kanheri] ... and those of the Bamiyan niches. They are, in like manner, clothed in the same drapery, and stand in the same attitude. Amongst the innumerable smaller seated figures of Buddha at Salsette the attitudes are only three, those of meditation, prayer, and teaching or expounding. The colossal and erect figures invariably represent him in the last, or teaching attitude, with one arm extended, while the other supports the drapery of his robes, which attitude is that of the Bamiyan idols. The latter, in common with those of Salsette, have what has been called 'pendulous ears'. ...

On regarding the paintings at Bamiyan, it struck me that it would be unreasonable to assign them any inexplicable antiquity, and equally so to suppose them late additions with

relation to the idols, for they are equally found in all the niches, whether now occupied or not by idols, and were clearly a portion of their original embellishments, and I have been gratified to observe in the Buddhist temples at Salsette that such embellishments are there also part of the very system of the cave temples, which would not have been complete without them.

Returning to the similarities between the figures depicted in the paintings and Sasanian coins (including later Hun imitations), Masson concluded that 'the idols of Bamiyan ... we dare affirm ... were constructed during the period of the Sasanian sway in Persia, or 220 AD', and the 'era' of Islam, i.e. *c.* late 8th–9th century. He says further 'In considering to what line of princes these coins might be assigned, I ventured ... to intimate the possibility of their appertaining to ... the White Huns of India, the royal Huns of western historians, but I find as many reasons against as for the suspicion, both as regards the great family of nations to which they belonged, and the date of their appearance in Central Asia' (1842, pp. 387–8). It can be seen from his different accounts (1836c, d; G42), that Masson was initially more undecided about the identity of the Buddha and date of the site than these extracts suggest. Nevertheless, his close observation of Sasanian and later coinages, as well as his subsequent visit to Kanheri and Elephanta in 1841 (G43 ff. 1–72), brought him near to the truth.

The visit to Bamiyan by Xuanzang in AD 632 provides one of the first dated records of the existence of the statues, and Klimburg-Salter has suggested that the two images were possibly only completed not very long before his visit (1989, pp. 12–16, 90–1). Recent C14 dating, if reliable, places this event not much earlier. Following the destruction of the statues in March 2001, samples of organic remains such as straw, wood and animal hair within the original plaster of the figures gave AD 507 +/- 15 years for the 38m Buddha and AD 551 +/- 12 years for the 55m Buddha (<http://www.international.icomos.org/risk/2004/afganis2004.pdf> Icomos 24.03.2005, p. 28).

The evidence of a later pilgrim, the Korean monk Hyecho, who visited Bamiyan in AD 727 indicates that Buddhism was still flourishing in the 8th century (Tarzi 1977, p. 183). According to Ya'qubi (*Kitāb al-buldān* [AH 281/AD 891], p. 103), Islam was first adopted by the rulers of Bamiyan in the reign of the 'Abbasid caliph Mansur (AH 136–58/AD 754–75; Tarzi 1977, pp. 185–7). It is more likely however that Islamization only took place after its capture by Ya'qub b. Layth in AH 258/AD 871 (Anon, *Tarikh-e Sistān*, p. 171) and that this process was gradual, for according to Ibn al-Nadim (d. *c.* AD 995–8) – quoting a text of an unknown writer copied by al-Kindi (AH 283–350/AD 897–961) – there were resident ascetics and devotees at Bamiyan and the 'people of India go there on pilgrimages by land and sea from the furthest town [regions] of their country' (*Kitāb al-Fihrist*, pp. 828–9).

Chapter 11

Kabul Sites

Takht-i Shah

Masson 1842, II, pp. 234–5 (see also **E163 section 11, f. 18**):

I made many excursions in the environs [of Kabul], and examined the various interesting objects they present. On one occasion [June 1833] I ascended the hill Koh Takht-i Shah, to inspect the building on its summit, mindful that Babur [Mughal emperor 1526–30] had described it as the palace of an ancient king, I found a substantial erection of about thirty-five feet [10.67m] in length, and eighteen feet [5.49m] in breadth, with a height of about eleven feet [3.35m]. On the western front is a small arched entrance, leading into an apartment of about eleven feet [3.35m] square, crowned with a dome [E163: ‘arched ... after the manner of the Bamiyan caves’]. Four [arched] niches were inserted at the angle of the walls, and three others in the respective sides. A little below, on the face of the hill, there is believed to be a cave, which has its opposite outlet at Fatehabad, at the head of the Jalalabad valley ... but there can be little question, from the existence of the domed chamber, that the Takht-i Shah, or King’s Throne, as it is called, is a sepulchral monument of the middle ages. It is rudely composed of unfashioned stones, and the chamber has been lined with cement [lime plaster; E163: ‘now much smoked’]. Connected with it, and extending along the summits of the range, and of its ramifications, are parapet walls of masonry. We ascended the hill by the Kotal, or pass of Kedar, leading from the ziyarat of that name into Chahar Deh, on the descent of which is another object of curiosity. It is called Khana Sunghi, or the stone house, and consists of two apartments hewn in the rock, with doors also of stone. A terrace, of a few feet in breadth, extends before it, and two or three large hewn stones are lying by the sides of the entrances. It may have been the retreat in former times of some religious recluse.

Khana Sunghi

G40 f. 48 (**Fig. 39**) describes Khana Sunghi as ‘an artificial cave on the western slope of the Takht-i Shah hill’.

Khol Shams and Khol Magamast / Tepe Narenj

Masson recorded mounds on the eastern skirt of the Takht-i Shah hill, at the entrances to glens Khol Shams and Khol Magamast, separated by a spur from the Ziyarat-i Panjashah (1842, II, pp. 234–5; III, pp. 93–6; **E161/VII f. 13, f. 22**).

Ball and Gardin (1982, no. 418, map 110: lat. 34°29’N, long. 69°12’E) identify the site as a Buddhist complex between Takht-i Shah and the marshland meadow of Hashtmakan, now partly buried beneath the later Ziyarat-i Panjashah on the summit of Takht-i Shah (Ball and Gardin no. 1137; **Fig. 40**).

Masson 1842, II, p. 235:

In our descent from the Takht-i Shah we came direct down its eastern face, and fell upon the glens, or khols, Shams and Magamast, where are sepulchral vestiges of the old inhabitants. In these we subsequently made excavations, and found a variety of idols, also some Nagari manuscripts on leaves, which, however, it is feared, were too mutilated to be very serviceable, although the characters on what has been spared were very distinct. At the same spot Dr Gerard, when in Kabul, procured the image of Buddha.

Masson 1842, III, pp. 93–8:

I commenced an operation upon a mound [near Hashmakhan, 3km south-west of Bala Hisar] at the skirt of the hill Koh Takht-i Shah, separated by a spur from the Ziyarat-i Panjashah.

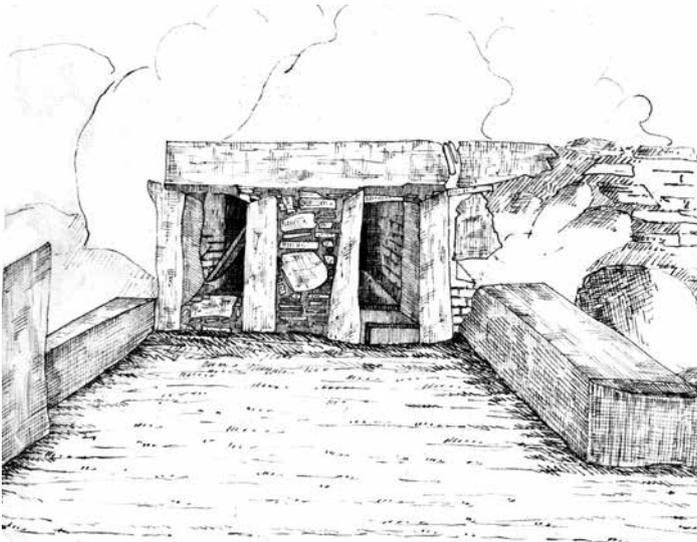


Figure 39 F64 f. 113: 'Khana Sunghi or ancient rock hermitage', on the descent of the hill Koh Takht-i Shah, Kabul. British Library

It was at the entrance of a little khol, or glen, called Khol Shams, where was a spring and a few trees. ... Below, or east of it, was a castle and garden belonging to Akhund Iddaitulah. ... The mound was composed of two stages, the lower and superior one being garnished with caves. In the centre of the upper one was a circular hollow, supposed by my friends to have been a hauz, or reservoir of water. These caves had been visited by the inmates of the castle, and from one of them a copper lamp had been bought, now in the possession of the Akhund. I obtained from them specimens of the unbaked bricks which had been employed in the construction of the mound. They were sixteen inches [40.64 cm] square, with a depth of six inches [15.24cm]. On one side was the impression of a hand, on the other that of a figure, or character, '4'. ... In the course of four or five days we discovered, nearly at one of the angles of the mound, a tak, or arched recess, ornamentally carved, and supported by two slender pillars. In it we found the remains of several earthen images; the heads of the two larger ones only were sufficiently entire to bear removal. They were evidently of female figures, and of very regular and handsome features [Figs 41-2]. Affected by moisture, which had naturally in the course of centuries completely pervaded the mound, and everything of mere earth contained within it, we could yet from slight traces ascertain that the figures had been originally covered with layers of white and red paint, and that over the latter had been placed a surface of gold leaf. The hair of the heads, tastefully arranged in curls, had been painted with an azure colour. The recess also had been embellished with gold leaf and lapis lazuli tints. Accompanying the figures were a variety of toys, precisely as the Hindus make at the present day, ... representing horses, sheep, cows &c. of cement. The more important discovery remained. At the base of the recess were hewn stones; and on their removal we found jammed between them Nagari writings on tuz leaf. Their position, which clearly had been adopted with a view to their preservation, had not secured them from the consequences of natural decay and the all-penetrating damp.

The characters on many of the fragmental masses were very distinct and legible. It now occurred to me that an examination of the corresponding angle of the mound might lead to similar results; our labours did not substantiate the notion. We next opened the pile between the two angles, and it soon became evident that the space had been filled by a suite of small apartments. Some of these we cleared out. In one of them, which had been crowned with a dome, we found several

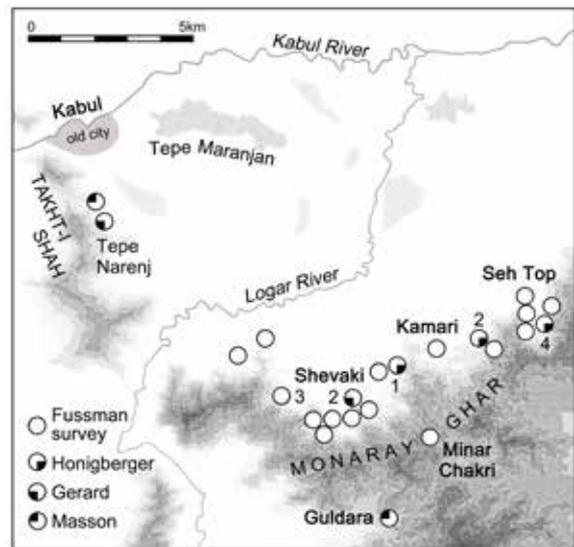


Figure 40 Map of sites south-east of Kabul (after Fussman 2008, pl. 3)

images, of different proportions, but one of them eight or ten feet [2.44-3.05m] in length. They were all of pure earth, and had been covered with gold leaf, and were lying horizontally. My Muhammadan companions amused themselves in scraping it off, but the images were so saturated that it was impossible even to develop one of them perfectly. In another apartment, which had been alike decorated with mouldings, and painted with white, red, and azure colours, we found three earthen lamps, an iron nail, and one or two fragments of iron. Pieces of charcoal were abundant, and occasionally a few bones were brought to light, with pieces of red and black pottery; the latter of good fabric. ... Nothing farther of consequence was extracted from the mound; but I may here observe ... that at the close of autumn of this year [1833], when Dr Gerard [and his secretary, Mohan Lal] arrived in Kabul, I pointed out the spot to him as one likely to yield some token which he was desirous to possess and carry with him to India. From it he obtained the marble [*sic*: schist] sculptured slab forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Mohan Lal 1834a, p. 363:

South of the town of Kabul, two miles distant [3.22km], a range of rugged and barren mountains commands the ruins of the ancient city [actually cemeteries: see Fussman 2008, p. 84], which shows nothing curious but a heap of dust mingled with stones and bricks. ... While we remained at Kabul we employed our time in digging the antiquities and the graves of the old inhabitants of that country, which are said to be both Bactrians and Buddhist, but unfortunately none of the mausoleums favoured us with any coin or writing by which we could prove the descent of the buried. However some of them contained earthen lamps full of small pieces of bones and also rotten pearls, which confirm the dead to have been idolaters. ... All these monuments flourish at the skirt of the same hill which views the ruins of the ancient city.

On the 7th of November 1833, we hurried down to the above place, and hired nine men to dig the earth till the day closed, but our labours were fruitless; from the 8th to the 19th of the same month, we continued our operations, and during which space the diggers were checked by a close work of lime structure. We told them to break through it, and after digging seven paces further, they opened in a large and beautiful roofed square; it must have remained long in such a state of preservation that one might suppose that it was freshly

plastered with lime. The cell was handsomely gilt and coloured by lapis lazuli, which is found in considerable quantities in the mines of Badakhshan, 12 days' journey from Kabul: such was the situation of the place where we found the stone image lying on the ground.

The figure represents Buddha in the usual sitting posture of tranquil repose clothed to the neck in a thin flowing drapery; flames of sacred fire appear on his shoulders, and a circular glory surrounds the whole [Fig. 43].

Fussman locates the area excavated by Masson and Gerard as being on, or in the proximity of, the lower terraces of Tepe Narenj (2008, pp. 83–93, 270–5, 302, pls 83–7). Tepe Narenj has been recently excavated by the Afghan Institute of Archaeology (Paiman 2005a–b, 2006a–b, 2013). The Buddhist site subsequently became an Islamic cemetery and was covered with graves several layers deep. The ancient remains and those of two smaller adjoining sites were excavated and conserved. The complex spreads over a series of five or more artificial terraces on the eastern slope of the hill. Excavated finds include a monumental stupa with a base *c.* 10.35m square; five chapels (one containing a stupa, the others colossal clay statues); the pedestal of an enormous standing Buddha *c.* 4m high; six smaller stone stupas; and the remains of a circular room similar to that at Tepe Sardar, Ghazni, interpreted a *homa* shrine, i.e. housing a consecrated fire for ritual offerings (Fussman 2008, pp. 90–1; Verardi 1994, pp. 41–3). The buildings all face east and would have been visible from a long way to travellers on the main road from Butkhak to Kabul (Fussman 2008, p. 86). Stratigraphic analysis and coin finds demonstrate that most of the excavated buildings and colossal clay statues belong to

the last period (*c.* 5th to 9th century) of an extensive Mahasamghika monastery, but the actual monks' living quarters probably lie beneath the later structures. The earlier part of the site – probably dating back to the 2nd or 3rd century AD – cannot be excavated as it is buried beneath the cemetery of Shohada-i Salehin, which contains many tombs of Muslim saints.

P/387/71, no. 5 / E161/VII f. 14 (Masson, Memorandum of expenses 9–10–1834):

Also will be dispatched two pretty heads of prepared clay – and the fragments of a Sanskrit manuscript: on these no expense was incurred, as I found them myself from a spot near Kabul. When Dr Gerard was at Kabul last year, he expressed a wish to be able to take something away with him, as a specimen of its antiquities. I directed him to this spot, and the labour of a day or so put him in possession of a slab of black stone on which was excellently carved Sakya [Śākyamuni], surrounded with numerous groups of small winged figures.

Fussman identifies the birch bark manuscript (Masson's 'Nagari writings on tuz leaf'/'Sanskrit manuscript') as probably being written in Brahmi or proto-Sharada script, suggesting a date between the 4th and 7th century (2008, p. 92). The two 'prepared clay' heads of the larger 'female idols' and fragments of the birch bark manuscript were included with the finds dispatched from Kabul to Pottinger on 11 December 1834 (**E161/VII f. 22**), but did not reach the India Museum in London until 1837 (Errington 2006, pp. 90, 92, n. 28). Although no subsequent documentation survives, two clay heads without provenance in the British Museum fit the description of the missing items: 1880.106 and 1880.122 (**Figs 41–2**). Although the 1880 registration date is an arbitrary 20th-century one applied to any objects lacking records, it does include all material inherited from the India Museum. Object 1880.122 is the head of a woman and while 1880.106 is not, at the time of excavation, Masson did not realize the Buddhist nature of his finds and routinely describes Buddha figures as female. Painted clay figures of the 4th–5th century and later predominate at Hadda and sites around Kabul. Zwalf (1996, p. 326, no. 586) notes the stylistic affinity between 1880.106 and the Buddha heads 1880.110–112, 1880.117 from Hadda (**Fig. 269.1–2, 4**). There are also strong links with the painted clay statues from Tepe Narenj (Fussman 2008, pp. 272–4, pls 84–6) and neighbouring Tepe Maranjan (Tissot 2006, pp. 343–5).

Fig. 41 – 1880.106 (formerly India Museum?). From Khol Shams/Tepe Narenj?

Clay head from a Buddha image, *c.* 5th century, with traces of red pigment between the lips and in the corner cavities and blue pigment on the hair. The ears, neck and much of the hair are lacking. The face is smooth, apart from a crack across the forehead, some breaks and traces of an applied white substance. The back and neck are made up in dark grey plaster. H. 17.5cm; W. 9.9cm; T. 8.3cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 326, no. 586. British Museum Conservation Report RL582, 15–9–1989:

The head seemed to have been produced in unfired clay. A sample of powdery material from the core of the object has been analysed by X-ray diffractometry (XRD). The results suggest that it is made from a calcareous 'clay' containing mica (and the clay mineral illite), chlorite, amphibole and feldspar, in

Figure 41 Clay head from a Buddha image from Khol Shams/Tepe Narenj?





Figure 42 Clay head of a woman from Khol Shams/Tepe Narenj?

addition to quartz, which is the dominant phase, and calcite. The XRD pattern indicates that the mixture is unlikely to have been fired above about 500–600° (and may well, as suspected, be unfired). The calcareous nature of the clay could be due to the natural (or deliberate) admixture of calcite or to the deliberate addition of a proportion of lime (plaster) as a binder.

Fig 42 – 1880.122 (formerly India Museum?). From Khol Shams/Tepe Narenj?

Clay head of a woman, c. 5th century, cracked, with only the right ear preserved. The hair is depicted as short, sometimes curved grooves; with a sharply defined fringe, and tied with a narrow fillet formed by a plain sunken strip. The head is broken irregularly behind and evenly under the chin. It is made up at the back with new plaster to hold the vertical metal pin of the modern stand. H. 17.2cm; W. 11.3cm; T. 8.7cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 338, no. 629.

Fig. 43 – Indian Museum, Kolkata K.1/A.23220. From Khol Shams/Tepe Narenj.

Schist roundel with tang – the upper part of a stele – depicting a meditating Buddha with flaming shoulders, c. 3rd century. D. 39.25cm.

The seated figure is completely encircled by a halo on which are two small scenes on lotus pedestals: on the Buddha's right, Siddhārtha's meeting with Rāhula or the Return to Kapilavastu; on his left, the Dīpaṅkara jātaka; and above, flanking his head, two figures holding parasols. The relief is closely linked stylistically to the Buddha statues found at Paitava and datable to the Kushan period. A complete example from Paitava shows how the tang fitted into a lotus on a rectangular pedestal base (Fussman 2008, pl. 34.b).

Donated 6–8–1834 by J.G. Gerard to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; transferred to Indian Museum in 1866. Mohan



Figure 43 Schist roundel depicting a seated Buddha in meditation, from Khol Shams/Tepe Narenj

Lal 1834a, p. 363, pl. XXVI; Prinsep 1834, pp. 455–6; Anderson 1883, pp. 260–1; Taddei 2003, pp. 329–34, fig. 1; Fussman 2008, pl. 87.b–c.

Tepe Maranjan / Tapa Marinjan

G41 ff. 11, 23; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 273, no. 1173, maps 49.3, 110: lat. 34°31'N, long. 69°15'E (**Figs 40, 44**).

The site lies at the eastern end of the Maranjan hill, 4km east of Bala Hisar and just north of the road to Butkhak. Twelve caves 'with low parallel openings' are located at the southern foot of the hill (G41 f. 23). Immediately to the east are many mounds. There are two complexes (Fussman 2008, pp. 95–103, 302–3, pls 74–81). Maranjan 1 comprised a small fort dated c. AD 300–400, with a later Buddhist enclosure containing a small stupa and clay sculptures built against its western wall. Finds included a hoard of 368 silver Sasanian coins (326 Shapur II, 28 Ardashir II, 14 Shapur III: AD 309–88) and 11 gold scyphates (1 Kushano-Sasanian Varhran, 10 Kidarite: c. AD 360–88: Curiel 1953, pp. 103–30, pls IX–XVI; Cribb 2010, p. 136).

Tepe Maranjan 2, another courtyard a little lower down the hill, enclosed the remains of a 22.5m square base of a stupa and eight secondary stupas, some built of diaper masonry. Four coins of unspecified metal were unearthed in the courtyard, three of which Fussman identifies as one of Kanishka I, another of 'Vasudeva' I (c. AD 190–227), and 'a very beautiful Kushano-Sasanian coin', adding that Kuwayama considered it Hephthalite; identifications which recent numismatic research would probably correct to Kidarite or perhaps Alkhan (Cribb 2010; Alram and Pfisterer 2010).

The relic cell of the main stupa contained four reliquaries and seven very corroded copper alloy coins: six contemporary copies of the Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90) issue with a standing Heracles on the reverse, and one imitation of Vasudeva II, standing king/Shiva and bull (identified by Joe Cribb from images supplied by Noor Agha Noor, Kabul Museum reg. nos 13.45.13.21–27). Three of the

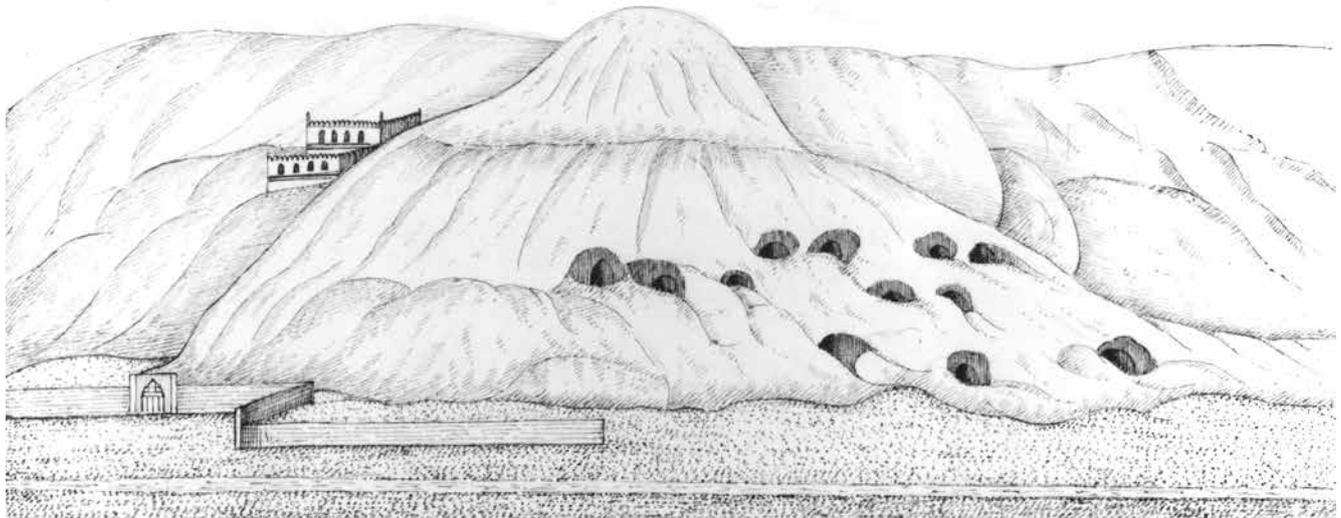


Figure 44 G41 f. 23, pl. X: 'Ancient caves now called the samotchets of Mullah Umar and sometimes of Mullah Payindah at the Tepe Maranjan near Kabul'. British Library

reliquaries were cylindrical with flat lids (material not specified). The fourth was a steatite reliquary containing *inter alia* a copy of a Roman gold coin with the figure of a woman to right, a miniature copper stupa and two small, folded bundles of – probably birch bark – manuscripts (Fussman 2008, p. 101, pls 80.b–c, 81.b–c).

According to Masson (**G41 f. 11**):

The present sketch (pl. X) shows the most complete collection [of caves] it was our fortune to fall in with, and it is immediately east of the city [of Kabul], about half a mile [0.8km] distant from the Bala Hisar or citadel. Common report would even dissipate the pretensions of these caves to be considered an ancient vihara, ascribing them to Mullah Umar and Mullah Payindah, and assuming that they were excavated by those good men for the convenience of the Kalifas [merchant caravans]. We believe that two such persons lived, and can even admit that one or other of them may have widened and increased the capacity of certain of the cave[s] for the purpose stated, yet we cannot relinquish the conceit that there were caves at the spot before the time of the two Mullahs.

Immediately to the east of these caves, at the base of the Tepe Maranjan are many mounds, and that they are ancient vestiges, was fully proved by the discovery that they were covered chambers or apartments, being in fact a collection of mound temples and tombs. Parallel thereto, to the south, is the well preserved mound temple to which we have alluded when noticing the Great Mound Temple of Jalalabad (Tepe Khwaja Lahori) beyond which in the same direction is the plain of Begram, with the village retaining that name, and still farther south is the small hill range of Chakri or Koh Shakh Darunta

at the skirts of which are the Topes of the Kadphises [Kujula and Wima] and Kanerki [Kanishka I] periods [Chahar Bagh stupas]. Through the plain of Begram flows the Logar river, in which we infer the ancient city [Nagarahara] indicated by that designation was seated, and to such [a similar] city we presume the Topes, Mound Temple and possibly these caves and mounds at Tepe Maranjan may be ascribed, remembering however that the latter vestiges in no way rival the former in antiquity.

We observe the term Tepe, applied in Nangarhar to an artificial mound, [is] here applied to a natural eminence or hillock – indeed it seems to be used indiscriminately for an elevation of whatever kind.

The Tepe Maranjan stretches in its length from west to east. To the west it overlooks the northern extremity of the Bala Hisar and the Palace, and the city of Kabul. On its south western point is a large mound which might have been well deemed an ancient vestige, but that it has been made by Nadir Shah [1736–47] to serve as a battery, when he besieged the Bala Hisar. The skirts of this elevation are yet occupied by various burial grounds – and besides Muhamadans, the Jews have their place of interment there and the Hindus their place of cremation.

The Tepe Maranjan extends easterly to a point called Siah Sang, thence to Deh Ahmed Khan and thence to Shinar on its southern line – on its northern face it stretches to Killa Koh Safed near which was the spot selected for the encampment of the British during the occupation of the country. Its various points and features have therefore become too well known to many who were engaged in that unhappy affair.

Chapter 12

Stupas South-east of Kabul: Shakh Baranta Ridge (Modern Monaray Ghar)

Masson 1842, II, p. 236:

In another and more extended excursion, I skirted the hill-range from Shakh Baranta to Butkhak, in whose recesses are the Topes, subsequently examined by M. Honigberger. I was unable at this time to benefit by the knowledge of their existence. Among the glens, or khols of these hills, is one called Sanjtak . . . It is a place of ancient sepulture, and there are mounds and caves at it; – from the former funeral jars have been extracted.

Gerard 1834, pp. 323–4:

The topes or tombs which appear in the environs of Kabul are planted along the skirt of the mountain ridges, which support that elevated plain, and this peculiarity is common to almost all of them: the adjacent level has obviously been the basin of a lake or sheet of standing water, till drained away by the course of rivers, and it still continues a more or less quaggy marsh. The first settlers seem to have chosen the rising ground at the roots of the hills for their locations, the ancient city of Kabul (still visible in the remains of mounds and heaps) also occupying that basal line.

Masson 1841, pp. 114–15:

The plain which lies to the east of Kabul is bounded on the south by a ridge of mountains extending for about 10 miles [16km]. Its western extremity, called Shakh Baranta, is of fair altitude, and about 5 miles [8km] south of the city. On the northern base of this ridge, along its skirts, are dispensed some eleven or twelve topes, two or three of them only of considerable magnitude: they occur as it were in three groups; the first and nearest from Kabul overlooking that portion of the plain called Shevaki. Amongst these is the principal monument of the kind [Shevaki 1, Topes pl. IXa: **Fig. 47**], with five or six inferior structures, seated in the recesses of the hills adjacent to it [**Fig. 45**]. Below or east of this group, south of the village of Kamari, are two other topes, one of them a large one; and still farther to the east are three topes, called from their number Seh Topan [‘three stupas’]. The whole of these edifices were opened by M. Honigberger, and only two [Shevaki 1 and Kamari 2] yielded results to him [the lamps found in Shevaki ‘Bourdj i yakh dereh’ and Seh Top 4 are not included]. . . . The principal of the topes of these three groups are respectively seated at the bottom of roads leading across the ridge of mountain; they are all, as the monuments of Chahar Bagh and Hadda, accompanied by enclosed areas [monasteries], and have the usual appendages of caves &c. (Sketches of the Kabul Topes were given by Mr. Masson to Dr Honigberger, and have been etched in the *J. Asiatique*, September 1836 [**Figs 53, 57, 60–1; Vol. II, Fig. 28**]).

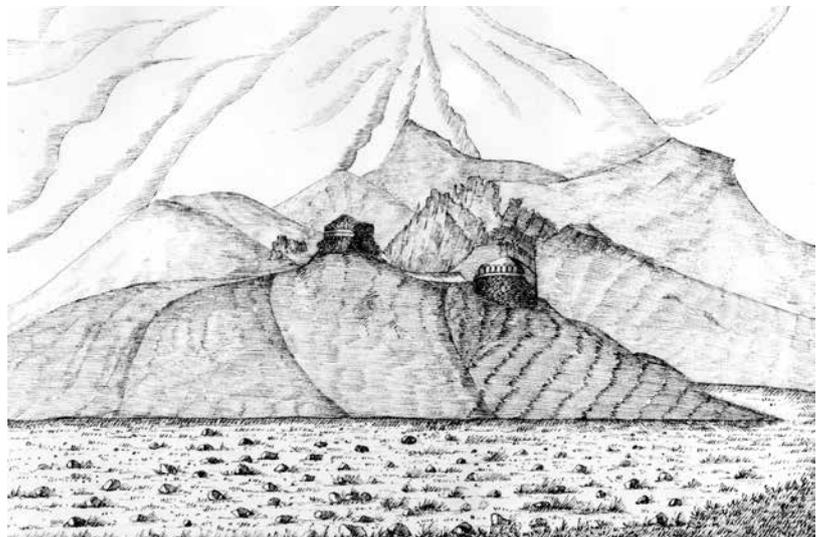


Figure 45 F64 f. 78: ‘Small Topes at Shevaki near Kabul’. British Library (see also sketch F69 f. 79: Vol. II, Fig. 27)



Figure 46 Shevaki stupa 1. Photograph:
© Piers Baker 1979

Foucher (1942, p. 147) lists one stupa at Shevaki, below Minar Chakri (Shevaki 1), six ruined sites at Kamari, each with a stupa, and five stupas at Seh Top. His text (p. 172) for pl. XXX.e–f, refers to only three ‘Seh Top’, while pl. XXX.e itself is titled ‘les “trois top” de Kamari’, although it shows the same three stupas or ‘Seh Topan’ as Jacquet 1836, pl. III. In spite of this confusion, Foucher’s total of 12 stupas agrees with that of Masson, albeit the distribution of the sites is emphasized differently.

Fussman (2008, pp. 27–46, pls 16, 46–69) records 12 Shevaki sites, clustered in a semi-circle around the northern slopes of the Monaray Ghar (**Fig. 40**). Most of the complexes comprise a stupa and the remains of monastic structures. He records three sites at Kamari (2008, pls 16, 18–26) and six at Seh Topan (2008, pls 16, 36–45; only five marked on his map). This gives a total of 21 sites.

Mizuno (1970–1, p. 124–5) only surveyed four Shevaki stupas: Shevaki is a village 6km south of Kabul. Its fields, extending south up the gradual slope to the foot of the southern rocky mountains, command the view of green areas seldom found in this dry land. The green area embraces the historical districts of Begram, Butkhak and Khurd-Kabul. Two stupas stand on this commanding height [Shevaki 1 is the most easterly; Shevaki 2 lies to the west near the village of Yakhdara], whereas two others are situated in the east-west ravines to the west

[Shevaki 3 in the ravine not far from Shevaki 2]; Shevaki 4 is in the ravine just below Surkh Minar which collapsed completely in the earthquake in spring 1965. Near the stupa on the mountainside are the stone masonry remains of several ruins.

Shevaki 1 / Bourdj i takht i minareh siah Tchekeri bala

Jacquet 1836, pp. 254–9, pls 4, VI, XII.1–11; **Vol. II, Fig. 28**; Masson 1841, p. 114; Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 124–5, pl. 43; Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 253–4, no.1087, map 110: lat. 34°26’N, long. 69°17’E (**Figs 46–8**).

BM-OP 21–8–1835: ‘No. 1, Siremonarchequerie. Four miles [6.44km] east of Kabul at the foot of a mountain, a cupola 40 feet [12.2 m] high, equal in diameter, composed of huge hard stones’.

Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 124–5; **Fig. 48:**

Stupa 1, lying most easterly of the four [Shevaki stupas], is the biggest and most well-preserved. It still retains the niche zone and the fine dome is still almost completely covered with lime plaster. Among the niches, there is at the east side an exceptionally tall one with a trilobe arch that is the front niche once containing the main image. The niche zone is adorned with a cornice, pointed arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters, but has lost entirely its lower mouldings. Peculiar is the design of the fusi-form between the arches, which are common in the stupas in Kabul, but not in Jalalabad. However, the same design is seen in the small stupas of Shotorak and Lalma.

Figure 47 Masson 1841, Topes pl. IXa: ‘Tope of Shevaki’.



Figure 48 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 40.2: Shevaki 1. Kyoto University 1965



The 'fusi-form' refers to the stone cone or spindle-shapes emerging above single or double stalks in the spandrels between the arches (see also Shevaki 2–3, 7, 10B, Kamari and Guldara: **Figs 54, 57, 64**; Fussman 2008, pls 25a–b, 51, 56, 61a–b, 65c). These formed the underlying framework for stucco mouldings – not of eagles with spread wings like the Bimaran gold casket, as suggested by Carter (1997, p. 78) – but pointed petals and buds (see Fussman 2008, p. 239, pl. 51).

Honigberger excavated from the top through the centre. After 12 days the workers had only penetrated a small distance when they uncovered a cell *c.* 8 feet square (2.4m) of huge, regularly cut stones; the three forming the base being more than one foot (30.48cm) thick. After failing to penetrate it, the shaft was abandoned and instead, they enlarged a small, existing hole at the base of the stupa dome and excavated horizontally towards the centre. The construction of the monument in this area was the same as that already encountered, but at *c.* 3 feet (*c.* 91.4cm) from the centre was a circular construction built of small pieces of 'cemented' stone. It appears from this description (Jacquet 1836, pp. 258–9) that there was an earlier core stupa within the later enlargement. In its centre was a cell, 30.48cm square, formed by six regularly cut blocks of stone, which contained the relic deposit.

Finds

Fig. 49.1: A yellow, black and grey veined stone ('serpentine') reliquary, divided into two compartments, with traces of an illegible ink inscription on the lid (Baums 2012, p. 250, no. 55). H. 10.16cm, D. 8.89cm. The central phiale of the upper section was empty; the lower part contained ashes and dust mixed with:

Fig. 49.2: A small piece of gold foil with a loop and attached gold wire.

Fig. 49.3: A larger crumpled and folded circular piece of gold foil with a loop and attached gold wire.

Fig. 49.4: A pyramidal-shaped gold ornament of four small balls.

Fig. 49.5–6: A turquoise and a garnet weighing 0.52g (both said to be 'heart-shaped' but illustrated as drops).

Fig. 49.7: A folded 'papyrus' (birch bark) manuscript, well preserved, dry, golden in colour, with traces of 'Bactrian characters' (Kharoshthi).

Fig. 49.8: A hammered silver reliquary, of rough workmanship, H. 21mm, D. 22mm. This contained:

Fig. 49.9: A gold reliquary (H. 16mm, D. 19mm) 'of finer workmanship', in which were fragments of calcined bones; two calcined pearls.

Fig. 49.10–11: Two small gold ornaments with attached wire, one bell-shaped, the other heart-shaped.

Fig. 49.12: A small annealed gold cylindrical bead. Three similar examples were found in the Yona relic deposit and in Tillya Tepe (Salomon 2005, p. 390, fig. 9; Sarianidi 1985, tomb 6, p. 10, no. 6.25).

Fig. 49.13: An oval cabochon-cut 'ruby' (probably garnet) of 0.52g.

Minar Chakri

Figs 50–2; Masson 1841, p. 114, Topes pl. IXc:

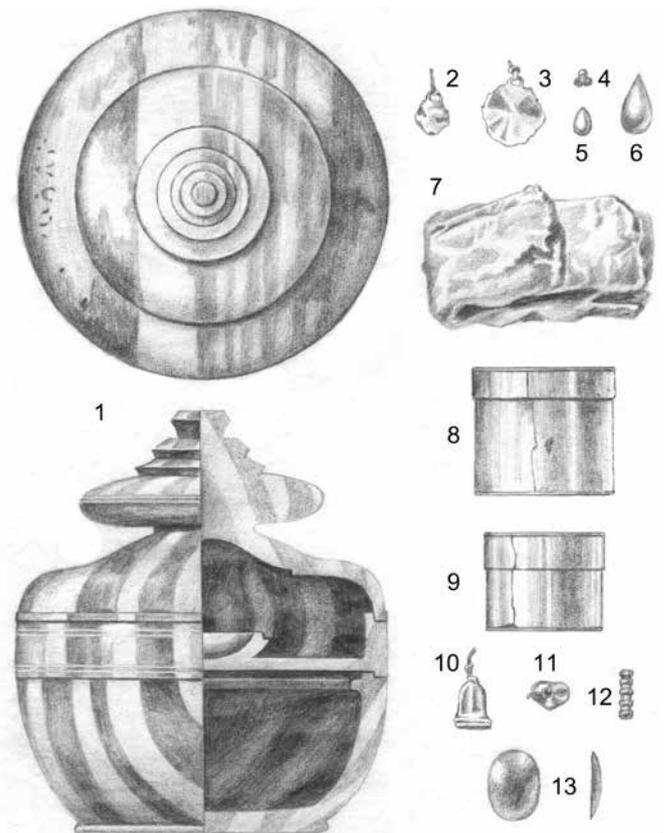


Figure 49 Shevaki 1 relic deposit (after Jacquet 1836, pls VI; XII.1–11)

Amongst the topes of the Shevaki group, and immediately contiguous to an inferior one, is a column of masonry called Surkh Minar, or the red pillar, from the colour of the materials employed in its construction, which were taken from the rock on which it stands. It is clearly of the same age as the topes, and from its position and amalgamation with them, may be calculated to participate in the character attaching to them. It, moreover, displays the chequered arrangement of its surface, as respects the insertion of pale-coloured stones at intervals and in concentric lines, as I have shown is general upon the upper and conical portions of topes and upon their basements. On the crest of the range also above the principal tope of Shevaki is another column called Minar Chakri, superior in altitude and in preservation. ... The original form of Surkh Minar was probably identical, but its upper parts have fallen beneath the injuries of time.

Surkh Minar was completely destroyed by the 1965 earthquake. Minar Chakri and its monastery stand in a small open space on the saddle of the mountain (**Vol. II, Figs 25–6**). A path leads from here down to Guldara, on 'the back of this mountain' (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 125).

Shevaki 2 / Bourdj i yakh dereh zir minareh i Tcheker (?) Jacquet 1839, pp. 393–5 (**Figs 53–5**).

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 125, pl. 42 locates Shevaki stupa 2 near the village of Yakhdara, which suggests that it is the same stupa as Honigberger/Jacquet's 'Bourdj i yakh dereh zir minareh i Tcheker'; see also Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 286, no. 1237, map 110: Yakhdarra, lat. 34°25'N, long. 69°16'E.

Fussman (2008, pp. 35–42, pls 54–63), however, expresses some doubts whether Bourdj i yakh dereh should be identified as this stupa (Mizuno Shevaki 2/Fussman Shevaki 3), or as Fussman Shevaki 7/Mizuno Shevaki 3.

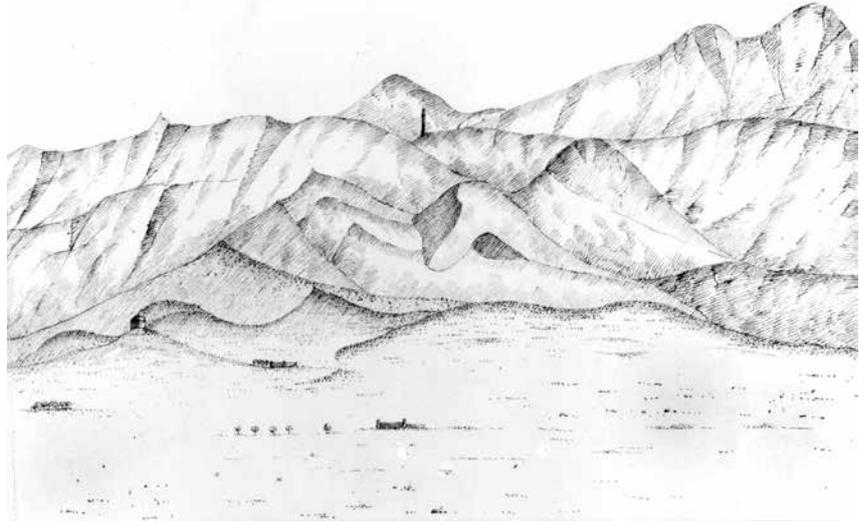
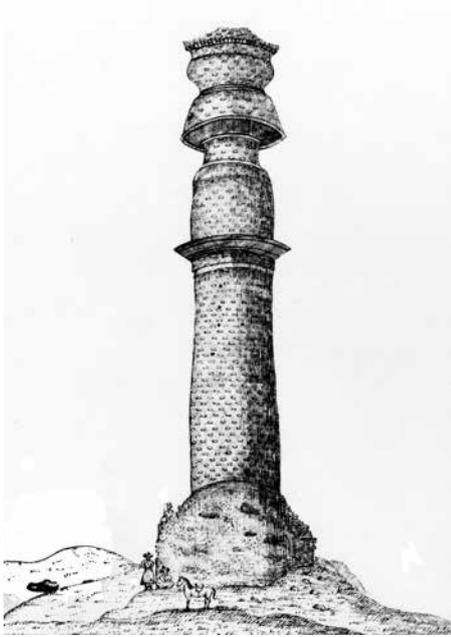


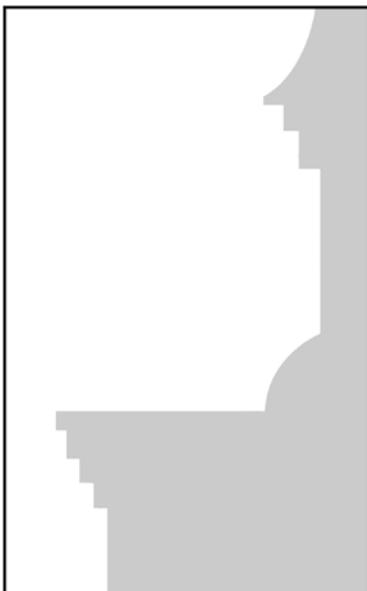
Figure 50 (left) F63 f. 14: Column of Minar Chakri. British Library

Figure 51 (above) G40 f. 36: Distant view of Minar Chakri showing its position on the Shakh Baranta range (G40 f. 37: sketch), British Library



Figure 52 View of Minar Chakri and Shevaki 1. Photograph: © P. Baker 1979

Figure 53 Profile of Shevaki 2 (?) core stupa (after Jacquet 1836, pl. 3)



Foucher (1905, p. 79, fig. 21) states that the stupa reliquary illustrated by Jacquet (1839, pl. XIV; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, p. 70, fig. 3.22) is from this site, but this appears to be a misinterpretation of Jacquet's reference to the profile of the core stupa (1836, pl. 3: see **Fig. 53**).

Gerard opened the monument at the base. A cell within the core stupa contained five terracotta lamps filled with 'solid whitish fragments' (see below).

Jacquet 1839, pp. 393–5:

The stupa on which Dr. Gerard conducted his investigations ... lies ... east of Kabul (Mohan Lal ... locates it six miles [9.65km] south-east of Kabul), in a valley... below the column of Tcheker [Minar Chakri] ... from which it derives the name of *Bourdj i yakh dereh zir minareh i Tcheker* ... [The stupa] is thirty feet [9.14m] high and built of large blocks of stone cemented with lime. Gerard ... opened the monument at the base: on the sixth day he uncovered another stupa, so to speak, enveloped within the massif of the first; the next day the workers penetrated to the centre of this earlier structure and discovered a cell that contained five terracotta lamps filled with solid, whitish



Figure 54 (left) Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 42.1: Shevaki 2 from south-east. Kyoto University 1965

Figure 55 (above) Mizuno 1970–1 p. 86, fig. 49: Tumulus near Shevaki 2. Kyoto University 1965

fragments that Mohan Lal identifies as human bones, but which could be identified, with more likelihood, as fragments of the resinous substance found in similar quantities in *bourdj i kemri* [Kamari stupa 2].

Mohan Lal 1834a, p. 363:

While we remained at Kabul we employed our time in digging the antiquities and the graves of the old inhabitants of that country, which are said to be both Bactrians and Buddhist, but unfortunately none of the mausoleums favoured us with any coin or writing by which we could prove the descent of the buried. However some of them contained earthen lamps full of small pieces of bones and also rotten pearls.

Shevaki 2 (Mizuno 1970–1) / Shevaki 3 (Fussman 2008, pp. 35–7, pls 54–6)

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 125, pl. 42.2: ‘Stupa 2 is to the west of Shevaki Stupa 1 and near the little village of Yakha-darrah. The stupa has half fallen down, but the niche zone is still partly preserved, and the style is similar to Shevaki 1’.

The blind arcade of ogee arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters has cone-shaped bud forms in the spandrels, but no dowel holes for statues (Fussman 2008, p. 244, pl. 56).

Shevaki 3 (Mizuno 1970–1) / Shevaki 7 (Fussman 2008, pp. 38–42, pls 58–63)

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 125, pl. 43.1 (**Fig. 56**): ‘Stupa 3 is not far from Stupa 2, but standing in a ravine and [with the] accompanying wall remains of a monastery. The construction seems very compact and a hole dug by robbers exposes the inside composed of boulders’.

The blind arcade does not have any dowel holes for attaching statues. Like Shevaki 1 and 2, it has cone-shaped bud-forms in the spandrels.

Kamari

East of Shevaki and south of Kamari village are two stupas. The more ruined Kamari 1 is located on the eastern or opposite side of the same spur as Shevaki 1 and 2 (Fussman

2008, pl. 16). Kamari 2 – excavated by Honigberger – is higher up the mountain slope further to the east (Fussman 2008, pp. 47–53, who also identifies the tumulus ruins of a third possible site below Kamari 2); Ball and Gardin (1982, no. 519) confuse the finds from Kamari 2 with those excavated by Gerard at Shevaki / Bourdj i yakh dereh.

Kamari 2 / Bourdj i Kemri be Kala’i moufti

F64 ff. 80–1: ‘Tope Kamari’; Masson 1841, p. 114: ‘the superior [tope] at Kamari’; Jacquet 1836, pp. 262–70, pls 3, X, XII.12–15, XIII.1. Lezine 1964, pp. 19–20, figs 8, 40–7; Fussman 2008, pp. 49–53, 300, pls 22–6; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 145, no. 519, map 110: lat. 34°27’N, long. 69°18’E.

BM-OP 21–8–1835: ‘No. 2 Topes, Topekalamufti. One mile [1.61km] distant from [Shevaki stupa 1] on the same

Figure 56 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 43.1: Shevaki stupa 3 from the east. Kyoto University 1965



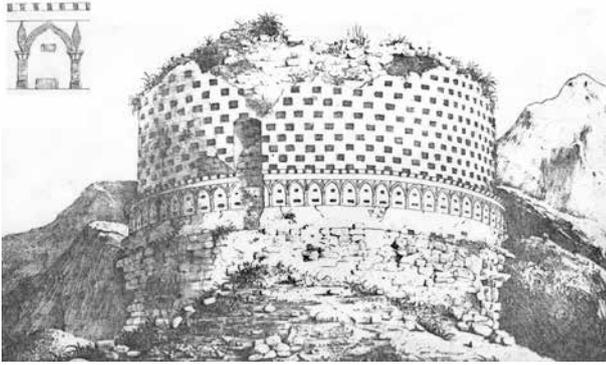


Figure 57 Jacquet 1836, pl. 3: The 'north' side of Kamari 2 (sketch after Masson). Fussman (2008, pl. 25a) states the view is from the north-west

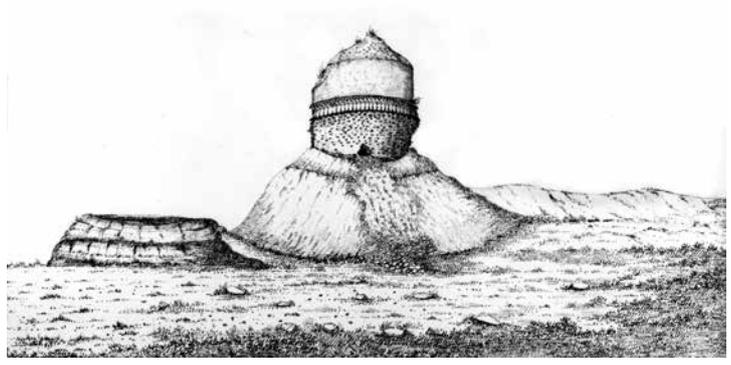


Figure 58 F64 f. 80: 'Tope Kamari near Kabul' from the east showing the remains of the surrounding courtyard; for sketch see F64 f. 81, Vol. II, Fig. 29. British Library

mountain, being similar but of smaller dimension, and less perfect in construction' (Figs 57–8).

The stupa is located in the centre of a quadrangle. It measures *c.* 16m high and *c.* 11.5m in diameter (Fussman 2008, p. 49). Honigberger excavated part of the south side of the courtyard and found a solidly constructed row of small vaulted rooms (Jacquet 1836, pp. 262–3). These were subsequently identified by Godard as cells, 2.7m square, covered by brick domes on squinches (unpublished manuscript, cf. Fussman 2008, p. 45, n. 5). The Wima Kadphises coin found in the relic deposit, dates the foundation of the original stupa to *c.* early 2nd century AD; the later structure and extant monastery have been dated *c.* 4th–5th century (Fussman 2008, p.53), with pottery finds suggesting the site remained in cult until *c.* 9th century (Ball

and Gardin 1982, p. 145, no. 519). The blind arcade of ogee arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters on the stupa drum is the same as those of Shevaki 1, 3, 7 and 10B, with cone-like buds in the spandrels. There are two dowel holes for a statue in each arch (Fussman 2008, p. 213, pl. 25a).

Honigberger dug a horizontal tunnel from the north into the base of the stupa dome. He found an earlier stupa *c.* 5m high, with a dome *c.* 2.1m in diameter, encased within the subsequently enlarged structure (Jacquet 1836, p. 265, Fussman 2008, p. 50). In the centre of the core stupa was a cell *c.* 30.5cm square, made of six rectangular cut stones. This contained:

Finds

A very fine, dark red cloth which crumbled to dust, covering a round, shallow, bronze basin (diam. 20.3cm), extremely oxidized with its base almost entirely rusted away (not illustrated). This contained a mixture of fine pulverized earth (probably mixed with ash).

Fig. 59.1: Tree bark.

Fig. 59.2: Fragments of a white resinous material.

Fig. 59.3: A 'purplish-blue hemispherical gem' (probably amethyst, like the beads in Bimaran stupa 2).

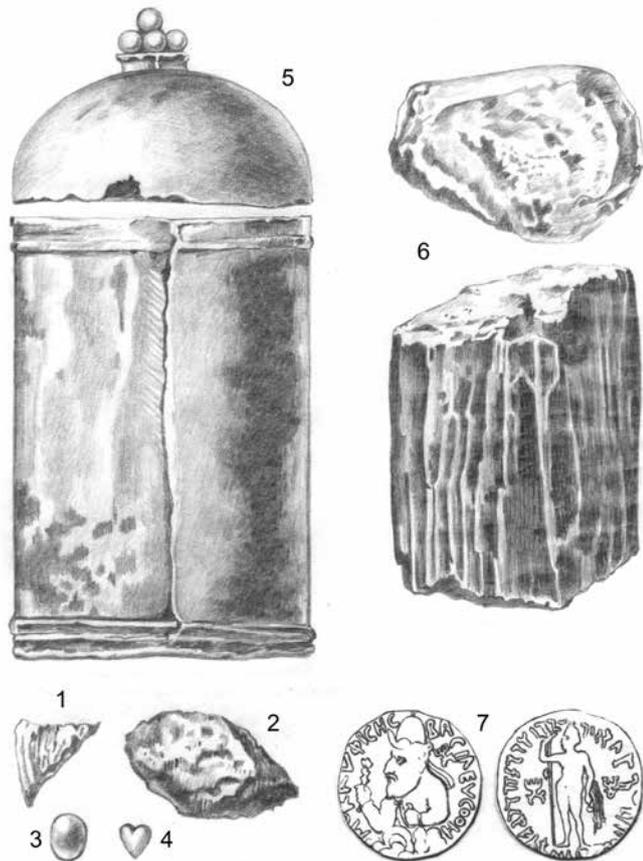
Fig. 59.4: A heart-shaped turquoise.

Fig. 59.5: A cylindrical beaten silver reliquary with a domed lid containing

Fig. 59.6: A striated and rough petrification ('The Philosopher's Stone').

Fig. 59.7: A gold coin of Wima Kadphises (*c.* AD 113–27).

Figure 59 Kamari 2 relic deposit (after Jacquet 1836, pp. 265–70, pl. XIII.1; 1838, pl. XIII.1)



Seh Topan ('Three Stupas')

Fussman (2008, pp. 54–62, 300, pls 36–45) records at least four or possibly six stupas, of which no. 1 and no. 4 are identified as the two best preserved and illustrated here. Foucher shows a view from above stupas 1 and 4, with mounds 2 and 3 in between, which he misidentifies as 'Les trois top de Kamari' (1942, p. 172, pl. XXX.e; and f: 'Un des trois top de Kamari'; see also Fussman 2008, pl. 36.b); Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 239, no. 1016, map 110: Seh Tūpān, lat. 34°27'N, long. 69°18'E, locate the site 1.5km east of Kamari 2 (Figs 60–1).

Seh Top 4

BM-OP 21–8–35, No. 3: 'Two miles [3.22km] distant from [Kamari stupa 2]; named Cetope in consequence of there

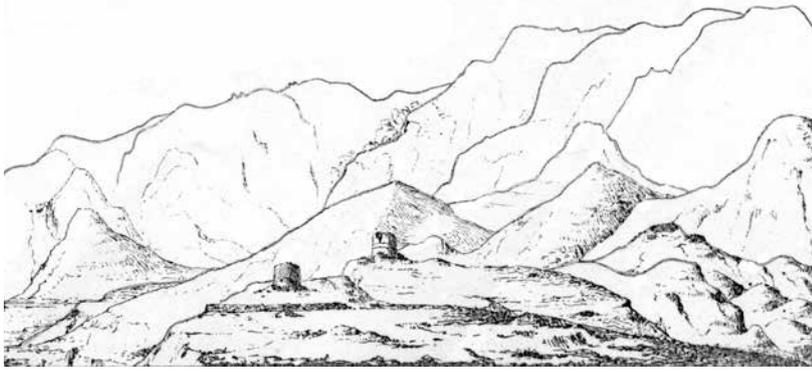


Figure 60 Jacquet 1836, pl. 1: View of two of the Seh Topan stupas possibly with the remains of a third on the slope of the ridge behind (sketch after Masson)

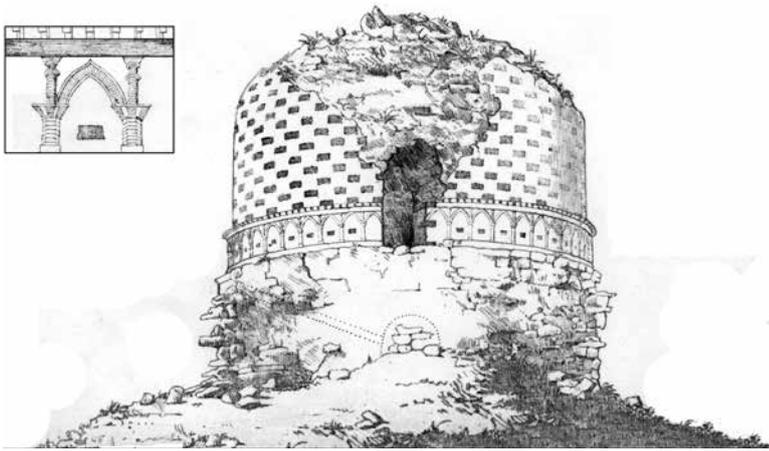


Figure 61 Jacquet 1836, p. 272, pl. 2: view of the north side of Seh Top 4 (sketch after Masson). A dotted line indicates the dome of the earlier core stupa. Inset: detail of arch and pilaster band



Figure 62 Lamp from Seh Top 4 relic deposit (after Jacquet 1836, p. 263, pl. IX.2)

being three of them in one [location]'. Honigberger 'only opened the smallest [stupa], it being the best preserved'. According to Jacquet, however, Honigberger excavated the larger and better preserved of two stupas (1836, pp. 272–4, pls 1–2, IX.2). Fussman identifies the site as Seh Top 4 (Fig. 61), comprising a stupa and a monastery (2008, pp. 57–60, pls 41–4). At the time of his survey, the stupa measured *c.* 9m high by *c.* 8.4m in diameter and stood on an artificial terrace *c.* 36m x 39m. Much of the dome still survived, including a hole in the apex for an umbrella shaft, and the remains of a niche on the drum for a statue. The blind arcade comprised an upper tier of ogee arches alternating with Indo-Persepolitan pilasters, both resting on a lower band of Indo-Corinthian pilasters. Each arched opening had a dowel hole for attaching a statue (Fussman 2008, p. 232, pl. 44a–b). A similar use of Indo-Persepolitan pilasters is found at Kamari 1 and Topdara (Fig. 72; Fussman 2008, pp. 208–9, 281, pls 20c, 93b–c).

Honigberger excavated a tunnel at the base of the dome on the east side and found a core stupa, 1.65m in diameter, in the centre of which was a square cell (Fig. 61).

Finds

Fig. 62: A small serpentine lamp, pierced with a hole for the wick; decorated with a rosette band and lions' heads, and with a fantastic animal head in the front. It contained 'a white resinous inflammable matter ... but no other vessels nor ashes' (BM-OP 21-7-1835, No. 2).

Guldara

E161/VII f. 10, f. 11, f. 16, f. 22; P/387/71 no. 4, no. 5, no. 6. Masson 1835, p. 234; 1836a, p. 27, nos 1–2, pl. III.2–3; 1841, pp. 115, 354–5, nos 3–4, p. 375, nos 1–2, Antiquities pl. III.3–4, Coins pl. X.7–8, 10–11, 13, pl. XIV.1–2; Jacquet 1836, p. 276; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 126, pl. 46; Lezine 1964, pp. 5–18, 22–4, figs 1–7, 10–39; 'Mosa-ee Logar'; Fussman and Le Berre 1976; Rao, Pinder-Wilson and Ball 1985, pp. 79–89; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 113, maps 26.1, 110: lat. 34°23'N, long, 69°16'E (Figs 63–8).

The stupa and monastery of Guldara lies on a rocky spur at the end of the Logar valley, near the village of Musa-i Logar, 22km south-east of Kabul. A pathway over the adjoining Shakh Baranta/Monaray Ghar links the site to Minar Chakri and Shevaki. The well-preserved main stupa provides a prototype for the other more ruined stupas of the region (Figs 64, 68). It comprises a dome with an upper and lower drum, placed on a high square platform and plinth, with a staircase in the centre of the south-west side, and an arched niche for a statue in the middle of each of the three other sides. The upper drum has a blind arcade of alternating trapezoidal and ogee arches between Indo-Corinthian pilasters, with cone-shaped mouldings in the spandrels. The lower drum, plinth and platform facades have regularly spaced blind pilasters. The structure has a rubble core with a diaper masonry facing originally coated in stucco, with decorative details such as the Indo-Corinthian capitals also in stucco. The stupa courtyard was paved with flagstones. Traces of rough stone secondary walls bonded with mud mortar enclosing the courtyard



Figure 63 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 46.1: Guldara ruins from the south-east. Kyoto University 1965

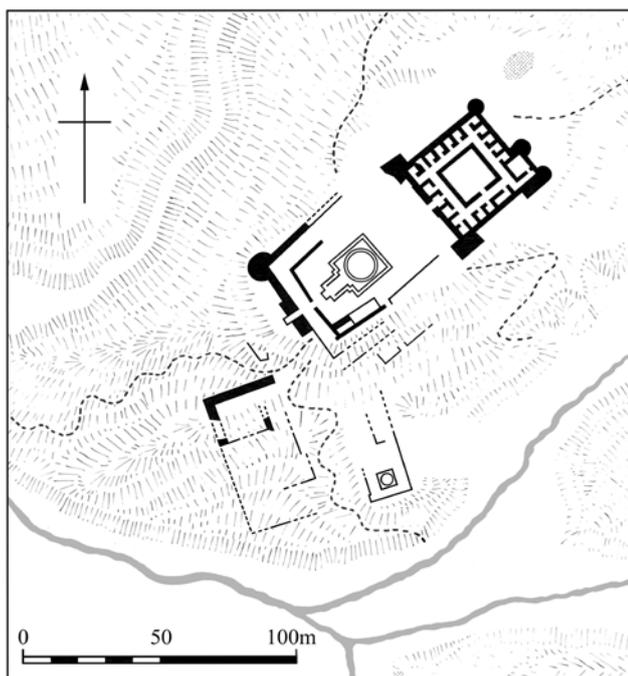


Figure 64 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 46.2: Guldara main stupa from the north-east. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 65 Distant view of Guldara from the south-east. Photograph: © P. Baker 1979

Figure 66 Site plan of Guldara (after Fussman and Le Berre 1976)



suggest the former existence of cells, shrines or votive stupas (Rao, Pinder-Wilson and Ball 1985, p. 80). Behind the stupa to the north-east is a monastery with massive exterior walls reinforced with buttresses at each corner and a single entrance on the south-west side. The cells were originally roofed with mud-brick domes and squinches. There are also masonry traces of an upper storey. Lower down the slope to the south of the main complex is a second smaller stupa and traces of walls suggestive of another monastic building (Fig. 66). Masson excavated the site in April 1834 (1835, p. 234).

Masson 1841, p. 115:

In a valley called Guldara, or the vale of flowers, on the opposite side of this [Shakh Baranta/Monaray Ghar] ridge, is a tope which was also examined by M. Honigberger [by tunnelling through the niche in the north-eastern face of the podium: no finds]. As he had penetrated only the basement, I directed it to be re-opened at the line where the superstructure reposes on it [i.e. the lower stupa drum at its junction with the podium]. My search was successful and at the centre were discovered in an apartment mingled with ashes, gold medals of [Wima] Kadphises, and of the earlier princes of the Kanerki



Figure 67 (above) Guldara main stupa viewed from the monastery. Photograph: © P. Baker 1979



Figure 68 (right) South-east corner of Guldara main stupa and part of the stairway. Photograph: © P. Baker 1979

[Kanishka] family, which it was interesting to meet with in the company with each other, and numerous ornaments of gold, apparently buttons, resembling such articles even to be provided with shanks.

Masson found the central relic chamber: 'a small apartment' containing a 'small quantity of ashes and fragments of bones' (E161/VII f. 22); as well as '8 golden Jetic [Kushan] medals: 6 of [Wima] Kadphises, which somewhat vary from the one found by M. Honigberger, and represented in the plates of my memoir [Masson 1836a, p. 27, pl. III.1]. One of Herkiks [Huvishka], and one the legend quite plain, it may be of the same Prince or not [1836a, p. 27, pl. III.2-3]; 96 golden ornaments resembling buttons' (E161/VII f. 10).

Finds

Six gold coins of Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113-27); one not illustrated.

Fig. 69.1-2 (not traced): Wilson 1841, p. 354, nos 3-4, Coins pl. X.7-8. Masson 1836a, p. 27, pl. III, no. 1: *Obverse* – Bust of king looking [1] to right [2 to left]. Sceptre in right hand, four-pronged monogram behind head. Legend Greek BACIAEVC OOHMO KΑΔΦICHC. 'This is one of six golden medals of the same prince, extracted from a tope at Guldara ... The six medals essentially agree; but as the position of the bust varies, and there are other trivial but unimportant differences observable on all of them, they will have been struck at various times.'

Fig. 69.3 – IOC.272. *Obverse:* Bust of king to right, emerging from mountain top and holding a club over his shoulder. Tamgha in left field. Greek inscription BACIAEVC OOHMO KΑΔΦICHC: *Basileus Ooemo Kadphises* (King Wima Kadphises). *Reverse:* Figure of Wesho standing to front, head turned to left, holding a battleaxe-trident in his right hand and a lion skin in his left. Tamgha in left field, nandipada symbol in right. Kharoshthi inscription *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga [isvarasa mahi]svarasa [v'ima ka] thpi'sasa tratara[sa]* (of the great king of kings, lord of the

world, great lord, Wima Kadphises, the great saviour). 7.86g, 21mm; Wilson 1841, p. 354, no. 3, Coins pl. X.13.

Fig. 69.4 – IOC.271. *Obverse:* Bust of king to left, emerging from mountain top and holding a club in his right hand. Tamgha in right field. Greek inscription BACIAEVC OOHMO KΑΔΦICHC. *Reverse:* As above. Kharoshthi inscription *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa v'ima kathpi'sasa tratara[sa]*; 7.91g, 20mm; Wilson 1841, p. 354, no. 4, Coins pl. X.10.

Fig. 69.5 – 1838, EIC.1. *Obverse:* As above. *Reverse:* As above. Kharoshthi inscription *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva[loga isvarasa ma]hisvarasa v'ima kathpi'sasa tratara[sa]*; 7.89g, 19mm. Wilson 1841, p. 354, no. 4, Coins pl. X.11.

Two gold coins of Huvishka (c. AD 150-91); Wilson 1841, p. 375, nos 1-2, Coins pl. XIV.1-2. Masson 1836a, p. 27, nos 2-3, pl. III.2-3; No. 2. *Obverse:* 'Legend Greek characters, PAO NANO PAO OOHKI KOPANO'. *Reverse:* 'Deity ... Legend Greek NANA ... found in the same tope as the preceding one and the next'. No. 3. *Obverse:* 'Legend Greek, probably same as preceding coin, portion legible PAOOHKIKO PANO'. *Reverse:* 'Deity ... Legend Greek MIPO'.

Fig. 69.6 – IOC.325. *Obverse:* Bust of king with flaming shoulders to left, emerging from a mountain top and holding a club in his right hand. Bactrian inscription [PAO] NANOPAO OOHPKI KOPAN[NO]: [*Shao*]nanoshao *Ooeshki Kosha[no]* (king of kings Huvishka Kushan). *Reverse:* Figure of Nana standing to right holding a lion-forepart wand, tamgha in right field. Name in Bactrian in left field NANA; 7.93g, 19mm.

Fig. 69.7 – IOC.319. *Obverse:* Bust of king with flaming shoulders to left, emerging from a mountain top and holding a club in his right hand. Bactrian inscription [PAONANO] PAO OOHPKI KOPAN[NO]. *Reverse:* Figure of Miiro standing to front, head with radiant halo turned to left and right arm outstretched, tamgha in left field. Name in Bactrian in right field MIPO; 7.93g, 19mm.



Figure 69 Guldara relic deposit

Fig. 69.8 – 1880.3688.1–42. IM 70 / SKM 1084 / IM. Metal.31–71. 42 of the original set of 96 domed ‘buttons’ or bracteates, roughly cut from a thin sheet of discoloured and debased gold, with small, copper alloy attachment loops soldered to the centre back. One button is now in two pieces; one is only a fragment; several are crushed or missing loops. Some of the loops have small lumps of resin (?) attached; Average D. 21mm; Wilson 1841, *Antiquities* pl. III.3–4; BM-Asia 4–4–1881. 17 illustrated; for remaining 23 see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: Guldara.

Khurd Kabul

Masson 1841, p. 115:

South of the eastern extremity of the [Shakh Baranta/Monaray Ghar] ridge, at the termination of a valley opening upon a plain in which is situated the village of Khurd Kabul, or little Kabul, are four or five topes, one of them only tolerably preserved, but of small dimensions. I was unable personally to superintend the examination of these structures; and the parties I deputed, it is possible from the retired situation of the locality, and from their apprehensions of being disturbed, carried on their operations with more haste than necessary to

their successful issue. However this may have been, no results were obtained but two copper Indo-Scythic [Kushan] coins, of a type more recent than may be supposed the age of Mokadphises [Wima Kadphises, *c.* AD 113–27]. It might have been satisfactory had a greater number of the Kabul topes proved productive of the usual tokens; yet from those yielded it may be inferred that they are of the age of the coins enclosed in them, which were unmixed with those of prior dynasties. The inscription found by M. Honigberger on the Shevaki [stupa 1] vase, if it escaped obliteration, may unfold their origin and epoch. The man employed by M. Honigberger, some year and a half after that gentleman had left Kabul, brought me for sale two or three gold Indo-Scythic coins, of the same species as those found in these topes, with a gold coin of Trajan. I suspected he had obtained them in a manner he was not likely to avow, but if I could have been certain that the Roman coin had been found in one of these topes, it would have at once fixed a limit to their age.

MacDowall 1990, p. 733, identifies these coins as a gold aureus of Trajan, and Kushan gold dinars of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, ‘from Shevaki or one of the Kabul stupas’. As can be seen above, Masson’s original statement is less conclusive.

Chapter 13

Stupas in Koh-i Daman and Kohistan (between Kabul and Begram)

Masson 1841, p. 116:

To the north of Kabul, and in the districts of Koh-i Daman and the Kohistan [Kapisa province], are three detached topes. The first occurs at Korrindar, about 12 miles [19.31km; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 171: 33km] from the city. ... The next occurs at Dara [Topdara], about 25 miles [40.23km] from Kabul. ... The third structure is found at the extremity of a small ridge of hill called Koh-i Bacha, traversing the northern line of the site of Begram [Kohistan district], and the tope may be about 30 miles [48.28km] distant from Kabul. ...

There is still another tope [east of Begram: Masson 1842, III, p. 165], it is said, about 12 miles [19.31km] from the last, at the gorge of the valley of Alisai [Alisay district], the southern extremity of Nijrao [Nijrab district], and opening on Tagao [Tagab district]; and in the latter valley, if there be not a tope, we may glean from the vague accounts of the natives that there are considerable vestiges of ancient sepulchral sites, which yield also casually great numbers of coins [Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 35, no. 33, map 112 locate the Alisay stupa at lat. 34°41'N, long. 70°09'E].

Korrindar / Kurrindar / Korindar / Burj Kafir / Ločakan

Stupa and monastery complex, 19km north of Kabul and c. 3.25km north of the site of Tepe Skandar. Masson 1841, p. 116, Topes pl. IX; 1842, III, pp. 144–5; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 89, fig. 53. Fussman 2008, pp. 138–40, 306, pls 29–31; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 171, no. 651, map 111: lat. 34°44'N, long. 69°08'E (**Fig. 70**).

Masson 1836a, pp. 5–6:

[East of the castles of Ločakan] and the village of Korrindar: at this site we find a tope, ... and connected with it [c. 3.25km to the south] is a stupendous artificial mound on the west bank of the river, constructed with elaborate care: the base appears originally to have been surrounded with a magnificent trench, supplied by the stream with water. Here no doubt was some important structure, a palace or citadel. At this day the summit is crowned with dilapidated mud walls of modern construction, and the spot is known by the name of Killah Rajput [Tepe Skandar].

Masson 1842, III, p. 145:

Hence, turning to the east [at Ločakan], we crossed the river of Koh-i Daman, and, struck easterly to the tope, on the eminences overlooking the plain. I examined and made a sketch of the structure.

Figure 70 Masson 1841, Topes pl. IX: 'Tope of Korrindar'



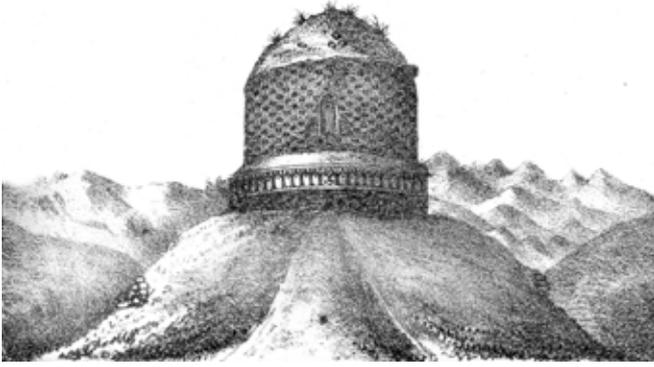


Figure 71 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. IX: Topdara from the front

The stupa ‘was examined by M. Honigberger, who discovered nothing within it to reward his toil: it had, however, been penetrated at some unknown and former period’ (Masson 1841, p. 116).

The stupa is built on a terrace *c.* 60m (north-south) by 40m (east-west) with a staircase on the north-west side and an adjoining monastery to the north-east (Fussman 2008, pp. 139–40). The original height of the dome is estimated at 17–18m, with an upper drum measuring 12.41m in diameter and decorated with a blind arcade of arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters supporting an upper tier of Indo-Persepolitan pilasters in the spandrels. There is no trace of any dowel holes for attaching statues. The excavated tunnel – visible in Masson’s sketch – revealed no evidence of any earlier stupa within the centre of the structure, which was built of massive stone blocks and *gel* (compacted earth and water). The outer surface was constructed in diaper masonry smoothed with a layer of *gel*. The top of the extant dome in Masson’s drawing shows an indentation suggesting that there was a mortise hole at the apex into which the shaft (*chattrāvalī*) supporting the superstructure of umbrellas would have fitted (Fussman 2008, pp. 139–40, 217, pl. 29).

Topdara

Jacquet 1836, pp. 275–6: Tchehrkar tope (Charikar stupa); F63 f. 22v; Masson 1841, p. 116, *Topes* pl. IX; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 126, pls 48–9; Foucher 1942, p. 172, pl. XXXIX.d; Lezine 1964, pp. 21–2, 49–53, fig. 8; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 278, no. 1197, map 111: lat. 34°59’N, long. 69°08’E (Figs 71–3).

Masson 1842, III, pp. 125, 135:

[58km north of Kabul and 5km south-west of Charikar] we came in a line with Topdara, celebrated for the magnificent tope it contains. ... Passing through [the village], we proceeded to the Tope, and I occupied myself for some time in making sketches of it. About the monument were numerous caper-trees, of a species similar to that of the Baloch and Persian hills. Proceeding a little up the dara, which had a fine brook running down it, whose volume of water was considerably augmented by the earthquake of last year [June 1832], we found a convenient place to rest in, and were supplied by the villagers with mulberries.

Fussman (2008, pp. 126–32, 305, pls 88–95) records three stupas in this vicinity (Topdara 1–3), all facing east towards Begram and all with an adjoining monastery, although in the case of Topdara 1 only traces survive. He also notes the extensive mounds of Qala-i Khalifa 1–2 – distinguishable as the ruins of two further stupas – to the south of Topdara 1.

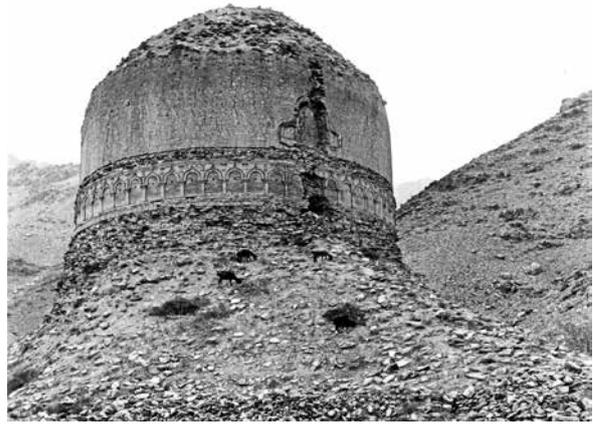


Figure 72 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 48.2: Topdara from the east. Photograph: Kyoto University 1965

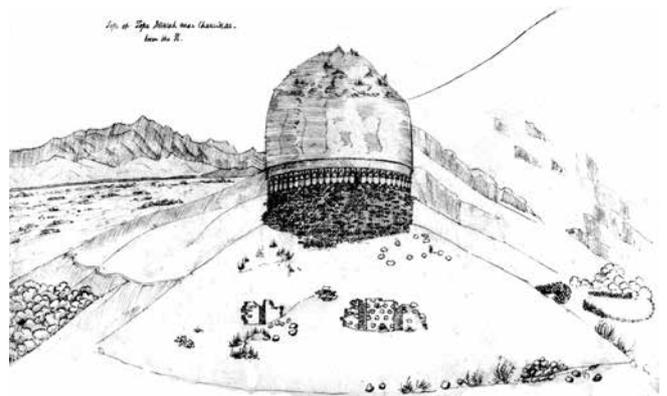


Figure 73 F63 f. 22v: Topdara near Charikar from the north. British Library

Masson 1841, pp. 116–17:

[Topdara is] perhaps the most complete and beautiful monument of the kind in these countries, as it is one of the largest. I examined it in 1833, and found in the centre a small apartment, formed by slate-stones, and containing the same materials as the mass of the building; amongst them I detected a fragment of bone, but no more useful result: the inner surfaces of the slate-stones had been covered with red lead [probably red ochre]. This was the first tope I opened, and subsequent experience led me to believe I had not proceeded far enough in the examination of the structure; in all events, it would have been satisfactory to have continued it.

Topdara 1 is the largest extant stupa in Afghanistan. Its dome is for the most part intact, surviving to a height of 29.2m, with an upper drum diameter of 22.5m (Fig. 72). The drum is decorated with an arcade of ogee arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters, with an upper tier of Indo-Persepolitan pilasters in the spandrels, as at Kamari 1 and Seh Top 4 (Fussman 2008, p. 281, pl. 93b–c). There is a dowel hole in each archway for attaching a statue. On the east side, above this frieze, is a recessed tri-lobed arch (width 3.7m), which still contained the remains of the stucco halo of the principal image (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 126). This was probably a standing Buddha, flanked by a smaller kneeling figure on either side.

According to Fussman, the dome rests on a circular base with stairs leading up to a *pradakṣiṇāpatha* (2008, pp. 227, 305, pl. 89.b). However, from Masson’s sketch of the

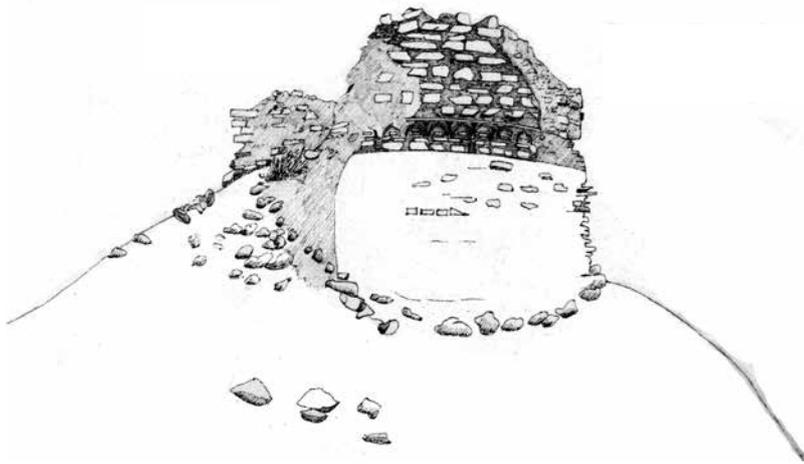


Figure 74 F63 f. 23: 'Tope at Begram'. British Library

surviving pilasters of the substructure in 1833 (F63, f. 22v) and their resemblance to those of Nandara stupa 1 (Figs 159, 161; F63, ff. 38, 41; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 66, fig. 31), it is possible that the lowest platform or terrace may have been rectangular, as is usual. From the visible holes that pierce the arcade of arches and pilasters (see also Fussman 2004, pl. 91.c–d), it appears that Masson tunnelled into the dome at a point fairly high up the drum on both the east and west sides.

Koh-i Bacha / Koh-i Top / Koh-i Pahlavan

F63 f. 23; Masson 1841, p. 117; Foucher 1942, pl. XXIX.c; Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 50.1; Fussman 2008, pp. 157–60, pl. 96 (Fig. 74).

Stupa on the east side of the Koh-i Bacha ridge, east of the urban site of Begram and, by extension, part of the group of sites including Shotorak and Qul-i Nadir, on the same ridge, further to the south-east. The site is identified with Ghundi Paisa in Ball and Gardin (1982, p. 164, no. 620, map 111).

Within the core of the stupa Masson's workmen found an earlier stupa containing 'bones and ashes in some quantity'.

Masson 1842, III, pp. 141, 152, 165:

We arrived at Killa Bolend, on the brink of the Kohistan basin, and at the commencement of the plain. ... We therefore proceeded across the plain until we reached a tope at the eastern extremity of Koh-i Bacha, and near Julgha. Of this monument I made a sketch. ...

Beyond, or east of Burj Abdullah [the 'citadel' of Begram] extends a low detached hill, called Koh-i Bacha, for about a mile and a half [2.41km], separating for that distance the level dasht from the river. At the eastern extremity of Koh-i Bacha is one of those remarkable structures we call topes ... which on examination furnished no useful result. Judging from its appearance, it has not so great an antiquity as many others near Kabul and at Jalalabad.

Masson 1841, p. 117:

The structure is found at the extremity of a small ridge of hill called Koh-i Bacha, traversing the northern line [periphery] of the site of Begram ... it became indispensable to open it, at any chance, from its position on so interesting a site. I made the best arrangements in my power with my friends in the neighbourhood, and sent a party from Kabul to operate upon it. An internal cupola was discovered at the centre, but beyond bones and ashes in some quantity, nothing decisive was obtained from it.

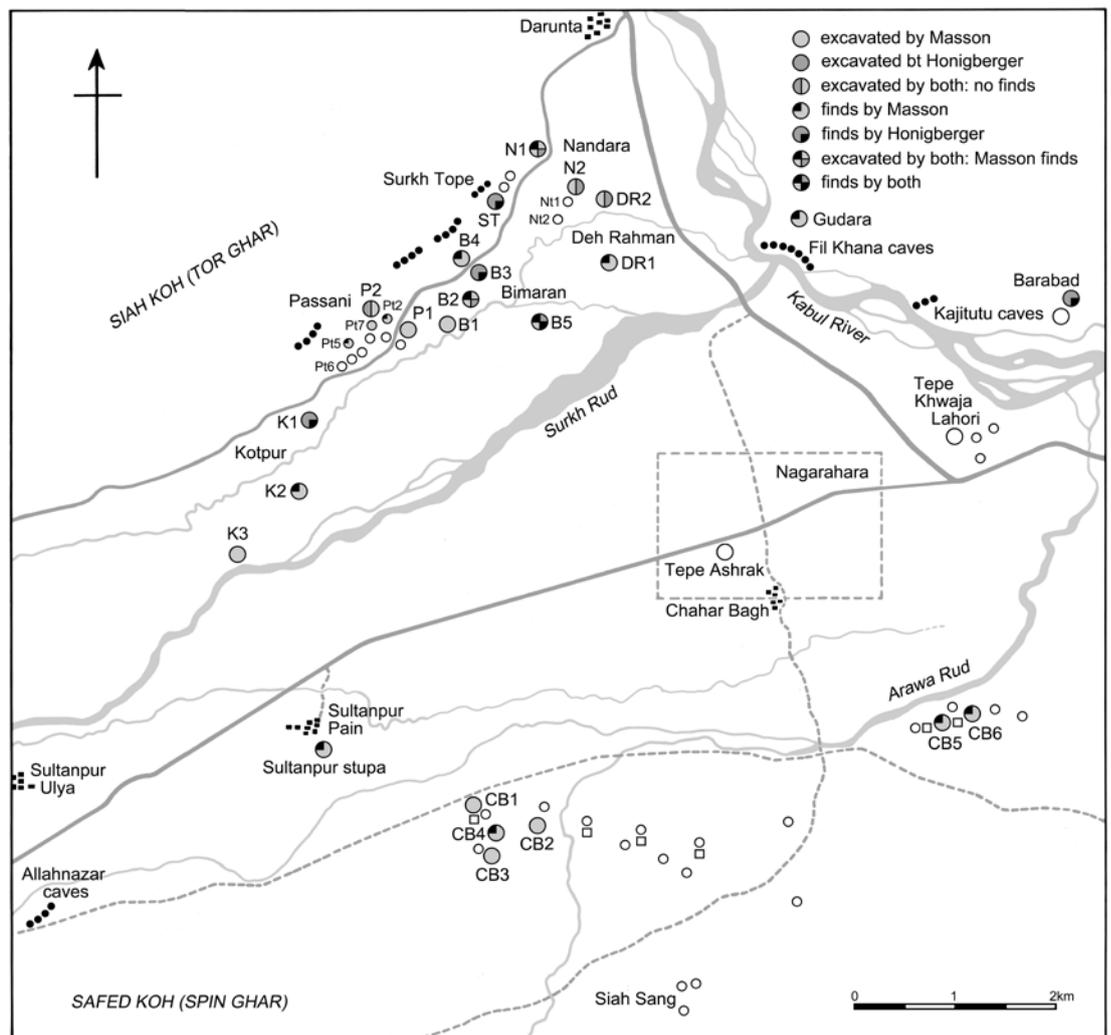
Chapter 14

Darunta / Siah Koh Sites

Masson 1841, pp. 62–3 (**Figs 75–6; Vol. II, Fig. 31**):

The name Darunta peculiarly applies to a break in the terminating point of a hill-range called Siah Koh (the black hill), through which the river of Kabul and Laghman escapes into the valley of Jalalabad. By custom the name has been extended to that portion of the contiguous plain contained in the angle formed by the Siah Koh on the one side, and the course of the river on the other. The Siah Koh, commencing at Jegdalek, disappears at Darunta, passing under sand-stone elevations, which extend northwards to the hill-range extending from Karghar of Laghman to Kunar. Amongst these elevations are situated the topes of Gudara and Barabad, which we have included in this section, although they cannot be considered as on the plain of Darunta, although the first overlooks it. Their style of architecture and general aspect perfectly connect them with the topes of the Darunta group. The remainder of the topes at Darunta are found on the level plain, immediately at the base of the Siah Koh, excepting Nandara Tope and Surkh Tope, which are perched on the hill's lower eminences. The Tope of Sultanpur I have also comprised in this section, notwithstanding its distance from Darunta, as it could not be classed with the group of Chahar Bagh; and assuming it belonged to one of the groups, I have joined it to that which its indications more strongly authorized. ... The scenery of Darunta is naturally picturesque; and its interest is, of course, much enhanced by the presence of its topes. The coup-d'oeil must needs have been gorgeous when these monuments existed in their original splendour.

Figure 75 Map of Darunta and Chahar Bagh showing the sites excavated by Masson and Honigberger (after Mizuno 1970–1, fig. 24)



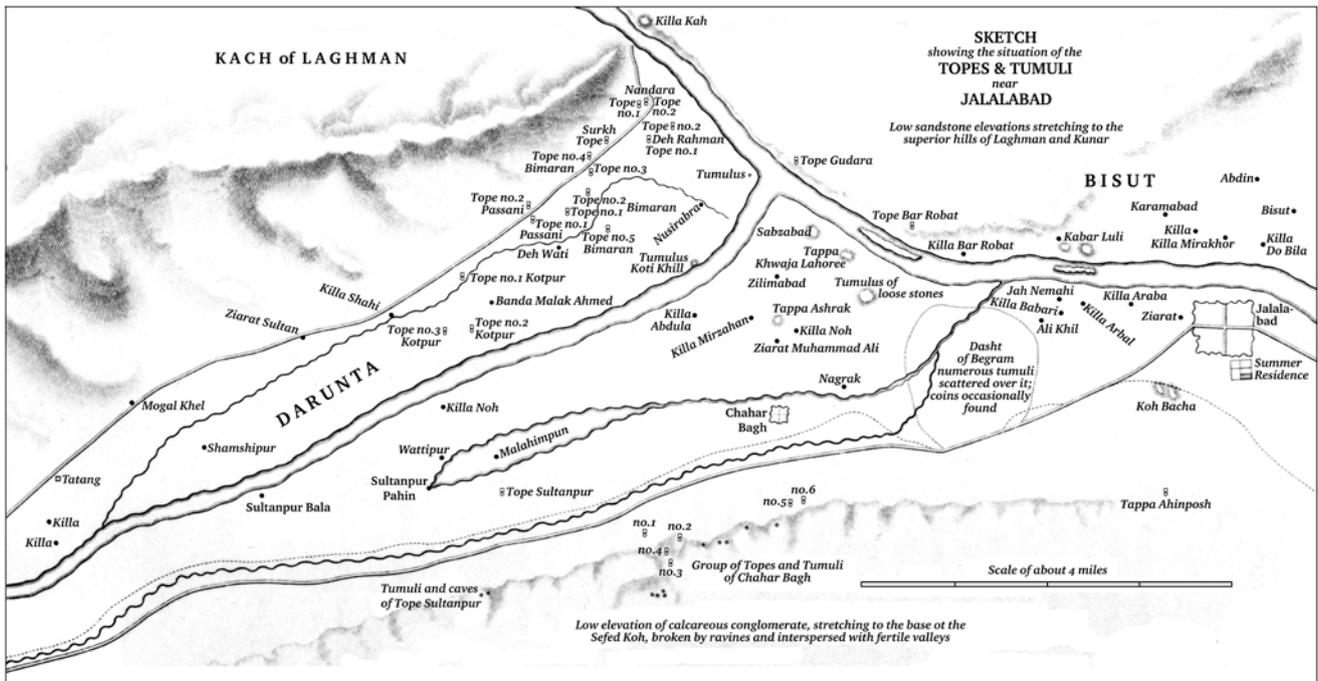


Figure 76 Masson 1841, Topes pl. I: Map of the 'topes and tumuli near Jalalabad'

Kotpur / Kutpur

Masson 1841, p. 64: Topes of Kotpur

Tracing the skirts of the Siah Koh, is a road leading from Balabagh to Darunta, and thence across the river of Kabul and Jalalabad to Laghman. From Balabagh to the ferry at Darunta may be a distance of 7 miles [11.26km]. At about 5 miles [8km] on this road, coming from Balabagh, we meet the topes of Kotpur, situated a little on our right hand. The first is in the midst of cultivation, about 100 yards [91.44m] from the road; a deep ravine, through which flows a stream derived from the Surkh Rud (red river), separates it from its two companions. These stand on a dak, or barren level, over spread with fragments of potter's ware; and here coins, rings, and other relics are sometimes found. The spot was, therefore, an ancient place of sepulchre. One of these topes [Kotpur 3] is made to form an angular tower to the small deserted castle of Kotpur.

Simpson 1881, pp. 201–2:

The south-western portion of ... the mass of remains along the base of the Siah Koh ... I only rode through on one occasion, so I have only a rough idea of them. On the ground between the Surkhab [Surkh Rud] and the foot of the mountain, forming the south, or south-west end of the group, are three Topes, to which the natives gave me the names of Khudpur, Kala Shahi, and Tuttun [Tatang]. Masson, I think, calls them 'Kotpur Topes'. The one named on the map [Vol. II, Fig. 30] Khudpur [i.e. Kotpur 3], is now on the very brink of the cliff overhanging the bed of the Surkhab, and its tumbling into the stream is likely at no very distant date. The other two are far from having reached the mound condition, particularly the Tuttun Tope [Kotpur 1]; most of its architecture is yet remaining.

Kotpur 1 / Top i kala'i Malek Cheyeh / Kutpur

Top i kala'i Malek Cheyeh (Jacquet 1836, pl. XIII.2, 1838, pp. 179–87); No. 7/Topecalamacshaie (BM-OP 21–8–1835). Masson 1841, pp. 64–5, **Topes pl. IIa, c; F63 section 1, f. 25**: sketch and compass readings; Simpson

1881, p. 201; Tutun; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, Stupa 23, pl. 30.1–2; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 173, no. 667, map 113; Kutpur, lat. 34°27'N, long. 70°20'E (Figs 77–9).

Masson 1841, p. 64:

This is a tope of the first class, with a circumference of 160 feet [48.77m]; it has an encircling belt of double rows of mouldings, comprising a succession of arches supported on pilasters. From the lower line of mouldings to the summit it was covered with cement [lime plaster], much of which remains. Traces of the basement are preserved, but it has considerably sunk beneath the soil. The building itself has also inclined to the east. M. Honigberger opened this structure from the west, and at the centre came upon a small cupola.

Honigberger recorded a height of c. 40 feet [12.19m] for this stupa in 1834 and estimated c. 60 feet [18.28m] for its original height. The large crack extending from the top down to ground level on the west side he attributed to earthquake damage. He cleared the fallen debris on this side and discovered a hole from an ancient excavation (Jacquet 1838, pp. 180–1). He enlarged this opening, which led from the base of the dome towards the core, where he found an earlier stupa constructed of a mass of small stones bonded by 'cement', i.e. probably *gel* (earth and water). Presumably this was its original facing, for according to the account in the British Museum archives (BM-OP 21–8–1835), its core was constructed in the same way as the later enlargement, but extended 12 feet [3.65m] deeper and was filled with larger stones. The structure proved difficult to penetrate but was completely demolished to make sure it did not hold any relic deposit.

The base of this interior stupa rested on a foundation of wide stone slabs. Removing these revealed a pit of equal diameter to the core stupa and completely filled with earth to a depth of 12 feet [3.6m], where the workmen found a stone slab 2 feet [61cm] square. This covered the top of a square relic cell comprising five slabs of the same size and filled with a mass of hard compacted soil.

