Exploring the Settlement Archaeology of the Hindu Shahi Dynasty (c. 822 CE to c. 1026 CE) in North-Western Pakistan

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the Hindu Shahi dynasty in Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner Districts (the study region) in north-western Pakistan through systematic landscape survey to gain insights into their activities and political position of the study region. The archaeology of the Hindu Shahi period has received little attention and their knowledge is limited to few partisan historical accounts and understandings of temples' architecture and excavations of few sites. Previous archaeological research in the study region has brought to light considerable Hindu Shahi evidence, representing their retreat to the region after the fall of the Vale of Peshawar to the Ghaznavids.

The present survey resulted in the documentation of 225 Hindu Shahi sites in the study region, comprising a single Hindu temple, two wells and 222 settlement sites (including 140 sites with watchtowers). Most of these sites, with multiple watchtowers, bastions and storage pits, are distinctly visible defensive structures, situated on high altitudes and prominent landscape features, such as hilltops and high slopes. Majority of these sites are linked with inter and intra-valley trade and access routes, major and minor passes and Swat and Panjkora Rivers. These sites give clues to the defensive strategy of the Hindu Shahi of protecting the study region and hindering Ghaznavids attacks from the neighbouring regions, particularly from the Vale of Peshawar. Mayar valley was the most naturally and geographically protected area of the study region. The analyses of Hindu Shahi settlements and pottery assemblage suggest it to be the core Hindu Shahi activity area. The present study argues for the study region to be their first and most densely populated known region with significant highly defensive architecture, representing a significant activity, including retreat, of Hindu Shahi Dynasty and Mayar valley, as the most well-defended territory, possibly as their last political centre or seat of power.

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Dedication

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Chapter 2

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis explores the settlement archaeology of the Hindu Shahi Dynasty (c. 822 CE to c. 1026 CE) in north-western Pakistan with a particular focus on Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The main aim of this research is to gain an insight into Hindu Shahi settlements, activities and to understand the political position of the study region particularly during the declining years of the dynasty. By the "political position", I allude to fact that whether the study region remained a significant political centre or was it a peripheral and less important region away from the known political centres, such as the Vale of Peshawar.

In view of the geographical locations and fortified nature of Hindu Shahi sites, scholars (Dani 1968a; Olivieri 1996, Rahman 1979a) have previously suggested that this region represents some sort of retreat for the Hindu Shahi. They believed that this retreat happened around 1002 CE, soon after the invasion and capture of the earlier Hindu Shahi capital centre i.e. Hund, in the Vale of Peshawar. They also proposed that during that time the study region thrived and became their next significant political arena. The present study covers approximately 2542 square kilometres 'area (see chapter 3) and for ease has been termed as the "study region" which is repeated throughout this thesis. In order to explore and understand Hindu Shahi settlements and activities, a systematic landscape survey was carried out in the Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (hereafter the study region) with varying degrees of coverage and survey techniques (see chapter 3 for details). During the two fieldwork seasons, detailed information about Hindu Shahi settlement sites was systematically recorded while pottery and other artefacts were collected from the ground surface.

Later, I analysed the recorded and collected Hindu Shahi data (i.e. settlement sites and artefacts) in relation to the landscape features focusing on the geographical distribution, physical location and elevation of sites. The purpose of this analysis was to understand settlement in the surrounding landscapes and gain an understanding of Hindu Shahi settlement patterns and geographical setting. For a broader understanding, results of earlier archaeological investigations from the study region were also analysed and interpreted

alongside the present survey results. Subsequently, I compared these results with the historic accounts and datasets from other Hindu Shahi published sites located outside the present study region (see chapters 4, 5 and 6 for detailed analyses).