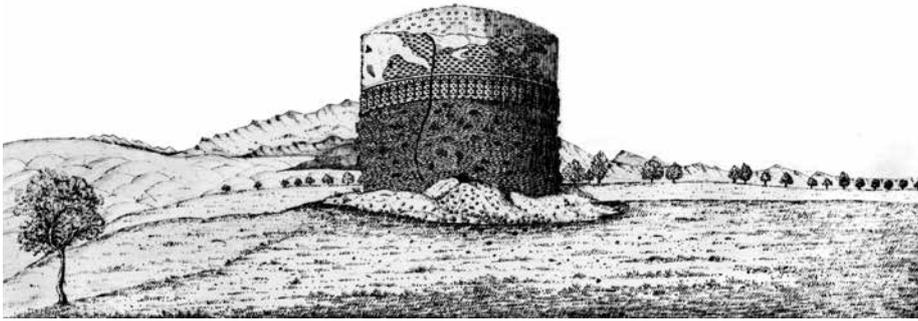


Figure 77 F63 section 2, f. 24: 'Tope Kotpur [1] Darunta'. British Library

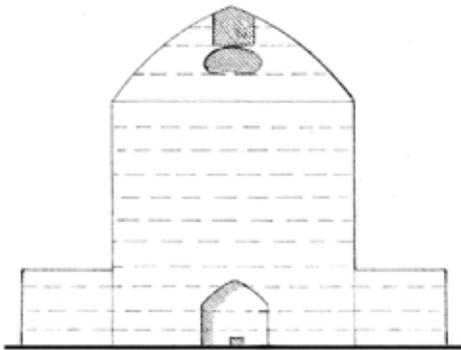


Figure 78 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. IIc: 'Section showing interior disposition of Tope No. 1 at Kotpur'

Masson 1841, p. 65:

This tope on the eastern side being so dilapidated as to allow access to its summit, I profited thereby to make an excavation into the body of the building from that point. At a depth of 6 feet [1.83m] the workmen came upon an immense block of stone, which the united efforts of some 50 individuals, collected from neighbouring villages, could not dislodge. We then dug under it, and found nothing more useful than the beak of a bird, supposed to have been a mynah. This was not an accidental deposit; a similar one having occurred in a tope at Chahar Bagh [not listed among the finds of any Chahar Bagh stupa: pp. 141–52 below], and again in a tumulus at Darunta [Passani tumulus 5: p. 99]. The huge stone is alike frequently discovered in topes, having been detected at the summit of the famous Nandara Tope [stupa 1: pp. 126–9], also in a tumulus at Darunta [Passani tumulus 7: p. 100], and in topes at Hadda.

Masson's section drawing (**Fig. 78**) shows an earlier stupa enclosed in the later enlargement, with the relic deposit located at its base. He also marks the existence of a shaft at the apex of the dome, the base of which was sealed with the large stone block. This can perhaps be interpreted as a mortise hole for an umbrella shaft, as at Seh Top 4.

In 1965 the stupa still measured 9m in height and was reasonably well preserved. The drum and dome still retained most of its diaper masonry facing and some lime-plaster coating. A blind arcade of pilasters with plain capitals supported the arches, which had no dowel holes for sculpture. The upper tier of pilasters in the spandrels had Indo-Corinthian capitals with two registers of acanthus foliage instead of the usual simplified single form (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, Stupa 23; **Fig. 79**).



Figure 79 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 30.1, Stupa 23: Kotpur 1 from the west. Kyoto University 1965

Finds

Jacquet 1838, p. 184; 1836, pl. XIII.2.

In the compacted earth of the relic cell of the original stupa, Honigberger found the broken pieces of an elegantly curved, large, round, serpentine 'box'. It had been closed by a flat lid, which was intact but found separately. From this description, the reliquary appears to have been a similar shape to the one from Tope-i Kutchera (see **Fig. 167**). It contained earth mixed with ash and:

Fig. 80.1: A silver reliquary bearing signs of strong oxidation. H. 38mm, D. c. 50.8mm.

The silver reliquary – first opened in the presence of Jacquet – contained a brown liquid with dark brown particles of sediment and a strong resinous smell. Floating in the liquid was:

- A very fine fabric, fairly well preserved, pleated and folded in half several times and stuck to the oxidized side of the box, but seeming to contain solid, irregularly shaped fragments possibly of bone;
- 40 or 50 small gold beads of different sizes, probably the remains of a necklace;
- A stamped gold ornament in the form of a stamped gold ornament in the form of a flattened sphere, each half subdivided by twisted filaments radiating from the centre. Six crumpled pieces of gold leaf. Two small crystal 'cylinders' (i.e. beads) pierced through the centre;
- A round silver plaque, 27mm in diameter depicting a rosette (a button according to **BM-OP 21-8-1835**).



Figure 80 Kotpur 1 relic deposit

Two oxidized bronze coins of ‘Azes’/‘goddess of plenty’. These are identifiable as debased silver coins of Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), issued in the name of Azes (Jacquet 1836, pl. XIII.2):

Fig. 80.2 – 1835,0901.7 Honigberger 7. *Obverse:* Horseman riding to right, with raised right arm outstretched. A circular device with three spokes in the lower right field; with the initial *mu* of the satrap’s name behind the horseman’s head. Blundered variations of the Greek inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ [ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ] ΑΖΟΥ, without a fixed starting point, give the name and titles of

Azes. *Reverse:* Tyche, the Greek goddess of good fortune, standing to front, right arm outstretched and cradling a cornucopia in her left. In the right field a Kharoshthi monogram *shighasa* (read from the top); in the left field the Kharoshthi letter *kha*. Kharoshthi inscription: *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa ayasa* (king, great, righteous, king of kings Azes). 9.42g, 20mm (Cribb 2015, no. 27).

Fig. 80.3: A small gold reliquary of the same shape as the silver box (after uncaptioned plate, Jacquet 1839, pl. XV.1, which may illustrate this or a similar reliquary). H. 21mm, D. 23–5mm. The gold reliquary contained some of the same liquid and

- Two bone fragments.
- A small cylinder (i.e. bead) of crystal of the same form as before.
- A folded piece of fine fabric similarly adhering to the side of the reliquary.

Kotpur 2 / Bazitkhel / Kutpur

E161/VII f. 2: ‘No. 2’, f. 16: ‘Tope Tatang of Kotpur’. E164 f. 150: sketch; E164 f. 150a. F63 section 1, f. 26: sketch; F 63 section 2, f. 25: finished drawing. **Vol. II, Figs 35–7, 89.1;** Simpson 1881, p. 201: Kala Shahi; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, Stupa 24, pl. 31.1; Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 54–5, no. 121, map 91: Bazitkhel/Kutpur, lat. 35°12’N, long. 67°47’E.

Masson 1841, pp. 65–6, Topes pl. IIb, d (**Figs 81–3**):

This tope is of the second class, with a circumference of 108 feet [32.92m]. We have noted in its embellishments the absence of arches in the belt encompassing it, which consists merely of a

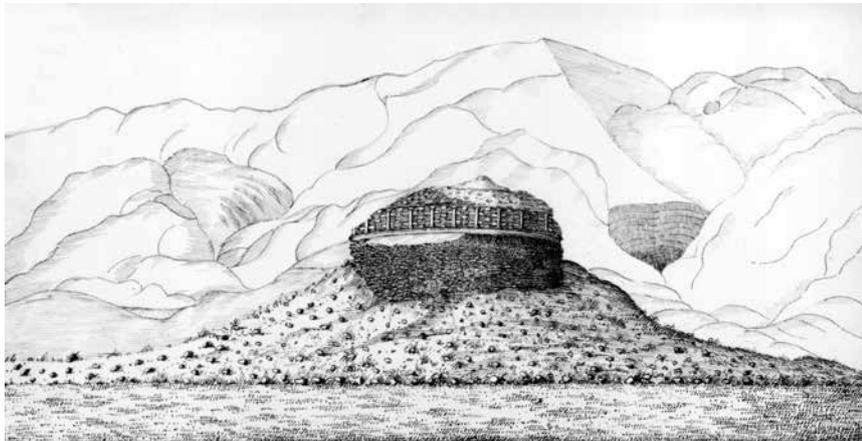
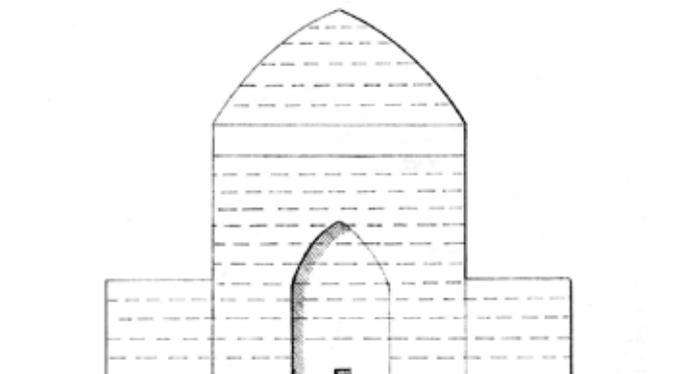


Figure 81 F63 section 2, f. 25: ‘Tope Darunta [Kotpur 2] near Jalalabad’. British Library

Figure 82 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 31.1, Stupa 24: Kotpur 2 from the south. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 83 Masson 1841, Topes pl. II d: ‘Section showing the interior disposition of Tope No. 2 at Kotpur’



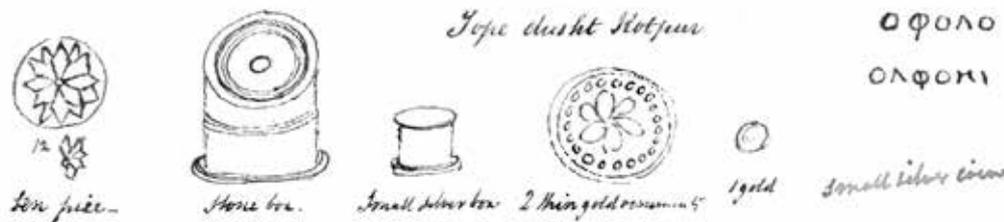


Figure 84 F526/1b f. 1: Sketch of finds from Kotpur 2. **British Library** 'Tope dasht Kotpur – ten pice, stone box, small silver box, 2 thin gold ornaments, 1 gold [bead], small silver coin'

series of pilasters enclosed between double lines of mouldings. The structure originally stood on a platform, and was surrounded by square walls, of which the foundations are distinctly to be seen. As this tope has suffered much from the assaults of time, the accumulation of fallen stones on every side of it is proportionally great. ... This tope was constructed of very large round and oval-shaped stones, inserted in regular layers, but loosely cemented together. The excavation was attended with some danger, but happily no accident happened, although twice or thrice large masses fell in. ... It was opened, under my direction, from the east, and at the centre was discovered a large cupola, or, in fact, an internal tope, with a diameter of 12 feet [3.65m], and covered with cement [lime plaster]. This continued to the foundation of the structure, where we found a small chamber formed by takhts or squares of slate [Fig. 83].

Kotpur Stupa 2 lies 1km south-west of Kotpur 1. Though almost entirely defaced, in 1965 it still measured *c.* 8m high and *c.* 15m in diameter (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, Stupa 24). It was built of boulders and mud (i.e. *gel*), with the usual diaper masonry facing, but with only a simple arcade of plain pilasters (Fig. 81; Vol. II, Fig. 35).

Masson excavated from the east. In the centre was the original stupa, 3.65m in diameter, covered with lime plaster; within it, at foundation level, was a small schist cell containing a steatite reliquary and 10 copper coins.

Finds

Wilson 1841, pp. 53–4, figs III.2, IV.6, 14, Antiquities pls III.2, IV.6, 14, Coins pl. V.8–10, XI.10–13; Zwalf 1996, no. 647, p. 344; Errington 1987, p. 422, fig. 2.15; 1998, p. 82, fig. 50; 1999, p. 231, pl. 10; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 138–9, 288–9, fig. 4.20, no. 349.

Er161/VII f. 2, No. 2: 'A stone box, enclosing a silver one, with ten copper pice, four obverses representing a bust of the king, with Greek legend, the reverses the figure of Hercules, with Zend or Pahlavi [i.e. Kharoshthi] legend, also a most beautiful impression of a seal on clay, not quite perfect'.

Er161/VII f. 16: 'Stone box containing a silver one, the lid in fragments; two circular thin golden ornaments; small globular golden bead, ten copper coins; impress of seal on clay; small silver coin'.

IM 18 / SKM 1123 (p. 224 below): '10 coins and 3 fragments of gold foil'. Franks **BM-Asia 18–2–1881a**: 'Copper coins' [and label] 'No. V. Bimaran 15 coins. 22'.

This documentation seems to relate to the coins and possibly the two gold bracteates and bead from Kotpur 2. Only the misplaced Bimaran 5 label now survives with the relic deposit finds, but Franks' listing proves that the coins were received by the British Museum in 1880 and transferred without documentation to the Coins and Medals Department, as evidenced by the presence of IOC.261 (Fig. 85.7) in its collection.

Ten copper alloy coins 'distinguished by the figure of Hercules on the reverse' (Masson 1841, p. 66); of which four obverses had a Greek legend ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (Er161/VII f. 2); i.e. coins of Kujula Kadphises (*c.* AD 40–90) copying the obverse design and legend of Hermaeus.

Fig. 85.1–2: Wilson 1841, pp. 309–10, no. 1, Coins pl. V.8–10.

Fig. 85.3 – IOC.257. *Obverse*: diademed bust of Hermaeus to right, inscribed in Greek 'of king Hermaeus the Saviour'. *Reverse*: Heracles standing to front, holding club and lion skin, inscribed in Kharoshthi 'of Kujula Kasa Kushan chief, true to the law'; 6.66g, 22mm. Of the three coins illustrated, only IOC.257 (Wilson 1841, pl. V.9) is in the Museum, but there are examples among Masson's Begram coins that are struck from the same die: for Wilson 1841, pl. V.8, see IOLC.1027; Wilson 1841, pl. V.10, see IOLC.1037, IOLC.1042, www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online.

According to Wilson (1841, pp. 309–10, no. 1), 'These coins are found in great numbers, not only in the ground or in the bazaars, but in the topes about Jalalabad and Kabul'. Although he does not give an exact find-spot for the three coins, his reference (pp. 53–4) specifically links them to Kotpur 2, so they could be from this site.

The remaining six coins were issues of Kujula Kadphises in his own name. Wilson illustrates four examples and says 'These coins are found in considerable numbers in topes and elsewhere, mixed with the coins of Su-Hermaeus' (1841, p. 357, nos 13–15). Two of the illustrated coins are in the Museum collection: IOC.258 (pl. XI.11) and IOC.261 (pl. XI.13).

Fig. 85.4–5: Wilson 1841, p. 357, Coins pl. XI.10–13.

Fig. 85.6–7 – IOC.258, IOC.261. *Obverse*: Diademed bust of king to right, inscribed in Greek ΚΟΖΟΒΛΑ ΚΑΛΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡCΝΑ 'Kujula Kadphises, the Kushan'. *Reverse*: Heracles standing to front, holding club and lion skin, inscribed in Kharoshthi, 'of Kujula Kasa Kushan chief, true to the law'; 9.31g, 24mm; 6.41g, 19mm.

Masson illustrates IOC.261 with one other coin from Begram (Fig. 85.7; Vol. III, F526/1a f. 15, figs 119–20, pl. V.119–20) and says that they 'represent the types of ten coins extracted from a Tope or Cenotaph at Darunta [i.e. Kotpur Stupa 2], as they were all identical, and have on the legends, otherwise illegible, the common characters ΟΦΟ not to be found on other varieties of this class of coins'. The same two coins are included in the abridged published version of the same text edited by Prinsep (Masson 1836, p. 27, nos 39–40, pl. III. 28–9): 'From a tope at Jalalabad we extracted ten copper coins similar to no. 40' [Fig. 120]. For more Kujula Kadphises coins from stupa deposits, see Figs 136, 256 (Bimaran 5, Hadda 3).

Fig. 85.8 – 1880.4098.e. IM 45 (?). Kujula Kadphises contemporary imitation – found loose in 'Box 6' – may also



Figure 85 Kotpur 2 relic deposit

be from Kotpur 2 or Bimaran 5. *Obverse*: Schematic bust of king to right, with traces of a corrupt Greek legend. *Reverse*: The lower half of a figure of Heracles standing to front, with traces of a few Kharoshthi letters; 1.9g, 15mm.

Fig. 85.9 – 1880.96. SKM 1006; ‘IM’ written on label inside reliquary. Wilson 1841, p. 54, Antiquities pl. III.2. Cylindrical steatite reliquary, lathe-turned, with a flat lid surmounted by a knob decorated with an incised flower of 12 petals. There is a small moulding around the base, while the body and lid have regularly spaced bands of concentric grooves. On the underside of the lid a flange fits over the rim of the body. An oblong mortise on the base is encircled by traces of a circle in relief (presumably a result of the turning process). H. 50mm, D. 92mm.

Fig. 85.10: Wilson 1841, Antiquities pl. III.2. A smaller box of silver ‘the lid in fragments’ (E161/VII f. 16; Fig. 84). The reliquary has not been traced. From the drawings, it appears to have been cylindrical, similar to Figs 96.3 and

256.1, but larger, with a flat lid to allow it to fit into the steatite reliquary; H. c. 40mm, D. c. 50mm. The silver reliquary contained ‘a small portion of ashes’ and:

Fig. 85.11 – 1880.3570, 1880.3571. IM.Metal.26. Two circular bracteates of gold foil, each depicting a repoussé flower encircled by beading; D. 16mm.

Fig. 85.12 – 1880.3694.h. IM.Metal.94–103. Small spherical gold bead; apparently a solid ball with a tiny piercing; D. 5mm. Masson’s sketch of a small gold bead of exactly this size suggests it is probably the one from the Kotpur 2 deposit (Fig. 84).

Fig. 85.13 – 1880.3735. Silver obol of ‘Heraus’ issued by Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90) as ‘chief Kushan’; now in two pieces. *Obverse*: diademed head of king to right. *Reverse*: coated with flaked gilding; D. 11mm.

A ‘Heraus’ obol was also found in Tillya Tepe burial 1, providing ‘very good evidence that the burials should be dated to the Early Kushan period and that they most

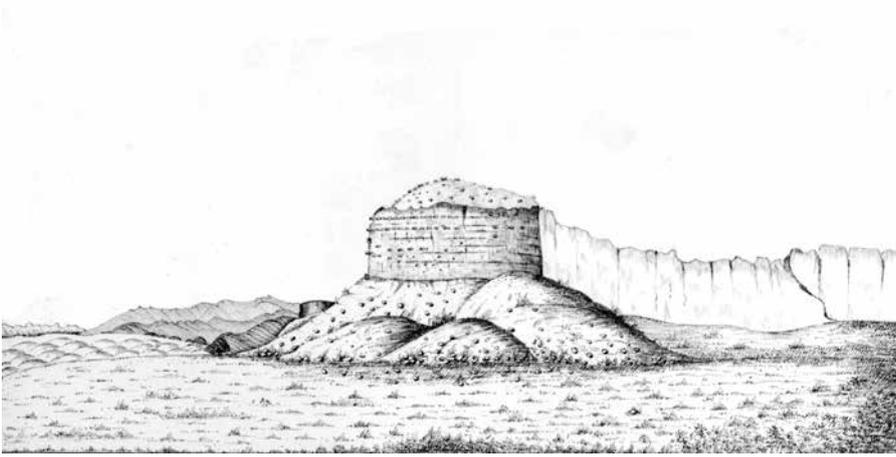


Figure 86 F63 section 2, f. 26: 'Tope Kotpur [3] Darunta'. British Library



Figure 87 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 31.2, Stupa 25: Kotpur 3 from west. Kyoto University 1965

probably belonged to the Yueh-chi – Kushan nobility' (Zeymal 1999, p. 241).

Fig. 85.14: Masson/Wilson 1841, pp. 55–6, *Antiquities* pl. IV.6: 'An impression of a seal on clay, unfortunately not entire, but presenting the standing figure of an armed prince with a lance in his hand, ... to the right ... was part of an inscription in pure Greek characters, which, from the two or three final letters visible, must have been ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ'. According to Wilson, the characters noted by Masson 'are not distinguishable'. The object has not been traced.

Kotpur 3 / Khudpur / Jamal Kala

Masson 1841, pp. 66–7, **Topes pl. IIe**. F63 section 2, f. 26: finished drawing; ff. 27–8: sketches; Simpson 1881, p. 201: Khudpur; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, Stupa 25, pl. 31.2; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 134, no. 469, map 113: Jamal Kala/Kutpur, lat. 34°26'N, long. 70°19'E. 1km south-west of Bazitkhel and 2km south-west of Kotpur (**Figs 86–7**).

Honigberger uncovered a small earlier stupa in the centre, covered with 'cement' (lime plaster). It contained small fragments of bone and ashes. Masson excavated down to foundation level, but found nothing.

Masson 1841, pp. 66–7:

This tope is of the third class, and is found at the north-west angle of the deserted castle of Kotpur. It has a circumference of 108 feet [33m]; its construction was originally very inferior, and it would seem to have been coarsely covered with cement; its

decorations, if it ever had any, have disappeared. M. Honigberger opened this tope from within the castle. At the centre was discovered a small cupola, covered with cement, within which was detected merely a small portion of fragments of bones and ashes. The first excavation not having been carried to the soil, I spent a few days more upon this structure, and cleared its foundation, without making any discovery.

The structure is described by Simpson (1881, p. 201) as being 'on the very brink' of tumbling into the Surkh Rud. According to Mizuno (1970–1, p. 119, Stupa 25), the surviving debris suggested it was composed of mud and boulders. Its location 'at the north-west angle of the deserted castle', and as originally depicted by Masson, shows that it was an integral part of the castle wall, which appears to the right in the sketch, but is misinterpreted as a line of mountains extending across the background in *Ariana Antiqua* (**Vol. II, Fig. 38**). From this, its 'inferior construction' and lack of decoration, it appears that the outer structure was never a stupa, but a bastion of the castle, incorporating the remains of an earlier stupa.

Passani

Masson 1841, pp. 67–8: Topes of Passani

Continuing along the line of road at the skirts of the Siah Koh, which, from the parallel of the topes of Kotpur accommodating itself to the direction of the range, slightly inclines to the north, we arrive at the topes and tumuli of Passani. The principal tope is seated immediately on the road to the right. A little west of it is the Muhammadan Ziyarat of Hazrat Ilias, above which, leading up to the near hills, is a wide ravine, whose banks on either side are honeycombed with caves. On the high lands stretching from the banks are situated some important tumuli, and amongst those to the right is a dilapidated tope. Above the caves the ravine contracts, and its confined breadth is crossed by a perpendicular wall of yellow rock. Its front has been obviously worn smooth by the passage of currents of water, and it is fair to infer that a rivulet flowed over it when the caves were excavated, but it has long since ceased. From the summit of this mass of yellow rock a dark khol or glen ascends up the superior hill. In the lower eminences of the hills at this point are also many caves, and their crests are crowned with a variety of stone walls and parapets. They are indications of ancient places of sepulture, proved by the bones, ashes, and frequently earthen jars containing similar contents, abundantly found within their limits. The old inhabitants of these countries particularly affected lofty and retired spots for their cemeteries, and the eminences selected they girt with parapet walls, filling up the intervals between them and the rock with carefully sifted and



Figure 88 Masson 1841, Topes pl. IIf: Tope no. 1 at Passani



Figure 89 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 28.6, Stupa 12: Passani 1 from the east

cleansed earth from the plain below. The present inhabitants imagine such sites to have been places of defence, and apply to them the general appellation of Kafir Killa, or the Infidel's Fort. The ashes, &c. to be found in all of them are, however, decisive as to their character. Immediately north of the large Tope of Passani is a Muhammadan burial-ground, and the stones employed to construct its graves have all been supplied by the topes and tumuli. ... [Around the tumuli] fragments of pottery abound, and copper coins are occasionally picked up.

Simpson 1881, p. 202:

To the north [of Kotpur] is a great mass of heaps, with very little architecture visible [that I take] to be the group which Masson calls the 'Topes of Passani'. Here and all along as far north as the Khaista Tope [Nandara Stupa 1], the remains extend for some distance up the sides of the mountain.

Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 209:

Either side of the gully is honeycombed with artificial caves, with more in the foothills. One is a circumambulatory chamber. On the tops of the hills are the remains of many walls, mounds and stupas. ... The whole area is scattered with bones, ashes and sherds.

Passani 1

Masson 1841, p. 68, Topes pl. IIf; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, Stupa 12, pl. 28.6: the mound was 7 m high in 1965; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 200, no. 806, map 113: including Siah Kuh C, lat. 34°27' N, long. 70°20' E (Figs 88–9).

Masson 1841, p. 68:

This tope is of the second class, standing immediately to the right of the road; it has a circumference of 108 feet [33m]: to the south and west it is surrounded by tumuli; to the north a Muhammadan burial-ground separates it from other tumuli: it is still an imposing mass, although so dilapidated that no idea

can be formed of its general appearance and decorations. The reports of aged men agree that it was in their remembrance much more entire, and that it had a coating of cement. It had been opened high up some years since on the western side by a villager, who formed an aperture to receive his stock of winter provender. Its unpromising aspect probably deterred M. Honigberger from operating upon it; but as there could be no doubt of its character, I pierced it from the north on a level with the soil. On reaching its centre we found a succession of takhts or squares of slate; these were promising indications, but their removal led to no further discovery. I continued the ineffectual search, until I was satisfied that we had gained the soil on which the tope rested: unwilling to abandon the structure without obtaining some token from it, I perforated it anew from a point higher up on the same side, being guided by a line of cement we detected: the centre of the tope was again reached, but nothing met with. That nothing might be left undone, I continued the aperture made by the villager to the centre of the structure, and then, descending, connected it with the apertures made by my workmen. All my labours proved fruitless, and I was compelled to retire foiled from the hopeless monument. It was wonderfully hard to penetrate, and a month was wasted in its useless examination.

To sum up, Masson excavated

- at ground level on the north side. A series of slate squares in the centre. No finds.
- at a 'line of cement', higher up on the north side, to the centre. No finds.
- from the top through the centre. No finds.

The mound measured 7m high in 1965. Two pits dug by Masson were still visible one above the other on the north side (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, Stupa 12).

Passani 2 / Qal'a-i Kachala

Masson 1841, p. 69, Topes pl. IIf; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, Stupa 17, pl. 29.4: The stupa was still standing in 1965, 'though completely defaced' (Figs 90–1).

Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 208–9, no. 855, map 113: Qal'a-i Kachala/Qal'a-i Chakala, lat. 34°27' N, long. 70°20' E; located in a gully in the Siah Koh, on the north bank of the Surkh Rud, 1km north-west of Passani 1, just behind the village of Qal'a-i Kachala.

Honigberger: no finds. Masson: excavated to ground level; no finds.

Masson 1841, p. 69:

This is a small tope of the third class, on the northern bank of the ravine of Passani; it is very much dilapidated, and contiguous with it are many tumuli. M. Honigberger operated



Figure 90 Masson 1841, Topes pl. IIg: Tope No. 2 at Passani



Figure 91 Mizuno 1970-1, pl. 29.4, Stupa 17: Passani 2 from the south-east. Kyoto University 1965

upon it, but discovered nothing. As his excavation was not carried to the soil, I judged it warrantable to be continued, under the hope that, if successful, I might be better able to appropriate the larger structure. After a few days' toil the soil was satisfactorily reached, but I gained nought beyond the knowledge that the structure rested upon a foundation of huge boulders.

Passani tumuli 1-7

Masson 1841, pp. 94-6, Topes pls I, Vb-d; **E164 f. 150a**: sketch map with key to numbered sites; Mizuno 1970-1, p. 118, Stupas 13-16, 18-22: mounds of debris, varying in size (height: 1.5m to 4m; circumference: 6m to 12m).

Masson 1841, p. 94: Group of tumuli about the topes of Passani.

This group comprises fourteen tumuli, contiguous to the two topes of Passani: some of them are of imposing dimensions. Having failed to procure any tokens from the topes, I examined several of these secondary structures, in hope of eliciting through their medium some evidence respecting the superior ones. It was also an object to determine the true nature of the tumulus.

E164 f. 150a: Tumuli at Passani (Figs 92-3)

1. On being opened produced human bones and a large stone.
2. A human skull and ulg [steatite] box of relics.
3. A funeral jar with ashes.
4. Nothing although of promising appearance and solid construction.
5. [no. 6 in Masson 1841] Unopened - large dagoba.
6. [no. 5 in Masson 1841] Opened a few coins at summit and gumbaz in centre; no evident deposit, large dagoba.
7. In the centre a large stone enveloped in plain tuz leaves; beneath it an apartment filled with ashes and human bones; large dagoba.

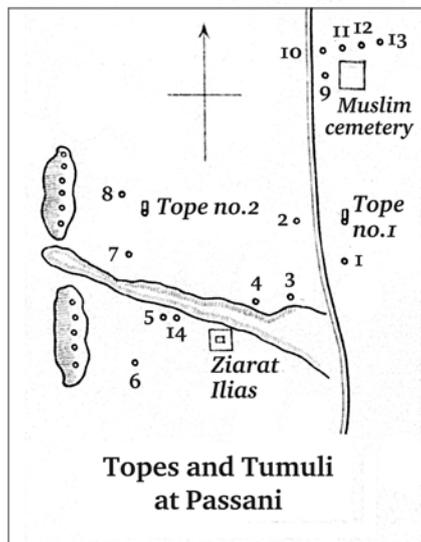
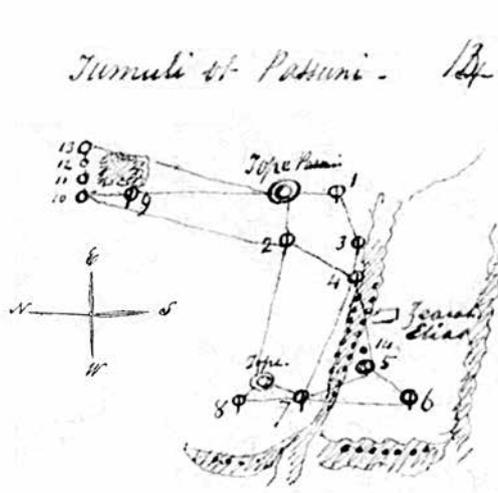


Figure 92 (left) E164 f. 150a: 'Tumuli at Passani - 14 tappers'. British Library

Figure 93 (right) Masson 1841, Topes pl. I: Topes and tumuli at Passani



Figure 94 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 28.8, Stupa 14: Passani tumulus 1 from the south-west. Kyoto University 1965

- 8. Yielded nothing; small tupper.
- 9. A small tupper opened some years since to make a grave for a Muhammadan figure. A funeral jar and ashes with a few copper coins were found.
- 10. 11, 12, 13, 14 – small tuppens unopened.

Passani tumulus 1

E164 f. 150a; E161/VII f. 11, Memorandum of expenses 9–10–1834; Mizuno 1970–1, Stupa 14, pl. 28.8 (**Fig. 94**).

Masson 1841, p. 94, no. 1: ‘A small tumulus; yielded in the centre, a large stone and human bones’.

E161/VII f. 2: ‘the 10th [Passani tumulus 1], which as No. 7 [Passani tumulus 5] was not a tope as strictly understood, but the spot where the body of the Prince was burned, yielded only bones &c.’

Passani tumulus 2

E169/I section 11, f. 121. E161/VII f. 10, f. 11, f. 18, Memorandum of finds dispatched 11–12–1834: ‘Small Rashuk or Tumulus of Darunta’. Masson 1841, pp. 51, 94, no. 2, Antiquities pls I.1. III.12; **Vol. II, Fig. 89.2–3**.

Masson 1841, p. 94, no. 2:

A small tumulus; contained in the centre a human skull, and beneath it a large steatite vase, divided internally into five compartments, in which were sundry minute cylindrical boxes of gold and silver, with the usual addenda of ashes, coloured stones, beads, &c. There was moreover a twist of coarse tuz-leaf inscribed with Bactro-Pali characters, and six copper coins, one of which represented a novel type, but apparently of the

Azes family. This is the only tumulus at Darunta which furnished this description of relics, and was one of those built compactly: there was no interior cupola.

The stupa was one of the unidentifiable small piles of debris recorded in the 1965 Kyoto University survey (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, Stupas 13–17).

Finds

Zwalf 1996, nos 651, 662–5, 672–3, pp. 345–6, 351, 354; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 150–3, 286–91, figs 4.28–9, nos 331, 354–7, 366, 368; Errington forthcoming, pp. 31–40.

E161/VII f. 10, f. 18:

A handsome large stone box, internally divided into 4 compartments, containing 5 small golden boxes [**f. 18:** only 4 boxes] enclosing the usual fragments of bones &c. [Masson 1841, p. 94: ‘ashes’], with 10 crystal beads &c. [**f. 18:** 12 beads including ‘one of gold and one of a green stone’ and ‘writing on tuz leaf’], and 7 copper coins [**f. 18:** 6 small copper coins]; also 2 small silver boxes. This was extracted from a tumulus, a human skull being placed immediately above it, the teeth of which will accompany; the remainder I re-interred. [**f. 18:** ‘Package 2’: The teeth were omitted from the finds dispatched 9–12–1834].

Wilson 1841, p. 51, Antiquities pl. I.1:

Vase of steatite. ... The interior is divided into compartments, in which were some minute gold and silver cups, beads of pearls, crystal, agate and coral; small ornaments of gold and stone, a piece of birch bark, with characters, and six small coins of the ‘nameless’ king [Coins pl. IX.8–22].

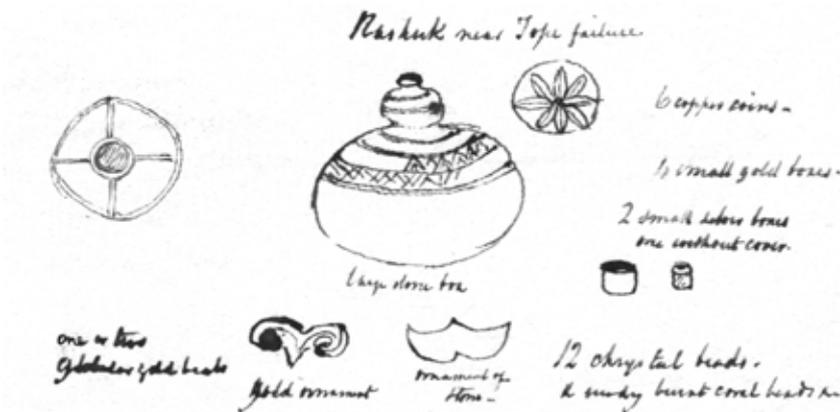


Figure 95 F526/1b f. 1: Sketch of finds from Passani tumulus 2. British Library.

‘Rashuk near Tope Failure – large stone box, 6 copper coins, 4 small gold boxes, 2 small silver boxes one without cover, 12 crystal beads & sundry burnt coral beads &c., one or two globular gold beads, gold ornament, ornament of stone’

The intact human skull complete with teeth was unearthed in the centre of the small, compactly built tumulus. The fact that it was located immediately above the reliquary does not necessarily mean that the two were an integral part of the same deposit. Masson cites numerous instances of buried skulls in Darunta, and notes that the use of traditional burial grounds persisted despite changes in religion or population, with a Muslim cemetery co-existing and in some cases incorporating or reusing the earlier Buddhist remains at Passani. For discussion, see p. 35 above.

The Buddhist relic deposit is datable from the coin evidence to the late 1st to early 2nd century:

Fig. 96.1 – 1880.98. IM 13 (lid) / IM 34 (body) / SKM 9444. Globular steatite reliquary, lathe-turned, in pristine condition. H. 17.3cm, D. 16.6cm. The lid knob forms a small subsidiary container with its own lid. The body is divided internally into four roughly chiselled sections radiating from a turned circular compartment in the centre. All the rims are flanged. The flat base has an oblong recess in the middle for turning. The outer body and upper small lid are decorated with bands of grooves, while the principal lid has wide bands of incised cross-hatching and a zigzag motif, with a narrow band of small indentations resembling chevrons above. A flower with eight-petals is incised on the flat knob of the upper lid.

The steatite reliquary contained fragments of bone, ashes and ‘two small silver boxes’ (**Et161/VII f. 18**: ‘one without cover’): actually two small silver cylindrical reliquaries without lids (**Fig. 96.2–3**), and the lid and fragments of a third globular silver reliquary (**Fig. 96.5**) of the same diameter as **Fig. 96.3** and with a similar lid to the gold reliquaries (**Fig. 96.6**).

Fig. 96.2 – 1880.3528. IM.Metal.126. Small cylindrical hammered silver reliquary, with a soldered vertical overlap on the tapering body; H. 9mm, D. (base) 18mm.

Fig. 96.3 – 1880.3527. IM 4 / SKM 1102 (pasted inside) / IM.Metal.125. Small cylindrical hammered silver reliquary, with a soldered vertical overlap on the body. Restored from two pieces with a small section of the side and base still missing; H. 11mm, D. 16mm.

Fig. 96.4 – 1880.3929.b. Tray ‘B’, with IM 2 / SKM 1090 and IM 42 / SKM 1122. Silver alloy fragment of a small reliquary lid, with four appliqué balls soldered in a pyramid to a thin sheet; L. 9mm, W. 7mm, H. 5mm. Similar pyramids of globules occur as knobs on the domed lids of reliquaries from Kamari 2 (**Fig. 59.1**) and Qul-i Nadir (Hackin, Carl and Meunié 1959, pp. 115–27; Tissot 2006, p. 338, no. K.p.QN.888.3; Fussman 2008, pp. 167–9, pl. 35). This fragment may be part of the missing lid of 1880.3527 (**Fig. 96.3**). It is also possible that some of the 19 other silver reliquary fragments might belong to it, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 188.3497.e–f.

Fig. 96.5 – 1880.3985. Tray ‘A’ / SKM 1067 (on lid). Conical lid and three fragments of the body of a small bulbous silver reliquary; D. (lid) 17.8mm.

Fig. 96.6 – 1880.3498, 1880.3499. IM 47 (?) / SKM 1094 (?) / IM.Metal.28, IM.Metal.27. Two miniature thin-walled hammered gold reliquaries with lids; D. bowl 10mm; 12mm.

Fig. 96.7 – 1880.3530, 1880.3531. IM 47 (?) / SKM 1094 (?) / IM.Metal.29, IM.Metal.30. Two miniature thin-walled hammered gold reliquary bowls; D. bowl 9mm; 10mm.

Fig. 96.8 – 1880.3929.e. Tray ‘B’, with IM 2 / SKM 1090 and IM 42 / SKM 1122. Small spherical bead of gold sheet over a mastic or terracotta core; D. 5mm, H. 3.5mm. Small spherical bead of hammered gold with a mastic or terracotta core; D. 4mm. Squashed bead fragment of hammered gold; L. 4mm, W. 3mm.

Fig. 96.9 – 1880.3851.i. IM 23 / SKM 1115. Small, hollow, hemispherical bead of hammered gold, with a flat base and domed top, pierced horizontally; L. 4mm, W. 3.5mm. Two of the three beads 1880.3929.e (**Fig. 96.8**) are perhaps identifiable as the ‘1–2 globular gold beads’ recorded in the deposit (**Fig. 95**). Although found separately, the third squashed fragment (**Fig. 96.8**) resembles 1880.3851.i (**Fig. 96.9**) so closely in colour and form as to suggest they are originally from the same deposit.

Fig. 96.10 – 1880.3694.a. IM 57 (?) / SKM 1096 (?) / IM.Metal.94–103. Bead of thin hammered gold, resembling a *śyivatsa*, with a scroll on either side of a central v-shape. The gold covers a mastic or terracotta core. A soldered overlap attaches the flat back and the bead is pierced with two small transverse holes; L. 13.3mm, W. 6.5mm.

A necklace or girdle of 116 identical gold beads was excavated from stratum II of the palace at Sirkap, Taxila, and dated by Marshall to the 1st century AD (1951, p. 629, no. 77, pl. 191.a). Three similar beads – now strung together with various other gold beads – also formed part of the relic deposit dated *c.* AD 27 by its inscription in Yona year 201, Azes year 73 and regnal year 27 of the Apraca king Vijayamitra (Salomon 2005, p. 389, fig. 7.d).

Fig. 96.11 – 1880.4101.a. Tray ‘A’ / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–10–M (see p. 50, **Table 3.10**). Weathered malachite double-crescent or winged bead, pierced by a transverse hole through each crescent. Tiny fragments evidently from the bead were found separately in Tray ‘C’ (1880.4109.v); L. 14mm, W. 5mm.

Ten similarly shaped beads, possibly also of malachite, form part of a relic deposit of unknown provenance (Jongeward *et al.* 2012, p. 55, fig. 3.7c). Gold examples were found in Tillya Tepe burial 3 with a Parthian drachm of Mithridates II (*c.* 123–91 BC) and a Roman aureus of Tiberius (AD 14–37), minted at Lugdunum in Gaul *c.* AD 14–21; and in tomb 6 with a gold Parthian coin apparently of Gotarzes I (91–87 BC) countermarked, it is thought, by Darius (*c.* 70 BC), together with a drachm of Phraates IV (*c.* 38–2 BC) overstruck by Sapadbizes, a local ruler in the Oxus region (Sarianidi 1985a, pp. 241–2, 258, nos 32–3, 37–8; Cambon *et al.* 2006, pp. 188, 213, nos 95–6, 146; Rtveladze 1993/4, pp. 87–8, 92–3).

C. Fabrègues: Beads of this type were common in Gandhara and Bactria, both areas having yielded numerous examples in various materials. A string of double-crescent beads of pale blue vitreous paste was excavated in the Peshawar valley at Mir Ziyarat, near Charsadda, together with a coin of Menander (155–130 BC) and two defaced coins apparently attributable to the same king (Marshall 1902–3, p. 158, pl. 28.3), thereby suggesting a date for the deposit of



Figure 96 Passani tumulus 2 relic deposit

the latter part of the 2nd century BC. Other finds indicate a later date. A chain of 130 plain gold double-crescent beads, which could have been used either as a necklace or a girdle, was recovered from the early 1st-century AD Indo-Scythian/Indo-Parthian levels of Sirkap at Taxila (Marshall 1951, p. 187, no. 9, p. 629, no. 76, pl. 194.d). The beads are thin and hollow and pierced with two transverse holes for stringing. They were made of gold sheet hammered on bronze dies, examples of which were found in the same stratum (Marshall 1951, p. 582, nos 37–8, 40–1, 168–76, pls 179, 181). Sirkap also produced double-crescent beads of hammered copper sheeting (Marshall 1951, p. 582) and two of faience (Beck 1941, p. 61, nos 626–7, pl. X.5–6), while a stamped gold example was excavated at the Buddhist site of Saidu Sharif in Swat (Fabrègues 1991, pl. 55, fig. 2.27). Similar gold beads were recovered from a tomb in the Tulchar necropolis (Bishkent valley, Tajikistan), together with a buckle which indicates that they were part of a belt (Mandel'stam 1966, pl. LX.1). A Heraeus coin of Kujula Kadphises (AD 40–90) dates the grave to the second half of the 1st century. The Tillya Tepe finds included 51 stamped and 39 cast gold double-crescent beads from tomb 3; and 76 cast examples from tomb 6 (Sarianidi 1985, nos 3.30–1, 6.12).

These examples show the prevalence of the double-crescent bead in Bactria and Gandhara in the 1st century AD. However its prototype can be traced back to 16th-century BC Greece: strings of gold double-crescent beads occurred in a Minoan treasure on Aegina, and in Shaft Grave Omicron at Mycenae (Higgins 1980, p. 65, pl. 4.A). Although no examples survive from the intervening period down to the late 2nd century BC, there are arguments in favour of a Greek origin for these beads. First, the string from Charsadda was found in association with a coin of the Indo-Greek ruler Menander; second, the Tulchar specimens were accompanied by a buckle in the characteristic Hellenistic shape of a Heracles' knot, thereby suggesting the entire belt belonged to the same period; third, a large percentage of the jewellery from Sirkap and Tillya Tepe shows Greek influence; and finally, a relief from Butkara I in Swat depicts a woman with a Greek hairstyle and ear-rings wearing a necklace of double-crescent beads (Faccenna and Taddei 1962–4, pl. DCLXV).

Fig. 96.12 – 1880.4110.c. IM 56 / SKM 1095; **1880.4116.f.** IM 3 / SKM 1052; **1880.4113.a.** IM 57 / SKM 1096. Three spherical beads of shelly, fossilized limestone. L. 7mm, D. 9mm; L. 9mm, D. 10mm; L. 7mm, D. 9mm. 1880.4113.a was found in tray IM 57 / SKM 1096, which is said to have originally contained 'six copper or bronze coins [of Wima Takto?], three beads [1880.4113.a–c] ... and fragment of gold ornament' (possibly the *śṛivatsa* bead **Fig. 96.10**), an entry which best fits the description of the finds from Passani tumulus 2.

1880.4110.c and 1880.4116.f were found separately in trays with identifiable objects from other sites (Wardak 1 and 4; Chahar Bagh 4), but are linked by material, manufacture and size to 1880.4113a, which suggests the three beads may originally be all from the same relic deposit.

Fig. 96.13 – 1880.4111.a. IM 47 / SKM 1094. Small, oval, copper alloy disc or seal, depicting an intaglio image of

a *pūrnaghata* (vase of plenty), with three stalks issuing from the top; H. 8mm, W. 7mm.

Fig. 96.14 – 1880.3929.a. Tray 'B', with IM 2 / SKM 1090 and IM 42 / SKM 1122. Broken half of an uncut, rough-polished garnet bead; W. 7mm, H. 5mm.

Fig. 96.15 – 1880.4113.b. IM 57 / SKM 1096. Small barrel bead of red-tinted bone (?) with an attached piece of white encrustation. Possibly identifiable as one of Masson's 'sundry burnt coral beads &c.'; L. 5mm, D. 6mm.

Fig. 96.16 – 1880.4113.c. IM 57 / SKM 1096. Small, annular bead of ivory; L. 2mm, D. 3mm. Six small copper coins (hemidrachms), one 'a novel type ... apparently of the Azes family' (Masson 1841, p. 94) but elsewhere coins 'of the nameless king', Soter Megas (Wilson 1841, p. 51, fig. 1, Antiquities pl. I.1; pp. 334–6, nos 2–12, Coins pl. IX.8, 10–22), i.e. Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113). **Er61/VII f. 10:** 7 coins; **f. 18:** only 6 coins were sent to Pottinger.

In his 1835 coin report Masson illustrates two square coins – one Kharahostes, one Mujatria – under 'doubtful or unknown names' of 'unknown princes of the Azes dynasty' (**Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 7, figs 158, 160). Both these coin types occur in the relic deposits (**Figs 142.2–5, 256.25–9**). He also identifies all Soter Megas issues as 'family of Azes', including the less common horseman/Zeus varieties (**Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 5, figs 107, 109; Wilson 1841, p. 335, no. 12, Coins pl. IX.21). Any of these could be the 'novel type' mentioned in the *Ariana Antiqua* description of the finds from Passani. However, it is equally possible that the reference – which only occurs once – may merely result from some confused editing on the part of Wilson.

Only two small coins of Wima Takto (with the three-pronged tamgha) survive in the relic deposit material (see **Fig. 129.4, 6**), those illustrated here are types only. The coins provide a late 1st- to early 2nd-century date for the stupa deposit.

Fig. 96.17 – IOLC.2010, 2288, 1926, 1986, 2001, 2002. Six Soter Megas hemidrachms (types only). *Obverse:* Within a dotted border, radiate and diademed bust of Mithra (sun god) to right, holding an arrow before his face. Behind the head, a three-pronged tamgha. *Reverse:* King in a diademed Phrygian cap, right hand holding a lohar pick, mounted on a horse to right; with a tamgha in front of the horse and inscribed in Greek ΒΑCΙΑΕΥ ΒΑCΙΑΕΙΠΝ CΙΙΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑC 'King of kings, the Great Saviour'. The hemidrachm legends are usually truncated, omitting 'Megas'. 1. 1.85g, D. 14mm; 2. 2.00g, D. 14mm; 3. 1.94g, D. 14mm; 4. 1.93g, D. 13mm; 5. 1.76g, D. 14mm; 6. 1.98g, D. 14mm.

Fig. 96.18 – 1880.3984.a–e. IM 21 / SKM 1099 / Kr. 15–17 (p. 53, **Table 4.15–17**). Five hexagonal rock crystal barrel beads drilled longitudinally from either end. L. (maximum) c. 15mm, W. c. 14mm.

Fig. 96.19 – 1880.3984.f. IM 21 / SKM 1099. Rock crystal drop-shaped pendant, pierced through a flat tab at the top. L. 15mm, W. 13mm, T. 8mm. The technique of drilling a hole from both ends is one shared with beads from other 1st- to 2nd-century sites (see pp. 50–1, 54–5, **Fig. 22.1–2, Tables 3–4** above). Crystal beads are specifically recorded from three other stupa deposits of this date (**Er61/VII ff. 2, 5, 18**): Bimaran 2 ('18 beads of sapphire, agate,



Figure 97 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 28.7, Stupa 13: Passani tumulus 3 from the east. Kyoto University 1965

crystal &c.’), Bimaran 4 (‘17 beads of carnelian, agate, crystal &c.’), Chahar Bagh 6 (‘beads of crystal &c’) and Hadda 3 (‘2 crystal beads’). The reference to ‘10 crystal beads &c.’ (E161/VII, f. 10) possibly implies that 1880.3984, as the largest group, was part of the Passani deposit.

Fig. 96.20 – 1880.3929.c. Tray ‘B’, with IM 2 / SKM 1090 and IM 42 / SKM 1122. Three small, tabular, roughly rectangular, pyrite (?) beads: one is pierced longitudinally; two are pierced diagonally across two opposite corners. 3.4mm x 3mm x 2.4mm; 3.5mm x 3mm x 2mm; 3mm x 2.8mm x 1.8mm.

Fig. 96.21 – 1880.4102.i. Tray ‘A’. Cubed pyrite (?) bead, drilled across two diagonally opposite corners. 5mm x 3mm x 2mm.

Fig. 96.22 – 1880.3897.e. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Tiny rectangular polished stone bead (discoloured pyrite?), pierced twice through diagonally opposite corners; broken across the two remaining corners. 4mm x 3mm x 2mm.

Fig. 96.23 – 1880.4105. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’.
1880.4105.c: One ivory and two bone beads. The ivory example is annular, more regular in shape, and with a wider perforation than the others, D. 3mm.

1880.4105.b: 20 seed-pearl beads, identifiable as ‘beads of pearls’ (Wilson 1841, p. 51), D. 2mm–4mm.

Fig. 96.24 – 1880.3929. Tray ‘B’, with IM 2 / SKM 1090 and IM 42 / SKM 1122.

1880.3929.f–g: One oval pearl bead and ten small seed-pearl beads. L. 6mm; D. 2.5mm–3mm.

1880.3929.h: 10 annular ivory beads, D. 4mm–4.5mm.

1880.3929.i: Three spherical shell or bone beads, D. 2mm–3mm.

1880.3929.j: Four bone (?) fragments, L. 3mm–5mm. Ivory beads are not recorded by Masson (see Fig. 307.28–37), but they have become mixed in the collection with small bone and seed-pearl beads primarily associated with the deposits Passani tumulus 2 and Bimaran stupas 2 and 4, as well as with small gilt beads apparently from Hadda 10.

Fig. 96.25 – 1880.3893.h. IM 14 / SKM 1104; IM 22 / SKM 1101 / Kr. 12 (p. 53, Table 4.12). Large bi-cone bead of dyed and polished brown and white banded agate. The two pieces – found separately in different trays – show no signs of wear, indicating the break is modern. The perforation is drilled from either end, meeting slightly off-centre in the middle. Its similarity in shape, form and material to Tibetan dzi beads suggests that, like them, it probably functioned as an amulet. L. 47mm (complete), D. 13mm (centre). See also pp. 52–6 above, Fig. 22.8.

Agate beads are recorded in only three stupa deposits (Masson 1841, pp. 71, 75; Wilson 1841, p. 51). Two appear to be from Bimaran 2 (1880.3699.e) and Bimaran 4 (1880.3992.h) respectively. This third example may therefore be from Passani tumulus 2, although the possibility that it is from Bimaran 2 cannot be ruled out.

Fig. 96.26: Wilson 1841, Antiquities pl. III.11. ‘A twist of coarse tuz-leaf inscribed with Bactro-Pali characters’ (Masson 1841, p. 94) is possibly the same fragment as ‘a piece of birch-bark, with characters’ (Wilson 1841, pp. 51, 53). The object has not been located, although there are numerous fragments of birch bark in the collection, suggesting that it is probably now in several unidentifiable pieces.



Figure 98 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 29.2 Stupas 15–22 (left–right): Passani tumulus 14 and 5, 7, 6 and 8, with Stupa 2 (middle foreground) from north-east. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 99 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 29.1, Stupas 19–22 (left–right): Passani tumulus 14 and 5, 6 and 8 (right foreground) from north-east. Kyoto University 1965

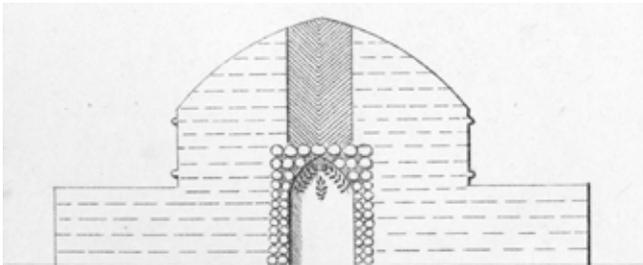


Figure 100 Masson 1841, Topes pl. Vb: Section showing the ‘interior disposition’ of Passani tumulus 5

Passani tumulus 3

E164 f. 150a: ‘3. A funeral jar with ashes’. **E161/VII f. 11**, Memorandum of expenses 9–10–1834; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, Stupa 13, pl. 28.7 (**Fig. 97**).

Masson 1841, p. 94, no. 3: A small tumulus; furnished a large broken earthen jar, containing ashes, but no other deposit.

Passani tumulus 4

E164 f. 150a: ‘4. Nothing although of promising appearance and solid construction’.

Masson 1841, p. 94, no. 4: ‘A small tumulus; it produced nothing’.

Passani tumulus 5

E161/VII f. 2: ‘No. 7’; **f. 17:** Large Rashuk Tumulus of Darunta. **E163 section 19, f. 59:** Rashuk Tumulus of Darunta, excavated 27–8–1834. **E164 f. 150a:** ‘6. [*sic*: no. 5] Opened, a few coins at summit and gumbaz [domed mausoleum] in centre; no evident deposit, large dagoba [stupa]’.

Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 71, 118, Stupa 19, fig. 35b, pl. 29.1 (**Figs 98–100**). One of the stucco fragments collected from the site in 1965 is recognizable as the acanthus foliage of a pilaster capital (**Fig. 101**). The small mound adjoining tumulus 5 on the left side is identifiable from Masson map as tumulus 14 (**Fig. 99**).

Masson 1841, p. 95, no. 5, Topes pl. Vb:

This is a large tumulus standing with its debris on a circumference of 220 feet [67m]. It was opened at the summit, near which we found a few corroded copper coins; amongst them was one of the horseman type or of the Azes family [i.e. Mujatria, c. AD 80–90]. Some distance below them was found a small spherical stone or marble, an intentional deposit, being placed exactly in the centre. Finally, towards the base, surrounded by very large stones or boulders, was a cupola of 6 feet [1.83m] in diameter and about 8 feet [2.44m] in depth; the conical portion [i.e. dome] of which was coated in cement [lime plaster], and decorated with coarsely coloured flowers. Nothing



Figure 101 Mizuno 1970–1, p. 71, fig. 35b: Stucco fragments from Passani tumulus 5. Kyoto University 1965

was found in the materials filling it but the beak of a mynah [bird], – a deposit, whatever signification may attach to it, which has been found elsewhere, as in Tope No. 1 of Kotpur. On this tumulus a greater expense was necessary than on any of the topes we had examined.

E161/VII f. 11: ‘Tumulus of immense size: small marble & Gumbaz [mausoleum] found’. Cost 22.8 rupees.

Finds

Close to the summit, ‘in the bulk of the erection’ (**E161/VII f. 5:** ‘No. 6’), were copper fragments and 15 small corroded copper coins (**E161/VII f. 17**). These ‘copper pice’ included ‘one of the horseman type or of the Azes family’ (**E161/VII f. 2;** Masson 1841, p. 95), identifiable as either a Mujatria or Soter Megas issue. Although the coins were evidently included in the dispatch from Kabul, they are not identifiable in the collection.

Some distance below the coins, in the centre of the tumulus, was a small speckled spherical stone or marble (**E161/VII f. 10; Fig. 102**). Within the core stupa was the beak of a bird, probably a mynah.

Fig. 102 – 1880.3698. Tray ‘B’ / SKM 1026 / IM. Metal.128. Ball or marble of white-spotted coralline limestone. D. 18mm.

For similar Roman marbles, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1976,1231.153–4.



Figure 102 Passani tumulus 5 relic deposit



Figure 103 G40 f. 71: 'View of the Darunta plain' from the north-west, with Passani tumulus 6 in the foreground. British Library



Figure 104 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 29.5, Stupa 22: Passani tumulus 6 from the north-west. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 105 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 29.6: Relic chamber of Passani tumulus 6. Kyoto University 1965

Passani tumulus 6

E164 f. 150a: '5. [*sic*: no. 6] Unopened – large dagoba' **F63 section 2, f. 18:** Untitled sketch. G40 f. 71; Masson 1841, pp. 94–5, Topes pl. Vc: 'A large tumulus'; Mizuno 1970–1, Stupa 22, pl. 29.5–6 (**Figs 11, 103–5**).

Masson 1841, p. 95, no. 6:

This is the largest tumulus of the group and has not been opened, the result of its neighbour, the preceding one, not being such as to induce me to incur the heavy expense which would have been required to have penetrated into it. A sketch of it is given, in which advantage has been taken of showing a great part of the plain of Darunta with its topes and villages.

Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 118–19, Stupa 22:

Passani tumulus No. 6 ... lies at the westernmost end of the Passani ravine. ... It is a fairly big mound of stone debris, measuring 6m high and 13m across [in 1965]. From the top to the south side extends a large pit [excavated since Masson's time], exposing a corner of the relic chamber of loose masonry.

Passani tumulus 7

F63 section 2, f. 49v, f. 50v. **E161/VII f. 11.** Masson 1841, p. 95, no. 7, Topes pl. Vd; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, fig. 35a, Stupa 18, pl. 29.3. See also **Fig. 12:** F63 section 2, f. 50v (**Figs 106–9**).

E164 f. 150a: '7. In the centre a large stone enveloped in plain tuz leaves; beneath it an apartment filled with ashes and human bones; large dagoba' (**Vol. II, Fig. 46**).

Masson 1841, p. 96:

This is the largest tumulus near the minor Tope No. 2 of Passani. In its centre was found a large stone covered with layers of plain tuz-leaves, or perhaps the smooth internal bark of some tree. Beneath it was a large apartment, in which were deposited the entire body of a corpse, regularly extended, save the skull. I was at a loss to decide whether these bones had been burnt, from their state of preservation and their integrity; the roof of the apartment was indeed smoked. This tumulus, with its predecessors Nos. 5 and 6, enables us accurately to determine the original outline of its construction.

Mizuno 1970–1, Stupa 18, p. 118:

Among the Passani tumuli on the east side of the ravine, [no. 7] is the biggest, now measuring about 13m in diameter. From the top to the north-east side is a big pit of the previous excavation by Masson. ... On the surface of the debris was collected a lot of lime and stucco fragments, including [of the] Buddha, lion, elephant and other fragments. The stucco is rough, containing sand and pebbles, and suggests rather a late date [and] may indicate later re-facing. Some of the stucco figures retain red pigment on the surface.



Figure 106 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 29.3: Passani tumulus 7 from the north-east. Kyoto University 1965

The large burial chamber in the centre of the tumulus, sealed by a stone covered with layers of bark, had a smoked roof and is said to have been ‘filled with ashes and human bones’ (E164 f. 150a), or elsewhere, an intact skeleton, minus its skull (Masson 1841, pp. 95–6). Masson was not sure if cremation had actually taken place in situ. If so, the chamber must have been sealed before the process was completed, so that the resulting lack of oxygen extinguished the fire.

F63 section 2, f. 49v shows the original sketch of the mound, later schematized as a section drawing, comprising a dome and basement, with a shaft through the centre (Masson 1841, Topes pl. Vd; Figs 108–9). Masson’s section drawings of the tumulus shows the chamber positioned in the centre of the mound at the base of the dome, as is to be expected if the burial was contemporary with the erection of the stupa. In 1965 the extant mound still exhibited the same profile as Masson’s 1834 sketch, with the depression in its centre not appearing to penetrate to any great depth, and possibly not to the base of the dome. So although its location suggests it was connected to the Buddhist cult of the monument, it may have been a secondary burial. It also was not necessarily associated with the original construction, but later re-use of an existing mound, as occurred at Passani tumulus 9 (see below), and possibly also at Passani tumulus 2.

Passani tumulus 8

E164 f. 150a; Masson 1841, p. 94, no. 8: ‘A small tumulus; it yielded nothing’ (Figs 98–9).

Figure 108 F63 section 2, f. 49v: ‘Interior of [Passani] tumulus [7] Darunta’. British Library

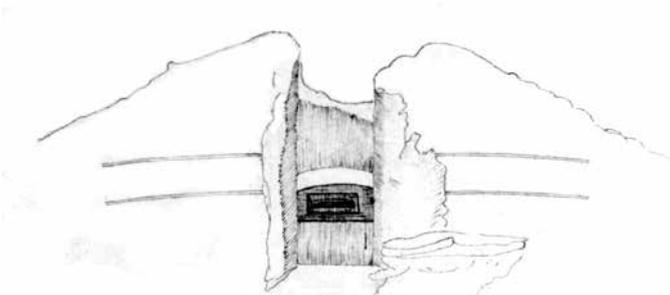


Figure 107 Mizuno 1970–1, p. 71, fig. 35a: Stucco fragments from Passani tumulus 7. Kyoto University 1965

Passani tumulus 9

Masson 1841, pp. 94–5, no. 9: ‘A small tumulus; some years ago, on being dug into, to prepare a grave for a Muhammadan fakir, an earthen jar was discovered with a few copper coins’. E164 f. 150a: ‘A funeral jar and ashes with a few copper coins were found’.

Passani tumuli 10–14

E164 f. 150a; Masson 1841, p. 95: ‘small tumuli; unexamined, as nothing profitable could be expected from them’.

Bimaran

Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 58–9, no. 127, maps 7.3, 113. Bimaran 1–4: lat. 34°28’N, long. 70°21’E. The site lies 11km west of Jalalabad, and comprises the remains of five stupas, possible votive stupas and, in the foothills of the Siah Koh to the north, a complex of six artificial caves.

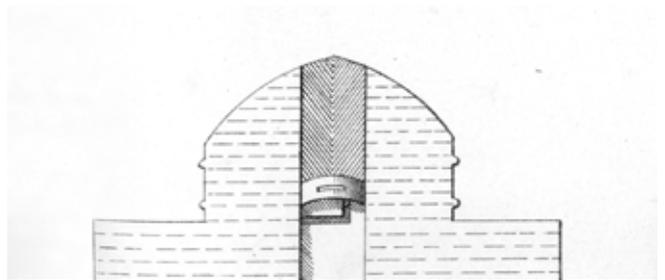
Masson 1841, p. 69: Topes of Bimaran.

Following the high road from Passani, we soon reach the village of Bimaran, containing some twenty houses occupied by Tajik and Afghan families. In the very centre of the village stands a magnificent tope [Bimaran 3], and its present walls are built on the foundations of the ancient ones enclosing the monument. In the immediate neighbourhoods of this tope and village we find four other similar edifices.

Bimaran 1

P/387/71 no. 1 / E 161/VII f. 2: ‘8th tope’. F63 section 1, f. 27: sketch; F63 section 2, f. 29: finished drawing. Masson

Figure 109 Masson 1841, Topes pl. Vd: Section showing the ‘interior disposition’ of Passani tumulus 7



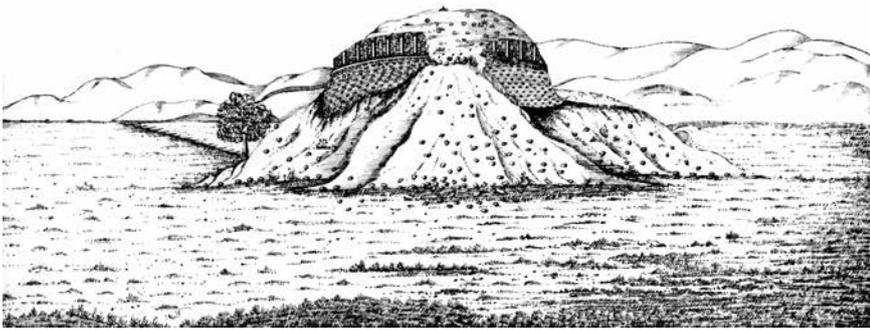


Figure 110 F63 f. 29: 'Tope Bimaran [1] near Jalalabad'. British Library

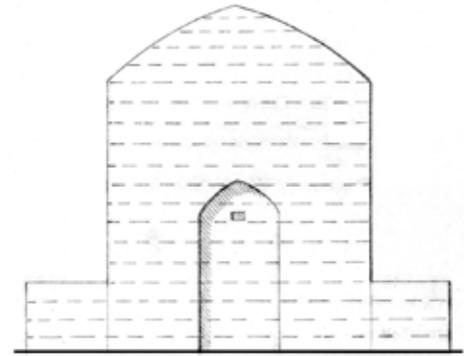


Figure 111 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. IIIa: 'Section showing the interior disposition of Tope no. 1 at Bimaran'

1841, pp. 69–70, **Topes pl. IIIh**, IIIa; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 118, *Stupa 11*, pl. 28.4: by 1965, the stupa had 'entirely fallen down, leaving only a small mound of debris 5.5m high'.

Masson 1841, pp. 69–70 (**Figs 110–13**):

This tope is of the second class, but a superior one of the description; it has a circumference of 144 feet [43.9m; diam. 13.97m]: it is the first one approached from Passani, and stands in the cultivated lands a little right of the road; it is much dilapidated, and a vast accumulation of fallen materials surround it on every side. From the portion remaining entire we are able to ascertain the nature of the belt which encompassed it, consisting of a series of plain pilasters, enclosed within double lines of mouldings. I penetrated into this structure from the north, and was gratified to discover in the centre a large cupola coated with cement [lime plaster]. After clearing round its summit, I proceeded to open it, and soon beheld flattering omens in square slates; on their removal, to my joy, the workmen fell upon an apartment formed by slates, but which, being opened, yielded nothing more than a little loose mould, in which, after the most minute inspection, and subsequent dissolution in water, no fragment of bone or any other debris could be found: the interior surface of the slates describing the apartment were coloured with sindur or red lead [ochre?]. ... Aware that the cylindrical body, crowned by the cupola, descended through the body of the tope, I continued the excavation until we had clearly passed the foundation of the structure, in fact until the internal tope had been fairly hollowed out from the enclosing mass; but no token recompensed the labour. Satisfactory as it

would have been to have obtained some evidence of this monument from itself, there can be no danger in classing it with its neighbours.

Bimaran 2

Er61/VII f. 2: 'No. 1'; **f. 16**: 'Tope near Deh Bimaran'.

Er64 f. 150a. F63 section 2, f. 28: sketch; f. 31: finished drawing; **F63 section 2, f. 69**: gold reliquary. **Vol. II, Fig. 90.1**; Masson/Wilson 1841, pp. 52–4, *Antiquities* pls II.1, IV.1–3; pp. 70–1, **Topes pl. IIIb**; pp. 330–1, no. 25, *Coins* pl. VIII.1; Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 117–18, *Stupa 10*, pl. 28.2–3; Cribb (in press); **Figs 114–15**; **Vol. II, Fig. 44**.

Masson 1841, pp. 70–1:

This tope is of the second class, and has a circumference of 126 feet [38.4m; diam. 12.22m]; it is 360 yards [329.18m] distant from the preceding monument, and about half that distance from the superior one in the village of Bimaran [*Stupa 3*]. To the preceding tope [Bimaran 1] it has much affinity, is of the same kind of construction, and evidently refers to the same epoch. The dilapidation of both structures is also of similar extent. Its embellishments comprise a succession of arches supported on pilasters, enclosed within double lines of mouldings. M. Honigberger opened this monument from the north, and abandoned it, having been induced hastily to repair to Kabul. I continued his pursuit, and in the centre of the tope discovered a small apartment formed as usual by squares of slate, from which were procured some valuable and satisfactory relics. ... In this tope, it may be observed, there was no interior

Figure 112 Mizuno 1970–1, *Stupa 11*, pl. 28.5: Bimaran 1 from the east. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 113 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 28.4: Bimaran 1 plinth, east side. Kyoto University 1965



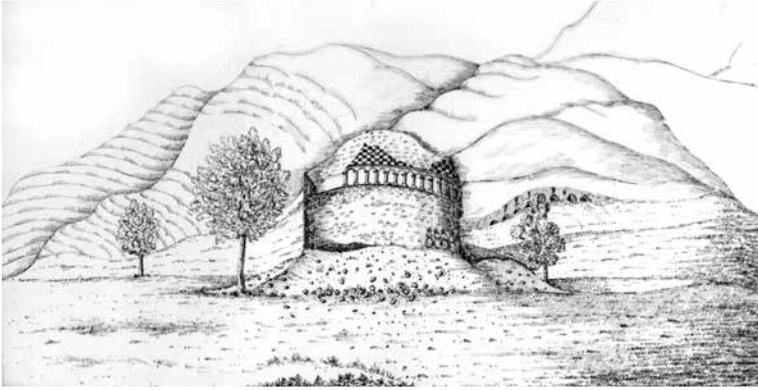


Figure 114 F63 section 2, f. 31: 'Tope Bimaran [2] near Jalalabad'. British Library



Figure 115 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 28.2, Stupa 10: Bimaran 2 from the west. Kyoto University 1965

cupola, and the deposit was found on the line where the cylindrical mass of the structure rested on its basement.

The stupa – ‘of diminutive size’ – still measured 6m high in 1965, but little of the masonry facing survived (Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 117–18).

The relic deposit (Fig. 116)

E161/VII f. 2, with additions in square brackets from **f. 16**:

A [large] stone box [entire], with two lines of inscription [on the cover and main body], enclosing a golden box, adorned with sculptures of 8 Saints or Sages, standing in compartments of pillars supporting arches; above, between the intervals of the arches, eagles hovering. The golden box [is] lined with a yellow coloured composition and [at top and bottom set at intervals] with two rows of 12 small [lals or rubies of Badakshan (one in the lower line fallen out of its position, will be found in the box); within ... the boxes] one small seal; [a variety of] thirty golden ornaments; sundry beads of burnt pearls, burnt coral beads &c.; [two small stones, one heart-shaped, and one in the form of cross; 18 stones of sapphire, crystal &c.; 4 copper coins,] obverse representing a horseman ... with Greek legend, and reverse exhibiting a figure of Ceres with Zend or Pahlavi [i.e. Kharoshthi] legend.

Masson 1841, pp. 70–1:

[The finds] consisted of a good-sized globular vase, of alg or steatite, with a carved cover or lid, both of which were encircled with lines of inscriptions scratched with a stylet or other sharp-pointed instrument. The characters were Bactro-Pali [Kharoshthi]. On removing the cover, the vase was found to contain a small quantity of fine mould, in which were mingled a number of small burnt pearls, beads of sapphire, crystal, &c. In the centre was standing a casket of pure gold; it had no cover: its exterior was embellished with eight figures, in separate compartments, formed by a series of flat columns supporting

finely turned arches, the spaces between which were filled by eagles hovering with extended wings. The circumference of the casket at top and bottom was adorned by two lines of lals or rubies of Badakshan, twelve in each, and inserted at intervals; the casket was coated internally with hardened clay. Within the casket and steatite vase, collectively, were contained a small metallic plate – apparently belonging to a seal, and engraved with a seated figure – 30 small circular ornaments of gold, sundry beads of burnt coral, numerous burnt pearls, and 18 beads of nilam (sapphire), agate, crystal, &c. Without the steatite vase were also deposited four copper coins, in excellent preservation, having been inserted new. They were the most useful discovery, as enabling us with some certainty to assign the monument and its era; they were of the horseman type, and bearing Greek legends on the obverse, corrupt indeed, but allowing the titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ to be distinguished on them. The characters of the legends on the reverse are Bactro-Pali [Kharoshthi]; they are fortunately distinct, and point out the commemorated monarch as one of the Azes dynasty.

Finds

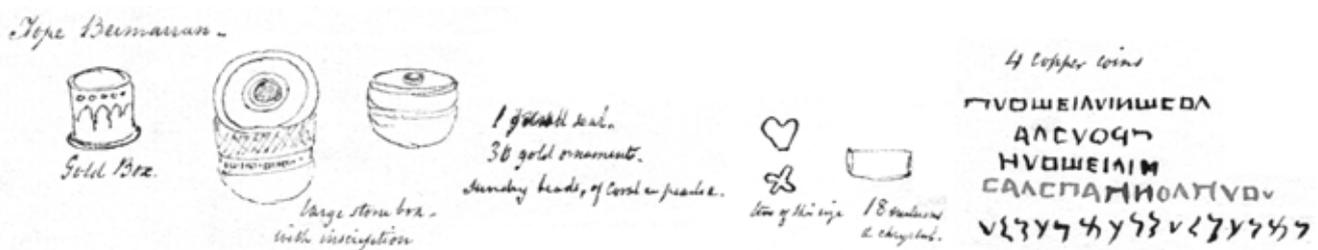
Konow 1929, pp. 50–2, pl. X.2; Fussman 1987, pp. 69–71; Errington and Cribb 1992, nos 186–91, pp. 186–92; Carter 1997, pp. 71–94; Errington 1999, pp. 212–13, 231–2; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 142–8, 249, 286–9, figs 4.24, 4.26, nos 332, 353; For a full bibliography and discussion, see Zwalf 1996, no. 652, pp. 212–13, no. 659, pp. 348–50; Cribb forthcoming, pp. 41–57; www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: Bimaran Stupa 2 (Figs 117–19).

A small square cell of slate in the centre of the stupa at the base of the dome contained four coins and a steatite reliquary. No bones or ashes were found in the relic deposit, only a small quantity of fine mould.

Fig. 117.1–4: Four base silver coins of the Indo-Scythian satrap Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), son of Kharahostes, issued in

Figure 116 F526/1b f. 1: Sketch of finds from Bimaran 2. British Library.

‘Gold Box, large stone box with inscription, 1 gold small seal, 30 gold ornaments, sundry beads of coral &c. pearls &c., ten [cruciform inlays] of this size, 18 neelums [nilam, i.e. sapphire] & chrystals [sic], 4 copper coins’





a



Figure 117 Bimaran 2 relic deposit: reliquaries and coins

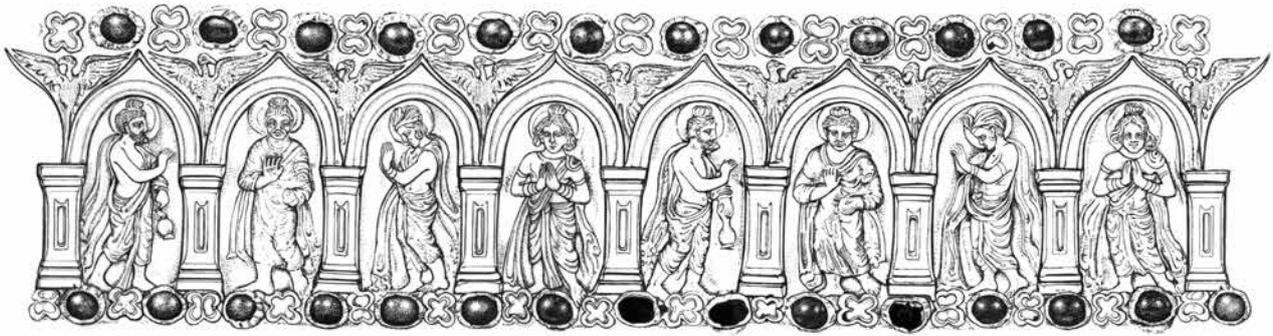


Figure 118 Bimaran 2: The repoussé figures on the gold reliquary

where the mortise rarely survives it is – with one exception – square (Rienjang 2017, pp. 124–7, fig. 16.a–d).

Fig. 119.1 – 1900,0209.1. The ‘Bimaran Casket’, c. 1st century AD. Gold cylindrical reliquary with repoussé and chased decoration, inset with garnets and originally also turquoise inlays. H. 6.7cm, D. 5.9cm (rim), 6.6cm (base).

The underside of the casket is decorated with a full-blown lotus of eight petals around a stippled centre. The body tapers slightly towards the rim and is apparently made from a single sheet, edged by a row of 12 almandine garnets above and a row of 14 below. These alternate with cruciform motifs originally all inlaid with small cut-out pieces of turquoise (**Fig. 119.2**). Some of the motifs have a horizontal ridge across the centre and were inset with half crosses. Around the centre is an arcade of eight ogee arches resting on pilasters with plain capitals and a narrow vertical recessed panel on the shafts. Under each arch stands a haloed figure, c. 32mm in height, in a configuration of four images depicted twice (**Fig. 118**; **Vol. II, Fig. 93**). The identity of three is clear: the Buddha in *abhaya mudrā*, worshipped by Brahma (left) and Indra (right). Much has been written about the differences between the two Buddha images. In fact, the execution of the four duplicated figure differs in varying degrees between each pair, although the pose remains the same. This is only to be expected in a detailed work of such small scale, even if worked by a single goldsmith. According to the British Museum conservator Rachel Berridge (personal communication), however, the reliquary was probably made in a workshop with several people involved in its production, and where only the most detailed and highly skilled work was reserved for the master craftsman.

The fourth figure mimics the frontal stance of the Buddha, and has a similar raised border to his halo, but his hands are clasped in *anjali mudrā* and he wears bracelets and armlets. His hair is partly tied in a topknot with loose flowing locks on either side of the face. This hairstyle is commonly found in depictions of Maitreya (BM 1880.193, 1902.1002.9; Zwalf 1996, nos 59–60), but also occurs on a youthful deity – possibly Viśvakarmā – in a jātaka relief depicting Śibi ransoming a pigeon with his own flesh (BM 1912.1221.1, Zwalf 1996, no. 136, pl. V). The Bimaran image is best interpreted as a Bodhisattva, but the lack of a water-pot prevents his positive identification as Maitreya (see Rhi 2008, p. 243).

The reference to ‘all Buddhas’ in the inscription on the steatite reliquary embraces the concept of multiple emanations, while the arcade of arches is understood as a

‘visual metaphor’ for the spiritual world, including either the Trāyātriṃśa heaven of the 33 gods, or the Tuṣita heaven of future Buddhas (Carter 1997, pp. 87–8; Cribb, in press b). In each spandrel between the arches is an eagle with outspread wings emphasizing the celestial context. These form four pairs with the head turned in each instance towards one of the Buddha or Bodhisattva images.

The Sikri stupa reliefs offer a clue to interpretation (<http://whav.aussereurop.univie.ac.at/ic/5175>). The 13 panels all depict scenes from the Life of Śākyamuni Buddha from Enlightenment to before *Parinirvāṇa*, except one. This illustrates the Dīpaṅkara jātaka, no doubt because it features Sumati, the future Śākyamuni. It is followed by the scene of a turbaned Bodhisattva, his hands covered by his robe, seated in meditation in the Tuṣita heaven. A third panel shows the gods including Brahma and Indra entreating the Buddha to preach and the final relief pertinent to the present discussion is of the Buddha preaching to the gods, again including Brahma and Indra, in the Trāyātriṃśa heaven (Ingholt 1957, nos 7, 8, 70, 104, pp. 50–1, 68, 78–9; panels 1, 2, 7, 9 as reconstructed in the Lahore Museum. See also Behrendt 2004, p. 119; 2005, pp. 389–91, figs 5–6). This illustrates two points: firstly that the scenes all concern the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, and secondly, that it is perfectly acceptable to include both the Tuṣita and Trāyātriṃśa heavens in the same relief sequence. It is feasible that the Bimaran images can be understood in a similar way, as all representing Śākyamuni in multiple spiritual contexts.

The steatite reliquary further identifies the deposit as being ‘given for relics of the Lord’, i.e. Śākyamuni (p. 104 above). As Salomon has pointed out (2010, p. 170),

A notable characteristic of Gandharan reliquary inscriptions is that, apparently without exception, they all recall the dedication of the relics of the ‘historical’ Buddha Śākyamuni. ... Not a single one ... refers to the relics of previous Buddhas or to those of other Buddhist venerables.

In the light of this, it seems unlikely that the gold reliquary would depict anyone other than Śākyamuni.

The reliquary was analysed as 90.85% gold, 5.63% silver, 3.65% copper (Wingham 1896, p. 86, no. 29). It was found without a lid, but again according to Rachel Berridge, the uneven and unfinished state of the rim indicates that it definitely originally had one. It has suffered some additional damage in the form of a number of minute holes and cracks in the wall. The garnets are burnish set and – together with the crosses – have a flat gold backing



Figure 119 Bimaran 2 gold reliquary and its contents

sealing them from the inside of the casket. Three of the garnets are missing in the lower row leaving a hole in each instance, without any backing. Masson found one garnet loose in the deposit (**Fig. 119.3; E161/VII f. 16**); the other two – like the lid – could have been lost prior to burial. Equally, since Masson does not remark on their absence and his drawing is unclear (**Vol. II, Fig. 93; F63 f. 69**), the damage could have occurred during the protracted time it took for the finds to reach London or subsequently. He records also finding 10 turquoise crosses loose in the deposit (**Fig. 116**). The few which survive (**Fig. 119.2**) have now been restored to their original positions on the casket.

Masson says that ‘the casket was coated internally with hardened clay’ (1841, p. 71). This has been analysed as two organic components: a hardened dark red resin (which was probably originally transparent) and an opaque buff-orange material of very low density. Both still adhere to the casket in various places. There are also some fragments that have become detached (Craddock, **BM-Asia 3-1-1992**). Traces of the red resin in the now empty cruciform motifs single it out as the adhesive used to hold the turquoise inlays and garnets in place. According to Craddock, the two materials are too brittle and light to have been used as backing for the gold during the creation of the reliquary. However, some of the fragments retain the impression of the design, suggesting that they were used as a matrix to support and protect the repoussé images, as occurs in many of the smaller gold objects from the relic deposits. A sample of the resin was radiocarbon tested by Oxford University Research Laboratory (C14/4720, May 2016), but the calibrated C-14 results suggested a mid-17th-century date. This can only mean that the resin was contaminated by something organic subsequent to its excavation which has thrown off the dating.

The links with the repoussé gold objects from Tillya Tepe (Sarianidi 1985a; Hiebert and Cambon 2011, pp. 146, 286–8, nos 142, 216–17) already noted (Carter 1997, pp. 75–6), are reinforced by the discovery of the original existence of turquoise inlays on the Bimaran casket. The small finds from the relic deposit exhibit further strong links.

Fig. 119.2 – 1880.3851.b. IM 23 / SKM 1115. One thin cruciform piece of turquoise inlay. W. 4.7mm.

1880.3855.b. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Three thin cruciform pieces of turquoise inlay. W. 5.7mm, 5.3mm, 3.8mm.

1880.4110.n. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Piece of turquoise inlay in the shape of a half cross. L. 4.7mm, W. 2mm.

Originally there would have been 10 cruciform inlays and 32 half-crosses. The presence of these inlays and some broken turquoise inlay fragments (www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3696.m / SKM 1078) suggests that other items in the same trays are from Bimaran 2 too, but there is also clear contamination, especially in the large tray SKM 1052 (which originally contained coins from Chahar Bagh 4) and to a lesser degree in tray SKM 1095.

Fig. 119.3 – 1880.3885.b. IM 4 / SKM 1121. An irregularly shaped, cabochon-cut garnet, with a flat back; slightly chipped on one corner. L. 6mm, W. 5mm, T. 5mm.

This garnet is the right size but the wrong shape to be one of the three inset stones missing from the bottom register of the reliquary. Nevertheless it may have been mistaken for the garnet ‘in the lower line, fallen out of its position’ which

Masson included with the finds from the site dispatched from Kabul in 1836 (**E161/VII f. 2**).

Fig. 119.4 – 1880.3690.a-i. IM.Metal.73–81. Nine thin gold sheet, die-stamped, circular bracteates, with a raised rim and conical centre. Two attachment loops are soldered on opposite sides of the back of the rim. 1st–2nd century AD. D. 9.5mm, H. 5.6mm.

C. Fabrègues: Over 3,000 comparable examples, but with a domed rather than conical centre and pierced for attachment, were found in Tillya Tepe burials 1, 3 and 4 (Sarianidi 1985, pp. 234, 237, 249, nos 1.26, 3.4, 4.20), which contained material relating to a large extent to Śaka/Indo-Scythian culture (Pugachenkova and Kempel 1991). Related bracteates were also found in a ‘Śaka’ tomb at Koktepe near Samarkand, Uzbekistan (Rapin 2001, fig. 11.3) and in a 2nd-century Parthian tomb at Niniveh, Iran (Curtis 1976, p. 53, figs 97–8, 102).

Fig. 119.5 – 1880.3691.a-i. IM.Metal 82–91. Nine hollow tabular beads of thin hammered gold, pierced horizontally. D. 9mm, H. 1.6mm.

Fig. 119.6 – 1880.3695.a-e, 1880.3851.a, 1880.3696.b. Seven small hollow tabular beads of thin hammered gold, pierced horizontally.

1880.3695.a-e. IM 60 / SKM 1078, IM.Metal.104–110. Five beads. D. 6mm, H. 2mm.

1880.3851.a. IM 23 / SKM 1115. One bead. D. 7mm, H. 2mm.

1880.3696.b. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM.Metal.111–124. One bead with the base pushed in. D. 6mm. 1,027 similar pan-shaped, perforated discs, but open at the back, were excavated from Tillya Tepe burial 3 (Sarianidi 1985, p. 237, no. 13).

IM 60 / SKM 1078 (**1880.3695, 1880.3696, 1880.3982, 1880.3983**): ‘Twenty-one fragments of gold ornaments’ were registered separately as IM.Metal.104–110 (7 beads: 1880.3695.a–g) and IM.Metal.111–124 (14 miscellaneous gold objects: 1880.3696.a–l, 1880.3982.a–b). Tiny fragments of turquoise inlays (1880.3696.m), found in tray IM 60 with these gold objects, identify all as primarily from Bimaran 2, except 1880.3982.a–b (**Fig. 231.2**: a tiny amulet case from Chahar Bagh 6) and 1880.3983.i–j (**Fig. 256.11**: a minute reliquary from Hadda 3).

Fig. 119.7 – 1880.3696.g-h. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM.Metal.111–124. Two hemispherical buttons of thin hammered gold, with two loops for attachment at the back; both partly crushed. L. 5.8mm, W. 3.8mm; L. 5.9mm, W. 3.1mm.

Fig. 119.8 – 1880.3908.g. IM 42 / SKM 1122. Squashed hemispherical button of thin hammered gold with an attachment loop soldered to the back. D. 7mm, H. 3mm.

Fig. 119.9 – 1880.3851.c. IM 23 / SKM 1115. Hemispherical button of thin hammered gold, slightly squashed, with a small gold attachment loop on the back and filled with the remains of a clay-like deposit similar to that found inside the Bimaran 2 gold reliquary. D. 6mm, H. 3mm.

These examples differ from the domed gold buttons from Hadda 10 (**Fig. 279.8**) in being of thinner gold and having a double, rather than a single attachment loop. 257 similar buttons were excavated from Tillya Tepe burial 4 (Sarianidi 1985, p. 249, no. 19).

Fig. 119.10 – 1880.3696.e–f. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM. Metal.111–124. Two domed bead fragments of sheet gold, pierced twice: the one squashed and rolled; the other with a pushed in base. L. 7mm, H. 2mm; D. 5.5mm, H. 2mm.

Fig. 119.11: Seven small, hollow, hemispherical beads made of thin hammered gold, with a flat base and domed top, pierced horizontally. Found separately.

1880.3696.c–d. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM. Metal.111–124. Two beads: D. 3.6mm, H. 1.9mm; D. 5.5mm, H. 2mm.

1880.3695.f–g. IM 60 / SKM 1078, IM.Metal.104–110. Two beads: D. 4mm, H. 1.7mm; D. 4.3, H. 2.4mm.

1880.3885.g. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Two beads: D. 3mm, H. 1mm; D. 4mm, H. 1.5mm.

1880.4104.d. Tray 4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. One bead: D. 3mm, H. 2mm. 500 beads of the same type were excavated from Tillya Tepe burial 3 (Sarianidi 1985, p. 240, no. 38).

Fig. 119.12 – 1880.3696.i. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM. Metal.111–124. Triangular spacer bead comprising three rows of one, two and three sheet gold globules respectively, soldered together. Each row is perforated horizontally. H. 7.5mm, W. 4.2mm. Thirty-three similar triangles, but larger, with four rows of globules each, were excavated from Tillya Tepe burial 1 (Sarianidi 1985, p. 227, no. 9).

Fig. 119.13 – 1880.3696.a. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM. Metal.111–124. Flattened, tubular jewellery fragment of sheet gold, comprising parallel ridged bands tied by vertical bands at regular intervals. L. 22.8mm, W. 7.6mm.

Fig. 119.14 – 1880.3696.k–l. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM. Metal.111–124. Crushed and folded hemispherical gold button and fragment of sheet gold. L. 6.3mm, W. 4.8mm; L. 6.1mm, W. 5.3mm.

Fig. 119.15 – 1880.3696.j. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM. Metal.111–124; **1880.3884.c.** SKM 1064. Two flower-shaped beads or spacers, made of six gold globules soldered together to form a circle with a hole in the centre. D. 5mm, T. 1.6mm.

Fig. 119.16 – 1880.3855.a. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Copper alloy, flat oval bezel and part of the shank of a signet ring, cast in one piece. The bezel is engraved with a schematic female figure, left hand on hip, right arm bent at the elbow with the hand raised, her hair tied in a bun. A scarf (?) is loosely looped round her shoulders and hangs down either side to her feet. H. 12mm, W. 10mm. Masson's description of a 'small metallic plate apparently belonging to a seal, and engraved with a seated figure' (1841, p. 71) and the fact that turquoise cruciform inlays were in the same tray identifies the ring as being from Bimaran 2.

C. Fabrègues: A similar, but more sinuous figure is found on a seal reputedly from Taxila (Callieri 1997, pp. 133–4, no. M6, pl. 31; see BM 1905,0601.2). For other signet rings with the same image from Begram, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3702.d–e.

Fig. 119.17 – 1880.3893.k. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Small, turquoise heart-shaped inlay with a broken tip. W. 5.6mm, H. 5.5mm. Heart-shaped turquoise inlays are used extensively on the gold jewellery from Tillya Tepe (Sarianidi 1985, cat. nos 1.12, 2.10, 2.19–20, 4.36, 5.2, 6.4, 6.20, 6.22). Gold hearts with turquoise inlays were also found in the relic deposits of

Shevaki 1, Kamari, neighbouring Bimaran 3 (**Figs 49.5, 59.4, 125.2, 10**) and in the Yona reliquary deposit (Salomon 2005, p. 389, fig. 8b).

Fig. 119.18 – 1880.3893.c. IM 14 / SKM 1104 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–13–W / Kr. 6 (pp. 50, 53–4, **Table 4.6** above). Hexagonal tabular bead of pale blue, transparent beryl-aquamarine. Holes piercing the length of the bead have been drilled from either end, with a visible misalignment where they meet. L. 11mm, W. 9mm, T. 5mm.

The aquamarine is the only blue gemstone in the Masson Collection. It is likely that Masson misidentified it as a pale blue sapphire in his record of the 18 beads of 'nilam (sapphire), agate, crystal & co.' An irregularly shaped aquamarine (12mm x 12mm x 5mm) was also found in the Qul-i Nadir stupa deposit along with small gold, turquoise and agate objects and coral, pearl, 'ruby' (probably garnet) and seed-pearl beads (Hackin, Carl and Meunié 1959, p. 124), i.e. a similar range of materials to those found in the Bimaran 2 and related deposits.

Fig. 119.19 – 1880.3699.a–i. IM. Metal & c. 129: 10 beads strung together with disc numbered [IM] 15; 1880.3699.a bears the number [SKM] 1108. 10 of the '18 stones of sapphire, crystal & c.' from Bimaran 2.

Fig. 119.20 – 1880.3699.g. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / Kr. 7 (p. 53, **Table 4.7**). Two ellipsoid amethyst beads, both drilled from either side. One has the remains of a section of metal wire (possibly for an attachment loop?) inserted in one side. L. 11mm, W. 9mm, T. 6mm.

Fig. 119.21 – 1880.3855.c. IM 3 / SKM 1052. / Kr. 8 (p. 53, **Table 4.8**). Amethyst bead, roughly elliptical in shape. L. 10mm, W. 9mm, T. 5mm.

Fig. 119.22 – 1880.3884.g. IM 53 / SKM 1077 / Kr. 2 (p. 53, **Table 4.2**). Three ellipsoid amethyst beads drilled longitudinally from either end with the hole slightly misaligned in the centre. L. 12mm, W. 10mm, T. 5.5mm. Masson usually uses the alternate name (purple) sapphire for amethyst, although in one instance he refers to 'sapphire or amethyst' (**Ex 161/VII f. 8**). He only records 'nilam' or sapphire beads from Bimaran 2 (1841, p. 71).

Fig. 119.23 – 1880.3699.h. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / Kr. 3 (p. 53, **Table 4.3**). Small hexagonal faceted rock crystal bead drilled longitudinally from either end. L. 11.5mm, W. 9mm, T. 7mm.

Fig. 119.24 – 1880.3699.a. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–3–P / Kr. 1 (p. 53, **Table 4.1**). Hexagonal rock crystal barrel bead, drilled longitudinally from either end, the drill holes being slightly misaligned where they meet in the centre. '1108' is pasted on one side. L. 15mm, W. 11mm.

Fig. 119.25 – 1880.3699.b. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–4–R. Faceted rock crystal bi-cone bead with an applied green coating. It is drilled longitudinally from either end, the drill holes being slightly misaligned where they meet in the centre. Part of the bead has sheared off. The surface is chipped and worn, with bits of copper corrosion (?) adhering to it. L. 20mm, W. 6mm (end), 12mm (centre).

Fig. 119.26 – 1880.3699.f. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / Kr. 4 (p. 53, **Table 4.4**). Large flattened oval transparent rock crystal bead, drilled longitudinally from either end. L. 21mm, W. 18mm, T. 7mm.

Fig. 119.27 – 1880.3699.e. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / Kr. 13 (p. 53, **Table 4.13**). Bi-cone bead of white and brown banded agate, pierced longitudinally. It is probably an amulet as it is allied in shape, form and material to Tibetan dzi beads. L. 20mm, D. 7mm (end), 9mm (centre).

Fig. 119.28 – 1880.3699.c. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–2–M; **1880.3889.a.** IM 45; **1880.4110.d.** IM 56 / SKM 1095; **1880.4112.a.** IM 51 / SKM 1093. Four spherical worn glass beads (colourants iron, copper and manganese); rough and badly chipped on the surface. One has broken in half, revealing that the glass in its original state was pale blue. X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometry analysis suggested that the beads are soda-lime silica glass, a typical Roman glass composition (see pp. 50–1). D. 9mm–11mm, H. 7mm–10mm.

Identification of Bimaran 2 as the find spot of these beads rests on 1880.3699.c being strung with the amethyst beads 1880.3699.g; bead 1880.4110.d being in the same tray as the turquoise inlay 1880.4110.m; bead 1880.4112.a being with ‘gold buttons’ of which several were located separately in the trays in 1880 and which could be from Bimaran. However 1880.3889.a was with a late Kushan coin of the time of Vasudeva II (**Fig. 259**: 1880.3889.d, from Hadda 6) which suggests that the contents of some of the India Museum trays had become muddled.

Fig. 119.29 – 1880.3983.c. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Black, highly polished, spherical, burnt shell bead. D. 14mm.

Fig. 119.30 – 1880.3699.d. IM 15 / SKM 1108 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–5–W. Black, highly polished, spherical, burnt shell bead in four pieces (modern break). D. 14mm.

A fragment of the broken bead was analysed by Louise Joyner using Raman Microscopy and identified as opaline silica (possibly originally shale). But re-examination by Caroline Cartwright showed that the material was burnt shell, possibly with traces of opaline silica (see pp. 50–1 above). The four fragments 1880.3699.d were found separately: one in string [IM] 15; two in IM 48 / SKM 1102 (**Fig. 96.3**: 1880.3527, Passani tumulus 2) and another in IM 14 / SKM 1104 (with the turquoise heart-shaped inlay **Fig. 119.17**). The identical intact bead (**Fig. 119.29**) was in the same tray as finds from Hadda 3 (**Fig. 256**: 1880.3983.a–b, d–k), but is not included in Masson’s list of the finds from that site. However its relic deposit also contained coins of Mujatria, so is of a similar date.

Fig. 119.31 – 1880.3929.d. IM 42 (?) / SKM 1122 (?); **1880.3699.i.** IM 15 / SKM 1108. Two disc beads of ivory, with a deep groove around the circumference. D. 7mm, T. 2mm; D. 8mm, T. 3mm. Although bead 1880.3699.i is included in the string IM 15, Masson does not record any ivory beads being found in any of the Darunta relic deposits. 1880.3929 included a mix of finds which appear to be predominantly from Hadda 10 and Wardak 4. See also **Fig. 119.38** below.

Fig. 119.32 – 1880.3893.l. IM 14 / SKM 1104 / Kr. 11 (p. 53, **Table 4.11**). Oval tabular ring stone of grey chalcedony with two relatively short holes drilled from opposite sides which do not join (see pp. 53–5 above). L. 14mm, W. 11mm, T. 5mm.

Fig. 119.33 – 1880.3893.q. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Minute brown and white striped shell with a broken tip. L. 4mm. No

shells are recorded from Bimaran 2. However, this is so tiny as to be easily missed and was in the same tray as the turquoise heart and other material that could be from the site.

Fig. 119.34 – 1880.3855.g. IM 3 / SKM 1052. 32 irregularly shaped and worn mother-of-pearl and seed-pearl beads (two stuck together). D. *c.* 2mm–6mm.

Fig. 119.35 – 1880.3855.i. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Spherical pinkish bone (?) bead, with a partly chipped brown coating. D. 5mm.

Fig. 119.36 – 1880.3855.e. IM 23 / SKM 1115. Five bone (?) beads of different sizes, some pink-tinged and with a white deposit on the surface. D. *c.* 5mm–7mm.

1880.3855.g. Thirteen irregularly shaped seed-pearl beads. The larger examples are worn, with only traces of iridescence remaining. D. *c.* 2.5mm–5mm.

119.37 – 1880.3885.h. IM 4 / SKM 1121. 30. Miscellaneous beads of different sizes and materials: bone (stained pink, with two stuck together), ivory and seed pearls. D. *c.* 2.5mm–7mm.

A large number of similar seed-pearl beads, which had been attached to a gold-embroidered textile, were found in Tillya Tepe burial 1 (Sarianidi 1985, p. 230, no. 33). They also occurred in the Qul-i Nadir and Yona relic deposits (Hackin, Carl and Meunié 1959, p. 124; Salomon 2005, p. 394, fig. 19).

Fig. 119.38 – 1880.3855.f. IM 23 / SKM 1115. 26 small ivory annular beads of different sizes. D. *c.* 2.5mm–4.5mm, T. 2mm.

There are *c.* 200 ivory beads, all mixed together with bone, seed-pearl and mother-of-pearl beads, but Masson does not record specifically finding small ivory beads at any of the sites. Instead, he variously lists ‘sundry beads of coral, pearls &c.’ (Bimaran 2) ‘sundry beads &c. of burnt coral &c.’ (Bimaran 4), or ‘sundry burnt coral beads &c.’ (Passani tumulus 2; see **Figs 95, 116, 128**). These clearly related objects are confined to these three sites. Jacquet, in discussing Honigberger’s finds from Bimaran 3 (1838, pp. 175–7) provides a clearer description of ‘burnt coral’ as ‘dull, whitish pierced stone (calcined coral?)’, which appears to describe beads here identified as bone or perhaps shell (some tinted pink). For these mixed groups of beads, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3855.f–g, 1880.3893.r–v, 1880.3908.j, 1880.3929.h–j, 1880.4102.a, e, g, 1880–4103.a–c, e, 1880.4104.a, c, 1880.4105.b–c, 1880.4110.h.

Fig. 119.39 – 1880.3893.g. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Two malachite (?) inlays: one round and cabochon-cut, the other a comma shape with straight sides. D. 7mm, H. 4mm; L. 7.5mm, T. 3mm. Similarly shaped inlays – but usually of garnet and turquoise – occur in great numbers at Tillya Tepe (Hiebert and Cambon 2011, pp. 239, 246, 266, 279, 289, figs 132, 142, 187, 207, 218). Two also formed part of the deposit in the reliquary of Utara, wife of Indravarma, the Apraca stratega *c.* AD 17–27 (Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 172, 209, no. 10, fig. 5.1b. For dating the Apracas, see Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 61–4).

Fig. 119.40 – 1880.3855.d. IM 3 / SKM 1052; **1880.3885.a.** IM 4 / SKM 1121. Two rough-polished, spherical garnet beads. D. 6mm, H. 5mm; D. 8mm, H. 3mm.

Masson only records ‘rubies’ i.e. garnets in the deposits from the stupas of Bimaran 2 and Hadda 10. In neither does he mention beads of this material being found, so it is quite

possible that all the garnet beads may be some of the unspecified finds from one of the Wardak stupas.

The group of finds 1880.3885.a–q appear to be from diverse sites: Bimaran 2 (a–b, g–h), Hadda 10 (c–f, i–l, o), p. 228 below, Deh Rahman 1 (m–n, p) and Wardak 1 (q). The tray SKM 1121 is also said to have contained Masson’s original label: ‘6 coins extracted from Jani tope of Darunta [i.e. Bimaran 5] by a blacksmith & purchased from him’. For

other rough polished garnet beads, see **Figs 280.24, 307.16, 313.18**. For a discussion of the possible provenance of spherical garnet beads, see **Figs 280.23, 308.3**.

Bimaran 3

Tóp-i Bimaran fi Deronteh; Tope des malades (Jacquet 1836, pls XI.2–3, 8; XII.16; 1838, pp. 169–77); No. 6/Topebimaran (**BM OP. 21–8–1835**). Masson 1841, pp. 72–4, **Topes pl.**

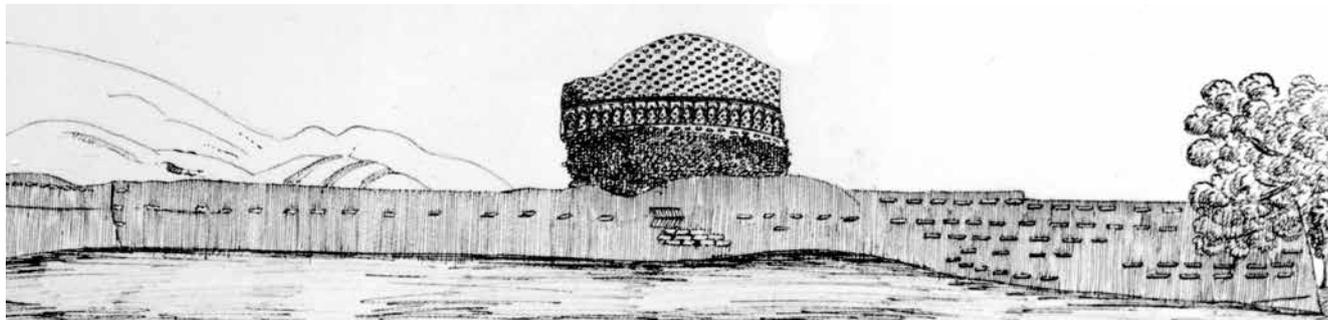


Figure 120 F63 section 2, f. 33: Bimaran 3 (untitled) ‘100 paces’ from the west. British Library

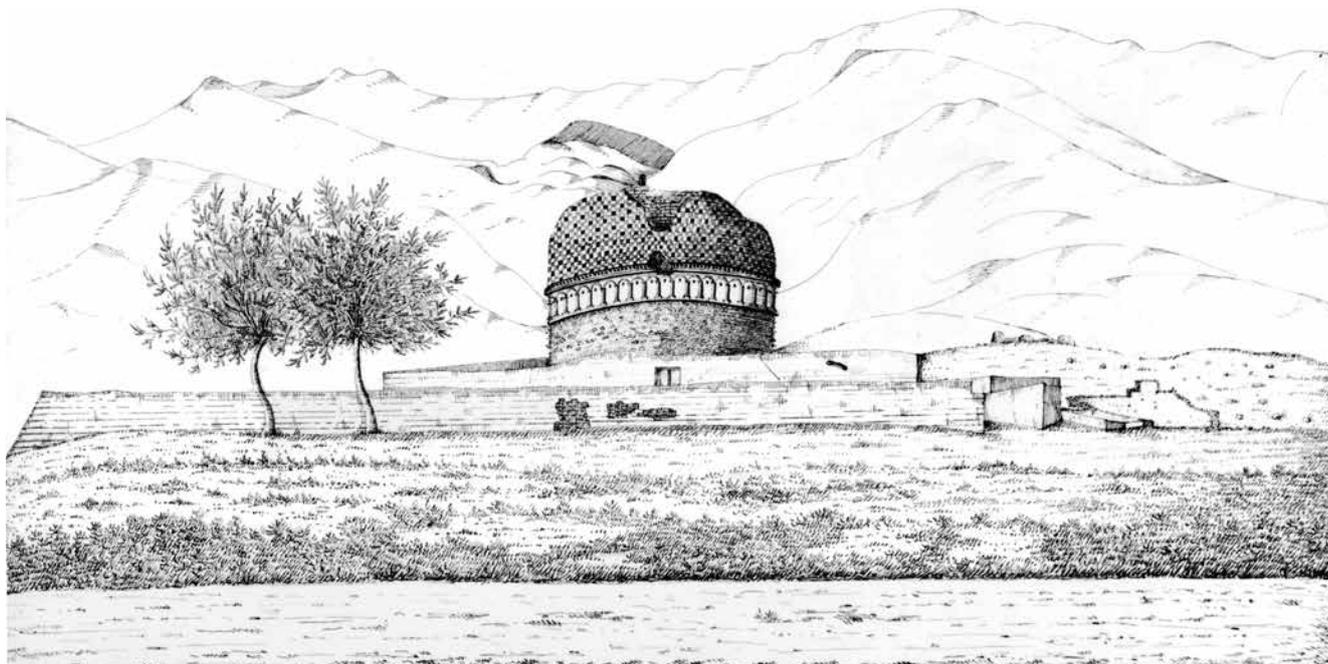


Figure 121 F63 section 2, f. 32: ‘Tope Bimaran [3] Darunta near Jalalabad’ from the south. British Library

Figure 122 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 27.1: Bimaran 3 from the west. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 123 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 27.2: Bimaran 3 from the south-west. Kyoto University 1965



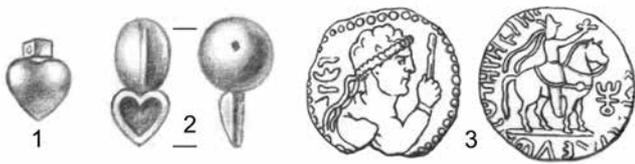


Figure 124 Bimaran 3 relic deposit A

IIIc; E164 f. 149 (sketch); F63 section 2, ff. 32–3; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 117, Stupa 8, pl. 27.1–2; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 58, no. 127, maps 7.3, 113; Bīmārān, lat. 34°28'N, long. 70°21'E; **Figs 120–3; Vol. II, Fig. 44.**

Masson 1841, pp. 72:

This is a tope of the first class; it has a circumference of 144 feet [43.89m; diameter 13.97m], and stands a singular and prominent object in the centre of the village of Bimaran; it is encircled with a handsome belt of a succession of arches resting on pilasters within double lines of mouldings. There can be no doubt of its having been erected on a platform, but the houses built around it conceal it from observation. It was surrounded by walls, the foundations of which mark the limits of the present village. This structure has suffered most on the western side, and, notwithstanding its comparative entire condition, has furnished materials for the construction of the houses and walls of the modern village, and for the graves of the deceased inhabitants. This system of spoliation has probably been carried on for centuries. It was penetrated by M. Honigberger from the west, and in its centre was found a small cupola, which contained a smaller recess, formed as usual by slate-stones.

The stupa lies south of the Darunta-Kotpur road and at the west end of the village. By 1965 the northern half had completely collapsed, but the southern half was still in reasonable condition (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 117, Stupa 8). At the junction between the drum and dome a blind arcade of pilasters with plain capitals supported ogee arches. The upper tier of pilasters in the spandrels had Indo-Persepolitan capitals. The arched spaces appear to have been undecorated, with no dowel holes for sculpture. The remains of a cornice survived above.

According to Masson (1841, p. 72), Honigberger excavated from the west, but his sketch and the 1965 photograph show excavation holes in the south side (F63 section 2, f. 32; Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 27.2). Masson incorrectly records only a single deposit (1841, p. 74). Honigberger dug two tunnels and found two separate deposits: the first (**A**) was excavated at a point just above the cornice of the drum.

Finds

Jacquet 1836, pls XI.8–9, pl. XIII.4; 1838, pp. 171–2. Only the numbered finds were illustrated (**Figs 124–5**):

A). In the centre of the mound was a square cell of large regular slabs of stone cemented together and half filled with pulverised whitish-coloured earth (actually a mix of ashes and other matter, including a resinous substance and fragments of calcined bone). Included at random in this were many precious objects, the most remarkable being

- Circular, folded and crumpled pieces of gold foil.
- Small whitish matt beads of calcined coral.
- 12 calcined pearls or beads; part of a necklace.
- A small gold globule the size of a pearl.

Fig. 124.1: A heart-shaped amethyst attached to a

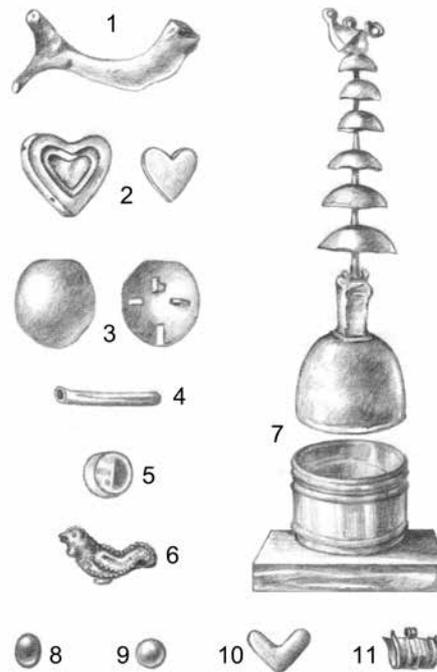


Figure 125 Bimaran 3 relic deposit B

pierced square pendant bail (material not specified). H. 13.5mm.

Fig. 124.2: A gold pendant with a hammered and pierced ovoid ball soldered to a heart-shaped mount for a gem (missing). H. 18mm.

Fig. 124.3: 27 very oxidized copper alloy coins, all different Soter Megas issues of Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113), both didrachms and hemidrachms. The illustrated example has cursive letter forms and a three-pronged tamgha.

B). The second tunnel was excavated at the point between the base of the stupa drum and the rectangular platform on which it stood. In the centre was a small earlier stupa 'which forms the core of all these monuments' (Jacquet 1838, p.174). However, the relic cell was not located as usual in the centre of this edifice, but at the extreme western point of its base. The cell (formed with six stone slabs) was filled to the top with finely pulverized soil in which was deposited:

Finds

Jacquet 1836, pls XI.1–7, 12, XII.18–19; 1838, pp. 174–6.

A very simply worked serpentine box. This held earth mixed with ash and

- Small strips of irregularly folded and rolled gold foil.
- Whitish matt beads of calcined coral (?) from a necklace.
- Calcined pearls.
- A heart-shaped gem (stone not specified).
- A garnet lens.

Fig. 125.1: A fragment of calcined coral. L. 25mm.

Fig. 125.2: A heart-shaped gold mount and its turquoise inlay. H. 12mm, W. 12mm.

Fig. 125.3: A small oval bracteate or button of thin gold, with four attachment rings on the back. H. 12mm, W. 10.5mm.

Fig. 125.4: A tubular gold bead. L. 13mm.

Fig. 125.5: A gold button. D. 5.5mm.

Fig. 125.6: A small gold repoussé cockerel. The contours



Figure 126 Masson 1841, Topes pl. III.d: 'Tope No. 4 at Bimaran'

of such details as the crest, wings and tail are outlined with a row of tiny soldered granules. L. 12.7mm (from beak to tail).

Fig. 125.7: A miniature hammered gold stupa in two parts: a circular drum resting on a square plinth; and a dome surmounted by a *harmikā*. This supports a *chattravali* with six umbrellas terminating in an ornament with three rings for suspending further ornaments soldered to it. H. 63.5mm, D. 15mm (drum), L. 23.5mm (plinth).

The stupa contained a little ash, two fragments of folded gold foil, tiny 'calcined coral' beads (actually seed pearl?) and:

Fig. 125.8: A small garnet lens. H. 4.5mm, W. 3.5mm.

Fig. 125.9: Seven large calcined pearl beads. D. 4mm.

Fig. 125.10: A turquoise heart-shaped inlay. H. 11mm, W. 9mm.

Fig. 125.11: Two small annealed cylindrical gold ornaments each with an attachment ring. L. 6mm.

Bimaran 4

Masson 1841, pp. 74–5, Topes pl. III.d; **Er61/VII f. 2**, 'No. 5'; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 117, no. 9, pl. 28.1; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 58, no. 127, maps 7.3, 113: Bimaran, lat. 34°28'N, long. 70°21'E; **Figs 126–7**.

Vol. III, F526/1a f. 12:

We subsequently opened a small dilapidated Tope [Bimaran 4], about two hundred yards [182.88m] behind, or west of [Bimaran 3], seated amid a number of connected small tumuli, the whole with the great Tope or cenotaph [No. 3] having probably been originally surrounded with a common wall. In this smaller Tope, with other relics, we found six copper coins of this prince [i.e. Soter Megas issues].

Masson 1841, pp. 74–5:

This is a tope of the third class, situated amid numerous tumuli, 120 yards [109.73m] distant, west of the magnificent tope last described [No. 3. The distance is said to be 182.88m above]; it is much dilapidated, and its original circumference was 108 feet [32.9m, diameter 10.42m]. No idea can be formed of its original embellishments. I opened this structure from the north, under the supposition that a connection would be found between it and the preceding monument, being influenced by its contiguity of position: this the event verified. In the centre, and at the base of the foundation, was discovered a small apartment described by slate stones.

The relic deposit (Fig. 128)

Masson 1841, pp. 74–5

[The cell was] filled with an oblong mass of mould, evidently consolidated and prepared, and made to fit in the recess as in a mould. At one of the lower angles of this mass, and inserted



Figure 127 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 28.1: Bimaran 4 stupa from the south. Kyoto University 1965

therein, was found a silver box, in shape resembling the common steatite vases, which contained a small portion of ashes. This box, from its slightness, had become so brittle, as to shiver into fragments when touched. Without the box, in the same mass of earth, were found 17 beads of carnelian, agate, crystal, &c., the figure of a recumbent bull graven on a green stone, and six copper coins of the same type as those found in the preceding tope, two of the smaller, and four of the ordinary sized moneys of the coinage. [...] The coins yielded were of the early currency of the prince they indicate [‘as was evident from the youthful busts on them’ **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 5, figs 90–103].

Er61/VII f. 2: No. 5: 'A shattered silver box, with a variety of beads of carnelian, Sung Sulaimani [agate] &c. with 6 pice of the King of Kings Soterragas [Soter Megas]'.

Er61/VII f. 16: 'Small tope behind Deh Bimaran. Fragments of silver box; 17 beads of carnelian &c; sundry beads of burnt coral &c; green stone figure of recumbent cow; 6 copper coins'.

Figure 128 F526/1b f. 2: Sketch of finds from Bimaran 4. British Library

'fragments of silver box which contained ashes, figure of cow – green stone. Six copper coins, 2 large 4 small. 17 beads of carnelian, sung sulaimani [agate] &c., sundry beads &c. of burnt coral &c.'





Figure 129 Bimaran 4 relic deposit

Finds

Zwalf 1996, no. 669, p. 353; Errington 1998, p. 82, fig. 52; Errington 1999, pp. 215, 233–4, pls 12, 13.3–4; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 153, 286–7, fig. 4.30, no. 340; www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: Bimaran Stupa 4.

Fig. 129.1–2: Two copper alloy didrachms of Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113). Anonymous issues with title in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ (Basileus Basileōn Sōter Megas, King of kings the Great Saviour). Ω is inscribed III on the coins; Σ is inscribed C.

Obverse: Diademed bust of Mithra to right, with a cloak over his shoulder and a varying number of rays emanating around his head. He holds an arrow tied with two pennants in his hand. A tamgha in the left field. *Reverse:* Horseman to right, in a diademed Phrygian cap, holding a goad in his right hand. A tamgha in the right field. Greek inscription.

Fig. 129.1 – IOLC.1589. 12 rays; four pronged tamgha (obverse), three-pronged tamgha (reverse); inscription: with square letter forms: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ. 8.13g. D. 20mm.

Fig. 129.2 – IOC.242. 15 rays; three-pronged tamgha; inscription with cursive letter forms: [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ. 8.07g, 19mm. Wilson 1841 p. 335, no. 8, pl. IX.18; Gardner 1886, p. 114.5, pl. XXIV.3; Cribb and Bracey forthcoming, B.C1b.

Fig. 129.3–6: Four copper alloy Soter Megas hemidrachms of Kujula Kadphises/Wima Takto (c. AD 80–100).

Obverse: Diademed bust of Mithra to right, with a varying number of rays emanating around his head. He holds an

arrow in his hand. A tamgha in the left field. *Reverse:*

Horseman in a diademed Phrygian cap to right, holding a goad in his right hand. A tamgha in the right field. Greek inscription with square letter forms.

Fig. 129.3 – IOLC.1896. 11 rays; four-pronged (?) tamgha; inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ]. 1.91g, 14mm.

Fig. 129.4 – 1880.3740.m. 11 rays; three-pronged tamgha (reverse); inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ. 2.00g, 14mm.

Fig. 129.5 – IOC.245. 9 rays; inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ. 1.91g, 15mm. Wilson 1841, p. 335, no. 9, pl. X.1; Gardner 1886, p. 115.19, pl. XXIV.4; Cribb and Bracey forthcoming, B.C1.

Fig. 129.6 – 1880.3740.l. 9–10 rays (?); three-pronged tamgha; inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ. 1.89g, 14mm.

The only coins remaining in the relic deposits are two hemidrachms 1880.3740.l–m (**Fig. 129.4, 6**). The tamgha of IOLC.1896 appears to have four-prongs on the obverse and either three or four prongs on the reverse. The stylistically similar 1880.3740.m has an illegible obverse and three prongs on the reverse. 1880.3740.l has three prongs front and back. All four examples illustrated here have square letter forms.

Based on the transitions of the style of the busts and the lettering, the earliest Soter Megas issues appear to have square letter forms and four-prong tamghas, followed by four prongs on the obverse and three on the reverse, and then three on both sides. The rays decrease from fifteen down to

five. As the coinage seems to begin under Kujula Kadphises, the 4/4 to 3/3 transition could be intentional, with the intermediate 4/3 reflecting the using up of four-prong obverses at the beginning of the three-prong phase. The transition could be purely arbitrary, but it is suggestive of a change of king. All the Soter Megas coins with the name of Wima [Takto] are of the 3/3 phase, but with cursive lettering (Cribb 2014, pp. 102–4 and personal communication).

Fig. 129.7 – 1880.3496. IM 67 / SKM 1068 / IM. Metal.124. Globular hammered silver reliquary, restored from fragments. The lid fits over the recessed rim of the body. About half the casket survives almost to the base: the bottom edge is uneven with many cracks. The lid is cracked and irregularly broken around an intact prominent bi-conical knob. Body: H. 4cm, D. 7.7cm (rim). Lid: H. 4cm (with knob), D. 7.5cm.

Fig. 129.8 – 1880.3977.h. IM 33 / SKM 1103. Curved wall fragment of a hammered silver reliquary (?). L. 30mm, W. 29mm. A possible fragment of 1880.3496, missed at the time of restoration. A similar silver lidded casket was found in Tillya Tepe burial 5 (Sarianidi 1985, p. 253, no. 14).

Fig. 129.9 – 1880.3538. IM.Gems.4. Bead in the shape of a recumbent lion in dark green jasper, pierced longitudinally. L. 18mm, H. 12mm, W. 4mm. Masson's sketch (**Fig. 128**) identifies this bead as being from Bimaran 4, not the carnelian bead (see **Fig. 313.7**) illustrated and misattributed by Wilson to the site (1841, p. 52, fig. 6, pl. I.6).

An amber lion bead was excavated from Tillya Tepe burial 5 (Sarianidi 1985, p. 253, no. 7). It differs from the Masson examples however in that it has an additional transverse hole through the middle of the body. For other Masson lion beads, see **Figs 280.18; 307.6, 26; 313.5–6**.

Fig. 129.10 – 1880.3995.a–g. IM 44 / SKM 1110 / IM.Metal &c.129 / Kr. 21–23 (pp. 53–4, 56, **Table 4.21–3**). Seven carnelian beads strung together with disc numbered [IM] 44. All have a punched out hollow resulting from the threading hole being drilled through from one instead of both sides. D. 10mm–11mm.

Fig. 129.11 – 1880.3888.a. IM 13 / SKM 1124 / Kr. 18 (p. 53, **Table 4.18**). Spherical carnelian bead, with a hollow around the drill hole. D. 10.5mm, H. 9.5mm.

Fig. 129.12 – 1880.3992.e. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6' / Kr. 20 (p. 53, **Table 4.20**). Carnelian bead, roughly

spherical, with a hollow around the drill hole. D. 11mm. Although listed separately in the South Kensington Museum register, the material, size and method of manufacture links these two beads to the seven carnelian beads 1880.3995.a–g, which suggests they are the two missing beads of the nine listed as IM 44.

Fig. 129.13 – 1880.3992.h. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Agate bi-cone bead with the remains of a stringing thread through the centre. L. 27mm, D. 6mm.

Fig. 129.14 – 1880.3992.i. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6' / Kr. 25 (p. 53, **Table 4.25**). Small rock crystal barrel bead with faceted sides. L. 8mm, D. 5mm.

Fig. 129.15 – 1880.3893.b. IM 14 / SKM 1104 / Kr. 5 (p. 53, **Table 4.5**). Hexagonal rock crystal barrel bead, drilled longitudinally from either end, the drill holes being slightly misaligned where they meet in the centre. The bead is chipped, slightly cracked and worn. L. 16mm, W. 13mm.

Fig. 129.16 – 1880.3992.f. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6' / Kr. 24 (p. 53, **Table 4.24**). Carnelian bi-cone bead. L. 16mm, D. 6mm.

Fig. 129.17 – 1880.3992.d. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6' / Kr. 19 (p. 53, **Table 4.19**). Small carnelian bead. D. 6mm.

Fig. 129.18 – 1880.4103.a–b. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Twelve small spherical red-tinted bone (?) beads, two stuck together. D. 4mm–7.5mm.

Fig. 129.19 – 1880.3942.a–b. IM 28 / SKM 1080. Two spherical, weathered and stained shell (?) beads. D. 4.5mm.

Fig. 129.20 – 1880.3942.c–d. IM 28 / SKM 1080. An irregularly shaped bead and a fragment of blackened or burnt bone (?). D. 6.5mm, L. 3.5mm.

The four beads (**Fig. 129.19–20**) best fit Masson's description of 'burnt coral' and 'burnt pearls' from the Passani and Bimaran stupas, and are similar to those associated with identifiable finds from these sites.

Tumuli associated with Bimaran 4

Masson 1841, p. 96: Group of 12 small tumuli at Bimaran (**Fig. 130; Vol. II, Fig. 46**).

As the two topes [Bimaran 3 and 4] near which they are situated have been satisfactorily identified, I did not examine these inferior tumuli, having no idea that they cover anything more useful than funereal jars, some of which during the last few years have become self-exposed, and have been removed by

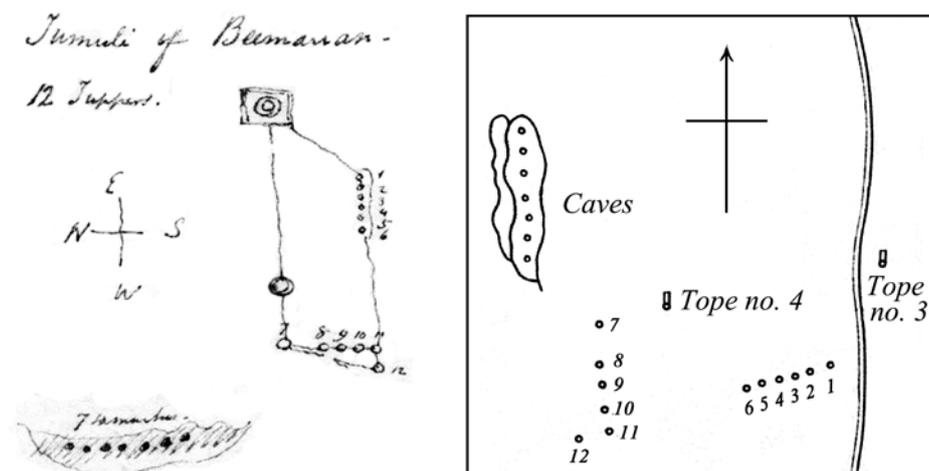


Figure 130 E164 f. 150a / Masson 1841, Topes pl. I: Map of Bimaran tumuli

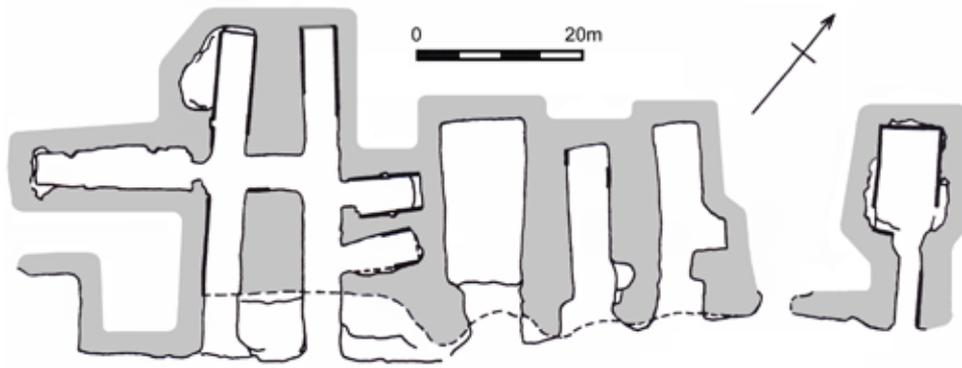


Figure 131 Caves of Bimaran (after Ball and Gardin 1986, p. 423, map 7.3), marked as '7 samotches' (E164 f. 150a)

the inhabitants. Of their connection with the adjacent topes there can be little doubt, and it might be supposed they are assignable to the members of the family of the great prince commemorated by Tope No. 3.

F63 section 1, f. 29: 'In many of [the tumuli] large earthen jars inverted are found, containing skulls, bones and ashes'. None of the tumuli survived by the time of the Kyoto University survey in 1965.

Masson 1841, p. 75 (Fig. 131):

The tumuli, all small ones, ... are twelve in number, and run in two straight lines. ... About 200 yards [182.88m] further west of this small tope [Bimaran 4] commence the inferior eminences dependent on the Siah Koh, in the nearest of which, caves of considerable magnitude are excavated in the escarpments: they have all been lined with cement; one of them has a recess at the extremity, and some of them have many apartments. They of course are connected with the monuments below them on the plain.

Bimaran 5 / Jani Tope

Jacquet 1836, pls VII, XI.10–11, XIII.2–3, 1838, pp. 163–9; Janetope/no. 5 (BM OP 21–8–1835); Masson 1841, pp. 75–6, **Topes pl. IIIe**. E163, section 19, f. 59; E169/I, section 11, f. 91; F63, section 2, f. 21: sketch of stupa; f. 34: finished drawing (Fig. 132). E161/VII f. 10, f. 11, f. 16; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 134, no. 471, map 113; lat. 34°27'N, long. 70°20'E; located across a gorge, c. 1km south of Bimaran village.

E164, f. 150: 'Jani Tope – 3 tuppurs [small tumuli] unopened, 1 large dagope [stupa], 2–3 fair sized tuppurs'. Near Jani Tope are two tumuli which may be reasonably assigned to that structure (Masson 1841, p. 97). Only the main stupa survived in 1965, but its south-east side had collapsed (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 117, Stupa 7, pl. 26).

Masson 1841, pp. 75–6 (Figs 132–3; Vol. II, Fig. 44):

This is a tope of the first class, separated from the preceding monuments of Bimaran by the ravine noticed in our accounts of the topes of Kotpur. It has a circumference of 153 feet [46.63m, diam. 14.84m], and now stands amid cultivated lands. It is very substantially constructed, and is remarkable for the depression of its summit, which merely exhibits a slight convexity of surface. The absence of the usual arches and pilasters may also be noted, the decorative belt consisting merely of two lines of mouldings; the intermediate space, now the cement once covering it has fallen off, discovering two lines of oblong whitish stones, inserted at intervals in a dark body of arranged slate-stones, producing thereby a chequered appearance. It stood evidently on a platform or basement. A tumulus, somewhat to the south, may be presumed to refer to it. It is known in the neighbourhood by the name of Jani Tope, standing on land formerly belonging to Jani, a deceased husbandman. M. Honigberger opened this structure from the north, and in its centre, near the base, discovered no less than three distinct apartments, formed by the usual squares of slate.

Jacquet 1838, pp. 165–6:

Honigberger's excavation at the base of the monument soon exposed an interior construction in the form of a stupa, resembling those which he had already encountered in Shevaki stupa 1 and Kamari stupa 2 in the neighbourhood of Kabul. It was similarly built of the extremely durable combination of a mass of small stones bonded together with a 'lime cement'. Within the mass of this diminutive stupa were six small cells, each made up of six slabs of the same size. The cells were placed one above the other, about 1 foot (30.48cm) apart, except the first and the last between which there was a distance of almost 2 feet (60.98cm). The workmen, while attempting, with some difficulty, to open



Figure 132 F63 section 2, f. 34: 'Jani Tope Darunta' (Bimaran 5) from the south (?). British Library

the top cell, which was sealed with mortar hardened with age, dislodged a large adjoining stone and, in the process, revealed the existence of a large cell within the mass immediately above the core stupa.

Finds: core stupa

Of the six relic cells (1–6) in the core stupa, three contained only dust, possibly mixed with ashes. The three others, including the top and bottom cells, each enclosed a stone box. The three reliquaries were of serpentine (steatite, with ‘flat carved covers’ according to Masson 1841, p. 76), turned on a lathe; their proportions were almost all the same but their shapes were different (Jacquet 1838, pp. 166–9):

Cell 1 (top cell): A turned serpentine (?) reliquary, very simple in form, ornamented only with some beading, and a lid with a detachable knob, as on the reliquary from Barabad (Fig. 171). It contained only ground earth perhaps mixed with ashes and was apparently deposited on a layer of earth.

Cells 2, 4–5: Dust, possibly mixed with ash.

Cell 6 (bottom cell): The reliquary, also with a reticulated contour (i.e. cross-hatched) and decorated with mouldings, did not contain anything more than a mass of compacted earth in which there were some white striations, apparently of some other matter, perhaps human ashes.

Cell 3 (middle cell): The more elegant box (Fig. 134.1) extracted from one of the cells in the centre contained:

- Particles of a whitish, resinous substance weighing about a drachm.
- A very thin piece of gold foil, round and crumpled like the piece from Shevaki 1 (Fig. 49.2–3).

Fig. 134.1: Serpentine (?) cylindrical reliquary with a flat top and base. The straight-sided body had a band of cross-hatching between slightly projecting mouldings. The flat lid had an equally flat knob, figured with a rosette of open petals, encircled by another larger rosette on the lid itself. For similar reliquaries see Kotpur 2 and Chahar Bagh 5 (Figs 85.9, 220). The reliquary also contained:

Fig. 134.2: The decayed remains of a small wooden turned cylindrical reliquary. The straight-sided body was densely etched with parallel ribbing. The flat lid had a knob with a narrow neck and moulded tope culminating in a dimple, which resembled the knobs of reliquaries more commonly found in Taxila and the Peshawar Valley.

Comparable ribbed reliquaries in stone have been found at Manikyala and Taxila (Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 256–7, 266–9, nos 163, 166).

Fig. 134.3: A small gold earring through which was threaded two burnt pearls. For a comparable copper alloy earring from Begram, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3687.m.

Cell 7: A large cell located in the mass of the stupa enlargement, immediately above the apex of the core stupa, contained a certain amount of finely ground earth in which was mixed numerous precious objects:

- A quantity of pieces of gold foil, both open and/or folded.
- Small shells.
- Two or three beads of burnt coral.
- A small crystal cylinder, slightly flattened and pierced lengthwise (i.e. a hexagonal barrel bead of crystal?).



Figure 133 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 26.1, Stupa 7: Bimaran 5 from the north. Kyoto University 1965

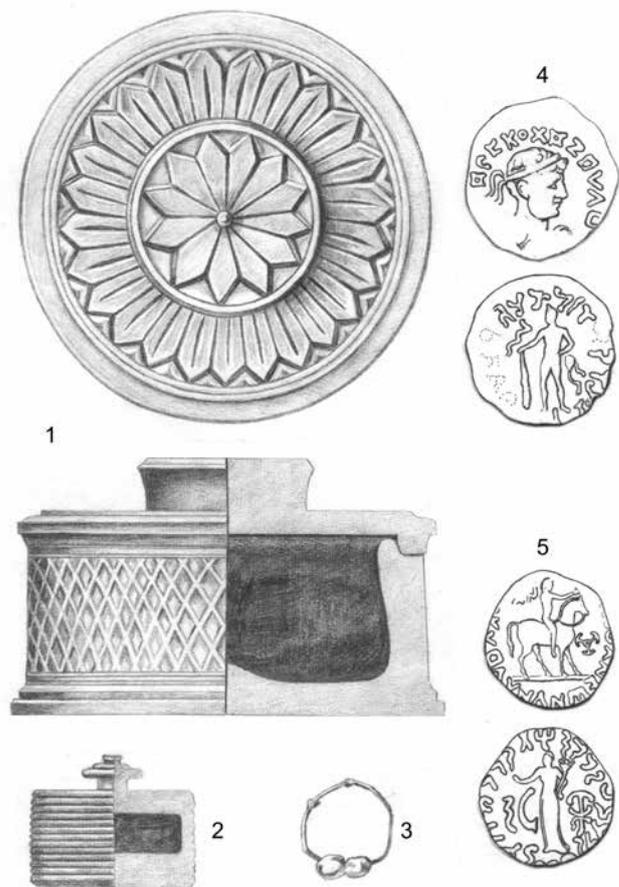


Figure 134 Bimaran 5 relic deposit from Cell 3 and Cell 7

Fig. 134.4: (Jacquet 1836, pl. XIII.3; 1838, p. 167). 28 copper alloy coins of Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90): ‘barbaric imitations of Hermaeus of an uncertain period’. *Obverse:* Diademed bust of king to right, inscribed in Greek KOZOVAO [KAΔΦIZOV K]IOPCNA ‘Kujula Kadphises, the Kushan’. *Reverse:* Heracles standing to front, holding club and lion skin, inscribed in Kharoshthi, ‘of Kujula Kasa Kushan chief, true to the law’.

Fig. 134.5: (Jacquet 1836, pl. XIII.2: illustration of type; 1838, pp. 167–8). Two debased silver coins of Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), issued in the name of Azes: of ‘superior fabric’ to the Kujula coins (see Fig. 80.2 for actual coin illustrated here). *Obverse:* Horseman riding to right, with raised right arm outstretched. A circular device with three spokes in the lower right field; with the initial *mu* of the satrap’s name

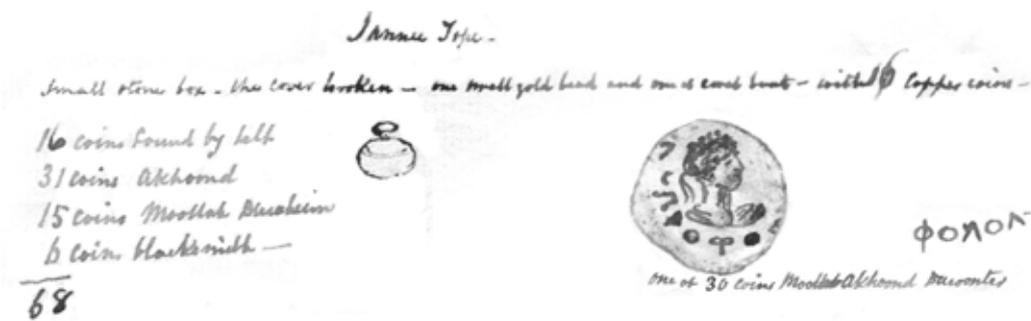


Figure 135 F526/1b f. 2: Sketch of finds from Bimaran 5. British Library

'Jani Tope. Small stone box – the cover broken – one small gold bead and one of coral burnt – with 16 copper coins'.

16 coins found by self

31 coins Akhund

15 coins Mullah Abd-ul-rahim

6 coins blacksmith

68

One of 30 [elsewhere 31] coins Mullah Akhund Darunta ΦΟΛΟΛΑ

behind the horseman's head. Blundered variations of the Greek inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ [ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ] ΑΖΟΥ. *Reverse*: Tyche standing to front, right arm outstretched and cradling a cornucopia in her left. In the right field a Kharoshthi monogram *shighasa* (read from the top); in the left field the Kharoshthi letter *kha*. Kharoshthi inscription *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa ayasa* (king, great, righteous, king of kings Azes).

Masson says that the 'thirty or thirty-one copper coins' also included 'one of the King Unadpherres, Undapherres, or Gandapherres' (Gondophares *c.* AD 32–60), but this is not verified by Jacquet.

Unstratified finds in the mass of the later stupa enlargement

Excavated 17 August 1834 (E161/VII, ff. 9–10; E163, f. 59; Vol. II, Fig. 90.5).

Masson 1841, pp. 76–7:

On a visit to Darunta, I learned that other discoveries had been made in this tope; first, by some boys of Naib Yar Muhammad's castle, who, amusing themselves in the excavation made by M. Honigberger, by overturning a stone, discovered a fourth apartment [*sic* eighth], in which were deposited thirty or thirty-one copper coins; secondly, by an Akhund or village-priest, who, encouraged by the success of the boys, made a more formal search with instruments, and was rewarded by finding a fifth [*sic* ninth] apartment, in which was a steatite vase and thirty-one copper coins; thirdly, by one Mullah Abd-ul-rahim, who discovered a sixth [*sic* tenth] apartment, containing a steatite vase and thirty or thirty-one copper coins. Of the first parcel I was enabled to recover six, the whole, thirty-one, of the second, and fifteen of the third parcel; the steatite vases had been disposed of, and I was unable to recover them. The parcels of six and fifteen coins were of the Hercules type [Kujula Kadphises' imitations of Hermaeus]. The entire parcel of thirty-one coins yielded twenty-six of the Hercules type, four of the horseman type [Mujatria in name of Azes], and one of King Unadpherres [Gondophares], or exactly the number and in the same proportions as had been discovered with the primary deposit by M. Honigberger.

E161/VII f. 16: 'A variety of coins [were] found by various individuals from the same tope between the interval of M. Honigberger's visit and mine; as follows:

Cell 8: Boys found 'about' 30 copper coins of Kujula Kadphises 'in the excavation made by Mr. Martin Honigberger into Jani tope, after he abandoned it'. Masson recovered 6 coins from blacksmith (E161/VII f. 11, f. 16).

Cell 9: Akhund of the village found 30 or 31 copper coins 'with a stone box, at the summit of Jani Tope' (E161/VII, f. 10, f. 11, f. 16). The coins – 26 Kujula Kadphises; 4 Mujatria (mint condition), a worn Gondophares – were bought by Masson.

Cell 10: Villagers/Mullah Abd-ul-rahim found a steatite reliquary and 30 or 31 copper coins. 15 Kujula Kadphises coins were purchased by Masson (E161/VII, f. 16).

Cell 11 was discovered by Masson at the summit of the stupa (1841, pp. 77–8):

I subsequently directed a search to be made at the summit of this monument, which is readily accessible from the east, with a view of ascertaining whether there were grounds for the belief I entertained, that a series of deposits might be made in it from the top downwards. I was confirmed in my belief, and discovered an apartment containing a steatite vase, in which were a few ashes, one small hollow bead of gold, and one of burnt coral, with 16 copper coins of the Hercules type: the latter, indeed, were placed without the vase. I thus became possessed of sixty-eight coins exhumed from this tope, those of the dominant type all certainly of the same age, but no one of them permitting the recognition of the name of the prince. They are all of indifferent execution, and plainly refer to one of the later princes of the family. The [Mujatria] coins of the horseman type were in excellent preservation, as are all those (few indeed) that we have met with. The coins of King Unadpherres [Gondophares] were much worn. ... The coins of the series, to which belong those found in this tope, have only two recognizable names on the leading and earlier specimens, viz., Hermaeus and Kadphises.

Finds of cell 11 (summit deposit of later enlargement)

E161/VII ff. 9–11, 17; Zwalf 1996, no. 644, p. 343; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 136–7, 286–7, fig. 4.18, no. 337; Errington 1999, pp. 214, 233–4, pls 12–13.1. www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: Bimaran Stupa 5.

Fig. 136.1 – 1880.28. IM 16 (body) / IM 6 (lid) / SKM 974. Globular lathe-turned steatite reliquary casket with a broken lid. The flat knob on top of the lid has a flower with 11 lozenge-shaped petals crudely executed in low relief. The



1



2

3



Figure 136 Bimaran 5 relic deposit from Cell 11 and coins found in the mass of the later enlargement

only other decoration is a narrow horizontal groove on the rims of the lid and body, but the surface has not been polished to remove the indentations caused by the lathe, which are still visible on the lid, especially around the knob. The underside of the reliquary has an oblong recess, probably a mortise to hold it in position for turning. H. 7.6cm, D. 7.1cm.

Identification is based on Masson manuscript drawing and records of a 'small stone box – the cover broken' (**Fig. 135**, F526/1b f. 2; **Er61/VII f. 10, f. 16**). The reliquary contained 'a few ashes', a small hollow gold bead and a 'burnt coral' bead (i.e. pink tinted bone?).

Fig. 136.2 – 1880.3851.k. IM 23 / SKM 1115. A small gold bead made from two joined hollow hemispheres of hammered gold with a larger drill hole on one side and a mastic (?) infill. D. 4mm, H. c. 2mm.

Fig. 136.3 – 1880.4112.b. IM 51 / SKM 1093: Small red-tinted bead of bone (?), identifiable as one of Masson's 'burnt coral' bead (probable type only; the bead was found with material from Bimaran 2; see **Fig. 119.28**, 1880.4112.a). D. 6mm, H. 5mm.

The reliquary was encircled by 17 bronze coins of Kujula Kadphises (**Er61/VII f. 10**); only 16 were dispatched (**f. 16**).

Coins from later stupa mass

Eighteen Kujula Kadphises coins (1880.4135.a–r) were found in IM 9 in 1993. The group originally seems to have been registered as two lots of 12 and 22 coins respectively, i.e. IM 9 / SKM 1091: 'Twelve copper coins extracted from Jani Tope of Darunta'; and IM 10 / SKM 1050 'Twenty-two copper coins. Bimaran' (Appendix 2, pp. 219, 221). The total of 22 combines the 16 coins found by Masson with the 6 purchased from the blacksmith.

To confuse the issue, the labels relating to these coins were located separately. As Franks notes, the 'written labels probably by Mr Masson ... seem [to be] rarely in the trays to which they belong' (**BM-Asia 18–2–1881**). The Masson label '6 coins extracted from Jani Tope of Darunta by a blacksmith and purchased from him' (**Vol. II, Fig. 90.5**) was found in IM 57 / SKM 1096 ('Six copper or bronze coins, three beads, piece of metal ornament, and fragment of gold ornament'), which seems to relate to the finds from Passani tumulus 2 (**Fig. 96.12**: 1880.4113.a–c).

Another label found loose in 'Box 4' – stating in pencil in an unidentified hand 'No. V. Bimaran 15 coins 22' – is recorded by Franks (**18–2–1881a**) as being located in tray IM 18 / SKM 1123 ('10 coins and 3 gold fragments' from Kotpur 2). The total of 15 coins seemingly refers to the coins acquired from Mullah Abd-ul-rahim, but has been amended to 22. A third label, again in pencil and in an unknown hand, notes 'No. 5 Bimaran 31 coins' and matches the number of coins acquired from the Akhund. The labels thus appear to agree with the original total of 68 coins, albeit configured slightly differently. However, according to the South Kensington Museum tally, only 34 coins from Bimaran 5 were transferred from the India Museum in 1880. Since 16 of the 34 coins are now missing from the relic deposit collections, they were presumably transferred without documentation to the Coins and Medals

Department c. 1881–2 and registered without provenance as part of the India Office Collection.

A stray Kujula Kadphises contemporary imitation was also found loose in 'Box 6' (see Kotpur 2, **Fig. 85.8**).

Fig. 136.4–20 – 1880.4135.a–r. IM 9 / SKM 1091 (12 coins); IM 57 / SKM 1096 (6 coins). IM 10 / SKM 1050: 'Twenty-two copper coins. Bimaran' (tray and coins not found). Eighteen copper alloy coins of Kushan king Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90). *Obverse*: Bust of king to right, wearing a diadem with two ties and a cloak knotted in the centre of his chest. Greek inscription: ΚΟΖΟΒΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΒ ΚΟΡΚΝΑ (of Kujula Kadphises Kushan). *Reverse*: Heracles standing to front, with a club in his right hand and a lion skin in his left. Kharoshthi inscription: *Kuyula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa Kushan chief, true to the law).

Fig. 136.4 – 1880.4135.a. ΚΟΖΟΒΛΟ / blundered Kharoshthi *yavuga madhra* (?). 5.03g, 21mm.

Fig. 136.5 – 1880.4135.b. Blundered Greek / [*Ku*]jula *kasa*. 4.51g, 20mm.

Fig. 136.6 – 1880.4135.c. ΟΒΛΟ (?) / worn, illegible. 4.55g, 21mm.

Fig. 136.7 – 1880.4135.d. ΚΟΒ worn and mostly off flan / *Kujula* worn. 4.91g, 20mm.

Fig. 136.8 – 1880.4135.e. ΦΟΛΟΛ / worn, illegible. 5.61g, 20mm.

Fig. 136.9 – 1880.4135.f. ΚΟΖΟ ... ΝΟ / worn, illegible. 5.62g, 21mm.

Fig. 136.10 – 1880.4135.g. Blundered Greek, mostly off flan / [*yavu*]gasa *dhramathida*. 6.03g, 20mm.

Fig. 136.11–20 – 1880.4135.h–r. The inscriptions on the remaining 11 coins are largely off flan and/or worn, with only a few stray letters visible.

11 5.64g, 20mm; **12** 6.38g, 20mm; **13** 4.97g, 19mm; **14** 7.07g, 21mm; **15** 4.06g, 18mm; **16** 2.87g, 18mm; **17** 4.41g, 18mm; **18** 4.07g, 20mm; **19** 5.37g, 20mm; **20** 5.11g, 20mm; **1880.4135.r** 3.95g, 19mm (not illustrated).

'The entire parcel of thirty-one coins [obtained from the Akhund] yielded ... four of the horseman type ... in excellent preservation, as are all those (few indeed) that we have met with' (Masson 1841, p. 78). As already noted, a drawing and ten actual coins of Mujatria collected by Masson survive. This total of 11 examples tallies with the number he acquired at Bimaran 2 and 5, Surkh Tope and Hadda 3. Only the Bimaran 2 coins can be positively identified.

Fig. 136.21: Wilson 1841, Coins pl. VIII.1.

Fig. 136.22 – IOC.203. 9.59g, 20mm (Cribb 2015, no. 86).

Fig. 136.23 – 1838,EIC.90. 9.14g, 21mm (Cribb 2015, no. 19).

Fig. 136.24 – IOLC.888. 9.00g, 21mm (Cribb 2015, no. 63).

Four base silver coins of the Indo-Scythian satrap Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), issued in the name of Azes II. *Obverse*: Horseman to right, with raised right arm outstretched. A circular device with three spokes in the right field; with the initial *mu* behind the horseman's head. Blundered variations of the Greek inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΖΟΥ without a fixed starting point. *Reverse*:



Figure 137 Masson 1841, Topes pl. Vg: Tumulus of Koti Khel on the Surkh Rud



Figure 138 F63 section 2, f. 17: The Darunta plain with Deh Rahman 2 in the foreground, Gudara and Fil Khana in the distance. British Library

Tyche standing to front, right arm outstretched and cradling a cornucopia in her left. In the right field a Kharoshthi monogram *shighasa* (read from the top); in the left field the Kharoshthi letter *kha* forms part of a double fall of drapery. Kharoshthi inscription *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa ayasa* (king, great, righteous, king of kings Azes).

Koti Khel

Masson 1841, p. 97 (Fig. 137):

On the immediate bank of the Surkh Rud is seated a large tumulus, which I suspect to have been the burial-place of a village, rather than belonging to topes or of the character of ordinary tumuli. It bids fair to be washed away by the river, which has already assailed its southern face. On its summit is a Muhammadan burial-place, distinguished by its venerable gaz or tamarisk trees, and one of those graves of extraordinary dimensions, common in this part of the country, which are generally revered as shrines by the Muhammadans, and mostly connected with their legends of Hazrat Ali.

Deh Rahman / Umar Khel

Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 89, no. 283, map 113: Deh-i Rahman, Amara Khel; lat. 34°28'N, long. 70°22'E. 1.5km north of Bimaran and 12km west of Jalalabad. The village no longer exists.

F63 f. 37: 'Deh Mulluk Rahman or sometimes called Umar Khel of Darunta, a village of 50 houses built around the large Tope and surrounded with a wall of mud with towers at the angles. [It] has a fine well of water besides canals from the Surkh Rud'.

Masson 1841, p. 79: Topes of Deh Rahman (Fig. 138).

Proceeding a little northerly from the last group of topes at Bimaran, we cross the ravine before alluded to, and a very short distance from it we arrive at a tope situated amid cultivated land; and still a little beyond it, at the small walled-in village of Deh Rahman, in the centre of which, as at Bimaran, stands an imposing tope.

Deh Rahman 1

Tope Abbie/Abbee is identified as Deh Rahman 1 from Masson's compass reading and his drawing of the reliquary:

E164 f. 132; Fig. 141. Masson 1841, p. 79, Topes pl. III.f.

E161/VII f. 11, f. 12; Mizuno 1970-1, p. 117, Stupa 6, pl.

25.6; **Figs 139-40.**

Masson 1841, p. 79:

This tope, the first reached, is of the second class, and is much dilapidated; its circumference was originally 108 feet [32.92m, diam. 10.47m]. We penetrated it from the north, and, after excavating about 8 feet [2.44m], discovered a small apartment, from which was produced a diminutive steatite vase. ... This deposit could scarcely be considered as the primary one, and the excavations were therefore continued to the centre of the building, where, finding nothing, I changed the direction of our labours with a view of reaching the base of the structure. We had descended some feet, and were gratified by the appearance of slate-stones, an auspicious omen as contrasted with the more substantial masonry of the pile, when, to my disappointment, the tope became filled with water: in fact, we had converted it into a well. I made some ineffectual attempts to drain off the water, but was ultimately compelled to abandon the monument, with, it may be, the primary deposit remaining in it. I had gained, however, one of the secondary deposits sufficient to allow of the appropriation of the edifice.

Finds

E161/VII f. 2, 'No. 3'; **f. 16;** F526/1b f. 2; Zwalf 1996, no. 650, p. 345; Errington 1999 pp. 213, 231-2, pls 10-11.10.1; Jongeward *et al.* 2012 pp. 140, 290-1, fig. 4.22, no. 375.

Masson 1841, p. 79 (Fig. 144):

A diminutive steatite vase, containing a number of minute copper coins, much corroded, and so cemented together as to form one mass: one or two of them enabled us to verify them, as of the Hercules type.



Figure 139 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. III f. 2: 'Tope No. 1 at Deh Rahman'



Figure 140 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 25.6: Deh Rahman 1 from the south-west. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 141 F526/1b f. 2: Sketch of reliquary from 'Tope Abbie'. Deh Rahman 1. British Library.
'containing fragments of small silver box and sundry small copper coins'

Fig. 142.1 – 1880.171. IM 3 (lid) / IM 5 (body) / SKM 949. Stupa-shaped turned reliquary of light grey-green steatite with a domed lid. The cylindrical body has mouldings around the bottom and top, with a wide flat lip. It is slightly chipped and discoloured. The flat base has the oblong recess commonly found on lathe-turned reliquaries from Darunta and neighbouring regions. The lid has the remains of a low, circular, slightly flared, smooth knob on the crown and a fillet encircling the point above where the flange fits neatly inside the body. H. 5.7cm, D. 5.2cm (body); D. 3.8cm (lid).

The 'fragments of a small silver box' found inside the steatite reliquary are not included in the itemized list of dispatched finds (**Er161/VII f. 16**), but may survive among

Figure 142 Deh Rahman 1 relic deposit



the unattributed silver fragments in the collection (see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3497.e–g).

A stone, four narrow fragments of cotton and a small piece of paper inscribed in ink 'India Museum Masson Collection' are now found inside the reliquary, although – the label apart – they bear no obvious association with the Deh Rahman 1 deposit.

The stone has been identified as realgar (an arsenic sulphide mineral, also known as 'ruby sulphur' or 'ruby of arsenic') which has deteriorated to form an outer crust of arsenolite (BM Res. Lab. no. 6641). Used as a red paint pigment, it was an important item of trade in the Roman Empire. L. 17mm, H. 11mm.

Four cotton fragments: The weave is a simple tabby (1 over/1 under) and both warp and weft were Z-spun, single ply cotton (BM Conservation, Organics Section). L. 70mm, W. 15mm (longest fragment).

1880.3885.m–n, p; 1880.4098.d

Four small rectangular copper alloy coins, corroded and defaced, but recognizable by their size, fabric and the faint traces of a rider on horseback on one of them as issues of the Indo-Scythian satrap Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), son of Kharahostes. The coins also best fit the description of the Deh Rahman Stupa 1 deposit containing a number of 'minute, very corroded copper coins', of which one or two Masson recognized as being 'of the Hercules type'. No Kujula Kadphises coins of the type with Heracles reverse and in a comparable worn and corroded condition now exist in the collection.

Obverse: Mounted rider on horseback, with Greek inscription either naming Azes II or illegible. *Reverse:* Either a seated Apollo or a standing Heracles. These coins were issued with two different types of Kharoshthi inscriptions, one naming Mujatria: *ksatrapasa kharaostaputrasa mujatriasa*, the other Azes II: *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa ayasa* (Cribb 2015; see **Fig. 14** above).

Fig. 142.2 – 1880.3885.m. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Worn copper alloy rectangular coin. *Obverse:* Traces of a horse and rider to right. *Reverse:* Traces of a figure (?). 1.78g, 10mm x 14mm.

Fig. 142.3 – 1880.3885.n. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Worn copper alloy rectangular coin with SKM label '1121' pasted on one side. 1.92g, 13mm x 14mm.

Fig. 142.4 – 1880.3885.p. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Worn, thick, small and almost square copper alloy coin. 1.9g, 10mm x 11mm.



Figure 143 F63 section 2, f. 36: 'Tope Deh Rahman. 50 paces from the north'. British Library



Figure 144 Masson 1841, Topes pl. IIIg: 'Tope No. 2 at Deh Rahman'



Figure 145 F 63 section 2, f. 35: 'Tope Umar Khel Darunta'. British Library

Fig. 142.5 – 1880.4098.d. IM 63 / SKM 1113. Worn square copper alloy coin, with traces of lettering on both sides. 0.9g, 9mm x 9mm. This coin was misplaced in an adjoining tray containing a clay sealing and beads from Wardak 7.

Deh Rahman 2 / Amara Khel / Umar Khel

Et61/VII f. 11; F63 section 2, ff. 35–7; Masson 1841, p. 80, Topes pl. IIIg; Simpson 1880, p. 53; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 116, Stupa 5, pl. 25.5; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 89, no. 283, map 113. **Et61/VII f. 12:** 'The most enormous Tope in these countries' (**Figs 143–6**).

By 1965, the village had disappeared and only 'debris' of the stupa remained beside a recently dug canal. However, the state of the stupa mound looks much the same in Masson's sketches as it does in the 1965 photograph.

Masson 1841, p. 80:

This is a tope of the first class, and remarkable for its extraordinary dimensions, having a circumference of 180 feet [54.86m, diam. 17.46m]. It is seated in the midst of the small village of Deh Rahman, from which it soars a conspicuous object. The upper part has suffered much from the assaults of time, and it is easy to ascend to the summit; the decorative belt has also been nearly effaced, although enough of it remains to show its nature; it consisted of double lines of massive mouldings enclosing a succession of flat pilasters. The intermediate intervals, now that the cement has fallen away, exhibits that chequered appearance so common to all topes. This tope had flights of steps to the east and west, perhaps also to the north and south; but on the two latter points their indications are not very apparent. It is to be noted, that these flights of steps ascend up what appears to be the body of the tope to the inferior line of mouldings: in other structures they are found attached to the basements on which they rest. With

this tope, indeed, traces of a basement are not perfectly discernible: there may certainly have been one, and it would be singular that so enormous a pile should have been raised on a yielding alluvial soil, without being provided with a secure foundation. The tope has considerably subsided into the soil, as have all the topes of Darunta erected on the same alluvial plain. This monument was originally enclosed within walls of masonry, the foundations of which are still seen: they have a breadth of 4 feet [1.22m], and a length on each face of about 150 feet [45.72m]. M. Honigberger penetrated this mass from the west, but discovered no relics. I heard, however, from the workmen employed that in the centre were found three or four large stones, placed in a perpendicular position. I resumed operations, and prosecuted them towards the foundation, until it was passed, or until the masonry had ceased. I was still not satisfied that the earth found was that of the true soil, from it appearing to have been cleansed of all foreign substances, save the occasional fragment of charcoal, in itself a suspicious token. I continued therefore our labours, but they proved fruitless.

Figure 146 Mizuno 1970–1, p. 116, Stupa 5, pl. 25.5: Deh Rahman 2. Kyoto University 1965





Figure 147 F63 f. 15: 'Darunta, with Nandara Tope, Surkh Tope and Surkh tuppens and tumuli'. British Library.

'1. dark line of hills stretching from the Karghar of Laghman to Bukilli [?] of Kunar. 2. this summit snowy. 3. snowy hills north of Darunta Nur on which is a celebrated lake or pool of water, and where the Ark is said to have rested. 4. undulating sandstone elevations stretching from Darunta to Jalalabad. 5. reddish. 6. dark iron blue. 7. yellowish. 8. yellow'

Simpson (1881, pp. 195, 202) calculated the dome diameter as c. 100 feet (29.09m) and the circumference as 300 feet (91.4 m): there is a discrepancy between this and Masson's measurements above. One unopened tumulus associated with the stupa (Masson 1841, p. 97), may have been excavated by Pigou (see pp. 130–2 below).

Surkh Tope

Masson 1841, p. 81, **Topes pl. IIIh**; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, no. 26, pl. 31.3 incorrectly names one of the larger tumuli, Masson's no. 2 as the main stupa (**Fig. 150: E164 f. 150a**). However its location as the most northerly of the three structures on Masson's plans identifies it on Mizuno's map as no. 28 (1970–1, fig. 24, pl. 31.5); Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 263–4, no. 1125, map 113; Surkh Tūp, lat. 34°28'N, long. 70°21'E (**Figs 147–52**).

Surkh Tope is located on the lower slopes of the Siah Koh, about 400–500m south-west of Nandara Stupa 1 (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119). According to Masson's site plan (**Fig. 150**), the main complex was built on a terrace and comprised a large stupa within a courtyard surrounded by subsidiary 'apartments' and monastic walls. Caves were cut into the 'perpendicular escarpment' on the east side. Five additional stupas were associated with the site: two larger ones on the southern terrace and three small 'tuppens' or 'tumuli' on more level ground to the south-east (**Fig. 150**). The ruined main stupa only measured 8m diameter and 2–3m high by 1965, but Masson records that the drum was decorated with a band of alternating pointed and trabeated arches.

Figure 148 Masson 1841, Topes pl. Vf: 'The superior tumuli of Surkh Tope with that tope and Tope Nandara'



Masson 1841, p. 81: Surkh Tope, or Red Tope.

This is a tope of the third class, called Surkh Tope by the natives, from the materials employed in its construction, which are stones broken from the rock on which it stands. It is distant about 700 yards [640m] west of Tope No. 1 of Deh Rahman, and is perched on the first eminence of the lower hills of the Siah Koh range. It is much dilapidated, and is remarkable for the peculiarity observable in the encircling belt, a portion of which only remains; each circular arch therein being alternated by one of three sides. Adjacent to the tope are tumuli of the same red appearance, and around the structure are a variety of parapets of masonry, describing apartments, &c. M. Honigberger opened this tope from the north: in its centre was discovered a chamber of larger dimensions than usual, and slate-stones were not employed, while the sides were lined with cement [lime plaster]. On one of the sides was painted a human figure, as I learned from the workmen employed by M. Honigberger, who was not present at the discovery: this was destroyed by the workmen in their efforts to detach it. From the accounts of the workmen, no very competent judges, it was an erect figure. The eminence on which this tope stands has a perpendicular escarpment towards the plain, and in it are excavated some of the usual caves. There was nothing to tempt a renewal of the examination of this structure; but on wandering about its precincts accident disclosed a coin, which, although much defaced, enabled us to identify it as of the series of the horseman type, from the symbol that was visible upon it [Coins, pl. VIII.1].

The painted image was presumably of the Buddha. The report might be garbled, for the existence of a fresco suggests that it was unearthed in one of the chapels or shrines – Masson's 'apartments' – adjacent to the stupa, rather than it being found within the actual relic chamber.

E164 f. 150a: 'Here my young man Hassan found a copper coin, a very pleasant occurrence – as the symbol (—) sham proves it Nysian'. Arrian (V.1.1–2.2) locates Nysa, the city visited by Alexander the Great in BC 326, in the mountainous region between the Cophen (i.e. Kabul) River and the Indus. Masson identifies the site with 'Nagara[hara], its successor in rank and consequence' and with the ancient urban remains of Begram to the west of Jalalabad (1836a, p. 5).

This surface find is identifiable as a coin of the Indo-Scythian satrap Mujatria, possibly IOLC.889, the most worn coin of this type in the Masson Collection.

Fig. 153 – IOLC.889. Base silver coin of Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), issued in the name of Azes II. *Obverse:*



Figure 149 E164 f. 147: Sketch of Surkh Tope. British Library

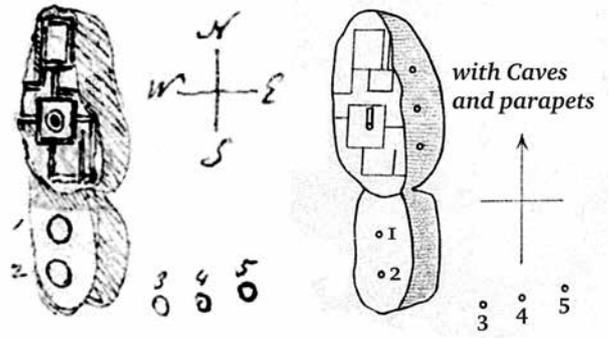


Figure 150 E164 f. 150a; Masson 1841, Topes pl. I: Map of the stupa and tumuli of Surkh Tope. 1. 'Large dagoba – unopened'. 2. 'Large dagoba'. 3–5. 'Small tuppurs'. British Library



Figure 151 Mizuno 1970–1, no. 28, pl. 31.5: Surkh Tope main stupa. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 152 Mizuno 1970–1, no. 26, pl. 31.3: Masson's Surkh Tope tumulus 2. Kyoto University 1965

Horseman to right, with raised right arm outstretched. Only traces of the blundered Greek inscription are visible. *Reverse*: Tyche standing to front, right arm outstretched and cradling a cornucopia in her left. In the right field a Kharoshthi monogram *shighasa*. Kharoshthi inscription partly off flan: *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa ayasa* (king, great, righteous, king of kings Azes). 9.34g, 20mm. Cribb 2015, no. 29.

Masson 1841, p. 96: Group of tumuli near Surkh Tope

This group comprises five tumuli, two of considerable size, one of which I examined, but no token was yielded. I was willing to have proceeded with the inspection of the other, although I



Figure 153 Mujatria coin of the same type found at Surkh Tope

could scarcely calculate on its proving more productive, being anxious to verify, if possible, the age of the tope to which it and the others may be supposed to have more or less relation, when close to that building I picked up a copper coin, which, with the precise type unrecognisable, disclosed the symbol which is found on coins of the Azes family. I accepted this fortuitous testimony as an indication of its epoch.

Figure 154 F63 section 2, f. 48: 'Tuppurs No. 1 [right] and No. 2 [left] of Surkh Tope'. British Library

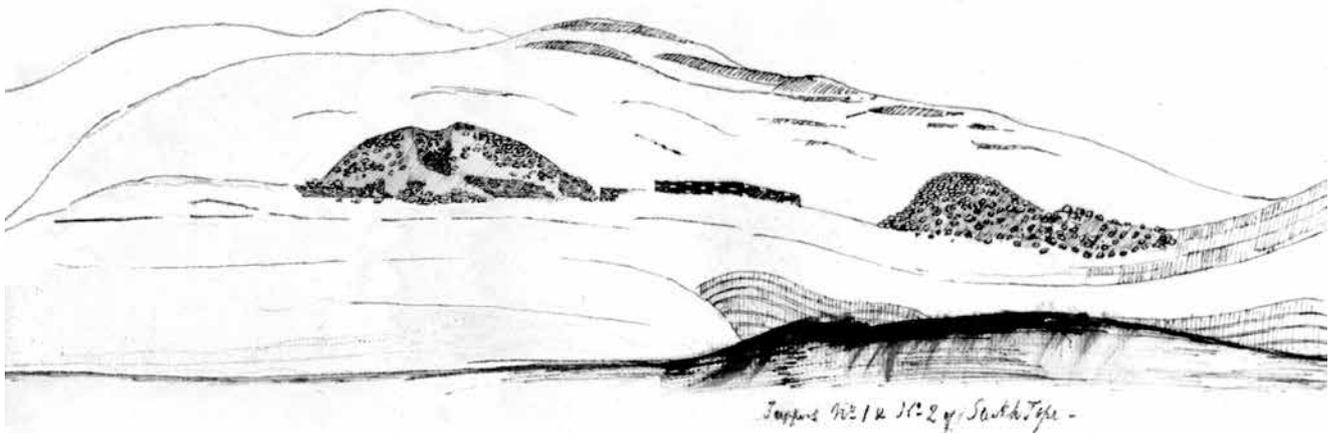




Figure 155 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. Ve: The two superior tumuli near Surkh Tope



Figure 156 Mizuno 1970–1, no. 27, pl. 31.4: tumulus no. 1. Kyoto University 1965

Tumulus 1 (Figs 154–6)

Not excavated. The stupa measured 8m in diameter and 2–3m high in 1965 (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, no. 27, pl. 31.4).

Tumulus 2 (Figs 154–5)

Excavated by Masson; no finds. The stupa core contained reinforcement walls radiating from the centre (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, no. 26, pl. 31.3: incorrectly identified as Surkh Tope).

Nandara

Masson 1841, p. 81 (**Vol. II, Fig. 47**):

On the same line of eminences, on which the preceding or Surkh Tope is erected, stands a very superior tope, called by the natives Nandara Tope or Khasta Tope; the latter term in Pushto signifying wonderful. Beneath it, but on the ascending plain, is a small dilapidated tope.

Masson 1834a, p. 330:

The famous Nandara tope, 164 feet [50m] in circumference, was opened in eight days; a much inferior one on the level plain, from which I now expect something, and which has a circumference only of 108 feet [33m], has now employed the same number of men twelve days.

Nandara 1 / Khasta Tope

E161/VII f. 2, no. 6, **f. 11, f. 16**; F63 f. 15 (sketch: **Fig. 147**); ff. 38–41 (untitled ink, wash and watercolour sketches including Nandara 2); Masson 1834b, p. 330; Masson 1841, pp. 82–5, **Topes pl. IVa**, c. Trebeck 1834, pp. 574–6; Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, pp. 363–4; Simpson 1879–80, p. 44, 1881, pp. 202–3; Swinnerton 1879, p. 200; Foucher 1942, I, p. 153 (plan), p. 173, pl. XXXII.d; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 116, stupa no. 1, pl. 24.1–2; Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 191–2, no. 761, map 113; Nandarra/Darunta/Khaisa Tope, lat. 34°28'N, long. 70°21'E (**Figs 157–61**).

Moorcroft and Trebeck 1841, pp. 363–4:

[The stupa] was of the same style and form as the others, but larger and more entire. It rose from a square platform, about seventy-six feet [23.16m] on each side, ornamented with pilasters, with simple bases but rather curious capitals ... the whole supported two slabs, of which the lower was smaller than the upper one. A singular feature in this decoration was its being composed of small pieces of thin slate, cleverly joined together. A flight of steps had formerly led up the southern side of the platform, but nothing remained of them except a

projecting pile of ruins. On the platform stood the building [stupa dome], called by the people the burj [tower]. The lower half rose by perpendicular sides, and was surmounted by a cornice, whilst its centre was marked by a semi-circular moulding, and the space between the cornice and moulding was ornamented by a band of superficial niches, like false windows in miniature, arched at the top, and separated by small pilasters. The upper half of the building was smaller in diameter than the lower, and of a conical outline, but much of the top had fallen down. Intermixed with the brown slate of which it was chiefly constructed were pieces of quartz, or of some white stone, which at a distance gave to the exterior the effect of being chequered, or of a chess-board.

Masson 1841, pp. 82–5:

This beautiful tope, of the first class, is seated on an eminence of the Siah Koh, distant about 400 yards [365.76m] from Surkh Tope to the north, and about 500 yards [457.2m] to the west of the large tope of Deh Rahman. It has a circumference of 144 feet [43.89m; diam. 13.87m]. It rests on a magnificent basement, of variable depth, being accommodated to the unequal surface of the rock. A flight of steps is carried up the basement on the eastern side, which we may safely pronounce the superior one. This tope is embellished with a splendid encircling belt, consisting of double lines of mouldings, and a succession of finely turned arches and pilasters. The exterior surface of the pile from the lower line of mouldings upwards is covered with dark and fashioned slate-stones, arranged in the most curiously neat manner, while successive lines of oblong white stones concentrically surround it, being inserted at intervals. The effect produced by this diamond or chequered arrangement is nowhere so advantageously displayed as in this tope. This species of architectural peculiarity we cannot decide to have been general in the ordinary buildings of the epoch to which the tope refers, as none of them remain. We observe it, however, in all sepulchral monuments, and it may have been peculiar to them. This tope, from the lower line of mouldings upwards, was also covered with cement [lime plaster], as was the basement. Its body from the lower line of mouldings to the basement (like those parts of all others) has now so rugged an appearance that we neither discover any traces of its having been covered with cement or even of its surface having been finished with slate-stones after the manner of the upper part of the tope, yet we cannot positively affirm that it was not so finished. ... The basement is alike embellished with imposing lines of mouldings, enclosing a series of pilasters with striking capitals and pedestals. On the eastern front, above the higher line of mouldings and the encircling belt, is an aperture. It is probable there was originally a small niche here, containing a statue or

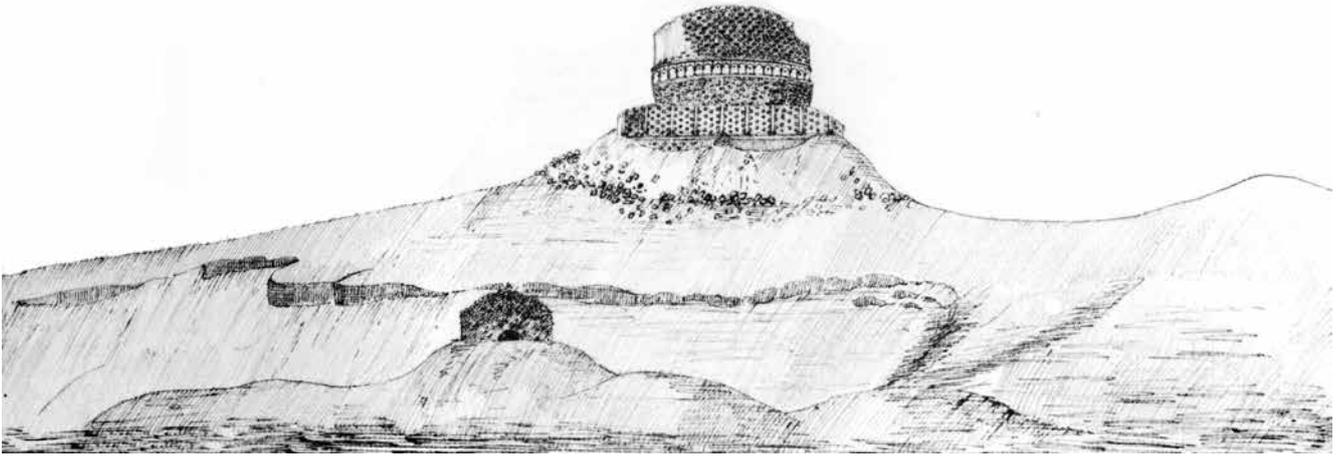


Figure 157 F 63 section 2, f. 38: untitled sketch of Nandara stupas 1 and 2. British Library

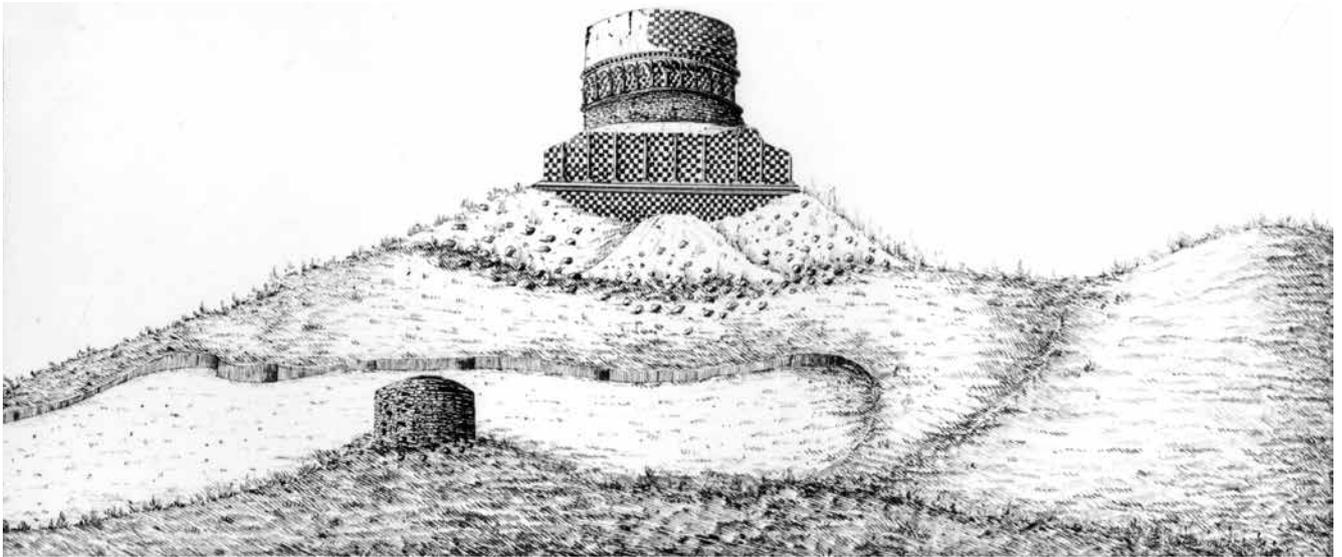


Figure 158 F63 section 2, f. 41: untitled sketch of Nandara stupas 1 and 2 from the south-west. British Library

idol, which has been wilfully destroyed at some former period. Similar apertures are found in like situations in many topes. ...

M. Honigberger opened this tope, or rather its basement, from the north, and penetrated to the centre without discovering any deposit. He then excavated at each angle of the basement, but elicited nothing. I directed operations on the tope from the east, at the line of its union with the basement, and at the centre found a small cupola [stupa], and within it a small compartment described by slate-stones, whose internal sides were covered with sindur, or red lead [probably ochre]. In the mysterious recess was a box of bark of tree, enveloped with tuz [birch bark]-leaves, formed into a twist at the top, and bound with a thread. These originally fragile materials had become so decayed as to crumble on being touched. On their removal it was found that the bottom of the box of bark had entirely disappeared – the consequence of contact. ... A few ashes, and a piece of clay ... were the only contents of the box. ... In the apartment without the bark casket was a small quantity of loose earth, amongst which were fragments of tuz-leaves [birch bark manuscript], also completely pulverized, but which clearly had been originally formed into a twist, and bound with thread. These contained Bactro-Pali [Kharoshthi] characters, but the state in which the faithless record was found rendered it impossible to do anything with them, even to copy them. The bark casket had been curiously painted, and, had it been well preserved, might have been more highly prized than a more costly relic. ... The absence of the usual accompaniments of

beads, gems, coins, &c., will here be noted. ... Being willing to procure a coin, if possible, from this monument, and further to test its character, I continued M. Honigberger's excavation to the rock; but nothing further was discovered. I then directed a descent be made from the summit into the centre of the tope, and there a shaft brought to light, filled with carefully sifted mould, the sides being lined with cement. At its bottom was a huge mass of rock, on which was found the iron head of a

Figure 159 Masson 1841, Topes pl. Ivc: Section showing the disposition of the interior of Tope no. 1 at Nandara

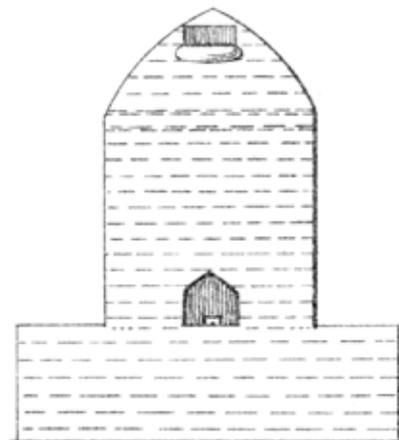




Figure 160 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 24.1: Nandara 1 from south. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 161 Mizuno 1970–1, p.66, fig. 31: Nandara 1 from west. Kyoto University 1965

hatchet. We contrived to dislodge the block, but nothing more was elicited. I have already observed that the peculiarity of a shaft at the summit is to be observed in other topes, but it is not general to all of them.

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 116:

In contrast to the well-preserved south side, the other three sides have completely collapsed; ... no staircase survives and of the square plinth only a small part remains on the west side of which the pilasters have each lost their capitals. The niche zone [blind arcade of ogee arches and Indo-Corinthian pilasters supporting Indo-Persepolitan pilasters in the spandrels] is comparatively well preserved, the pointed arches with Corinthian and Indian pilasters remain in fairly good condition. Each alternate niche has a small hole on the back wall, which probably served to hold a wooden peg for the stucco figures.

The stupa is of rubble construction composed of irregular boulders, only the outer face being dressed and laid more or less evenly in rows with neat little slabs filling the interstices [i.e. diaper masonry]; ... the outer face was originally plastered over entirely with a facing of lime.

Finds

(**Ex161/VII f. 2; Vol. II, Fig. 89.6**): ‘No. 6, Fragments of a box of tuz leaves [bark reliquary], with the impression of a seal on clay’.

1880.3891.a–b. IM 66 / SKM 1086. ‘Fragments of bark painted’. A label in Franks’ handwriting ‘Tuz leaves? Fragments of bark painted’ found with tray IM 66, indicates that the two were mixed together prior to the bark fragments being extricated for conservation *c.* 1992. Fragments of the reliquary were also mixed with unrelated objects in several other trays (see 1880.3991.c, i below).

Fig. 162.1 – 1880.3891.b. Numerous fragments of a birch bark wrapping. These are identifiable as the remains of a wrapper which ‘enveloped’ the bark reliquary 1880.3891.a. It was ‘formed into a twist at the top’, tied with a thread (1880.4101.c) and probably sealed with the clay sealing (1880.3891.e). According to Masson, the deposit also included fragments of an inscription on birch bark, similarly ‘completely pulverized, but which clearly had been originally formed into a twist, and bound with thread’. Two small pieces of bark (?) thread (**Fig. 162.5**) were in Tray ‘A’,

while the debris (1880.4101.f) from ‘A’ contains minute fragments of birch bark, possibly from this wrapper. The debris from tray SKM 1122 / IM 42 similarly contained pink-coloured fragments of the bark reliquary and of a birch bark wrapper, mixed with ash and tiny specks of iridescent mother-of-pearl: see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3908.m.

Fig. 162.2–3 – 1880.3891.a. Fragments of a bark reliquary with pieces of a birch bark wrapper still attached. The small extant fragments show a circular design resembling a flower bud and straight lines, painted in pink, grey and white on a natural brownish coloured bark. There are also tiny fragments with grey lines and possibly zigzags painted on a white ground.

1880.3891.c, 1880.3891.i. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Tiny fragments of bark reliquaries 1880.3891.a and **Fig. 253** (from Hadda 2); and a piece of undecorated bark. Debris including fragments from the reliquary 1880.3891.a.

Neither Masson’s description nor his illustration (**Fig. 162.3**: Masson 1841, p. 84, Topes pl. IXg, ‘Profile of bark casket found in Tope No. 1 at Nandara’) precisely fit this reliquary. He says: ‘The designs would seem principally to have been circles within circles of various colours, enclosing as their centre a white spot or nucleus; the spaces between them being filled by undulating lines also of diverse colours, while the circumference near the top and bottom was encompassed by belts comprising a series of zigzag lines’. No evidence of circles within circles or a white nucleus survives, but seemingly the top and bottom bands of zigzags were grey on white. Fragments of a second bark reliquary from Hadda Stupa 2 (**Fig. 253**) have yellow zigzag lines, but no circles or any attached fragments of a birch bark wrapper.

Fig. 162.4 – 1880.3891.e. IM 50 / SKM 1111. Broken clay impression from a seal, depicting a man in tunic and trousers and a woman in a long dress facing each other and clasping hands; both figures have a long garland or scarf draped over the shoulders and hanging down behind. The back of the sealing is uneven with the remains of a piercing for attachment. H. 18mm, W. 15mm, T. 4mm.

The sealing was found together with ‘few ashes’ inside the bark reliquary. It is described by Masson as ‘the impression



Figure 162 Nandara 1 relic deposit

of two figures holding palm branches in their hands. ... The figures on the clay were very similar, if not identical, with those found on the smaller coins of the Kanerkes [Kanishka] family, and probably were, like them, personifications of NANAIA and HAIOΣ, or of the sun and moon' (Masson 1841, p. 84). The same subject of a couple in an identical pose is found on the Kushan rectangular copper alloy seal from Begram, datable to *c.* 2nd–3rd century (see **Fig. 21.2–3b**).

Fig. 162.5 – 1880.4101.c. Tray 'A'. Two pieces of bark (?), string or thread. L. 20mm, T. 0.5mm; L. 13mm, T. 0.5mm. The string was found with a malachite bead and silver reliquary fragments and lid from Passani tumulus 2 (**Fig. 96.5, 11**); and fragments (1880.4101.d–e) of the two ivory reliquaries from Hadda 4 and the bone reliquary from Wardak 8 (**Figs 258.1–2, 310.1**).

The Passani tumulus 2 relic deposit also contained a 'twist' of inscribed birch bark, but there is no reference to it having been tied (Masson 1841, p. 94). The Yona reliquary (dated by its inscription to *c.* AD 27) contained four similar strands of 'fibrous material' (Salomon 2005, p. 394, fig. 20).

Masson also excavated from the top of the dome of Nandara 1 through its centre, and found a central shaft lined with 'cement' and filled with 'carefully sifted mould', at the bottom of which was the head of a hatchet, lying on 'a huge mass of rock'. He records this in a list of 'Additional relics' (**Er161/VII f. 10**) as 'The head of an axe or hatchet of iron'. It is also included among the 'relics' in package no. 1, dispatched to Pottinger in December 1934 (**Er161/VII f. 16**):

'Tope Nandara: Fragments of tuz leaf; impress of seal on clay; head of iron hatchet', but there is no mention of the bark reliquary, suggesting its fragments were by this time already mixed up with those of the birch bark wrapper.

A head of an iron hatchet is listed in the South Kensington Museum register (Appendix 2, SKM 1043) as one of the objects transferred to the British Museum in the 1880s, but it has not been located.

Nandara 2

Masson 1841, pp. 85–6, **Topes pl. IVa**. F63 ff. 38–41 (ink, wash and watercolour sketches including Nandara Stupa 1); **Er161/VII f. 2**, no. 6, **f. 10**, **f. 11**, **f. 16** (**Figs 157–8**).

The Kyoto photograph (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 116, stupa no. 4, pl. 25.4: **Fig. 163**) is said to be taken from the east, but as it clearly shows Nandara Stupa 1 in the distance, it must be taken from the south. Of the three structures recorded in 1965 (Mizuno 1970–1, nos 2–4, pl. 25.1–4: **Figs 163–6**), pl. 25.4 also best resembles Masson's sketches of Nandara Stupa 2, but its location on the map (Mizuno 1970–1, fig. 24; **Fig. 75**) aligns best with Mizuno's stupa no. 2. The map places nos 3 and 4 to the south-west of no. 2, which agrees with Masson's record of 'two or three tumuli' to the south of Nandara (Masson 1841, p. 85). It therefore appears that the photographs in Mizuno 1970–1 are transposed, i.e. pl. 24.1–2 (**Figs 165–6**) illustrates Mizuno no. 4 (here designated tumulus 2), and pl. 25.4 (**Fig. 163**) illustrates Nandara Stupa 2.

Figure 163 Mizuno 1970–1 pl. 25.4: Nandara 2 from the south, with Nandara 1 visible in the background. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 164 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 25.3: Nandara tumulus 1 from the south. Kyoto University 1965





Figure 165 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 25.2: Nandara tumulus 2 from the south. Kyoto University 1965

Masson 1841, p. 85:

This tope, of the third class, is much dilapidated, and had originally a circumference of 60 feet [18.28m; diam. 5.82m]. M. Honigberger had unsuccessfully employed some days' labour on its remains, and I continued his excavation to the rock, in hope of, by chance, meeting some token illustrative in a remote degree of the superior tope, with which it may be supposed to have some connection. ... I discovered no more useful evidence than a stone of the exact size and shape of a common fowl's egg. Other topes and tumuli have yielded stones, generally spherical ones; and as they are always found in the very centre of the structures, their insertion was intentional, and I suppose had a purport. ... South of this tope and its superior companion, on other and distinct eminences, are two or three tumuli, and in the escarpments are caves.

It is worthy of observation, that at the foot of the eminence on which this minor tope stands, by the slight removal of the soil, human skulls are found, deposited in apartments formed by arranged stones. No other bones are lodged with them. Similar objects are to be found at Sultanpur Bala, two or three miles south of Darunta, and there it occasionally happens that the grave-diggers in their labours fall upon a skull, the modern Muhammadan place of burial being on the site of an ancient Golgotha. The Surkh Rud, also south of the town, has sometimes, in washing away the banks, exposed deposits of skulls. A tumulus of Passani [tumulus 2] has also yielded to my researches a human skull, and beneath it a steatite box with the usual relics. I may also point out, that in the numerous topes and tumuli, in which I have met with large quantities of human bones, I have never detected skulls amongst them.

A hole visible at the base of the dome in Masson's drawing and in the Kyoto photograph indicate that both he and Honigberger dug a tunnel from the south side into the centre. Here Masson found a stone, 'the size and shape of a hen's egg'. He records this in a list of 'Additional relics' (E161/VII f. 10) as 'A small egg-shaped stone ... extracted from a small sized dilapidated tope'. It is also included as 'Small Tope adjacent to Tope Nandara: Egg shaped stone' in package no. 1, dispatched to Pottinger in December 1934 (E161/VII f. 16). It has not been traced among the finds inherited from the India Museum.

Masson 1841, p. 96: Group of tumuli at Nandara Tope.



Figure 166 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 25.1: Nandara tumulus 2 interior from the south. Kyoto University 1965

This group has three tumuli, all small ones. I did not examine them, from the conviction of their being like the topes to which they relate, of a holy nature, and that no profitable tokens would be gained from them.

Nandara stupa 1 is visible in the left background of **Fig. 164**. It can also be seen further away left of the tree in **Fig. 165**, which places tumulus 2 in the position of stupa no. 4 on the Kyoto map (Mizuno 1970–1, fig. 24; **Fig. 75**).

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 164, stupas 2–4:

About 500m south of stupa 1 [Nandara Stupa 1] stand stupas 2, 3 and 4 [Nandara Stupa 2/Mizuno no. 2, pl. 25.4 and two 'tumuli'/Mizuno nos 3 and 4, pl. 25.1–3], being scattered at random about 100m apart from each other. Now they are only small heaps of mud and stone, varying in size between 1.5 to 2.5m in height and some 5 to 10m in diameter. At stupa 2 [*sic*: no. 4, i.e. Tumulus 2], the chamber wall previously dug out is now partly visible.