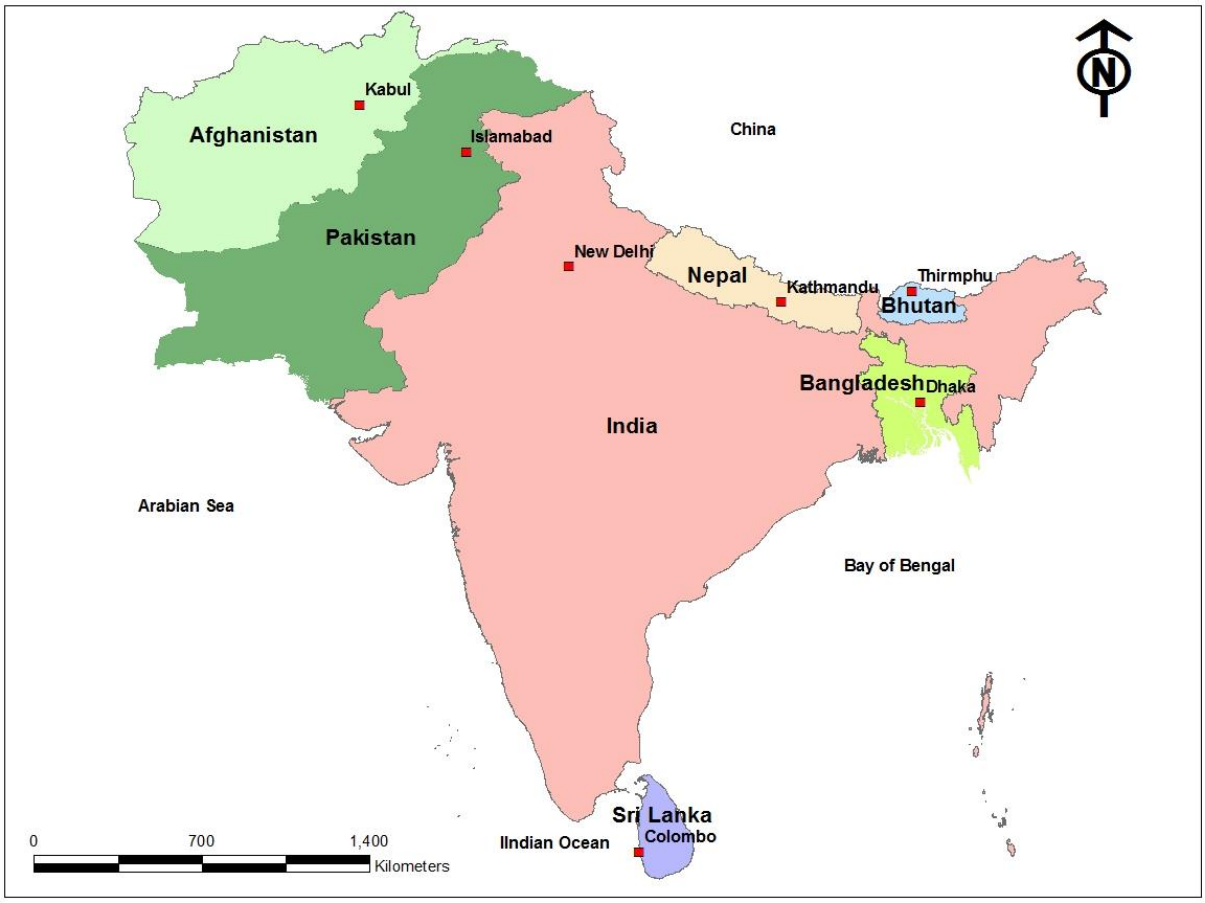


Figure 1.1. Map of South Asia (Ijaz Khan)

Finally, the data was compared with the Buddhist period on the evidence of the multi-periods sites (which also include Hindu Shahi material culture) for understanding similarities and differences in locations, structures and contexts from different periods. The main aim of reviewing the earlier published archaeological data and historic information was to allow evaluation of Hindu Shahi settlements on a much wider scale, well beyond my primary survey data. This multi-layered analysis and comparison approach helped me to offer a more in-depth and clear understanding of Hindu Shahi settlement sites and the political position of the study region which has been only partially and sporadically understood previously (see chapter 7 for detailed discussion).