Tope-i Kutchera, Tope-i Hosen-amanat and Tope-i Fasl

While stationed with British troops at Jalalabad c. 1839–41, an engineer, Lieutenant R. Pigou, recorded the existence of 11 stupas in the Darunta area, 'six of the largest' having already been opened by Masson and Honigberger (1841, p. 381). He says that they 'are built of stone and slate, cemented with mortar, and in some cases merely with mud; all of them possess a chamber from 4 to 8 feet [1.22 to 2.44m] square'. It is not clear what is being described as a chamber here, as the dimensions are far too large for a standard relic cell: the one at Tope-i Kutchera is subsequently said to be only 30cm square (see below). It therefore seems that Pigou misinterpreted the traces, most probably of an earlier original stupa, contained within the outer structures; and mistook the form he partially exposed as four-sided. He adds 'some of them have in addition a shaft running down the centre'. Fussman identifies a similar shaft in the apex of Shevaki stupa 1 as a tenon for the umbrella superstructure (2008, p. 30), and this might be an explanation for its existence here.

Pigou excavated four small stupas in the vicinity of 'Darunta village' (i.e. Umar Khel): 'the method pursued was, to cut, as it were, a slice from the lip to the bottom, reaching to the centre by this means both the central shaft,

and the chamber at the bottom were laid open; out of the four thus opened, one was empty'. Three of the stupas are named: Tope-i Kutchera, Tope-i Hosen-amanat and Tope-i Fasl, none of which can be precisely located. However, Pigou appears to have been active in the area closest to the Kabul River (p. 19 above), so the possible candidates for excavation are Masson's three 'tumuli' near Nandara, one near Deh Rahman, or the one marked on the *Ariana Antiqua* map 'near the junction of the Surkh Rud with the Kabul River', which Masson says 'seems to refer to Tope Gudara on the opposite side of the stream' (Masson 1841, p. 97, Topes pl. I). Of the structures surveyed by the Japanese in 1965, stupa no. 4 (i.e. tumulus 2) is a particularly strong contender as it shows evidence of having been excavated precisely in the way Pigou describes (**Fig. 166**).

Tope-i Kutchera

The relic deposit 'was found in a chamber [i.e. original core stupa] about six feet [1.83m] below the level of the ground; it was contained in a rough case [i.e. cell] made of four slates (about a foot square [30cm]) stuck together with clay; these fell aside on being touched' (Pigou 1841, p. 381).

Finds

Fig. 167.1: Reliquary of 'fine-grained potstone' lathe-turned, with tool marks (particularly inside) and an oblong mortise on the base, by which it was secured on the lathe. The body and lid are decorated with bands of incised lines. The knob has a flower of 11 petals etched in light relief. H. 76mm, W. 81mm, T. 10mm.

Fig. 167.2: Rock crystal, perforated.

Two coins of Mujatria (c. AD 80–90):

Fig. 167.3: King on horseback/lion to right, in own name as son of Kharahostes.

Fig. 167.4: King on horseback/Tyche, in name of Azes.

Fig. 167.5: Coin of Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90):

Bust of king to right/Heracles.

Pigou 1841, pp. 384–5:

[The coins] look so clean that we are inclined to suppose they have been really cleaned; especially as the metal is much eaten and worn. No. [5] has still traces of the carbonate of copper on its face. No. [4] is the only one which we can suspect of having undergone the action of fire, but the boxes bear no trace of this, and I am inclined to think, that they have not been subjected to it. ... The only coin in tolerable preservation is No. [3].

Tope-i Hosen-amanat

The deposit was found 'covered in a manner similar to' the Tope-i Kutchera reliquary, i.e. in a relic cell at the base of the original stupa encased within the core of the subsequent enlargement.

Finds

Fig. 168.1: Reliquary of 'fine-grained potstone' lathe-turned, with tool marks (particularly inside). The flat lid and bulbous base are decorated with incised concentric lines. H. 23mm, W. 37mm, T. 2mm. For examples of this type of relic casket, see Hirayama collection no. 100161 (Tanabe 2007, no. 220b) and Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 258–9, no. 81).

The reliquary contained 'a mixture of light red earth, and grey ashes', and

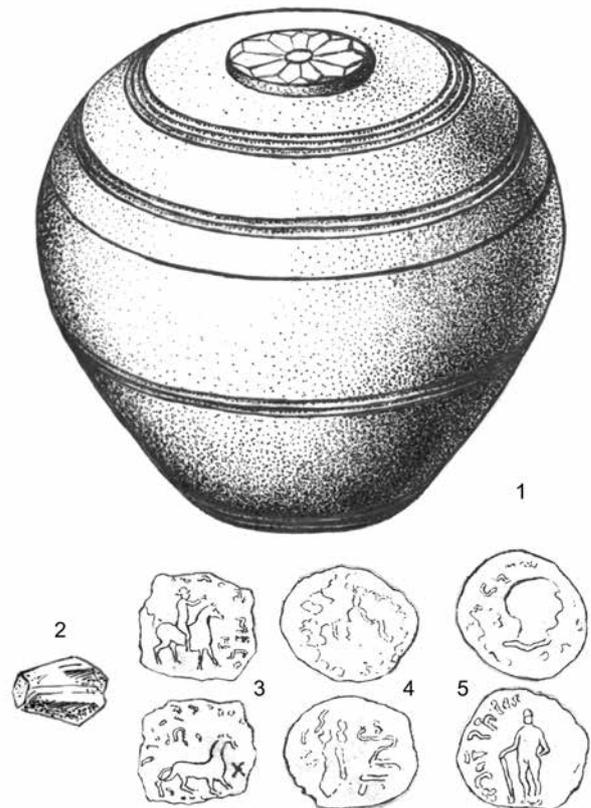


Figure 167 Tope-i Kutchera relic deposit (after Pigou 1841, plate p. 381)

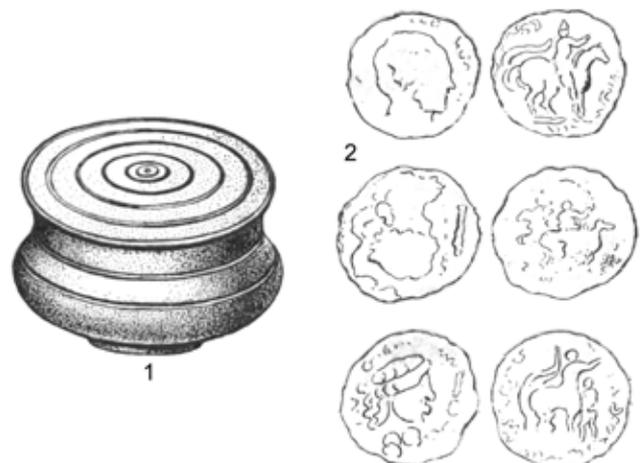
Fig. 168.2: Three copper alloy Soter Megas coins of Wima Takto (c. AD 90–113).

Pigou 1841, p. 384:

The state of the coins is curious: [they] are completely encrusted with crystallized carbonate of copper, with a few detached scales of a whitish oxide, which may be owing to an arsenical or zinc alloy in the copper (?) or to carbonate of lime having penetrated to the coins (?) though this last seems nearly impossible; they are in very minute quantity, and it would not be worthwhile to disfigure the relics by picking any off for examination'.

The finds from Tope-i Kutchera and Tope-i Hosen-amanat were donated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. They may have been transferred to the newly created Indian Museum, Calcutta, with much of the Society's collection in 1876, but have not been subsequently traced.

Figure 168 Tope-i Hosen-amanat relic deposit (after Pigou 1841, plate p. 381)



Tope-i Fasl

No details are given, but the deposit was presumably also found in a relic cell at the base of the original stupa encased within the core of the subsequent enlargement.

Finds

A steatite reliquary, said to be 'similar in shape to the box [from Tope-i Kutchera], but not quite so large. ... It contained a small gold box, in which were placed several pearls, with holes drilled through the centre [i.e. beads], and some small pieces of what appeared to be bone' (Pigou 1841, pp. 381–2).

The gold reliquary with its contents were stolen, the precious metal having 'excited the cupidity of my servants, who have made away with it'. The steatite reliquary was given to 'Dr Athinem'. It has not been subsequently traced.

Barabad / Bar Rabat / Bar Robot / Bahrabad

F63; section 2, f. 44; f. 45 (sketch); Masson 1841, pp. 88–9, **Topes pl. IVe; BM-OP 21-8-1835** and **BM-OP 22-8-1835** Tope no. 4; Jaquet 1836, pl. VII.1–2, XI.1, and 1837, pp. 433–6; Simpson 1880, p. 39, pl. I.1; Foucher 1905, I, p. 73, fig. 19a; Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 122–3, pl. 37; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 52, no. 106, map 113; lat. 34°27'N, long. 70°25'E. A large stupa on the north side of the Kabul River, 4km north-west of Jalalabad and 4km east of Fil Khana.

BM-OP 21-8-1835 (Honigberger Papers No. 4):

Barabad near the river flowing from Kabul towards the town [of Jalalabad], 2 miles [3.22km] from that place, on a hill – construction similar [to other stupas in the region], found a stone box containing a small crystal or glass phial or bottle with a glass stopper, in which were an ashy substance and white grains unanalysed.

Masson 1841, pp. 88–9:

This is a tope of the second class, situated on the same line of sandstone elevations as Tope Gudara, but about three miles [4.83km] further eastward. From the last tope the bank of the river is skirted to reach it, and the various escarpments of the eminences are provided with numerous caves, particularly at the central spot, which, seeming to refer to neither of the topes, may probably relate to a celebrated Tepe, or mound, on the

plain on the other side of the river, and called Tepe Khwaja Lahori. From the caves and temples at Gudara, an ancient aqueduct was conducted parallel to the course of the river beyond Barabad. In many places, it has been cut through the rock, and the water channel has been lined with cement. The tope of Barabad stands on an eminence about eight hundred yards [731.5m] from the river, having contiguous the castle and cultivated lands of Aga Jahan, son of Sirharda Yusef, of some notoriety in his day for rebellions and murders. This structure was opened by M. Honigberger, who found in its centre, at the base, a small recess, from which he extracted a vase of steatite, containing ashes, &c., with, I believe, a mass of crystal. No coins were discovered. ... South of this tope is a large tumulus on a distinct eminence, no doubt connected with it.

The stupa was badly damaged, with only one third of the drum remaining in 1965 (Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 122–3). This was decorated with regularly spaced tall slate pilasters with what appear to be acanthus capitals, also of slate (Simpson 1880, p. 39, pl. I.1). On the surviving arcade two pilasters, with plain capitals and half the height of the rest, supported a single arch and an upper pilaster with an acanthus capital. This suggests that originally there was a niche facing each of the four cardinal points (see Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 37.2). However, the surviving plaster facing is plain and apparently without any dowel holes. There was no evidence of any diaper masonry facing and the masonry was 'rather loose'. The remains of a monastery c. 25m square lay to the south-west and a small stupa 5.20m in diameter and 6m high to the south-east (**Figs 169–70**).

According to Honigberger (Jaquet 1837, p. 433), the stupa stood on an artificial terrace. It measured overall close to 40 feet (12.19m) on the least damaged side, with a cornice of arches and pilasters sited at 30 feet (9.14m) above the base. No details are given of the excavation. Presumably Honigberger tunnelled through a point at the base of the dome. He found the relic deposit in the centre of the lower part of the structure, in a square cell formed by six large stone slabs.

Finds

Fig. 171.1: A globular serpentine or steatite reliquary, decorated on the body with a carved arcade of upright

Figure 169 F63 section 2, f. 44: 'Tope Barabad with its tumulus, from the north'. British Library

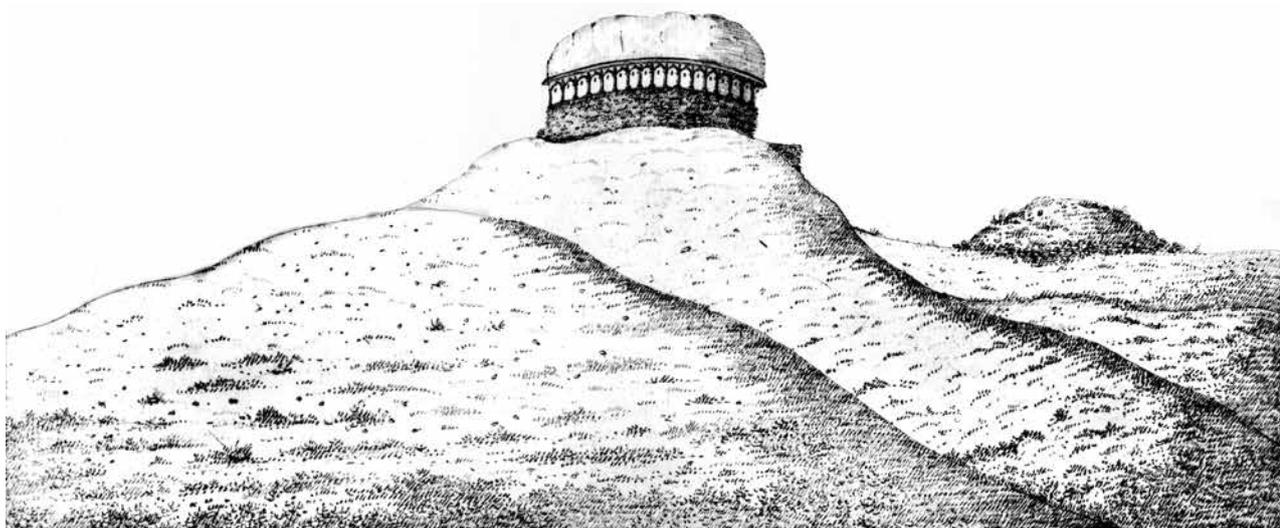




Figure 170 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 37.1: Barabad stupa from the west. Kyoto University 1965

narrow pointed petals. On the lid a floral motif of petals alternating with thin bands of repeated hearts encircles an additional small shallow bowl in the centre, with an inner flange to accommodate the detached, highly polished, fine-grained black stone knob.

Fig. 171.2: A small cylindrical crystal flask, with a separate fitted base, the two parts being sealed together with melted resin, while the top was closed with a stopper. H. 3.8cm, D. 2.54cm.

The flask was found open and overturned inside the stone reliquary. It had contained ash or pulverized earth and fine grains of a whitish resinous substance.

Gudara / Gudarra

Two stupas on the summit of the Fil Khana caves, 5km north-west of Jalalabad, on the north bank of the Kabul River, near its confluence with the Surkh Rud. Masson 1841, pp. 86–8, **Topes pl. IVb, d; F63 section 1, f. 23v; F63 section 2, ff. 42–3. E161/VII f. 3, No. 4, f. 17; Mizuno 1967, pp. 46–8, pl. 37; 1970–1, p. 122, pl. 38.1; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 99, no. 326, maps 21.4, 113; lat. 34°27'N, long. 70°23' E (Figs 172–8).**

Figure 172 F63 section 2, f. 42: 'Tope Gudara Darunta near Jalalabad'. British Library

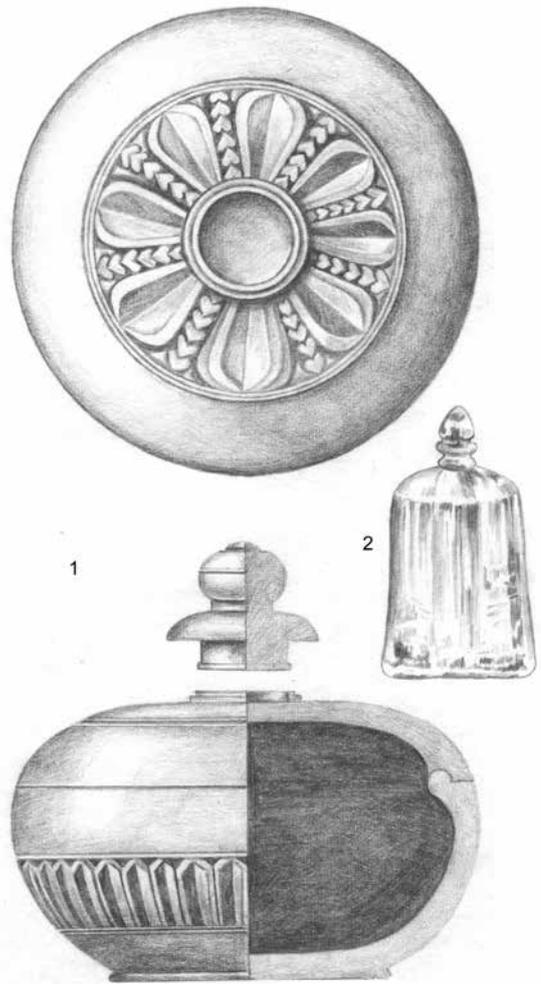


Figure 171 Barabad relic deposit

Masson 1841, pp. 86–8:

This is a tope of the first class, seated on an eminence of sandstone overhanging, to the north, the river of Kabul, which, issuing from the defile of Darunta, forms, in that direction, the boundary of the plain. The eminence towards the river has an abrupt perpendicular descent, and in the steep front have been excavated several important samotches [caves]. Beneath this tope, the Surkh Rud, or red river, effects its junction with the principal stream above noted. The monument itself, although much dilapidated, appears to have been originally constructed with much care, as to its external appearance, but with less as to

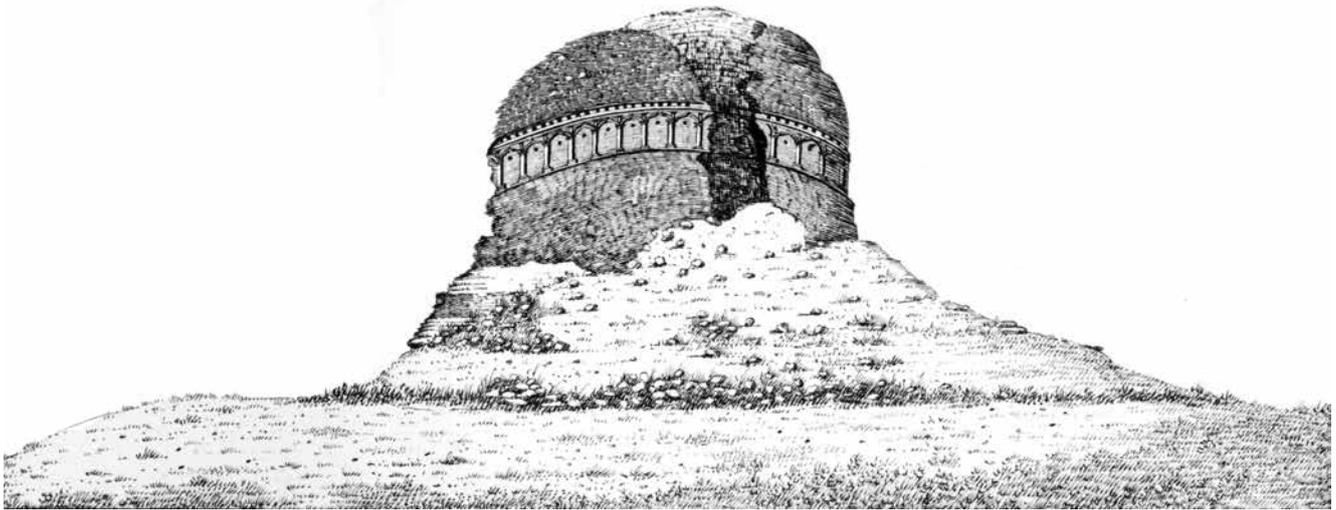


Figure 173 F63 section 2, f. 43: 'Tope Darunta near Jalalabad' (Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. IVb: 'Tope Gudara'). British Library

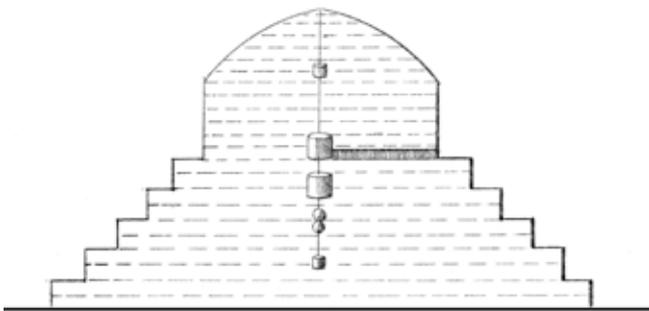
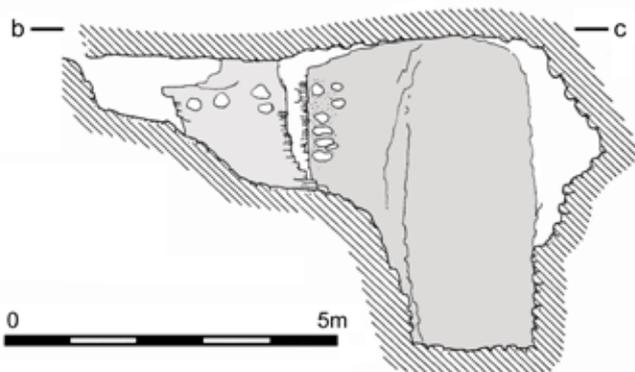


Figure 174 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. IVd: 'Section showing the disposition of the interior of Tope Gudara'

its solidity; the mass being composed of large oval stones, but indifferently cemented together. Its original form seems to have comprised a succession of basements piled one upon the other, decreasing in their dimensions upwards, thereby permitting little or no exhibition of the cylindrical body generally so prominent. I opened this structure from the east, and at a point high up, as from its ruinous condition the outlines of the pile were not very perceptible, and from the numerous terraces I was unable to determine the one on which the principal part of the structure rested. I depended on finding some token denoting the centre, when to descend, however laborious, would be practicable; whereas if perforated at a low point, to ascend, from the loose composition of the pile, would have been dangerous. As it was, considerable peril threatened the workmen, but the centre was reached without any more serious

Figure 175 Section through the centre of the stupa (after Mizuno 1967, plan 11.a)



accidents than slight contusions; and there we fell upon a cylinder of fine earth, 3 feet [91.44cm] in depth, and the same in diameter. Nothing was found but the earth. One foot and a half [45.72cm] below it we found another cylinder of fine earth, of similar dimensions, which alike yielded nothing more. Still one foot and a half [45.72cm] lower, a globe, also of fine earth, of a foot in diameter, presented itself; and this being cleared, there was another, distinct, but touching it. About 3 feet [91.44cm] below this lower globe a small apartment was discovered, formed of slate-stones, in which was deposited a silver casket, which enclosed a smaller one of pure gold. Within the gold casket was some reddish brown substance, probably unguents, two or three beads, a fragment of sadap or mother-of-pearl shell, with the essential relic, a fragment of bone. The squares of slate-stones on the sides and bottom of the apartment were covered with leaf-gold and lapis-lazuli colour. I excavated for some distance below this deposit, although confident it was the primary one, yet nothing further was discovered. In this tope I first met with the novel circumstance of a tunnel running from the centre towards the side. I have since found it in two other instances. ... Gudara is a Pushto term for 'on the opposite side', whence Tope Gudara, or the tope on the opposite side of the river.

Masson's sketch shows a blind arcade of pilasters supporting ogee arches and an upper tier of pilasters all seemingly with acanthus capitals. He also records a dowel hole in each archway for supporting stucco sculptural decoration. The section drawing shows a stepped podium.

Mizuno 1967, p. 76: 'Summit Stupa'; Mizuno 1970-1, p. 122: A row of caves lies along the left bank of the Kabul river at Fil Khana, and the Gudara stupa stands on the hill set back in a commanding position over them all. There were at least two stupas on the summit. One has almost disappeared, with only a few stones of the base remaining; the other survives as a mound 13m in height and 16m in diameter (pl. 37.2). According to Mizuno (1970-1, p. 122), the dome was strengthened by eight reinforcement ribs (Masson's 'tunnels'), or 'boulder walls' radiating out from the centre (plan 11.b), but the earlier survey (Mizuno 1967, p. 76) says that these and the outer facing of the stupa were both built of layers of thin pieces of steatite, with the core being filled with round boulders set in mud. This finds accord with Masson's sketch and the photograph of the interior (F63 section 2, f. 43; Mizuno 1967, p. 47, fig. 35).

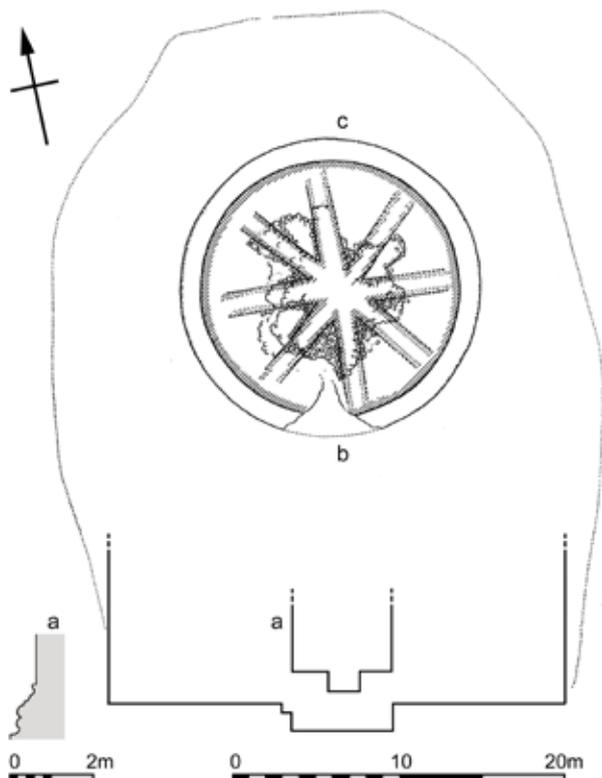


Figure 176 Plan of Gudara (after Mizuno 1967, plan 11b)

The Japanese also found in the centre of the structure ‘a cylindrical room 2m in diameter and 5m high’ (1967, plan 11.a), which from the section drawing (Fig. 175) can perhaps be interpreted as the hollowed out remains of an earlier stupa, or perhaps two, within the subsequent enlargement.

Masson’s sketch shows an arcade of alternating arches and pilasters encircling the drum, but the Kyoto survey found only traces at 5m from the top of the mound. Originally the surface was entirely covered with lime plaster: a little still survived in 1962 (Mizuno 1967, pl. 37.3–4). The dome rested on a multi-stepped platform of which Masson recorded five tiers, while Mizuno traced four. Flanking the staircase on the south side were the stone remains of smaller stupas, while on the summit there were also traces of stone walls, suggesting the former existence of a monastery.

Masson excavated from the east, at a point near the top; then through the centre. He uncovered four ‘cylinders’ or ‘globes’ of fine earth positioned one below the other, and finally a slate relic cell, its inside surfaces coated with gold leaf and lapis lazuli (Fig. 174).



Figure 177 Mizuno 1967, pl. 37.2: Gudara stupa from the north. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 178 Mizuno 1967, p. 47, fig. 35: Core of the stupa. Kyoto University 1965

Finds

From Masson’s sketch (Fig. 179), the silver reliquary found in the relic cell resembles Fig. 256.1, but with a lid (?) which appears to have a knob in the centre encircled by granules. It has not been traced.

Inside was a smaller ‘handsome but plain’ gold reliquary resembling Fig. 278.35. This contained what is variously described as ‘reddish coloured earth (F526/1b f. 1), ‘a little brown dust’ (E161/VII f. 2), ‘purplish coloured earth’ (f. 16), and ‘a reddish-brown substance, probably unguents’ (Masson 1841, p. 87) ‘2 or 3 beads’ or ‘one or two burnt coral beads’ (F526/1b f. 1; E161/VII f. 16; Vol. II, Fig. 89.8); a fragment of mother-of-pearl shell and a bone fragment.

Fig. 180.1 – 1880.3855.h. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Two pink-tinted bone (?) beads. One is barrel-shaped; the other comprises two small spherical sections fused together and

Tope Samotch Gudara.



Silver box



gold box
containing reddish earth with
3 or 3 beads and fragment of mother-of-pearl shell.

Figure 179 F526/1b f. 1: Sketch of finds from Gudara. British Library

‘Tope Samotch [cave] Gudara – silver box, gold box containing reddish coloured earth, 2 or 3 beads and fragment of mother [of] pearl shell’



Figure 180 Gudara relic deposit

pierced through the vertical axis. L. 7mm, D. 4mm; L. 5mm, D. 5mm.

The pink colour of these beads is probably what led Masson to identify the material as coral. Beads of ‘coral’ – usually ‘burnt’ – are also recorded from the relic deposits of Passani tumulus 2 and Bimaran stupas 2, 4 and 5. The evident cross contamination now existing in the trays means that it is not possible to identify the precise beads from each site.

Fig. 180.2 – 1880.4116.a. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Convex piece of mother-of-pearl with a small drill hole in the back. L. 9mm, W. 8mm, T. 3mm.

This is one of two mother-of-pearl fragments recorded by Masson (**E161/VII f. 9, f. 16, f. 18**) and also existing in the collection. The second example was found with objects from Hadda 10 (**Fig. 279.18**).

Fil Khana

Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 99, no. 326, maps 21.1–2, 113; lat. 34°27'N, long. 70°23'E: An artificial complex of 32 caves. One of the chambers is a large circumambulatory pillar cave surrounded by cells, in the tradition of Indian cave architecture (**Figs 181–3**).

Masson 1841, p. 97:

Some of the caves attached to tumuli deserve notice. In proportion to the circumstances under which they were excavated, they exhibit many various aspects and combinations, besides differing in the natural qualities of extent and number. The solitary and obscure tumulus might have its humble and single cave, but the magnificent tope has a series of caves, some of them of large dimensions and of many apartments; and these are sometimes distinguished by particular features in their construction, which, while they intimate some reason for deviation from the simple forms, also explain it. Amongst them are frequently one or more crowned with cupolas, which may reasonably be concluded to have been temples; and in line with the caves, we often see mere niches, which we may suppose once contained statues or idols. The complete range of excavations, it is manifest, included, besides apartments for priests and their attendants, temples and niches for statues. ... These collections are miniature representations

of the vast assemblages of Bamiyan. ... Caves are always lined with cement [lime plaster], but are otherwise devoid of ornament. Some of them have a recess in their upper extremities – a feature also to be remarked in many caves at Bamiyan. The domed caves or temples only have, in some cases, been surrounded with belts of mouldings or distinguished by ornaments at their apices. The most interesting of the Darunta collections of caves is that attached to Tope Guldara, and excavated in the scarped front of the eminence confining the river on which the structure stands. ... Sketch No. 1 [**Fig. 181**] shows the idol niche, and the view, from the opposite side of the river, of a suite of rooms, connected their whole length by two internal galleries.

Sketch No. 2 [**Fig. 182**] shows the entrance to a large cave with a dome, therefore the temple of the ancient establishment, called on account of its size by the natives, the Fil Khana, or elephant's stable.

Pigou 1841, p. 382:

Opposite to the village of Darunta [i.e. Umar Khel, see **Fig. 239**], and overhanging the left bank of the Jalalabad river, are the caves of Barabad [i.e. Fil Khana]. ... The chambers are all lofty, airy, and well lighted, but the passages are very low and narrow. The cave mentioned by Honigberger as the Fil Khana is a little to the east, and separated from the principal set of caves. The only antiquity discovered in them was a small slab of rough reddish marble, about 5 inches [12.7cm] square; on this slab was executed in demi-relievo, a pair of human feet [*buddhapāda*], the toes, &c. being all distinctly marked; round the feet, are four lotuses, one at each angle of the slab executed in bas-relief. It is said that similar slabs have been found in Ceylon, if so, a presumption may be drawn, that if the caves of Barabad do not owe their origin to the Buddhists, they were at least at one time inhabited by them.

The small relief was ‘too heavy to be sent down by dak’ and was lost, presumed left in Jalalabad (Pigou 1841, p. 382).

Kajitutu caves

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 123: A stupa and the remains of walls on the north bank of the Kabul River, 2–3km south-east of Fil Khana and 1–2km west of Barabad, with a circumambulatory cave and series of single cell caves cut into the conglomerate below. (**Fig. 184**).

Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 140, no. 504, maps 36.2, 113; lat. 34°27'N, long. 70°24'E.

Figure 181 G41 f. 20: Panoramic view of Fil Khana with Gudara stupa above (Masson 1841 Topes pl. VIIa). British Library





Figure 182 Masson 1841, Topes pl. IXe: 'Cave Temples of Darunta, known [as] Fil Khana or the Elephant's Stable'

'The apertures 1 & 2 are evidently receptacles for statues, and the cave No. 3 is called the Fil Khana, from the capacity of its interior dimensions'

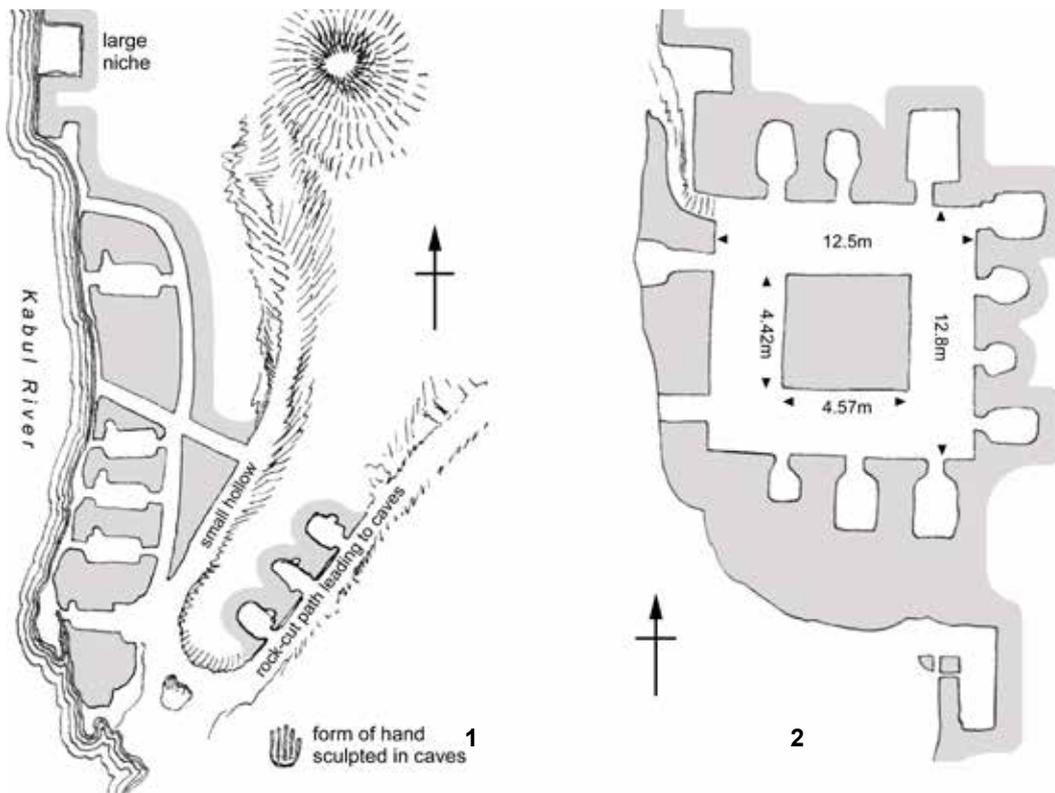


Figure 183 Simpson 1882, pls 3-4, plans of the caves at Fil Khana: 1. The 'Bazaar'; 2. The 'Vihara cave' (Elephant's stable)

Figure 184 Mizuno 1970-1, p. 80, fig. 42a: General view of the Kajitutu caves. Kyoto University 1965



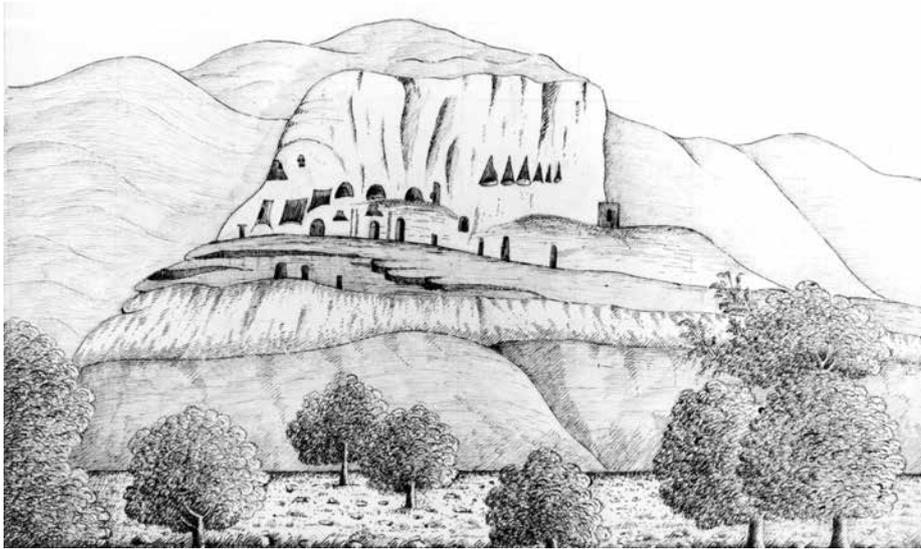


Figure 185 G41 f. 22: 'Ancient viihara at Kangkarrak near Balabagh'. British Library

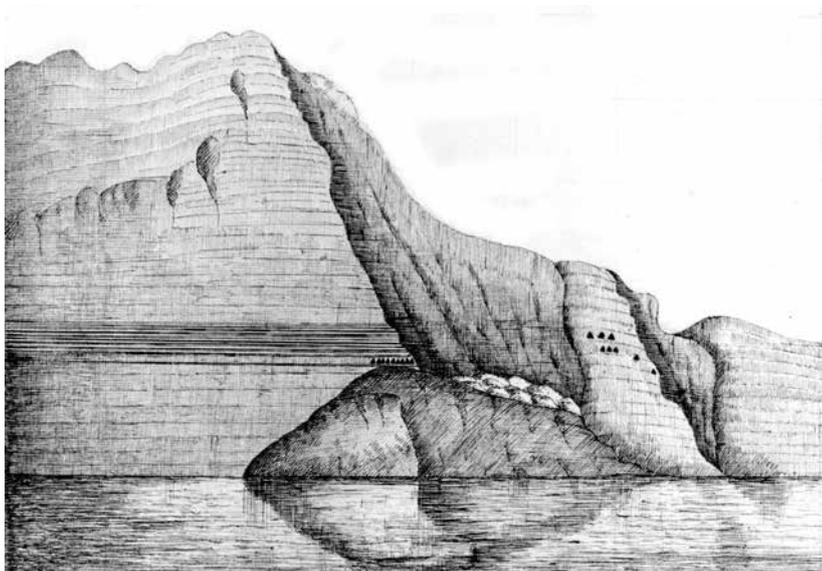


Figure 186 G41 f. 14: Basawal caves. British Library

Balabagh / Kangkarrak / Adinapur caves

G41 f. 10, pl. IX (Fig. 185):

[There is] a well-defined Vihara of the ancient time at Kangkarrak ... excavated in eminences overhanging the bed of the Surkh Rud ... near the site of the extinct town of Adinapur [and westward of] the present town of Balabagh [see map, Fig. 231]. Beneath it in the bed of a broad ravine flows the Surkh

Figure 187 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 38.3: Sultanpur Pain stupa from the south. Kyoto University 1965



Rud or Red River, and it is not improbable that the stream once washed the base of the eminence in which the Vihara is excavated.

We have here an instance of a Vihara existing without a Tope or Topes, there being no such monuments near to it, to which it can be imagined to have any relation. Like the Viharas of Darunta and Hadda, it has its niche for the lodgement of a statue or idol, and it will be noticed that the entrances of the several cells or chambers differ in form, some being square others rectangular. ... On the northern bank of the Surkh Rud directly opposite to Balabagh ... there are numerous vestiges of what we are fain to believe were once ancient places of interment, and amongst them one of those constructions commonly called by the inhabitants Killa Kafir, or the infidel's fort. ... Here besides a very great accumulation of parapets built around and along the tops and skirts of an eminence are some triangular caves and many tumuli dispersed about.

Kangkarrak is a term peculiar to no particular locality, but is used by the Afghans to denote ancient remains, or such as they ascribe to Infidels.

Basawal / Chakanur

G41 f. 3; Simpson 1882, pp. 319–21; Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 101–11; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 53, no. 113, map 114: lat.

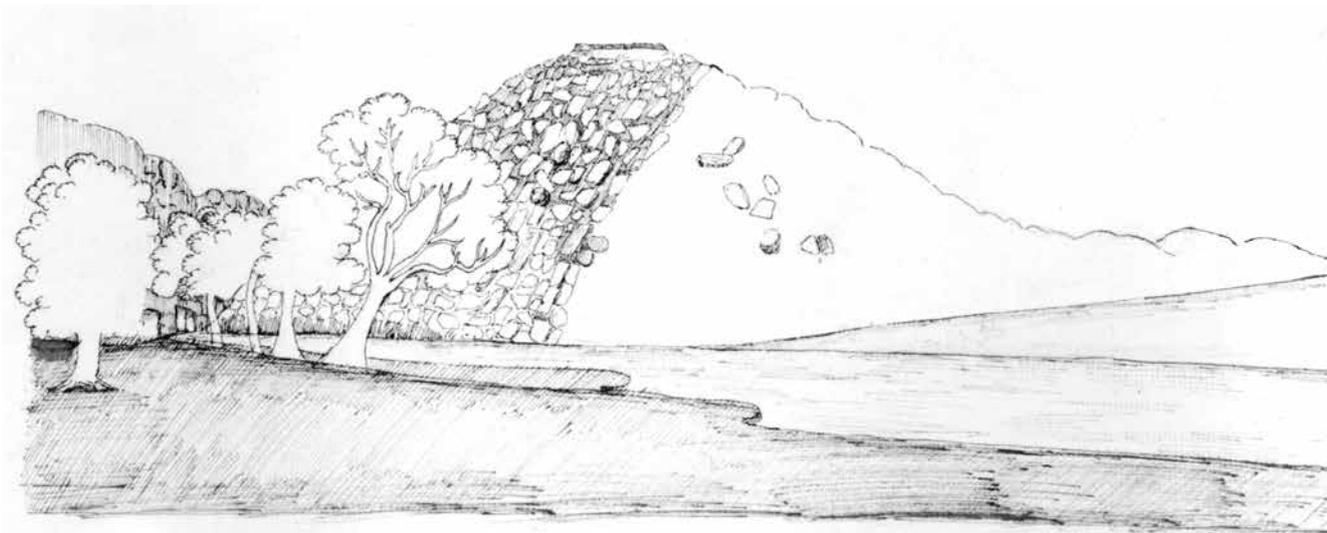


Figure 188 F64 f. 85: Untitled Masson sketch, possibly of the same site. British Library

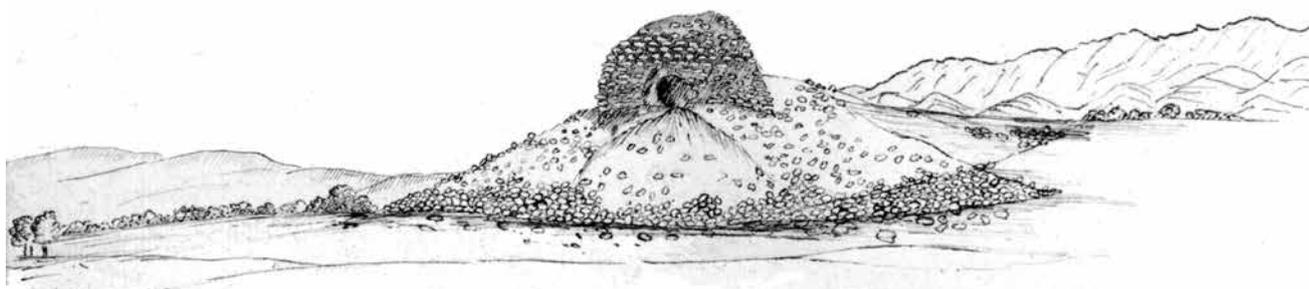


Figure 189 F63 f. 47: 'Tope Sultanpur at 70 paces from the east'. British Library

34°15'N, long. 70°52'E; p. 66, no. 163, maps 12–13, 114; lat. 34°17'N, long. 70°53'E; **Fig. 186; Vol. II, Fig. 13.**

Artificial caves sited on the north bank of the Kabul River, opposite the town of Basawal, 50km east of Jalalabad. The complex comprises *c.* 150 caves (assembly halls, cells and circumambulatory viharas), with possible traces outside of an assembly hall and five chapels

G41 f. 3:

[**Fig. 186**] represents an ancient vihara excavated in the precipitous side of a lofty mountain overhanging the river flowing from Kabul in its progress through the valley of Jalalabad near the little village of Basawal. ... An extensive plain stretches ... even beyond Basawal to the base of Mar Koh, a hill or mountain separating its lands from those of Chahar Deh. This plain to the north is bounded by the Kabul River, and parallel to Basawal the river to the north is hemmed in by the lofty and precipitous range in which ... caves have been excavated. ... The surface between the village and Mar Koh is strewn with fragments of potter's ware, and the same character distinguishes the soil generally around the hill which may probably have a circuit of five or six miles [8km – 9.6km]. Moreover, at the western side of it, there is a Tope with the ordinary accompaniments of cave and tumulus. ... The caves at Basawal have perhaps been unvisited by Europeans, and have been seen only, as we saw them, from the opposite side of the river. In appearance they are inaccessible, but it is very possible that a path could be found to them. It is evident that there are many tumuli in connection with them, and the uneven soil where the mountain terminates easterly is amply covered with similar memorials and vestiges; and from trustworthy information various tokens and relics are occasionally picked up. The name now conferred upon the remains generally is Chakanur.

Chahar Deh / Chardeh

Simpson 1880, pp. 39, 41–2: There was a 'rude mass' of a stupa sited on a prominent hill overlooking the plain. It retained 'only a small fragment of its [outer] masonry ... and in this the stones are neatly squared with no slate between; there is only a course of slate between each course of stone'. The remains of structures on the north side were supported by a high retaining wall; those on the south included cells *c.* 8 feet (2.44m) square.

Sultanpur

Masson 1841, pp. 89–90, **Topes pl. IVf**; F63, section 2, f. 47; **Er61/VII, f. 5, f. 7**: listed as 'Chahar Bagh No. 4'; subsequently as 'Sultanpur': **Er61/VII, f. 17. F63 section 1, f. 23v**: identified as 'Tope between Chahar Bagh [and] Sultanpur Pagne [Pain] SW 31° [in pencil]'; **Figs 187–90.**

Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 260, no. 1116, map 113; lat. 34°25'N, long. 70°20'E, locates the stupa 1km south of the town of Sultanpur-i Sufla (lat. 35°25'N, long. 70°19'22"E), which now incorporates the village of Sultanpur Pain. A group of mounds and caves possibly associated with Sultanpur stupa are 1km south of Dust-i Khel: pp. 95–6, no. 310, map 113; lat. 34°24'N, long. 70°20'E.

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 122, pl. 38.3: In front of a pool and a ruined Hindu shrine at Sultanpur Pain 'stands a large mound measuring about 10m high and 30m across. It is composed of mud, differing completely from the boulder heaps of [other] stupas. However, the Sultanpur Tope recorded by Masson does not well accord with that reported by Simpson. And it cannot be ascertained that the stupa surveyed by us [is] identical with either of them'.

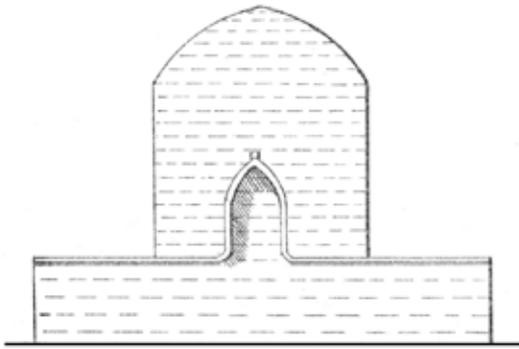


Figure 190 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. IVh: 'Section showing interior disposition of Tope Sultanpur'

William Simpson (1881, p. 201) merely says 'The Sultanpur Tope ... stands in the middle of a field by itself', which in fact does accord with Masson's description of Sultanpur below.

Masson 1841, pp. 89–90, 97:

This tope is of the second class, and has a circumference of one hundred and eight feet [32.92m]. It stands among the cultivated lands ... south of the rivulet formed by the springs of Sultanpur. It is more than a mile [1.6km] distant from Sultanpur, and above two miles [3.2km] from the greatest of the Darunta groups, that of Kotpur. Yet I am inclined to class it with them, from its general appearance, and because, like them, it is unprovided with a contiguous mound-enclosed area. ...

The tumuli and caves belonging to this structure are ... upon the elevations to the south, and they are nearly a mile distant [Dust-i Khel; 1.6km]. They are moreover seated on the same side of the valley, as farther east are the Chahar Bagh monuments; and I might have considered them and their tope as connected therewith, but from the absence, as before noted,

Figure 192 Sultanpur model stupa

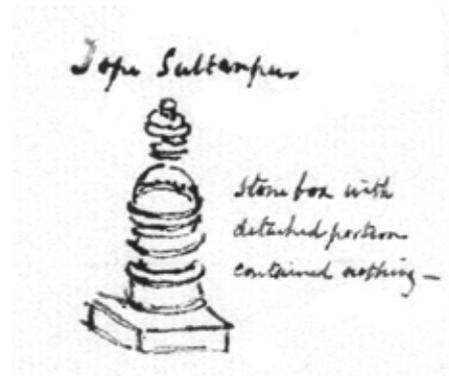


Figure 191 F526/1b f. 2: Sketch of model stupa from Sultanpur. British Library.

'Stone box with detached portion, contained nothing'

of the characteristic area. ... A husbandman had, at some former period, made an opening into this tope from the east, for the purpose of sheltering himself. ...

I continued this excavation to the centre of the edifice, and there discovered a large internal cupola, at whose apex was deposited a pyramidal ornament of steatite. ... In doubt whether this was the primary relic enshrined, I pursued the cylindrical body of the interior tope until it terminated, and even carried down the process for some feet beneath it, till nothing further compensated my search.

The interior tope in this structure was arranged peculiarly, as will be seen in the section: instead of regularly descending, it threw off lines of mouldings on a line level with the basement; in fact it rested on the basement or mixed into it [Fig. 190]. ... The tumuli of Sultanpur Tope, five in number, are on the eminences about a mile from it, with their caves [Dust-i Khel].

Finds

Er61/VII f. 16: 'Package No. 1. Tope Sultanpur – Four portions of a pyramidal structure of stone; where the portions unite there are cavities in the stone' (Fig. 191).

Fig. 192 – 1880.94. SKM 950. Base: H. 4cm, W. 8.2 x 8.4cm. Drum: H. 4.6cm, D. 7.2cm. Dome and *chattrāvalī*: H. 10.8cm, D. 5.9cm. Model stupa reliquary of steatite, in three parts: a square base and lathed-turned drum (both hollowed out to form receptacles), crowned by a solid dome and a superstructure of six damaged umbrellas. When found the *chattrāvalī* was in two pieces, hence the references to 'four parts'.

The base and lower drum are decorated with bands of crudely incised cross-hatching between mouldings. The drum has a tenon to slot it onto the base and a roughly rectangular mortise on its bottom for turning. The solid third part, which slots into a flange at the top of the second, has a narrow drum between two prominent mouldings. The dome above has a lightly incised lotus petal motif encircling the *chattrāvalī* which may have originally had seven umbrellas resting on small, plain capitals. The reliquary was empty, apart from 'a few ashes' in the cavity of the base (Masson 1841, p. 89).

Wilson 1841, p. 52, fig. 1, *Antiquities* pl. III.1; Zwalf 1996, no. 637, pp. 340–1; Errington 1987, p. 53, fig. 2.16a; Errington 1999, pp. 215, 233; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 127, 130, 290–1, fig. 4.9, no. 376; Foucher 1905, I, fig. 13; Whitteridge 1986, fig. 10.

Chapter 15

Chahar Bagh Sites

List and maps: **F63 section 2, f. 54**, f. 54v; E161/VII f. 42v; Masson 1841, Topes pl. I.

Masson 1841, p. 100:

The topes and sepulchral monuments of Chahar Bagh are situated about a mile [1.6km] south of the town of that name, on a line of low eminences, which form, in that direction, the boundary of the cultivated valley of Jalalabad. From the ambiguous tope of Sultanpur, the nearest tope to Chahar Bagh is distant about a mile and a quarter [2km]; and from the nearest of the Darunta group, viz., the topes of Kotpur, it is distant about two miles and a half [4km].

The Chahar Bagh topes are dispersed over a space, extending from east to west, of a mile and a half [2.41km]. Beyond them, to the west, are isolated tumuli, connecting them as it were with a large tumulus, or perhaps a dilapidated tope, named Tepe Ahinposh, south of the town of Jalalabad, and on the same continuous line of eminences. From this last structure, proceeding south for about three miles [4.82km], we reach the multifarious assemblage of topes and tumuli at Hadda.

Masson's sketch map **Fig. 193** (E161/VII f. 42v) records 10 stupas in two groups (1–5 and 6–10) with random unnumbered tumuli in between, and follows a reverse right to left numbering system to **Fig. 194** (Masson 1841, pp. 102–4, Topes pl. I). These numbers are noted below as MSS 1–10. In *Ariana Antiqua* Masson identifies six 'topes' and 12 'superior tumuli' (1841, p. 101: only nine are marked in **Fig. 194**). The 1965 survey noted a total of 22 sites (Mizuno 1970–1, fig. 24: stupas 29–53). Although identification is not precise, some of those in Mizuno's sequence 36–47 (which follow a line of successive ravines) equate with Masson's unnumbered tumuli (**Fig. 195**; see also **Vol. II, Fig. 55**).

Masson 1841, pp. 100–2:

The topes of Chahar Bagh are inferior monuments in comparison with those of Darunta; no one of them had originally a greater circumference than 120 feet [36.57m]: it is probable that 108 feet [32.92m] was the precise circumference of all of them. In the case of the Darunta topes we have found occasion to note this standard of dimension, and we may well conceive that these monuments were constructed on some principle of proportion and gradation. At present no embellishments are observable on any of the group under remark, neither are any traces visible of the coatings of cement, which we may yet conclude once covered them: they are rude,

Figure 193 E161/VII f. 42v: Untitled map of the Chahar Bagh sites. British Library

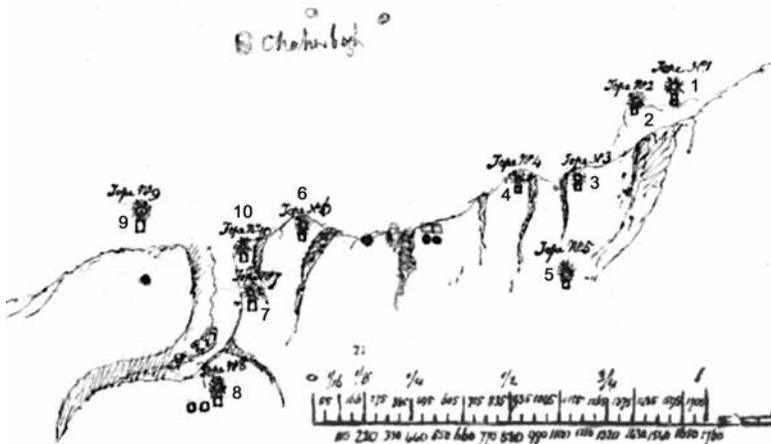
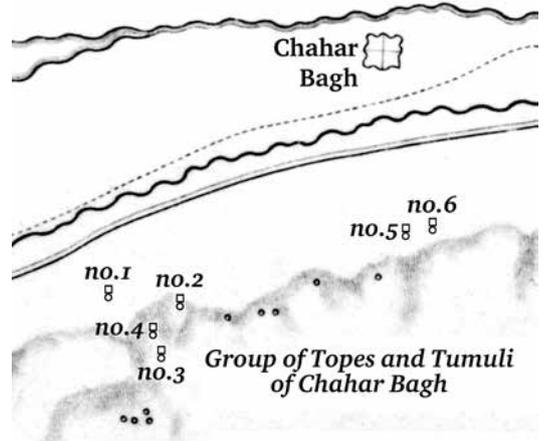


Figure 194 Masson 1841, Topes pl. I, detail: Map of Chahar Bagh



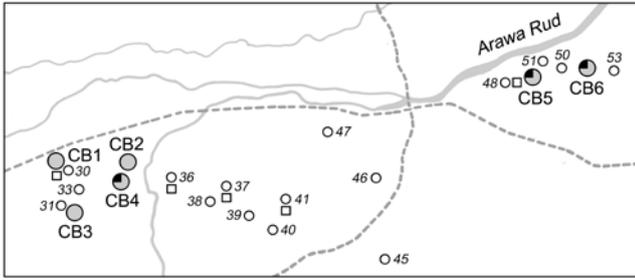


Figure 195 Map of Chahar Bagh stupas 1–6 in relation to the 1965 survey (Mizuno 1970–1, fig. 24: stupas 29–53). CB1 = stupa 29; CB2 = stupa 35; CB3 = stupa 32; CB4 = stupa 34; CB5 = stupa 49; CB6 = stupa 52

naked structures, composed of fragments of the calcareous conglomerate on which they stand. These topes are distinguished by the accompaniment, generally to the south, of a large square or oblong space, enclosed by lofty and ample mounds [i.e. a monastery]: such appendages are not found with the Darunta topes. What these enclosed spaces were intended for, may be difficult to determine: but the encompassing mounds are composed of earth carefully sifted, and cleansed from foreign substances. It obviously occurs to reflection, that as such accompaniments were necessary to these monuments, and not to those of Darunta, there must have been a sufficient reason for the distinction. ...

That a difference prevailed, we might argue from the types of coins elicited from the two groups. Those of Darunta exhibit on their reverses the figure of Hercules [Kujula Kadphises coins]. ... The coins enclosed in the monuments of Chahar Bagh announce very different forms of worship, in the sun, moon, and elements; of which their reverses bear the personifications [Kanishka I and Huvishka coins]. ...

The topes at Chahar Bagh, considering those only as such whose outlines permit the clear recognition of the basement and cylindrical body, are six in number; and there are twelve superior tumuli, which, from being accompanied by enclosed

spaces, may be conjectured to have an approximate character. In the position of these topes, distinctness is a characteristic feature, each being separated from the other by a ravine. The same peculiarity is not so palpably exhibited by the topes of Darunta. All the sepulchral monuments of Chahar Bagh have their caves, and the scarped sides of the several ravines afforded convenient sites for their excavation. Some of these are spacious, but devoid of ornament, and the entrances of many of them are formed after the manner of Egyptian caves.

The examination of the topes of Chahar Bagh did not prove very productive of results, but these enabled us to assign the structures to the epoch of Mokadphises [Wima Kadphises], and the successors of Kanerkes [Kanishka].

Chahar Bagh 1 / MSS 9 / 'Aligul

Masson 1841, p. 102, Topes pl. VIIe–f; **F63 section 2, f. 54v**, f. 57; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 119, no. 29, pl. 33.1–3; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 34, no. 30, map 113: 'Aligul or Chahar Bagh 1, 2 and 3, lat. 30°34'N, long. 70°71'E, 2km west of the Sultanpur stupa, 1km south-west of the village of 'Aligul and 9km west of Jalalabad; **Figs 196–200; Vol. II, Fig. 56.**

Masson 1841, p. 102: Tope No. 1 of Chahar Bagh.

This tope, much dilapidated, is the first approached from the west, and is found in the ascending plain, just at the skirt of the low line of eminences. It has a remarkable depth of basement, and to the south is a large oblong square area described by huge mounds. I opened this structure from the north, and in its centre was discovered a large mass of black, greasy earth, emitting a most fetid smell. Ashes and fragments of charcoal were mixed up with this corrupt deposit, but no bones were discovered. After clearing it away, and it occupied a very considerable space of the body of the tope, we descended towards the foundation, where was discovered a small cupola [core stupa]. On being examined it afforded a small apartment formed of slate-stones, where, to my disappointment, no relics had been placed. This tope exhibited a new feature in the mass



Figure 196 F63 section 2, f. 57: 'Tope No. 9 [Chahar Bagh 1] at 80 paces from the east'. British Library

Figure 197 F63 section 2, f. 54v: 'Tope No. 9 [Chahar Bagh 1]'. British Library

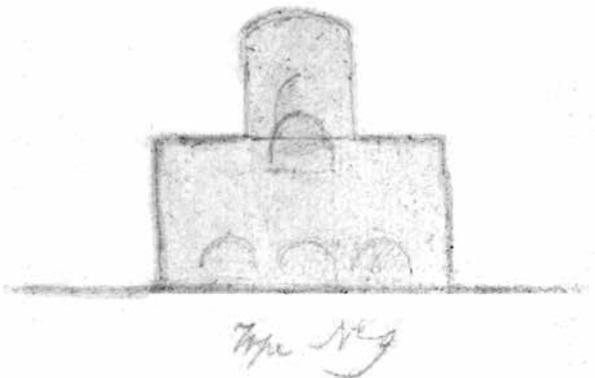
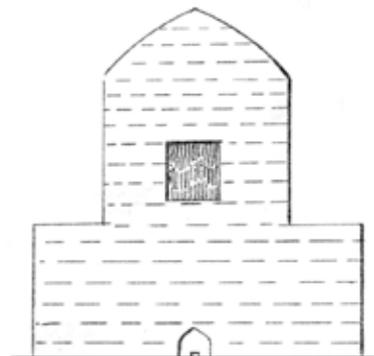


Figure 198 Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIIf: Section drawing of the 'interior' of Chahar Bagh 1



of funereal earth and ashes placed within it, and if we could suppose that they belonged to the person commemorated, there would be no reason to enshrine a choice portion or relic of the body when its entire remains were entombed. The mass, it need not be observed, could only have been deposited after the structure had been well advanced.

Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 119–20, no. 29:

Stupa 29 [Chahar Bagh 1] is the westernmost among the stupas in Chahar Bagh. However, only a mound of debris remains about 7–8m high and about 15m across. ... About 20m south of the stupa lies a quadrangular ruin suggesting the monastery surrounded by 30-odd monks' cells. Each cell is 3.2m square and the mud walls laid on the base of loose masonry of piled boulders are about 1m thick.

Chahar Bagh 2 / MSS 6 / 'Aligul

F63 section 2, f. 54, f. 54v: Originally numbered MSS 5, altered in ink on f. 54 to MSS 6. Masson 1841, pp. 102–3, **Topes pl. VIa** is incorrectly captioned 'Tope No. 4'. This error is compounded in Mizuno 1970–1, p. 120, fig. 29g, where the *Ariana Antiqua* drawing is identified as Stupa 34, but the description and photograph (pl. 34.2: **Fig. 211**) are of Chahar Bagh 4; while the description and photograph of Stupa 35 (pl. 34.3: **Fig. 204**) equate with Chahar Bagh 2. A further source of confusion is the sketch captioned 'Tumulus of Chahar Bagh' (**Fig. 203**; Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIe): this also depicts Chahar Bagh 2, for it is taken from the identical viewpoint as the 1965 photograph (**Fig. 204**); Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 34, no. 30, map 113: 'Aligul or Chahar Bagh 2, lat. 30°34'N, long. 70°71'E (**Figs 201–4**).

F63 section 2, f. 54:

This tope has a hauz [i.e. cistern; actually a monastery] to the south. I opened it from the east at the extremity of the base of the actual tope: on arrival at the centre found a mass of earth, from this sank a shaft to the bottom of the basement but found nothing.



Figure 199 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 33.1: Chahar Bagh 1 from the south-east. Kyoto University 1965

Masson's section drawing shows the 'mass of earth' high up in the drum of the stupa close to the top of the mound and suggests that 'the extremity of the base of the actual tope' means the junction between the dome and the drum. He then sank a shaft apparently down to ground level.

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 120, no. 35 (Chahar Bagh 2):

On the hill edge stand two stupas: Stupa 34 [Chahar Bagh 4] and one to the north, Stupa 35 [Chahar Bagh 2]. This measures 4m in height and 12m in diameter. Gently undulating ground about 20m from the stupa marks the site of the monastery.

Masson 1841, pp. 102–3: Topes Nos 2 and 3 of Chahar Bagh.

These topes are seated on the eminences south of the preceding tope. They have south of them the characteristic enclosed areas [monasteries]. They had been opened from their summits at some former and unknown period. I resumed their examination, and excavated to their foundations, but gained nothing more satisfactory than the knowledge that No. 3 was superposed upon a layer of enormous boulders.

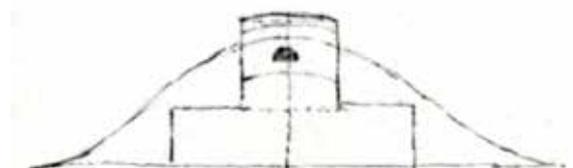


Figure 200 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 33.3: Chahar Bagh 1 monastery from the north. Kyoto University 1965

Figure 201 F63 section 2, f. 54: 'Tope no. 6 [Chahar Bagh 2] at 80 paces from the east'. British Library



Figure 202 F63 section 2, f. 54: Section drawing of Chahar Bagh 2. British Library



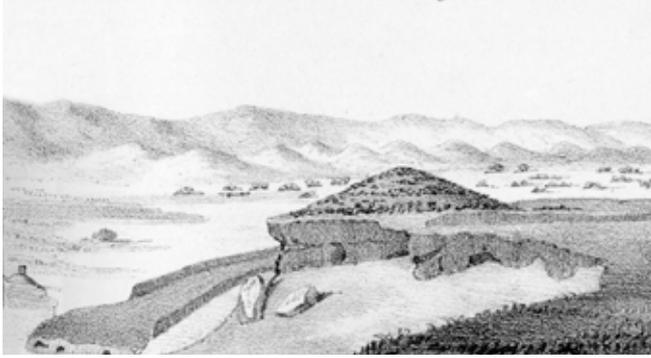


Figure 203 Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIe: ‘Tumulus of Chahar Bagh’ from the south; identifiable from Fig. 204 as Chahar Bagh 2



Figure 204 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 34.3: Chahar Bagh 2 (Stupa 35) from the south. Kyoto University 1965

Chahar Bagh 3 / MSS 8 / ‘Aligul

F63 section 2, f. 56; Masson 1841, pp. 102–3, Topes pl. VIIg: incorrectly captioned ‘Tope No. 2’. The error is perpetuated in Mizuno 1970–1, p. 120, Stupa 32 figs 29e, 38, pl. 34.1; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 34, no. 30, map 113: ‘Aligul or Chahar Bagh 3, lat. 30°34’N, long. 70°71’E (Figs 205–8).

F63 section 2, f. 56:

This tope has a hauz [i.e. monastery]] to the south and two others to the westward probably refer to it, as no traces of their topes are discernible. To the north is a square surface of 100 paces [c. 250 feet/76.2m], originally surmounted with walls, the outlines of which remain, as well as one intersecting from north to south. Adjacent to this tope are numerous tumuli. This tope I opened from the south, and after arriving at the centre and finding nothing, sunk a shaft to the bottom or the point where it rests on the soil. Here nothing was discovered, but the tope was found to rest on a foundation of stones so large that it was impossible for the workmen to carry them away from the shaft.

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 120, no. 32:

Although much damaged, [the stupa] still measures 8m high and about 20m across. On the east side is a pit, through which the construction consisting of mud and boulders is clearly visible [Fig. 208]. From the centre of the stupa, radiate several internal buttressing walls consolidating the whole construction [Masson records a ‘tunnel’, i.e. an interior buttress wall, for Chahar Bagh 4, not 3]. Stucco fragments [are] scattered around the stupa. To the south lies a monastery ruin measuring 30–40m square, with the monks’ cells exposed at places [Fig. 207]. ...

A small mound of debris [Stupa 31], measuring 3m high and 7m across in 1965, stands on a hilltop south of Stupa 32 [Chahar Bagh 3] and seems to be subordinate to the latter. On the south side is an open pit of the previous excavation.

The structure of Chahar Bagh 3 appears to have resembled that of Gudara and Chahar Bagh 4 (below). The mound of ‘debris’ is identifiable as one of the unnumbered tumuli recorded by Masson to the south-west of Chahar Bagh 3 (MSS 8: Figs 193–4).



Figure 205 F63 section 2, f. 56: ‘Tope No. 8 [Chahar Bagh 3] at 70 paces from the east’. British Library

Chahar Bagh 4 / MSS 7 / Lal Qal’a

F63 section 2, f. 55; Masson 1841, p. 103, Topes pl. VIb (section drawing) and pl. VIIh (incorrectly captioned ‘Tope No. 3’). This error is perpetuated in Mizuno 1970–1, p. 120, fig. 29g, but the description and photograph illustrate Chahar Bagh 4 (Stupa 34, pl. 34.2: Fig. 211); Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 64, no. 155, map 113: Chahar Bagh or Lal Qal’a, lat. 30°34’N, long. 70°22’E (Figs 209–12).

Masson 1841, p. 103: Tope No. 4 of Chahar Bagh.

In examination of this tope we fell upon a globe of pure cleansed earth at the centre, a species of deposit that had before been found in Tope Gudara of Darunta [and also Chahar Bagh 2, see above]. The excavation was extended to the base, where we discovered a gumbaz or cupola [core stupa]. This contained no relics, but without and adjacent to it was a steatite vase. ... In this tope again I met with an example of the tunnel [i.e. reinforcement rib] found before in Tope Gudara; a tope which also, as noted above, resembled the present one of Chahar Bagh in the deposit of a globe of earth [and in Chahar Bagh 3, according to the 1965 survey]. I was very willing to have verified the nature of the tunnel, and, as it appeared to extend beyond the circumference of the tope, I ordered the soil, or rather rock, to be laid open; but, after some days’ labour, it was clear that with the implements and appliances at our command the task was impracticable. If this tunnel proceeded any distance, it would have run under the mysterious enclosed area [monastery] belonging to the monument, and a solution of the enigma of one might have led to that of the other.

F63 section 2, f. 55 locates the ‘hauz’ or monastery on the south side of the stupa. It also gives the dimensions of the stupa as ‘156 spans’ i.e. 35.57m in circumference and the distance between the globe of earth and the top of the original stupa/drum base of the enlargement as ‘12 spans’ i.e. 2.74m (calculations based on an English span of 9 inches/22.8cm).

Chahar Bagh 4 is located across a ravine, on the edge of a hill to the east of Kyoto stupas 31, 33 and Chahar Bagh 3, and south of Chahar Bagh 2 (Mizuno 1970–1, p. 120, Stupa 34, pl. 34.2). In 1965, it measured 8m in height, with a drum

of 8m and base of *c.* 25m in diameter. On the east side there was a pit, presumably the result of excavation, but possibly not by Masson who appears to have dug down through the centre on the mound. The Japanese found no evidence of a ‘tunnel’, but they appear to have taken Masson’s description literally and not realized that he had misunderstood the function of the reinforcement ribs. However, they did record the existence of radiating buttress walls in Chahar Bagh 3 and the similarity of its construction to Gudara, which suggests some confusion in the documentation of Chahar Bagh 3 and 4.

South of the stupa was a large monastery 40–50m square with some exposed cells each 3.5m square. The mud brick walls were constructed on top of a foundation of boulders. The side wall of one of the cells had a small arched niche 32cm by 34cm for a lamp (Mizuno 1970–1, fig. 30).



Figure 207 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 34.1: Chahar Bagh 3 (Stupa 32) from the south. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 209 Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIIIh: ‘Tope No. 3 at Chahar Bagh [sic: Chahar Bagh 4]’

Figure 211 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 34.2: Chahar Bagh 4 (Stupa 34) from the south. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 206 Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIIg: ‘Tope no. 2 at Chahar Bagh [sic: Chahar Bagh 3/MSS 8 from the west]’

Finds

In his section drawing (Fig. 212), Masson marks the position of the relic deposit as a small square within the mass of the later enlargement on a level with the base of the core stupa. The deposit is said to comprise ‘a steatite vase, enclosing a very small cylindrical case of gold, without cover; and near to this vase were lying 28 Indo-Scythic



Figure 208 Mizuno 1970–1, p. 74, fig. 38: Section through Chahar Bagh Stupa 3 mound. Kyoto University 1965

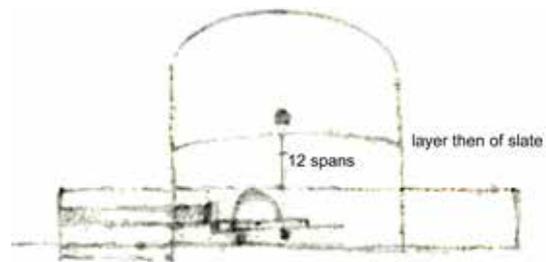


Figure 210 F63 section 2, f. 55: Section drawing of Chahar Bagh 4. British Library

Figure 212 Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIb: ‘Section through ‘Tope no. 4 at Chahar Bagh’

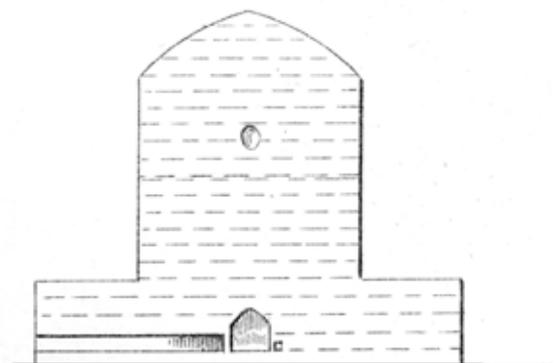




Figure 213 Sketch of Chahar Bagh 4 relic deposit. British Library
‘Stone box containing minute golden box without cover and 28 copper coins Indo-Scythian’



Figure 214 Chahar Bagh 4 reliquary

[Kushan] copper coins, whose obverse present the intelligible Greek legend PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO [PAO NANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO], and whose obverses exhibit the personified types of the elements in MAO, MIPO, APO [APO], OKPO [OHPO] and OADO’ (1841, p. 103, Coins pl. XI.15–17, XII.1–5). The *Ariana Antiqua* account is clearly based on F526/1b f. 2, see **Fig. 213**.

Masson’s list of 6 July 1834 ‘of relics obtained’ from Chahar Bagh (which seems to be written from memory) records a silver reliquary and only 18 Kushan copper coins (**E161/VII f. 5**, No. 3). In subsequent accounts, the reliquary is corrected to gold, but the number of coins remains 18, which suggests that only this quantity was sent to Pottinger on 11 December 1834 (**E161/VII f. 18**, Package no. 2). In the text accompanying the sketch **F63 section 2, f. 55, Vol. II, Fig. 59**, the coins are subdivided into ‘6 of Kanerkos [Kanishka] and 12 of –’ (left blank). The schist reliquary is identified by Masson’s sketch (**Fig. 213**). The ‘minute golden box’ without a lid has not been traced and was not transferred from the India Museum.

Fig. 214 – 1880.95. SKM 1008. Cylindrical, light grey schist reliquary with a lid and slightly concave sides. The turned body is a little chipped and scratched on the side; the rim of the lid is partly broken and the top is badly pitted. The walls of the body and lid are marked by regular bands of three grooves. The lid has a countersunk central boss encircled by four stepped levels decorated with bands of finer grooves. The lid fits neatly over the recessed lip of the body. The casket contains a piece of paper inscribed in ink ‘India Museum Masson Coll.’ H. 9.3cm (with lid), D. 11cm. Zwalf

1996, no. 646, p. 344; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 131, 288–9, fig. 4.10, no. 348.

Fig. 215 – 1979,0215.21–41. IM 3 / SKM 1052.

Twenty-one worn copper alloy Kushan coins, transferred without documentation to the Department of Coins and Medals in 1979. These include IM 3 / SKM 1052: ‘Nineteen coins extracted with stone box from Tope Chahar Bagh’.

Franks’ record of the transferred material lists the coins under IM 3, but Masson’s original label ‘No. 4 Chahar Bagh coins of Kanerke [sic]’ was with IM 39 (**BM 18–2–1881a**). The paper trail indicates that 19 coins from Chahar Bagh – stupa 4 according to Masson’s label – were transferred to the British Museum. They are best identified with 1979,0215.21–41. The discrepancy between 18 and 21 coins is probably because an additional three coins from other relic deposits were added – all without documentation – to the group transferred in 1979. Coins that might have been included are one Wima Kadphises coin from Chahar Bagh 5 and/or one Wima coin together with four ‘successors’ of Kanishka/‘Indo-Scythian’ coins from Hadda 4. The coins are all extremely worn and only the Kanishka coins preserve legible parts of the obverse legend naming the king. This may explain Masson’s attribution of all the Chahar Bagh 4 coins to Kanishka. An additional stray coin of Kanishka I and one of Huvishka (not transferred: **Fig. 258.6–7**), bring the total to 23 coins (see Hadda 4).

Fig. 215.1–4 – 1979,0215.21, 1979,0215.22, 1979,0215.23, 1979,0215.24. Four worn copper alloy coins of the Kushan king Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113–27). *Obverse*: King standing to front, head turned to left making an offering at a small fire altar. Worn outline of a club and tamgha in right field, trident in left. Traces of a Greek inscription. *Reverse*: Kushan god Wesho standing with trident in front of a bull standing to right. A nandipada symbol in the upper left field. Traces of a Kharoshthi inscription. **1.** 15.57g, 26mm; **2.** 15.23g, 27mm; **3.** 15.49g, 27mm; **4.** 16.16g, 26mm. Cribb and Bracey forthcoming C.C1.

Fig. 215.5–12: Eight worn copper alloy coins of Kushan king Kanishka I (c. AD 127–50). *Obverse*: King standing to front, head to left, making an offering at a small altar with his right hand and holding a spear in his left. Traces of a Bactrian inscription: PAO KANHPKI.

Fig. 215.5–7 – 1979,0215.25, 1979,0215.26, 1979,0215.41. *Reverse*: Haloed sun god Mioro standing to front, head turned to left, right hand outstretched. A tamgha in the left field. Bactrian inscription in the right field: MIOPO. **5.** 16.15g, 26mm; **6.** 16.18g, 25mm; **7.** 17.07g, 24mm.

Fig. 215.8–9 – 1979,0215.27, 1979,0215.28. *Reverse*: Fire god Athsho standing to front, head turned to left, holding out a diademed wreath in his right hand. A tamgha in the left field. Bactrian inscription in the right field: APO. **8.** 17.08g, 25mm; **9.** 16.52g, 25mm.



Figure 215 Coins from Chahar Bagh 4

Killa Khel Ali No. 1 - N15E
 2 - N10W
 Chaharbagh - N60W

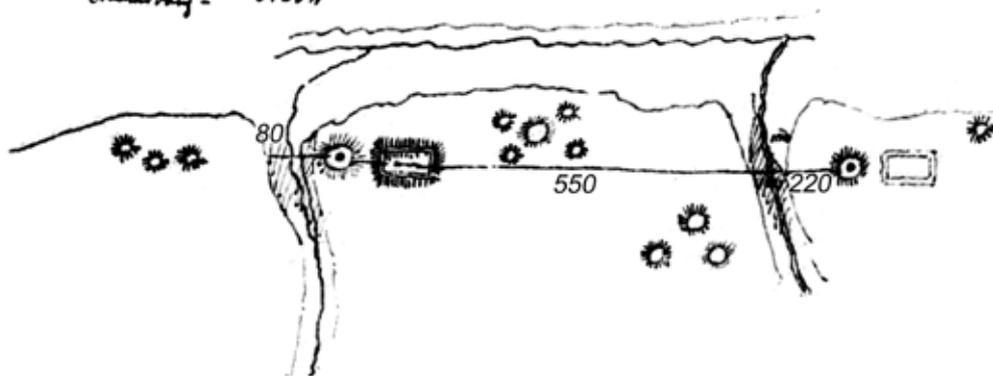


Figure 216 F63 section 2, f. 51: (detail, left-right): Chahar Bagh 5/MSS 2 and 6/MSS 1 with associated monasteries and other structures. British Library.

'Killa Khel Ali No. 1 - N15E, No. 2 - N10W, Chahar Bagh - N60W'. Measurements: 80 paces/61m; 550 paces/167.64m; 220 paces/419m

Fig. 215.10-11 - 1979,0215.29, 1979,0215.30.

Reverse: Four-armed Kushan god Wesho standing to front, head to left. A tamgha in the left field. Bactrian inscription in the right field: OHPO. **10.** 16.55g, 25mm; **11.** 16.47g, 25mm.

Fig. 215.12 - 1979,0215.31. *Reverse:* Wind god Oado running to left, arms stretched upwards holding a cloth. A tamgha in the left field. Bactrian inscription in the right field: OAAO. **12.** 15.80g, 26.5mm. Cribb and Bracey forthcoming D.C1.

Fig. 215.13-21. Nine worn copper alloy coins of Kushan king Huvishka (c. AD 150-90).

Fig. 215.13-16 - 1979,0215.32, 1979,0215.33, 1979,0215.34, 1979,0215.35. *Obverse:* King riding on elephant to right, holding a spear or goad in his right hand. Traces of a Bactrian inscription. *Reverse:* Sun god Miro/Miuro standing to front, head turned to left, right arm outstretched, and left hand resting on his hip. A tamgha in the left field. Traces of a Bactrian inscription in the right field: MIOPO/MIPO. **13.** 14.88g, 25mm; **14.** 15.50g, 24.5mm; **15.** 15.08g, 25mm; **16.** 14.38g, 25.5mm.

Fig. 215.17-18 - 1979,0215.36, 1979,0215.37. *Reverse:* Fire god Athsho standing to front, head turned to left, right hand outstretched holding a diadem, left hand resting on his hip. A tamgha in the left field. Bactrian inscription in the right field: AΘPO. **17.** 14.18g, 25mm; **18.** 14.89g, 25mm.

Fig. 215.19-20 - 1979,0215.38, 1979,0215.39. *Obverse:* King seated cross-legged on a cushion, head turned to left,

right arm raised. Part of a Bactrian inscription. *Reverse:* Sun god Miro or moon god Mao standing, head turned to left, right arm raised. A tamgha in the left field is only visible on 1979,0215.39. The legend is not visible on either coin. **19.** 15.01g, 25mm; **20.** 15.35g, 25mm.

Fig. 215.21 - 1979,0215.40. *Reverse:* Four-armed Wesho, standing, head turned to left. Neither legend nor tamgha are visible. **21.** 15.39g, 25mm. Cribb and Bracey forthcoming E.C1.

Chahar Bagh 5 and 6

Mizuno 1970-1, p. 121, Stupas 50-3:

To the east of [Stupa 49/Chahar Bagh 5] stands Stupa 51, about 1m high and 13m across. Stupa 50, 3m high and 10m across [incorrectly identified by Mizuno as Chahar Bagh 6], stands [to the north-] west [of Stupa 50], dependent on Stupa 49. ... East of Stupa 51 lie two small stupas, nos 52 [Chahar Bagh 6] and 53, the former having on the south-east side an excavation pit.

Masson 1841, p. 104: 'Contiguous to these two topes are eleven large tumuli and a few inferior ones' (Fig. 216).

Chahar Bagh 5 / MSS 2 / Chaharbagh Hussan 2 / Qal'a-i Haji

F63 section 2, f. 51; **F63 section 2, f. 54v**, no. 2, **Vol. II, Fig. 55**; Masson 1841, pp. 103-4, Topes pl. VIc; Mizuno 1970-1, p. 122, no. 49, pl. 36.6; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 207, no. 847, map 113; Chahar Bagh 5 and 6 or Qal'a-i Haji, lat.

Figure 217 F63 section 2, f. 51: 'Tope No. 2 [stupa 5] of Chahar Bagh Hussan'. Plan: 'Tope and enclosure wall' and 'hauz' (monastery). British Library



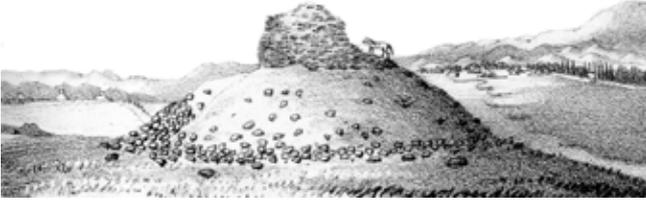


Figure 218 Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIc: 'Tope no. 5 at Chahar Bagh'

34°25'N, long. 70°24'E; 1km south of the village of Qal'a-i Haji, 8km west of Jalalabad (Figs 217–19).

Masson 1841, pp. 103–4: Tope No. 5 of Chahar Bagh:

This is a dilapidated tope, with its successor No. 6, the most westerly of the Chahar Bagh group. It engaged the attention of Dr Gerard, being seated near the high road, as he passed through Jalalabad in 1833, and he set about its examination. In the centre he discovered a large square apartment, or rather, I suspect, a cupola, which was removed, but no relics were procured to recompense his researches. I carried on the excavation to the base of the structure. ... This tope has its enclosed area to the east instead of to the south, as in the other topes to the west. ... [It was] originally of the same dimensions [as Chahar Bagh 6]; they now show a circumference of 90 feet [27.43m], but it is probable their genuine one was 108 feet [32.92m].

Mizuno 1970–1, pp. 121–2, Stupas 49–51 (Chahar Bagh 5): Stupa 49 is the biggest among the Chahar Bagh group, being 10m high and 25m across. From the centre through to the south side extends an excavation trench. Not enough of the monastery to the south remains to show a clear plan. ... About 30m east of Stupa 49 lies the ruin of a large monastery and to its east stands Stupa 51, about 1m high and 13m across. Stupa 50, 3m high and 10m across, stands to the west, dependent to Stupa 49.

Finds

E161/VII f. 5, Chahar Bagh no. 1; **E161/VII f. 18**, Package No. 2.

Masson 1841, p. 104:

[At the base of the dome] was found a small steatite vase, which covered some ashes and fragments of bones, with an animal tooth, perhaps that of a camel, and one copper coin of Mokadphises [Wima Kadphises].

F526/1b f. 2 (not illustrated); **Vol. II, Fig. 89.9**: 'Tope Chahar Bagh yielded stone box – enclosing fragments of small silver box containing 1 pice of [Wima] Kadphises, the tooth of some animal (camel?) and fragments of bone'.

Fig. 220 – 1880.97. SKM 1020. Turned, shallow cylindrical reliquary of light grey steatite, with a flat lid and flared knob. The wall of the body has a roughly cross-hatched band between mouldings. The lid has an incised lotus with double-outlined petals. The top of the lid knob is slightly concave and also has a floral motif. The underside of the body has an oblong mortise used during manufacture on a lathe. H. 5cm (with lid), D. 9.2cm.

The reliquary contains a piece of paper with an incorrect pencilled note by Franks: 'II. Kotpur?' This presumably



Figure 219 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 36.5: Chahar Bagh 5 from the west. Kyoto University 1965

derives from its similar shape and design to the reliquary from Kotpur 2 (Fig. 85). It is identified as being from Chahar Bagh 5 by a process of elimination since it is the only one not sketched (F526/1b ff. 1–3).

The fragments of bone and of 'a small silver box' have not been identified. The 'tooth of some animal (camel?)' may now be included with the donkey teeth from Hadda 11 (Fig. 285). The bronze coin of the Kushan king Wima Kadphises (c. AD 117–27) may be included among the four examples of this ruler from Chahar Bagh 4 (Fig. 215.1–4 above).

Zwalf 1996, no. 648, p. 345; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 139, 288–9, fig. 4.21, no. 350.

Chahar Bagh 6 / MSS 1 / Chaharbagh Hassan 1 / Qal'a-i Haji

Masson 1841, p. 104, Topes pl. VIId; **F63 section 2, f. 52**; E161/VII f. 5, f. 18; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 122, no. 52 (Fig. 221).

Figure 220 Chahar Bagh 5 reliquary





Figure 221 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. Vld: 'Tope no. 6 at Chahar Bagh'

*Tope Chaharbagh -
small stone box enclosing small oblong golden one -*



Figure 222 F526/1b f. 3: Sketch of Chahar Bagh 6 relic deposit. British Library. 'Tope Chaharbag[h] – small stone box enclosing small oblong golden one'

Masson 1841, p. 104: Tope No. 6 of Chahar Bagh.

This tope is situated about 500 yards [457m] from its predecessor, and, like it, underwent the examination of Dr Gerard. I continued the excavation to the base, and found there a small steatite vase, enclosing a small cylindrical case with cover of gold. Beyond a sprinkling of ashes, there was no further deposit. This tope and a former one [Chahar Bagh 5] were originally of the same dimensions; they now show a circumference of 90 feet [27.43m; diam. 8.73m], but it is probable their genuine one was 108 feet [32.92m; diam. 10.48m]. It has also, as No. 5, its enclosed space to the east.

Mizuno (1970–1, p. 122) misidentifies his stupa 50 as Chahar Bagh 6, but says that to the east are a further two stupas (nos 52–3). No. 52 may be identified as Chahar Bagh 6, for it had been excavated on the south-east side.

Finds

E161/VII f. 5, Chahar Bagh no. 2: 'A small stone box enclosing a golden one, fragments of another silver box with beads of crystals &c.' Masson notes the 'memorandum is

Figure 223.1 Chahar Bagh 6 steatite reliquary



very brief, not having the relics before me' and temporarily muddled the finds of Chahar Bagh 6 with those from Hadda 1 and possibly elsewhere. This is corrected in the list of finds sent to Pottinger on 11 December 1834 (**E161/VII f. 18**, Package no. 2: 'Small stone box containing small oblong golden one'; **Fig. 222**).

Fig. 223.1 – 1880.99. IM 14 (on lid), 41 (on body); SKM 959. Globular, turned, light grey steatite reliquary with dark patches. The lid is surmounted by a flared, flat-topped knob decorated with a flower with pointed petals. Additional decoration is confined to regularly spaced bands of parallel incised grooves on the body and shoulder. A vertical flange around the inner lip of the body fits under the slightly recessed rim of the lid. There is an oblong mortise on the flat base to hold it in position on the lathe for turning. H. 9.7cm (with lid); D. 10cm (junction with lid).

Identification of the reliquary with Chahar Bagh 6 is based on Masson's sketch (**Fig. 222**). A drawing by Masson of a similar reliquary, but with a different flower on the knob (**Fig. 251**: F63 section 2, f. 65), is titled 'Hadda' and is from Hadda Stupa 1 (**E161/VII f. 5**, f. 18; Masson 1841, p. 106); Zwalf 1996, no. 643, p. 343; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 137–8, 286–7, fig. 4.18, no. 338.

Fig. 223.2 – 1880.3982.a–b. (a) IM.Metal.82–91; (b) IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM.Metal.111–124; (a) Flat, circular gold lid with straight sides and a small cylindrical knob; (b) Gold, cylindrical miniature amulet-case or reliquary, with a small loop on the side. The body is soldered to the base with a narrow overlapping band; the top of the body is crushed. D. 9mm, H. 1.6mm (lid), 7mm (amulet case).



Figure 223.2 Chahar Bagh 6 gold reliquary



Figure 224 Masson 1841, Topes pl. VI: 'Tumuli of Chahar Bagh' from the south (right to left) MSS 3–5 the remaining three are not numbered

The two parts were previously registered separately under IM.Metal.82–91 and IM.Metal.111–124 respectively, both groups of gold finds primarily from Bimaran Stupa 2 (see **Fig. 119.5–7, 10–15**). Masson does not record the existence of a tiny gold reliquary in the Bimaran 2 deposit, but does list 'a small cylindrical case with cover of gold' (1841, p. 104) and elsewhere 'a small oblong golden' box (F526/1b f. 3) from Chahar Bagh 6, both descriptions which could apply to this amulet case.

Chahar Bagh tumuli

Masson 1841, p. 104 (**Fig. 224**): Tumuli of Chahar Bagh. I have before noted that as many of these secondary monuments have the accompaniments of enclosed areas [monasteries], there is the probability that they may have in such cases a character analogous to topes: examination, however, produced nothing to verify this conjecture; for the few I opened were barren of results. Still a tumulus with an enclosed area attached, may be a structure of higher import than a tumulus without one.



Figure 225 F63 section 2, f. 53: Chahar stupa mound MSS 3; 'at 80 paces to the right no. [MSS] 6' (Chahar Bagh 2). British Library



Figure 226 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 36.1: Stupa 46 (MSS 3) from the south-west. Kyoto University 1965

Chahar Bagh MSS 3 (Mizuno 46)

F63 section 2, f. 54: Unopened tumulus and monastery.

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 121, no. 46, pl. 36.1 (**Figs 225–6**):

Stupa 46 [MSS 3] stands on a hill to the north of Stupa 45 [MSS 5]. The mound measured 6m high and 18m in diameter in 1965. To the south was a large monastery 50m square, built of mud-bricks 30 x 30 x 7cm on a stone foundation. Monks' cells, 3.5m square, had vaulted ceilings built of wedge-shaped mud-bricks and entrances *c.* 1.03–1.25m wide.

Chahar Bagh MSS 4 / Mirza Jahangir (Mizuno no. 47)

Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 183–4, no. 727, map 113: lat. 34°25'N, long. 72°22'E; 9km west of Jalalabad, *c.* 2km south of Chahar Bagh village, between Chahar Bagh stupa 4 and stupas 5–6.

F63 section 2, f. 54: Unopened tumulus and monastery.

Mizuno 1970–1, p. 121, no. 47, pl. 36.4 (**Fig. 227**):

The stupa (diam. 15m; height 6m) lies north-west of Stupa 46 and less than 1km from the river. To the west are two smaller votive stupas. The monastery, *c.* 50m square, is to the south. Near the north-west walls were many stucco fragments.



Figure 227 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 36.4: Stupa 47 (MSS 4) from the south-west. Kyoto University 1965

Chahar Bagh MSS 5 (Mizuno no. 45)

Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 123, no. 426, map 113: Hazratan, lat. 34°24'N, long. 70°23'E; c. 2 km south of Hazratan village, in the foothills between Siah Sang and Qala'a-i Haji stupas, c. 9km west of Jalalabad. F63 section 2, f. 54: 'Unopened tumulus and monastery'.

Mizuno 1970-1, p. 121, no. 45:

The debris of a stupa measuring 5m high and 13m across, was located on the northern edge of the plateau and the west side of the ravine. To the south was a monastery and further south another ruin of uncertain function.



Figure 228 Mizuno 1970-1, pl. 33.4: Stupa 30 (MSS 10) from the east. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 230 Mizuno 1970-1, pl. 33.5: Votive stupa associated with stupa 30 (MSS 10). Kyoto University 1965

Chahar Bagh MSS 10 (Mizuno no. 30)

F63 section 2, f. 54: Unopened tumulus and monastery.

Mizuno 1970-1, p. 120, no. 30, pl. 33.4-5 (**Figs 228-30**):

A ruin about 5m high and 15m across. On the north side a little of the plastered base survived and a trace of the circular drum was visible on the west side. To the north-east were two votive stupas 'lately exposed by villagers'.



Figure 229 Mizuno 1970-1, p. 74, fig. 37: Stucco fragments from stupa 30 (MSS 10). Kyoto University 1965

Chapter 16

Sites in the Jalalabad, Kunar and Safed Koh Regions

Tepe Ashrak / Burj Ashrak / Burj Jemadar / Tappa/Tupper Ashuk/Ashruk / Mound of Shah Nasr / Dasht-i Bagram

Masson 1841, p. 99, **Topes pl. VIIc**; Mizuno 1970–1, p. 113, pl. 38.2; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 85, no. 261, map 113; Dasht-i Bagram, lat. 34°26'N, long. 70°25'E (**Figs 232–3**).

Masson 1841, p. 99:

Eastward of the Surkh Rud, and on the plain stretching to Jalalabad, are dispersed many tumuli. Amongst the most remarkable of these is one called Tepe Ashrak, a little north of Chahar Bagh, being separated therefrom by a broad and deep ravine, through which flows the rivulet of Sultanpur. It is surmounted by a square building called Burj Jemadar, believed to have been raised by Ghilzai Jemadar in recent times, as the tepe is ascribed to one Ashrak, a modern Ghilzai Khan, but erroneously, as manifested by the fragmentary portions of the fine slate covering which once enveloped it. This structure has not been examined, and I should not have noticed it but for its large dimensions, and as serving to introduce another huge mound with which the Darunta section will close. Both, I am aware, are foreign thereto, but they conduct to the site which may have been the chief city of this country at the period when the topes were erected.

F63 section 2, f. 50: 'Tumulus or Tepe Ashrak, with Burj Jemadar'.

This is a very suspicious structure called Burj Ashrak or Burj Jemadar. The mound on which it stands is evidently the base of a tope or it may be a tumulus. The quadrangular building above some relate was erected by Ashrak Sultan, the Chief of the Ghilzais at the time of Nadir's [Shah of Iran, 1736–47]

Figure 231 Map of the Jalalabad, Kunar, Laghman and Safed Koh regions

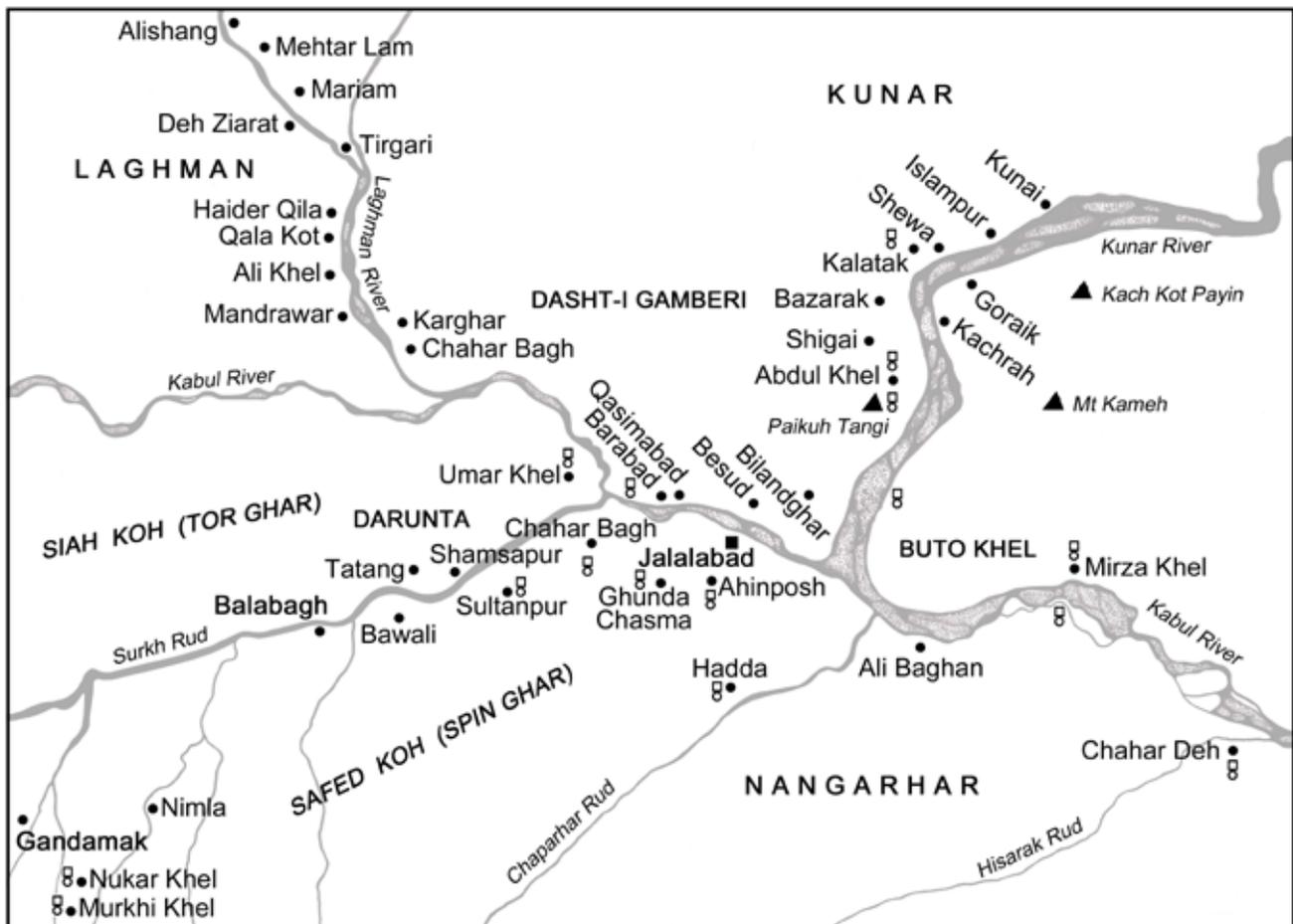




Figure 232 F63 section 2, f. 50: 'Burj Ashrak from the north at 124 feet [38m]'. British Library

invasion of these countries, and who was slain to appease the wrath of the conqueror, Ashrak Sultan having murdered a messenger dispatched by Nadir to Muhammad Shah of Delhi [Mughal emperor, 1719–48]. It is very doubtful however, that this structure owes its origin to Ashrak Sultan.

Tepe Khwaja Lahori / Tappa Khwaja Lahoree / Tupper Khwajeh Lahore

E164 f. 133; F63 section 2, f. 49; Masson 1841, p. 99, Topes pl. I: Tappa Khurjalapore, pl. VIId; Simpson 1881, pp. 184–94 (Figs 75, 239; Vol. II, Fig. 30); Mizuno 1970–1, p. 113, pl. 39.1–3; Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 272–3, no. 1169, map 113: Tepe Khwaja Lahori, lat. 34°27'N, long. 70°23'E.

Masson 1841, p. 99 (Figs 234–7):

This mound is one of the most extraordinary objects on the plain of Jalalabad, from its huge dimensions. Its base has a circumference of 1800 feet [548.64m]; it stands near the Kabul River, and on the skirt of the site called Begram. ... The presence of the caves in these vestiges and on the sides of the mound also indicates the purpose which it has served. Coins, trinkets, and other relics are found here, generally at any time, but particularly after rains. Jars are also frequently disinterred, and point out that it was not a particular cemetery, but the common one of the community. Adjacent to it are many tumuli, particularly near a hamlet named Chakanor [Chahanawri].

F63 section 2, f. 49: 'Tepe Khwaja Lahori, as called near Jalalabad' (Vol. II, Fig. 53).

This is a huge tumulus, of about 760 yards [694.94m] circumference at [the] base. ... There are around it various parapets of masonry, which from the chequered arrangement of the stones and the caves also to be found, leave no doubt of its being a sepulchral monument, if proof thereof were not

Figure 234 G40 f. 70: Tepe Khwaja Lahori. British Library



Figure 233 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 38.2: Tepe Ashrak. Kyoto University 1965

afforded by the funereal jars, coins, trinkets and other articles found on its surface. Adjacent is moreover a sepulchral tumulus as seen and contiguous to it are many others; indeed its entire neighbourhood is covered with mounds.

E164 f. 133: 30 April 1835

Tupper Lahore. This is a remarkable artificial mound. ... It has been found [built] either entirely or partially with masonry, the stones [being] inserted after the chequered manner. On the summit at the western extremity is a tumulus. Coins, fragments of iron, silver and gold are occasionally found on the mound, and funereal jars are also sometimes exposed. The tumulus was situated amid a huge square enclosure, the remains of which are clearly discernible in the huge mounds encompassing it. Without this enclosure are seven remarkable tumuli and vast heaps of stones. The adjacent side is called Begram and the natives have a tradition that the city of Lahore once stood here. The fact is that Tupper Lahore is a sepulchral erection, as are the various tumuli and heaps of stones in the vicinity.

Nagara Ghundi / Nagara Goondee / Gundi

Masson 1841, Topes pl. I: 'Tumulus of loose stones'; Simpson 1879, p. 229; 1880, pp. 53–4, pl. 4a; 1881, p. 191–2; Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 190–1, no. 756, maps 42.2, 113: lat. 34°26'N, long. 70°23'E (Fig. 238).

In 1878, while encamped with British troops in the neighbourhood during the Second Anglo-Afghan War, Colonel Jenkins of the Corps of Guides made a brief attempt to open the Nagara Ghundi stupa (Simpson 1880, pp. 53–4). His tunnel 9m into the square base unearthed a stray bronze coin of either Apollodotus I (c. 180–160 BC) or Apollodotus II (c. 65–50 BC) in the spoil.



Figure 235 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 39.2: Tepe Khwaja Lahori and ‘annex stupas’ from the south-west. Kyoto University 1965



Figure 236 Mizuno 1970–1, pl. 39.1: Tepe Khwaja Lahori from the south. Kyoto University 1965

William Simpson took advantage of this activity to explore the architectural remains. He records that the stupa base was approximately 120 feet (36.57m) square and the dome *c.* 100 feet (30.48m) in diameter. He cleared ‘a portion of one side and found the plan of the stairs similar to that at Ahinposh’. It had the same pilasters, mouldings and masonry facing, but the plastered surface was more worn. In construction the stupa seems to have resembled Gudara (Figs 176, 178). The core was ‘a cairn of rounded boulders’ obtained from the nearby Kabul River, reinforced by masonry ribs radiating from the centre. ‘None of them to extend exactly to the centre, and they disappear again among the boulders towards the circumference. They are formed of Buddhist masonry, with a face formed only on one side. ... The conclusion is that these spines or diaphragms were constructed all through the Tepe, to give stability to the mass’ (Simpson 1879, p. 53). At *c.* 20 feet (6.09m) into the structure ‘another wall was found right across the line of the tunnel’, which Simpson thought was circular. This suggests the existence of an earlier core stupa encased within the later enlargement.

Nagarahara (modern Nangarhar)

The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang describes the city of Nagarahara in AD 632 as ‘more than 20 *li* [8.8km] in circuit ... the people venerate the Buddha-dharma, though a few of them have faith in heretical religions. There are many monasteries but few monks. All the stupas are deserted and in dilapidated condition’ (fasc. II.878b–c). Within the city was a stupa *c.* 9m high and traces of the substantial foundations of another said to have once contained a tooth relic of the Buddha. Two *li* (1km) to the east of the city was a third stupa (*c.* 9m high) allegedly built by Ashoka to commemorate the site of the Dīpaṅkara jātaka.

Masson (1841, p. 99, Topes pl. I) identifies the city with the ‘Dasht of Begram [which had] numerous tumuli scattered over it; [and where] coins [are] occasionally found’.

E164 f. 133:

The term Begram, denoting the metropolis, refers [in the Jalalabad region] probably to the ancient Nysa of Ptolemy [see p. 124 above] ... to which the mounds [west of Jalalabad] seem to relate. ... Begram was the name more recently conferred upon capital cities, and being a general one, was common to many large cities, as Begram of Peshawar, Begram of Jalalabad, Begram of Kabul and Begram of Kohistan.

Mizuno (1970–1, pp. 112–13, fig. 24) tentatively identifies Xuanzang’s 9m high stupa with Tepe Ashrak and the

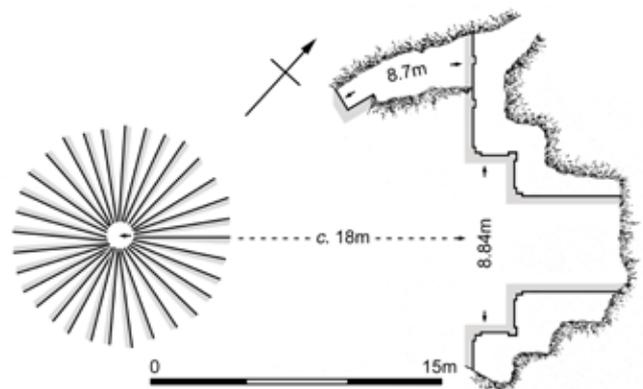


Figure 237 Simpson 1881, plate p. 184: ‘Nagarahara – the ancient capital of the Jalalabad region’

Ashoka stupa with Tepe Khwaja Lahori. Simpson (1881, pp. 190–1) locates Nagarahara not by the spread of mounds and surface finds, but on basis of the survival of ‘possible remaining fragments of the old name’ in Naghrat and Nagara Ghundi.

He marks the actual site of Tepe Khwaja Lahori as ‘rock’ and – relying on local hearsay – incorrectly equates the name with a Hindu shrine which he tentatively places on the east bank of the Kabul River. He also misidentifies Nandara stupa 2 (south-east of Nandara 1) as Deh Rahman 2 which was actually located in the centre of the village of Umar Khel. His map (Fig. 239) marking the extent of the city of ancient Nagarahara places the site further to the north-west than Masson’s Begram (1841, Topes pl. I; Fig. 76), which is marked merely as ‘ruins – stones in heaps’ by Simpson. The 1965 survey locates Nagarahara still further west to exclude

Figure 238 Simpson 1880, pl. 4a: Plan of Nagara Ghundi



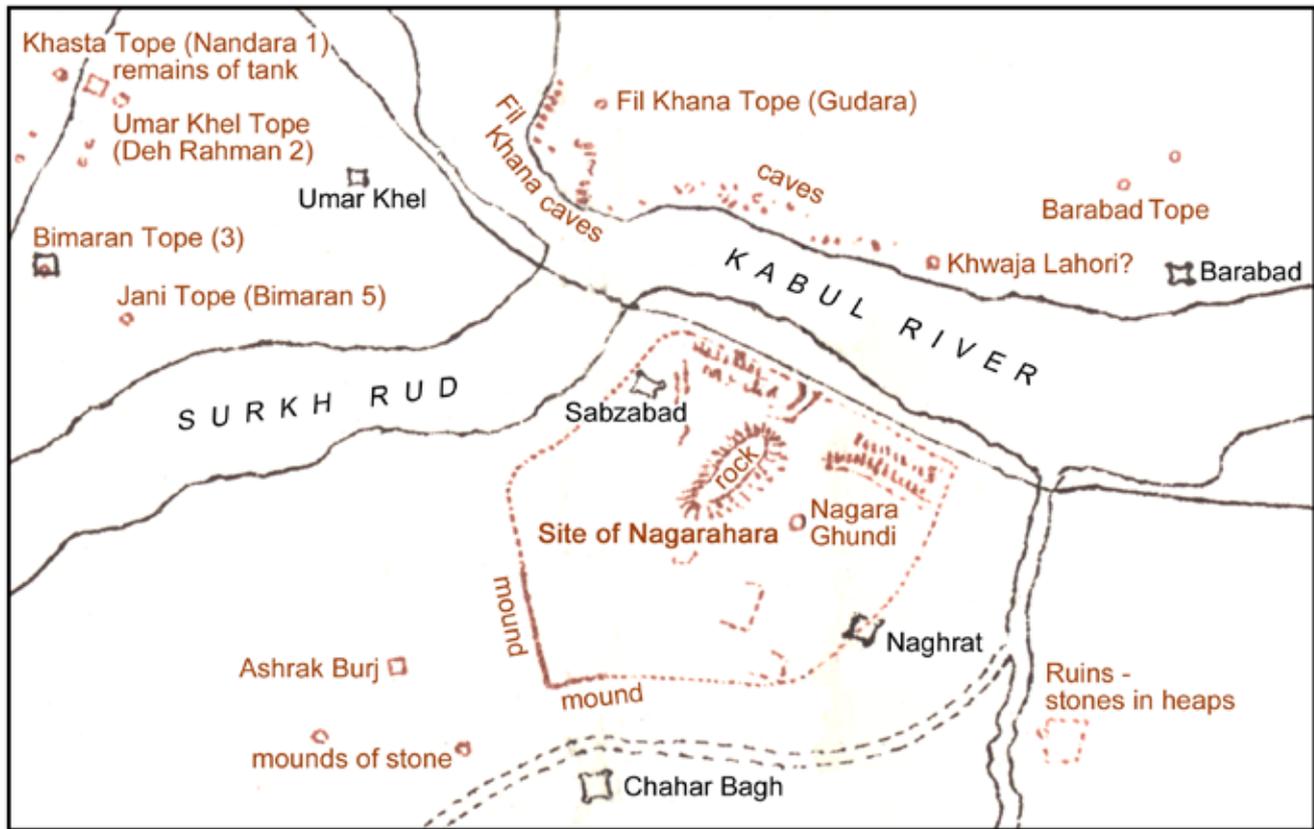


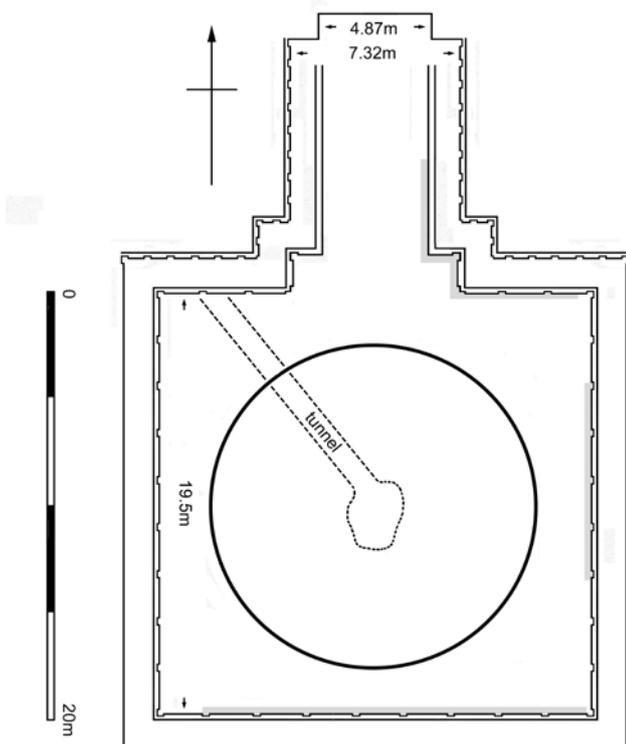
Figure 239 Edited detail of Simpson's map (Vol. II, Fig. 30) marking the extent of ancient Nagarahara

Simpson's 'rock', but include the L-shaped 'mound', 'Ashrak Burj', 'mounds of stone' and Chahar Bagh (Fig. 75; Mizuno 1970-1, fig. 24).

Ghunda Chasma / Gunda Chismeh / Indu Khel

Simpson 1879a, pp. 228-9; 1880, p. 51, pl. IVb; Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 364, p. 108, plan 22.3, map 113; lat. 34°30'N;

Figure 240 Plan of Ghunda Chasma (after Simpson 1880, pl. IVb)



long. 70°26'E. The remains of a stupa, with a vihara to the south, 1.5km west of Ahinposh; 4km south-west of Jalalabad.

The site is identifiable as one of the 'isolated tumuli' on the 'same continuous line of eminences' as the Chahar Bagh stupas, and connecting them 'with a large tumulus, or dilapidated tope, named Tepe Ahinposh' (Masson 1841, p. 100). Simpson partly excavated the stupa in 1879. He uncovered a base c. 20m square and 1.07m in height, faced with regularly spaced pilasters. Set back 1.37m on this was a terrace 2.44m high with ten pilasters above a moulded plinth. There was a flight of steps on the north side. In plan and elevation therefore, the stupa resembled Guldara (Figs 66-8). Simpson also dug a tunnel from the north side to the centre, but failed to find any relic deposit (Fig. 240).

Ahinposh / Ahin Push / Ayun Posh / Ahunpok

F63 section 1, f. 23v. Simpson 1879a, pp. 227-8; 1879b, pp. 77-9; 1880, pp. 44-54, pls II-III, V. **Vol. II, Fig. 30.**

Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 17, pp. 29-30, 418, plan 2.1-2, map 113: Ahin Push, lat. 34°24'N; long. 70°27'E. A stupa courtyard and adjacent monastery on the west side, located on a hill c. 2km south of Jalalabad, west of the road to Hadda (Fig. 241).

William Simpson spent February 1879 at Ahinposh, clearing the debris to reveal the base of the stupa, and digging a tunnel from the north side to the centre of the mound. He partially cleared the courtyard mounds on the south side of the stupa, uncovering the principal gateway and the feet of a colossal image at the entrance. Each foot was 58cm in length, 'modelled very beautifully in mud, and covered with fine chunam [stucco]'. There was also evidence of later reoccupation, with a tower on the summit of the

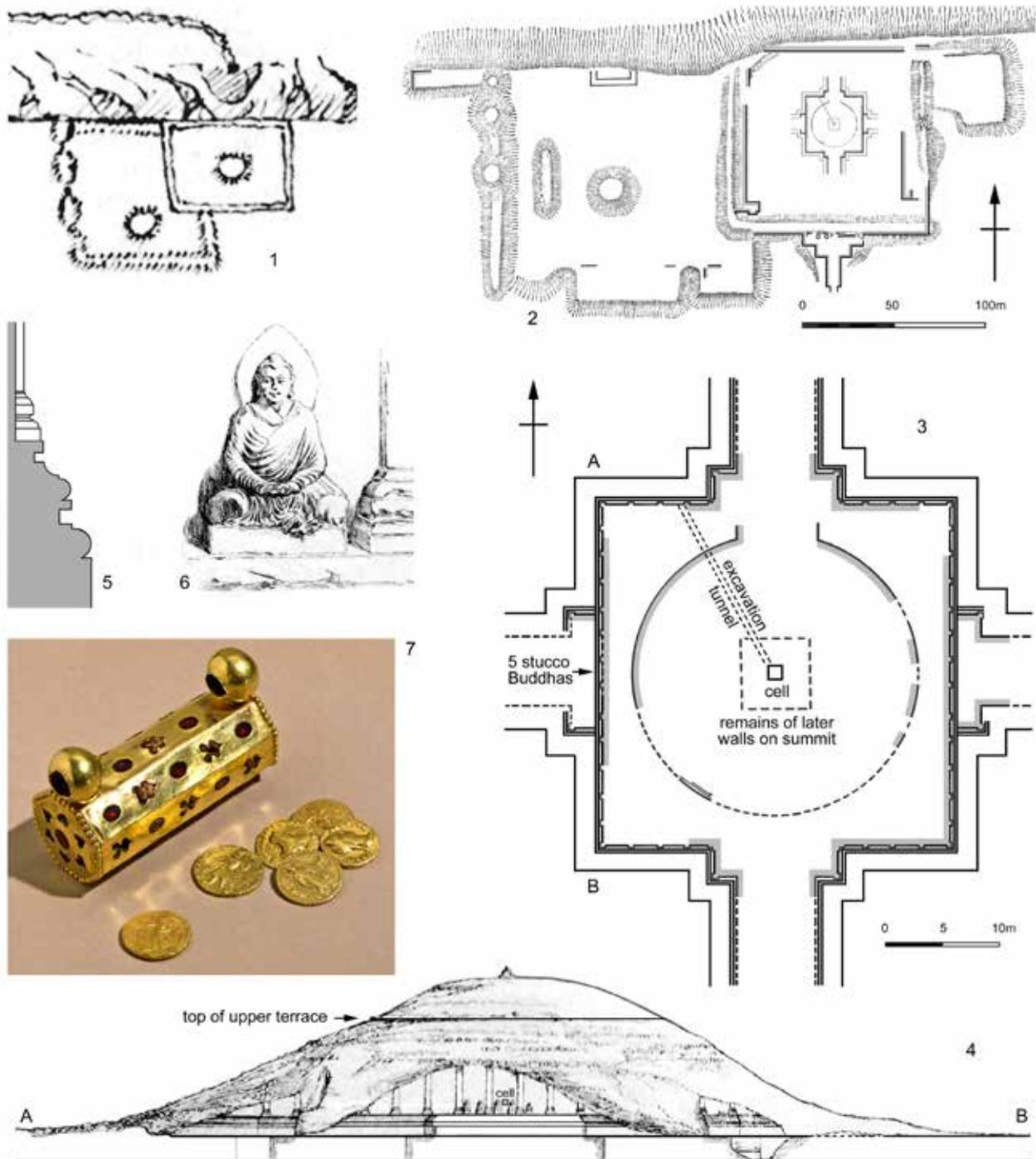


Figure 241 Ahinposh site 1. Site plan (Masson E164 f. 109). 2–3. Site and stupa plans; 4. West elevation; 5. Section of base mouldings; 6. Stucco seated Buddha c. 91cm high on west façade (Simpson 1880, p. 50, pls II, III.1–3). 7. Gold amulet case and coins

stupa and rude masonry walls built in part on top of the original structures.

Only parts of the lowest course of a stupa dome *c.* 80 feet/24.38m in diameter survived. This was centred on a base 115 feet/35m square and a podium 30.48m square, surviving to a height of *c.* 4.58m and decorated with 14 pilasters on each side. Retrieved stucco capital fragments were Indo-Corinthian. Traces, possibly the top of the podium, were found *c.* 6.1m above ground level. In plan and elevation the structure was similar to Guldara. However, it differed in that initially there were flights of steps on both the north and south sides. At the western foot of the south stairway were the remains of the legs of a small standing stucco figure. In the middle of the west side, five stucco Buddhas were found in situ, seated in pairs between the pilasters on the façade of the terrace. Traces of a wall built at right angles to the base on this side was first identified as a possible shrine. But the projecting wall had no inner facing and the space had been filled with mud and boulders, covering up the pilasters and statues, with a small gap being left between the two. The east and west projections appear to have been stairways, for they were identical in plan to the stairs on the north and south sides, but the masonry was different, suggesting they had been added later.

The interior mass of the stupa was composed of water-worn boulders embedded in mud. In the centre, *c.* 3.65m above ground level was an oblong slate 'heap' 1.22m x 0.92m. This contained a small relic cell, 40cm square, the sides made of small trimmed slate slabs *c.* 15cm long and 1.3cm thick, with large slabs for the cover and the base. The cell held two handfuls of 'brown dust', possibly ashes, 18 gold coins and an amulet case.

Finds

Hoernle 1879, pp. 122–38; Cunningham 1879, pp. 205–12. **BM-TM 25-3-1882; BM-Asia 21-8-1882;** Errington and Cribb 1992, nos 171–3, pp. 176–7; Zwalf 1996, no. 668, I, pp. 352–3; II, p. 351.

Fig. 241.7 – 1880.29. Octagonal gold amulet case inset with garnets and green serpentine. It has two globular lugs for suspension. One flat end is sealed with a beaded border; the other forms a detachable lid, also beaded. L. 75mm, W. (external) 30mm, D. (internal) 22mm, H. 46mm (with attachment lugs). Lid with cylindrical flange: L. 25mm.

The case is made from two layers of gold sheet: a hollow inner cylinder and an outer octagonal sheath. A hardened resin fills the casing between the two, which are joined at the open end by a flat section 3mm wide. The external faces each have perforations of ovals backed with garnets alternating with a double heart-shaped motif originally backed with green serpentine, of which only one insert remains. Both ends have a round garnet inset in the centre, encircled by seven heart-shaped openings which presumably were once inset with green serpentine. The lugs are also reinforced internally with a brown substance which has pierced holes through which thin suspension cords once passed. Its condition indicates that it was used prior to burial. Bodhisattva statues conventionally illustrate amulets of this type threaded together and strung diagonally across the chest.

It contained a 'small hard substance' and two gold coins: one of Wima Kadphises and one of Kanishka, but the specific coins are not identified among the 20 published (Hoernle 1879, pls II–III).

Only seven coins from the stupa deposit survive in the British Museum. Others appear to have been donated to other institutions, for example six coins (three each of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka) were presented by the Government of India to the Asiatic Society of Bengal according to its annual report for 1879; later this is said to be 12 coins (Proc. ASB February 1880, pp. 25, 33).

Kushan gold coins

10 coins of Wima Kadphises (*c.* AD 113–27):

Fig. 242.1 – IOC.270. *Obverse:* Bust of king with flaming shoulders to right, emerging from a mountain top, holding a club. Tamgha in upper left field. Greek inscription: BACIAEYC OOHMO KAAΦICHC. *Reverse:* Figure of Wesho standing to front, head to left, holding a trident, water-pot and animal skin. Tamgha in left field, *nandipada* symbol in right. Kharoshthi inscription: *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'isvarasa mahisvarasa v'ima kathipisasa tradara* (of the great king, king of kings, lord of the world, great lord, Wima Kadphises). 7.78g, 19mm. Cribb and Bracey (forthcoming), C.Griivb; Göbl 1984, G.16.4; Gardner 1886, p. 125.5.

Fig. 242.2–9: Not traced. *Obverse:* Bust of king to right (2–5), to left (6–9). Tamgha behind king's head. *Reverse:* Wesho standing. Tamgha in left field, *nandipada* symbol in right.

Fig. 242.10 – IOC.269. *Obverse:* Bust of king to right, holding a club. Tamgha in left field. Greek inscription as **1**. *Reverse:* Three-headed figure of Wesho standing in front of a bull standing to right; *nandipada* symbol in upper left field. Kharoshthi inscription as **1**. 7.99g, 19mm. Cribb and Bracey (forthcoming), C.Giii a; Göbl 1984, G.2.1; Gardner 1886, p. 125.4.

6 coins of Kanishka I (*c.* AD 127–50):

Fig. 242.11 – IOC.289. *Obverse:* King at altar, standing to front, head turned to left, holding a spear and elephant goad. Bactrian inscription: **PAONANOPAO KANHPKI KOPAO**. *Reverse:* Figure of Buddha standing in *abhaya mudra*. Tamgha in right field. Bactrian inscription: **BOΔΔO**. 7.07g, 20mm. Cribb and Bracey (forthcoming), D.g iiiia; Göbl 1984, G.66.1; Gardner 1886, p. 130.16.

Fig. 242.12–13: Not traced. *Obverse:* King standing at altar, inscribed **PAONANOPAO KANHPKI KOPAO**. *Reverse (12):* Sun god Mioro, standing with right hand outstretched in gesture of blessing, inscribed **MIPO**. Tamgha in left field. *Reverse (13):* Fire god Athsho standing, holding a diadem in extended right hand, inscribed **AOPPO**. Tamgha in left field.

Fig. 242.14 – IOC.282. *Obverse:* King standing at altar to left. Bactrian inscription: **BACIAEYC BACIAEWN KANIBKOY**. *Reverse:* Moon goddess Selene standing to left, right hand in gesture of blessing. Tamgha in left field. Bactrian inscription: **CAAHNH**. 7.89g, 20mm. Cribb and Bracey (forthcoming), D.g; Göbl 1984, G.26.1; Gardner 1886, p. 129.1.

Fig. 242.15–16: Not traced. *Obverse:* King standing at altar to left, inscribed **PAONANOPAO KANHPKI**



Figure 242 Gold coins from the Ahinposh relic deposit (Proc. ASB 1879, pls II–III)

KOΦANO. *Reverse*: Four-armed Wesho, standing, holding a water-pot, thunderbolt and trident; a goat in the right field, tamgha in left; inscribed OHPO.

One coin of Huvishka (c. AD 150–90):

Fig. 242.17: Not traced. *Obverse*: Bust of king to left, inscribed ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟΦΑΟ ΟΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΦΑΝΟ. *Reverse*: Four-armed Wesho, standing, holding a water-pot, elephant goad, thunderbolt and trident; a goat in the right field, tamgha in the left; inscribed OHPO.

Roman coins

Fig. 242.18 – IOC.1220. Gold aureus of Domitian (AD 81–96). *Obverse*: Head of Domitian, laureate, to right. Latin inscription: DOMITIANVS AVGVSTVS. *Reverse*: Goddess Minerva standing to left, holding a thunderbolt in her right hand and a vertical spear in her left; a shield at her side. Latin inscription: GERMANICVS COS XV. 7.39g, 19mm, minted Rome AD 90–1. *RE* 2, no. 172, p. 334; *RIC* 2.1, no. 697, p. 315; Turner 1989, p. 103.

Fig. 242.19 – IOC.1221. Gold aureus of Trajan (AD 98–117). *Obverse*: Bust of Trajan, laureate, draped and cuirassed, to right. Latin inscription: IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC. *Reverse*: Trajan seated on platform with two attendants; three kings standing before platform to left. Latin inscription: REGNA AD SIGNATA. 7.16g, 19mm, minted Rome AD 112–17. *RIC*

2, no. 367, p. 269; *RE* 3, no. 589, p. 115; Turner 1989, p. 104.

Fig. 242.20 – IOC.1222. Gold aureus of Sabina, wife of Hadrian (AD 128–37). *Obverse*: Bust of Sabina, draped, to right; hair in a plait and wearing a stephane above a diadem. Latin inscription: SABINA AVGVSTA. *Reverse*: Goddess Juno, draped, wearing a stephane, standing to left behind a peacock; holding a patera in her extended right hand and a sceptre in her left. Latin inscription: IVNONI REGINAE. 6.81g, 18mm, minted Rome. *RE* 3, no. 938, p. 359; Turner 1989, p. 104.

In his letter forwarded with the finds and read at the March 1879 meeting of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, Simpson records that the deposit also included eleven ‘unimportant copper coins and other objects’, namely a piece of clear white glass with dark blue raised bands, two pieces of shell, a piece of red stone, a small leaden bullet, a small glass (?) bead and a piece of fused glass (1879b, pp. 77–9). None have been subsequently traced.

Kunar River sites

Tokehi / Paikuh Tangi / Binigah / Bilandghar

Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 129, p. 134, map 113; Binigah, lat. 34°28'N; long. 70°33'E. Located on the west bank of the Kunar River, c. 15km north-east of Jalalabad on the road to Islampur.

Masson and his workmen crossed the Kabul River by ferry at Barabad (1842, III, pp. 274–5) and followed the river through a ‘small marsh choked with reeds’ to ‘Kerimabad’ (Qasimabad), before turning north-east on the high road across the Besud plain to Bilandghar, reaching the Kunar River at the ‘tanghi of Tokhi’ (G41 f. 27: ‘Tokehi’, identifiable as modern Paikuh Tangi). He has two marks – an oblong above a circle – signifying two stupas here. However, he only mentions three castles, and on the west side of a hill opposite the largest one of Bilandghar, the remains of a small stupa. The khan of the castle had examined the structure and ‘whatever else he may have found’, had unearthed a ‘huge block of stone lying amongst the rubbish’ (Figs 231, 243).

Ball and Gardin (1982, p. 134) identify the Bilandghar site on architectural grounds as 1st–6th-century ‘Kushan-Hephthalite’ (i.e. Alkhan and Nezak Huns).

Abdul Khel

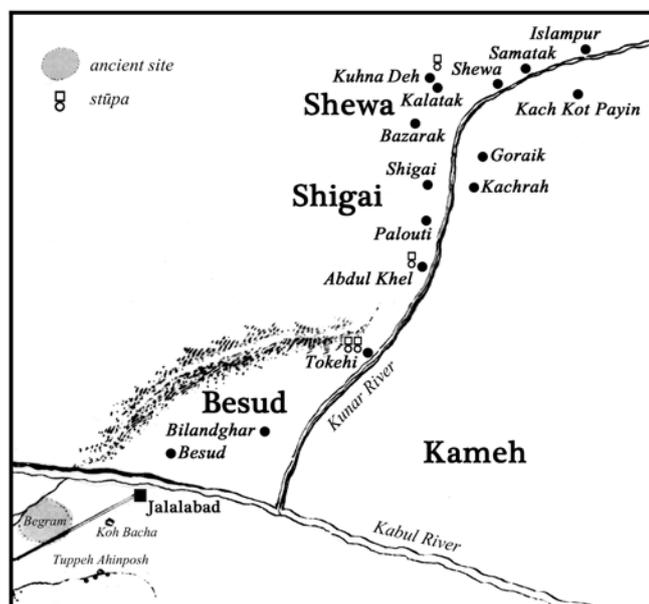
Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 4, p. 27, map 113: Abdulkhel, lat. 34°31’N; long. 70°34’E. Located on the west bank of the Kunar River, c. 21km north-east of Jalalabad on the road to Islampur.

Following the river ‘a considerable distance through marshes and flags’ (irises), Masson next came to Abdul Khel (1842, III, p. 275). On a low detached hill to the east of the small village, he records a stupa of

considerable dimensions, but of ruder construction which, with reference to the structures on the plain of Jalalabad, would rank in the third, or inferior class. It had no signs of embellishment, and not a trace of the coating of cement [lime plaster] with which ... it was once covered, was visible. It had been perforated at some former period on all sides, and although it was impossible to decide whether the relics had been discovered, there was little encouragement to employ our labours in search of them. In age the monument appeared to agree with those of Hadda.

Ball and Gardin (1982, p. 27) identify the site on stylistic grounds as 3rd- to 6th-century ‘Sasanian/Hephthalite’ (i.e. Kushano-Sasanian/Alkhan/Nezak).

Figure 243 G41 f. 27 edited detail: Kunar River sites. British Library



Kuhna Deh / Khonah Deh

Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 627, p. 166, map 113: lat. 34°34’N, long. 70°34’E, a small enclosed village on a hill west of Shewa, near Kalatak, c. 24km north-east of Jalalabad.

From Abdul Khel Masson then took the route via ‘Sheghi’ (Shigai) and Bazarak to Kuhna Deh. Behind the village (1842, III, pp. 276–8)

was a small, but very perfect tope, in the style of architecture greatly resembling the tope Nandara [1] of Darunta, and I should judge, of the same age. The basement and cylindrical superstructure were very entire. This monument I should have been pleased to have opened, but as soon as I learned that the village belonged to Malek Shafi Khan I suspected there would be difficulty. ... I found the malek was close at hand, in the neighbouring village of Kalatak. ... He received me as I anticipated, very coolly, and on starting the question as to whether he had any objection to my employing workmen on the tope, without absolutely replying that he had, his language was by no means encouraging. ... We understood that we might open the tope, but should not be permitted to carry off what we found in it. I therefore wished the malek good-bye for the present. ...

My experience with topes induced me to conjecture that this one at Kuhna Deh had been erected over the relic of a saint, and that we should not have found any coins in it. In the hills behind it are a number of caves, proving the spot to have been a vihara, or monastery, as there are more than would have been necessary in simple connection with the monument.

According to Ball and Gardin, the square platform and dome of the Kushan period stupa were still intact in the early 1980s. The walls of the monastery were still standing and there were the remains of aqueducts. The village was built with ancient masonry from the site.

Islampur / Islamabad

Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 453, p. 130, map 113: lat. 34°35’N, long. 70°37’E.

Masson continued his reconnaissance to Shewa and on as far as Islampur (1842, III, pp. 279–81). From this point the valley narrowed but they could see as far as ‘Kundi’ (Kunai), c. 5km in the distance, where the river turned northwards. A hill immediately behind Islampur was ‘covered with the remains of walls and parapets, indicating a place of ancient sepulture. On one of the eminences are the remains of a very small tope, so dilapidated to the south that the interior of the building is exposed, and shows that a perpendicular shaft extended for top to bottom’.

Ball and Gardin (1982, p. 130) mention the possible remains of a stupa, but identify the fortification walls as Hindu Shahi and Timurid. At Kunai, Masson was informed, ‘were similar vestiges, but to a greater extent’ (Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 644, p. 170, map 113: lat. 34°35’N, long. 70°09’E). He was, however, advised not to proceed any further ‘as, though we were many, we were unarmed’.

On the way back from Islampur, they skirted the river from Shewa to Shigai. Masson marks two places along the eastern bank – ‘Gorekh’ (Goraik) opposite Shewa and ‘Katcheri’ (Kachrah) further south nearer Shigai – but he clearly never crossed the river. Although he does not mention stopping to take any readings, his map attests that he did so.

Kameh

Masson marks the region bounded by the Kunar River to the west and the Kabul River to the south as Kameh (**G41 f. 27**) – modern Buto Khel – and illustrates a stupa seemingly in this area. The sketch – taken from the opposite bank of a wide river – is entitled ‘Kameh tope’ (**Fig. 244: G40 f. 68**), and shows a stupa on top of a precipitous hill against a dramatic backdrop of high mountains, but his only written records are compass readings taken from Chahar Bagh and Kotpur 2, which site the crest of ‘Koh Kameh’ at N38°E and N77°E respectively (**F63 section 1, f. 23v; f. 26**).

William Simpson visited the Kameh district during the Second Anglo-Afghan War, with an expedition against the Momands, who ‘occupied the heights, and hence archaeological inspection was dangerous’. Nevertheless he records seeing Buddhist remains ‘on more than one of the spurs of the hills’, and says further (1881, pp. 183, 206; **Fig. 231**):

From Darunta on the west to Ali Baghan [modern Mian Ali Sahib] on the east is fifteen miles [24.14km], but, on the left bank of the Kabul River, the flat land of Kameh extends the valley on that side, about five or six miles [8–9.65km] further to the east. The termination of the valley at this place is called Mirza Khel, [where] a white rocky ridge comes down close to the river, and there are remains of Buddhist masonry, with caves in the cliff below. On the right bank opposite Mirza Khel is Girdi Khas, which lies in a small valley at the northern end of a mass of hills which terminates the Jalalabad Valley on that side at Ali Boghan, separating it from the Chahar Deh plain, which again extends as far as Basawal. ... On an island in the Kabul River at Girdi Khas, I could see the remains of a Tope, as well as walls, and I presume it was an old monastery.

Mirza Khel therefore could be the site of Masson’s unidentified stupa as it lies at the eastern edge of Kameh where the mountains slope steeply down to the Kabul River and he did pass this way, for example, on his return from Peshawar in 1834. However, Simpson’s map (**Vol. II, Fig. 30**) also marks Buddhist remains approximately due east of Bilandghar, on the mountainous spur beside the east bank of the Kunar River. The topography of this point perfectly fits that of the ‘Tope of Kameh’ sketch, as viewed from the Besud side of the river.

Safed Koh sites

Murkhi Khel

Murkhi Khel stupa is located at the base of the Safed Koh, c. 10km south-east of Gandamak (**Fig. 231**); Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 188, no. 748, map 112: lat. 34°12’N, long. 70°02’E. The site is identified as ‘Kushano-Sasanian, 4th–5th century’.

Masson 1842, III, pp. 299–303:

I made another short excursion to Mukhi Khel, at the foot of the Safed Koh, to ascertain if it were true ... that a tope existed there. ... [The] malik ... was very willing that I should examine it; and I have ever since been much chagrined that I did not have the time to do so. ... The monument was in style of construction, and as regards appearance, the miniature type of the superior tope at Hadda [Stupa 10]; I therefore had little doubt as to its age; but I had hoped, from the nature of its relics,

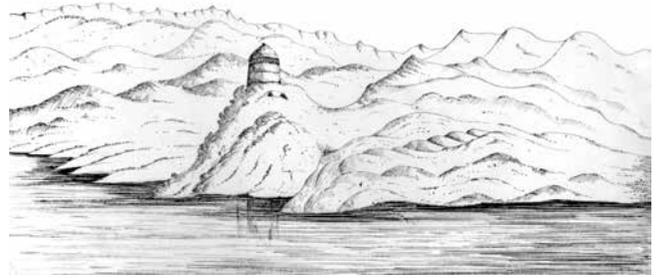


Figure 244 G40 f. 68: ‘Tope of Kameh’. British Library

to have been enabled to have speculated upon the precise character of the two structures, which the costly and diversified deposits from the Hadda monument scarcely permitted. I had a strong impression that the latter edifice might be due to one of those princes whose coins we possess, and which we call Indo-Sassanian [Kushano-Sasanian and in some instances also Kidarite and Alkhan Huns], and my visit to Murkhi Khel tended to confirm me in my conceit.

That the spot had been anciently appropriated to the reception of the dead ... was sufficiently intelligible from the surprising quantities of human bones strewing the surface in certain places. These were in such number that the walls separating the several plots of soil were formed by them. To answer this purpose they were, of course, entire, and it was impossible to imagine that they had ever been subjected to the action of fire. They might, indeed, have been interred; and it was necessary to suppose so, or to conjecture that at Murkhi Khel we had fallen upon a spot where the old Guebre [Zoroastrian] inhabitants of the country deposited their corpses. I am inclined to the latter opinion, because some fifteen or sixteen copper coins I procured here, picked up amongst the bone localities, were all Indo-Sasanian [listed as 7 ‘Sasanian &co.’ coins on 11 December 1834: **E161/VII f. 21**].

Nukar Khel

Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 779, p. 195, map 112: Nukarkhel, lat. 34°26’N, long. 70°04’E. In the northern foothills of the Spinghar, c. 8km north of Murki Khel and 7km south-east of Gandamak (**Fig. 231**).

Masson 1842, III, pp. 301, 303:

At Nukar Khel, about three miles [4.8km] north, or lower down the plain, entire skeletons are and have been frequently found. Around their ankle-bones were originally tied trinkets, coins, or tokens of some kind; of which the present inhabitants are so aware that upon detecting a new subject they never fail minutely to examine its lower extremities, and are generally rewarded by some trifle; sometimes they obtain articles of value. ... [Near Nukar Khel] is a tumulus of large dimensions. The people of the vicinity hearing of the operations carried on upon the topes and tumuli near Jalalabad, considered it might be profitable to ascertain the contents of the edifice in question, and parties, in turns, commenced their labours at the summit. In four or five days they grew discouraged, and desisted.

Chapter 17

Hadda Sites

Masson 1841, pp. 105–13, Topes pls VI–IX; E161/VII ff. 5–9, 12–13, 18–20, 22, 27. Sketch maps: E163 section 19, f. 65; E164 f. 87, ff. 109, 126; **F63 section 2, f. 62v**. Sites: E164 f. 119, 121, 123–4, 127, 129–30; F63 section 2, ff. 20–3, 58–62, 70–3; F64 ff. 74–8. Finds: E164 ff. 110–11, 113; F63 section 2, ff. 63–7.

Simpson 1879, p. 229; 1879–80, pp. 43–5, 56–7; 1882, pp. 328–31; Barthoux 1930, 1933; Fussman 1969; Mostamindi 1969a, b; Tarzi 1976, 1990; Ball and Gardin 1982, pp. 116–18, no. 404, plans 27–9, map 113; lat. 34°22'N, long. 70°28'E. The remains cover an area c. 15 sq. km.

E163 section 19, f. 59 (diary of excavations at Hadda, June–July 1834):

25 June: At Hadda – commenced operations on topes.

26 June: lamp extracted from Walli Muhammad's tope [Hadda 12].

27 June: stone box with 18 pice extracted from Muhammad Khan's tope [Hadda 3].

28 June: stone box extracted [Hadda 1]; continued 30 June.

2 July: At Hadda – extracted from two topes, one stone box with writing on leaves [Hadda 1]; the other, box of rind of tree [i.e. bark], small silver box and 28 copper coins of the King of Kings Kadphises [Hadda 2].

5 July: Extracts from two topes [Hadda 4–5].

Masson 1841, p. 105: Topes and sepulchral monuments of Hadda (**Figs 245–7; Vol. II, Figs 61–3**).

This miscellaneous collection of topes, tumuli, and caves is situated in the same line of conglomerate elevations as those of Chahar Bagh, from the nearest of which they are above three miles [4.82km] distant. From the present town of Jalalabad they are south, and distant about five miles [8km].

As those of Chahar Bagh, they present no traces of embellishment, or of the coatings of cement, by which they were probably once covered. They are rude piles, formed of the fragments of the conglomerate rocks on which they stand in most instances. In some of the topes, the original outlines are imperfectly preserved; but in many and the greater portion they are obliterated, and the tumuli have generally become mere mounds. This is not owing to their possessing antiquity above the superior structures as at Darunta, for they are much more modern in nearly all cases, but by reason of their less substantial construction.

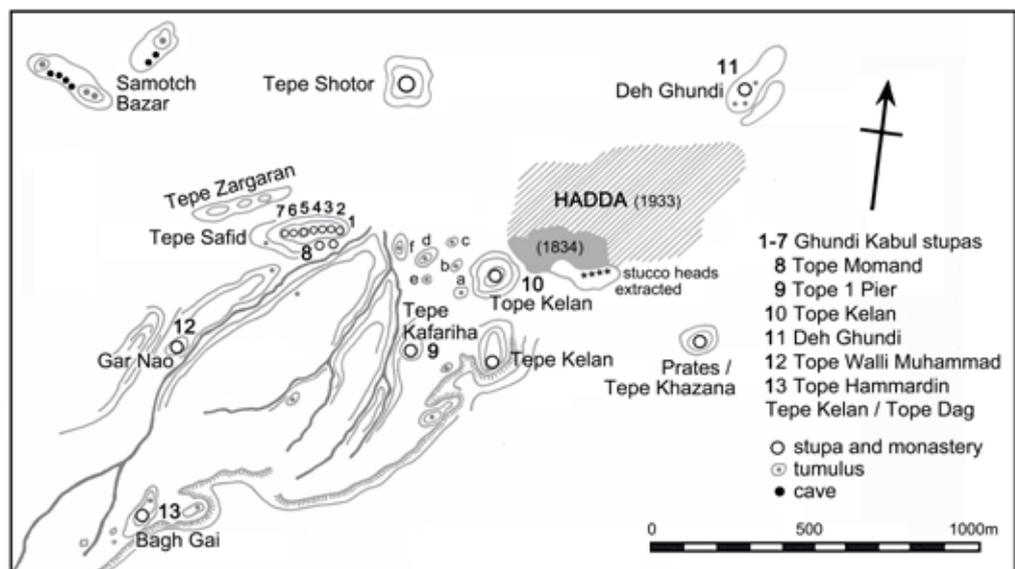


Figure 245 Map of Hadda (after E164 f. 87; Masson 1841, Topes pl. I; Barthoux 1933, fig. 2)

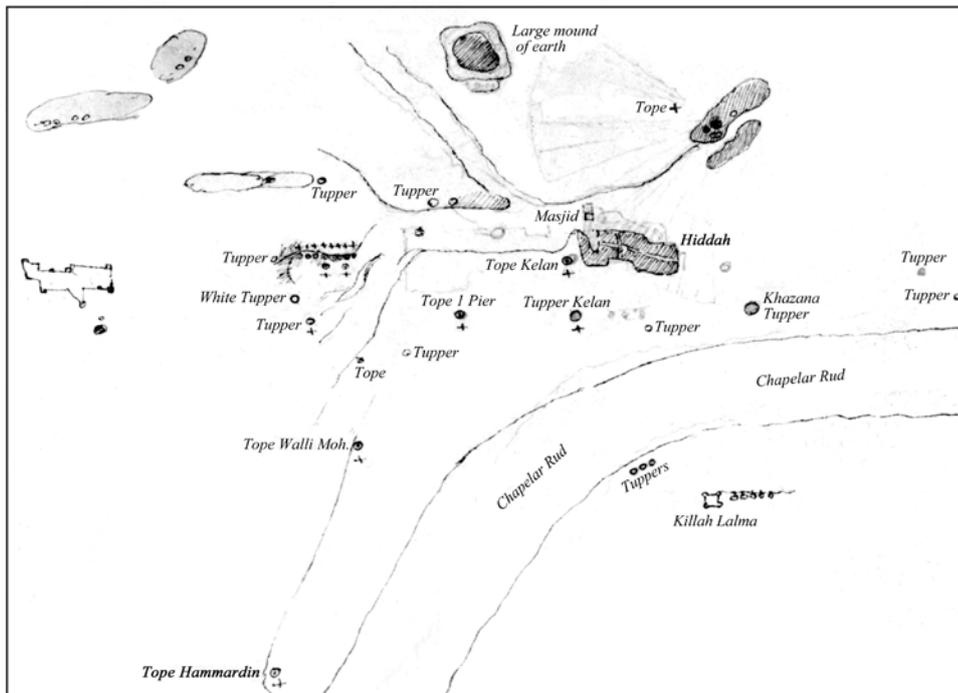


Figure 246 E164 f. 87: Untitled map of Hadda, dated 10 April (1835). British Library

They are scattered about a small village called Hadda, but there is no tradition to assist us in the appropriation of the antiquities. ... It is however, I think, proved by the examination of the structures ... that they relate to whatever city was flourishing on the plain of Jalalabad at the period of the Muhammadan inroads.

Masson excavated 16 structures in 1834: eight 'small topes', four 'large topes' and four 'tumuli' (E161/VII f. 12). Only thirteen are included in *Ariana Antiqua* (Masson 1841, Hadda 1–8, 10–13, Tepe Kelan); the remaining three mounds perhaps lay in the area between Tepe Kelan and Ghundi Kabul (Fig. 245, tumuli a–f), but his list is too cryptic to permit precise identification of the sites in most instances. In 1835, he excavated Hadda 9 and continued at Tepe Kelan (E164 ff. 111, 115).

P/387/71 no. 2 § 2 (6 July 1834):

I had been informed there was one tope. I found however many and a vast number of mounds and tumuli. ... From seven small topes opened I have obtained relics and some copper coins both interesting and satisfactory; two or three have yielded nothing; the larger topes are yet in progress of excavation and I anticipate more important results from them. Independent of the topes, the mounds and tumuli yield vast numbers of idols, I have procured eight and may probably obtain some hundreds if I can appease the clamours of the Mullahs who have assembled en masse and prevented my labourers from working.

Ghundi Kabul / Tepe Safid / Tapa-e-Kabul / Tapa-e-Safid
Masson 1841, pp. 105–7, **Topes pl. VIg–h, Vol. II, Figs 64–5**; E161/VII, ff. 5–6, 12–13; E163 section 19, f. 65; E164 f. 126; F63 ff. 20–2; Tarzi 1990, p. 707, fig. 1.

Masson 1841 pp. 105–6: Hadda Topes 1–7 (**Figs 248–50**).

These are small topes seated on the summit of an eminence called Ghundi Kabul, or the hillock of Kabul. They are the first we approach coming from Chahar Bagh: the eminence on the higher parts near the topes has had many parapets carried along it, traces of which remain. The summit of this eminence barely affords space for the structures on it, and to the south has an equally abrupt descent as on the northern side, and is perforated with caves. I examined all these topes, and shall detail the results.

Hadda 1

E163 section 19, f. 59: excavated 28 June–2 July 1834.

Finds

F526/1b f. 3: 'Tope Hadda. Small stone box containing small silver one – twist of tuz leaf' (not illustrated; **Vol. II, Fig. 91.1**).

Masson 1841 p. 106:

Tope No. 1 contained a small steatite vase, within which was a small silver cylindrical case, with a twist of tuz-leaf. The leaf was inscribed with Bactro-Pali [Kharoshthi] characters, but I fear it is too much to expect that it could be unrolled and deciphered.

Figure 247 F63 section 2, f. 20: 'View of group of 9 topes at Hadda', from the south-east. British Library



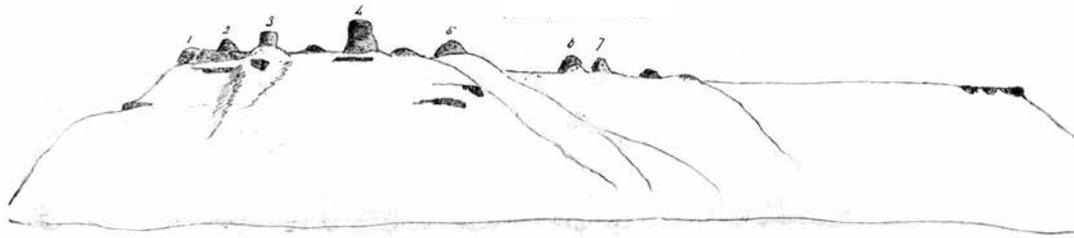


Figure 248 F63 section 2, f. 22: Seven stupas on the summit of Ghundi Kabul, from the north. British Library



Figure 249 F63 section 2, f. 21: Ghundi Kabul 'Topes 1, 2 and 3 and tupper' from the north-east. British Library

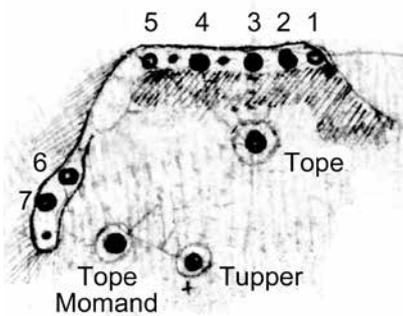


Figure 250 E164 f. 126: Map of Ghundi Kabul (detail). British Library

Figure 251 F63 section 2, f. 65: Untitled sketch of a steatite reliquary probably from Hadda 1. British Library



There is a discrepancy in the manuscript records.

According to **E161/VII f. 5** (written from memory 6–7–1834), the stone reliquary enclosed a 'golden one'; but **f. 18** (memorandum of finds dispatched on 11–12–1834) states it contained a 'small silver one'. It seems Masson temporarily confused this with the similar reliquary from Chahar Bagh 6, which contained a small gold amulet case (see pp. 150–1, **Fig. 223**).

The untitled sketch (**Fig. 251**) is included amongst others of Hadda (F63 section 2, ff. 58–66), suggesting it is from one of the sites. Only Hadda 1 produced an intact steatite reliquary. None of the finds from this relic deposit have been traced.

Hadda 2

Excavated 2 July 1834. **E163 section 19, f. 59**.

Masson 1841, p. 106:

Tope No. 2 contained the fragments of a casket of bark tree, but unfortunately it did not appear to have been deposited in a distinct recess, as usual in most other topes. Accompanying it were twenty-seven large coins of the Indo-Scythic [Kushan] prince Mokadphises [Wima Kadphises *c.* AD 113–27].

Finds

E161/VII f. 5, 'No. 3' (muddled with finds from Hadda 1): 'Fragments of a box of bark of tree painted, with small silver one, and 27 copper coins, Indo-Scythic [**f. 18**: 'of Kadphises'] – also twisted writing on tuz leaf'; **E163 section 19, f. 59**: 28 coins. See also **Vol. II, Fig. 91.2**.

The inscribed birch bark manuscript and Wima Kadphises coins have not been traced; the reliquary fragments and bead were in trays with assorted unrelated finds (**Figs 252–3**).

Fig. 253.1 – 1880.3892.a–e. (Additional fragments and debris: 1880.3891.c, i). IM 66 / SKM 1086. Fragments of a bark reliquary with bands and zigzag lines painted in yellow, dark brown and red. The only reference to bark in the register is SKM 1086, a tray which now only contains numerous pieces of an unpainted birch bark wrapper (**Fig.**

Tope Haddah

Fragments of box of painted bark of tree with pear shaped bead with 27 piece of King Kadphis



Figure 252 F526/1b f. 3: Finds from Hadda 2. British Library
 'Tope Hadda – Fragments of box of painted bark of tree with pear shaped bead – with 27 piece of King Kadphis[es]'

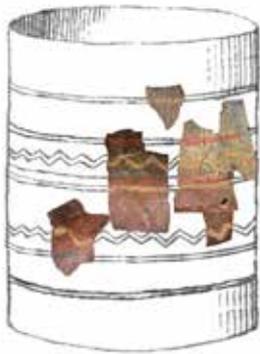


Figure 253 Hadda 2 relic deposit

162.1. Fragments of the two painted bark reliquaries from Nandara 1 (**Fig. 162.2–3**) and Hadda 2 occur together elsewhere, suggesting that the remains of both reliquaries were mixed with the wrapper until extracted for conservation *c.* 1993. Stray fragments are also scattered throughout the collection, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3891.c, i. 1880.3993.c, 1880.4008.c, 1880.4105.d.

Fig. 253.2 – 1880.3987.f. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Fragment of bark (?) in two pieces. Part of reliquary 1880.3892 base? L. 21mm, W. 10mm.

Fig. 253.3 – 1880.3908.d. IM 42 / SKM 1122. Pear-shaped terracotta (?) bead, painted dark brown. D. 8 mm, L. 10 mm.

Hadda 3 / Bacha of Jani Tope / Muhammad Khan's Tope
 Excavated 27 June 1834: E163 section 19, f. 59 (**Fig. 254**).
 Masson 1841 p. 106:

Tope No. 3. This monument has a striking resemblance to the great Tope No. 5 of Bimaran, or Jani Tope, which induced the workmen to name it the Bacha, or 'child' of Jani Tope: the result of the examination also proved that it had an affinity. In the interior we found, also placed in the bulk of the structure, without being deposited in a distinct chamber, the [relic deposit].

Finds

E161/VII f. 5, 'No. 1'; **f. 18**; Masson 1841, p. 106:

Fragments of a large steatite vase or box; three beads (two of crystal, one of green hue [p. 106: three crystal beads]; a small entire shell and fragment of a larger one; a piece of green stone; two whitish substances, all originally enclosed in small silver box reduced to fragments.

A second small silver box, the lid injured, contained 'a minute golden one'; a spherical gold bead [**Fig. 255**: 'ornament of gold']; a pale ruby; a bead [**Fig. 255**: 'of zandar'], two vegetable seeds; also 16 copper coins and a spherical black stone. **E163 section 19, f. 59**: 18 coins. See also **Vol. II, Fig. 91.3**.

Masson 1841, p. 106:

Accompanying these deposits, were sixteen copper coins, one square coin of Hermaus, one of Unadpherres, two of the Azes dynasty, identical in type to those found in Tope No. 2 of Bimaran, and again in Jani Tope, and the remaining twelve coins of the exact type and kind as those found numerously in Jani Tope.

Fig. 256.1 – 1880.3497.a. SKM 1067 (?). Small cylindrical reliquary in hammered silver with a ridged lip and foot. It has no lid and is incompletely restored. H. 18mm, D. 19 mm. Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 154–5, 290–1, fig. 4.32, no. 367. Three more pieces of this reliquary, missed at the time of its restoration, were in three separate trays:



Figure 254 E164 f. 127: Untitled sketch of Ghundi Kabul stupas Hadda 4 and Hadda 3 with caves in the foreground. British Library

Toppe Hadda 3

Toppe Hadda 3. Fragments of large stone box. Cont[ain]ed
 3 stone beads two crystal, one emeraldine hue.
 1 small shell and fragment of large ^{of zanzar} _{of zanzar}
 1 fragment green stone
 2 small white substances.
 other
 one small silver box cont[ain]ed (the cover injured).
 Minute golden one.  small ornament of gold, one pale ruby, one bead of zanzar, two seeds one probably pancerbunde
 will 16 pice - 2 Ceres/horseman [Mujatria in the name of Azes], the others of Hermaeus of Nysa Jani Tope [Bimaran 5: Kujula Kadphises], 1 of Hermaeus, 1 of Unadpheros [Gondophares]

Figure 255 F526/1b f. 3: Sketch of Hadda 3 relic deposit. British Library

'Tope Hadda. [?]-Fragments of large stone box cont[ain]ed - in small silver box reduced to fragments

3 stone beads two crystal, one emeraldine hue, 1 small shell and fragment of large, 1 fragment green stone, 2 small white substances.

One other small silver box cont[ain]ed (the cover injured) - minute golden one, small ornament of gold, one pale ruby, one bead of zanzar, two seeds one probably pancerbunde - with 16 pice - 2 Ceres/horseman [Mujatria in the name of Azes], the others of Hermaeus of Nysa Jani Tope [Bimaran 5: Kujula Kadphises], 1 of Hermaeus, 1 of Unadpheros [Gondophares]

1880.3497.b. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Found with other reliquary fragments of similar size, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3497.f.

1880.3497.c. SKM 1067. With reliquaries 1880.3985 and 1880.3986, from Passani tumulus 2 and Hadda 10 respectively: **Figs 96.5, 280.35.**

1880.3497.d. IM 16 / SKM 1097. www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online.

More fragments (1880.3497.e, g) were found in IM 14 / SKM 1104 and in IM 6 respectively. While 1880.3497.b is definitely and 1880.3497.c-d are probably part of 1880.3497.a, the remaining 19 pieces (1880.3497.e-g) probably belong to the second Hadda 3 silver reliquary said to be 'reduced to fragments'.

Fig. 256.2 - 1880.3891.f. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Fragment of steatite or schist. L. 4mm, W. 3mm, T. 0.5mm. The fragment - found in the same tray as silver reliquary fragments 1880.3497.e - may be from the large broken 'steatite vase' excavated from Hadda 3 (**Er61/VII f. 18**).

Fig. 256.3 - 1880.3891.g. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Three fragments of shell (?). L. 4mm, W. 3mm, T. 3mm. The fragments may be the '2 small white substances' (now in 3 pieces) from the Hadda 3 deposit (**F526/1b f. 3**).

1880.3983.a-k. IM 2 / SKM 1062 included 'Sixteen copper or bronze coins, a number of beads, two marbles and fragments' and label 'No. 3 Tope Hadda [Masson 1841] p. 106'. The actual objects were misplaced in IM 3 / SKM 1052 which originally held coins from Chahar Bagh 4 (**Fig. 223**), but later contained instead a mix of objects predominantly from Hadda 3 and 10. The Hadda 3 coin entry is duplicated under SKM 1090 (**Fig. 256.13-28**).

Fig. 256.4 - 1880.3983.a. IM 2 / SKM 1062. Large shell fragment. L. 15mm, W. 13mm.

Fig. 256.5 - 1880.3983.b. IM 2 / SKM 1062. Tiny cerith (?) sea-shell or possibly a freshwater mollusc, broken at the base and tip of the spiral. L. 11mm, D. 4.5mm.

Fig. 256.6 - 1880.3983.h. IM 2 / SKM 1062. Small, circular piece of cut steatite (?), with a bevelled edge; for use as an inlay or setting for a finger-ring. D. 5mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 256.7 - 1880.3983.d. IM 2 / SKM 1062 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277-16-N / Kr. 26 (p. 53, **Table 4.26**). Hexagonal bead of aquamarine-fentler (beryl), with a red deposit on the surface. L. 10mm, W. 9.5mm, T. 6mm.

Fig. 256.8 - 1880.3983.f. IM 2 / SKM 1062 / Kr. 28 (p. 53, **Table 4.28**). Hexagonal rock crystal barrel bead. L. 10mm, W. 7mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 256.9 - 1880.3983.e. IM 2 / SKM 1062 / Kr. 27 (p. 53, **Table 4.27**). Aquamarine barrel bead, the sides cut into five irregular facets, the ends triangular (one broken). The holes drilled from either end are misaligned. L. 12mm, W. 5.5mm.

Fig. 256.10 - 1880.3983.g. IM 2 / SKM 1062 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277-17-Q. Rough polished piece of pink spinel with healed fractures. L. 10mm, W. 7mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 256.11 - 1880.3983.i-j. IM 60 / SKM 1078 / IM. Metal.94-103; IM Metal.111-124. Minute cylindrical reliquary and lid of sheet gold. The circular base has a small overlap soldered to the vertical sides. The top is crushed and has trapped a small seed (?) inside. The hollow, domed lid has a nipple in the centre top. The sketch (**Fig. 255**) identifies it as a 'small ornament of gold'. Base: D. 5.3mm, H. 4.9mm. Lid: D. 5.7mm, H. 3.7mm. Seed: D. 2.8mm.

The body was included with miscellaneous small gold objects and fragments from Passani tumulus 2 (**Fig. 96.10**) and Hadda 10 (**Fig. 279.6-10**); the lid was with gold fragments from Bimaran 2 (**Fig. 119.6-7, 10-15**). At some point in their museum history, the gold finds from the various relic deposits were extracted and placed together for safekeeping. During this process the lid appears to have been separated from its base.

Fig. 256.12 - 1880.3983.k. IM 62 / SKM 1112 / IM. Metal.128. Large, spherical marble or sling-shot of pitted dark grey stone with lighter striations. 33.42g, 27mm.

Found with label '1112' pasted on it. Incorrectly described in IM.Metal.128 as 'Stone ball or marble found in the large tumulus no. 5 of Passani' (for the actual limestone marble from Passani 5, see **Fig. 102**). However, Franks' misattribution confirms this ball was included among the relic deposit finds. It also appears, together with the Passani example, to be listed as 'two marbles' under SKM 1062 (see Appendix 2, p. 219) and best fits Masson's description of 'a spherical black stone' from Hadda 3 (**Er61/VII f. 18**). In discussing an egg-shaped stone from Nandara Stupa 2, he says (1841, p. 85): 'Other topes and tumuli have yielded stones, generally spherical ones; and as they are always found in the very centre of the structures, their insertion was



Figure 256 Hadda 3 relic deposit

intentional, and I suppose had a purport'. For similar Roman marbles or sling-shots, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1976,1231.153-4.

Fig. 256.13-28 – 1880.3740.a-k. SKM 1090: 'Sixteen copper coins extracted from Tope Hadda'. The record is duplicated under SKM 1062 (see above). Of the original 16 coins from Hadda 3 (1 'square Hermaeus', 1 Gondophares, 2 Mujatria, 12 Kujula Kadphises), only 11 coins remained in the tray (10 Kujula, 1 Gondophares).

Fig. 256.13-22: 10 copper alloy coins of Kushan king Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40-90).

Fig. 256.13-14 – 1880.3740.a-b. The inscriptions are worn and partly off flan. *Obverse:* Bust of king to right, wearing a diadem with two ties and a cloak knotted in the centre of his chest. Greek inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΥΗΡΜΑΙΟΥ (of king Su Hermaeus the saviour). *Reverse:* Heracles standing to front, with a club in his right hand and a lion skin in his left. Kharoshthi inscription: *Kuyula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa Kushan chief, true to the law). **13.** 8.16g, 25mm; **14.** 6.2g, 23mm.

Fig. 256.15-22 – 1880.3740.c-j. The inscriptions on the coins are largely blundered, off flan and worn, with only a few stray letters visible. *Obverse:* Diademed bust of king to right. Greek inscription: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ

ΚΟΡΚΝΑ (Kujula Kadphises, the Kushan). *Reverse:* Heracles standing to front, holding club and lion skin. Kharoshthi inscription: *Kuyula kasasa kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa Kushan chief, true to the law). **15.** 5.14g, 21mm, corroded; **16.** 3.9g, 19mm; **17.** 5.02g, 19mm; **18.** 3.57g, 21mm; **19.** 3.91g, 19mm; **20.** 3.88g, 19mm; **21.** 5.87g, 19mm; **22.** 3.7g, 19mm.

Fig. 256.23 – 1880.3740.k. Copper alloy coin of Indo-Parthian king Gondophares (c. AD 32-60). *Obverse:* Bust of diademed, bearded king to right; with a gouge across the face. Greek inscription, partly off flan: [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ [CΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ] (of king Gondophares the saviour). *Reverse:* Standing, winged Nike holding a diadem to right. Kharoshthi inscription, partly off flan: *Maharajasa Gu[daphanisa tratarasa]* (of the great king Go[ndophares the saviour]). 8.7g, 22mm.

Fig. 256.24: Vol. III, F526/1a, pl. 3, fig. 66.

Sketch of copper alloy coin of Indo-Greek king Hermaeus (c. 90-70 BC). Bust of king to right/horse to right, left foreleg raised. According to Masson, 'One other defaced but recognizable coin of this species, we extracted with sundry others from a Tope at Hadda'. However, the Hadda 3 example was probably a worn coin of Kharahostes (c. 1st century AD) or his son Mujatria, with the reverse unidentifiable and only the horse and part of the Kharoshthi

mark in the right field – misidentified as a raised foreleg – still visible (see **Fig. 14.2.a–b**; Cribb 2015, nos 11, 13, 60).

Fig. 256.25–26: ‘Unknown princes of the Azes dynasty’ with ‘doubtful or unknown names’.

Fig. 256.25: Vol. III, F526/1a, pl. 7, fig. 158.

Square copper alloy coin with horseman to right/lion to right, identifiable as a coin of Kharahostes on account of the Kharoshthi mark (misinterpreted here as the raised foreleg of the horse). Mujatria coins have a trisceles symbol in the right field.

Fig. 256.26: Vol. III, F526/1a, pl. 7, fig. 160. Square copper alloy coin of Mujatria (c. AD 80–90): Horseman to right/Heraclēs standing, right arm raised.

Fig. 256.27–28 – IOLC.887, IOLC.890. Two base silver coins of the Indo-Scythian satrap Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), son of Kharahostes, issued in the name of Azes II. These are nowhere illustrated, but are two of eleven Masson coins of this type, which is also the total recorded from the stupa deposits.

Obverse: Horseman riding to right, with raised right arm outstretched. A circular trisceles device with three spokes in the lower right field; with the initial *mu* of the satrap’s name as a field mark behind the horseman’s head. Blundered variations of the Greek inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΖΟΥ, without a fixed starting point, give the name and titles of Azes. *Reverse:* Tyche, the Greek goddess of good fortune, standing to front, right arm outstretched and cradling a cornucopia in her left. In the right field a Kharoshthi monogram *shighasa* (read from the top); in the left field the Kharoshthi letter *kha* forms part of a double fall of drapery. The design is encircled by a Kharoshthi inscription *maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa ayasa* (king, great, righteous, king of kings Azes). **27.** 9.07g, 20mm; Cribb 2015, variety 11c, no. 48. **28.** 8.55g, 20mm; Cribb 2015, variety 7a, no. 31.

Hadda 4 / Hadda Walli / Hadda War

Excavated 5 July 1834: E163 section 19, f. 59.

Masson 1841 p. 106:

Tope No. 4. This structure yielded the fragments of a bone or ivory casket, alike deposited without the precaution having been taken to form an apartment for its better preservation.

Finds

There are conflicting records for this deposit. In Masson’s report of 6 July (**E161/VII f. 5**, written from memory) the finds are from two separate stupas. In all other accounts there is only a single deposit, although **f. 18** lists two gold

boxes instead of one. *Ariana Antiqua* appears to follow **F526/1b f. 3 (Fig. 257).**

E161/VII f. 5: ‘No. 4. Small golden box in two broken pieces, fragments of ivory box and 5 copper coins Indo-Scythic [and as a separate deposit] No. 5 Small golden box, crystal beads and ruby set in gold’.

E161/VII f. 18: ‘Small golden box, containing incinerated substance. Fragments of box of bone, masses of sindoor [lead]. Other small golden box: ruby set in gold; crystal bead; golden bead; vegetable seed; also 5 copper coins’. Masson 1841 p. 106:

Accompanying [the ivory box] was a small cylindrical golden case, containing an apparently incinerated mass of unguents. There were also a ruby set in gold, a small globular bead of gold, a bead of crystal, small lumps of sindur, or ‘red lead’, or some such pigment, and one seed. In addition to these were five copper coins; one of Mokadphises [Wima Kadphises] and four of the successors of Kanerkes [Kanishka].

The ‘gold box’, ‘ruby set in gold’ (probably a garnet), globular gold bead and vegetable seed have not been traced.

Fig. 258.1 – 1880.3721. IM 40 / SKM 1118.

Fragmentary cylindrical ivory reliquary with a flat lid; decorated with evenly spaced pairs of horizontal lines around the exterior body. H. c. 5.05cm (maximum), D. c. 7.5cm.

Fig. 258.2 – 1880.3722. IM 40 / SKM 1118.

Fragmentary cylindrical ivory reliquary, decorated with evenly spaced pairs of horizontal lines around the exterior body. It originally fitted inside 1880.3721. The lid appears to be missing. H. c. 3.8cm (maximum). D. c. 6cm.

Conservation c. 1994 revealed that the fragments belonged to two similar nested reliquaries, now partly restored. The steatite reliquary from Chahar Bagh 4 (**Fig. 214**) provides a prototype for the original appearance of the two reliquaries. Additional ivory fragments belonging to these two reliquaries were mixed with finds from other deposits (www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3978.v, 1880.4101.d, 1880.4105.d, 1880.4116.c). Jongeward *et al.* 2012, p. 132, figs 4.11–12.

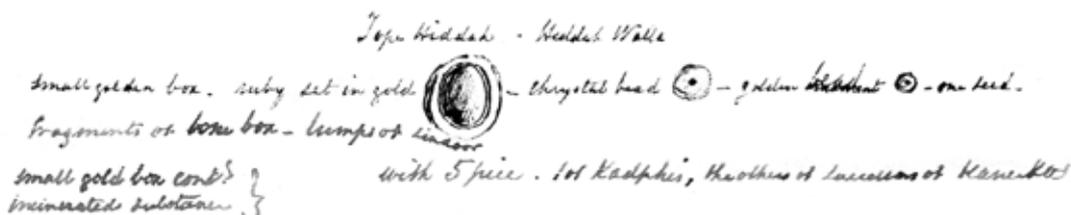
Fig. 258.3 – 1880.3851.j. IM 23 / SKM 1115. A bead made from two joined hollow hemispheres of thin hammered gold. It contains a small spherical object which resembles the seed (?) found in the gold reliquary of Hadda 3, but may merely be the shrunken remains of a terracotta core. D. 4.5mm, H. 2mm.

Fig. 258.4 – 1880.3921.b. IM 44 (?) / IM.Metal &c.129 (?), found with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44. Broken half of a small spherical rock crystal bead. D. 7mm. Found

Figure 257 F526/1b f. 3: Sketch of Hadda 4 relic deposit. British Library

‘Tope Hadda – Hadda Walli.

Small golden box, ruby set in gold – crystal bead – golden ornament bead – one seed. Fragments of bone box – lumps of sindur [red lead]; with 5 pice – 1 of [Wima] Kadphis[es], the others of successors of Kanerkes [Kanishka]. Small gold box contained incinerated substance’



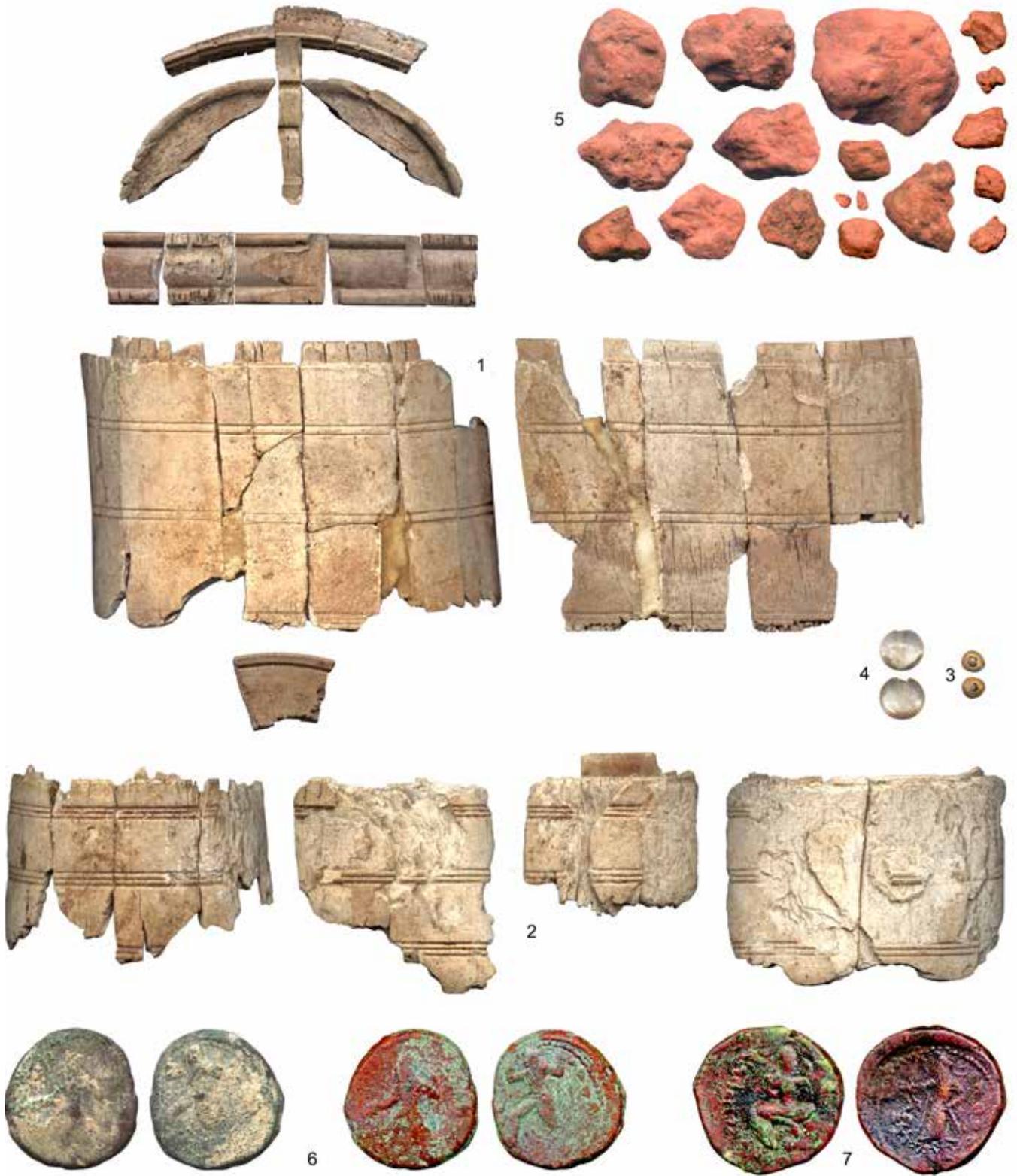


Figure 258 Hadda 4 relic deposit



Figure 259 Late Kushan coin possibly from Hadda 6

without documentation with silver reliquaries from Passani tumulus 2 (Fig. 96.2–3), Hadda 3 (Fig. 256.1) and Hadda 10 (Fig. 278.35).

Fig. 258.5 – 1880.4106, 1880.4108. IM 73 / SKM 1119. Eight small lumps of red ochre of different sizes. Ten larger lumps of red ochre of different sizes. Largest: 24mm x 24mm x 23mm.

Fig. 258.6 – 1880.3889.b. IM 45 (?). Copper alloy Kushan coin of Kanishka I (c. AD 127–50) in its uncleaned and cleaned state. *Obverse:* King standing to left, a sceptre in his left hand; making an offering at a fire altar with his right hand. *Reverse:* Kushan wind god Oado, running to left. 15.9g, 24mm.

Fig. 258.7 – 1880.3889.c. IM 45 (?). Copper alloy Kushan coin of Huvishka (c. AD 150–90). *Obverse:* King seated cross-legged to front, head to right, holding a sceptre in his left hand. *Reverse:* Kushan fire god Athsho to left, left hand on hip and holding a diadem in his outstretched right hand. 15.4g, 25mm.

Masson records five Kushan coins from Hadda 4: one of Wima Kadphises and four ‘successors’ of Kanishka I. It appears that the surviving Kushan coins from the relic deposits of Chahar Bagh 4 (18 coins), Chahar Bagh 5 (1 coin) and Hadda 4 (5 coins) became mixed together in the trays and are now included in the group of 21 transferred to Coins and Medals Department (see Chahar Bagh 4, Fig. 223). However these two stray coins have a distinct patina lacking in the Chahar Bagh 4 group and clearly both belong to another deposit. It is also possible the Kanishka coin in its uncleaned state was mistaken for one of Wima Kadphises, and therefore it and the Huvishka coin could belong to the original group of five from Hadda 4.

Figure 260 Ghundi Kabul stupas 7 and 6 with Hadda village and Hadda 10/Tope Kelan in the distance (Simpson 1881, p. 185, pl. II)



Hadda 5

Excavated July 1834: E163 section 19, f. 59. E161/VII f. 12, ‘No. 5: No results better than bones’. Masson 1841, p. 107: no finds.

Hadda 6

Excavated July 1834: E163 section 19, f. 59. E161/VII f. 12: ‘No. 6: Produced relics’. Masson 1841, p. 107: ‘A copper coin was obtained near the summit’.

Fig. 259 – 1880.3889.d. IM 45 (?). Copper alloy late Kushan coin of the time of Vasudeva II (c. AD 280–320). *Obverse:* King standing to front, a sceptre in his left hand and making an offering at a fire altar with his right. *Reverse:* Kushan god Wesho and bull, rendered as a series of parallel lines. 3.8g, 14mm. Undocumented; possibly from Hadda 6.

Hadda 7

Excavated July 1834: E163 section 19, f. 59. E161/VII f. 12, ‘No. 7: No results better than bones’. Masson 1841, p. 107: ‘Topes Nos. 5, 6, 7. From these structures no relics were procured; from one a copper coin was obtained near the summit’.

William Simpson’s lithograph (Fig. 260) appears to illustrate the same two stupas on Ghundi Kabul as Masson’s sketch (Fig. 261). Simpson also illustrates a core stupa which he discovered in the centre of one of the stupas excavated by Masson at Ghundi Kabul (1879–80, p. 56, pl. VII.1; Fig. 262):

At Hadda I found in one of the topes explored by Masson, that one tope had been built so as to enclose another. ... Masson’s excavation had in the lower part cleared out the first tope, and its form, like a matrix, was left. I made sketches of this, but they all seem too perfect as a representation of the rude mould remaining. The small tope had been about 9 feet [2.74m] in diameter, and so far as I could judge it seems to have been of a different shape from the later topes.

The Hadda topes are generally shapeless masses now, but they are markedly different, I think, from others in the Jalalabad valley. This particular tope, in which was found the matrix of the other, has some of its external masonry standing, and it is not the usual Buddhist kind. It is built of small squared fragments of a coarse calcareous stone. Masson called the spot ‘Ghundi Kabul’, and the topes here, as well as others at Hadda, are, judging by the small fragments left, of the same style of

Figure 261 E164 f. 129: Sketch of Ghundi Kabul stupas 7 and 6 from the west, with ‘Tupper Momand’ in the foreground. British Library



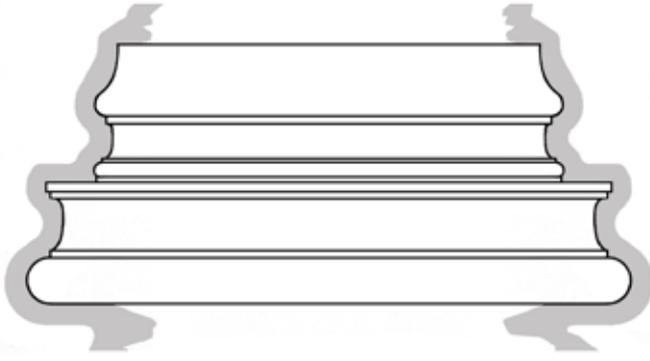


Figure 262 Core stupa, Ghundi Kabul (after Simpson 1879–80, p. 58, pl. VII.1)

building. Being all very much ruined, and no architecture left, no comparison can be made from their styles of architecture.

Tupper Safid / White Tupper

The mound on the left (Fig. 263) is identified as ‘White Tupper’ in pencil and ‘Tupper Safid’ in ink. It is located on Masson’s map (E164 f.87; Fig. 246 above) to the south-west of Ghundi Kabul (also sometimes called Tepe Safid). The distant stupa upper right appears to depict ‘Tope Momand’ (Hadda 8, see Fig. 265).

Hadda 8 / Tope Momand

Masson 1841, pp. 107, 110–11, Topes pl. VIIIe: Tope No.12 (*sic*: 8); confused in *Ariana Antiqua* with Tope Walli Muhammad / Hadda 12. E164 f. 87, f. 123, f. 124. E164 f. 126 locates Tope Momand in the vicinity of Ghundi Kabul, thereby equating it with Hadda 8 (Fig. 245; Masson 1841, Topes pl. I). The caption references to ‘Momand’ (Figs 264–5) identify the site as Hadda 8. The structures in the distance to the left appear to be Hadda 10 and Hadda village.

Masson 1841 pp. 107, 110–11: Tope No. 12 [*sic*: 8] (Fig. 266).

This is a dilapidated tope surmounting an eminence immediately behind, or south of Ghundi Kabul. ... This structure, on being penetrated, yielded few copper coins near the summit: they were Indo-Scythic [Kushan], but of the more recent classes. Nothing further was elicited. All the topes of Hadda have enclosed areas [courtyards] attached to them, but indiscriminately situated with regard to them. The present monument actually stood in one of them, unless indeed the sides formed an enclosure or wall.

E164 f. 123: 28 April 1835 (Vol. II, Fig. 67)

Tupper Hadda [8] from the north at 50 feet [15.24m]. This was opened by me. A few copper pice near the top were extracted, but [although I] continued to the base, nothing was found. This tupper had layers of pounded, black slate stone, inserted throughout its extent, and is situated in an enclosure marked by mounds of earth. 30 feet [9.14m] north of it was a small tumulus, which [on being] opened accidentally some 3 or 4 years since, proved [to be] a bhut khana [idol house].

Hadda 8a / Tupper Momand

Masson 1841, p. 111:

About 50 feet [15.24m] north of [Hadda 8] was formerly a small tumulus of sifted earth [‘Tupper Momand’], which, becoming accidentally exposed, disclosed a circular bhut khana, or house of idols. It may have had a diameter of 9 feet [2.74m], and a depth of about three or four [0.91–1.22m] while it was covered with a cupola. The idols would appear to have been twelve in number, seated figures, with their heads of hair covered with leaf gold, and of the same description as those frequently dug up near the village. This discovery occurred a short time before my visit to Hadda; and I was enabled, from the fragments of idols I saw, and from an inspection of the place where they were found, perfectly to comprehend its arrangement. The idols were separated from each other by tablets of hewn and ornamented stone.

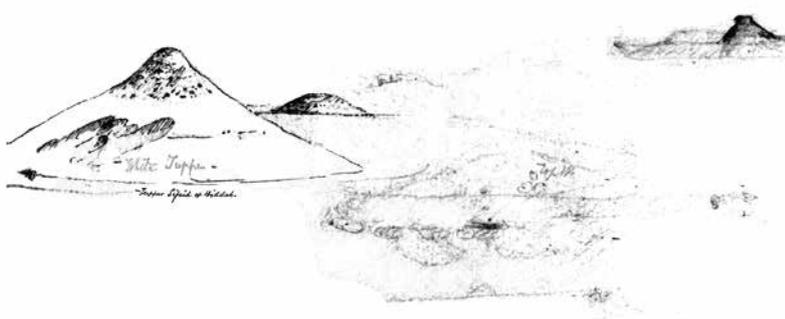


Figure 263 E164 f. 124: ‘Tepe Safid’ or ‘White Tupper’, Hadda. British Library

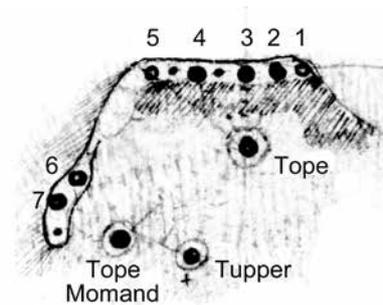


Figure 264 E164 f. 126: Sketch map of Ghundi Kabul stupas 1–7 with ‘Tope Momand’. British Library



Figure 265 F63 section 2, f. 72: ‘Tupper Hadda [stupa 8] opened by Momands, from north at 80 paces [c. 24.4m]’. British Library



Figure 266 Masson 1841, *Topes* pl. VIII: 'Tope No. 12 [sic: 8] at Hadda'

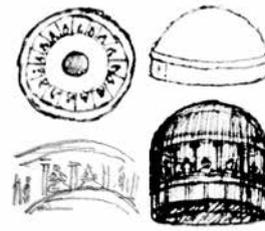


Figure 267 E164 f. 123: plan and elevation of 'bhut khana'. British Library. Sketch in Masson's own copy of *Ariana Antiqua* (1841, p. 111), Bodleian Library

E164 f. 129 locates 'Tupper Momand' below stupas identifiable as Hadda 6–7 on Ghundi Kabul (Fig. 264). From Masson's descriptions, Hadda 8 comprised a monastic complex with a stupa set in a courtyard, probably with subsidiary structures including the 'bhut khana'. His sketch of this 'house of idols' (Fig. 267) shows not a shrine but the remains of a stupa decorated with seated Buddha figures between pilasters. The figures comprised a stucco head and a clay body (Masson 1841, p. 113; see below), apparently set between schist pilasters. The combination of stucco/clay and schist was also used in the construction of Tepe Kelan stupas TK1, TK3 and Gar Nao stupa A10 (Barthoux 1933, pp. 69, 71, 201). For fragments see Fig. 268; Vol. II, Fig. 69.

A collection of an unspecified number of heads was sent to Pottinger on 18 October 1836 (E161/VII f. 27): 'Heads of idols &co. procured from Hadda'. These were probably collected from Tupper Momand during Masson's visit of 12–29 April 1835, since his sketch of Tope Momand – dated

28 April – suggests his exploration of the site took place around this time.

A pencilled 'IM' on seven small stucco heads in the British Museum denotes they were inherited from the India Museum. They belong to a group of 13 heads of similar size and appearance which all share the same composition, identified by scientific analysis as gypsum-stucco (Zwalf 1996, pp. 324–5, 363–5; Figs 269–70). This material does not occur elsewhere in the British Museum's stucco collection. Its use seems unreported in Pakistan, but is well attested in Afghanistan where deposits of gypsum are relatively widespread. Another shared characteristic of the group is that all the backs, necks and – in some instances – the top and interior of the heads have been made up with modern plaster to a greater or lesser degree. They are all mounted on identical 19th-century small wooden blocks.

Any sculptural material from the India Museum with an identifiable Afghan provenance was almost certainly

Figures 268–269 F63 section 2, f. 66: Sketch of Buddha head, drapery, pilaster and other fragments. British Library. Five gypsum-stucco heads of the Buddha probably from Tupper Momand



acquired by Masson, for the East India Company's disastrous interference in the politics of Afghanistan and resultant First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42) effectively barred the British from the region until the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–9), when there was some exploration again, notably by William Simpson. But there is no record of any stucco sculpture being collected at this time. This second period moreover coincided with the closure of the India Museum and the transfer of its collections to the British Museum.

The 13 heads divide stylistically into two groups of five and seven, with one (**Fig. 270.8**) which does not quite belong to either group, although it resembles other heads from Hadda in execution (Barthoux 1930–3, pls 18, 40, 58f).

Finds

Fig. 268: F63 section 2, ff. 66–7, **Vol. II, Fig. 69**; Masson 1841, Topes pl. IXg. Sketches of Buddha head (**a**), drapery, pilasters and other fragments.

F63 section 2, f. 67, f.66; Masson 1841, Topes pl. IXg: Sketches of sculptural fragments from Hadda. The head (**Fig. 268.a**) illustrates **Fig. 269.1**, confirming Hadda – and probably Tupper Momand – as the find-spot of the group of five gypsum-stucco Buddha heads (Errington 2006, p. 95, fig. 5a, c–g).

Fig. 269.1–5: Two of the heads (**Fig. 269.4–5**) are inscribed 'IM', confirming their former India Museum provenance. Masson's drawings (**Fig. 268**) also include

various architectural fragments, presumably the 'tablets of hewn and ornamented stone' separating the individual figures.

The full, rather fleshy features of the heads, especially **Fig. 269.1–4**, suggest Gupta influence and a late date, c. 5th–6th century.

Fig. 269.1 – 1880.110. H. 7.7cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 325, no. 583.

Fig. 269.2 – 1880.112. H. 7.7cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 325, no. 582.

Fig. 269.3 – 1880.117. H. 7.1cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 325, no. 585.

Fig. 269.4 – 1880.111. Pencilled 'IM'. H. 7.1cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 325, no. 584.

Fig. 269.5 – 1880.109. Pencilled 'IM'. H. 8.5cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 325, no. 581.