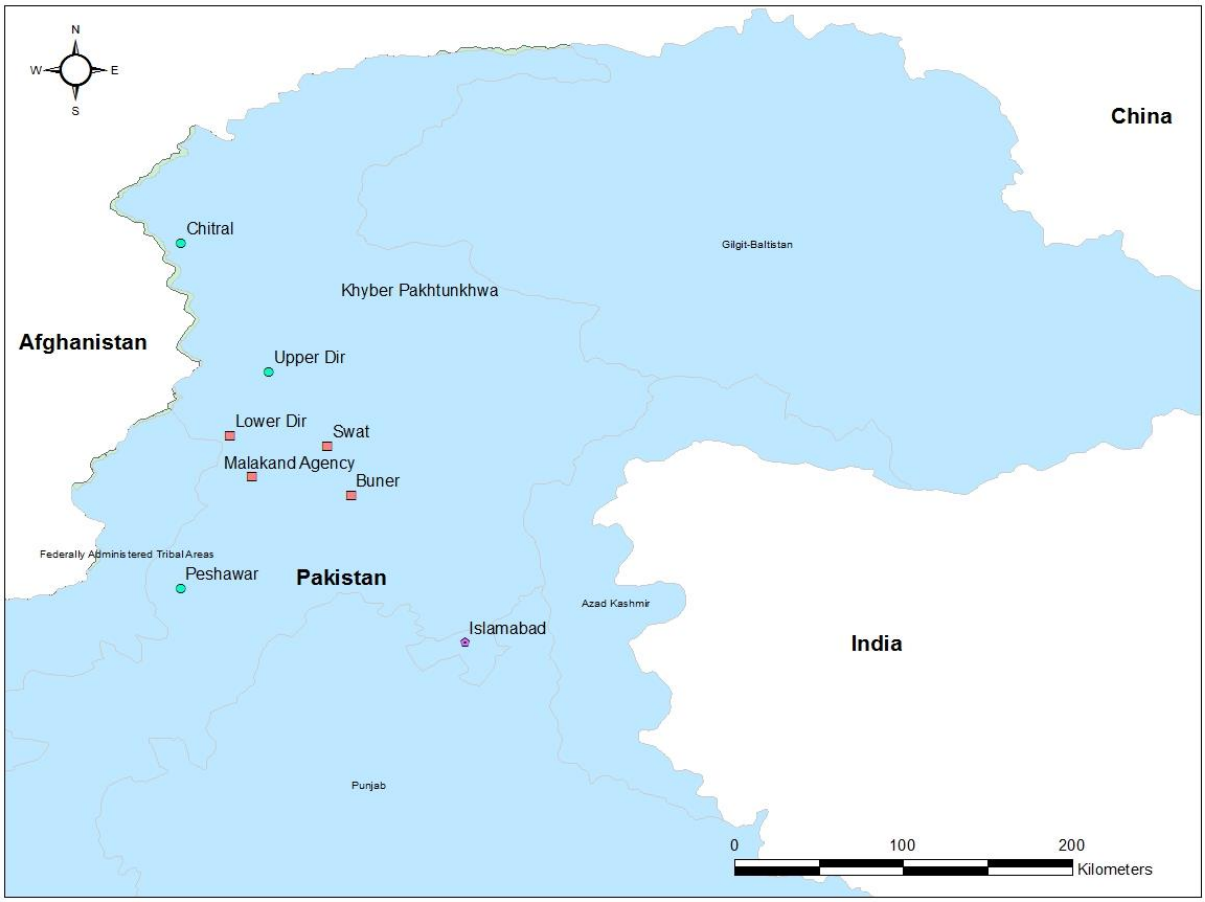


Figure 1.2. Location of the study region in Pakistan (Ijaz Khan)

1.1 The Hindu Shahi Dynasty

The Hindu Shahi period has been a focus of limited historic and archaeological studies in north-western Pakistan. The period is primarily known from the historic accounts, while the archaeology has been hardly explored or interpreted (see chapter 2 for further information). Alberuni (c. 970-1039 CE), Albahaqi (c. 996-1077 CE), and Utbi (10th-11th century CE) are known Muslim historians who occasionally speak about the Hindu Shahi (Dani 1968a; Elliot 1966; Rahman 1968, 1978, 1979a; Stein 1973). It is worth mentioning that these historians were primarily employed by the Ghaznavids at different times (see below for more detail about Ghaznavids) and describe the Hindu Shahi when they engaged in rivalry, treaties and so on with the Ghaznavids (Dani 1968a; Khan 1980; Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a; Stein 1973).

Kalhana is a Kashmiri historian (his work was translated by Victorian explorer and archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein, see Stein 1900) also discusses the Hindu Shahi. Kalhana mentions the Hindu Shahi in relation to the history of Kashmir or the Kashmiri kings (Pandey 1973: 2, 78). At present, there is no known material from any Hindu Shahi literary sources or historical accounts which can provide us with more detailed or accurate information about the dynasty's history. It is important to note that all the historic sources refer to various parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom, but they are entirely silent about their occupation and activity in the present study region (Rahman 1998: 472). The relative absence of the study region in the historic sources on one hand indicates gaps in the historic information while on the other hand raises questions about the Hindu Shahi occupation, activity and chronology here (See chapter 2).