Hadda village mound

Masson had already noted in 1834 that 'Independent of the topes the mounds and tumuli yield vast numbers of idols, I have procured eight and may probably obtain some hundreds if I can appease the clamours of the Mullahs who have assembled en masse and prevented my labourers from working' (**P/387/71 no. 2** § 3: dated 6–7–1834). He also included in his list of expenses the cost of Rs 2 'For workmen employed in digging for idols' (**P/387/71 no. 5**: dated 9–10–1834/**Er161/VII f. 12**). His site map (Masson 1841, Topes pl. I; **Figs 245, 291**) marks a double row of dots

Figure 270 Eight gypsum-stucco heads from Buddha images, probably from the southern side of Hadda village



captioned 'Idols extracted' on the south side of Hadda village.

Masson 1841, p. 113:

On the mound on which the village is built, under the walls to the south, idols in great numbers are to be found. They are small, of one and the same kind, about six or eight inches [15–20cm] in height, and consist of a strong cast head fixed on a body of earth, whence the heads only can be brought away. They are seated and clothed in folds of drapery, and the hair is woven into rows of curls. The bodies are sometimes painted with red lead, and rarely covered with leaf gold: they appear to have been interred in apartments, of which fragments are also found. I know not whether coins were deposited with the idols, but in the course of my search for them two or three Indo-Scythic [Kushan] coins were detected.

Finds

E169/I section 11, f. 121: '8 Boots [Buddhas] or heads of Idols from Hadda'; **E161/VII f. 6, f. 7, f. 12, f. 21**: '8 female idols', dispatched to Pottinger 11 December 1834.

Eight gypsum-stucco heads from Buddha images in the British Museum, were probably excavated from the mound on which Hadda village was built (**Fig. 270.1–8**; Errington 2006, p. 95, fig. 4a–h), more specifically from the area marked 'idols extracted' on the southern side of the mound (**Fig. 291**). Although stylistically different to the other seven, **Fig. 270.8** still retains traces of yellow ground and gilding on front, which agrees with Masson's description of finding a few gilded examples in this vicinity. **Fig. 270.1–3** appear to be, or to have been, in the round and several more of the heads curve sufficiently towards the back to suggest the same possibility. They have been stylistically dated *c.* 5th century (Zwalf 1996, pp. 323–5).

Fig. 270.1 – 1880.107. Head in the round. H. 9.8cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 323, no. 573.

Fig. 270.2 – 1880.121. Head in the round. H. 9.7cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 323, no. 574.

Fig. 270.3 – 1880.119. Pencilled 'IM'. Head in the round. H. 9.5cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 324, no. 576.

Fig. 270.4 – 1880.114. Pencilled 'IM'. H. 9.5cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 324, no. 575.

Fig. 270.5 – 1880.116. Pencilled 'IM'. H. 9cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 324, no. 577.

Fig. 270.6 – 1880.115. Pencilled 'IM'. H. 9cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 324, no. 578.

Fig. 270.7 – 1880.113. Pencilled 'IM'. H. 8.3cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 324, no. 579.

Fig. 270.8 – 1880.118. H. 8.8cm. Zwalf 1996, p. 325, no. 580.

Hadda 9 / Tope 1 Pier / Tapa-i-Kafariha / Tapa-e-Kafariha / Tepe Kafariha

Masson 1841, p. 107, **Topes pl. VIIIb**. E164 f. 87, f. 111; E161/VII f. 19. For map identifying the site as Hadda 9/ Tepe Kafariha see **F63 section 2, f. 62v**; **Figs 293–4**; Barthoux 1930–3, pp. 117–42, plan; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 445, plan 29.2; **Fig. 271**; **Vol. II, Figs 70–1**.

F63 section 2, f. 59:

This tope was externally covered with murg [conglomerate]; internally layers of round stones regularly placed, and earth. Opened it from the south, and in the course of descending, a pice or copper coin was discovered, but the soil was reached without making any further discovery. Near the base was a layer of unusually large stones.

Masson 1841 pp. 107–8: Tope no. 9.

This structure had as much the appearance of a mere tumulus as of a tope, still there were certain indications of its original outlines, which made me suspect it to be one of the superior monuments. It was formed of successive layers of round and oval stones, faced on the exterior only with the conglomerate of the locality. In descending to its foundation, one copper Indo-Scythic [Kushan] coin was found, but no other discovery rewarded my labours. The foundation consisted of a layer of enormous boulders.

Hadda 10 / Tope Kelan / Bordj-i-Kafariha / Tapa-e-Top-e-Kalan

Masson 1835, p. 234; 1841, pp. 108–10, **Topes pl. VIIIc**. E164 f. 87 (**Figs 245–6** above); F63 section 2, ff. 60–5 (f. 61: initial sketch of stupa; f. 63: sketch of large 'vessel'). E161/VII ff. 8–9, f. 18–19; Tarzi 1990, pp. 707–26; Barthoux 1933, pp. 117–43, plan 1; **Figs 272–6**; **Vol. II, Figs 72–4**.

Masson 1841, pp. 108–10: Tope No. 10:

This tope is the most important and prominent of the Hadda monuments. From its most imposing appearance and superiority of the size, it is called Tope Kelan, or the Great Tope; yet in these respects it may not compete with the splendid edifices of Darunta, neither can it, like them, boast of any architectural embellishments. We may suppose it to have been originally covered with cement lime plaster, but no traces of it remain; and a naked exterior is presented of a succession of layers of stones, superimposed the one upon the other, with the intervening lines of cement, pounded slate, &c., distinctly shown. It stood on a basement, whose outlines are very intelligible. We penetrated this structure on a line nearly on a level with that of contact between the superior cylindrical body and the basement, and found at the centre a large deposit of fetid earth and ashes. We then descended towards the foundation, and there was found [**E161/VII f. 18**: 'in the apartment formed for it within the tope'] a large copper jar or vessel. . . . Here was a sufficient harvest of antiques and curiosities to repay my exertions; still when I wished to apply their results to the determination of the character and epoch of



Figure 271 F63 section 2, f. 59: 'Tope 1 Pier [Hadda 9] at 50 paces from the north'. British Library



Figure 272 F63 section 2, f. 60: 'Tope Hadda [10] near Jalalabad'. British Library



Figure 273 Hadda 10 from the south surrounded by the mounds of the courtyard chapels. Photograph: © Z. Tarzi c. 1975

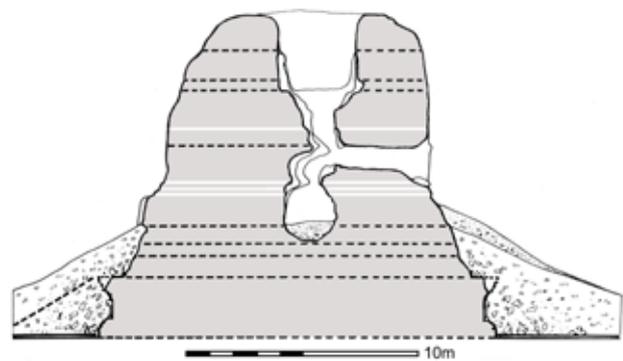


Figure 274 Section through the stupa (after Tarzi 1990, pp. 722–3, fig. 15) showing the tunnels dug by Masson

the monument so fertile in its varied treasures, I had no decisive indication. A tope is of course either coeval with or posterior to the coins enclosed in it. Here they were so numerous and of so many diverse species, that we could not pronounce it coeval with any of them; but the coins of three successive Greek [*sic*: Roman] emperors, Theodosius II, Marcian, and Leo, who flourished from AD 408 to AD 474, enable us to affirm that the structure was erected subsequent to the latter date: how long subsequent, I dare not conjecture. Amongst the coins which have been called Sasanian, were none of the most recent description, and none of those we often meet with, having marks punched on their margins, which were unquestionably impressed on them by the first Muhammadan invaders [i.e. Arab-Sasanian coins]. We might hence infer that this tope was raised at some period prior to the Muhammadan inroads, and might obtain the interval between AD 474 and AD 690, as embracing the epoch of its construction. It is clear that the greater portion ... of the various coins, ... if not all of them, were curiosities at the time of deposits; but as the age of them, if ascertained, will bear on that of the tope, so the period of the tope determined, will be of service in fixing the antiquity of the coins.

P/387/71 no. 3 § 2 (15–7–1834):

Upon the whole I suspect this to be the most magnificent medley yet produced from any tope, and the Roman coins will be useful in assisting to verify or adjust the epoch of the monuments erection. The tope yielding it ... employed me a long time.

Masson dug three tunnels: vertically from the top; horizontally first from the west; then from the north to the

centre. Tarzi's section drawing of the stupa, following the official Afghan excavations of the site in 1974–6, shows that Masson penetrated the dome just above the level of the surrounding debris and some 4m above the actual point of contact between the dome and the basement' and then descended. Tarzi's plan shows an octagonal base of the dome resting on a square platform with a flight of steps on the north-east side (1990, p. 714, fig. 7). The dome was constructed in layers, often with an alternating course of schist fragments or flat limestone blocks.

Simpson (1879–80, p. 45) carried out a small excavation close to one of the larger topes which had an extensive chasm in its side – most probably made by Masson: our operations did not extend over a great space, still we cleared out part of what had been a tope 29 feet [8.84m] in diameter, and it was surrounded by a series of smaller topes, about 4 or 5 feet [1.22–1.52m] in diameter. Here we found some interesting fragments of sculpture; the quantity of plaster figures embedded in the earth, and close to the surface, was a matter of surprise to us all.

The exact location of this excavation is not specified. It could have been in the vicinity of Hadda 10, for it revealed stupas very similar to the one excavated by Tarzi in chapel V of the site (1990, pp. 715–16, figs 8–9. **Figs 275–6**).

Finds

Masson 1841, pp. 108–9:



Figure 275 Hadda 10 with the stupa of chapel V in the foreground.
Photograph: © Z. Tarzi c. 1975

Without [the large copper jar or vessel] were thirteen copper coins, four pins of brass or copper gilt, three silver rings, and sundry minute ornaments, beads, &c. On opening the copper vessel it was discovered to be half-filled with a liquid as fluid as water, but discoloured by the verdigris of the metallic jar. In this liquid was deposited first a cylindrical copper gilt case, whose bottom, the effect of contact, had become corroded, and fell away as the case was extracted. This enclosed a series of deposits: first, a silver casket with cover, containing four thin silver coins which we have been accustomed to call Sasanian, a small blue stone, and a mass formed probably of unguents: then, beneath it was a cylindrical mass of crystal, with a smaller incision therein, as would have fitted it to have been inserted on a cane or walking-stick; next, beneath this mass of crystal was a larger silver casket, the cover terminating upwards in a pyramidal form; enclosed within it was the principal and more costly portion of the deposit in a golden casket, the cover of which was surmounted by a handsome jewel, I believe a sapphire, and which was encircled by seven small emeralds. This golden casket contained a colourless limpid fluid of the most delightful musk fragrance, but it soon evaporated: it contained three small beads and a mass of unguents. Within the silver casket, and filling the space unoccupied by the golden enclosed one, were fifty-two golden or gilt beads, with a proportion of unguents. The larger copper vessel contained amongst its discoloured fluid an ample store of numismatic and antiquarian curiosities, as follows [Figs 277–83]:

- 5 gold solidi of the eastern emperors Theodosius, Marcian and Leo.
- 2 gold (alloyed) Kanauj coins

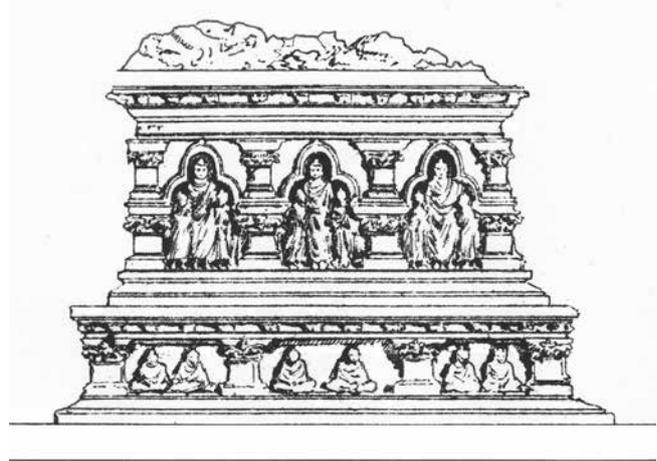


Figure 276 Simpson 1879–80, pl. I.2 p. 39: Votive stupa at Hadda

202 silver coins of what we have been accustomed to call, I think unjustly, Sasanian coins [as also listed in **E161/VII f. 9**; but **f. 18** lists only 187, while **f. 8** adds another four contained in a 'silver box with plain cover', giving a total of only 191 coins].

- 1 gold ring set with engraved gem
- 1 gold ring set with sapphire
- 1 gold ring, without gem
- 7 gold rings, plain, with 2 fragments
- 1 gold cylindrical case, small
- 2 engraved gems, very interesting and beautiful ones
- 3 rubies, plain gems
- 7 gems, various
- 13 beads, various
- 13 gold ornaments
- 1 fragment sadap, or mother-of-pearl
- 1 fragment coral bead
- 1 silver ring set with gem
- 62 silver rings, plain
- 1 silver cylindrical case, without cover
- Sundry fragments of rings, silver ornaments, beads, &c.
- 11 copper coins

E161/VII f. 18: 'Without the large iron [**P/387/71 no. 3** § 2: copper] vessel, in the apartment formed for it within the tope, were found 13 copper coins [**E161/VII f. 9**: 11 coins], 4 pins of brass or gilt, 3 silver rings, sundry minute ornaments &c.'

E161/VII f. 9: 'These ... were found without the large iron vessel in the small chamber formed within the tope for the reception of the relics'. The copper coins were presumably c. 5th-century Sasanian and/or Hun issues, like the '202' silver examples. Only the pins are identifiable (**Fig. 278.1–4**).

P/387/71 no. 3 § 2: [The rest of the deposit] was enclosed in a large copper vessel handsomely washed with gold [**E161/VII ff. 8–9, f. 18**: 'iron gilt'] which was half filled with a liquid, perhaps oil, impossible to ascertain from its being mixed with earth and impregnated with the properties of copper.

E161/VII f. 18: The fluid, whatever it may have originally been, although probably pure water, was so disguised by the various substances, as earth, lapis lazuli &c, thrown into it, as to be perfectly unrecognisable. The lapis lazuli, or rather, the fine blue colour obtained from it occurred in it in plastic masses: this fluid which if

undisturbed, might have retained its liquid state for centuries, dried up within 2 days after exposure, although the vessel was kept carefully covered.

Er16r/VII f. 8: ‘The large iron vessel I thought prudent to destroy, after taking out of it the contents, as it was of little consequence, and if seen might have raised suspicions unfavourable’ (**Fig. 277**).

Pins, reliquaries, Roman coins and miscellaneous corroded fragments

Fig. 278 – 1880.3681. IM 42 / SKM 1122. Tray IM 42 (within large Tray ‘B’) contained finds primarily from a relic deposit (beads, a shell, stones: see **Figs 279.2, 4, 33; 280.13, 16, 36–7**) and the lower shaft of a pin (**Fig. 278.2**), while IM ticket ‘No. 42’ was found with the head of the same pin and a second pin (**Fig. 278.1**) in Tray ‘A’. Two other pins appear to have been extracted after transfer to the British Museum and included in IM.Metal.20, a group of pins from Begram. Traces of gilding on three of the pins link them to the Hadda 10 deposit.

Fig. 278.1 – 1880.3681.o. Tray ‘A’, with IM ticket ‘No. 42’, i.e. SKM 1122. Gilded copper alloy hair- or dress-pin with a twisted hammered shank and a flattened, slightly domed head. The tip of the shank is missing. L. 66mm, W. 5mm.

Fig. 278.2 – 1880.3681.p. IM 42 / SKM 1122 (pin head found separately in Tray ‘A’, with IM ticket ‘No. 42’). Gilded copper alloy hair- or dress-pin with a spherical head. Broken into two parts. L. 73mm, W. shaft 3mm, D. head 7.4mm. Wilson 1841, p. 54, fig. 4, *Antiquities* pl. IV.4 (b).

Fig. 278.3 – 1880.3681.n. IM.Metal.20. Copper alloy hair- or drapery-pin with a faceted head. L. 76mm, W. 3mm. Wilson 1841, p. 54, fig. 4, *Antiquities* pl. IV.4 (c) ambiguously says many pins were found at Begram. However, the intact state of this pin and its association with 1880.3681.p (**Fig. 278.2**) in *Ariana Antiqua* suggests that it may also be from Hadda 10.

Fig. 278.4 – 1880.3681.e. IM.Metal.20. Double-headed copper alloy hair- or dress-pin with traces of gilding. The finial is a flat, stylized, cockerel with a comb rising from the short beak to a point on the top of the head. The second head is missing. The body is pierced through the centre with a round hole (encircled by an engraved line on one side) and decorated with incised parallel lines; the eye is an incised dot in a circle. The short shaft is pointed at the tip. L. 46mm, W. 15mm. Errington 1999, p. 229, pl. 8.11.

An identical pin, with both heads intact but seemingly not gilded, is in the William Ridgeway Collection, Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (1927.1192). Many items within this group are duplicated in the British Museum’s collection and their mud-baked patina is so typical of finds from Begram as to leave no doubt they were originally part of the Masson material from that site. A similar but more rudimentary pin from Barikot in Swat is assigned to Period X, a second post-abandonment reoccupation phase of the urban area, dated *c.* late 4th–early 5th century (Oliviere *et al.* 2014, BKG 2089, pp. 143–4, fig. 109).

Fig. 278.5 – 1880.3923. Tray ‘A’, with IM ticket ‘No. 42’, i.e. SKM 1122. Copper alloy hair-pin fragment; the head



Figure 277 F63 section 2, f. 64: Large copper gilt vessel from Hadda 10. British Library

resembling a poppy seed pod with a hollow on the top and traces of brass (?) plating. A short section of the shaft survives. D. 7mm, l. 22mm.

C. Fabrègues: The fragment resembles hair-pins from Taxila and the Peshawar Valley. One recovered during a survey of the Khanako settlement mound is a close parallel of another 1st-century example from Sirkap (Taj Ali 2001, pp. 77, 125, no. 167, pl. 20; Ghosh 1948, p. 78, no. 6, pl. XVIII A). A third was found in the vicinity of Kashmir Smast (Nasim Khan 2006, p. 207, no. 31, fig. 217), a site which numismatic evidence suggests gradually increased in importance from the time of Wima Takto (*c.* AD 90–113), reaching its zenith in the 4th–9th century, but remaining in cult until the 13th century (Nasim Khan, Errington and Cribb 2008, pp. 27–8, 214–17).

Fig. 278.6 – 1880.3962.a. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Fragments of a silver ring, gold buttons and broken beads fused together with corroded copper encrustation into a solid mass, with glossy bubbles and hard malachite-coloured patches. ‘1051’ is pasted on it. L. 24mm, W. 22mm, T. 7mm.

Fig. 278.7 – 1880.3962.f. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Fragment of a silver alloy (?) hoop ear-ring encrusted with copper corrosion and with a decayed shell bead and broken silver spheres of different sizes fused to it. L. 25mm, W. 10mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 278.8 – 1880.3962.e. Tray ‘4’, but part of IM 72 / SKM 1051. Fragment of a silver alloy (?) hoop ear-ring encrusted with copper corrosion; probably part of the same ear-ring as 1880.3962.f. L. 35mm, W. 9mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 278.9 – 1880.3980.a. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Copper alloy setting for a heart-shaped stone, with chain (?). Completely corroded: broken in two pieces. L. 10mm, W. 9mm.

Fig. 278.10 – 1880.3962.g. Tray ‘4’, but part of IM 72 / SKM 1051. Twelve corroded copper alloy ring fragments with small stone inclusions.

Numerous similar fragments are scattered throughout the trays, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3694.j, 1880.3885.k, 1880.3886.u, 1880.3891.d, 1880.3894.q–r, 1880.3962.h–i, 1880.3980.r–s, 1880.4110.l.

Fig. 278.11 – 1880.3980.e. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Three hollow spherical silver beads made of two halves soldered



Figure 278 Hadda 10 relic deposit: pins, reliquaries, Roman coins and miscellaneous corroded fragments from a large vessel

together. One is squashed and misshapen; the other two are fused together in a corroded mass that also contains a short piece of copper alloy wire and a small gold bead. L. 13.5mm, W. 8mm (concretion); D. 6mm (beads).

Fig. 278.12 – 1880.3980.f. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Hollow copper alloy terminal (?) with a wide, flat rim. D. 9 (rim); D.5mm, H. 9mm (cone).

Fig. 278.13 – 1880.3980.c. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Small bell-shaped hammered silver alloy ornament with an attachment loop. D. 7mm, H. 4.5mm; H. 2mm (loop).

Fig. 278.14 – 1880.3980.d. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Small buckled bell-shaped hammered silver alloy ornament with the remains of an attachment loop on top and a lump of vivid blue corrosion from inside. D. 10mm, H. 5mm.

Fig. 278.15 – 1880.3921.i. IM 69 / SKM 1117 (?). Small bell-shaped hammered silver alloy ornament, with a suspension loop soldered to the top containing a fragment of attachment wire. L. 8mm, W. 6mm, H. 6mm. Found in 'Box 1' with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44, but the same as **Fig. 278.13**.

Fig. 278.16 – 1880.3980.g. IM 69 / SKM 1117. A flattened piece of copper alloy (?) coiled wire, two small wire links and a tiny black bead. W. 6mm, T. 1mm (coil); L. 3mm, W. 2.5mm (links), D. 3mm (bead).

Fig. 278.17 – 1880.3918b. IM 69 / SKM 1117 (?). Fragment of tightly coiled, silver alloy (?) wire coated with copper corrosion. L. 5mm, D. 2mm.

Fig. 278.18 – 1880.3962.b. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Lumps of a homogeneous porous material with a lack of internal structure or orientation (i.e. mud, clay or sand). Some of the fragments have inclusions of vegetable fibres, the striations suggesting traces of straw or chaff. The fragments were examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb (Department of Archaeology, Cambridge University). L. 16mm, W. 13mm, T. 5mm (largest).

Four additional fragments (1880.3891.h) were found misplaced in IM 14 / SKM 1104 (not illustrated). For further examples see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3929.n, 1880.3987.a, 1880.4116.b.

Fig. 278.19 – 1880.3918.e. IM 69 / SKM 1117 (?). Misshapen silver alloy plain finger-ring with overlapping ends, fused to part of another twisted wire finger-ring by a lump of copper corrosion. L. 18mm, W. 15mm.

Fig. 278.20 – 1880.3918.f. IM 69 / SKM 1117 (?). Four miscellaneous fragments (two joined) of silver alloy finger-rings, with heavily corroded copper concretions. D. 20mm, W. 2mm.

Fig. 278.21 – 1880.3685.a. IM.Metal.23. Plain open-ended silver finger-ring. D. 21mm, T. 2.5mm.

Fig. 278.22 – 1880.3685.b. IM.Metal.23. Plain open-ended silver finger-ring covered with corroded copper concretions. D. 18mm T. 2mm.

Fig. 278.23 – 1880.3685.c. IM.Metal.23. Grooved silver finger-ring shank with flattened ends which have silver solder still attached. D. 20mm, T. 3mm.

The paper label IM.Metal.23, 'Small silver objects from Begram (8)' was found with objects 1880.3685.a–h. However, the three rings closely resemble examples from Hadda 10, with the same copper corrosion deposits and patina prior to cleaning, suggesting 'Begram' is a misattribution.

Some ring fragments from IM 21 / SKM 1100 and IM 69 / SKM 1117 fit together, confirming both trays are from the same deposit.

Fig. 278.24 – 1880.3894.n. IM 21 / SKM 1100 and IM 69 / SKM 1117. Three fragments of a silver ring coated with copper corrosion. D. 20mm, W. 3mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 278.25 – 1880.3894.o. IM 21 / SKM 1100 and IM 69 / SKM 1117. Two fragments of a silver ring with overlapping ends; coated with copper corrosion. D. 20mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 278.26 – 1880.3894.p. IM 21 / SKM 1100 and IM 69 / SKM 1117. Two fragments of a misshapen oval silver ring with overlapping ends; coated with copper corrosion. D. 18mm, W. 3mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 278.27 – 1880.3894.g. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Silver bracteate with five heart-shaped petals; pierced in the centre and in the five interstices. D. 18mm.

Fig. 278.28 – 1880.3894.h. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Silver chain with nine grooved links. L. 25mm (chain); D. 4mm, W. 2mm (links).

Fig. 278.29 – 1880.3894.i. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Small rectangular silver strip with two domed rivets attached and some copper corrosion. L. 12mm, W. 7mm, D. (rivets) 6mm.

Reliquaries

P/387/71 no. 5 / E161/VII f. 9: A 'box of iron gilt ... was inserted within [the] large vessel of the same metal'.

Fig. 278.30: Wilson 1841, p. 52, fig. 2, Antiquities pl. II.2. 'The gilt iron box ['cylindrical copper gilt case': **P/387/71 no. 3** § 2; Masson 1841, p. 108] ... adhered to the side of the large iron vessel, and the lower part was immersed in the fluid, which caused its decay, so that on being touched, the bottom fell into fragments' (**E161/VII f. 9, f. 18**). The lid rises to a point at the apex. No dimensions are given. The reliquary was not located in the India Museum in 1881 (**BM-Asia 18-2-1881** § 5) and has not been subsequently traced.

Only three thin-walled fragments possibly of this vessel survive in the collection. They were all found separately. They are gilded on one surface and coated with copper corrosion on the other. The fragment 1880.3987.d (**Fig. 278.33**) has a greyish core, suggesting the metal was perhaps a debased silver alloy rather than copper or iron. Another corroded fragment, 1880.3987.c, has the clear imprint of a woven textile, suggesting that the reliquary or its contents were originally wrapped in cloth (**Fig. 278.34**).

Fig. 278.31 – 1880.3994.d. Unnumbered India Museum tray. Gilded thin-walled fragment with thick copper corrosion. L. 13mm, W. 7mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 278.32 – 1880.3885.j. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Gilded thin-walled fragment with thick copper corrosion. L. 10mm, W. 6mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 278.33 – 1880.3987.d. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Gilded thin-walled fragment with thick copper corrosion. L. 9mm, W. 7mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 278.34 – 1880.3987.c. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Corroded fragment incorporating a piece of tabby weave textile with a blue stripe running through it. L. 13mm, W. 9mm. For an enlarged image of the textile, see **Fig. 20.1**.

Masson 1841, p. 108:

[The broken cylindrical reliquary] enclosed a series of deposits: first, a silver casket with cover, containing four thin silver coins which we have been accustomed to call Sasanian ... then, beneath it was a cylindrical mass of crystal, with a smaller incision therein, as would have fitted it to have been inserted on a cane or walking-stick [**E161/VII f. 8**: 'crystal box without cover': not illustrated or found]; next, beneath this mass of crystal was a larger silver casket.

Fig. 278.35 – 1880.3526. IM 70 / SKM 1084. Shallow cylindrical undecorated silver casket with lid. H. 18mm, D. 33mm (base); H. 5mm, D. 34mm. Zwalf 1996, no. 671, p. 354; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 141, 288–9, no. 362.

Found misplaced at the time of the 1880 transfer with the gold buttons from Guldara (**Fig. 69.8**). However, the reliquary fits Masson's listing of a 'silver box with plain cover' (**E161/VII f. 8**) and is exactly the right size to contain four silver Sasanian coins of the period from Vahran IV (AD 388–99) to Piruz (AD 459–84). It also contained 'a small blue stone' and 'unguents'.

Fig. 278.36 – 1880.3921.a. IM 44 (?) / IM.Metal &c.129 (?), found with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44. BM Res. Lab. no. 7277-1-K (see p. 50). Tubular bead of royal blue opaque glass with elongated bubbles and slightly flattened sides, pierced longitudinally. Raman microscopy and X-ray fluorescence spectrometry identified the glass colourants as copper, iron and manganese (Cu, Fe, Mn). The bead gave characteristically broad Raman peaks and has the typical soda-lime silica composition of Roman glass. L. 12mm, W. 6mm, T. 6mm.

Found loose without documentation, with small gold and silver artefacts, which had been extracted from their India Museum trays for safe-keeping. Possibly identifiable as the 'small blue stone' cited above.

Fig. 278.37: Wilson 1841, pp. 52, 108, fig. 3, Antiquities pl. II.3. 'A silver casket with a lid [p. 108: 'terminating upwards in a pyramidal form'] and [a] spire of filigree, originally soldered to the lid, but now detached'. Not located in the India Museum in 1881 (**BM-Asia 18-2-1881** § 5) and not subsequently traced. No dimensions are given.

P/387/71 no. 3 § 2: The silver reliquary contained 'a handsome gold box with cover set with gems, and ... originally filled with a liquid perfume in which musk predominated'.

E161/VII f. 8; Masson 1841, p. 109: Filling the remaining space 'were fifty-two golden or gilt beads, with 'a proportion of unguents'. **E161/VII f. 18:** 'within each of these boxes, sundry small spherical gold or gilt beads and unguents'.

Fig. 278.38: Wilson 1841, p. 52, fig. 4, Antiquities pl. II.4. 'A small gold casket or portable perfume box, having four small rings, by which it was, no doubt, suspended; the lid is set with emeralds, and surmounted by a sapphire [**E161/VII f. 8**: 'a fine sapphire or amethyst'; **f. 18**: a very fine sapphire, and encircled with 7 small emeralds burnt']. Within is a small quantity of aromatic powder, musk and sandal [wood], in which are some small pearls'. Dimensions not stated. The reliquary was not transferred to the British Museum in 1880 (**BM-Asia 18-2-1881** §5; **BM-Asia 4-4-1881**, pl. II.2–5) and has not been subsequently traced.

Roman coins

E161/VII f. 9; P/387/71 no. 3 § 2: In the broken 'iron gilt' reliquary were 'three golden Roman coins and, in the golden box within it, two others of Theodosius; the former were one of Marcian and two of Leo'.

Fig. 278.39 – IOC.1223. Roman gold solidus of Theodosius II (AD 408–50), found inside the gold reliquary. *Obverse:* Helmeted and diademed bust of emperor, facing, cuirassed and holding spear and shield. Latin inscription: D N THEODOSIVS P F AVG. *Reverse:* Theodosius enthroned and Valentinian (III) standing, facing, both in consular robes, both holding mappa and cruciform sceptre; above and between them a star. Latin inscription: SALVS REI-PVBLICAE; mintmark: CONOB. 3.58g, 19mm, minted Constantinople AD 425–30. *RIC X*, no. 234.

Fig. 278.40 – IOC.1225. Roman gold solidus of Theodosius II, found inside the gold reliquary. *Obverse:* Helmeted and diademed bust of emperor, facing, cuirassed and holding spear and shield. Latin inscription: D N THEODOSIVS P F AVG. *Reverse:* Constantinopolis enthroned facing, head to right, holding sceptre and Victory on globe, her right foot on prow; star in left field. Latin inscription: CONCORDIA AVGG; mintmark: CONOB. 3.63g, 19mm, minted Constantinople AD 408–20. *RIC X*, no. 202.

Fig. 278.41 – IOC.1224. Roman gold solidus of Marcian (AD 450–7), found inside the broken 'iron gilt' reliquary. *Obverse:* Helmeted and diademed bust of emperor, facing, cuirassed and holding a spear and shield. Latin inscription: D N MARCIANVS P F AV. *Reverse:* Victory standing facing, head turned to left, holding a long jewelled cross; a star in the right field. Latin inscription: VICTORIA AVGGG; mintmark: CONOB. 3.44g, 19mm, minted Constantinople. *RIC X*, no. 509.

Fig. 278.42–3 – IOC.1226, IOC.1227. Two Roman gold solidi of Leo I (AD 457–74), found inside the broken 'iron gilt' reliquary. *Obverse:* Helmeted and diademed bust of emperor, facing, cuirassed and holding spear and shield. Latin inscription: D N LEO PERPET AVG. *Reverse:* Victory standing facing, head turned to left, holding a long jewelled cross; a star in right field.

IOC.1226. Latin inscription: VICTORIA AVGGG; Greek/Latin mintmark: Δ (delta) // CONOB. 3.61g, 19mm, minted Constantinople AD 462–6.

IOC.1227. Latin inscription: VICTORIA AVGGG; Greek/Latin mintmark: Η (eta) // CONOB. 3.8g, 18mm, minted Constantinople AD 468–71. *RIC X*, no. 605; no. 630.

Miscellaneous small finds

There are four small pearl beads bearing traces of the diagnostic Hadda 10 green tint which may be from the gold reliquary.

Fig. 279.1 – 1880.3918.a. Found misplaced in tray IM. Metal.145 (rings from Begram), but part of IM 69 / SKM 1117. Iridescent mother-of-pearl bead, partly tinted green. D. 4mm, H. 3mm.

Fig. 279.2 – 1880.3929.o-p. IM 42 / SKM 1122; IM 69 / SKM 1117 (?). Two iridescent, decayed mother-of-pearl (?) beads, with a thin copper alloy cylinder reinforcing each drill hole. D. 4mm, H. 4mm.



Figure 279 Hadda 10 relic deposit: beads and miscellaneous small finds

Fig. 279.3 – 1880.3921.h. IM 69 / SKM 1117 (?). Small irregular seed pearl bead, partly tinted green. D. 4mm, H. 2mm. 1880.3929.p and 1880.3921.h were found loose with the strings of beads IM.Metal &c.129 / IM 6, 12, 21, 44, but appear to be part of IM 69 / SKM 1117.

Fig. 279.4. Twenty four small spherical beads of fairly uniform size are scattered throughout the relic deposit trays. They are apparently solid balls, with a tiny piercing and a bronze metallic sheen suggesting they were once gilded. They are identifiable as some of the ‘52 gilt or gold beads’ from Hadda 10 (**Er61/VII f. 8**).

1880.3694.i. IM.Metal.94–103: One bead. D. 4mm.

1880.3851.d. IM 23 / SKM 1115: Three beads. D. 4mm.

1880.3855.e. IM 3 / SKM 1052: Four beads. D. 2mm–4mm.

1880.3885.f. IM 4 / SKM 1121: Three beads. D. 3.5–4mm.

1880.3908.h. IM 42 / SKM 1122: Two beads. D. 3.5mm.

1880.4102.f. Tray ‘A’, with IM ticket ‘No. 42’, i.e. SKM 1122: Four beads. D. 4mm.

1880.4105.a. IM 6 (?): Seven beads. D. 3mm–4.5mm.

The contents of the trays have clearly become mixed with each other over time, for although small gilt beads are only mentioned in the record of Hadda 10, they are now found with small ivory, bone, shell and seed pearl beads from the other sites, particularly Bimaran 2 and Passani tumulus 2 (e.g. 1880.3851.d 1880.3855.e, 1880.4102.f, 1880.4105.a).

Fig. 279.5 – 1880.4114.a. IM 38 / SKM 1116.

Numerous fragments of a chunky black-grey material resembling mudstone, split into angular pieces, with no indication of any internal texture, granularity or orientation, only a few small smooth-sided round voids like bubbles.

The fragments were examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb. Masson records an ‘incinerated substance’ (**Er61/VII f. 18**) and ‘an apparently incinerated mass of unguents’ (1841, p. 106) being found in the relic deposit of Hadda 4, and a ‘mass formed probably of unguents’ in the Hadda 10 deposit (1841, p. 108), which may refer to this material. But fragments of the same

substance occur in several other trays – although most frequently with finds from Hadda 10 – so it is possible it was present at more than one site. For additional samples, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3885.l, 1880.3888.b, 1880.3962.l, 1880.3987.a, 1880.4104.e.

In addition to the gold reliquary (**Fig. 278.38**) the fluid of large gilded copper vessel contained (**Er61/VII f. 9**):

- 13 small golden ornaments &c.
- 2 stones engraved with busts of kings, one helmet[ed], and probably Greek
- 3 gems (rubies?) [1841, p. 109: ‘plain gems’]
- 7 other [**f. 18**: ‘gems or’] stones &c. [1841, p. 109: ‘7 gems, various’]
- 13 beads of various kinds
- 1 fragment sadap or mother-of-pearl
- 1 fragment coral bead ...
- 1 small cylindrical silver box without cover, empty ...
- Sundry fragments of silver rings, silver ornaments, beads &c. ...
- Sundry minute ornaments &c.
- 11 copper coins

Gold objects and fragments

Er61/VII f. 9: ‘13 small golden ornaments &c.’

Fig. 279.6 – 1880.3694.b. IM.Metal.94–103. Repoussé ornament fragment of thin hammered gold on a terracotta core, comprising two globules (now both pierced), and a slightly moulded lower section. The flat back is attached by means of a soldered overlap. L. 8.6mm, W. 8.6mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 279.7 – 1880.3694.c. IM.Metal.94–103. Small heart-shaped bead or ornament in hammered gold, with a bulbous front divided by a prominent rib; soldered to a flat back and pierced longitudinally for suspension. L. 6.9mm, W. 5.8mm, T. 2.2mm

Fig. 279.8 – 1880.3694.d. IM.Metal.94–103. Small hemispherical button of thin hammered gold over a mastic core, with a small gold attachment loop at the back. D. 7mm, H. 4mm.

An identical gold button is embedded in a corroded copper alloy concretion (**Fig. 278.6**) that is identified by its distinctive composition as being from Hadda 10.

Fig. 279.9 – 1880.3694.e. IM.Metal.94–103. Small cubic bead of thin sheet gold over a terracotta core; pierced lengthways for suspension. L. 5.8mm, W. 4.7mm, T. 4.5mm.

Fig. 279.10 – 1880.3694.f. IM.Metal.94–103. Small rivet with a semi-spherical head of hammered gold over a mastic core, set on a short copper alloy pin with a flattened tip. L. 8mm, D. 5.2mm.

Fig. 279.11 – 1880.4110.g. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Small, domed, hammered gold button, with the remains of a single loop on the reverse embedded in copper corrosion. D. 6mm, H. 6mm.

Fig. 279.12–15 – 1880.3980.b. IM 69 / SKM 1117.

Fig. 279.12: Small, domed, hammered gold button with the remains of an attachment loop on the reverse embedded in copper corrosion. D. 5mm, H. 2mm.

Fig. 279.13: Dome-shaped, hammered gold button, with the remains of wire attachment loop on the reverse. D. 7mm, H. 2mm.

Fig. 279.14: Two hollow halves of a small spherical hammered gold bead. D. 4mm, H. 1.5mm.

Fig. 279.15: Three folded fragments of sheet gold. 3.5mm x 4mm; 4mm x 5.5mm; 5.7mm x 3.5mm.

Fig. 279.16 – 1880.3980.t–u. IM 69 / SKM 1117 and IM 3 / SKM 1052. Two small strips of gold sheet found separately. 6mm x 1.5mm; 8mm x 1.5mm.

Fig. 279.17 – 1880.3694.g. IM.Metal.94–103. Hammered silver bi-cone melon bead with ribbed sides. D. 9mm, H. 6mm.

Fig. 279.18 – 1880.3992.j. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Cabochon-cut mother-of-pearl inset, with a drill hole in the centre of the back. D. 10mm, H. 3mm. Identifiable as 'fragment sadap or mother-of-pearl' (**Er61/VII f. 9**).

Intaglios

Masson lists only two engraved gems (**Er61/VII f. 9, f. 18; P/387/71 no. 3** § 2). The two additional intaglios are attributed to Hadda 10 in *Ariana Antiqua*. Errington 1999, pp. 215–16, 228, 237, pl. 7.5, 14, 16; pl. 16.6–8.

Fig. 279.19 – 1880.3560. IM.Gems.23. Oval cabochon-cut garnet intaglio depicting the bust of a man in profile facing an Alkhan tamgha. A three-leafed motif on top of his head suggests a crown secured by a simple diadem; a more prominent upward floating diadem is attached to his shoulder. He wears a circular ear-ring. H. 11mm, W. 9mm, T. 5mm. Wilson 1841, p. 53, fig. 7, *Antiquities* pl. III.7 (the sketch derives from a seal impression and omits the tamgha); Callieri 1997, cat. 7.30, pp. 22–4, 116, pl. 22.

The intaglio is one of the two 'engraved with busts of kings' from Hadda 10. The tamgha links it to the Alkhan coins from the deposit, indicating a similar 5th-century date. The hairstyle is found on a large number of seals (see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3548, 1880.3549, 1880.3558, 1880.3595; Callieri 1997, cat. 7.27–7.36, 7.41–7.42, pp. 115–18, 120–1, pls 22–3, 25).

Fig. 279.20 – 1880.3569. IM.Gems.40. Flat oval honey-coloured agate intaglio with a bevelled edge, showing a bust of Athena in profile, with long ringlets, wearing a drop ear-ring and a Macedonian helmet with a prominent ram's horn on the side. Part of the top of the seal is abraded and it is tarnished with black and green corrosion products

synonymous with Hadda 10, or perhaps traces of a burnt substance. H. 14.5mm, W. 10mm, T. 3mm.

The intaglio is identifiable as the second 'bust of king ... helmet[ed], and probably Greek' (**Er61/VII f. 9**). The ringlets and helmet recall portraits of Athena (but with a bull's ear and horn) on coins of the Indo-Greek king Menander I (c. 155–130 BC; Bopearachchi 1991, pls 29–30, nos 101–50). However the rendition of the long face and thick neck is more masculine here. The division of the bust into four rounded segments with a thick corded neckline derives from Sasanian portraiture and is a feature shared with Kidarite and Alkhan coin images, as is the three-beaded ear-ring. Although the subject is classical, the interpretation suggests a date of c. 5th century, synonymous with the coins and other finds in the deposit. Callieri 1997, cat. 5.15, pp. 23, 97, pl. 15.

Fig. 279.21 – 1880.3542. IM.Gems.8. Flat oval intaglio with bevelled edge in golden yellow chalcedony with red patches; engraved with a helmeted man standing before a gnarled tree. Kept with a 19th-century wax impression. H. 13mm, W. 10mm, T. 2mm. Wilson 1841, pp. 54, 108–9, *Antiquities* pl. IV.10: attributed to Hadda 10; Callieri 1997, cat. 1.24, pp. 22–4, 52, pl. 2.

Fig. 279.22 – 1880.3543. IM.Gems.9. Oval intaglio in semi-transparent, golden yellow chalcedony with darker patches; showing an eagle standing on a plinth, its head turned backwards, holding a ring in its beak and wheat stalk or ear of corn in its talon. Kept with 19th-century wax impression. H. 12mm, W. 9mm, T. 2mm. Wilson 1841, pp. 54, 108–9, *Antiquities* pl. IV.11: attributed to Hadda 10; Callieri 1997, cat. 1.28, pp. 22–4, 53–4, pl. 3.

The same subject occurs on an intaglio from Begram (1880.3583) and is identified as a Roman motif by Callieri (1997, cat. 1.29, p. 54, pl. 3).

Er61/VII f. 9: 3 plain gems (rubies?) [*sic*: garnets].

Fig. 279.23 – 1880.3893.a. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Fragment of a thin, flat, oval piece of garnet (?), with a bevelled edge on one side. L. 12mm, W. 9mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 279.24 – 1880.3893.e. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Fragment of an oval, cabochon-cut garnet. L. 12mm, W. 10mm, H. 6mm.

Fig. 279.25 – 1880.3893.d. IM 14 / SKM 1104 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–14–Y. Irregularly shaped, cabochon-cut garnet. Raman microscopy identified the garnet as almandine-rich rhodolite. L. 13mm, W. 8mm, H. 6mm.

Er61/VII f. 9: 7 other stones &c. [**f. 18:** 'gems or stones'; Masson 1841, p. 109: '7 gems, various'].

Fig. 279.26 – 1880.3992.t. Tray '4', with label IM 'No. 6' / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–12–R (see p. 50). Oval cabochon-cut rock crystal; weathered, with chipped edges. Raman microscopy revealed two healed fractures. H. 13mm, W. 12mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 279.27 – 1880.3884.h. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–9–Q (see p. 50). Oval, worn, cabochon-shaped inlay of brown-yellow glass with bubbles. Raman microscopy and X-ray fluorescence spectrometry revealed a typical Roman chemical composition of lime silica glass coloured by iron. H. 10mm, W. 8mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 279.28 – 1880.3884.i. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077.

Small round cabochon-shaped inlay of garnet-coloured glass (paste); chipped on the flat back. D. 7mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 279.29 – 1880.3884.j. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077. Small circular inlay of light emerald green glass (paste), chipped on the rounded back. D. 7mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 279.30 – 1880.4116.i. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Two flakes of mottled carnelian. L. 8mm, W. 4.7mm; L. 11.8, W. 8mm.

Fig. 279.31 – 1880.3884.f. SKM 1086 (?). Chipped flake from a larger worked piece of carnelian. L. 14mm. W. 9mm.

Fig. 279.32 – 1880.4116.g. IM 3 / SKM 1052. A small unworked piece of carnelian (?) and two of chalcedony. 6.5 x 6.5mm, 9 x 6.5mm, 26 x 17.5mm.

Fig. 279.33 – 1880.3908.n. IM 42 / SKM 1122. Five samples of unworked beige-coloured chalcedony. 14 x 11mm, 18 x 10mm, 10.5 x 8mm, 15 x 5mm, 19 x 11mm. These samples can be identified with the ‘7 other stones & co.’ from Hadda 10 (**E161/VII f. 9**). For more samples of unworked stone see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3987.b, 1880.4116.h.

Miscellaneous small finds

E161/VII f. 9: 13 beads of various kinds.

Fig. 280.1 – 1880.4116.m. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Broken half of a double crescent or wing-shaped turquoise ceramic bead, pierced vertically. L. 8mm, H. 4mm, W. 3.5mm. For an intact double crescent bead, see **Fig. 96.11** (1880.4101.a).

Fig. 280.2 – 1880.4116.o. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Two spherical ivory beads. D. 8mm. Masson does not record ivory beads from any of the relic deposits, but given the probable Hadda 10 provenance for some of group 1880.4116, these two beads may also be from the site.

Fig. 280.3 – 1880.3921.g. IM 44 (?) / IM.Metal &c.129 (?), found with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44. Cylindrical bead of greenish opaque glass. H. 3mm, D. 4mm.

Fig. 280.4 – 1880.3921.f. IM 44 (?) / IM.Metal &c.129 (?), found with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44. Barrel bead made of shell (calcite) dyed green with a copper salt. L. 5mm, D. 6mm.

Fig. 280.5 – 1880.3992.a. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’ / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–7–L (see p. 50). Three barrel beads of shell (probably from a cone shell), dyed green with a copper salt. The shell gave a Raman spectra of calcite, but was identified more specifically from its texture, observed with an optical microscope. D. 9mm, H. 10mm; D. 8mm, H. 9mm; D. 6mm, H. 6mm.

Cone shells live in pan-tropical marine environments like the Indian Ocean, so would have been imported.

Fig. 280.6 – 1880.3992.c. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’ / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–8–N (see p. 50). Half a viridian cylindrical bead broken along its length; made of grey-green opacified glass (colourants copper and iron; opacifier tin). Use of tin as an opacifier suggests a Late Roman date (4th–7th century). L. 15mm, W. 7mm.

Fig. 280.7 – 1880.3992.u. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’. Spherical bead of opaque emerald green glass, decorated with fused blobs of light green glass. D. 10mm, H. 8mm.

Fig. 280.8 – 1880.3992.v. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’. Worn spherical bead of iridescent white glass. D. 7mm, H. 5mm.

Fig. 280.9 – 1880.3992.w. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’. Damaged spherical melon bead, with ribbed sides, coated with a thick, clear layer of yellow ochre glass. D. 7mm, H. 4mm.

Fig. 280.10 – 1880.3992.x. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’. Spherical bead of opaque emerald green glass. D. 7mm, H. 7mm.

Fig. 280.11 – 1880.3992.y. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’. Spherical bead of iridescent silvery white glass. D. 8mm, H. 4mm.

Fig. 280.12 – 1880.3992.p. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’. Broken half of a spherical bead of opaque maroon glass. D. 7mm, H. 4mm.

Fig. 280.13 – 1880.3908.e. IM 42 / SKM 1122 / Kr. 31 (see p. 53, **Table 4.31**). Roughly shaped, spherical garnet bead. D. 9mm, H. 7mm.

E161/VII f. 9: 1 ‘fragment coral bead’. There are two coral beads among the relic deposits, but only one is recorded from Hadda 10. The second example could be from one of the Wardak stupas, but as neither can be positively assigned a provenance, they are both illustrated here (see also p. 37).

Fig. 280.14 – 1880.3992.r. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’. Tubular salmon-pink coral bead. L. 13mm, D. 2mm.

Fig. 280.15 – 1880.4116.k. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Curved, tubular salmon-pink coral bead. L. 12mm, D. 4mm.

E161/VII f. 9: ‘Sundry minute ornaments &c.’ Again Masson gives no details.

Fig. 280.16 – 1880.3908.f. IM 42 / SKM 1122. Brown and white banded cerith (?) shell, with a broken tip and a hole in the side. L. 12mm, W. 8mm.

A very similar pierced shell with alternating red and white bands was excavated from Trench K9, Indo-Greek layer 7, at Shaikan Dheri, near Charsadda in Pakistan (Abdur Rehman 1965–6, p. 126, no. 16, pl. XLIV.16).

Fig. 280.17 – 1880.4116.n. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Small, green glass, cabochon-shaped inlay. D. 4mm, H. 2mm.

Fig. 280.18 – 1880.3992.s. Tray ‘4’ with IM ticket ‘No. 6’ / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–11–P (see p. 50). Small opaque green glass bead in the shape of a recumbent lion, pierced longitudinally. Raman microscopy and x-ray fluorescence spectrometry identified the colourants iron and brass (Fe, Cu, Zn) and the opacifier tin (Sn). L. 10mm, H. 7mm, W. 4mm.

The bead has a typical Roman glass composition, being a soda-lime silica glass, opacified by adding tin and coloured using brass (i.e. copper and zinc). The presence of tin suggests a Late Roman date (4th–7th century). This indicates that the bead is from Hadda 10, the only relic deposit containing coins of a similar period. The leonine form has strong Buddhist connotations, suggesting that although the glass may have been produced in the west, it was subsequently exported to the east, for the bead itself was almost certainly manufactured locally (see also p. 38, **Fig. 19.3** above).

Fig. 280.19 – 1880.3883.r. IM 35. Green-stained talon of a bird (?) that has been thinned down and shaped at one



Figure 280 Hadda 10 relic deposit: beads and miscellaneous small finds

end. L. 13mm, W. 9mm, T. 1mm. The green stain is the same as that found on the shell beads **Fig. 280.5**.

Fig. 280.20 – 1880.3921.d. IM 44 (?) / IM.Metal &c.129 (?), found with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44. Spherical, polished carnelian bead. D. 7.5mm.

Fig. 280.21 – 1880.3921.e. IM 44 (?) / IM.Metal &c.129 (?), found with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44. Broken, irregularly shaped, carnelian (?) bead, possibly originally in the form of a lion. H. 8mm, W. 10mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 280.22 – 1880.3992.k. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Five small fragments of a drilled carnelian (?) bead. L. 6mm, W. 3mm.

Fig. 280.23 – 1880.3992.g. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Three garnet beads: two spherical; one thin hexagonal tabular, pierced longitudinally. D. 6mm; W. 6mm, T. 2mm.

Masson only records finding 'rubies' (actually garnets) in the Bimaran 2 and Hadda 10 deposits (E161/VII ff. 8–9, 16–19). There are 15 garnet beads altogether: 11 uncut and rough polished; 3 spherical cut and polished; 1 tabular and hexagonal (see also **Figs 96.14, 119.40, 307.16, 313.18**).

Fig. 280.24 – 1880.3884.e. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077. Four irregular, rough-polished garnet beads. *c.* 6mm x 4mm.

Fig. 280.25 – 1880.3992.m. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Tiny, oval fragment of a cabochon-cut garnet; broken and chipped around the edges. L. 5mm, W. 4mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 280.26 – 1880.4102.h. Tray 'A', with IM ticket 'No. 42', i.e. SKM 1122. Tubular agate bead. D. 3mm, L. 4mm.

Fig. 280.27 – 1880.3885.e. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Half a small, round tabular spacer-bead of green coloured shell (?) pierced through its axis, and with a large perforation through its centre. D. 5mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 280.28 – 1880.4134. Found with Begram IM. Metal.160, but resembles cone shell beads from Hadda 10 (**Fig. 280.4–5**). Small barrel bead of decayed shell (calcite), with copper encrustation. D. 5mm, H. 4mm.

Fig. 280.29 – 1880.3893.f. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Spherical bead of green glass, partly cracked. D. 7mm.

Fig. 280.30 – 1880.3885.c. IM 4 / SKM 1121. A rectangular bead, square in section, with rounded corners; made of opaque dark blue glass decorated around the centre with three inlaid fine white lines. L. 6mm, W. 5mm.

Fig. 280.31 – 1880.3885.d. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Irregular, worn and chipped fragment of transparent glass. L. 8mm, W. 8mm.

Fig. 280.32 – 1880.3992.l. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Flake of clear glass or crystal. L. 9mm, W. 5mm.

Fig. 280.33 – 1880.3992.n. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Small cut fragment of green jasper or jade; probably originally used as an inlay. L. 6mm, W. 5mm, T. 1.5mm.

E161/VII f. 9: 1 small cylindrical silver box without cover, empty. ... Sundry fragments of silver rings, silver ornaments, beads &c.

Fig. 280.34 – 1880.3700, 1880.3701. IM.Metal. 139–40. Two small cylinders in hammered silver, possibly reliquaries, but lacking lids, with soldered filigree decoration comprising registers of undulating plain wire triangles between double rows of twisted wire. D. 9.4mm, H. 13mm; D. 9.8mm, H. 11.5mm.

These two small containers are not recorded by Masson and alternatively may be from one of the Wardak stupas or bought in Kabul bazaar. Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 162, 290–1, fig. 4.38, nos 371–2.

Fig. 280.35 – 1880.3986. SKM 1067. Small elongated cylindrical plain silver reliquary, soldered to a flat base. The shallow, flat, ill-fitting lid is decorated with granulated beading around the rim. Base: D. 8.2mm, H. 20.8mm; Lid: D. 11mm (with beading), H. 3.2mm.

The granulated decoration around the lid and the copper patina of the reliquary links it to other finds from Hadda 10. The lid was found separately among the other silver fragments of the deposit and Masson evidently did

not realize it belongs with the base. **Vol. II, Fig. 91.8;** Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 162, 290–1, fig. 4.38, no. 370.

Fig. 280.36 – 1880.3908.a. IM 42 / SKM 1122. Two silver pins, encrusted with copper corrosion, each twisted into a loop at one end and linked together. L. 30mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 280.37 – 1880.3908.b. IM 42 / SKM 1122. A short broken silver pin, with some copper corrosion, looped at one end. L. 18mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 280.38 – 1880.3992.q. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Fragment of a tubular wooden ornament, or bead; with a relatively large central hole. There are faint incised lines along the length of the object, and a residue of varnish or adhesive along one broken edge. L. 12mm, W. 10mm, T. 3mm

Fig. 280.39 – 1880.3992.o. Tray '4', with IM ticket 'No. 6'. Tiny fragment of black schist (?). L. 4mm, W. 3mm.

Fig. 280.40 – 1880.3885.i. IM 4 / SKM 1121. An irregular lumpy fragment of a pasty substance such as clay or mud, with some fine white inclusions and vegetable matter including rootlets. L. 19mm, W. 13mm, T. 11mm. Examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb.

Fig. 280.41 – 1880.3918.i. Found misplaced with IM. Metal.145 (rings from Begram), but part of IM 69 / SKM 1117. Lump of porous white and grey organic (?) matter; possibly earth mixed with cement. L. 16mm, W. 11mm, T. 9mm.

Fig. 280.42 – 1880.4110.j. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Rectangular fragment of a chunky greyish-ochre material, with no internal texture or structure, and an irregular perforation (from root activity?). Probably a light igneous stone of some kind. L. 7mm, W. 5mm, T. 4mm. Examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb.

Fig. 280.43 – 1880.3962.l. IM 72 / SKM 1051. Fragment of an unknown dark mineral material (perhaps iron-related?), with a slightly chunky, bubbly texture and particles of a distinct reddish colour. L. 7mm, W. 7mm, T. 3mm. Examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb. For more samples, see **Fig. 280.45**.

Fig. 280.44 – 1880.3994.g. Unnumbered pink India Museum tray. Angular fragment of a black chunky material (like mudstone) with channels in it but lacking any internal texture or structure and encrusted with soil. L. 7mm, W. 5mm, T. 3mm. Examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb. For a larger sample of similar material, see **Fig. 279.5**.

Fig. 280.45 – 1880.3885.l. IM 4 / SKM 1121. A large and tiny fragment of a chunky black-grey material with no indication of internal texture, resembling mudstone (similar to **Fig. 279.5**). Also a large and two tiny fragments of a dark mineral (?) material, with slightly chunky, bubbly texture and reddish-coloured particles (similar to **Fig. 280.43**). Large fragments: L. 8.5mm, W. 5.8mm; L. 7mm, W. 5.4mm.

Coins

P/387/71 no. 3 2: Deposited in the large outer copper gilt vessel were also 'about 180 silver Sasanian coins, and two golden ones probably Hindu – with three copper ones of

Korean types' (Masson only uses this term here and it is not clear what he means, but the context suggests Sasanian, Kushano-Sasanian or Hun bronze issues; see **Fig. 281.12**).

Er61/VII f. 9: '2 golden Hindu Coins (alloyed), 202 silver Sasanian coins'; **f. 18** lists only '187' silver coins and **f. 8** an additional four located separately in a silver reliquary (see **Fig. 278.35**). The illustrated coins (**Vol. III, F526/1a**, pls 14–15; Wilson 1841, pls XVI.7–20, XVIII.25–6) include issues of five Sasanian kings, primarily Vahran IV, Yazdagird II and Peroz.

BM-Asia 18–2–1881, BM-Asia 18–2–1881a, no. 8: Only 100 'Sasanian' coins were transferred to the British Museum in 1881–2. The marked catalogue of the coin auction held for the Government of India on 6 August 1887 notes 43 'Indo-Sasanian dirhems of various types ... some broken' were bought by Alexander Cunningham, who confirms that he acquired 'a few' coins from Hadda 10 'at the sale of the remains of the Masson collection' (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge 1887, p. 55, lot 753; Cunningham 1895, pp. 106, 111; Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 15, 93–5, figs 82–3). A further seven coins were included in the India Office donation to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (**FW 1906**). Readings of the Bactrian inscriptions are courtesy of Nicholas Sims-Williams.

Sasanian coins

Fig. 281.1: Wilson 41, p. 397, no. 13, pl. XVI.7. Worn silver drachm of Shapur I? (AD 240–72/3). *Obverse:* Bust of king to right. *Reverse:* Fire altar and attendants. D. 26mm.

Fig. 281.2–4: Wilson 1841, p. 398, nos 17–19, pl. XVI.11–13. Three silver drachms of Varhran IV (AD 388–99). *Obverse:* Bust of king to right, with winged crown. *Reverse:* Fire altar and attendants. **2.** 24mm; with royal bust. **3–4.** 25mm, 24mm; with flames. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pls 14.18, 15.26–7.

Fig. 281.5–6: Wilson 1841, p. 398, no. 20, pl. XVI.14; **IOC.445.** Two silver drachms of Yazdagird II (AD 438–57). *Obverse:* Bust of king to right, wearing a crenelated crown with diadem ties, crescent and globe above. *Reverse:* Fire altar with diadem ties. Attendants with crenelated crowns face the altar and hold a long rod in both hands. **5.** D. 28mm; **6.** 3.82g, D. 30mm. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.20; Wilson 1841, p. 398, no. 21, pl. XVI.15; Schindel 2004, Ibl/2b (cf. pl. 75, nos 55-A39).

Fig. 281.7–8 – IOC.444, IOC.447.

Fig. 281.9–10: **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 15. 24–5. Four silver drachms of Peroz (AD 457–84). *Obverse:* Bust of king to right, wearing a crenelated crown with a crescent to front; crescent and globe above. *Reverse:* Fire altar with diadem ties, a star to left and crescent to right. On either side an attendant with a crown comprising a crescent and globe. **7.** 3.97g, 30mm, minted Herat (HR, written HLY); **8.** 4.05g, 29mm, minted Isfahan (AS); **9.** 26mm; **10.** 26mm.

Only coins of Peroz with the wingless crown (issued down to year 8/AD 464 of his reign) are illustrated (Cribb 2010, p. 102). Wilson 1841, pp. 398–9, no. 22, pl. XVI.16–17; Göbl 1971, II/2–3, table IX; Schindel 2004, IIa/1f, IIa/3, pl. 88, A35.

Fig. 281.11: **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.17. Broken silver imitation of Shapur II (c. AD 309–79)/ *Obverse:* Bust of king



Figure 281 Hadda 10 relic deposit: Sasanian, Kidarite and Kashmir coins

wearing a crenelated crown to right. *Reverse*: Not illustrated. D. 25mm.

Fig. 281.12 – 1880.3962.c. Tray ‘4’, but part of IM 72 / SKM 1051 (?). Worn copper alloy Kushano-Sasanian coin imitating an issue of Shapur II. *Obverse*: Bust of king. *Reverse*: Fire altar. 2.7g, L. 16mm, W. 13mm.

Fig. 281.13 – 1880.3885.o. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Worn copper alloy coin, identifiable either as Kidarite, or a Kushano-Sasanian issue of Shapur II. *Obverse*: Head to right with tripartite crown (?). *Reverse*: Fire altar (?). 1.36g, L. 15mm, W. 11mm. The coin was located in the same tray as recognizable corroded Hadda 10 fragment **Fig. 278.32**.

Fig. 281.14 – 1880.3942.f. IM 28 / SKM 1080. Worn corroded copper alloy coin; either Kidarite or a Kushano-Sasanian issue c. 4th century. *Obverse*: Traces of a crowned bust to right (?). *Reverse*: Coated with a clay deposit; illegible. 0.46g, W. 11mm.

The coin type and its corroded state indicates that it is likely to be from Hadda 10.

1880.3918.h. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Heavily corroded fragment of a copper or silver alloy coin (not illustrated, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online). D. 21mm, W. 10mm.

Kidarite and Kashmir coins

Fig. 281.15: Fitzwilliam Museum. Kidarite silver coin in the name of Peroz (c. 395–425) imitating a drachm issued by Shapur III (AD 383–8). *Obverse*: Bust of king to right, wearing a flat-topped crown with diadem ties and a globe above. Bactrian inscription *πιοροβο* (*piroso*) or *παροζο*, ‘the victorious king’. *Reverse*: Fire altar with diadem ties and bust in flames; flanked by two attendants each holding a long rod. D. 25mm. Göbl 1967, p. 48, type 19, pl. 13, fig. 19 (reads *cpi / ποο*); Cribb 2010, pp. 105, 144, table 5.59 (type); Vondrovec 2014, pp. 72–3, type 19.

Fig. 281.16 – IOC.570. Gold coin of Kirada (c. AD 380). *Obverse:* King standing to front, head to left, making an offering at a small altar. Brahmi inscription. *Reverse:* Ardochsho seated to front. 7.76g, 16mm. Wilson 1841 p. 427, no. 24, pl. XVIII.25; Cribb 2010, pp. 101, 142, table 5.28 (type); Cribb and Bracey forthcoming, O.Giii.

Fig. 281.17 – 1894.0506.1402. Silver drachm of Kidara ‘Kushanshah’ (c. AD 425–57). *Obverse:* Facing bust of king wearing a foliate crown surmounted by diadems and a globe. The hair is swept back and tied in two buns, one on either side of the face, and a diadem is attached to each shoulder. Brahmi inscription in upper margin: *kidara kuṣānaṣā[ha]*. *Reverse:* A fire-altar with a bust within flames, flanked by two standing figures with staffs. Brahmi inscription below fire altar: *sha alakha*. 3.52g, 27mm. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.21; Göbl 1967, pp. 43–4, type 11, pl. 11, fig. 11.8; Cribb 2010, pp. 104, 143, table 5.49 (type); Vondrovec 2014, pp. 60–1, type 11.

Fig. 281.18 – 1894.0506.197. Gold coin of Kashmir king Shailanavirya (c. AD 464). *Obverse:* King standing to left before a fire altar. Brahmi inscription. *Reverse:* Seated Ardochsho. 7.85g, 18mm. Wilson 1841 p. 427, no. 25, pl. XVIII.26; Göbl 1984, type 80; Cribb 2010, p. 102.

Alkhan coins

Fig. 282.1–2 – 1894.0506.1282, 1894.0506.198. Two silver coins imitating issues of the Sasanian ruler Shapur II (c. AD 309–79). *Obverse:* Bust of king to right wearing a crenelated crown; with a crescent behind the head and an Alkhan tamgha and Bactrian inscription in the right field. *Reverse:* Fire altar flanked by two attendants. **1.** 3.48g, 26mm, inscribed *χσοιαδβο ανοβο* (*xsoiadbo anono*); **2.** 3.76g, 28mm, inscribed *χμοιαδβο ανοβο* (*xmoiadbo anono*)? **Vol. III, F536/1a**, pl. 14.15–16; Wilson 1841, p. 398, nos 15–16, pl. XVI.9–10; Cunningham 1894, p. 276, no. VII.1, pl. IX.1; Davary 1982, p. 94, NumH 39/1–2; Göbl 1967, pp. 57–8, type 39, pl. 15, fig. 39.1–2.

Fig. 282.3–4 – 1894.0506.201; Fitzwilliam Museum. Two silver coins of the Alkhan Huns. *Obverse:* Cranially deformed bust of king to left, above a pair of wings, with a single diadem on his left shoulder, and a trident in the left field. Bactrian inscription: *αλχα* (written backwards) *ἰαυο ζαοβ* [*alxa[no] šauo zaob* ‘Alkhan king Zaob’, which might be a personal name or a place]. *Reverse:* Fire altar crowned with a radiant bust and flanked by two standing figures with staffs; that on the right wears a crown. The image is obliterated across the centre by an incuse from the obverse striking. **3.** 3.52g, 30mm; **4.** 30mm. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.11–12; Wilson 1841, p. 399, no. 25, pl. XVI.20; Cunningham 1894, p. 276, VII.3; pl. IX.3; Davary 1982, p. 95, NumH 59/1–2; Göbl 1967, pp. 69–70, type 59, pl. 21, fig. 59.1–2.

Fig. 282.5–7 – Fitzwilliam Museum; **1894.0506.1167;** F5265/1a, pl. 14.13. Three silver coins (one fragmentary) of an anonymous Alkhan king. *Obverse:* Worn, cranially deformed bust of king to right, above a pair of wings, with a plume attached to each shoulder and a single diadem above the left shoulder. Bactrian inscription on either side of the head: *ἰαυο* (written backwards) *αλχα* (*šauo alxa[no]* ‘king Alkhan’). *Reverse:* A fire altar with a crowned bust in flames,

flanked by two standing figures with staffs. The image is obliterated across the centre by an incuse from the obverse striking. **5.** 31mm; **6.** 3.48g, 31mm; **7.** 33mm. **Vol. III, F5265/1a**, pl. 14.9–10; Wilson 1841, p. 399, no. 24, pl. XVI.19; Göbl 1967, pp. 70–1, type 60, pl. 21, fig. 60.1, 3; Davary 1982, p. 95, NumH 60/1–3; Vondrovec 2014, p. 301, type 60.

Fig. 282.8 – 1894.0506.215. Silver coin of an anonymous Alkhan king. *Obverse:* Cranially deformed bust of king to right, above a pair of schematic wings, wearing a diadem fronted by a crescent, and plumes issuing from each shoulder. Alkhan tamgha in the right field. Bactrian inscription on either side of the head, within a dotted border: *ἰαυο* (*šauo*) written backwards; traces probably of ‘Alkhan’. *Reverse:* Traces of a fire altar with prominent flames within a double dotted border. The image is largely obliterated across the centre by an incuse from the obverse striking. 3.75g, 31mm. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.5; Masson 1836, p. 28, pl. III.2; Cunningham 1894, p. 279, VII.15, pl. XI.15; Davary 1982, p. 96, NumH 68; Göbl 1967, pp. 76–7, type 68, pl. 23, fig. 68.

Fig. 282.9: Fitzwilliam Museum. Silver coin of an anonymous Alkhan king. *Obverse:* Cranially deformed bust of king to right, above a pair of wings, with a single diadem attached to the shoulder intersecting the two letters of the Brahmi inscription in the left field: *ṣā-hi*. *Reverse:* A fire altar flanked by two attendants holding staffs. The image is largely obliterated across the centre by an incuse from the obverse striking. 29mm. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.7–8; Wilson 1841, p. 399, no. 23, pl. XVI.18; Göbl 1967, pp. 77, type 69, pl. 23, fig. 69; Vondrovec 2014, p. 325, type 69.

Fig. 282.10–11 – 1894.0506.1164, OR.476.

Fig. 282.12–13: Fitzwilliam Museum. Four silver coins of Alkhan king Khingila (c. 440–90). *Obverse:* Cranially deformed bust of king to right, above a pair of wings, wearing a diadem fronted with a crescent, and plumes issuing from each shoulder; an Alkhan tamgha in the right field. Bactrian inscription: *χιγγιλο αλχανο* (*xiggilo alxano* ‘Khingila Alkhan’). *Reverse:* Traces of a fire altar with a crowned bust in flames and flanked by two standing figures. The image is largely obliterated across the centre by an incuse from the obverse striking. **10.** 3.64g, 29mm; **11.** 4.00g, 30mm; **12.** 30mm; **13.** 29mm. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.1–4, 6; Göbl 1967, pp. 71–2, type 61, pl. 21, fig. 61.2; Davary 1982, pp. 95–6, NumH 61/1–6; Vondrovec 2014, p. 296, type 61.

Fig. 282.14: Fitzwilliam Museum. Silver coin of the Alkhan king Khingila (c. 440–90). *Obverse:* Cranially deformed bust of king to right, with single diadem attached to the shoulder. Alkhan tamgha in upper left field; Brahmi inscription: *khigi* in right field. *Reverse:* Diademed fire altar with bust in flames, with traces of two flanking attendants. 24mm. **Vol. III, F526/1a**, pl. 14.14; Wilson 1841, p. 398, no. 14, pl. XVI.8; Göbl 1967, p. 68, type 57, pl. 20, fig. 57.14; Vondrovec 2014, p. 294, type 57.

Rings

P/387/71 no. 3 § 2: ‘In the copper vessel moreover were two gold rings, on one of them the gem engraved with the head of a sovereign, and among the detached gems is another one engraved; besides the gold [rings] there is a multitude of plain



Figure 282 Hadda 10 relic deposit: Alkhan coins

silver ones, and a variety of fragments of ornaments &c. objects from the deposit: this fluid which if undisturbed, might have retained its liquid state for centuries, dried up within two days' (see also **P/387/71 no. 5**).

P/387/71 no. 6; E161/VII f. 9, f. 18. Also included were 'a golden ring, the stone wanting; seven golden rings [**f. 9**: 'plain &c.'] and two fragments of the same' as well as '1 silver ring, set with plain carnelian, 62 plain silver rings, sundry fragments of silver rings'.

The accretion still attached to the ring 1880.3886.n (**Fig. 283.38**) was identified during conservation as a distinctive composition comprising greenish copper products and ash (?) mixed with a resinous (?) substance that has hardened to form small glossy malachite-like bubbles. A lump of this corroded matter has a gold button and the remains of beads embedded in it (**Fig. 278.6**), identifying the objects with similar deposits and their associated finds as being from Hadda 10. The same corrosion occurs in the group IM 21 /

SKM 1100 (see **Fig. 278.24-9**) and in the group IM 35 (see **Fig. 283.32**), identifying all three groups (predominantly silver rings) as being from the same relic deposit and thus identifiable as rings from the site.

The corrosion products on rings 1880.3980.h-q and 1880.3894.a-r, as well as joins between the two groups (see **Fig. 278.24-6**) confirm that they are from the same deposit, i.e. part of the '62 plain rings' and 'sundry fragments of silver rings' from Hadda 10 (**Er61/VII f. 18**).

Fig. 283.1-2: Wilson 1841, p. 53, figs 5-6, pl. III.5-6. Two gold rings 'with heads cut on carnelians, of Hindu workmanship'. These are identifiable as 'ring with an engraved gem' depicting the bust of a 'king' and 'ring set with a sapphire' (probably an amethyst and evidently not engraved: **Er61/VII f. 9**). **BM-Asia 4-4-1881** and **21-8-1882** note that the rings were in the '2nd lot' transferred to the British Museum in 1882. They have not been subsequently traced.

No other gold rings survive in the collection, but there are three twisted wire rings that incorporate gold which may be broadly identified with the 'plain & c.' rings. There are also several with a brassy appearance which could perhaps be mistaken for gold.

Fig. 283.3 - 1880.3875. IM.Rings.4. Finger-ring of twisted strands of gold, silver and copper alloy wire, crowned with a cluster of four small gold balls. D. 21.6mm, T. 2mm. Wilson 1841, p. 52, fig. 5, pl. II.5, misidentified in the caption as 'A gold ring with a ruby'.

Fig. 283.4 - 1880.3886.b. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Finger-ring of twisted strands of gold, silver and copper alloy wire, crowned with an oval silver globule. D. 20mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 283.5 - 1880.3883.a. IM 35. Finger-ring of twisted strands of gold, silver and copper alloy wire sealed with a flattened gold globule. D. 21mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.6 - 1880.3886.a. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Large silver hoop ear-ring decorated with fine wire binding around the inner circumference and around the outer circumference a row of large globules filled with mastic, now mostly pierced and broken. D. 45mm, W. 7mm.

Ear-rings of this type are illustrated on some coins of the Alkhan Huns from the time of Khingila (c. AD 440-90) and Javukha (c. AD 480-90) onwards, particularly on the uniface issues of Narana-Narendra (c. AD 540-80), the successor to Mihirakula and probably the last Alkhan king (Alram 1999/2000, pp. 114-15, no. 98, pp. 136-43, pls I-IV; Vondrovec 2010, pp. 174-7).

C. Fabrègues: On a wall painting at the Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan, north-west of Kabul, a standing figure also wears ear-rings of the same type (Tissot 2006, p. 132, b). He has been identified as a moon god (Hackin 1959, p. 57, fig. H.2), but it is worth noting that he wears the same crown of three crescents as shown on the uniface coins of Narana. Sasanian coins of Khusrau II (AD 590-628), one overstruck by an Arab governor in AD 657, were found in a cinerary urn in Niche E at the site, indicating a date a century and a half later than the Hadda 10 deposit.

Fig. 283.7 - 1880.3886.c. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Silver finger-ring with a grooved shank. The rectangular mount for the garnet-coloured glass setting is decorated with a row of granulations around its lower edge. D. 17mm, W. 2mm (shank); L. 8mm, W. 7mm (mount).

For a similar ring possibly from Wardak 10, see **Fig. 312.13**. Several rings of this type were found in the second inscribed vase from Wardak, which was redeposited together with Napki Malka coins issued c. AD 484-515 (Falk 2008, pp. 67-8, figs 6-8; Vondrovec 2010, pp. 170-3, types 198, 222).

Fig. 283.8 - 1880.3886.d. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Silver finger-ring with an irregular oval mount containing decayed yellow ochre glass (?) paste. D. 18mm, W. 2.5mm (shank); L. 6mm, W. 5mm (mount).

Fig. 283.9 - 1880.3886.f. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Silver finger-ring with flattened ends on which a bezel was originally soldered. D. 17mm, W. 4mm. For a similar ring possibly from Wardak 10, see **Fig. 312.14**.

Fig. 283.10 - 1880.3886.g. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Silver finger-ring with a grooved shank and flattened ends on which a bezel was originally soldered. Uncleaned, with copper corrosion attached to one side. D. 19mm, W. 3mm.

Fig. 283.11 - 1880.3883.f. IM 35. Silver finger-ring shank with flattened ends and decorated with a faint incised groove around its outer circumference. D. 18mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 283.12 - 1880.3883.b. IM 35. Silver grooved finger-ring shank with flattened ends which have silver solder still attached. D. 21mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 283.13 - 1880.3884.a. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077. Silver mount inset with a cabochon-cut carnelian, which retains traces of solder on the back for its attachment to a ring shank. The solder marks correspond to the flattened ends of the silver ring shank 1880.3883.b, suggesting that the bezel and shank may have originally formed part of the same finger-ring. H. 12mm, W. 11mm.

Fig. 283.14 - 1880.3883.c. IM 35. Silver grooved finger-ring shank with a lump of solder joining the two ends. D. 19mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 283.15 - 1880.3884.b. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077. Silver mount inset with a small, cabochon-cut sard (?) which retains traces of solder on the back where it was once attached to a ring shank. Possibly the bezel for 1880.3883.c. H. 10mm, W. 9mm.

Fig. 283.16 - 1880.3886.e. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Silver ring decorated around the inner circumference with regularly spaced notches. D. 18mm, W. 1mm.

Fig. 283.17 - 1880.3980.o. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Two fragments of a silver finger-ring with notched decoration on the outer edge; coated with copper corrosion. T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.18 - 1880.3974. IM.Metal.159. Curved fragment of a copper alloy ear-ring (?) covered with gold foil. L. 15.5mm, T. 1.5mm. Although the fragment was found with Begram material, the fact that it is encased in gold foil suggests that it is one of the '13 small golden ornaments &c.' from Hadda 10.

Fig. 283.19 - 1880.3894.b. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Broken, silver-plated copper alloy finger-ring, with a twisted wire shank sealed with a globule. D. 18mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.20 - 1880.3980.n. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Silver finger-ring with a twisted shank; in three pieces. D. 19mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 283.21 - 1880.3894.c. IM 21 / SKM 1100.



Figure 283 Hadda 10 relic deposit F: rings

S-shaped cast silver ear-ring with a globule at one end. L. 16mm, D. 4mm.

Fig. 283.22 – 1880.3894.a. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Plain silver ring in two pieces, with a blob of copper alloy corrosion on the shank. D. 17mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 283.23 – 1880.3883.g. IM 35. Plain silver finger-ring, decorated with a small flattened oval globule which originally joined the two ends of the shank together; the shank is now broken at this point. D. 17mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.24 – 1880.3980.h. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Silver ring, with a grooved shank surmounted by a silver globule. Broken into four pieces. D. 19mm, W. 3mm.

Fig. 283.25 – 1880.3894.k. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Silver finger-ring with a grooved shank and slightly overlapping ends. D. 11mm, W. 2mm.

Fig. 283.26 – 1880.3962.j. IM 25 / SKM 1081. Broken half of an open-ended silver finger-ring with a tapering shank. D. 19mm, W. 2mm (end), T. 1mm (shank).

Fig. 283.27 – 1880.3980.p. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Three fragments of a plain silver ring; one with a slightly pointed tip suggesting that the ring was originally an open-ended ear-ring. D. 17mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 283.28 – 1880.3980.l. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Open-ended silver ear-ring with flattened sides tapering to a point and a thinner end to fit an ear-piercing. D. 16mm, W. 2mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.29 – 1880.3886.h. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Brass-coloured silver open-ended ring. D. 17mm, W. 2mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.30–1 – 1880.3883.d, 1880.3886.i. IM 35; IM 58 / SKM 1114. Two plain silver finger-ring with traces of

copper corrosion. D. 18mm, T. 2.5mm; D. 17mm, T. 2.5mm.

Fig. 283.32 – 1880.3883.h. IM 35. Plain silver finger-ring with corroded copper encrustation. D. 17.5mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 283.33–4 – 1880.3886.j–k. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Two plain silver finger-rings with slightly rounded shanks. D. 18mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.35 – 1880.3980.m. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Silver ring with overlapping ends. D. 16mm, W. 1.5mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 283.36 – 1880.3886.l. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Thick silver ring with overlapping ends. D. 18mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.37 – 1880.3886.m. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Silver hoop ear-ring, broken into two parts; with a lump of corroded copper which was once attached to it. Cleaned and conserved. D. 20mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.38 – 1880.3886.n. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Open-ended silver ring with a large lump of corroded matter attached to it (see above). D. 21mm, W. 3mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.39 – 1880.3886.o. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Open-ended silver ring. D. 19mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.40 – 1880.3886.p. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Open-ended silver ear-ring, tapered at one end. D. 16mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.41 – 1880.3883.n. IM 35. Slightly buckled and split plain silver finger-ring with corroded copper encrustation. D. 16mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.42 – 1880.3884.d. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077. Open-ended plain silver finger-ring, with corroded copper encrustation. D. 19mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.43 – 1880.4116.j. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Silver open-ended ring. Uncleaned. D. 21mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.44 – 1880.3980.i. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Plain silver finger-ring with a copper patina. D. 19mm, W. 3mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.45 – 1880.3980.j. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Plain silver finger-ring with copper corrosion. D. 19mm, W. 2mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.46 – 1880.3883.e. IM 35. Plain copper alloy ring. Cleaned and conserved. D. 19mm, T. 2.5mm.

Fig. 283.47–8 – 1880.3883.o–p. IM 35. Two thick open-ended silver rings. Cleaned and conserved. D. 20mm, T. 2.5mm; D. 21mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.49 – 1880.3883.q. IM 35. Open-ended silver ring with a whitish deposit at one end. D. 20mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 283.50 – 1880.3980.k. IM 69 / SKM 1117. Open-ended silver ear-ring with flattened sides and a large lump of copper corrosion attached. D. 19mm, W. 1mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 283.51 – 1880.3894.d. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Pitted copper alloy toe-ring of thick wire bent into a circle with overlapping ends. D. 21mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 283.52 – 1880.3894.c. IM 21 / SKM 1100. Silver-plated copper alloy toe-ring of thick wire bent into a circle with overlapping ends. D. 23mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 283.53 – 1880.3886.q. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Large, thick open-ended silver toe-ring. D. 24mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 283.54 – 1880.3962.k. IM 25 / SKM 1081. Missshapen silver open-ended wire ear-ring. D. 19mm, T. 1mm.

Fig. 283.55 – 1880.3886.r. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Two bent fragments of a thin ring in base silver alloy (billon). D. 17mm, W. 3mm.

Fig. 283.56 – 1880.3886.s. IM 58 / SKM 1114. Two fragments of a plain base silver alloy ring. D. 18mm, W. 3mm.

For more rings and fragments from Hadda 10 see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3883.i–m, 1880.3894.l, r, 1880.3908.k, 1880.3918.c–d, 1880.3962.j, 1880.3980.p–r, 1880.4111.c.

Hadda 11 / Deh Ghundi

Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 445, plan 29.3. **P/387/71 no. 6** (11–12–1834); **Er61/VII f. 18**; E164 f. 87, f. 121; Masson 1841, p. 110, **Topes pl. VIII d**; **Vol. II, Fig. 75**.

E164 f. 121 (dated 2 April): 'Tope Hadda, contained internal Gumbaz [domed structure] – camel teeth and human bones – taken from N.E. at 50 paces'. The sketch below is a more detailed view of Hadda village in the distance to the left of the mound (**Fig. 284**).

Masson 1841, p. 110: 'Tope no. 11 of Hadda'.

This structure is seated on a mound north of the village. Its examination proved that in the centre was an interior cupola, which contained, amongst the mass, some human bones, and two or three animal teeth, which we conjectured to be those of a camel. [Note by Wilson:] They have been examined by Mr Clift, along with others elsewhere found by Mr Masson, and are the teeth of the ass, the goat, and of a species of deer.

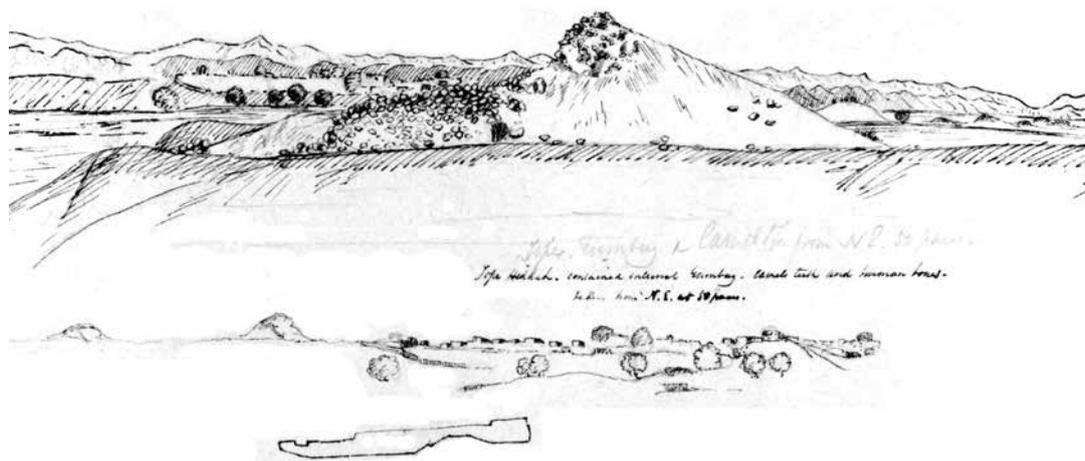


Figure 284 E164 f. 121: (above) Sketch of Hadda 11 from the north-east; (below) Distant view of Hadda village. British Library



Figure 285 Hadda 11 relic deposit: donkey teeth

Finds

F526/1b f. 3 / E161/VII f. 18: ‘Tope Hadda – 7 animal teeth (camels?)’.

Fig. 285 – 1880.4115. IM 41 / SKM 1088. Five donkey’s teeth and fragments. Largest: L. 50mm, W. 19mm, T. 11mm. Found with human bones in the mass of an earlier stupa encased within a later enlargement. Masson also records finding ‘the tooth of some animal (camel?)’ in Chahar Bagh 5 (**F526/1b f. 2**), which might have become amalgamated with these teeth, as no other specimen survives in the collection. There are no teeth of either goat or deer.

Hadda 12 / Tope Walli Muhammad / Gar Nao / Gar Nau Barthoux 1930–3, pp.196–204, plan 5; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 445, plan 29.1. **P/387/71 no. 2** (6–7–1834), **no. 6** (11–12–1834); **E161/VII f. 5, f. 22**; E164 f. 87 (**Fig. 246**). **Fig. 286; Vol. II, Figs 76–7.**

F63 section 2, f. 58: ‘Tope Walli Muhammad’.

In perforating to the centre of this Tope, a copper gilt lamp was found in an apartment. On reaching the centre, nothing was found but a large oval stone on which were a few fragments of bones. The stone [in] falling from its position, almost killed [amended to ‘greatly endangered’] my servant Hassan.

The published drawing based on this sketch is incorrectly captioned ‘Tope No. 8 at Hadda’ in *Ariana Antiqua* (Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIIIa). However, the sketch map **E164 f. 87 (Fig. 246)** identifies the site from its location as Hadda 12 and ‘Tope Momand’/‘White Tupper’ immediately to the south of Ghundi Kabul as Hadda 8 (Topes pl. I).

Masson 1841, pp. 107, 110–11, **Topes pl. VIIIa:** ‘Tope No. 8 [*sic*: 12] of Hadda’.

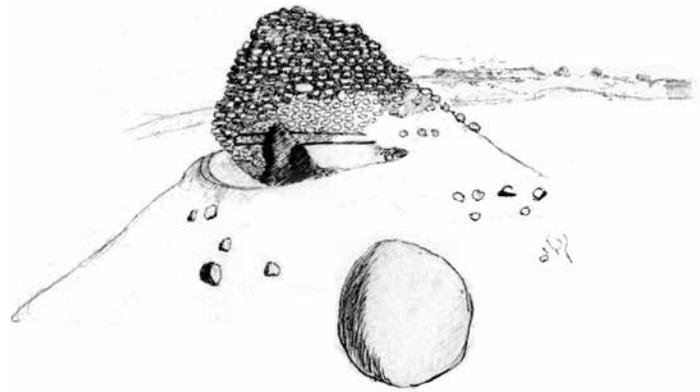


Figure 286 F 63 section 2, f. 58: ‘Tope Walli Muhammad’ (Hadda 12). British Library

In course of our excavation to its centre, but very wide of it, we fell upon an apartment in which was deposited a massy copper gilt lamp with stand: the upper receptacle for the oil still contained a portion of the fluid matter, and the wick was in as fresh a state apparently, as if it had become extinguished during the night; on exposure to the air, however, the oil speedily evaporated, and the wick crumbled. With the oil were brass pins, such as might have been intended to adjust the wick. On arrival at the centre we found a huge boulder, covered with tuz-leaves, which I carefully examined, but found no characters upon them. Upon this mass were lodged a few fragments of bones. Supposing it probable that other relics might be deposited at the foundation, I resolved to penetrate to it. The removal of the stone became necessary, and was effected, but not without periling the workmen: at the foundation nothing further was elicited. The examination of this structure showed that deposits are sometimes irregularly made; and if I had opened it from any other point than that fortunately selected, I should have missed the lamp.

Finds

E 161/VII f. 22: ‘Metal lamp and stand, very massive, the former copper or iron gilt [**f. 5:** ‘some fictitious metal gilt’], the latter copper’ [**f. 5:** ‘brass or copper’]. From Masson’s description, the lamp must have been placed in a shrine or chapel within the vicinity of the stupa. Although dispatched to the East India Company in December 1834, the objects have not been subsequently recorded or traced.

Hadda 13 / Tope Hammardin / Bagh-Gai

Barthoux 1930–3, pp. 143–72, plan 2; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 444, plan 28.2. **E164 f. 87, f. 119; P/387/71 no. 5, no. 6; E161/VII f. 8, f. 22.**

Masson 1841, p. 111, **Topes pl. VIII f, Vol. II, Figs 78–9:** ‘Tope No. 13’ (**Fig. 287**).

This tope is situated on the brink of a water-course, more than a mile [1.6km] from the village of Hadda. In our progress towards the centre we fell upon a small earthen jar, enclosing a stone wrapped in tuz-leaves. This simple deposit was perhaps the most useful that any of the many topes examined had yielded, for it was encompassed with a Bactro-Pali [Kharoshthi] inscription, written with a pen, but very carelessly. Fearful that this testimony might become obliterated, or suffer in its journey from Kabul, I copied it at the time as well as I could, under the hope that, if necessary, a transcript would be serviceable. At the centre of the building we found a large quantity of fetid matter mixed with ashes and bones. Here was another instance of good



Figure 287 E164 f. 119: 'Tope of Hadda [13]. In centre were human bones. Taken from the south-west at 50 feet'. British Library

fortune in having selected a certain point for the course of our excavation. Had I chosen any other, we had missed the inscribed jar.

The sketch (Fig. 287), dated 26 April 1835, misidentifies the site in pencil as Tope Walli Muhammad (Hadda 12), but in *Ariana Antiqua* (Topes pl. VIII f: Vol. II, Fig. 79) it is identified as Hadda 13. Maps E164 f. 87 (Fig. 246) and F63 section 2, f. 59, f. 62 label the same site 'Tope Hammardin'.

Finds

Small earthenware jar with a Kharoshthi inscription in ink recording its deposit by Samghamitra in the year 28 of Kanishka (AD 154/5). Thomas 1915, pp. 91–6; Konow 1929, LXXXII, pp. 157–8, pl. XXX.2; Konow 1935–6; Salomon 2005, p. 364. Baums 2012, p. 243, no. 40; CKI 155:

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[1] *sambat̄sarae athaviṣatihi 20 4 4 mase apelaē sastehi daśahi 10 iśa kṣunaṃmi pratistāpita śarira ramaraṃṇāmi thubami samghamitrena navakarmi[*e]na *

[2] *edena k[*u]salamule[*na] eteṣa dharmāna labhi bhavimaḡ[*e]sa dharmānaṃ eta vo syet[*i] śarira sarvasatvāna nirvanasaṃbharāe bhavatu ramasa agripracaya*

[1] In the twenty-eighth – 28th – year, in the month Apellaios, after ten – 10 – (days), at this moment relics are deposited in the Rama Monastery in a stūpa by Samghamitra, the superintendent of construction.

[2] Through this root of good may we obtain those dharmas of which these your relics consist. May it be for the preparation for nirvāṇa of all beings and the best share of Rama.

Masson's fears that the inscription would not survive appear to have been well founded. Wilson records only receiving the copy of 'an inscription of some length, written with pen and ink, on an earthen jar from Tope No. 13 at Hadda' (1841, p. 258). So it is not clear if the jar ever reached

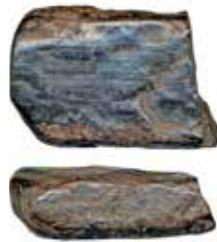


Figure 288 Hadda 13 deposit

the India Museum, but if it did, its inscription evidently did not. F.W. Thomas found the eye copy among Masson's papers in the India Office c. 1915, and his facsimile was further edited by Konow.

The jar is likely to have been either the bulbous, narrow-necked type, of which there are other inscribed examples from Hadda (Fig. 292; Masson 1841, Topes pl. IXf; Fussman 1969, pp. 5–9, pl. I), or one of the wider brimmed variety excavated by Tarzi at Hadda 10 (1990, p. 120, fig. 13).

The 'stone wrapped in tuz-leaves' (P/387/71 no. 5; E161/VII f. 8), found inside the jar, is tentatively identified on the basis of its association with finds from Hadda.

Fig. 288 – 1880.3993.a. Tray 'B', with IM 2 / SKM 1090 and IM 42 / SKM 1122 / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–15–L (p. 50). Rough slab of polished serpentinite, broken along one edge. L. 27mm, W. 17mm. T. 7mm.

Tepe Kelan / Tope Dag / Tapa Kelan / Tapa-e-Kalan

Barthoux 1930–3, pp. 69–116; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 443, plan 27.2. Vol. II, Fig. 80. F64 f. 74; E164 ff. 87, 111, 115.

Masson 1841, pp. 111–12, Topes pl. VIIIg: 'Tumulus or Tepe Kelan of Hadda'.

I opened several of the Hadda tumuli, but with unsatisfactory result. On some of them an Indo-Scythic [Kushan] copper coin or two, always of the lower series, would be discovered near the summits; and I heard from the natives accounts of the exposure of earthen jars which had been removed in their time, and even by some of the narrators. Nothing, it was asserted, was found in them but bones and ashes. One of the more conspicuous of this class of monuments, and which had possibly been cased with hewn stones, if I might so infer from the number of them strewn about, I examined with higher hopes, but to meet disappointment. A sketch of this tumulus is given.

F64 f. 74 (Fig. 289; Vol. II, Fig. 81): 'Bearings from the Tupper [to] Tope Kelan – N12W 380 paces'.

This tupper was opened from the north – after 13 days later, [it] was abandoned on account of the disturbed state of the country.



Figure 289 F64 f. 74: 'Tupper at Hadda' (Masson 1841, *Topes*, pl. VIIIg: 'Tepe Kelan'). British Library

On visiting Hadda in April 1835, [I] found it had been continued by someone, no one knew who, and that a gumbaz [earlier stupa] had been discovered in the centre. The reliquaries which most likely it enclosed had been extracted. I found a few corroded copper coins adhering to a stone and a fragment of a thin slab.

E164 f. 111: 22 April 1835

This morning set ten workmen on two topes at Hadda and employed two others to search for funeral jars. One of the topes was a very large questionable mass on which I had operated many days during my former visit, but had not searched its centre. I now found that it had been continued in my absence, and although some lame stories were told, it would appear that Malik Gulab, in concert or at the instigation of Mirza Muhammad Amin, was the actor. Not being certain whether they had extracted the relics or not, I decided on [a] further search. This day was employed in clearing away the rubbish accumulated by the labours of Malik Gulab. My young man, Hassan, discovered adhering to a stone extracted by the Malik's party, some ten or twelve corroded, small, copper quadrangular pice. The other tope was of smaller size and had been operated upon for some unknown purpose at some anterior and unknown period. I had not touched this the former time, and now resolved to carry it [down] to the surface. This day the labourers discovered a copper coin of the Indo- Scythic [Kushan] type.

E164 f. 115: 24 April 1835

The tupper or Tope which had been excavated furtively in my absence proves to have been despoiled of its deposit of relics. In the centre at the base was clearly an internal gumbaz [core stupa] in which it is natural to suppose was the apartment or recess containing the relics, and some very large stones which seem to have been extracted are probably those placed around it. On one of these stones was found ten or twelve corroded square copper coins, which had escaped the searchers, and without the tope [was] found a fragment of azure blue glass, which appears to have been a portion of the relics. I have to regret the subtraction of these relics, as from the superior construction of the edifice, it may be supposed [to be] of an earlier date than the other topes.

This building, or at least the basement, seems to have been faced by hewn, carved stone work. Many of these stones are inserted in the gateway of the house of Malik Gulab of Hadda.

In process of operation upon it, two or three bricks of a white stone were found, and a fragment of the urn (?) [which appears] to have been [deposited] within the gumbaz.

Finds

P/387/71 no. 6, E161/VII f. 18: 'Tumulus Hadda: 12 copper coins' dispatched from Kabul 11–12–1834.

Fig. 290.1 – 1880.3962.d. Tray '4', but part of IM 72 / SKM 1051 (?). Two pieces of thick copper alloy (one rectangular and one square), possibly coins, but heavily coated with a whitish cement (?) and corroded copper encrustation. 2.87g, 13 x 18mm; 2.7g, 11 x 12mm.

Fig. 290.2 – 1880.3994.a. Unnumbered India Museum tray, with SKM 1064 (?) and IM 53 / SKM 1077. Two pieces of thick copper alloy (one rectangular and one square), possibly coins, but heavily coated with a whitish cement (?) and corroded copper encrustation. 2.18g, 16 x 13mm; 2.75g, 17 x 13mm.

Fig. 290.3 – 1880.3719.c. IM.Metal.161 with material from Begram, but resembles 1880.3962.d and 1880.3994.a. One thick and one thin piece of copper alloy, possibly coins, but heavily coated with a whitish cement (?) and corroded copper encrustation. 3.4g, 15 x 15mm; 0.78g, 12 x 11.5mm.

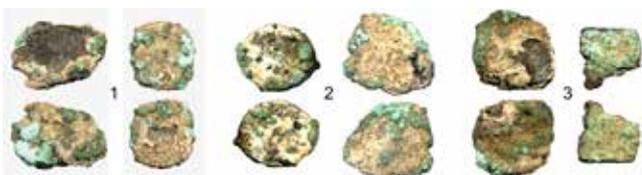
Unnamed mound near Tepe Kelan

Masson 1841, pp. 112–13 (**Figs 291–2**):

Large numbers of funeral jars may be found in a mound behind the village of Hadda, near Tepe Kelan, whose activity would seem to have been devoted to their reception. ... They have been deposited sometimes in regular succession, distinct indeed from each other, but resting on a common line of cement, seeming to show that such deposits are those of a family. It is very difficult to obtain one entire, as, although preserving their integrity of form in the soil, they have become so fragile by absorption of humidity and age, as to fall to pieces on the attempt being made to disengage them. ...

They vary much in size, from a depth of three feet [*sic*: inches] to six inches [76.2mm–152.4mm]: they have all been covered with white paint, and generally are marked with some ornamental lines around the head and shoulders. Some of them are further adorned with flowers of varying colours; and a common device on many of them is a succession of circles, the inner one, or nucleus, ever white. Around the necks, in almost all, it is easy to distinguish a green verdigris-coloured patch, proving that coins had been deposited with them, and at that particular part; yet I have never been able to procure one. ... The greater portion are of common baked potters' ware, but few occur of a stronger species. ... On one an inscription was scratched, which I copied.

Figure 290 Tepe Kelan finds



E164 f. 111: 22 April 1835

The search for jars this day produced three which allowed me to take sketches of them. They occur very numerous, but owing to their fragility and the clumsiness of the workmen, few are to be extracted whole.

Masson notes seven Kharoshthi letters beside his sketch of jar 3 (**Fig. 292:** E164 f. 113) which may be the inscription to which he refers. According to Harry Falk (personal communication), no translation is possible, as parts are missing and the letters appear to have been copied either in random succession, or without marking the illegible characters. Reading from the right he identifies the letters as (1) *thu* (invariably this starts *thuba* or *thuwa*, i.e. *stūpa*); (2) *_a_* (but could be copied from a *_va_*); (3) *_ce_* (rather than *kṣe*); (4–6) *sa-me-ga*; (7) *a*.

E164 f. 111: No. 1, dated 22 April, with unnumbered jar shoulder and collar (No. 4).

E164 f. 110: No.2, dated 22 April.

E164 f. 113: No. 3, dated 23 April, with a short Kharoshthi inscription.

Reproduced Masson 1841, **Topes pl. IXf** with Pahlavi (?) inscription (**Vol. II, Fig. 82**).

Mounds between Tope Kelan and Ghundi Kabul

F63 section 2, f. 62v, f. 66, f. 70, f. 71: ‘Tupper’ (tumulus) nos 1–6. **E161/VII f. 12:** ‘Expenses at Hadda, Tumuli’, 9–10–1834 (**Figs 293–6**).

Barthoux identifies six mounds in the area between Ghundi Kabul and Tope Kelan (Hadda 10). Their descriptions do not quite tally with F63 section 2, f. 62v (**Fig. 293; Vol. II, Fig. 63**), although tumulus ‘g’ seems to relate to Masson’s ‘Tupper 7’ (south of Hadda 9) (**Figs 293–4**):

- a) mound of debris
- b) mound of debris
- c) stupa ruins

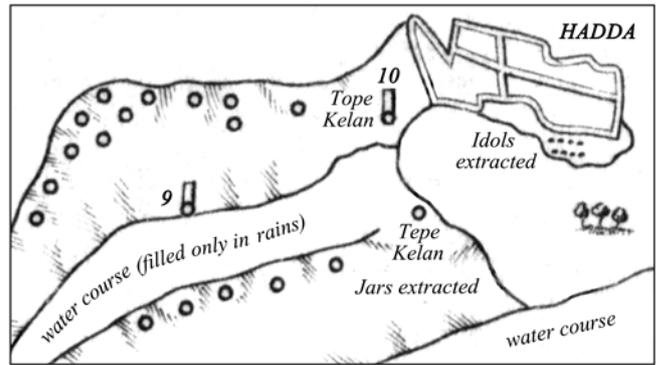


Figure 291 Masson 1841, **Topes pl. I (detail): Hadda village and water courses**

- d) small station with a stupa and monastery
- e) stupa ruins
- f) small station with a stupa and monastery
- g) stupa ruins

Tupper 1 / Tumulus a (?)

F63 section 2, f. 66: ‘Oblong mound of stones and earth’.

E161/VII f. 12 Expenses at Hadda: ‘Tupper no. 1 – No result’. Excavation cost Rs 6.2 (**Fig. 295**).

Tupper 2 / Tumulus b (?)

F63 section 2, f. 66: ‘Circular tupper – chiefly earth, on the summit, a tabular circle’.

F63 section 2, f. 70: ‘At 50 paces N55W [from no. 1] is another tupper chiefly of earth; on the summit [is] a circular tabular space described by stones. This I call Tupper no. 2’.

Bearings from Tupper no. 2 [Tumulus b?]:

- Tupper no. 3 S75W 200 paces
- no. 4 S85W
- no. 5 S67W

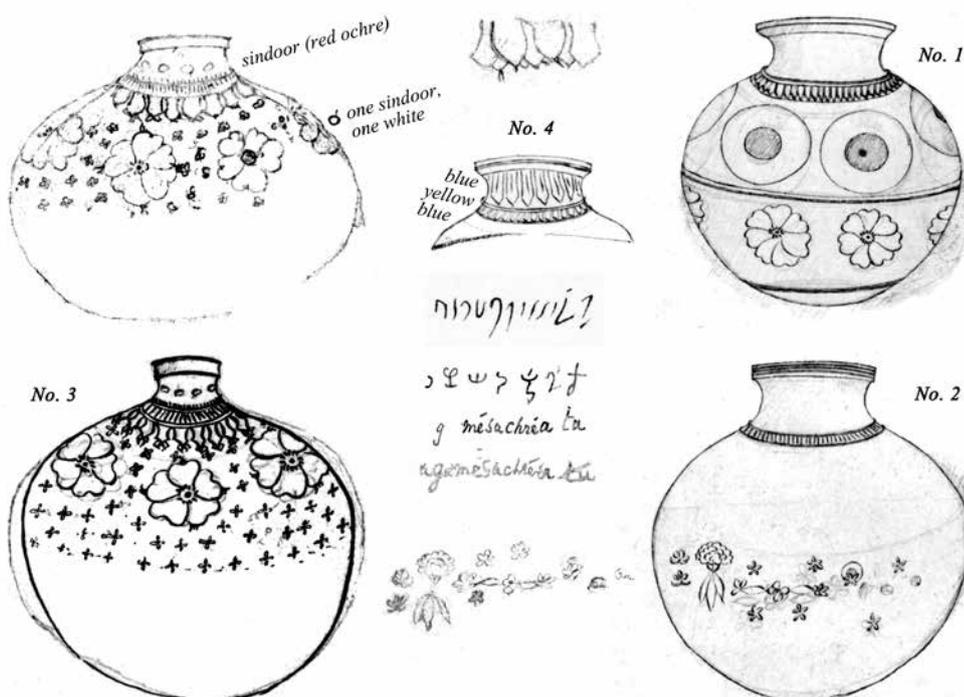
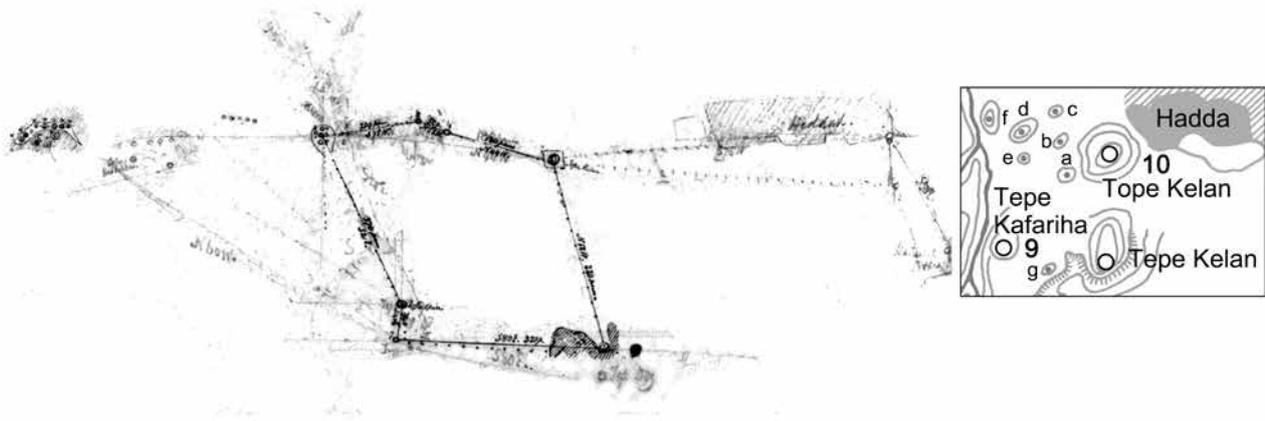


Figure 292 E164 ff. 110–11, 113: Funeral jars exhumed at Hadda, 22–3 April 1835. British Library



Figures 293–294 (left) F63 section 2, f. 62v: Map showing the location of Hada tumuli 1–7. British Library; (right) Map showing Hadda mounds a–g (Masson tumuli 1–7; after Barthoux 1930–3, fig. 2

E161/VII f. 12: ‘No. 2 – produced near the summit, 5 copper coins placed on a large stone; nothing at the base’. Excavation cost: Rs 14.2.

Tupper 3 / Tumulus d (?)

Mound of ‘stones and earth, 200 paces S75W of Tupper 2’.

E161/VII f. 12: ‘produced a few corroded copper coins near summit’. Excavation cost Rs 13.1 (**Fig. 296**).

Tupper 4 / Tumulus c (?)

Mound of ‘earth intermixed with murg’ [local conglomerate], S85W of Tupper 2 (**Fig. 296**).

Tupper 5 / Tumulus e (?)

Large mound of ‘stones and earth. This was once [a] considerable tupper and the stones are disposed in regular layers’. S67W of Tupper 2. **E161/VII f. 12:** ‘No. 4 – The centre of this tumulus – an immense one and of superior fabric – has not been reached’. Excavation cost Rs 10. 8.

Tupper 6 / Tumulus f (?)

‘A small tumulus of earth and stones’ (**Fig. 296**).

Tepe Khazana / Kazana / Kazannah Tupper / Prates

Barthoux 1930–3, pp. 186–95, plan 4; Tarzi 1990, p. 707, fig. 1; Ball and Gardin 1982, p. 202, no. 815, map 113; Prates; lat. 34°21’N, long. 70°29’E. The site covers an area of 19 x 14m, c. 2km south-east of Hadda village, and comprises c. 60 stupas dominated by four large ones. Masson only sketched the site and marked it on his maps (**Figs 245–6, 297; E164 f. 87; 184I, Topes pl. I: Vol. II, Fig. 62**).

Caves

G41 f. 4, f. 15 (Vol. II, Figs 14–15):

Hadda is a locality of note on account of the immense numbers of topes and tumuli found around it ... there are also an immense number of caves associated with them. ... The caves ... are met with on the path from Jalalabad to Hadda. This leads from Jalalabad in the first instance to a very large tumulus called Tepe Ahinposh, (with caves) and thence over a barren, stony and elevated tract until a depression is reached, through



Figure 295 F63 section 2, f. 70: ‘Tupper no. 1 at 50 paces from the west distant from Tope Kelan 180 paces N44W’. The shaded mound in the middle distance to the left of ‘Tupper 1’ is perhaps ‘Tupper 2’. British Library

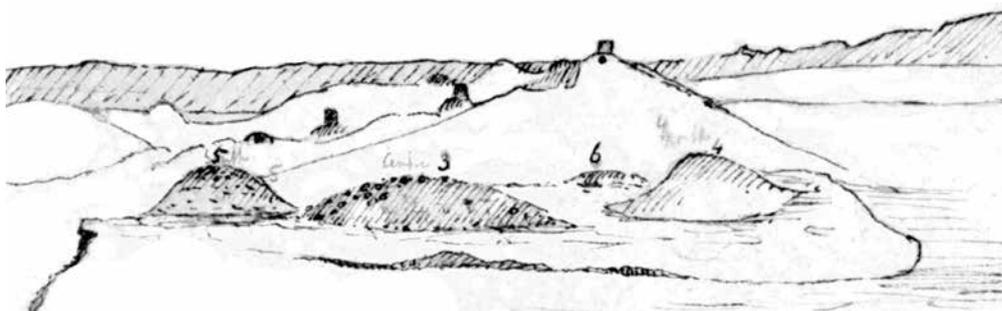


Figure 296 F63 section 2, f. 71: ‘These are contiguous tumuli’. Ghundi Kabul is in the background. Hadda. British Library



Figure 297 F63 section 2, f. 73: 'Khasana Tupper Hadda', from the north-west. British Library

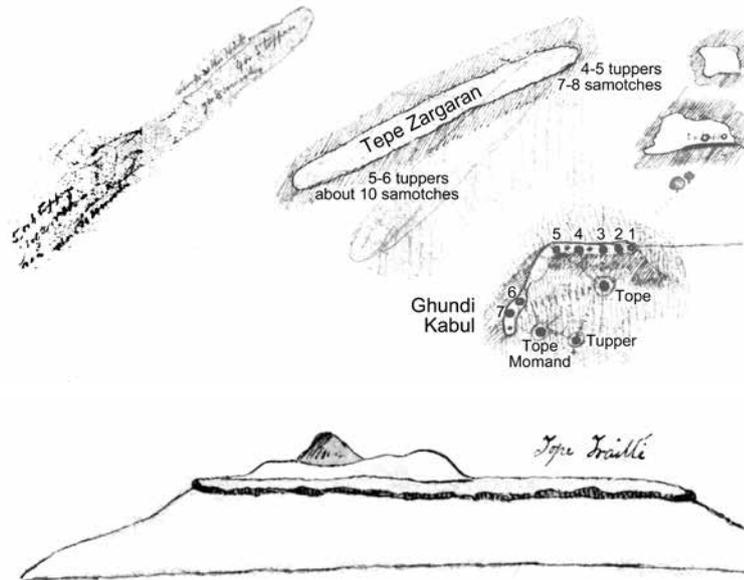


Figure 298 E164 f. 126: Map of Ghundi Kabul and Tepe Zargaran. British Library. Tepe Zargaran is repeated to the left and annotated as having 5 or 6 tumuli and about 10 caves on the south-west side; and 4 or 5 tumuli and 7 or 8 caves on the south-east side

Figure 299 F63 f. 22: 'Zargaran near Hadda'. The sketch is titled 'Tope Traillé'. British Library

which in the event of sudden flood, the rud or rivulet of Chaparhar discharges part of its swollen torrents. At all other times it is dry. In the scarped sides of what may be termed this dry nullah or water course, a series of caves have been excavated. ... Above them ... are their tumuli. ... Every available spot has been selected for the excavation of caves, and in a broken country like that between Jalalabad and the Safed Koh range their number is wonderful.

Tepe Zargaran / Tappa Zurgaran / Zugarah / Ziggarah / Zirgurrah ('Goldsmith's Mound')

E164 f. 126, f. 129v; **F63 f. 22**; F64 f. 75. **F64 f. 76**: 'Tupper and samotches close to Hadda [sketch of Tepe Zargaran], seen from ... 200 paces or 150 yards' (137m). E164 f. 129v: 'Seven tupper at Zargaran – six in one group and one in [the] other'.

Simpson 1882, pp. 324, 328, pls 1–2, 5. An irregular ridge, north-west of Ghundi Kabul, crowned by two groups of mounds and with caves in the cliff face (**Figs 298–9**).

G41 f. 4:

[Tepe Zargaran is] another small collections of caves amongst the very numerous remains around Hadda and very near to the

village. The chambers ... have been excavated in the scarped side of the plain ... and above them are the tumuli with which they are connected. As this sketch was taken from the south, ... in the background [to the right] are the hills to the north of the plain of Jalalabad with the town and Royal Garden of Chahar Bagh [**Figs 300–1**; **G41 ff. 16–17**].

Tepe Zargaran is itself an object of curiosity, being one of those and there are many of them at Hadda, whether associated with topes or otherwise, which have a hollow or depression at the summit [i.e. monastery].

F64 f. 75 (see also **G41 f. 4, f. 17**; Masson 1841, Topes pl. VIIIh) (**Fig. 301**):

A This samotch is an inner square apartment in which is a dome or cupola of 7 feet [2.13m] in diameter. The whole was covered with cement and starred regularly with patches of yellow paint. This may be supposed a place of worship.

B This is evidently a niche for the reception of statues.

1–4 These four samotches are respectively 24 feet [7.3m] in length, 10 feet [3m] in breadth and 6 feet [1.8m] in height.

Figure 300 G41 f. 16: 'Tupper and samotches [caves of Tepe Zargaran] close to Hadda'. British Library



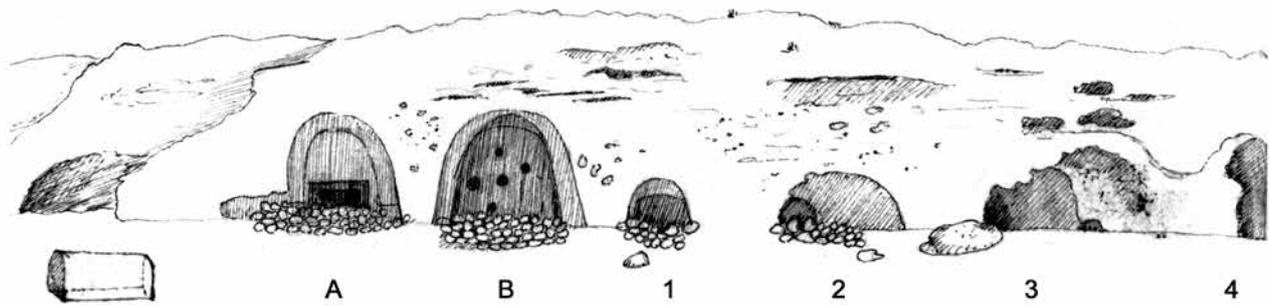


Figure 301 F64 f. 75: Caves and a niche with tenon holes for a statue, on the south-eastern side of Tepe Zargaran. Inset: sketch of barrel-vaulted cave. British Library

[They are barrel-vaulted, coated with lime plaster] and have on the one side a spacious niche, and midway on the other, two or three small niches.

To the left [south-west] of these samotches here depicted are seven or eight others [Masson 1841, p. 112: 'in the same mound'], among which are three with internal cupolas, and these have evidently been once highly painted. The last of these other samotches has never been ultimately explored; and though tales are told about it, on examining it from the entrance, it would appear after about forty feet [12m] to turn to the right, and I am told there are many ruins in it.

Simpson 1882, pp. 328–31, pls 1–2, 5: 'The largest cave in this group is known [as] the "Palace of the Hoda [or Hody] Rajah" – Masson [1841, p. 105] calls him Hudi or Udi – who seems to be a very legendary character'. The cave was claimed to be of interminable extent and to communicate with Kashmir. It was cleared by Colonel Tanner (Indian Army Survey Department with General Sir Samuel Browne's column during the Second Afghan War (**Fig. 302.1**). The only unexplored part was the blocked up south-eastern corner, which probably only led to another entrance. One passage at the back terminated in a perpendicular shaft; another branched obliquely, ending in a hollow, 'thus forming a sort of back door'. The plaster of the barrel-vaulted front entrance was 'in tolerably fair condition' (**Fig. 302.2**). 'In the rubbish at the entrance were found some pieces of a Corinthian capital and a fragment of a round stone ornamented with lotus leaves ... probably the base of a statue' which 'had no doubt tumbled down from some structures above'.

To the north of [this cave] and in the same cliff, are a number of caves. Three or four ... are square in plan, with flat roofs, but the roofs have domes in their centres (**Fig. 302.3–5**). The domes are round in all except one, which is conical, or of a tent shape (**Fig. 302.3**). These caves are very small; the one with the conical dome is of very restricted dimensions, being about 6 feet [1.83m] square. ... [Another cave (**Fig. 302.5**)] had eight small niches, two near each corner: these were about 2 feet 6 inches [76cm] wide, and about 3 feet [91cm] high, arched at the top. In one of these caves part of a circular base was found under the dome. There was not enough left to determine whether it was the pedestal of a statue, or the base of a small top; ... I am inclined to think that this exceptional form of cave was excavated to contain topes. ...

Some traces of paintings are still visible. The domes seem to have had one or two belts of panels all round represented in colour, and in each panel was a figure, little more than a head and shoulders, the background being either a trefoil arch, or a nimbus round the head ... what is left of them is very shadowy (**Fig. 302.3–4**). The smallest cave (**Fig. 302.6**) has a fragment of a painting in which the colours are still very bright. ... The plaster has been knocked off in large patches. ... The background of green is a circle about 18 inches [51cm] diameter; the upper part is damaged, but there is still left the lower part of a human figure sitting on a chair, with the feet resting on a footstool; the one ankle resting over the other; the left hand resting on the thigh.

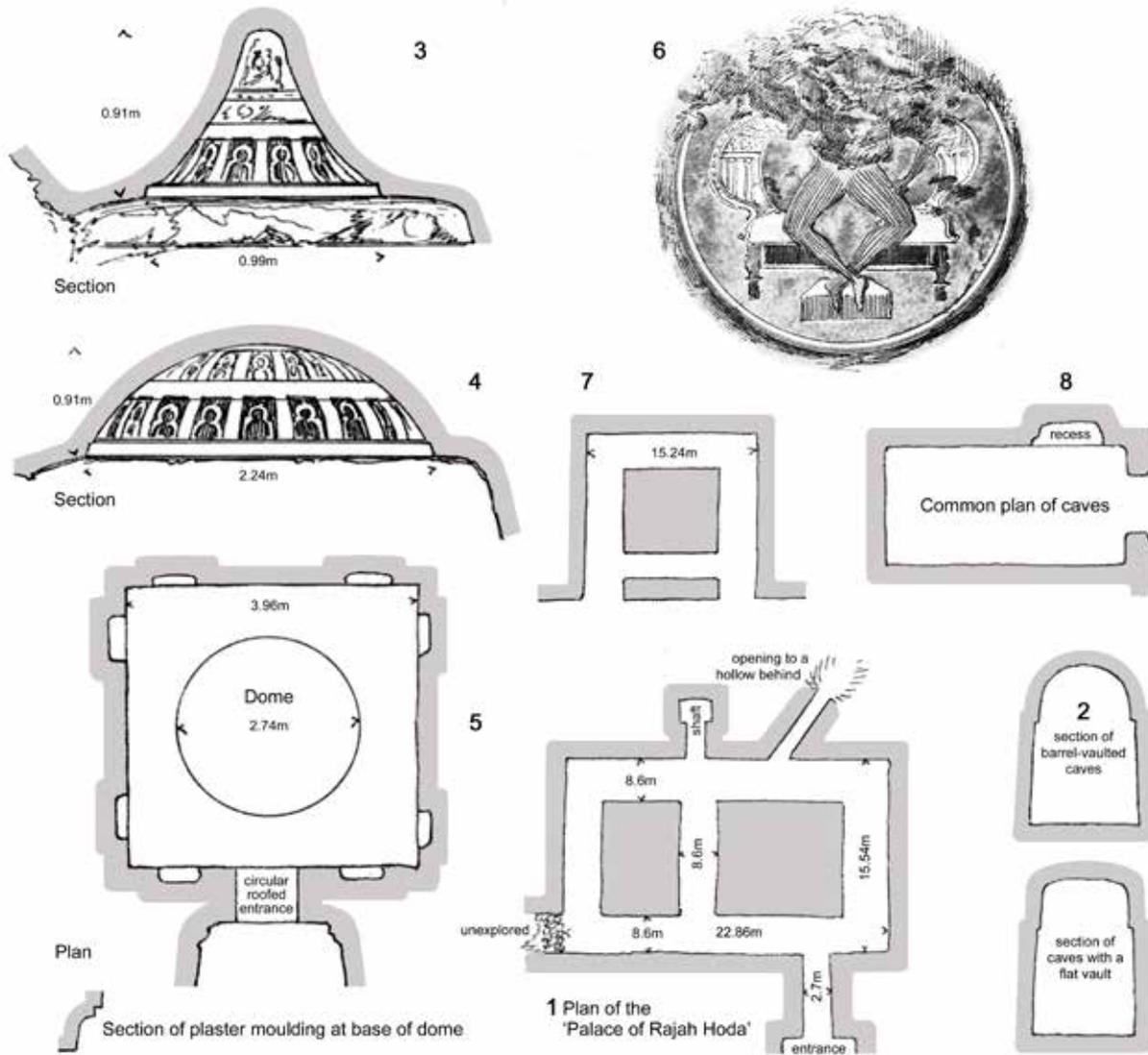


Figure 302 Simpson 1882, pls 1–2, 5: Tepe Zargaran cave plans, sections and mural fragment

- 1–2. Cave plan and passageway section of the 'Palace of Hoda Rajah'.
- 3–4. Sections of two small domed caves at Tepe Zargaran.
5. Plan of another domed cave at Tepe Zargaran.
6. Mural fragment in a fourth domed cave, depicting a figure seated on a throne.
7. Plan of a cave at an unspecified site at Hadda.
8. Common plan of caves at Hadda.

Chapter 18

Wardak / Kohwat

Khawat / Kuhwat, 48.28 km south-west of Kabul. E161/ VII, f. 27; Masson 1841, p. 117; 1842, II, p. 223; Ball and Gardin 1982, no. 1228, maps 55.1, 109; lat. 34°08'N, long. 68°38' E.

Fussman identifies six sites (1974, pp. 72–7; **Fig. 303**):

1. Monastery, and a large stupa with an excavated tunnel to an earlier stupa within the core.
2. Stupa debris.
3. A large stupa with an excavated tunnel from the east side.
4. Traces of an unidentified square structure.
5. A ruined stupa and monastery.
6. Kushan period urban site.

Masson 1841, pp. 117–18: ‘Topes of Kohwat in the district of Wardak’.

These topes are situated on the course of the river, which, having its source in the Hazarajat, flows through Logar into the plain east of Kabul, where it unites with the stream passing through the city. They are distant about 30 miles [48.28km] to the west of Kabul. There are five or six topes, strictly so called, with numerous tumuli. Unable, from the insecurity of my situation [in 1835], and the nature of my occupations in Kabul, to superintend the examination of these monuments, and yet anxious to ascertain their character, I used my influence ... to insure the success and safety of the people I proposed to depute on the task. ... While the operations were being carried on, I rode over to the place, to obtain an idea of the locality and of the structures. ... I found that three or four of these structures had been opened at some unknown period. ... It was also apparent that they had been excavated precisely on the plan I had followed in excavating these buildings. ... I directed certain operations to be pursued, even with the opened topes, and pointed out a number of tumuli which I wished to be examined, as they were very substantially constructed: the results proved successful, in great measure, and comprised seven vases of metal and steatite, with other and various deposits. One of the brass vases was surrounded with a Bactro-Pali [Kharoshthi] inscription, of which I did not take a copy, as to have done so I must have cleansed it. I was averse to take this liberty, being aware that the characters being firmly dotted in could by no chance be obliterated [This seems to refer

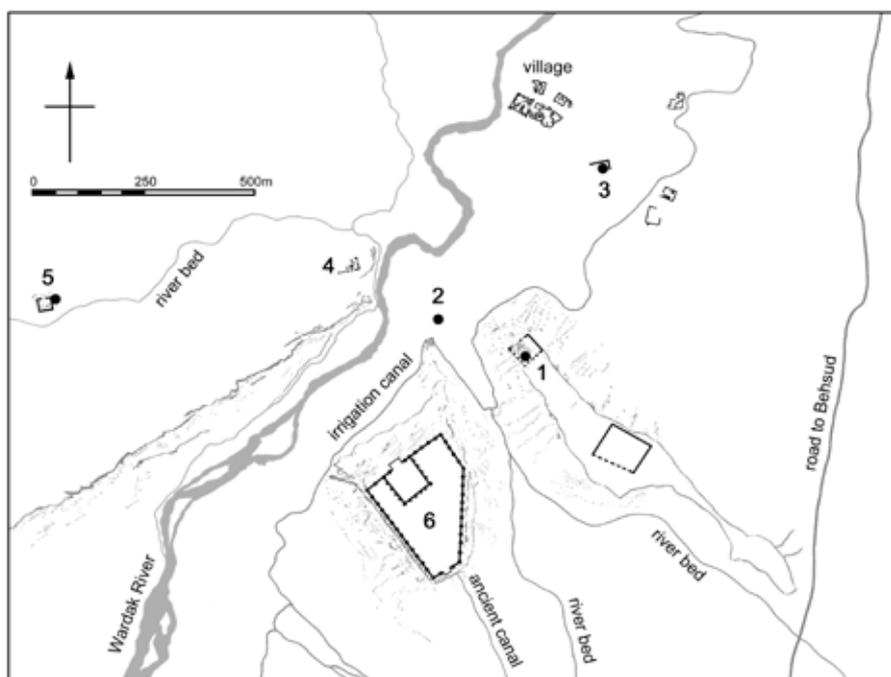


Figure 303 Map of Wardak (after Fussman 1974, pl. I: Ruins of the Kushan period)

to the bronze vase from Wardak 1, **Fig. 307.1**]. The coins found in these monuments were of the Indo-Scythic class [Kushan]; and it may be remarked, that in the several groups of topes explored at Kabul and Jalalabad, coins of all the primary and generic Indo-Scythian types [i.e. Wima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishks] have been found, whose imitations are so numerous discovered in Hindustan.

Masson 1842, II, p. 223:

There are also in the district of Wardak several of the ancient monuments called topes, which have been examined by me, and, from the coins found in them, would appear to have been erected during the period of monarchs of the Indo-Scythic race [i.e. Kushan], but not of the earlier ones. They may probably be due to the 4th or 5th century of our era [*sic*: 2nd century]. An inscription, dotted on a brass vessel found in one of them, in Bactro-Pali [Kharoshthi] characters, may, it is hoped, instruct us as to their origin and nature.

The five or six ‘topes’ and numerous ‘tumuli’ presumably include those listed by Fussman (1974, nos 1–3, 5), but only stupa 1 can be identified with any certainty. Masson’s finds are summarized in **Er161/VII f. 27**, ‘Statement of Articles dispatched to Colonel Pottinger’, 18–10–1836, ‘Relics from Topes of Wardak’:

1. A copper vessel with dotted Pehlevi [Kharoshthi] inscription, containing sundry relics. To this belong 66 copper coins separately placed in a bag.
2. A brass vessel containing sundry relics and one copper coin.
3. A globular glass [*sic* brass] vessel, in which is a cylindrical one also of brass, enclosing a silver one, which enclosed one of gold with sundry relics.
4. A box of ulg or steatite, yellow painted, containing a piece of woven silk (?), small gold casket, and sundry relics.
5. A cylindrical box of black steatite containing cylindrical one of gold with sundry relics.
6. A globular box of black steatite containing cylindrical one of gold with sundry relics.
7. A globular box of black steatite containing cylindrical one of gold containing sundry relics. To this belong two stamped pieces of clay separately packed in cotton.
8. Fragment of box of bone with cylindrical silver box containing one of gold &c.
9. Fragments of bones &c.
10. Iron heads of arrows and sundries.
11. Five copper coins of [Wima] Kadphises.

Identifying the finds from the Wardak sites

The unquestionable Wardak objects inherited by the British Museum are limited to those from sites 1 (bronze inscribed vase dated in the year 51: **Fig. 307.1**), 3 (‘piece of woven silk’: **Fig. 308.6**), 7 (‘two stamped pieces of clay’: **Fig. 309.1–2**), 8 (‘fragment[s] of box of bone’: 310.1), and 10 (‘iron heads of arrows and sundries’: **Figs 311–12**). However, Thomas (1858, I, p. 161) refers to an ‘imperfect legend on the lid of a brass casket, which seems to have enclosed the usual silver and gold boxes [that] formed part of Mr Masson’s final dispatch from Afghanistan’, thereby suggesting that some at least of the other – now missing – reliquaries also reached London. Wilson further mentions ‘upon the lid of a brass vase sent home by Mr Masson is a short inscription in similar characters, dotted’ (1841, pp. 258–9). This additional reliquary evidently bore a Kharoshthi inscription dated in the year 18 (Konow 1929, no. LXXIX, pp. 151–2, pl. XXVII.4).

Unlike the finds from the Darunta, Chahar Bagh, Hadda and Kabul sites which Masson excavated himself and listed in some detail, the small finds from the Wardak sites are, with a few exceptions, simply noted as ‘sundry relics’ (**Er161/VII f. 27**). There are, however, some clues for identifying this material. Wilson (1841, p. 52) says that ‘small figures of animals’ in stone, were found in several stupas. There are altogether six intact stone beads all in the form of a lion, which almost certainly came from Buddhist relic deposits, although Masson mentions only one, a ‘green cow’ (*sic*: jasper lion bead) from Bimaran 4 (**Fig. 129.9**). The absence of any similar objects in his otherwise fairly detailed documentation of the relic deposits from the Jalalabad region suggests that, despite the lack of any correspondingly comprehensive lists for the Wardak finds, most of the lion beads could be from the relic deposits of the latter group. These reached London too late for more than brief references in *Ariana Antiqua* to ‘Mr. Masson’s last dispatch’ and a drawing of the largest lion bead, a carnelian example (**Fig. 313.7**), which was misidentified as a bull and misattributed to Bimaran Stupa 4 (Wilson 1841, p. 52, fig. 6, pl. I.6; see also ‘supplemental plate’, p. 242, no. 18, Coins pl. XXI.6).

A clue linked specifically to the inscribed Wardak vase from stupa 1 (**Fig. 307.1**) is a second bronze vase-shaped reliquary with a closely related inscription seen by Harry Falk in 2002 (Falk 2008; Baums 2012, pp. 243–6, nos 43–4). It records the donation of relics and consecration of a second stupa in the same monastery, on the same day in Kanishka year 51 (c. AD 178), by the daughter of Vagamarega (donor of the Wardak 1 deposit).

The second vase contained, inter alia, a few pieces of broken soapstone and ‘about a cupful’ of small items, including apparently a fragment of burnt amber, burnt coral, and a golden bead (not illustrated), together with ‘several small green pearls’, fragments of lapis lazuli, and numerous turquoise glass, serpentinite (?), carnelian, ivory or bone, and lapis lazuli beads (**Fig. 304**; Falk 2008, pp. 66–8, fig. 9). The photograph of this deposit also illustrates the ‘ashes &c.’ frequently mentioned by Masson in association of the relic deposits. A similar mix of materials is evident in the Masson relic deposit finds, particularly in the groups now registered 1880.3975 and 1880.4109 (**Fig. 307**), which suggests they may be attributed to Wardak 1.

Nineteen of the coins found with the daughter’s vase were Kushan bronze issues: identified by Joe Cribb (personal communication) as one of Wima Kadphises (misidentified as Kujula Kadphises in Falk 2008, pp. 66–7, fig. 6), a few late Kanishka I or early Huvishka coins, the majority being late issues of Huvishka. A similar combination of coins of these three rulers was found in the Chahar Bagh 4 deposit (**Fig. 223**). Both groups supply a clue as to the likely issues of the 66 missing coins from Wardak 1. The daughter’s vase, however, was re-deposited in the late 5th–6th century, for it also contained two Napki Malka silver coins of the Nezak Huns and jewellery similar to that found in Hadda 10 (**Fig. 283.7–11, 22–4**). For dating the coins, see Vondrovec 2010, pp. 170–3, type 198). An additional folded sheet of inscribed birch bark and a smaller silver cylindrical reliquary with an attached clay sealing bearing the impression of an archer on



Figure 304 Contents of second Wardak vase. Photograph H. Falk 2008 (Copyright © H. Falk)

horseback may belong to this later deposit (Falk 2008, pp. 66–7, figs 3–7).

Wardak 1

Masson 1841, p. 118:

In the principal tope an internal tope was enclosed, or rather had been; and one of those unexplained tunnels or passages led from it to the circumference [i.e. a reinforcement rib].

The monastic complex comprises a stupa and *c.* 250m behind it, a large monastery (100 x 84m), with traces of a quadrangular depression between the two (Fussman 1974, pp. 70–5, 113–18, pls II–V, figs 3–12). It is built on a ridge orientated roughly east–west above the alluvial plain. The stupa (height 17.5m; drum diam. 11m) stands on an artificial terrace (*c.* 40 x 58m) which was reinforced at the corners, possibly by towers. The stupa has a square base, comprising at least one tier, with the remains of a staircase leading up to the *pradakṣiṇāpātha* on the south-east side. The dome (height 6.75m) rests on a two-tiered circular drum. A blind arcade of ogee arches and pilasters decorates the upper drum. The pilaster capitals are divided into three parts, suggestive of Indo-Corinthian acanthus foliage; while the spandrels between the arches contain a small cone-shaped stone moulding resting on two vertical rectangular strips. These have been interpreted as possibly the armature for an eagle with outstretched wings, like those found in this position on

the Shotorak stupa D4 (Meunié 1942, p. 25, pl. VII.21–2), but similar mouldings at Shevaki 1 retain some of their original stucco coating and show a simple pointed bud or petal-shaped form (Fussman 2008, p. 239, pl. 51). The blind arcade appears to have been undecorated for there are no dowel marks for images. However, above the drum and facing the stairway on the south-east side are the remains of a large niche for a statue (**Fig. 306**).

Masson’s workmen dug a horizontal tunnel into the centre of the stupa at the juncture between the base and the drum, then sunk a vertical shaft to the ancient ground level, where they presumably unearthed the relic deposit. In the process they destroyed the small original stupa (height 5.4m; diam. drum 4.05m), but its outline was still preserved in the 1970s within the core of the enlargement, i.e. the rough surface of earthen mortar binding the packed stones of the later edifice bore traces of the white coating of the original dome. A projection marking the original drum also survived (**Fig. 305**, ‘b’). Beside this imprint of the earlier stupa and aligned on the same east–west axis as the stairway, Fussman also noted the existence of Masson’s so-called ‘tunnel’ (**Fig. 305**, point ‘a’; 1974, pp. 77–8, fig. 15). Far from being an open passageway, this was a solid structure with rounded sides. It was constructed of pebbles bonded with grey *gel* (earth and water), while the surrounding masonry was built of larger blocks bonded with brown-beige *gel*, but the two types of stone overlapped and were tied together to form part of the same integral mass. Similar reinforcement ribs are recorded within the stupas of Gudara, Nagara Ghundi and Chahar Bagh 4 (**Figs 176, 238, 212**).

Finds

Konow 1929, pp. 165–70, pl. XXXIII; Errington and Cribb 1992, no. 170, pp. 174–5; Klimburg-Salter, Siepel *et al.* 1995, no. 122, pp. 153, 265–6; Zwalf 1996, no. 680, p. 356; Errington and Curtis 2007, pp. 130, 133, fig. 114; Jongeward *et al.* 2012, pp. 156–8, 245–6, 288–9, no. 345, fig. 4.33.

E161/VII f. 27: ‘Relics from [Tope] 1’: A copper vase with a dotted Kharoshthi inscription ‘containing sundry relics. To this belong 66 copper coins separately placed in a bag’ (**Fig. 307.a**). The coins are identified as being of the ‘Indo-Scythic class’ (Masson 1841, p. 118) i.e. Kushan coins of Wima Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka. The original coins have not been located, but, as already suggested, were probably similar to the types from Chahar Bagh 4 (**Fig. 215**).

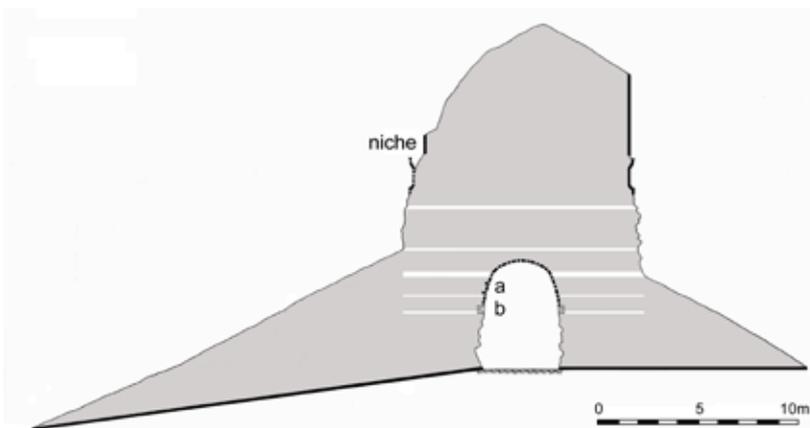


Figure 305 Section through Wardak 1 (after Fussman 1974, pl. III)



Figure 306 Wardak 1 and the remains of its associated monastery (Copyright © J.L. Lee 2003, all rights reserved)

Fig. 307.1 – 1880.93. IM 5289 / SKM 04.830. The ‘Wardak vase’, dated Kushan year 51 in the reign of Huvishka (c. AD 178). Cast globular reliquary vase of copper alloy, with a low, flat ring-foot and a narrow neck splayed at the top into a sloping, everted rim. A three-line Kharoshthi inscription encircles the shoulder in a band between two grooves at the base of the neck and three grooves below, with a fourth line on the lower body. There are also two grooves inside the neck just below the rim and another on the rim. H. 17.6cm; D. (body) 16.9cm; D. (neck) 9.7cm.

Inscription (Konow 1929, no. LXXXVI, pp. 165–70, pl. XXXIII; Baums 2012, no. 43, pp. 243–4; CKI 159):

[1] *saṃ 20 20 10 1 maṣa arthamiṣiya sastehi 10 4 1 imeṇa gaḍigeṇa kamagulyaṣṭravagamarega ṣa iṣa khavadami kadalayigavagamaregav iharammi thu[ba]mmi bhagavada śakyamune sarira pariṭhaveli* [2] *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa maharajaratirajahuveṣkaṣa agrabhagae bhavatu madapidara me puyae bhavatu bhradara me haṣṭhunaḥmaregaṣa puyae*

bhavatu yo ca me bhuya natigamitrasaṃbhatigāṇa puyae bhavatu mahiya ca vagamaregaṣa agrabhagaṣaḍiyamṣae [3] *bhavatu sarvasatvaṇa arogadakṣiṇae bhavatu aviyaṇaragaṣaryata yava bhavagra yo atra aṃtara a[m]dajo jalayuga śaśvetiga aruṣyata sarviṇa puyae bhavatu mahiya ca rohaṇa sada sarviṇa avaṣatrigāṇa saṣarivara ca agrabhagaṣaḍiyamṣae bhavatu mithyagaṣa ca agrabhaga bhavatu* [4] *eṣa vihara acaryaṇa mahasaṃghigāṇa paṛigraha*

[1] In the 51st year, in the month Artemisios, after 15 (days), at this time Vagamarega, son of Kamagulya, he establishes here in Khavada in the *kadalayiga* Vagamarega monastery, in a stūpa relics of the Lord, the Śākya sage. [2] Through this root of good may it be for the best lot of the great king, chief king of kings Huvishka; may it be in honour of my mother and father; may it be in honour of my brother Haṣṭhunaḥmarega; and may it be in honour of my further relatives, friends and associates; and [3] may it be for the best share and lot of me, Vagamarega; may it be for the reward of health of all beings; and may it also be in honour of all, whoever there is here in between, from the Avīci



1



a



b



Figure 307 Wardak 1 relic deposit

hell at one end to the top of existence, (whether) egg-born, womb-born, moisture-born, (or) formless; and may it always be for the best lot and share of my horsemen, with all umbrella-bearers and with the retinue; and may there be a best lot for the one who is wrong. [4] This monastery is the possession of the Mahāsāṃghika teachers.

Beads and ornaments

Fig. 307.2 – 1880.4109.a. Tray ‘C’. Two pieces of cream-coloured talc; one unworked, the other with a broken drill hole. L. 22mm, W. 12mm, T. 10mm; L. 13mm, W. 10mm, T. 9mm.

Fig. 307.3 – 1880.4109.b. Tray ‘C’. Four pieces of greyish-green talc; three pieces unworked, one with a broken drill hole. L. 13mm, W. 8mm, T. 8mm (with drill hole); L. 18mm, W. 11mm, T. 7.5mm; L. 15mm, W. 15mm, T. 10mm; L. 14mm, W. 14mm, T. 6mm. These samples may be the same as the ‘a few pieces of broken soapstone’ found in the relic deposit of Vagamarega’s daughter (p. 201 above).

Fig. 307.4 – 1880.4099.b. IM 71 / SKM 1085. Piece of unworked cream-coloured talc, found with bone reliquary fragments from Wardak 8. L. 15mm, W. 13mm, T. 10mm.

Fig. 307.5 – 1880.4110.k. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Unworked fragment of cream-coloured talc, found with material from Wardak 4. L. 12mm, W. 7mm, T. 5mm.

Fig. 307.6 – 1880.4109.c. Tray ‘C’. Small, broken serpentinite (?) bead in the shape of a lion, with the head missing; pierced longitudinally. L. 12mm, W. 8mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 307.7 – 1880.4109.d. Tray ‘C’. A roughly circular, domed piece of serpentinite (?), decorated with the remains of incised dot in circle motifs on the front; the back roughly flat and unworked. L. 15mm, W. 13mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 307.8 – 1880.4109.e. Tray ‘C’. Square bead of serpentinite (?), drilled through the centre. The back is flat; the front faceted. L. 10mm, W. 10mm, T. 4mm. For a similar bead from Begram, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3905.

Fig. 307.9 – 1880.3992.b. Tray ‘4’, with IM ticket ‘No. 6’ / Kr. 32; (p. 53, **Table 4.32**). Two faceted lapis lazuli beads, the larger one coated with brown discolouration. L. 7mm, W. 7mm; L. 5mm, W. 5mm.

Fig. 307.10 – 1880.4109.j. Tray ‘C’ / Kr. 30 (p. 53, **Table 4.30**). Four small lapis lazuli beads: two barrel-shaped, one spherical, one faceted. L. 6mm, D. 3mm; L. 6mm, D. 3.5mm; D. 4mm; D. 4mm. Similar beads were found in the companion Wardak stupa deposit donated by Vagamarega’s daughter.

Fig. 307.11 – 1880.4109.k. Tray ‘C’. Ivory rectangular spacer bead divided into three notched sections, each pierced horizontally. It is decorated on the front with three hollows between a pair of parallel incised lines, and notched to form a central point top and bottom. L. 21mm, W. 9mm, T. 6mm.

Fig. 307.12 – 1880.4109.i. Tray ‘C’. Almost circular worked piece of lapis lazuli. The edge is slightly rounded on one side, which is encrusted with soil and undecorated. The other side is flat and has a dot in the centre, with an incised circle towards the outer edge. These marks appear to have been made with a compass. It suggests that the lapis was in the process of being worked as a tabular bead. L. 13mm, W. 12mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 307.13 – 1880.4109.h. Tray ‘C’. Lozenge-shaped lapis lazuli bead, with broken drill holes top and bottom (one only partially drilled) and decorated with an incised circle and dot motif on the front. L. 13mm, W. 10mm, T. 2.5mm.

Fig. 307.14 – 1880.4109.f. Tray ‘C’. Lozenge-shaped bead pendant of serpentinite (?) decorated on both sides with an incised dot in circle motif. H. 14mm, W. 10mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 307.15 – 1880.4109.l. Tray ‘C’. Broken, oval, garnet scarab, with incised detailing. L. 10mm, W. 6mm, T. 4mm. For another worked garnet fragment, see **Fig. 313.17**.

Fig. 307.16 – 1880.4109.m. Tray ‘C’. Irregular, rough-polished garnet bead. L. 8mm, W. 6.5mm, T. 4mm. For similar rough-polished garnet beads, see **Figs 96.14, 280.24, 313.18**. For spherical, cut garnet beads, see **Figs 119.40, 280.13, 23**.

Fig. 307.17 – 1880.4109.g. Tray ‘C’. Irregular piece of worked serpentinite (?) with one rounded end and copper corrosion products on one side. L. 10mm, W. 9mm, T. 7mm.

Fig. 307.18 – 1880.4109.n. Tray ‘C’ / BM Res. Lab. no. 7277–21–W. Oval intaglio insert with a bevelled edge, chipped bottom left; made of opaque green glass with a blue banded inlay; decorated with an intaglio image of a horse walking to left. L. 14mm, W. 10mm, T. 2mm. Raman Microscopy identified the glass colourants as cobalt (blue), copper and tin (green), and the opacifier as antimony. For discussion of the examined glass (paste) beads, see pp. 50–1 above.

The identification of this seal as part of the 2nd-century Wardak 1 deposit rests on the fact that antimony-based opacifiers were used in Roman and eastern Mediterranean glass production until sometime in the 4th century, when tin started to replace antimony as an opacifier. Although the glass itself may have been imported from the Roman world, the depiction of a Central Asian pony suggests local manufacture.

Fig. 307.19 – 1880.4109.o. Tray ‘C’. Ceramic oval inlay, glazed white on one side and a matt greyish-blue on the other. L. 12mm, W. 8mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 307.20 – 1880.4109.p. Tray ‘C’. Horseshoe-shaped pendant of banded brown and white opaque glass, with a brown glass loop at the top and grooved sides. There is also a hole drilled in the centre of the curved lower edge. L. 15mm, W. 14mm, T. 5mm.

Fig. 307.21 – 1880.4109.q. Tray ‘C’. Two small beads of opaque turquoise glass; one annular, the other a broken cube. L. 4mm, W. 4mm; D. 6mm, T. 2.5mm.

Egypt *c.* 1500 BC already produced opaque turquoise glass beads of this type using antimony. This was also probably the case here. Similar beads were found in the companion Wardak stupa deposit donated by Vagamarega’s daughter.

Fig. 307.22 – 1880.4109.r. Tray ‘C’. Half of a clear glass ovoid bead originally with six facets, broken along the length of its perforation. L. 13mm, W. 9mm, T. 5mm.

Fig. 307.23 – 1880.4109.s. Tray ‘C’. Half a hexagonal bead of worn, pale green glass, broken along the length of its perforation. L. 10mm, W. 10mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 307.24 – 1880.4109.t. Tray ‘C’. Roughly square pyramidal seal of pale green clear glass, with sloping sides, terminating in a perforated point at the top (now broken).

The intaglio image on the face is too worn for identification. L. 11mm, W. 11mm, T. 9mm.

Fig. 307.25 – 1880.4109.u. Tray ‘C’. Pitted, circular inlay of clear, pale yellow ochre glass. D. 12mm, T. 2mm.

Beads **Figs 307.26–8, 31–3** were inherited from the India Museum strung together with disc ‘6’ (**Fig. 307b**).

Fig. 307.26 – 1880.3975.a. Disc [IM] ‘6’ / IM.Metal &c.129 / Kr. 29 (p. 53, **Table 4.29**). Two lapis lazuli beads in the shape of a recumbent lion; with notched decoration and pierced longitudinally. L. 12mm, H. 11mm, W. 6mm; L. 11mm, H. 12mm, W. 6mm. For other lion beads, see **Figs 129.9; 280.18, 21; 307.6; 313.5–7**.

Masson also mentions that the Hadda 10 deposit was half filled with water, in which lapis lazuli, or rather, the fine blue colour obtained from it occurred in plastic masses (**E161/ VII f. 18**), but this seems to have merely been a blue-coloured liquid, see p. 176 above.

Fig. 307.27 – 1880.3975.b. Disc [IM] ‘6’ / IM.Metal &c.129 / BM Research Lab. no. 7277–6–Y (see p. 50). Two tabular beads of opaque brown decayed amber, pierced longitudinally; one partly broken at one end. L. 17mm, W. 10mm, T. 7mm; L. 14mm, W. 12mm, T. 7mm.

Fig. 307.28 – 1880.3975.c. Disc [IM] ‘6’ / IM.Metal &c.129. Two ivory cylindrical disc beads, notched four times on either side to resemble a Maltese cross. D. 9mm, T. 3.5mm.

Fig. 307.29 – 1880.3851.h. IM 23 / SKM1115. Ivory cylindrical disc bead, notched four times on either side to resemble a Maltese cross. D. 10mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 307.30 – 1880.4116.e. IM 3 (?) / SKM 1052. Ivory cylindrical disc bead, notched four times on either side to resemble a Maltese cross. D. 10mm, T. 4mm.

Two of the four notched ivory disc beads (**Fig. 307.29–30**) were not found together. **Fig. 307.29** was with material from Bimaran 2, but no large ivory beads figure among the list of contents from that deposit. **Fig. 307.30** was found in tray SKM 1052, which is listed by A.W. Franks as coins and beads from Chahar Bagh 4. However, no beads are recorded from this site, only coins (see **Fig. 215**). The possibility exists that the string of beads designated I.M.Metal &c.129 / IM 6 (**Figs 307.26–8, 31–3**) may not all be from the same site; it also appears that SKM 1052 and SKM 1115 contained a mix of finds from different sites.

Fig. 307.31 – 1880.3975.d. Disc [IM] ‘6’ / IM.Metal &c.129. Ivory barrel bead, pierced, with four notches radiating from either end of the drill hole. L. 8mm, D. 8.5mm.

Fig. 307.32 – 1880.3975.e. Disc [IM] ‘6’ / IM.Metal &c.129. Bone (?) barrel bead. L. 6mm, D. 7mm.

Fig. 307.33 – 1880.3975.f. Disc [IM] ‘6’ / IM.Metal &c.129. Coral (?) irregularly shaped barrel bead. L. 6mm, D. 5mm.

Fig. 307.34 – 1880.3855.j. IM 3 / SKM 1052. Two cylindrical ivory beads, each with a single groove around the circumference. A thread, cased in copper alloy, is strung through one bead. L. 4mm, D. 6mm; L. 4mm, D. 4mm.

Fig. 307.35 – 1880.3885.q. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Cylindrical ivory bead with a single groove around the circumference. The remains of a thread, cased in copper alloy, is strung through the bead. L. 4mm, D. 6mm.

Fig. 307.36 – 1880.4103.c. Tray ‘4’, with India Museum ticket ‘No. 6’. Two cylindrical ivory beads, each with a single

groove around the circumference. The remains of a thread, cased in copper alloy, is strung through each bead. L. 5mm, D. 6mm.

Figs 307.34–6 were all found in separate trays, but clearly belong together.

Fig. 307.37 – 1880.4103.e. Tray ‘4’, with India Museum ticket ‘No. 6’. 22 ivory barrel beads. L. 4mm, D. 6mm (largest); L. 3mm, D. 4mm (smallest).

Masson does not specifically record finding small ivory beads – of which there are large numbers – at any of the sites. Instead, he variously lists ‘sundry beads of coral, pearls &c.’ (Bimaran 2) ‘sundry beads &c. of burnt coral &c.’ (Bimaran 4), or ‘sundry burnt coral beads &c.’ (Passani tumulus 2; see F526/1b f. 1). However, similar ivory beads were found in the companion Wardak stupa deposit donated by Vagamarega’s daughter, so it seems likely that many of the Masson ivory beads were from the Wardak sites. For more examples, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3851.e–g, 1880.3855.f–g, 1880.3893.r–v, 1880.3908.j, 1880.3929.h–j, 1880.4102.e, 1880–4103.a–c, 1880.4104.a, c, 1880.4105.b–c, 1880.4110.h.

Fig. 307.38 – 1880.3922.a–b. IM 61 / SKM 1076. Two spherical polished discoloured white beads of uncertain material, probably burnished shell. D. c. 11mm.

Like the burnt examples tentatively attributed to Bimaran 2 (**Figs 119.29–30**), the beads could be made of conch shell, which is found in the Indian Ocean. Similar black and white beads – apparently both burnt and unburnt – appear to have also been present in the stupa deposit of Vagamarega’s daughter (**Fig. 304**).

Fig. 307.39 – 1880.4102.d. Tray ‘A’. Small annular carnelian bead. L. 3mm, D. 4mm.

Fig. 307.40 – 1880.4103.d. Tray ‘4’, with India Museum label ‘No. 6’. Two small carnelian barrel beads: one complete, the other broken in half. L. 4mm, D. 5mm; L. 4mm, D. 4.5mm (half bead).

Fig. 307.41 – 1880.4104.b. Tray ‘4’, with India Museum label ‘No. 6’. Broken half of a small carnelian bead. L. 3mm, D. 4mm. Small carnelian beads of this type were present in the Wardak relic deposit donated by Vagamarega’s daughter (**Fig. 304**).

Wardak 2–8

Fussman (1974, pp. 80–4, pls V–VI, figs 3, 16–21) recorded three more stupas at Wardak, which he designated 2, 3 and 5 respectively (**Fig. 303**). These comprised:

- No. 2. Ruins, probably of a stupa and possibly also a monastery, dissected by an irrigation canal.
- No. 3. The remains of a large stupa, with a tunnel dug into it from the east side and another from the north.
- No. 5. A ruined stupa – actually a ‘tumulus’ according to Masson’s classification – with an adjacent monastery.

They were all presumably also excavated by Masson’s workmen, although there is no evidence to identify any specific relic deposit with any of the surviving structures. The best preserved (Fussman’s stupa 3) was located in the middle of cultivated land. Many of the stones from the structure had been reused to build enclosures for animals and the retaining walls of terraced fields, while an irrigation canal cut off access to its staircase.

Stupa 3 closely resembled stupa 1 in appearance, but was larger, measuring approximately 19–20m in height, with a drum diameter of c. 13.25m. The outer diaper masonry cladding had almost completely disappeared, apart from a small section of the arcade of arches and pilasters encircling the upper drum (Fussman 1974, p. 120, fig. 18). The tunnel made by Masson’s workmen can probably be identified as the one on the east side at the base of the lower drum. That on the north side may be related to the evidence cited by Masson that ‘three or four of [the Wardak] structures had been opened at some unknown period’ (1841, p. 118).

Wardak 2–3

Finds

E161/VII f. 27:

- ‘2. A brass vessel containing sundry relics and one copper coin.
- 3. A globular glass [*sic*: brass] vessel, in which is a cylindrical one also of brass, enclosing a silver one, which enclosed one of gold with sundry relics.’

Neither brass (possibly gilded bronze) reliquary has been traced. However, the reference to the existence in the ‘last dispatch’ of finds ‘sent home’ by Masson of ‘a brass casket, which seems to have enclosed the usual silver and gold boxes’ (Thomas 1858, I, p. 161, pl. IX.3; Wilson 1841, pp. 258–9), best fits Masson’s record of the relic deposit no. 3. It also proves the brass reliquary definitely reached the India Museum in London. A further crucial detail is that the vessel had a short ‘imperfect’ inscription in ‘dotted’ characters on the lid, which Masson does not appear to have noticed. According to Thomas, the inscription was ‘much worn and abraded’ but he recognized the date as year 18 (of Kanishka, i.e. c. AD 145).

Thomas’ incorrect reproduction was one of only two copies ever made, and was used (Mitra 1862, p. 180; Cunningham 1862, p. 303) until Dowson published a more careful and accurate reading in 1863. This shows that the reliquary was still in the India Museum in the early 1860s, although its subsequent fate is unknown. The inscription according to Dowson’s transcription reads (1863, p. 232, pl. IX.3; Konow 1929, no. LXXIX, pp. 151–2, pl. XXVII.4; Baums 2012, no. 38, p. 241; CKI 152):

*saṃ 10 4 4 maṣe arthamisiya sastehi 10 iś[e] kṣunammi
gotamaṣamaṇasa śarira paristavida*

In the 18th year, in the month Artemisios, after 10 (days), at this moment relics of the Gautama monk are established.

Wardak 4

Finds

E161/VII f. 27: ‘4. A box of ulg or steatite, yellow painted, containing a piece of woven silk (?), small gold casket, and sundry relics’.



Figure 308 Wardak 4 relic deposit

The steatite and gold reliquaries have not been traced. A small piece of silk (**Fig. 308.6–7**) in tray IM 56 / SKM 1095 perhaps identifies the finds from Wardak 4. However, the tray contained recognizable items from several different sites indicating a degree of contamination, viz. 1880.4110.g (Hadda 10: **Fig. 279.11**), 1880.4110.c (Passani tumulus 2: **Fig. 96.12**), 1880.4110.d, n (Bimaran 2: **Fig. 119.2, 28**) and 1880.4110.m (Wardak 8: **Fig. 310.1**).

Fig. 308.1 – 1880.4110.a. IM 56 / SKM 1095 / BM Lab. no. 7277–19–X / Kr. 33 (p. 53, **Table 4.33**). Barrel bead of pale amber quartz with red striations; slightly fractured, with six facets and drilled from both sides. L. 9mm, W. 8mm, T. 6mm. See **Table 3.19**, p. 51.

Fig. 308.2 – 1880.4110.b. IM 56 / SKM 1095 / BM Lab. no. 7277–20–R. Opaque olive green glass bead made of a row of three small spheres fused together. L. 10mm, D. 4mm. See **Table 3.20**, p. 51.

The glass contains iron and copper colourants. The use of tin as an opacifier indicates possible Roman manufacture c. 4th century or later. If not from Wardak 4, the bead is probably from Hadda 10.

Fig. 308.3 – 1880.4110.f. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Small spherical, cut and polished garnet bead. L. 4.4mm, D. 6mm.

Fig. 308.4 – 1880.4110.i. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Two tiny seed-pearl beads. L. 1.5mm, D. 2mm.

Fig. 308.5 – 1880.4110.h. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Eight small ivory barrel beads. L. 2–3mm, D. 3–4mm. For the problematic provenance of ivory beads, see **Fig. 307.37**.

Fig. 308.6–7 – 1880.4110.e, o. IM 56 / SKM 1095. Small knotted fragment of blue and pale yellow ochre silk and debris from tray SKM 1095 including fragmentary blue and ochre silk threads. L. 8mm, W. 5mm, T. 5mm. For enlargement see **Fig. 20.2**, p. 39. For more silk fragments see **Figs 20.4, 313.14**.

Fig. 308.8 – 1880.3929.k. IM 42 / SKM1122 (?). Irregular, heavily corroded copper alloy fragment, possibly a coin. The piece is suffused with resin and has on one side an imprint, or remnant, of finely woven silk, with traces of a pattern in yellow ochre and blue, stained red in parts from the resin. L. 13mm, W. 8mm, T. 5mm. For enlargement see **Fig. 20.3**.

Wardak 5–6

Finds

E161/VII f. 27:

- ‘5. A cylindrical box of black steatite containing cylindrical one of gold with sundry relics.
 - 6. A globular box of black steatite containing cylindrical one of gold with sundry relics.’
- None of these reliquaries have been traced.



Figure 309 Wardak 7 relic deposit

Wardak 7

Finds

E161/VII f. 27: '7. A globular box of black steatite containing a cylindrical one of gold containing sundry relics. To this belong two stamped pieces of clay separately packed in cotton'.

The reliquaries have not been traced. The small finds are identified by their association with the sealing **Fig. 309.2** (see also p. 40, **Fig. 21**).

Fig. 309.1 – 1880.3991. IM 49 / SKM 1109. Clay bulla or sealing with the impression of a reclining figure resting on his left arm and with his right leg bent at the knee in a similar pose to that of the reclining king on copper alloy coins of the Kushan king Huvishka (c. AD 150–90). H. 20mm, W. 25mm, T. 12mm.

Fig. 309.2 – 1880.4098.a. IM 63 / SKM 1113. Clay bulla or sealing with the worn impression of a standing figure facing a vertical object, possibly an altar, to right. H. 25mm, W. 21mm, T. 10mm. The sealing was found (misplaced) in tray IM 45 ('coins' according to **BM-Asia 18-2-1881a**).

Fig. 309.3 – 1880.4098.b. IM 63 / SKM 1113. Cylindrical bone bead, tinted pink. L. 7mm, D. 6mm.

Fig. 309.4 – 1880.4098.c. IM 63 / SKM 1113. One ivory and three seed-pearl beads; brown-stained birch bark (contamination from Hadda 2) and other fragments. D. ivory bead 3.5mm.

Wardak 8

Finds

E161/VII f. 27: '8. Fragment of box of bone with cylindrical silver box containing one of gold &c.' The silver reliquary has not been traced.

Fig. 310.1 – 1880.3723.a–e. IM 71 / SKM 1085. Partly restored, turned, cylindrical reliquary of bone or possibly coarse-grained ivory. It is stained red on the exterior and decorated with incised horizontal lines: one around the rim; then spaced apart lower down around the body, two bands of four and five parallel lines respectively. There are the remains of a recessed lip around the top, but only fragments of the lid survive. The restoration retains its South Kensington number. For an idea of its original form, see



Figure 310 Wardak 8 relic deposit

Hadda 4 and Chahar Bagh 4 (**Figs 258.1–2, 214**). H. c. 5.25cm; D. c. 5.6cm.

In addition to the larger pieces used in the partial restoration of the reliquary, small fragments were also located in other trays, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3908.c (4 fragments), 1880.4099.a (6 fragments), 1880.4101.e–f (3 fragments and reliquary debris), 1880.4104.f (2 fragments), 1880.4105.d (2 fragments), 1880.4110.m (2 fragments), 1880.4116.d (4 fragments).

For 1880.4114.c (IM 64 / SKM 1106), the South Kensington Museum also registers 'Four fragments of bone &c.', which is expanded in **BM-Asia 18-2-1881a** to 'Gold disc, tessera &c.' Only one red-tinted bone fragment survived in tray IM 64, but it is sufficient to confirm identification of the 'tessera' as pieces of the Wardak 8 bone reliquary.

Fig. 310.2 – 1880.3693. IM 64 / SKM 1106 (?) / IM. Metal.93: 'Gold cover or lid for small box; very thin beaten gold.' Crumpled and split, circle of thin hammered gold; possibly the cover of a reliquary. W. 23.4mm, H. c. 8.2mm.

Tentative identification of 1880.3693 with Wardak 8 and SKM 1106 rests on the presence of the red-tinted bone reliquary fragment 1880.4114.c in tray IM 64, and equating the reference to a 'gold disc' (**BM Asia 18.2.1881a**) with the 'gold cover' of IM.Metal.93, but precise identification is not possible, as Masson's descriptions are too cryptic: the gold reliquaries from Wardak stupas 5–7 are 'cylindrical'; those of stupas 3 and 8 are simply 'gold', and that from stupa 4 is 'a small gold casket'.

Fig. 310.3 – 1880.4114.b. IM 64 / SKM 1106. A small greyish-ochre fragment which appears to be animal bone, not human. It has two smooth surfaces separated by c. 3mm of internal trabeculae oriented perpendicularly. L. 8mm, W. 4mm, T. 3mm.

Examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb, who noted it is probably not



Figure 311 Wardak 10 finds

human, as human skeletons rarely have this configuration (e.g. an immature pelvis perhaps). Identification of Wardak 8 for this fragment is again tentatively based on its location in tray IM 64. For enlargement, see **Fig. 16** (p. 35).

Wardak 9

Finds

E161/VII f. 27: Site '9. Fragments of bones &c.' These have not been traced.

Wardak 10

Finds

E161/VII f. 27: Site '10. Iron heads of arrows and sundries'. The contents of Wardak 10 suggest that they are unlikely to have been a relic deposit, but were from a secular context,

i.e. perhaps from within the urban site 'no. 6' (**Fig. 303**), identified and dated by Fussman to the Kushan period (1974, pp. 84–8, pls I, VII, figs 22–3). While the arrowheads and blades form a coherent group (**Fig. 311.1–10**: 1880.4107.a–j), the inclusion of rings similar to those found in Hadda stupa 10 (**Fig. 312.1–2, 13–14**: 1880.3978.a–b, l–m) and pendants similar to examples from Begram (1880.3978.c–d) suggests either a possible degree of contamination from other sites, or the inclusion of surface finds in the group, or that occupation of the urban site extended into the Islamic period (c. 10th–13th century).

Fig. 311.1 – 1880.4107.a. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Iron tri-lobed arrow-head with one barb broken and a short tang. L. 15mm, W. 17mm.

Fig. 311.2 – 1880.4107.b. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Iron tri-lobed arrow-head with two broken barbs and a tapering tang. L. 59mm (with tang); arrowhead: L. 30mm, W. 12mm.



Figure 312 Wardak 10 finds (continued)

A similar example with one missing barb was found in Begram II, the destruction of which is dated to the time of Shapur I (c. AD 240–72/3) by Ghirshman (1946, p. 203, pl. XXXVI, B.G.68).

Fig. 311.3 – 1880.4107.c. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Iron tri-lobed arrow-head with broken barbs, a long projectile and short tang. L. 71mm (with tang); arrowhead: L. 50mm, W. 10mm. A similar, more complete example was found in Begram II (Ghirshman 1946, p. 203, pl. XXXVI, B.G.290.b).

Fig. 311.4 – 1880.4107.d. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Corroded and broken iron arrow-head (?) with a long projectile and tang. L. 107mm (with tang); arrowhead: L. 78mm, W. 11mm. In its original form, the object perhaps resembled an iron arrow-head recovered from the Hindu cave temple site of Kashmir Smast in north-west Pakistan, which flourished c. 3rd–7th century (Nasim Khan 2001, p. 281, pl. 24.2).

Fig. 311.5 – 1880.4107.e. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Corroded and broken iron blade, possibly a scalpel, with a pointed tang. L. 105mm (with tang); blade: L. 75mm, W. 12mm. Similar Roman bronze blades are identified as scalpels, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: ‘Roman scalpel’.

Fig. 311.6 – 1880.4107.f. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Corroded iron blade, possibly a scalpel, with a short tang. L. 84mm (with tang); blade: L. 62mm, W. 11mm. An identical iron blade was recovered from the Hindu cave temple site of Kashmir Smast (Nasim Khan 2001, p. 281, pl. 24.1). A more corroded example was found in Begram II (Ghirshman 1946, p. 203, pl. XXXVI, B.G.290/d).

Fig. 311.7 – 1880.4107.g. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Corroded iron blade, narrowing into a short tang. L. 57mm, W. 13mm.

Fig. 311.8 – 1880.4107.h. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Corroded iron ferrule or sheath, wrapped to form an elongated cone, pointed at one end. L. 51mm, D. 11mm tapering to 2.5mm.

Fig. 311.9 – 1880.4107.i. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Large curved fragment of corroded iron. L. 80mm, W. 29mm.

Fig. 311.10 – 1880.4107.j. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Twisted iron shaft covered with copper alloy sheeting. L. 62mm, W. 6mm.

Fig. 311.11 – 1880.3994.c. Unnumbered pink India Museum tray. Lead ball or sling-shot, the surface pitted with white corrosion products. D. 15mm.

Fig. 312.1 – 1880.3978.a. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Two interlocked corroded copper alloy rings. D. 20mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 312.2 – 1880.3978.b. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Thick piece of corroded copper alloy wire, curved into an oval ring with overlapping ends. L. 17mm, W. 15mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 312.3 – 1880.3978.c. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Cast, copper alloy pendant c. 10th–13th century. It is shield-shaped, curving down to a point in the centre, with a straight single moulding across the top of the obverse, above which are two suspension loops. In the centre of the obverse is a perforated round hole for an insert (now missing). The back is flat and undecorated. H. 20.2mm, W. 16.9mm, T. 2.7mm. For a discussion of this type of pendant from Begram, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3686.a. For other examples see: 1880.3822.a, IOLC.5492, IOLC.5493.

Fig. 312.4 – 1880.3978.d. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Cast, copper alloy, pseudo-coin pendant with a pierced lug for suspension; possibly imitating Ghurid coin designs c. late 12th–early 13th century. H. 19.4mm, D. 14.6mm.

For other pseudo-coin pendants from Begram, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3736, 1880.3737, 1880.3738.a–e, 1880.3739.a–d, 1880.3822.b. For comments, see 1880.3739.a.

Fig. 312.5 – 1880.3978.e. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Cast, copper alloy drop-shaped pendant (?), pierced, with traces of a white deposit, and the remains of a rivet in a shield-shaped shallow depression in the centre. The back is flat. H. 19.9mm, W. 16.2mm, T. 2.7mm.

Fig. 312.6 – 1880.3978.g. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Brass comma-shaped bezel with the remains of a paste infill and two loops on the flat reverse for attachment as a bracteate. The upper edge of the bezel is decorated with regularly spaced notches. L. 19.5mm, W. 12.5mm, T. 1.8mm; setting with loops: T. 4mm.

C. Fabrègues: The bracteate has no exact counterpart although the form is earlier than its associated finds suggest. On gold bracteates from burial 1 at Tillya Tepe (c. 1st century AD), the comma-shape is duplicated or quadrupled and combined with other shapes to form more elaborate cloisonné designs filled with turquoise or paste (Sarianidi 1985, pp. 228–9, nos 20–2). Quadruple comma-shaped cloisonné motifs filled with white orthoclase feldspar are also incorporated into three necklaces from the late 1st-century BC to early 1st-century AD Indo-Scythian/Indo-Parthian stratum at Sirkap, Taxila (Marshall 1951, pl. 193.56–8). At Emeses in Syria, an early 1st-century tomb of a local prince yielded, inter alia, jewellery thought to be of nomadic origin, viz. ten gold bracteates made of two back to back commas, together with a bracelet stylistically comparable to one found at Sirkap in the Indo-Scythian/Indo-Parthian stratum (Seyrig 1953, pp. 244–5, 227–36, fig. 25, pl. XXVI.3–4; Marshall 1951, p. 634, pl. 196.a).

Fig. 312.7 – 1880.3978.h. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Cast, copper alloy signet ring with a wide shank, curving at the shoulders into a flat, oval bezel engraved with the worn image of a winged Nike standing to right, holding a diadem with long zigzag ribbons. Bezel: H. 16.2mm, W. 10.7mm; shank: W. 4.6mm, T. 1mm. For other images of Nike, see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1880.3702.h–j, 1889.3788.a, f.

Fig. 312.8 – 1880.3978.n. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Wide bezel and part of the narrower shank of a copper alloy signet ring, cast in one piece. The design is completely worn, with only faint traces of a few incised lines remaining. Bezel: L. 20mm, 11mm.

Fig. 312.9 – 1880.3978.u. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Fragment of a carnelian bead, decorated with white swirling lines. L. 6mm, D. 7mm.

Fig. 312.10 – 1880.3978.i. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Completely corroded, copper alloy finger-ring, cast in one piece, with a broken shank expanding into a flat, oval bezel. L. 19.2mm, W. 7mm.

Fig. 312.11 – 1880.3978.j. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Completely corroded, large copper alloy finger-ring, cast in one piece, with a flat, oval bezel and thick shoulders curving into a narrow broken shank. In two pieces; repaired. L. 23.9mm, W. 13.2mm.

Fig. 312.12 – 1880.3978.k. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Completely corroded, large copper alloy finger-ring, cast in one piece, with a flat, oval bezel and thick shoulders curving into a narrow broken shank. In two pieces. L. 24.9mm, W. 14.6mm.

Fig. 312.13 – 1880.3978.l. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Intact silver finger-ring. The plain shank has overlapping ends soldered to the back of a circular bezel, which is inset with a small garnet or red glass encircled by a row of silver granules. Shank: D. 19mm, W. 2.5mm; bezel: D. 7mm.

Fig. 312.14 – 1880.3978.m. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Shank of a silver finger-ring with flattened ends to which a bezel was originally soldered. D. 16mm, W. 3mm.

Fig. 312.13–14 closely resemble rings from Hadda 10 (**Fig. 283.7, 10–11**) and may be from that deposit, misplaced in IM 39 with objects from Wardak 10.

Fig. 312.15 – 1880.3978.o. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Thick cast iron (?) ring, coated with copper alloy (?). D. 31mm, W. 5mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 312.16 – 1880.3978.s. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Cast, copper alloy, domed, undecorated boss, with two large holes for attachment. L. 23mm, W. 21mm, H. 10.5mm.

Fig. 312.17 – 1880.3978.f. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Part of a silver alloy bangle; probably originally open-ended. D. 52mm, T. 4mm.

Fig. 312.18 – 1880.3978.p. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Cast copper alloy moulded baluster leg with a rounded top, c. 750–1150. The central shaft is flattened on the inside and has a cut recess for the tenon of a horizontal fitting. L. 73mm, D. 12.5mm (foot).

For a slightly larger baluster leg of identical shape from the early Islamic Sabz Pushan mound at Nishapur, see Allan 1982, pp. 102–3, no. 178.

Fig. 312.19 – 1880.3978.r. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Large, cast iron tack, with a slightly bent point and part of the head missing. L. 29mm; head: L. 17mm, W. 14mm.

Fig. 312.20 – 1880.3978.q. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Cast, curved rim fragment of a brass vessel with a flat, narrow lip. L. 72mm, H. 6mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 312.21 – 1880.3978.t. IM 39 /SKM 1070. Worn and illegible copper alloy coin (dam), c. 17th-century Mughal period. 13.6g; L. 21mm, W. 17mm, T. 7mm.

Wardak 11

Finds

Er161/VII f. 27: ‘11. Five copper coins of [Wima] Kadphises’. These have not been traced.

Chapter 19

Finds without Site Provenance

There are a number of miscellaneous objects for which no actual provenance is identifiable. Some – like the lion beads and gold-headed pins – may have even been purchased by Masson in Kabul bazaar, but all, by their nature, are likely to have originated from Buddhist relic deposits.

Fig. 313.1 – 1880.3993.b. Tray 'B' / IM 2 / SKM 1090. Clay ball, and flaked fragments from its surface. D. 20mm. The fragile nature of the clay ball, which, judging by its accompanying flaked fragments, was intact when excavated, indicates it must have been placed within a reliquary to have survived. It resembles Roman pottery marbles of the 1st–2nd century, except that it is unfired (see www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: 1859,1226.443–5). As it is not recorded by Masson, it is probably from one of the Wardak stupa deposits. For a coralline limestone marble from Passani tumulus 5, found in the same tray, see **Fig. 102**.

Fig. 313.2 – 1880.3887.a–b. IM 4 / SKM 1121. Thick, curved section of a hard, dense, pinkish-beige material with curving laminae, probably conch shell, now in two pieces. The fragments were examined macroscopically and under low magnification microscopy by John Robb. Most of the surface on the inside of the two fragments is missing, exposing a network of fine rectilinear cracks of the inner core. (a) L. 19mm, W. 5mm, T. 3mm; (b) L. 25mm, W. 11mm, T. 3mm.

Masson only records and illustrates two shells (both from Hadda 3, see **Figs 18.2–3, 8; 256.4–5**), so it is likely that 1880.3887.a–b is one of the 'sundry relics' from one of the Wardak stupas. A tiny fragment of red-tinted bone from the Wardak 8 reliquary (**Fig. 310.1**) was found in the same tray.

Fragment (b) was found separately with the lid fragments of the two ivory reliquaries from Hadda 4 (**Fig. 258.1–2**). This displacement probably occurred in the 1990s when the organic fragments from the relic deposits were extracted for conservation and the ivory and bone reliquaries were partially restored.

Fig. 313.3 – 1880.3887.c. IM 4 / SKM 1121 (?). Solid copper alloy cube with an indentation in the middle of one side. Probably a weight. 7.02g; L. 10mm, W. 9mm, H. 7mm. Found misplaced in IM 13 / SKM 1124: 'Bead. Carnelian'. Possibly from one of the Wardak stupas.

Fig. 313.4 – 1880.3901.a. Found loose without documentation in 'Box 7'. Natural rock crystal hexagonal prism terminating in a point at one end, broken at the other. L. 29mm, T. 10mm.

Fig. 313.5 – 1880.3557. IM.Gems.6. Bead in the shape of a recumbent lion in banded brown agate; pierced laterally. L. 22mm, H. 16mm, W. 7mm. Errington 1999, pp. 215, 234, pl. 13.5.

Fig. 313.6 – 1880.3556. IM.Gems.5. Bead in the shape of a recumbent lion in pale red jasper; pierced longitudinally. L. 15, H. 11mm, W. 6mm.

Fig. 313.7 – 1880.3536. IM.Gems.3 / Kr. 17 (p. 53, **Table 4.17**). Bead in the shape of a recumbent lion in reddish-brown carnelian; pierced longitudinally. L. 27mm, H. 17mm, W. 11mm. Wilson 1841, p. 52, fig. 6, *Antiquities* pl. I.6, wrongly assigns this bead to Bimaran 4 (see **Fig. 129.9**), but also says that small figures of animals in stone were found in several stupas. The IM.Gems registrations slip attributes it and the two previous lion beads to Hadda, but



Figure 313 Miscellaneous finds from Wardak 1–8, or possibly from Darunta, Chahar Bagh or Hadda, or bought in Kabul bazaar

their omission from Masson's inventory for that site suggests that they are more likely to have come from Wardak stupas 1–8, or may conceivably have been bought in Kabul bazaar. A very similar lion bead of crystal was found with a copper coin of Azes II (c. AD 16–30; type seated king/Hermes) in Dharmarajika stupa N7 at Taxila (Marshall 1951, p. 245, pl. 49b). Errington 1999, pp. 215, 234, pl. 13.6.

Fig. 313.8 – 1880.3689.a–b. (a) IM 27 / IM.Metal.72; (b) IM 42 / SKM 1122. Gold covered spherical terracotta or mastic hair- or dress-pin head (a), surmounted by a slightly flaring flat knob and resembling a pomegranate. The core has expanded and split the thin gold sheet around the base of the head. The copper alloy shaft (b) – found separately – resembles that of **Fig. 313.9** so may belong to this pin. (a) H. 17.6mm, D. 13.3mm; (b) L. 49mm.

C. Fabrègues: Two similar pins, but with silver shafts, were found in Tillya Tepe burial 6, together with two Parthian coins: a gold issue of Gotarzes I (91–87 BC) countermarked by Darius (c. 70 BC), and a silver drachm of Phraates IV (c. 38–2 BC) overstruck by Sapadbizes, a local ruler in the Oxus region (Sarianidi 1985, pp. 258–9, 244, nos 32–3, figs 40, 67).

Fig. 313.9 – 1880.3679. SKM 1083 / IM.Metal.19. Copper alloy hair- or dress-pin with a spherical terracotta or mastic head covered in thin gold sheet and originally surmounted by an inset gem encircled by gold granules. The material used for the core has expanded and caused splits in the gold. L. 84.5mm; Head: H. 15mm, D. 16.7mm.

C. Fabrègues: This type of pin was common in Greece in the 2nd–1st century BC, with numerous examples of bone dating from this period (Kritikos and Papadaki 1967, fig. 22).

Bronze examples were found in the late 1st-century BC to early 1st-century AD Indo-Scythian/Indo-Parthian stratum at Sirkap, Taxila (Marshall 1951, p. 586, no. 232, pls 173.t, 182.p.5, 7) and in a Kushan burial at Yalangush Tepe, Uzbekistan, dated by a coin of Kanishka I (c. AD 127–50) to the first half of the 2nd century (Rtveladze 1983, pp. 133–4, fig. 9). Further undated examples come from Kawdari in Swat (Farooq Swati, Bacha and Mulk 2002, pp. 229, 237, pl. 3) and another from Site H at Qandahar (McNicol and Ball 1996, p. 282, fig. 217.5).

Fig. 313.10 – 1880.3692. IM.Metal.92. Pendant in thin hammered gold; in the shape of a heart or obcordate leaf with a folded mid-rib and an attached suspension loop. L. 14mm, W. 9mm.

Eight similar pendants were excavated from burial 3 at Tillya Tepe (Sarianidi 1985, p. 241, nos 46–7), which also contained a Roman gold aureus of Tiberius (AD 14–37). A gold and crystal miniature stupa in Peshawar Museum also has heart-shaped pendants hanging from its umbrellas (Dani 1969, frontispiece).

C. Fabrègues: Similar gold pendants hang from chains on a pair of disc-shaped ear-rings from Sirkap stratum III at Taxila (Marshall 1951, p. 624, nos 5–6, pl. 190.f).

Fig. 313.11: Wilson 1841, Antiquities pl. I.8. Drawing of an impression taken from a small oval carnelian intaglio depicting a boar, 'from one of the topes' (Wilson 1841, p. 52, fig. 8). The object has not been located. W. c. 12mm, H. c. 8mm.

Fig. 313.12 – 1880.3893.i. IM 22 / SKM 1101. Cracked and damaged, oval copper alloy seal with the engraved image of a horse (?), possibly mounted, walking to right. On

the back are traces of two attachment rings. H. 15mm, W. 14mm, T. 2mm.

Fig. 313.13 – 1880.4119.a. IM 16 / SKM 1097.

Crumpled vegetal or organic sample resembling leather. L. 25mm, W. 15mm, T. 9mm. The material remains unidentified. The object is not described in either Masson's or any of the museum records, although the 'stone &c.' of tray SKM 1097 in which it was located is sufficiently vague to include it. The existence of 'fragments of gold' in the same tray suggests that it originally contained finds from Bimaran 2, Hadda 10, or the Wardak stupas.

Fig. 313.14 – 1880.4101.b. Tray 'A'. Three small fragments of silk. L. 7mm, W. 6mm (largest). Located in the same tray as identifiable finds from Passani tumulus 2 (1880.4101.a: **Fig. 96.11**), Hadda 4 (1880.4101.d: **Fig. 258.1–2**) and Wardak 8 (1880.4101.e: **Fig. 310.1**). For enlargement see **Fig. 20.4**.

Fig. 313.15 – 1880.3921.c. IM 44 (?) / IM.Metal &c.129 (?), found with strings of beads IM 6, 15, 21 and 44. Small drop pendant bead of rose quartz. L. 1mm, W. 8mm, T. 6mm.

Fig. 313.16 – 1880.3994.b. Unnumbered pink India Museum tray. Steatite (?) tabular bead, painted green, with broken, partial drill-holes on opposite sides. D. 13mm, T. 1.5mm.

Fig. 313.17 – 1880.3893.m. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Fragment of a garnet ornament, broken top and bottom; etched on the front and back with two parallel lines in the centre flanked by a diagonal line on either side. L. 10mm, W. 5mm, T. 3mm.

Fig. 313.18 – 1880.3893.n–p. IM 14 / SKM 1104. Three irregularly shaped, small, rough-polished garnet beads. L. 8mm; L. 10mm; L. 5mm.

Fig. 313.19 – 1880.3855.f. IM 3 / SKM 1052. 35 ivory barrel beads. D. 3mm–5.5mm. The group registered as 1880.3855 seem to be primarily from Bimaran 2, but – as already remarked – Masson does not record any ivory beads from the site.

Fig. 313.20 – 1880.4102.a. Tray 'A'. Three spherical red-tinted bone (?) beads of different sizes; one slightly broken. D. 5mm, 4.5mm, 3mm.

Fig. 313.21 – 1880.4102.b. Tray 'A'. Small spherical shell (?) bead stained olive green. D. 4mm.

Fig. 313.22 – 1880.4102.c. Tray 'A'. Small spherical bead of uncertain material, with dark brown coating, possibly burnt. D. 4.5mm.

Fig. 313.23 – 1880.4102.e. Tray 'A'. Six small ivory barrel beads. D. 3mm–4mm.

Fig. 313.24 – 1880.4102.g. Tray 'A'. Tiny spherical seed-pearl bead. L. 3mm, W. 2mm.

Fig. 313.25 – 1880.4112.c. IM 51 / SKM 1093. Two small ivory barrel beads. D. 4.5mm, H. 3mm; D. 3mm, H. 2mm.

Fig. 313.26 – 1880.4119.b. IM 16 / SKM 1097. Blackened, small annular ivory bead. L. 3.5mm, W. 2.5mm.

Fig. 313.27 – 1880.3929.l. IM 42 / SKM 1122 (?). Grey clay (?) fragment, irregular in shape, with a pointed end and a faint, partial imprint on one side. L. 18mm, W. 7mm, T. 3mm.

Appendix 1

List of Standardized Spelling

Abdoolah	Abdullah
Abul Fazil	Abu'l-Fazl
Akhoond	Akhund
Alishing	Alishang
Amara Khel; Omar Khel; Omer Khele; Ummer Kheyl	Umar Khel (Deh Rahman 2)
Ases; Asos; Azos	Azes
Ashok, Ashruk	Ashrak
Bajowur; Bajor; Bajore	Bajaur
Balla Bagh; Bála Bágh	Balabagh
Balla Hissar	Bala Hisar
Bámíân	Bamiyan
Bar Rabat; Bar Robot; Bahrabat; Behar Robot	Barabad
Basawul; Bassowal	Basawal
Beemarran; Bumarran	Bimaran
Beghram	Begram
Belooche; Beloch	Baluch
Bhooj	Bhuj
Bhut Khakh	Butkhak
Bhut; Boot; Budh; Budha	Buddha; idol
Bilanger; Bínígâh	Bilandghar
Bisut; Bisrot	Behsud
Boorj	Burj
Cabool; Cabul; Kábal; Kábul	Kabul
Chaharbaug; Chaharbagh	Chahar Bagh
Chakanór; Chakanore; Chikanor	Chakanur
Chardeh	Chahar Deh
Chárfkár Charrikar	Charikar
dagopa; dagope; dahgope	dagoba (stupa)
Daroonter; Duroonter; Duroonto; Deronta; Darounta	Darunta
Deh-i Rahman; Deh Mullluk Rahman	Deh Rahman Umar Khel
Diwán Khana; Diwân Khâneh	Divan Khana
Fatiabad	Fatehabad
Feel Khana; Pheel Khana	Fil Khana
Galzai; Gulzye; Gulzyee; Ghilji	Ghilzai
Ghizni; Ghuzni	Ghazni
Ghoondi; Ghoundi; Goondee; Goondi; Gundi	Ghundi
Ghulghuleh	Shahr-i Ghulghula
Goodara	Gudara
Gool Durrah; Gul Darah	Guldara
Gorekh	Goraik
Hazareh	Hazara
Hazarehjat	Hazarajat
Hidda; Hiddah	Hadda
Híndú Kosh; Hindoo Coosh	Hindu Kush
hous	hauz (reservoir)
Islámabád (on Kunar River)	Islampur
Jabbar Khan; Jabber Khan; Djeber Khan	Jabar Khan
Janni	Jani (Bimaran 5)
Jelalabad; Jelálábád; Jellalabad; Jullalabad	Jalalabad
Kaferistan; Kafristan	Kafiristan

Kalat	Qalat
Kallatak	Kalatak
Kamah; Kumeh	Kameh
Kandahar; Candahar	Qandahar
Katcheri	Kachrah
Kazannah; Kazana	Khazana
Kergahi; Kargah; Kargha	Karghar
Kerimabád	Qasimabad
Khaibaris	Khyberis
Khawat; Kuhwat	Kohwat
Khele; KheyI	Khel
Khonar Deh; Khonah Déh	Kuhna Deh
Khonar; Khonur	Kunar
Khudpur; Kutpur	Kotpur
Khwojeh Lahoree; Khwajeh Lahore	Tepe Khwaja Lahori
Killah (Qal'a)	Killa
Kohistaun	Kohistan
Korindar; Kurrindar	Korrindar (Burj Kafir)
Kuh	Koh
Kúndí	Kunai
Kunduz	Qunduz
Kungkurruk	Kangkarrak
Lhasa	Lhasa
Lodiana; Loodhianah; Ludiana	Ludhiana
Loghar	Logar
Lughman; Lúghmân	Laghman
Mahomed; Mohammed	Muhammad
maina	mynah bird
Marinjân; Márinjân	Tepe Maranjan
Mekrân	Makran
Momund	Momand
Moolah Duraheena; Moollah Durahim	Mullah Abd-ul-rahim
Moollah; Mulla	Mullah
Mooltan	Multan
Moorkhee Khele; Múrkhi Khél	Murkhi Khel
Mulluck Goolab	Malik Gulab
Murza	Mirza
neelum	nilam (sapphire)
Neyshabur	Nishapur
Ningrahar; Ningrahour	Nangarhar
Nokar Khél	Nukar Khel
Nowab; Nuwab	Nawab

Nundara; Nundeera	Nandara
Nyscea; Nysean	Nysa; Nysian
Omar	Umar
Passunnee	Passani
Pehlivi	Pahlavi
Peshawer; Peshawur	Peshawar
Pirguri	Tirgarhi; Tigri
Rood	Rud
samooch; samootch; samuch	samotch (cave)
Sassanian	Sasanian
Shákh Barunteh; Barunta	Shakh Baranta
Sheghi	Shigai
Shiva	Shewa
Sinde	Sind
sindoor	sindur (red lead)
Soork; Surk	Surkh
Sung Suleemannee; Sulumannee	sung sulaimani (Afghan agate)
Surkhab	Surkh Rud
Takht Sháh; Tuckt Shah; Tucklishah	Takht-i Shah
tamga	tamgha
Tapa; Tappa; Tuppeh; Tupper	Tepe
Tapa; Tappa; Toppa Kalan; Kolan	Tepe Kelan
Tateng; Tattung; Tuttun	Tatang
Tattah	Tatta
Tchekri	Chakri
Tokehi; Tokhi	Paikuh Tangi
tooz leaves	tuz leaves i.e. birch bark manuscript
Tope Durrah; Top Darrah	Topdara
Urmara	Ormara
Werdek	Wardak
Wullee Mahomed	Walli Muhammad
Yúsaf Zai; Eusafzye	Yusufzai
zearat; ziarat; zialet	ziyarat
Ziarat Panjah Shah Mirdan	Ziyarat-i Panjashah
Zigarran; Ziggarah; Zirgaran; Zugarah; Zurgarah	Zargaran

Appendix 2

Records Relating to the South Kensington Museum 1880 India Museum Inventory

Key

IM no. = **India Museum no.** These numbers are written in ink on the pink underside of small shallow trays inherited from the India Museum and containing the objects (see **Fig. 8**). They are linked to small rectangular loose tickets bearing a pencilled India Museum number, e.g. 'No. 67', many of which are no longer with their correct IM trays.