While establishing the political history of Hindu Shahi, scholars have also sought help from their coins and inscriptions along with the historic accounts (see chapter 2). Hindu Shahi struck their coins in gold, copper, silver and billon, largely bearing either royal titles or names (Ali 1999a: 269, 280-282, 2003: 135-170; Khan et al. 2000: 25; Rahim 1979a: 205-6, 1998: 50-51). The studied coins bear names that in some cases do not match with the names recorded by the aforementioned historians (Dani 1968a; Macdowall 1968). Likewise, Hindu Shahi inscriptions bear dates that do not correspond with any known era (scholars call it an unknown era) providing little information about the political events or history of the dynasty (Agrawal 1985; Dani 2001a; Khan and Azeem 2000; Mohammadzai 2002; Rahman 1978, 1979b, 1980, 1998, 2002b). These issues have caused a great confusion about the chronology and identification of the kings of the dynasty (this is explained in chapter 2).

Besides classical writers, modern scholars e.g. Mishra (1972), Pandey (1973) and Rahman (1979a) have also studied the Hindu Shahi period through the accounts of classical writers, the dynastic coins and the inscriptions. As outlined above, information gained from these sources differ greatly. As a result, little agreement is found among these scholars on the leadership, chronology and the political centres of the dynasty (see Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973 and Rahman 1979a for details).

The Hindu Shahi dynasty was allegedly founded by Kallar, who was a Brahman (Hindu) minister in the Turk Shahi cabinet (Azeem 2005: 225; Khan 1976: 96; Mishra 1972: 39; Stein 1944: 7). The Turk Shahi dynasty ruled over an area from Sistan in Iran to north western Pakistan and Afghanistan between c.666-843 CE (Rahman 1979a). The Turk Shahi engaged in conflicts with the Muslim Abbasid Caliphate that weakened their rule and they were finally invaded by the seventh Abbasid Caliph Abd Allah al-Mamun (Dupree 1980: 312; Nawas 1994: 615; Rahman 1979a: 85-89). It is believed that the Brahman minister Kallar took advantage of this period of weakness and captured the throne from the Turk Shahi laying the foundation of a new "Hindu Shahi Dynasty" (Azeem 2005: 225; Khan 1976: 96; Macdowall 1968: 189-190; Masih 2002: 4, 71; Nazim 1927: 485; Stein 1944: 7, 1973: 15).

Different designations are used to refer to the Hindu Shahi dynasty. These include Shahi, ash-Shahiyyat al-Hindyya, Shahi or Sahi, Hindu Shahiya, Udi Shahi, Late Shahi, Turkish Shahiyas, Brahman Shahis and the Shahi of Kabul (Dani 1968a; Filigenzi 2006; Giunta 2006; Hardy 2011; Khan 1980; Khan 2014; Nazim 1927; Meister 2005a, 2011; Rahman 1968, 1983, 2011; Sachau 1964; Sarwar 1996; Stein 1898, 1900, 1944, 1973). These various designations cause confusion about the two different dynasties i.e. the Turk Shahi and their successors the Hindu Shahi. While explaining certain aspects of the two dynasties, scholars use the broad and common term "Shahi or Sahi" (e.g. Agrawal 1985: 177; Dani 1968a: 27, 2001a: 6, 8; Filigenzi 2006: 195; Giunta 2006: 238; Pandey 1973: 21; Rahman 1979a: 71, 1983: 174; Taddei 1965: 24-25). The classical writer Kalhana also uses Sahi for the descendants and relatives of the Hindu Shahi (Mishra 1972: iii, 2; Stein 1944: 7). This appears a very problematic term, making it hard to distinguish details of the two entirely distinct dynasties. Taddei (1973: 380, 382, 384) raised the seriousness of the mixing up of the two dynasties and he stressed the need for clarity between them. Nonetheless, the vague term is still used by some scholars, causing problems in their identification (see below and the following chapters).

The Muslim historian Alberuni only records the name of Kallar (the founder of the Hindu Shahi dynasty) but not the date of his succession (Sachau 1964). As a result, scholars suggest several dates between CE 822 to 865 for the start of Kallar's rule and the start of the dynasty

(Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a, 1998). Also, there are no clear and reliable historic references to the political history or leadership (kings) of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. Both the classical writers and modern scholars are divided on the names and the number of Hindu Shahi kings proposing between five to thirteen kings for the dynasty (Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a; Sachau 1964; Stein 1900). Similarly, the classical writers are also split on the end date of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. Kalhana (Stein 1900) notes 1021 CE while Alberuni (Sachau 1964) suggests 1026 CE for the end of the dynasty. However, Rahman (1979a) has a different perspective thinking the dynasty did not become entirely extinct in 1026 CE and they continued their rule in the form of chiefdoms for some time (see chapter 2 for more detail).

The partial information of the classical writers, Hindu Shahi coins, inscriptions and the modern scholars in some cases do not correspond with one another. This disagreement causes numerous problems and raises doubts about the political history and the individual kings of the dynasty. Considering the available information, it is reasonable to say that both historical and archaeological information about the Hindu Shahi is patchy, inconsistent and remains debateable.

1.2 Territorial limits and political centres of the Hindu Shahi

The founder of the Hindu Shahi dynasty, Kallar, started his rule from the Kabul Valley, Afghanistan where he succeeded the Turk Shahi (Mishra 1972: 6). However, there are different views about the territorial limits of the dynasty kingdom (see chapter 2 for further details of territorial limit). The Hindu Shahi dynasty is said to have ruled from four capital centres at various times. The first capital was established in Kabul, Afghanistan, which continued until c.869-871 when it was captured by Yuqub (a ruler of the Muslim Saffavids dynasty) (Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a). The capital is thought to have been shifted from Kabul to Hund in the Vale of Peshawar (in modern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) (Figure 1.3) (Ali and Qazi 2008: 10: Azeem 2005: 225, 227; Durrani 1998: 37; Mishra 1972: 6-7). A local tradition also refers to Bambakot in Darra-I-Nul, Afghanistan, as a capital centre of the Hindu Shahi king (Bhimadeva) after the siege of Kabul valley (Figure 1.3) (Ovesen 1984: 400-402). However, based on the historic events and the archaeological evidence, most

scholars agree on the location of Hund as a second capital centre of the Hindu Shahi dynasty (see chapter 2) (Ali 2003; Hargreaves 1924; Khan 1995; Khan et al. 2012; Rahman 1978, 1979a, b).

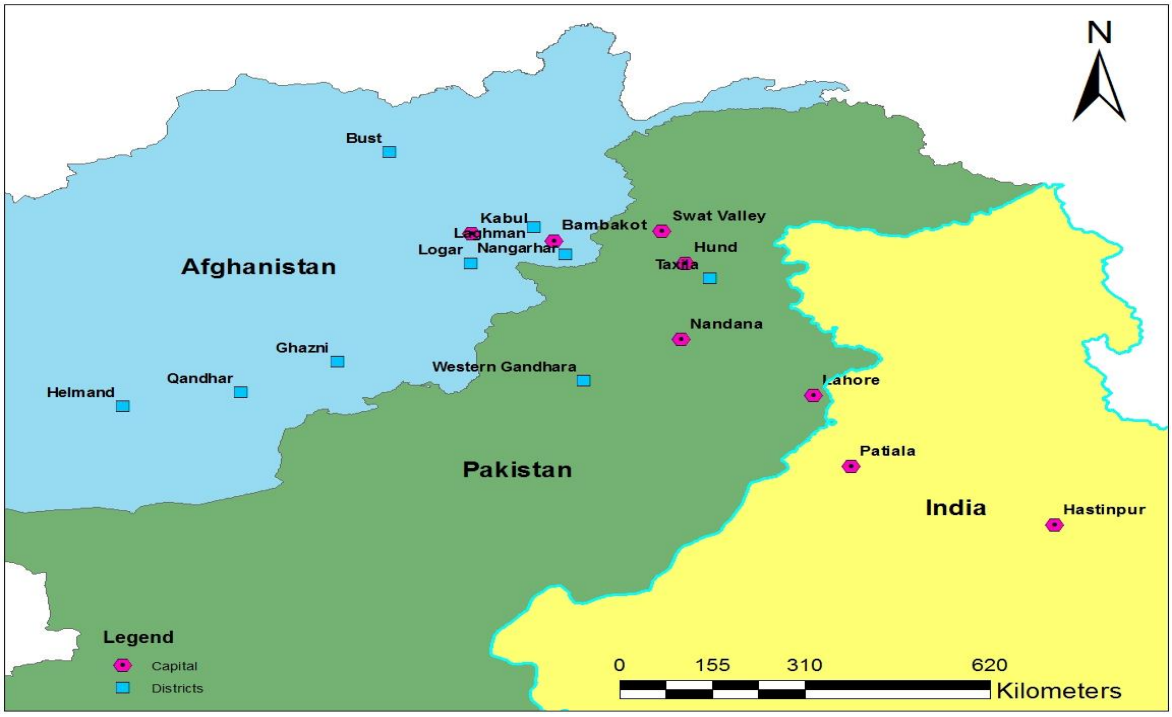


Figure 1.3. Location of the suggested Hindu Shahi districts and capital centres (Ijaz Khan)