SKM no. = **South Kensington Museum no.** These numbers were allocated to the IM trays of objects on their transfer to South Kensington c. 1880. They appear as large printed numbers stuck to the IM trays or, in some cases, to the actual objects (see **Fig. 8**). They are also listed in the *India Museum. Inventory of the Collection ... transferred to the South Kensington Museum* (SKM/IM 1880, pp. 25–9, 157, 179), which is amalgamated with BM–Asia 18–2–1881a below.

BM IM no. = **British Museum India Museum no.** Numbers with the prefix 'IM' and the addition 'Metal', 'Rings' or 'Gems' were allocated when the India Museum objects entered the British Museum c. 1880. Some were transferred directly from the India Office; others went first to the South Kensington Museum and received a SKM number before being sent on to British Museum.

IM.M = **IM.Metal**

Box no. The relic deposits – still mostly in their India Museum trays – were stored in seven boxes until modern registration for the Masson Project. These have been arbitrarily numbered 1–7.

Trays '4', 'A', 'B', 'C' have been allocated to larger unnumbered trays located in Box 2 ('4' and 'A'), Box 3 ('B') and Box 4 ('C'). These were mostly white with a blue trim and sometimes contained smaller India Museum trays together with a mix of loose items.

Scattered through Boxes 1–7 are also some of Masson's original labels sent with the packaged objects from Kabul (see **Vol. II, Figs 89–91**).

BM-Asia 18–2–1881a: A.W. Franks (18 February 1881), List of India Museum numbered cardboard trays containing objects, Masson's original labels 'but ... rarely in the trays to which they belong' and loose tickets 'with numbers in pencil from 1 to 73 with however numerous gaps and in some cases more than 1 ticket in a tray'.

Abbreviations: BE: Begram; B1–B5: Bimaran 1–5; CB1–6: Chahar Bagh 1–6; DR1: Deh Rahman 1; H1–13: Hadda 1–13; Kabul: Kabul bazaar; N1: Nandara 1; PT2, 5: Passani tumulus 2, 5; TK: Tepe Kelan Hadda; W1–11: Wardak sites 1–11; **: Finds of uncertain provenance, possibly from one of the Wardak stupas 1–8.

SKM no.	IM no.	Box no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
-	5	-	-		<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	6	1	IM.M.129&c	1880.3497.g H3? 1880.3975.a-f W1 1880.4103.c-e W1 1880.4104.b W1 1880.4104.d B2 1880.4105.a H10	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a:</i> Coins, beads, green jade scarab &c. Masson label: 'No. 5 Bimaran. 31 coins extracted from Jani tope of Darunta by an Akhund and purchased from him'. Pencilled note: '31 coins No. 5 Bimaran'. IM ticket 'No. 6'.	IM.M.&c.129: 'Beads of crystal, carnelian, amethyst, lapis lazuli, onyx, bone &c. (35), strung together with [India Museum] number found on the cardboard box in which they were kept, i.e. 'No. 6', 'No. 15', 'No. 21' and 'No. 44'. 1880.3975.a-f: 9 beads strung together with disc numbered '6'.
-	9	4	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	IM ticket 'No. 9'; label 'No. V. Bimaran. 15 coins 22' loose in Box 4.
-	11	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	IM ticket 'No. 11' found in SKM 1061 / IM 8.
-	12	4	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	IM ticket 'No. 12' found in SKM 1052 / IM 3.
-	17	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	IM ticket 'No. 17' found in SKM 1069 / IM 68.
-	19	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	20	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	24	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	27	1a	IM.M.72	1880.3689.a-b **	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a:</i> Head of gold pin & fragment.	Copper shaft 1880.3689.b / IM 42 / SKM 1122 may belong to this pin.
-	29	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a:</i> Plate of gold &c.	Duplicate entry for SKM 1106 / IM 64 / 1880.3693?
-	30	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	31	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	35	6		1880.3883.a-r H10	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a:</i> Quantity of rings, bronze &c.	Ticket 'No. 40' and Masson label '4 small gold boxes' loose in tray (see IM 40 / SKM 1118; IM 47 / SKM 1094.
-	36	-	-	-	<i>Omitted from BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i>	
-	37	-	-	-	<i>Omitted from BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i>	
-	43	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	45	6	-	1880.4098.e K2 1880.3889.a B2 1880.3889.b-c H4 1880.3889.d H6	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a:</i> Bronze coins.	Late Kushan (Vasudeva II period) coin, broken clay bead. 3 Kushan coins (Kujula imitation, Kanishka I, Huvishka) found loose in Box 6: IM 45 (?)
-	46	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	52	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	55	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	59	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	65	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a: blank for this number.</i>	
-	67	-	-	-	<i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a:</i> Top of silver casket & coin.	Not identified.
949	3, 5	-	-	1880.171 DR1	Box and cover. Soapstone, circular	Deh Rahman 1. IM 3 (body); IM 5 (lid).
950	-	-	-	1880.94 Sultanpur	Circular vessel with cover on square pedestal. Sultanpur.	Model stupa reliquary.
959	14, 41	-	-	1880.99 CB6	Box and cover. Stone, circular.	Chahar Bagh 6. IM 14 (lid); IM 41 (body).
974	6, 16	-	-	1880. 28 B5	Pot with cover. Stone, circular.	Bimaran 5. IM 6 (lid); IM 16 (body).

SKM no.	IM no.	Box no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
1006	IM	-	-	1880.96 K2	Jar and cover. Soapstone, circular. Label: 'IM'	Kotpur 2
1007	5, 9, 10	-	-	1880.27 B2	Jar and cover. Soapstone, spherical	Bimaran 2 inscribed casket. IM 5 (lid) (IM 9 = unaccounted for). IM 10 (body).
1008		-	-	1880.95 CB4	Jar and cover. Soapstone, circular.	Chahar Bagh 4
1020		-	-	1880.97 CB5	Jar and cover. Circular, stone. Kotpur.	Not Kotpur: Chahar Bagh 5
1026		3	Tray 'B'/ IM.M.128	1880.3698 PT5	Marble ball.	IM.M.128: Stone ball or marble [from] tumulus 5 Passani. Coraline limestone marble.
1043		-	-	Not found N1	Hatchet head. Iron.	Nandara 1
1049	7	-	-	Not found H2	28 copper coins of King Kadphis. Extracted from Tope Hadda. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Copper coins and label 'No. 2 Hadda. 27 copper coins of King Kadphis extracted from Tope Hadda [SKM] 1049'.	Hadda 2: 27 coins Wima Kadphises.
1050	10	-	-	1880.4135.a-r B5	22 copper coins. Bimaran. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a No. 10</i> : Copper coins. Label '15 copper coins extracted from Jani Tope at Darunta by Mullah Abd-ul-rahim and purchased from him'. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a No. 6</i> : contained Masson label 'No. 5 Bimaran. 31 coins extracted from Jani tope of Darunta by an Akhund and purchased from him'.	Bimaran 5: 4 lots. 31 coins: 26 Kujula Kadphises/2 Mujatria/1 Gondophares = Akhund. 6 coins Kujula Kadphises Hermaeus imitations = blacksmith. 15 coins Kujula Kadphises = villagers. 17 coins Kujula Kadphises = Masson excavation. 1880.4135.a-r: 18 coins Kujula Kadphises.
1051	72	2	Tray '4'	1880.3962.a-c e-h j-k H10 1880.3962.d TK 1880.3964.I H10 1180.3987.c-d H10 1880.3987.f H2	Fragments of burnt substances. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Fragments of metal & earth.	Hadda 2, Hadda 10 1880.3962.c-e, g were located in Tray '4' but are clearly part of SKM 1051 See also SKM 1052, 1095, 1100, 1104, 1116, 1121.
1052	3	4	-	1979.0215.21-41 CB4 1880.3497.b H3 1880.3855.a-d, g, i B2 1880.3855.e H10 1880.3855.h Gudara 1880.3855.j W1 1880.3962.i H10 1880.3980.u H10 1880.3983.c B2 1880.4116.a Gudara 1880.4116.e W1 1880.4116.f PT2 1880.4116.g-o H10	19 coins extracted with stone box from Tope Chahar Bagh. Number of beads, &c. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Coins and beads. No. 4 Chahar Bagh. Coins transferred to Coins and Medals 1979. The tray contained a mixture of objects – predominantly beads – seemingly from diverse sites.	Large tray with blue trim numbered '1052', containing IM tickets 'No. 3' and 'No. 12'. CB 4: 18 or 28 coins of Kanishka I. CB 5: 1 coin of Wima Kadphises. 1979.0215.21-41: 4 coins Wima Kadphises, 8 Kanishka, 9 Huvishka. No beads are recorded in the Chahar Bagh 4 relic deposit (see F526/1b f. 2; E161/VII f. 18). 1880.4116.d found in SKM 1052, but part of reliquary 1880.3723, see SKM 1085.
1061	8	-	-	Not found H10	95 silver and copper coins and seven fragments. Hadda. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : 100 [added in pencil] Coins bracteates Sasanian [corrected in pencil] 'No. 3 Hadda' (sic No. 10 Hadda p. 109 [in pencil]). Tickets No. 11, No. 12, in same box tray.	Hadda 10 Some coins are illustrated (see Figs 281-2) but registered without provenance as India Office Collection (IOC). This suggests that many more IOC Hun and Sasanian IOC coins are probably from Hadda 10.
1062	2	4	-	1880.3983.a-b H3 1880.3983.d-h H3 1880.3993.a H13 1880.3993.b **	16 copper or bronze coins, a number of beads, 2 marbles, and fragments of stone, &c. Tope Hadda. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Coins, balls, weight &c. [Label] 'No. 3 Tope Hadda p. 106'.	The 16 coins are listed again as SKM 1090: 1880.3740.a-k (11 coins). 1880.3983.k: spherical stone, see SKM 1112. 1880.3698: marble from Passani tumulus 5, see SKM 1026. 1880.3983.c: see SKM 1052.
1063	-	-	-	Not found B5	22 copper or bronze coins, a number of beads, fragments of ivory, stone, &c. Bimaran.	Coins: Bimaran 5, see SKM 1050. Beads, ivory and stone were not found at Bimaran 5.
1064	-	6	IM –	1880.3884.a-b H10 1880.3884.c B2 1880.3884.d-f H10 1880.3994.a TK	An ornament made of carnelians and a number of beads, &c.	Found in an unnumbered India Museum tray which contained the smaller India Museum tray IM.53 / SKM 1077.

SKM no.	IM no.	Box no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
1067	-	2	Tray 'A'	1880.3497.a-b H3 1880.3985 PT2 1880.3986 H10	Fragments of metal, beads &c. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Rings beads &c. neck of glass bottle.	Masson labels 'No. 3 Hadda' and 'Tray No. 1' found with SKM 1067 objects. '1067' pasted on lid 1880.3985.
1068	67	3	IM.M.124	1880.3496 B4	3 copper or bronze coins and fragments of metal vessel Bimaran. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : No. 67. Top of silver casket & coin. Label: 'to conservation silver box'.	IM.M.124. 'Silver box, several fragments chiefly of the lid ... [from] Bimaran tope No. 4'. Restored silver reliquary. For another possible fragment, see 1880.3977.h / SKM 1103 / IM 33. No coins in tray.
1069	68	-	IM.M.25	1880.3687.a-w BE 1880.3810.a BE	Rings, seals and fragments of metal ornaments. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Ornaments & fragments of bronze, finger rings &c. [Torn label: 'apparently from Begram']; IM ticket 'No. 17' loose in tray].	IM.M.25: 'Bronze ornaments, bosses of shield, a hinged cover pierced with holes and surmounted by a bird [with pasted number '1069'] resembling in shape a helmet &c. (24 objects)'. See also SKM 1105. Matching ear-ring (1880.3810.b) in SKM 1087/ IM.M.156.
1070	39	5	-	1880.3978.a-u W10 1880.4107.a-j W10	Rings, arrowheads, &c <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Bronze, iron &c. arrowheads &c. Label 'No. 4 Chahar Bagh coins of Kanerke' [Kanishka].	Wardak 10 Masson's label 'No. 4 Chahar Bagh coins' is misplaced, see SKM 1052.
1073	-	-	-	Not identified BE?	19 fragments of bronze ornaments and 1 fragment of glass.	Probably Begram finds.
1074	26	3	-	1880.3932.a-b BE	Metal ring and fragment of gold. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Finger rings & gold.	Contained signet ring (1880.3932.a) and concretion; no gold. Ring 1880.3932.b transferred from SKM 1076. Concretion: see SKM 1090.
1075	54	-	-	-	2 glass beads. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : 2 beads crystal & amethyst.	Not identified. Amethyst beads found in SKM 1052 (1880.3855.c); SKM 1077 (1880.3884.g) and SKM 1108 (1880.3699.g).
1076	61	3	-	1880.3922.a-b W1	2 white stone beads. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : 2 white shell (?) beads.	Found in wrong box SKM 1111: corrected.
1077	53	6	-	1880.3884.g B2 1880.3884.h-j H10	3 beads. Glass. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : 3 amethyst beads.	Contained worked carnelian flake, 1 amethyst bead. Box 6 held 3 amethyst beads in separate trays, see also SKM 1064, SKM 1141.
1078	60	1a	IM.M.104-110 IM.M.111-124	1880.3695.a-g B2 1880.3696.a-m B2 1880.3982.a-b CB6 1880.3983.i-j H3	21 fragments of gold ornaments. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Gold studs. 1880.3982.a (lid) in IM.M.82-91 with 1880.3691.a-i; 1880.3983.j (base) in IM.M.94-103 with 1880.3694.a-j.	IM.M.104-110: 'Gold disks (7) small' IM.M.111-124: 'Gold ornaments, small miscellaneous objects (14)': 1880.3696 a-m, 1880.3982, 1880.3983. (IM.M.124 = duplicated reg. no.)
1079	28	1a	-	-	2 fragments of gold ornaments <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Hemisphere of gold, bead. bronze &c.	Not identified. Probably incorporated into IM.M.104-24.
1080	28	3	-	1880.3942.a-e B4 1880.3942.f H10	5 fragments of beads &c.	Clay sealing (SKM 1111 / IM 50) in wrong box: corrected.
1081	25	3	-	1880.3962.j-k H10	2 fragments of metal rings. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Silver rings.	Hadda 10
1082	-	1a	-	-	2 fragments of gold and fragment of burnt earth.	Not identified. Probably incorporated into IM.M.104-24.
1083	34	1a	IM.M.19	1880.3679	Pin with head covered with gold. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Gold-headed pin and 8 small trays [IM] nos 25-9, 53, 60-1.	Ticket 'No. 34' in Box 3, Tray 'B', with SKM 1090 / IM 2.
1084	70	1a	IM.M.31-71	1880.3688.1-41 Guldara 1880.3526 H10	Silver box and 41 gold buttons and fragments. Relics from Tope, near Deh Rahman. See Vol. II, Fig. 89.7 . <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Silver box, gold buttons. Label 'Relics from Tope Deh Rahman of Darunta', see p. 79 Deh Rahman, but these are not Deh Rahman relics. Guldara p. 115.	Masson's label 'Relics from Tope near Deh Rahman of Darunta' refers to E161/VII f. 16: 'Tope near Deh Rahman [Deh Rahman 1]: Small stone box containing corroded copper coins' i.e. reliquary 1880.171. See also Masson 1841, pp. 79, 115. Pencilled note '42 Pieces?' refers to reliquary and 41 buttons.

SKM no.	IM no.	Box no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
1085	71	5	-	1880.3723.a-e W8 1880.4099.a W8 1880.4099.b W1 1880.4101.e W8 1880.4116.d W8	Fragments of carved bone. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Fragments of ivory [and ticket] 'No. 40'.	Restored bone reliquary 1880.3723 and fragments from Wardak 8. For IM 40 see SKM 1118. More red-tinted bone fragments are in SKM 1095 / 1880.4119.m, SKM 1106 / 1880.4114.c, SKM 1122 / 1880.3908.c, Tray '4' / IM 6 (?) / 1880.4104.f, 1880.4105.d.
1086	66	7	-	1880.3891.a-b N1 1880.3891.c N1 H2 1880.3891.i N1 H2 1880.3892.a-e H2 1880.3993.c H2	Fragments of bark painted. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : blank for this number, but label in Franks' handwriting with tray IM 66: 'Tuz leaves? Fragments of bark painted.'	Fragments painted bark and birch bark wrapper fragments from Nandara 1 and Hadda 2 mixed together.
1087	-	-	IM.M.127 IM.M.156	1880.3697 BE 1880.3713 a-q BE	Armlet and 6 pieces of ornament. [Label '1087' is pasted on 1880.3713.p].	IM.M.127: 'A bronze bangle ... Begram'; IM.M.156: '35 Bronze pin-heads mostly shaped like birds ... Begram'.
1088	41	4	-	1880.4115 H11	5 fragments of large teeth. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Large grinders/teeth.	Another animal's tooth from Chahar Bagh 5 may be incorporated with this group.
1090	2	3	-	1880.3740 a-k H3 1880.3740.l-m B4 / PT2	16 copper coins extracted from Tope Hadda. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Coins, balls, weight &c. 'No. 3 Tope Hadda [Masson 1841] p. 106'. Coins also listed SKM 1062 with similar description.	13 coins only: 1 Gondophares, 10 Kujula Kadphises (from Hadda 3); 2 Wima Takto (from Passani 2 or Bimaran 4) with SKM label '1090 from Tope Hadda'; Masson label: 'No. 3, Hadda'. 16 Copper Coins Extracted, from Tope Hadda'. Weight: see SKM 1121.
1090	2	3	Tray 'B'	1880.3993.a H13 1880.3993.b **	Slab of polished serpentiinite with a broken edge. Clay ball and flaked fragments.	Tray IM 2 within Tray 'B', identifiable with SKM 1062 / SKM 1090. Also contained 1880.3698 from Passani 5, see SKM 1026. Ticket 'No. 34' loose in tray, see SKM 1083.
1091	9	-	-	1880.4135.a-r B5	12 copper coins extracted from Jani Tope of Darunta.	18 coins of Kujula Kadphises; combined with SKM 1096: 6 coins.
1092	-	-	IM.Gems.3	1880.3536 **	Bead. Carnelian.	Lion bead.
1093	51	5	-	1880.4112.a B2 1880.4112.b B4 1880.4112.c **	2 fragments of gold and 3 beads. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Gold buttons, clay beads.	Ticket 'No. 51' found in SKM 1103.
1094	47	7	-	1880.4111.a PT2 1880.4111.b-c H10	3 fragments of gold foil and 1 small metal disc. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : 3 diminutive gold cups.	Tray only contained copper disc 1880.4111.a, ring 1880.4111.c and 3 corroded fragments. Masson label '4 small gold boxes' found in IM.35.
		7	IM.M.28 IM.M.27 IM.M.29-30	1880.3498 a-b PT2 1880.3499 a-b PT2 1880.3530; 1880.3531 PT2	Gold box resembling [IM.M.] no. 27. Gold box and lid. Gold boxes (2) resembling nos 27 and 28 but without lids.	'Not mentioned in <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> '. ' <i>Ar Ant</i> [Wilson 1841, Antiquities pl.] III.12'.
1095	56	5	-	1880.4110.a-b e-f h-i o W4 1880.4110.c PT2 1880.4110.d, n B2 1880.4110.g, j-l H10 1880.4110.k W1 1880.4110.m W8	A number of beads &c. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Small beads.	The tray contained recognizable items from different sites suggesting a degree of contamination.
1096	57	5	-	1880.4135.a-r B5 1880.3694.a PT2 1880.4113.a-c PT2 1880.3979 BE	6 copper or bronze coins, 3 beads, piece of metal ornament, and fragment of gold ornament. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Bronze coins &c.	Originally included 1880.3694.a (now part of IM.M.94-103). Tickets 'No. 57' and 'No. 63' (SKM 1113) found in SKM 1122. Masson label: '6 copper coins found in tope near Bimaran at Darunta. 2 large 4 small': Bimaran 4 found in SKM 1106 / IM 64.
1097	16	4 2	-	1880.3497.d H3 1880.4119.a-b **	Fragments of gold, stone &c. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Fragments of gold, minute beads &c.	IM ticket 'No. 16' located in Box 2.
1098	-	-	IM.M.11	1880.3675 BE	Small bronze ornament in the form of an axe.	Actually bird pin missing its head. Wilson 1841, pl. IV.15.

SKM no.	IM no.	Box no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
1099	21	1	IM.M.129&c	1880.3984.a-f PT2	Portion of a ring and five glass beads. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Crystal beads & part of bronze finger ring.	5 rock crystal beads and a drop pendant strung together with disc '21'.
1100	21	2	-	1880.3894a-r H10 1880.3902.a-f BE	18 rings and portions of rings. Metal.	Tray contained IM tickets 'No.42' (SKM 1122), 'No.16' (SKM 1097); Masson label 'Tray No.1'; and label IM.M.145: 'Broken bronze rings &c. from Begram, without apparent designs' (1880.3706.a-z; 1880.3817.a-q). See also SKM 1051-2, 1095, 1104, 1114, 1116, 1121.
1101	22	6	-	1880.3893.h PT2 1880.3993.i **	Piece of agate, 2 beads and fragments of stone. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : 2 stone beads, bronze seal &c.	For other half of agate bicone bead, see / SKM 1104.
1102	48	1a 2	IM.M.125	1880.3527	2 circular pieces of silver. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Silver box cylindrical.	Reliquary in 2 pieces (side and base); now restored: '1102' pasted inside.
1103	33	4	Tray 'C'	1880.3977.a-g, i-p BE/K 1880.3977.h B4? 1880.3981.a-x BE/K	Metal ornaments. Fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Fragments of silver ornaments, 1 bronze.	Large silver wall fragment possibly missed from the Bimaran 4 reliquary restoration. Begram or Kabul bazaar.
1104	14	7	-	1880.3497.e H3 1880.3699.d B2 1880.3891.c, i N1 H2 1880.3891.d, h H10 1880.3891.f-g H3 1880.3893.a, d-f H10 1880.3893.b B4 1880.3893.c, g, k-l, q B2 1880.3893.h PT2 1880.3893.m-p **	Stone ornaments &c. Fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Stone beads, ruby &c.	Half of the agate bi-cone bead 1880.3893.h was in tray IM 22 / SKM 1101. The break is modern.
1105	32	5	IM.M.25	1880.3687a-w BE	Metal pendants &c. Seven fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Fragments of bronze ornaments. In tray is also 'No. 75'.	Boss 1880.3687.a has '1105' label attached. Torn label with IM.M.25: 'apparently from Begram. Bronze fragments of appliqué ornament with holes for fixing to shields &c. 3 are pendant shaped with holes for suspension. One (1105) is the boss of a shield'.
1106	64		IM.M.93	1880.3693 W8 1880.4114.b-c W8	Four fragments of bone &c. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Gold disc, tessera &c. Masson label: '6 copper coins found in tope near Bimaran at Darunta 2 large 4 small'.	IM ticket 'No. 8' found in tray. Masson label '6 copper coins' belongs to SKM 1096 / IM 57. IM.M.93 'Gold cover or lid for small box' = SKM 1106 'gold disc'?
1107	-	-	-	-	7 copper coins and one fragment of bead.	Not identified.
1108	15	1 2 7	IM.M.129	1880.3699.a-i B2	8 beads. Glass &c. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Crystal and other beads.	10 beads strung together with disc '15', 1 bead bearing '1108'. Bead fragment 1880.3699.d was in SKM 1104 with the Bimaran 2 turquoise heart 1880.3893.k.
1109	49	3	-	1880.3991 W7	Earthenware. Fragment of. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Clay impression of seal &c.	Wardak 7
1110	44	1	IM.M.129&c	1880.3995.a-g B4 1880.3921.a-b, d-g H10 1880.3021.c **	9 beads. Red carnelian &c. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Carnelian beads.	With IM ticket 'No. 44'. 7 carnelian beads strung together with disc '44'.
1111	50	3	-	1880.3891.e N1	Clay, fragment of. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Clay impression of seal.	Nandara 1
1112	62	3	IM.M.128	1880.3983.k H3	Ball. Stone. <i>BM-Asia 18-2-1881a</i> : Steatite ball. IM.M.128: Stone ball or marble found in the large tumulus no. 5 of Passani (Darunta). See Masson in Ar. Ant. p. 95.	Hadda 3 '1112' pasted on ball found in Tray 'B' with SKM 1090 / IM 2. Misidentified by Franks as marble from Passani 5: see SKM 1026.

SKM no.	IM no.	Box no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
1113	63	6	-	1880.4098.a–b W7 1880.4098.c W7 H2 1880.4098.d DR1	Earthenware, beads &c. Fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Clay impression of seal &c.	Wardak 7 IM tickets 'No. 63' and 'No. 57' found in Tray 'C'. Mujatria coin 1880.4098.d misplaced from tray SKM 1121 / IM 4?
1114	58	6	-	1880.3886.a–u H10	Eighteen rings and portions of rings. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Silver rings. Label: 'Naghernahe &c. from Begram'.	Hadda 10, not Begram. 1880.3886.s–u were separated from 1880.3886.a–r in Box 6, but with IM ticket 'No. 58'. They also bear the same diagnostic corroded copper products. Cleaned and conserved.
1115	23	7	-	1880.3851.a–c, e–g B2 1880.3851.d H10 1880.3851.h W1 1880.3851.i PT2 1880.3951.j B5 1880.3851.k H4	A number of beads &c. Fragments &c. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : blank for this number.	Contained turquoise cross-shaped inlay (Bimaran 2).
1116	38	5	-	1880.4114.a H10 1880.3962.h H10	Burnt earth. Fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Fragments of burnt coral.	Fragments of chunky grey material resembling mudstone. Corroded copper ring fragment with stone inclusions.
1117	69 6?	2	-	1880.3980.a–u H10 1880.3918.a–i H10 1880.3921.h–i H10 1880.3929.p H10	A number of rings, fragments of rings and ornaments. Metal. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Bronze object, rings &c.	1880.3918.a: found misplaced in tray IM.M.145. 1880.3918.b–i: found with misplaced label IM.M.145. IM.M.145: 'A collection of fragments of bronze rings & bezels of rings without designs or inscriptions. From Begram 1835'.
1118	40	5	-	1880.3721 H4 1880.3722 H4 1880.4101.d H4	Carved ivory. Fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Fragments of ivory box. 2 nested ivory reliquaries, partly restored and fragments.	Ticket 'No. 40' found in tray IM 35. According to Franks in 1880, it was with bone reliquary 1880.3723 / SKM 1085 / IM 71. Fragments from 1880.3721, 1880.3722, 1880.3723 were scattered throughout the trays.
1119	73	5	-	1880.4106 H4 1880.4108 H4	Red ochre? Fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Red earth.	Hadda 4: 'incinerated substances; masses of sindoor' ('red lead', actually ochre).
1121	4	6	-	1880.3885.a–b, g–h B2 1880.3885.c–f, i–l, o H10 1880.3885.m–n, p DR1 1880.3885.q W1 1880.3887.a–c **	Beads and fragments of metal. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Small beads, weight square coins &c. Masson label: '6 coins extracted from Jani tope of Darunta by a blacksmith & purchased from him'.	Includes 4 corroded coins: 1 identified as Mujatria. See also SKM 1051, 1052, 1095, 1100, 1104, 1114, 1116. A fourth coin 1880.4098.d was misplaced in adjoining tray SKM 1113 (Vol. II, Fig. 90.5).
1122	42	3	Tray 'B'	1880.3681.p H10 1880.3689.b ** 1880.3923 H10 1880.3929.a–c, e–j PT2 1880.3929.d B2 1880.3929.k W4 1880.3929.l ** 1880.3929.o–p H10 1880.3908.a–b e–f h n H10 1880.3908.c W8 1880.3908.d H2 1880.3908.g B2l 1880.3908.m N1 1880.3936 BE 1880.3768 BE	Metal pins, stone &c. Fragments of. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Grinder, 3 pins, fragments, beads &c. (Ariana Antiqua pl. IV fig. 4 [pins]). Ticket 'No.3 Hadda'. IM.M.20: 15 bronze pins (4 plain; rest mostly with bird finials). Begram.	Tray SKM 1122 / IM 42 was located within Tray 'B'. Ticket 'No. 42' found with head of brass pin 1880.3681p and other pin fragments 1880.3908.a–b were located in Tray 'A'. '1122' pasted on coin 1880.3768.
1122	42	2	Tray 'A'	1880.3713 BE 1880.3681.p H10 1880.3923.h H10 1880.4101.a PT2 1880.4101.b PT2 W4 1880.4101.c N1 1880.4101.d H4 1880.4101.e W8 1880.4101.f PT2 W8 N1 1880.4102.a–c, e, g ** 1880.4102.d W1 1880.4102.f, h H10 1880.4102.i PT2		IM ticket 'No. 42' loose in Tray 'A'. Head of gilded pin 1880.3681.p found in IM.M.20.

SKM no.	IM no.	Box no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
1122?	42?		IM.M.20	1880.3681.e, n–o H10	3 copper alloy pins.	Shaft of gilded pin 1880.3681.o found in Tray 'A' / SKM 1122.
1123	18			Not found	10 copper or bronze coins and 3 fragments of gold foil. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Copper coins. 'No. V. Bimaran.15 coins. 22'.	Kotpur 2?
1124	13	6		1880.3888.a B4	Bead. Carnelian. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Carnelian bead &c.	Spherical carnelian bead. Bimaran 4. Included wrong object: bronze weight: 1880.3993.b (SKM 1062).
-	-	2	Tray 'A'			Contained IM ticket 'No. 42' and pin head 1880.3681.p. See SKM 1122 and Tray 'B'.
		3	Tray 'B'			Contained trays SKM 1077 / IM 53; SKM 1090 / IM 2; SKM 1122 / IM 42 / IM.M.20; loose IM tickets 'No. 57' (SKM 1096); 'No. 63' (SKM 1113).
	-	4	Tray 'C'	1880.3981.a–x Kabul 1880.4109.a–u W1 1880.4109.v PT2	Silver objects from Kabul bazaar.	Part of SKM 1103 / IM 33 from Kabul bazaar? Tray 'C' contained debris of the decayed malachite bead (1880.4101.a / SKM 1122) from Passani 2, and small glass and stone objects linked to Wardak 1.
-	-	2	Tray '4'	1880.3992.b W1 1880.3992.d–f, .h–i B4 1880.3992.a, c, .g, j–y H10 1880.4103.a B4 1880.4103.c–e W1 1880.4104.b W1 1880.4104.a, c B2 B4 PT2 1880.4104.d B2 1880.4104.e H10 1880.4104.f W8 1880.4105.a H10 1880.4105.b–c PT2 1880.4105.d H2 H3		Tray '4' contained IM ticket 'No. 6' and pencilled note '31 coins No. 5 Bimaran'. There were no coins, but there were beads of the same or similar types as those registered as IM. Metal&c.129. Disc '6' was found separately, attached to six beads strung together and registered as IM.M.&c.129 / 1880.3975.a–f, attributed to Wardak 1. Tray '4' contained a mixture of objects seemingly from different sites. It includes glass beads that use tin in addition to lead as an opacifier, a practice introduced in the Roman world in the 4th century (1880.3992.c). The late date indicates that the tray probably includes material from Hadda 10, but it also includes beads from other sites.
		3	Unnumbered pink IM tray	1880.3994.b ** 1880.3994.c W11 1880.3994.d, g H10	Steatite (?) tabular bead, painted green. Lead ball or sling-shot. Gilded corroded fragment from the wall of a reliquary. Mudstone (?) fragment encrusted with soil.	Wardak 11 Hadda 10
-	-	7	-	1880.3901.a **	Natural hexagonal rock crystal prism; no documentation.	Loose in Box 7.

Reliquaries

SKM no.	IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Relic deposit
04.830	5289	1880.93	Water vessel, with engraved inscription. Copper.	1880.93 Wardak 1 (Wardak Vase)
9444	13 (lid); 4 (body)	1880.98	Bowl and cover. Soapstone, circular, with compartments, surmounted with a smaller bowl and cover.	Passani tumulus 2
949	3 (lid); 5 (body)	1880.171	Box and cover. Soapstone, circular.	Deh Rahman 1
950		1880.94	Circular vessel with cover on square pedestal. Soapstone. Sultanpur.	Stupa reliquary Sultanpur
959	14 (lid); 41 (body)	1880.99	Box and cover. Stone, circular.	Chahar Bagh 6
974	6 (lid); 16 (body)	1880.28	Pot with cover. Soapstone, circular.	Bimaran 5
1006	'India Museum'	1880.96	Jar and cover. Soapstone, circular.	Kotpur 2
1007	5 (lid); 9, 10 (body)	1880.27	Jar and cover. Soapstone, circular.	Bimaran 2 inscribed steatite casket.
1008	-	1880.95	Jar and cover. Soapstone, circular.	Chahar Bagh
1020	-	1880.97	Jar and cover. Circular stone. Kotpur.	Not Kotpur: Chahar Bagh 5

Miscellaneous						
Box no.	SKM no.	IM no.	BM IM no.	BM reg. no.	Description	Comments
			IM.Rings.4	1880.3875 H10	Ring: 3 twisted strands of gold, silver, copper alloy wire surmounted by 3 gold globules.	Hadda 10; Wilson 1841, Antiquities pl. II.5.
	1092?		IM.Gems 3	1880.3536 **	Carnelian lion bead.	Wardak 1–8?
		6?	IM.Gems 4	1880.3538 B4	Green jasper lion bead.	Bimaran 4
			IM.Gems.5	1880.3556 **	Pale red jasper lion bead.	Wardak 1–8?
			IM.Gems 6	1880.3557 **	Banded brown agate lion bead.	Wardak 1–8?
			IM.Gems 8	1880.3542 H10	Chalcedony seal: helmeted man standing in front of tree.	Hadda 10
			IM.Gems 9	1880.3543 H10	Chalcedony seal: eagle with diadem.	Hadda 10
			IM.Gems 5	1880.3556 **	Jasper lion bead.	Wardak 1–8?
			IM.Gems23	1880.3560 H10	Garnet intaglio with Alkhan bust.	Hadda 10
			IM.Gems.40	1880.3569 H10	Agate intaglio with bust of Athena.	Hadda 10
	402		IM.M.5	1880.3485 BE	Astragalus.	Begram
-	-	-	IM.M.23	1880.3685.a–c H10 1880.3685.d–h Kabul	'Small silver objects from Begram (8)'. (3 silver rings).	a–c: Hadda 10 d–h: Kabul bazaar
1a			IM.M.26	1880.3570 K2 1880.3571 K2	IM.M.26: 'Gold plaque or bracteate [Wilson 1841, p. 54, Antiquities pl IV.14]. ... Also another of similar type probably found with it, but not mentioned in <i>Ar[jana] Ant[iqua]</i> '.	Kotpur 2
1a			IM.M.73–81	1880.3690.a–i B2	'Gold buttons (9) each with 2 small loops on the rim at the back'.	Bimaran 2
1a			IM.M.82–91	1880.3691.a–i B2 1880.3982.a–b CB6	'Small gold ornaments (10); flat round discs of thin gold, most of them double-folded'. Included the lid of a crushed amulet case found in IM.M.111–124 / SKM 1078.	Bimaran 2 Chahar Bagh 6
1a			IM.M.92	1880.3692 **	'Gold leaf-shaped pendant'.	Wardak 1–8?
1a			IM.M.93	1880.3693 **	'IM.Metal.93: Gold cover or lid for small box; very thin beaten gold.'	Wardak 1–8?
1a	1096?	57?	IM.M.94–103	1880.3694.a PT2 1880.3694.b–g, i H10 1880.3694.h K2 1880.3983.i–j H3	'Gold ornaments (10), beads, pin heads &c. made of thin gold over a terracotta core'. From various relic deposits extracted for safe-keeping without documentation. Originally part of SKM 1096 / IM 57? Base of a minute reliquary (lid in IM.M.111–124 / SKM 1078).	Passani 2 Hadda 10 Kotpur 2 Hadda 3
1a	1078	60	IM.M.104110	1880.3695.a–g B2	'Gold disks (7) small'. <i>BM-Asia 18–2–1881a</i> : Gold studs.	Bimaran 2
1a	1078	60	IM.M.111–124	1880.3696.a–m B2 1880.3982.a–b CB6 1880.3983.i–j H3	'Gold ornaments, small miscellaneous objects (14)'. 1880.3982.a (lid) in IM.M.82–91 with 1880.3691.a–i; 1880.3983.j (base) in IM.M.94–103 with 1880.3694.a–j.	Bimaran 2 Chahar Bagh 6 Hadda 3
1a	1102	48	IM.M.125 IM.M.126	1880.3527 PT2 1880.3528 PT2	Silver boxes (2) ... small, cylindrical'. For IM.M.125, see SKM 1102.	Passani 2
1a			IM.M.126	1880.3528 PT2	Silver reliquary without lid.	Passani 2
1	- 1108 1099 1110	6 15 21 44	IM.M.129&c	1880.3975 W1 1880.3699 B2 1880.3984 PT2 1880.3995 B4	'Beads of crystal, carnelian, amethyst, lapis lazuli, onyx, bone &c. (35), strung together with number found on the cardboard box in which they were kept', i.e. 'No. 6' (1880.3975), 'No. 15' (1880.3699), 'No. 21' (1880.3984) and 'No. 44' (1880.3995).	Wardak 1 Bimaran 2 Passani 2 Bimaran 4
			IM.M.139–40	1880.3700 H10 1880.3701 H10	2 silver reliquaries (?) with filigree decoration; without lids.	Hadda 10
			IM.M.160	1880.4134 H10?	Small barrel bead of decayed shell with copper encrustation. Similar to 1880.3992.a / Tray '4' from Hadda 10.	Found with Begram objects. Hadda 10?
			IM.M.161	1880.3719.c TK	2 copper alloy coins (?) coated with corrosion and cement. Same as 1880.3962.d / SKM 1051 and 1880.3994.a / SKM 1064: may be corroded coins from Tepe Kelan, Hadda.	Found with Begram objects. Tepe Kelan?

Appendix 3
**Documentation of
Bead Morphology,
Manufacture and
Use Wear**

Jonathan Mark Kenoyer

Kr. no. (cast number)	Reg. no.	Form	Material	External surface		Bead dimension L; W (mm)	Drilling direction	Length moulded drill hole H1; H2 (mm)	Diameter worked edge of drill hole D1; D2 (mm)	Drill sections	Drilling technique
				Sides	Ends						
9	1880.3699.a	sub-quadrangular	garnet, pyrope	chipped, ground, irregular faceted and rounded edges, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	3.9; 5.7-7.0	two ends	2.3; 1.5 slightly misaligned	1.4; 1.4	short convex conical	abrasive with metal drill
4	1880.3699.f	planoconvex barrel	macro-crystalline quartz, rock crystal	chipped, ground irregular multidirectional striae, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	21.8; 7.1-18.0	two ends	12.3; 8.9 aligned	1.5; 1.5	long conical	abrasive with metal drill
29	1880.3975.a	couchant lion	lapis lazuli	ground, polished, worn	ground, worn smooth	15.9; 8.0-11.4	one end	12.3; -	2.0; -	long tapered cylindrical	abrasive with metal drill
26	1880.3983.d	hexagonal rectangular	beryl, aquamarine	chipped, irregular longitudinal grinding, faceted edges battered, low lustre polished, worn	chipped, fine polish, slight chipping at drill hole edge	11.3; 7.2-10.2	one end	11.3; -	1.8; -	straight cylindrical	diamond
27	1880.3983.e	sub-pentagonal barrel	beryl, aquamarine	chipped, irregular longitudinal grinding, irregular faceted, low lustre polished, worn	chipped, fine polish, chipping at drill hole edge, hole edge worn	13.0; 6.0-6.6	two ends	8.6; 4.4 slightly misaligned	1.0; 1.0	straight cylindrical	diamond
7	1880.3699.g	sub-elliptical barrel	macro-crystalline quartz, amethyst	chipped, ground irregular multidirectional striae, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	12.2; 6.0-8.5	two ends	8.2; 4.0 aligned	1.7; 1.8	straight cylindrical	diamond
8	1880.3855.c					11.7; 6.2-9.3		8.6; 3.1 aligned	1.8; 1.8		
2	1880.3884.g					12.0; 6.0-8.2		8.3; 3.6 aligned	2.0; 2.0		
1	1880.3699.a	sub-hexagonal barrel	macro-crystalline quartz, rock crystal	chipped and pecked, ground irregular multidirectional striae, faceted, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	16.9; 10.3-13.9	two ends	10.3; 6.1 slightly misaligned	2.20; 2.20	straight cylindrical	diamond
5	1880.3893.b					17.6; 12.7-13.8		9.9; 7.6 aligned	1.5; 1.5		
14	1880.3984.a					19.0; 9.0-12.2		11.6; 8.0 slightly misaligned	2.9; 1.7		
15	1880.3984.b					17.0; 9.5-14.0		11.0; 6.0 aligned	2.8; 2.8		
25	1880.3992.i					9.0; 5.6-6.7		7.1; 1.9 aligned	1.8; 1.8		
28	1880.3983.f			chipped, ground, rounded edges, low lustre polish, worn	chipped, ground, rounded edges, chipping at drill hole	10.4; 5.5-7.4		8.1; 2.1 misaligned	1.8; 1.8		

Kr. no. (cast number)	Reg. no.	Form	Material	External surface		Bead dimension L; W (mm)	Drilling direction	Length moulded drill hole H1; H2 (mm)	Diameter worked edge of drill hole D1; D2 (mm)	Drill sections	Drilling technique
				Sides	Ends						
18	1880.3888.a			chipped, ground multidirectional striae, polished, worn	chipped, partly ground, worn smooth, polished, chipping at drill hole;	9.7; 8.7–9.9		8.0; –	1.5; –		
20	1880.3992.e			chipped, no grinding striae visible, percussion weathering, low lustre bag polish, worn	some chipping at edge of drill hole, large flake scar at second edge	9.4; 9.1–10.0	one end	8.5; –	1.5; 1.4	straight cylindrical	diamond
22	1880.3995.b	sub-spherical	micro-crystalline quartz, carnelian	chipped, pitted and percussion weathered surface, low lustre bag polish, worn		9.6; 10.3–10.6		8.6; –	1.8; –		
23	1880.3995.c			chipped, ground, low lustre polish, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	7.9; 7.2–7.9		6.5; –	1.9; –		
11	1880.3893.l	quadrangular, plano convex oval	micro-crystalline quartz, chalcedony	chipped, ground longitudinal striae and some faceting, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	14.4; 6.0–12.9	two ends	5.2; 3.6 two short holes, not joined	1.6; 1.6	straight cylindrical	diamond
24	1880.3992.f	long bicone	micro-crystalline quartz, carnelian	chipped, ground irregular multidirectional striae, faceted, polished, worn	chipped, partly ground, worn smooth, polished, chipping at drill hole, worn at drill hole edge	17.2; 7.0–7.8	two ends	9.5; 7.6 aligned	1.9; 1.9	straight cylindrical	diamond
6	1880.3893.c	hexagonal long rectangular	beryl, aquamarine	chipped, no grinding striae visible, weathered and pitted surface, low lustre bag polish, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	11.8; 5.2–8.4	two ends	8.9; 2.9 slightly misaligned	1.3; 1.3	straight cylindrical	double diamond
10	1880.3884.e			chipped, ground irregular multidirectional striae, faceted, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole; some chipping at edge of drill hole, large flake scar at second edge	5.0; 7.5–7.7		4.9; –	1.7; 1.7		
31	1880.3908.e	sub-spherical	pyrope, garnet	chipped, ground irregular multidirectional striae, faceted, polished, worn	chipped, partly ground, worn smooth, polished, chipping at drill hole; some chipping at edge of drill hole, large flake scar at second edge	7.5; 7.5–7.5	one end	6.9; –	1.4; –	straight cylindrical	double diamond
3	1880.3699.h	sub-hexagonal barrel	macro-crystalline quartz, rock crystal	chipped, ground irregular multidirectional striae, faceted, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	11.7; 6.9–8.9	two ends	7.9; 3.8 aligned	1.5; 1.5	straight cylindrical	double diamond
16	1880.3984.c	sub-hexagonal barrel	macro-crystalline quartz, rock crystal	chipped and pecked, ground irregular multidirectional striae, faceted, polished, worn	chipped, ground, worn, chipping at drill hole	16.5; 10.8–12.9	two ends	9.0; 7.4 slightly misaligned	2.0; 1.7	straight cylindrical	double diamond
33	1880.4110.a	sub-hexagonal barrel	macro-crystalline quartz	chipped, ground irregular multidirectional striae, irregular faceting, polished, worn	chipped, fine polish, chipping at drill hole edge, hole edge worn	10.3; 6.4–7.7	two ends	6.8; 3.2 aligned	1.9; 1.9	straight cylindrical	double diamond

Kr. no. (cast number)	Reg. no.	Form	Material	External surface		Bead dimension L; W (mm)	Drilling direction	Length moulded drill hole H1; H2 (mm)	Diameter worked edge of drill hole D1; D2 (mm)	Drill sections	Drilling technique
				Sides	Ends						
12	1880.3893.h	long barrel	micro- crystalline quartz, agate	chipped, ground longitudinal striae and some faceting, polished, worn	chipped, partly ground, worn smooth, polished, drill hole edge worn	47.5; 13.0–13.4	two ends	28.5; 19.0 slightly misaligned	2.3; 1.8	straight cylindrical stepped	double diamond
13	1880.3699.e	barrel				18.7; 9.2–9.7		9.9; 8.4 aligned	2.0; 1.8	straight cylindrical	
19	1880.3992.d	sub-short spherical barrel	micro- crystalline quartz, carnelian	chipped, ground multidirectional striae, polished, worn	chipped, ground flat, low lustre polish, drill hole edge worn	4.2; 4.7–5.0	two ends	2.8; 1.4 slightly misaligned	1.2; 1.2	straight cylindrical stepped	double diamond
21	1880.3995.a	sub-spherical				10.2; 8.8–9.7		8.2; –	1.9; –	straight cylindrical	
17	1880.3536	couchant lion	lapis lazuli	chipped, ground, polished, worn	ground, low lustre polish, chipping at drill hole edge	26.9; 10.2–16.8	two ends	13.7; 7.7 aligned	1.6; 1.6	straight cylindrical	double diamond
30	1880.4109.j	short cylinder				7.4; 4.4–4.6		3.8; 3.5 misaligned	1.8; 1.8		
32	1880.3992.b	sub- quadrangular	lapis lazuli	chipped, polished, worn	chipped, polished, worn	6.4; 6.2–6.2	two ends	3.3; 3.1 aligned	1.6; 1.6	straight cylindrical	double diamond

References

Abbreviations

BM: British Museum

IM: India Museum of the East India Company in London (closed in 1878)

IOLC: British Library India Office Loan Collection

IsMEO: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente

JASB: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

Kr.: Cast no. of beads selected for silicon impression (see **Table 4**)

MDAFA: Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan

Proc. ASB: Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

PT: Passani tumulus

SKM: South Kensington Museum (later renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum)

Vol. II: E. Errington *et al.*, *The Charles Masson Archive. British Library, British Museum and Other Documents relating to the 1832–1838 Masson Collection from Afghanistan* (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Masson%20archive%20Vol.%202.pdf>).

Vol. III: E. Errington *et al.*, *Charles Masson: Collections from Begram and Kabul Bazaar, Afghanistan 1833–1838* (forthcoming).

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See also www.britishmuseum.org, Collection Online: Charles Masson.

Fitzwilliam Museum Library Archives

FW 1906: Transfer of coins from India Office.

National Archives, Kew

IOR.L/MIL/9: Cadet Papers: Embarkation Lists, 1789–1860.

IOR.L/MIL/10: Bengal Army Muster Rolls, 1822–7.

British Library

MSS Eur. European Manuscripts

India Office Collections (listed in E.H. Kaye and E.H. Johnston, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages*, vol. II, part II, section II; M. Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*, London 1969, pp. 248–53).

E161/I: MSS Eur. E161/I (Kaye & Johnston 631): Masson Manuscripts, Correspondence I, H. Pottinger, 1833–4.

E161/II: MSS Eur. E161/II (Kaye & Johnston 632): Masson Manuscripts, Correspondence II, C. Wade, agent in Ludhiana.

E161/VI: MSS Eur. E161/VI (Kaye & Johnston 636): Masson Manuscripts, Correspondence VI, to Masson (copies).

E161/VII: MSS Eur. E161/VII (Kaye & Johnston 637): Masson Manuscripts, Correspondence VII, from Masson (copies).

E162: MSS Eur. E162 (Kaye & Johnston 639): Masson Manuscripts, Letters to the Press, articles on Punjab war and East India Company Administration.

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E169/I: MSS Eur. E169/I (Kaye & Johnston 656 [1–18]): Masson Manuscripts, Miscellaneous, part I.

E169/II: MSS Eur. E169/II (Kaye & Johnston 656 [19]): Masson Manuscripts, Miscellaneous, part II.

F63: MSS Eur. F63 (Kaye & Johnston 657 [1–73]): Masson Manuscripts, Sketches and Drawings I.

F64: MSS Eur. F64 (Kaye & Johnston 657 [74–199]): Masson Manuscripts, Sketches and Drawings II.

F65: MSS Eur. F65 (Kaye & Johnston 657 [200–343]): Masson Manuscripts, Sketches and Drawings III.

G40: MSS Eur. G40: Miscellaneous drawings of Afghanistan, Sind and North–Western Provinces (c.1850 from original sketches made c. 1831–41).

G41: MSS Eur. G41: Drawings of the caves of Jalalabad and Kabul, with descriptions (c. 1850 from original sketches made in 1833–5).

G42: MSS Eur. G42: Caves of Bamian (c. 1850 from original sketches made in 1832).

G43: MSS Eur. G43: Drawings of the cave temples on the island of Salsette and Elephanta, Mumbai (c. 1850 from original sketches made in 1841).

F526/1–2: Masson Papers

India Office Collections

F526/1a: Enumeration of coins collected from Begram during the years 1833, 1834 & 1835 (see **Vol. III, F526/1a**).

F526/1b: Sketches of the relic deposits from the Buddhist sites of Darunta, Chahar Bagh and Hadda.

F526/2a: 1853 Notebook of scrap paper sewn together, 49ff.

Bombay Dispatches

East India Company, General Correspondence with India

E/4/1057 [prev. LXII]: *Bombay Dispatches*, 6 November 1833–25 June 1834, pp. 790–1: Masson, Mr. American: Memoranda on countries of Central Asia obtained from, to be transmitted to Supreme Government.

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E/4/1059 [prev. LXIV]: *Bombay Dispatches*, 3 June 1835–30 April 1836, p. 754: Researches of Mr Masson.

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E/4/1068 [prev. LXXIII]: *Bombay Dispatches*, 7 April 1841–1 September 1841, pp. 587–8, 602: Reference, Mr Masson. Receipt of collection of Mr Masson (antiquarian), acknowledged.

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- *Extract Masson's letters to Pottinger, No. 4*, dated Hadda 30 September 1834.
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Index

Note: page references in *italic* refer to illustrations or their captions' content.

- Abdul Khel stupa, 160
- Adinapur caves *see* Balabagh
- Afghanistan
 - Afghan Institute of Archaeology, 68
 - American and Afghan Geological Surveys, 45–6
 - Anglo-Afghan relations, 12–13, 14
- agate, 47, 52
 - beads *see* beads: agate
- Ahinposh, 21, 141, 156, 196
 - Buddha (*c.* 91cm), 157
 - coins, 34, 42, 158–9, 159, 159
 - discovery, site and stupa plans, 156–7, 157
 - gold amulet case, 157, 158
 - gold relic holder, 24
 - relic deposit, 31, 33, 159
- Allard, Jean-François (1789–1839), 4, 9, 17
- Al-Biruni (AD 973–1048), 44
- Ali Masjid, 42
- amber, 50, 51
 - beads *see* beads: amber
- amethyst, 38, 47, 53, 54, 76, 180
 - heart shaped, 112, 112
 - beads *see* beads: amethyst
- Apraca era, 35–6, 41, 110
 - reliquaries, 35, 42
- aquamarine, 38, 52, 53, 54, 109, 166
- ashes, bones and 'decayed matter', 16, 34–5, 84, 117, 142, 201
 - ashes examination (21st century), 35
- Ashoka (*c.* 269–232 BC), 41, 155
- Ashruk, 153
- Aynak, 46, 47
- Azes I (*c.* 47/46–1 BC) era, 35–6, 41, 95, 104
- Azes II (*c.* AD 16–30) coin, 213
 - in name of, 88, 97, 99, 103, 117, 120–1, 124–5, 131, 168

- Bajaur, 41
- Balabagh, 20, 86, 138, 138
- Baladhuri (d. AD 892), 43
- Balkh, 43–4
- Bamiyan, 7, 9, 44, 45, 59, 59–60
 - Buddhas (38m and 55m), 16, 59–62, 60, 65
 - 38m: fresco and tri-lobed arch figures, 61, 61
 - 55m: paintings in niche of, 61, 61–2
 - comparisons with Kanheri/Salsette and Elephanta, 65
 - comparisons with Sasanian coin imagery, 61, 65
 - destruction (2001), 65
 - Group 1 caves (Nos 1–4), 62–4
 - entrances, 63
 - interior disposition, 63, 63
 - Group 2 caves, 64–5
 - (No. 4), 65
 - (Nos 1–2) and Chamber of Forty Pillars, 64–5
 - sanctuaries XII–XV, 62, 62–3, 63
- Barabad, 17, 117, 132, 133
 - caves, 136
 - relic deposits, 132–3, 133

- bark *see* birch bark
- beads
- analysis of materials used, 47, 49–51, 52–3
 - chronological pattern of choice, 38
 - morphological and technical analysis, 52–7, 227–9
 - beads as votive offering, 57
 - drills/drill holes, 55, 55–6
 - perforating, 55
 - polishing, 54–5
 - production and use wear evidence, 54
 - raw materials, 52–3
 - shaping and smoothing, 53–4
 - source of materials, 56
 - unfinished beads, 56
 - overview of forms and site attributions 37–8
 - sources of raw material, 47, 51, 52
 - see also* beads, finds by raw material
- beads, finds by raw material, 50–1
- agate, 96, 98, 107, 110, 113, 114, 115, 184, 184, 212
 - amber, 206, 207
 - amber lion, 42, 115
 - amethyst, 37, 53, 107, 109
 - aquamarine, 38, 52, 53, 54, 109, 166
 - beryl – aquamarine, 107, 109
 - bone, 96, 98, 110
 - pink-tinted bone (?), 114, 115, 135–6, 136
 - red-tinted bone (?), 114, 115
 - calcite, 37, 183, 184
 - carnelian, 98, 113, 114, 115, 206, 211, 212, 213
 - carnelian lion, 184, 201
 - coral, 37, 37, 94, 97, 103, 103, 110, 112, 113, 117, 120, 183, 206
 - garnet, 38, 53, 54, 55, 56, 96, 107, 110–11, 184, 205, 207, 214
 - glass, 38, 38, 50, 51, 107, 110, 182, 183, 205, 207
 - glass lion, 38, 38–9, 183
 - tubular, royal blue opaque, 48, 178, 180
 - gold, 95, 96
 - from Bimaran (2), 107, 108–9
 - ivory, 37, 96, 97, 98, 107, 110
 - jasper, recumbent lion, 114, 115, 201
 - lapis lazuli, 53, 53, 205–6, 201, 205, 206, 210
 - lion, 55, 56, 204, 206
 - malachite, 36, 50, 51, 95, 96, 129
 - pearl, 36, 37, 112, 113, 132, 180–1, 207, 208, 214
 - seed pearl and oval pearl, 96, 98, 107, 110
 - mother-of-pearl, 107, 110, 180
 - pyrite (?), 96, 98
 - quartz, 52, 53–4, 207, 214
 - rock crystal, 96, 97, 109, 114, 115
 - shell, 37, 37, 50, 51, 98, 117, 183, 184, 214
 - burnt shell, 110, 114, 115
 - conch shell, 37, 206
 - shelly limestone, 51, 96, 97
 - silver, 177–9, 178, 182, 183, 184
 - see also* beads
- Begram, 16, 82–4, 124, 154–5
- copper alloy seal, 40, 40
 - coins, 8–9, 11–12
- Bilandghar *see* Tokehi
- Bimaran, 101
- caves, 116, 116
 - stupas and relic deposits, 41–2
- Bimaran (1), 101, 101–2
- Bimaran (2), 38, 102–11, 103
- beads, 37, 53, 107, 108–11
 - and small finds, 50
 - ‘Bimaran casket’, 13, 24, 46, 106–8, 107
 - coins, 104
 - dating of finds, 104–5
 - gemstones, 37
 - gold sheet bracteates, 108
 - finds, 103–10
 - inlays, 37, 110
 - relic deposit, 103
 - steatite reliquary, 42, 104, 105
- Bimaran (3), 17, 111, 111–13
- relic deposit A, 112
 - relic deposit B, 37, 112–13
- Bimaran (4), 34, 113
- beads, 53, 114, 115
 - coins, 114–15
 - lion bead, 114, 115
 - relic deposit, 113
 - reliquary, 114, 115
 - tumuli associated with, 115–16
- Bimaran (5) Jani Tope, 116–21
- coins, 32, 119, 120–1
 - excavation, 116–17
 - finds: core stupa,
 - (cells 1–7), 117–18
 - (cells 8–11), 118–19
 - reliquaries, 117, 117, 118–20, 119
- Binigah *see* Tokehi
- birch bark
- manuscripts, 39, 73, 201, 208
 - ‘Bactrian inscribed scroll’, 17, 39, 73
 - from Bimaran, 9
 - ‘Nagari’ / Sanskrit manuscript, 66, 67, 68
 - from Passani (1), 94, 98
 - reliquaries, 128, 129, 164–5, 165
 - wrapper, 127–8, 129
- bone
- and ashes, 16, 34–5, 84, 116
 - beads, 96, 98, 110, 114, 115, 135–6, 136
 - donkey teeth, 192, 192
 - fragment, 35, 212
 - (or ivory) reliquary, 208, 208
 - sample, 35
- bracteates, 80, 81, 89, 90, 107, 108, 112
- brass reliquary, 39, 207
- British Museum, 14, 17–18, 86
- acquisitions and transfers, 18, 21, 68, 89, 129, 146, 158, 172–3, 174, 177, 185, 189, 201
 - Department of Scientific Research, vi, 49
 - Masson Collection, 1–2, 23–7
 - online database, 2
 - Masson Project, 1–2, 14
 - records relating to 1880 *India Museum Inventory*, 217–25

- Buddha statues and depictions
 Ahinposh, 157
 Bamiyan, 16, 59–62, 60, 65
 Bimaran (2), 106–7, 106
 Hadda
 stucco heads, 172, 172–3, 173, 174
 Khol Shams
 clay head, 68, 68–9
 schist roundel with tang, 69, 69
- Buddhism, 41–3
 Brahma, Indra, Maitreya, 106
 burial practices, 34–5
- Buddhist sites
 Buddhist landscape, 28–31
 dating establishment of, 41–2
 collapse (by AD 632), 43
 evidence, 42–3
 post-AD 400, 42–3
 discovery by Europeans (1824–79), 15–20
- building materials, 28–9
- Burj Ashrak/Burj Jemadar, 153–4
- Burnes, Alexander (1805–41), 6, 12–13, 16, 18, 19, 22, 35
- buttons *see* bracteates
- carnelian, 38, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 183, 184, 188, 189
 beads *see* beads: carnelian
- calcite, 48, 51, 69, 183, 184
- caves
 Balabagh, 138, 138
 Bamiyan, 62–5
 Group 1 caves (Nos 1–4), 62–4
 Group 2 caves, 64–5
 Barabad, 136
 Barakzay *see* Dost Muhammad Khan, Sultan
 Muhammad Khan
 Bimaran, 116
 Dust-i Khel, 140
 Fil Khana, 133, 136–7, 136
 Hadda, 196–9
 Tepe Shotor, 34, 35
 Tepe Zargaran, 197, 197–8, 199
 Kajitutu, 136, 137
 Khana Sunghi, 66, 67
 Nandara, 130
 Surkh Tope, 124
 Tepe Khwaja Lahori, 154, 154
 Tepe Maranjan, 69, 70
- ‘cement’, 29, 59, 69; *see also* stucco
- Chahar Bagh, 10, 141–52
 maps of sites, 141–2
- Chahar Bagh (1), 141–2
 monastery, 142
- Chahar Bagh (2), 143, 143–4
- Chahar Bagh (3), 144, 145
 mound section, 145
- Chahar Bagh (4), 144–8, 145
 coins, 145–6
 relic deposit, 145
 reliquary, 146, 146
- Chahar Bagh (5), 42, 148–9
- Chahar Bagh (6), 149–51
 reliquary, 150, 150
- Chakri Minar *see* Minar Chakri
- chalcedony, 47
- clay images, 16
 Buddha head, 68, 68–9
 head of a woman, 69, 69
- clay sealings *see* sealings, clay; seals
- coins
 Apraca
 Aspavarma, 35
 collection, retention and dispersal, 1–2, 25
- Hun
 Alkhan, 25, 187, 188
 Hepthalite, 160
 imitations of Sasanian coins, 34
 Javukha, 43, 189
 Khingila, 42–3, 187, 189
 Kidara, 187
 Kidarite, 25, 42, 69, 161, 182, 186, 186
 Kirada, 187
 Mehama, 43
 Mihirakula, 189
 Napki Malka, 43, 189, 201
 Narana-Narendra, 189
 Nezak, 43, 201
 Toramana, 43
- Indo-Greek, 167, 167
 Hermaeus, and imitations, 89, 117, 118, 167
- Indo-Parthian, 32
 Abdagases, 35
 Gondophares, 32, 33, 118, 167
- Indo-Scythian, 32–4, 120, 122, 124–5, 131, 145–6
 Aspavarma, 35
 Kharahostes, 34, 97, 103–4, 167–8
 Mujatria, 32–5, 34, 39, 42, 88, 97, 103–4, 110, 117,
 117–18, 122, 124–5, 131, 167–8
- inscriptions, 79, 88–9, 97, 104, 114, 117–18, 120–2, 167–8,
 180, 186–7, 193
- Kashmir, 186, 186–7
- Kushan, 42, 81, 146, 170
 gold coins, 42, 158–9, 159
 Huvishka, 40, 40, 42, 79, 148, 170, 201, 202–3, 208
 Kanishka I, 42, 69, 104, 146, 158, 170
 Kujula Kadphises, 39, 79, 80, 89–90, 90, 118
 contemporary imitations, 36, 42, 69
 copper alloy, 89, 117, 117, 119, 120, 167
 ‘Heraus’, 90
 Soter Megas *see* Wima Takto
- Vasudeva I, 42
 Vasudeva II, 42, 170, 170
 Wima Kadphises, 11, 18, 34, 36, 42, 76, 79, 81, 146, 149,
 158, 168, 170, 201, 211
 Wima Takto (Soter Megas), 34, 42, 96, 97, 112, 114–15,
 131
- Mithridates II, 95
- numismatic evidence, 32–4, 42
- Parthian: Gotarzes I, Mithridates II, Phraates IV, 95, 213
- rectangular, copper alloy, 122, 122–3
- Roman, 34, 81, 159, 176

- Leo I, 34, 180
 Marcianus, 34
 Theodosius, 34, 175, 180
 Tiberius, 95, 213
 Trajan I, 81, 159
 Sasanian, 25, 26, 34, 61, 62, 65, 176, 186, 189
 Ardashir II, 69
 Khusrau II, 189
 Kushano-Sasanian, 69, 160, 161, 186
 Peroz, 34, 185, 186
 Shapur I, 69, 186, 187
 Shapur II, 185–6
 Vahran, 34, 69, 185
 Yazdagird II, 34, 185
 copper, sources of, 46
 copper alloy, 194
 baluster leg, 210, 211
 bangle, 210, 211
 bezel, 107, 109
 boss 210, 211
 casing and sheeting, 206, 210
 coins, 42, 69, 211
 Kharahostes, 34
 Kujula Kadphises, 89, 117, 117, 119, 120, 167
 Kushan, 146, 208
 Kushano-Sasanian, 186, 186
 Mujatria, 34
 Wima Kadphises, 34
 Wima Takto, 112, 114, 114, 131
 hair- or dress-pin, 213
 miscellaneous finds, 81, 177–9, 181–2, 207
 pendant, 210, 210
 reliquary vase, 39, 203, 204
 rings, 189, 190, 191, 210, 210, 211
 seals, 96, 97, 129, 213–14
 solid cube, 212
 weight, 210
 coral, 48
 beads *see* beads: coral
 core stupa internal forms, 31, 31, 33
 Court, Claude-Auguste (1793–1880), 10, 19
 crystal flask, 133

 Darunta, 10, 17, 19–20, 32, 34, 38, 41, 52, 85, 124
 geology, 48
 individual locations and finds *see* names of locations and items found
 map of sites excavated, 85–6
 numismatic evidence, 32
 plain, 100
 Dasht-i Bagram *see* Tepe Ashrak
 Deh Rahman (1), 32–3, 121–3, 122
 Deh Rahman (2), 123, 123–4
 Dīpaṅkara Buddha and jātaka, 20, 41, 69, 106, 155
 Dīpavaṃsa, 41
 donkey teeth, 192, 192
 Dost Muhammad Khan (1826–39, 1843–63), 6, 7, 9, 12–13, 18, 23
 Dust-i Khel, 140

 East India Company, 1, 4, 6, 8, 15

 Fadl b. Yahya b. Khalid b. Barmak (AD 793–5), 43
 Fil Khana, 133, 136, 136–7

 Gandhara
 reliefs, 34
 reliquary inscriptions, 106
 sculptures, 48
 garnet, 37, 47, 50, 51, 52, 73, 97, 106, 108, 110–11, 113, 158, 182–3, 205, 214
 beads *see* beads: garnet
gel, 29
 Gerard, Dr James G. (1795–1835), 7, 9, 16–17, 22, 67–8, 69, 71
 excavations and finds *see* names of locations and items found

 Ghazni, 23, 43, 44
 rock deposits, 46, 47
 Ghunda Chasma, 21, 156
 Ghundi Kabul *see* Hadda
 glass, 38–9, 51, 132, 159, 182, 184, 189, 205
 beads *see* beads: glass
 globular vessel, 207
 seal, 205–6
 gold
 amulet case (Ahinposh), 157, 158
 beads, 95, 96
 from Bimaran (2), 107, 108–9
 buttons and repoussé cockerel, 112
 coins, 34, 187
 Huviska, 79, 80, 158, 158
 Kanishka I, 158–9, 159
 Kirada, 186, 187
 Kushan, 42, 158–9, 159
 Roman 159, 159, 178, 180
 Shailanavirya (Kashmir), 186, 187
 Wima Kadphises, 76, 76, 79, 80, 158–9, 159
 earring threaded with two burnt pearls, 117, 117
 foil, globule and pendant, 112
 globules, 36
 gold sheet bracteates, 80, 81, 89, 90, 107, 108
 hammered gold stupa, 113
 metal analysis, 46
 objects and fragments, Hadda (10), 181–2
 ornaments with attachment ring, 113
 relic holder (Ahinposh), 24
 reliquaries, 36, 39, 88, 132, 190, 88, 208
 ‘Bimaran casket’, 13, 46, 106–8, 107
 Chahar Bagh (6), 150, 150
 Hadda (3), 166, 167
 Hadda (10), 178, 180
 Gudara, 135
 Kotpur (1), 87, 87
 Passani tumulus (2), 95, 96
 Shevaki (1), 73, 73
 small gold reliquary, 88, 208
 Wardak, 208
 rings, 187–8, 190
 sources of, 45–6

- Gondophares (c. AD 32–60), 33
 coins, 32, 33, 118, 167
- Gudara, 24, 133–4, 133–6
 excavation, 132–3
 interior deposition and section through centre, 134
 plan of, 135
 reliquary, 135
- Guldara, 11, 17, 77–81, 78, 79, 85
 excavation, 78–9
 finds, 79–81
 site plan, 78
 stupa, 77–8
- Hadda, 10, 162–3
 caves, 196–7
 funeral jars, 195
 Ghundi Kabul / Tepe Safid (Hadda 1–7), 163, 164, 171, 171
 gypsum-stucco heads, 172–4, 172, 173
 Hadda village mound, 173–4
 limestone sculptures attributed to, 20, 21
 stupa and topes, 163–4, 171
 Tepe Kelan, 193–5, 194
 mounds between Tepe Kelan and Ghundi Kabul,
 195–6
 unnamed mound, 194–5
 Tepe Zargaran, 197–8, 197–9
 tupper / tumuli (1–7), 195–6
 Tupper Safid / White Tupper, 171, 171
- Hadda (1), 163–4
 Hadda (2), 164–5
 Hadda (3), 33, 53, 165–8
 Hadda (4), 168–70, 169
 ivory caskets, 38, 168
 Hadda (5), 170
 Hadda (6), 42, 170
 Hadda (7), 170–1
 Hadda (8) / Tope Momand, 24, 42, 171, 171, 172
 Hadda (8a) / Tupper Momand, 11, 171–3
 gypsum-stucco heads, 172, 172–3
 Hadda (9), 174
 Hadda (10), 174–91, 175
 beads, 53
 glass lion bead, 38
 and small finds, 50
 chapel V, 176
 coins, 26, 42–3
 Alkhan, 187, 188
 Kidarite and Kashmir, 186–7
 Roman aurei, 178, 180
 Sasanian, 185–6, 186
 copper vessel and contents, 176–7, 177, 187–8
 excavation and finds, 175–6
 gold objects and fragments, 181–2
 intaglios, 182–3
 miscellaneous fragments, 178, 179
 miscellaneous small finds, 180–1, 181, 183–5, 184
 pins, 177
 relic deposit, 34
 reliquaries, 178, 179–80
 rings, 187–91, 190
- Hadda (11) Deh Ghundi, 191, 191–2
 Hadda (12), 192
 Hadda (13), 24, 42, 50, 192–3
 ‘tuz-leaf’ inscription, 39
 Haji Khan, 7, 45
 Hashtmakan, 66
 Hawkins, Edward (1780–1867), 17, 18
 Honigberger, Dr John Martin (c. 1795–1868), 8–9, 16–19, 71,
 76–9, 83, 85, 86, 87
 excavations and finds *see* names of locations and items
 found
- Huns (c. AD 350–657), 43, 65
 coins *see* coins: Hun
- Huvishka (c. AD 150–90), 33
 coins, 40, 40, 42, 79, 148, 170, 201, 202–3, 208
- Hyecho (fl. AD 721–7/8), 43, 65
- Ibn al-Nadim (d. c. AD 995–8), 65
- India Museum
 inventory, 68, 217–25
 reliquaries, 24, 217–25
 pertaining to Hadda (10) finds, 179–91
- India Office, 1–2, 24–5, 39, 217
 coins, 120, 185
 Collection (IOC), 34, 40, 79, 89, 104, 114, 120, 158–9, 180,
 185, 187, 219
 Loan Collection (IOLC), 89, 97, 104, 114, 120, 124, 168,
 210
- Indravasu (c. AD 32–3), 35
- Indu Khel *see* Ghunda Chasma
- inscriptions, 39–40, 41–3
 Bimaran (2), 39, 103, 103–4, 106
 Hadda (13) jar 193, 195
 Nandara (1), 128
 Passani tumulus (2), 39, 97
 Shahbazgarhi Ashoka inscription, 13
 Shevaki (1), 39, 73, 73
 Wardak, 38, 39
 and identification, 201
 Wardak (1), 203
 Wardak (2–3), 207
- intaglio, 182–3, 205
see also seals
- iron
 arrow heads, 209, 209–10, 210
 head of hatchet, 129
 tack, 211
- Ishpola 3, 15, 17
- Islam, 43–4, 65
- Islampur / Islamabad, 160
- ivory
 beads, 37–8, 96, 97, 98, 107, 110
 caskets, Hadda (4), 38, 168
 reliquaries, bone or ivory, 208, 208
- Jabar Khan (1782–1854), 6, 9, 11–12
- Jalalabad, Kunar, Laghman and Safed Koh regions, 153
- Jamrud, battle of (1837), 12
- Javukha (c. AD 480–90), 43, 189

- Kabul (1830s), 8–9
Kabul sites, 66–70, 67
 Khana Sunghi, 66, 67
 Khol Shams and Khol Magamast / Tepe Narenj, 16, 66–9
 Shakh Baranta (modern Monaray Ghar), 71–80
 Tepe Maranjan, 42, 69–70
kahgel (cob), 29
Kajitutu caves, 136, 137
Kamari, 72
Kamari (1), 75
Kamari (2), 18, 75–6, 76
 coins, 34, 42, 76
 excavation and dating, 76
 relic deposit, 39, 76, 76
 reliquary, 36, 36
Kameh, 161
Kanisha I (c. AD 127–50), 33, 43, 70
 coins, 42, 69
Karamat ‘Ali, 8
Khana Sunghi, 66, 67
Khasta Tope *see* Nandara (1)
Khol Magamast *see* Tepe Narenj
Khol Shams, 16, 66–9
 clay head from a Buddha image, 68, 68–9
 clay head of a woman, 69, 69
 schist roundel with tang, 69, 69
 see also Tepe Narenj
Khurd Kabul, 81
Koh-i Bacha, 84
Koh-i Daman, 8, 17, 47, 82–5
Koh-i Dasht, 47
Koh-i Pahlavan *see* Koh-i Bacha
Koh-i Top *see* Koh-i Bacha
Kohistan, 8, 11, 82–5
Kohwat *see* Wardak
Korrindar, 17, 29, 82–3
Koti Khel tumulus, 121, 121
Kotpur (1), 42, 86–8, 87
 box, silver reliquary and contents, 39, 87–8
 coins and small gold reliquary, 88
Kotpur (2), 88, 88–91, 90
 clay sealing and coins, 39, 40
 coins, 32, 42, 89–90
Kotpur (3), 15, 91
Kuhna Deh / Khonah Deh, 160
Kujula Kadphises (c. AD 40–90), 33
 coins *see* coins: Kushan
Kunar region, 45
 River sites, 159–61, 160
Kushans (c. AD 40–360) *see* coins: Kushan
Laghman, 11, 43, 45, 46–7, 85, 124, 153
Lahore, 154
Lal Qal‘a *see* Chahar Bagh 4
lamp, 77, 77
lapis lazuli, 38, 47, 52–3, 56, 201, 205
 beads *see* beads: lapis lazuli
 sources of, 46
 use as pigment (ultramarine), 60, 67, 68, 134, 135
Leo (AD 457–74), 34
Lewis, James *see* Masson, Charles
limestone
 coralline ball, 99, 99
 limestone shelly, 48, 51, 96, 97
 sculptures, 20, 21
 sources of, 46–7
Ludlow, John Malcolm Forbes (1821–1911), 14
Mahasamghika, 68, 203
Mahāvamsa, 41
malachite, 47, 50, 51, 110
 beads 51, 95, 96, 129
Manikyala, 9, 15, 19, 39, 117
manuscripts *see* birch bark
Marcianus (AD 450–7), 34
Masson Collection, 1–2
 dispersal and retention, 22–7
Masson Project, 1–2, 14
Masson, Charles (James Lewis)
 biographical details, 3–14
 character, illnesses, marriage, death, 1, 7–8, 12, 14
 funding, 9
 relationship with authorities, 12–13
 reputation, 17
 return to London, 13–14
 travels (1827–31), 5–7
 travels (1833–5), 1, 8–12, 45
 travels (1838–9), 13
 dispersal and retention of finds, 1–2, 22–7
 manuscripts, 1, 14, 18, 23
 records of excavations *see* names of locations and items found
Menander I (c. 155–130 BC), 41
Milindapañha, 41
Minar Chakri, 73, 74
Mirza Khel, 161
Mizuno, S. (citations), 72–3, 75, 91, 100, 128, 130, 134, 136, 139, 143–5, 148–9, 151–2
Mohan Lal, 16, 67, 74–5
Momand stupa *see* Hadda (8)
Momand tupper *see* Hadda (8a)
Monaray Ghar *see* Shakh Baranta
monasteries, 43–4, 68, 143–5, 202
 see also vihara
Moorcroft and Trebeck’s reports, 15–16, 47, 60–5, 126
Moorcroft, William (1767–1825) *see* Moorcroft and Trebeck’s reports
mother-of-pearl, 182
 beads, 107, 110, 180
 fragments, 37, 37, 128, 135, 136, 136, 176, 181
Mound of Shah Nasr, 153
Muhammad Khan’s Tope *see* Hadda (3)
Muhammad Khan, Barakzai governor of Peshawar, 15
Mujatria (c. AD 80–90), 33
 coins *see* coins Indo-Scythian
Mullah Umar / Mullah Payindah caves *see* Tepe Maranjan
Murkhi Khel stupa, 161

- Nagara Ghundi, 21, 31, 154, 155, 155, 202
 Nagarahara (modern Nangarhar), 41, 155, 155, 156
 Nagari (Sanskrit manuscripts) 66, 67, 68
 Nandara (1) Khasta Tope, 126–7, 127, 128
 birch bark wrapper, 127–8, 129
 clay sealing, 39–40, 40, 128–9
 disposition of interior, 127
 excavation, 129
 relic deposit, 129
 reliquary, birch bark fragments, 128, 129
 thread, 128, 129
 Nandara (2), 127, 129–30
 skulls, 35, 130
 Nangarhar *see* Nagarahara
 Nawbahar monastery (Balkh), 43–4
 Nukar Khel, 161
- Paikuh Tangi *see* Tokehi
 Paitava, 69
 Panjshir, 44, 45, 46, 47
 Passani, 91–2
 tumuli, 93, 93–4, 98–9
 Passani (1), 92, 95
 Passani (2) Qal'a-i Kachala, 92–3, 93
 Passani tumulus (1), 34, 94
 Passani tumulus (2), 36, 94–8
 beads, 53, 97–8
 and small finds, 50, 51
 coins, 34, 96, 97
 gold and silver reliquaries, 95, 96
 inscribed birch bark, 129
 relic deposits, 42, 96
 skull and steatite reliquary, 34, 95
 tuz-leaf inscribed with Bactro-Pali characters, 39, 96, 98
 Passani tumulus (3), 98, 99
 Passani tumulus (4), 99
 Passani tumulus (5), 99
 Passani tumulus (6), 29, 30, 100, 100
 Passani tumulus (7), 10, 39, 100–1
 skeleton, 34, 35, 100, 101
 Passani tumulus (8), 101
 Passani tumulus (9), 101
 Passani tumuli (10–14), 101
 pearl, 42, 67, 73, 103, 201
 beads *see* beads: pearl
 mother-of-pearl, 107, 110, 180
 fragments, 37, 37, 128, 135, 136, 176, 181, 182
 pendant, rock crystal, 96, 97
 Peroz (AD 457/9–84), 34
 Peshawar, 5, 9, 10, 12–13, 16, 22, 35
 Peshawar Museum, 213
 Peshawar Valley, 48, 95, 177
 pins, 176, 177, 178, 185, 213, 213
 Pottinger, Henry (1789–1856), 9–13, 22–3
 Masson's despatches to, 68, 97, 129, 130, 146, 150, 172, 174, 201
 Prinsep, James (1799–1840), 13, 19, 23, 89
- Qal'a-i Haji *see* Chahar Bagh (5–6)
 Qal'a-i Kachala *see* Passani (2)
 Qala-i Khalifa (1–2), 83
 Qalat, 6, 7–8, 13
 quartz, 46, 47, 51, 52, 126
 beads, 52, 53–4, 207, 214
 Quetta, 6, 7, 13
 Qul-i Nadir reliquary and relic deposit, 36
- raw materials of beads and small finds, 49–51, 52–3
 sources, 45–8, 51
 relics, Buddha's own (*sarira*), 34, 42
 relic deposits
 finds without site provenance, 212–14
 materials used and their sources, 47, 50–1
 materials used for small finds, 49–51
 study based on core stupa internal forms, 32–40, 33
 beads and other small finds, 37–8
 burial practices, ashes, bones and 'decayed matter', 34–5, 35
 glass, 38
 inscriptions, 39
 numismatic evidence, 32–4, 42, 95
 relic types and core stupa location, 33
 reliquaries, 35–7
 wrappings, 39
 stupas and, 28–31
 Yona, 36–7, 73, 95, 109, 110
see also relic deposits by location; reliquaries
- relic deposits by location
 Ahinposh, 24, 159
 Barabad, 132–3, 133
 Bimaran (1), 42
 Bimaran (2), 42, 103, 105, 108, 109, 110
 Bimaran (3), 37, 42, 112–13
 Bimaran (4), 113, 114
 Bimaran (5), 42, 116–21
 (Cell 3 and Cell 7), 117
 (Cell 11), 118–21, 119
 Chahar Bagh (4), 145–6
 Chahar Bagh (5), 149
 Chahar Bagh (6), 150
 Deh Rahman (1), 122, 122–3
 Gudara, 136
 Guldara, 79, 80, 81
 Hadda (1), 163, 164
 Hadda (2), 165
 Hadda (3), 166, 167
 Hadda (4), 168–9
 Hadda (10), 177–91, 178, 181, 184, 186, 188, 190
 Hadda (11), 192, 192
 Hadda (13), 193
 Kamari (2), 39, 76, 76
 Kotpur (1), 88, 88
 Kotpur (2), 90
 Nandara (1), 129
 Passani tumulus (2), 42, 95–8, 96, 129, 136
 Passani tumulus (5), 99
 Qul-i Nadir, 36
 Seh Top (4), 77, 77
 Shevaki (1), 73, 73
 Tepe Maranjan (2), 42, 69–70

- Tope-i Fasl, 132
 Tope-i Hosen-amanat, 131, 131
 Tope-i Kutchera, 131, 131
 Wardak, 201
 Wardak (1), 38, 202, 204
 Wardak (2–3), 207
 Wardak (4), 207, 207
 Wardak (7), 208, 208
 Wardak (8), 208, 208–9
see also relic deposits; reliquaries by type/form
- reliquaries
 1st- to early 2nd-century, 35–6, 36
 regnal years, 36–7
 shared distinguishing features, 37
 Apraca, 35, 42
 India Museum records, 24, 224–5
 inscribed, 39, 41–2, 104, 193, 201, 203
 surviving collection, 2
 and wrappings, 36, 39, 128, 129, 165
 Yona, 129
see also relic deposits; reliquaries by type/form
- reliquaries by type/form
 amulet case, 157, 158
 birch bark fragments, 128, 129, 164–5
 bone or ivory, partly restored, 208, 208
 brass ('lost'), 39, 207
 copper alloy, Manikyala Great Stupa, 39
 copper alloy, 'Wardak vase', 39, 201, 203–4, 204
 copper gilt vase, 117
 cylindrical, 36, 70, 117, 117
 cylindrical copper gilt casket fragments, 179
 cylindrical undecorated silver casket with lid, 178, 180
 cylindrical, with lid, 146, 146
 globular, 118–20, 119, 150
 cast globular, 203, 204
 globular serpentine or steatite, 132–3
 gold, 88, 135, 150, 150, 157, 158, 166, 167, 208
 'Bimaran casket', 13, 46, 106–8, 107
 casket or portable perfume box, 178, 180
 hammered, 95, 96
 stupa, 112, 113
 ivory, 168, 169
 partitioned stone, 36, 36
 'potstone', 35–6, 131, 131
 schist, 41, 146
 serpentine box, fragments, 87
 serpentine, lathe-turned, 117, 117
 silver, 17, 23, 24, 36, 42, 89, 95, 135, 180, 184
 Bimaran (4), 2, 113, 113, 115
 boxes, 149, 150, 162, 164, 165
 casket with lid, 178, 180
 hammered, 73, 76, 95, 96, 114, 115, 165
 Kotpur (1), and contents, 39, 87–8, 90
 steatite, 163–4, 164
 globular light-grey with lid, 150, 150
 lathe-turned, 36, 90, 90, 95, 96, 104, 105, 117
 stupa-shaped, 122, 122
 with contents (Tepe Maranjan), 70
 with contents (Tope-i Fasl), 132
 with skull (Passani tumulus 2), 34
 stone/soapstone, 224
 wooden, 117, 117
 see also relic deposits by location; reliquaries
 ring stone, 107, 110
 rings, 107, 109, 187–91, 190, 210, 210, 211
 rock crystal, 47, 52–3, 131
 beads, 96, 97, 109, 114, 115
 pendant, 96, 97
 Royal Asiatic Society, 2, 13, 25
- Safed Koh region, 48
 Safed Koh sites, 161
 Sale, Lady Florentia (1790–1853), 35
 Sanskrit manuscript, 66, 67, 68
 Sapadbizes (c. 2 BC–AD 20), 95
 sapphire, 47, 103, 109, 176, 180
 Sasanians, 65, 182
 coins *see* coins: Sasanian
 sealings, clay, 39, 40, 89, 91, 123, 128, 201, 208
 seals, 38, 38, 39–40, 103, 182
 copper alloy, 96, 97, 107, 109, 129, 213–14
 glass, 37, 51, 204, 205–6
 Seh Top (4), 76–7, 77
 lamp, relic deposit, 77, 77
 Seh Topan ('Three Stupas'), 76–7, 77
 Shah Nasr mound *see* Tepe Ashrak
 Shahbazgarhi, 13
 Shahr-i Kohna (Old Qandahar), 43
 Shakh Baranta stupas, 71–81
 Guldara, 77–81
 Kamari (2), 75–6
 Khurd Kabul, 81
 Seh Top (4), 76–7
 Shevaki (1), 72–3
 Shevaki (2), 73–5
 Shevaki (3), 75
 shell, 37, 37, 38, 46, 48, 50, 110, 117, 165, 166, 183, 212
 beads *see* beads: shell
 burnt, 37, 50, 110, 206
 shelly limestone, 48
 beads, 51, 96, 97
 Shevaki (1), 30, 72, 72–3, 73
 beads, 37
 excavation, 73
 'fusi-form' between the arches, 72–3
 gold globules, 36
 manuscript: 'Bactrian', 17, 39, 73
 relic deposit, 73
 reliquaries, 36, 39
 Shevaki (2), 73–5
 and tumulus, 75
 Shevaki (3), 75
 Shevaki stupas, 17, 71, 71–2, 72
 Shotorak, 72, 84, 202
 Shuja al-Mulk Durrani, Shah (1803–9; 1839–42), 10, 12–13, 18
 Siah Koh *see* Darunta district
 Siddhārtha, 69
 silk, 36, 39, 39, 201, 207, 207, 214

- silver
- beads, 177–9, 178, 182, 183, 184
 - coins *see* coins
 - pins, 185
 - reliquaries, 17, 23, 24, 36, 42, 89, 95, 135, 180, 184
 - Bimaran (4), 2, 113, 113, 115
 - boxes, 149, 150, 162, 164, 165
 - casket with lid, 178, 180
 - hammered, 73, 76, 95, 96, 114, 115, 165
 - Kotpur (1), and contents, 39, 87–8, 90
 - rings, 176, 178, 179, 188–91, 190, 211
 - sources, 47
 - Panjshir 46
- Simpson, William (1823–99), 1, 19, 20, 21, 31, 91, 124, 137, 155–7, 159, 161, 199
- cited, 86, 92, 139–40, 170–1, 175, 197, 198
- Sirkap *see* Taxila
- skeleton, 34, 35, 100, 101
- skull and skeleton imagery, 34, 35
- skull-tapper, 34
- skulls, 34–5, 94, 95, 130
- small finds, materials used, 49–51, 52–3
- sources, 45–8, 51
- Soter Megas / Wima Takto (*c.* AD 90–113), 33
- coins *see* coins: Wima Takto
- South Kensington Museum
- 1880 *India Museum Inventory*, 217–25
 - transfer of finds, 24–5, 115, 120, 129, 208
- stone
- beads, morphological and technical analysis, 52–7, 227–9
 - box, 163
 - realgar, 122
 - small egg-shaped, 130
- string/thread, 128, 129
- stucco
- fragments, 88, 99, 99, 100, 101, 152, 156, 157, 158
 - heads, 172, 172–3, 173, 174
- stupa groups based on their internal form, 32–3
- Sultanpur, 15, 130, 138–9, 139
- Dust-i Khel caves, 140
 - model stupa, 140, 140
- sung sulaimani *see* agate
- Surkh Minar, 73
- Surkh Rud, 35, 47, 91, 92, 121, 121, 131, 133, 138
- Surkh Tope, 124–5, 124–6
- tumuli (1–2), 126
- Tabari (AD 839–923), 43
- Tabriz, 6
- Takht-i Shah, 8, 16–17
- talon, 183–4
- Tapa Marinjan *see* Tepe Maranjan
- Tapa-e-Kabul *see* Hadda
- Tapa-e-Kafariha *see* Hadda (9)
- Tapa-e-Kalan *see* Hadda Tepe Kelan
- Tapa-e-Safid *see* Hadda
- Tapa-e-Top-e-Kalan *see* Hadda (10)
- Tappa Khwaja Lahoree *see* Tepe Khwaja Lahori
- Taxila, 36, 36, 42, 48, 95, 97, 109, 117, 177, 211, 213
- Tepe Ashrak, 153–4, 154, 155
- Tepe Kelan *see* Hadda: Tepe Kelan
- Tepe Khwaja Lahori, 154, 154
- Tepe Maranjan, 42, 69–70
- Tepe Narenj, 17, 66–9
- excavated buildings and clay statues, 68
 - see also* Khol Shams
- Tepe Safid *see* Hadda
- Tepe Sardar, 43, 68
- Tepe Skandar, 29, 43, 82
- Tepe Zargaran, 197–8, 197–8, 199
- Theodosius II (AD 408–50), 34
- thread, 128, 129
- Tillya Tepe, 37, 42, 47, 115
- amber lion bead and silver lidded casket, 115
 - beads, 97, 110
 - burial (1), 90–1, 108, 109, 110, 211
 - burial (3), 95, 97, 108, 109
 - burial (4), 108
 - burial (5), 115
 - burial (6), 95, 213
 - coins, 95, 213
- Timur (AH 736–804/AD 1336–1404), 16
- Tokehi stupas, 159–60
- Top i kala'i Malek Cheyeh *see* Kotpur (1)
- Topdara, 8, 83–4
- Tope 1 Pier *see* Hadda (9)
- Tope Abbie *see* Deh Rahman (1)
- Tope Dag *see* Hadda: Tepe Kelan
- Tope Hammardin *see* Hadda (13)
- Tope Kelan *see* Hadda (10)
- Tope Walli Muhammad, 192
- Tope-i Fasl, 132
- Tope-i Hosen-amanat, 34, 131
- reliquary, 131
- Tope-i Kutchera, 32–3, 130–1
- coins, 32, 34
 - reliquary, 131, 131
- Toramana (AD 485–515), 43
- Trebeck, George (1800–25) *see* Moorcroft and Trebeck's reports
- Tupper Ashuk, 153 *see* Tepe Ashrak
- Tupper Safid / White Tupper *see* Hadda
- turquoise, 36, 36–7, 73, 76, 106, 108–10, 112, 113, 183, 205, 211
- potential sources, 47
- tuz leaf *see* birch bark
- Udyana, 43
- Umar Khel Tope *see* Deh Rahman (2)
- 'Unsuri (d. AD 1049/50), 44
- Vagamarega, 43, 205
- Varhran IV (AD 388–99), 34, 185
- Vasishka (*c.* AD 247–67), 40, 42
- Vasudeva I (*c.* AD 190–227), 18, 42, 69
- Vasudeva II (*c.* AD 280–320), 42, 69, 110, 170
- Ventura, Jean-Baptiste, (1795–1858), 9, 10
- Vigne, Godfrey Thomas (1801–63), 3
- vihara, 20, 43, 70, 137–8, 138–9, 156
- see also* monasteries
- Vijayamitra (*c.* AD 1–32), 35

- Wade, Claude (1794–1861), 8, 9, 10, 11–12, 17
- Wardak, 12, 200
- ‘brass’ reliquary, lost, 39, 207
 - dispersal of finds, 22–3, 24, 25
 - finds of probable provenance, 212, 213, 213, 214
 - ivory beads, 37
 - reliquaries, 208
 - reliquary inscriptions, 38, 42, 207
 - stupa and relic deposit of Vagamarega’s daughter, 43, 205
 - stupas (2, 3 and 5), 206
- Wardak (1), 202–6
- beads and ornaments, 38, 53, 56, 204, 205–6
 - and small finds, 50, 51
 - deposit, 38
 - glass seal, 38
 - second bronze vase, 201, 202
 - ‘Wardak vase’, 201, 203–5, 204
- Wardak (2–3), 207
- Wardak (4), 207, 207
- beads and small finds, 51, 53
 - silk, 39
- Wardak (5–6), 207
- Wardak (7), 39, 208, 208
- clay sealings, 39, 40, 40
- Wardak (8), 40, 208–9
- reliquary, bone or ivory, 208, 208
 - bone fragment, 35, 212
- Wardak (9), 209
- Wardak (10)
- arrow heads and blades, 209, 209–10, 210
 - baluster leg, 210, 211
 - pendants, 209, 210–11
 - rings, 210, 210, 211
 - tack, 211
- Wardak (11), 211
- Wilson, Horace Hayman (1786–1860), 1, 13, 14, 16, 19, 89–90
- cited, 94, 191, 201
 - editing, 23
- Wima Kadphises (*c.* AD 113–27), 33, 142
- coins *see* coins: Kushan
- Wima Takto (*c.* AD 113–27), 33
- coins *see* coins: Kushan
- wrappers
- birch bark, 128, 129, 165
 - silk, 36
- wrapping, practice of, 39
- Xuanzang (AD 596–664), 34–5, 41, 43, 65
- Ya ‘qub b. Layth (AD 861–79), 65
- Ya‘qubi (d. AD 897/8), 43
- Yaqut (AD 1179–1229), 43
- Yona era, 35–6, 104, 129
- relic deposits, 36–7, 73, 95, 109, 110