In c.962-63 AD, while Hund was serving as the capital of the kingdom, the Hindu Shahi were involved in battles with the Muslim Turkish rebel chief Alaptigin (founder of the Ghaznavids dynasty) (Shah 2012: 40). He was a Turkish slave and served as a bodyguard for Ahmad, the then ruler of the Samanid dynasty at Bukhara, Uzbekistan (Dupree 1980: 313; Mishra 1972: 99; Shah 2012: 40). Due to his loyalty, skills and abilities, Alaptigin was appointed the Governor of Khorasan. He later on developed some differences with the then ruler Mansur and disengaged himself from the Samanids. With a force of 3000 volunteers Alaptigin started invading Balkh, Afghanistan and the army of the Samanid ruler Mansur (Dupree 1980: 313; Rahman 1979a: 125-126). He also proceeded towards the Hindu Shahi kingdom and captured Ghazni, one of their important districts (Figure 1.3) and declared himself ruler and established Ghazni as the main centre of his Ghaznavids dynasty (Ali and Sehrsai 1998: 57; Dani 2001a: 6: Pandey 1973: 101).

Alaptigin was followed by a series of rulers including Sabuktigin, at Ghazni, Afghanistan (Dani 2001a: 7). Sabuktigin rose to power in c. 977 CE and declared a religious war against the Hindu Shahi and other Indian states in order to introduce Islam. The Hindu Shahi were Hindus by religion, as evidenced from the historic accounts, their temples, deities and inscriptions reported from various parts of their kingdom (Barrett 1960; Masih 2002; Meister 2010a; Rahman 1979a, b) (see chapter 2). With a volunteer army, Sabuktigin constantly engaged in battles with the Hindu Shahi until his death in c. 997 CE (Pandey 1973: 103; Rahman 1979a: 130-134). He was succeeded by his son, Sultan Mahmud, generally known as Mahmud Ghaznavi in c.998 CE.

Mahmud Ghaznavi continued his father's mission and in c.1001-2 CE captured the Hindu Shahi capital of Hund in the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 1.3). With this capture, the Hindu Shahi are said to have shifted their capital centre to a new location. Scholars suggest different locations for this new capital centre (see chapter 2 for detailed discussion). Ali and Qazi (2008), Masih (2002), Rahman (1979a), Nazim (1927) and Pandey (1973) believe the new capital was shifted to Nandana, Punjab, while others (e.g. Khan 1986, Ray 1931 and Vaidya 1926) name Lahore, Punjab, as their capital centre (Figure 1.3). Notably, none of the historic sources refer to Nandana or Lahore as their new capital (Mishra 1972: 129). Compared to Lahore, the name of Nandana is frequently recorded in the historic accounts and is generally regarded as the Hindu Shahi capital after the fall of Hund in the Vale of Peshawar (Masih 2002; Meister 1996, 2010a; Mishra 1972; Rahman 1979a).

On the other hand, Khan (1976: 98) believed that Hindu Shahi king Jayapaladeva (who was in power when Hund was captured) shifted the capital centre from Hund to Bhatinda in the modern state of Patiala in India (Figure 1.3). In contrast, Mishra (1972: 129) states that an alternative Hindu Shahi capital has been found in a protected mountain range away from the main river, although, he neither refers to the source nor names the river or the protected mountain range, leaving the issue an enigma. Dani (1968a: 31), Rahman (1979a: 305) and Olivieri (1996: 74-75) are of the view that after the conquest of their capital centre of Hund, the Hindu Shahi retreated to the protected hilly region of Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (the present study region) from where they ruled for some time (Figure 1.3) (see chapter 2 for further discussion on the third capital).

The Ghaznavids did not stop with Hund and continued capturing and incorporating Hindu Shahi territories in their newly established entity, which later became a significant empire (see the following chapters). Around 1014 CE, they also attacked and captured the third capital of Hindu Shahi at Nandana, Punjab (Mughal and Nazir 2004: 168), resulting in the capital being moved to a new location. Mishra (1972: v, 6, 172- 173, 190-195) notes that there is no clear evidence of the location or the site of fourth capital. Despite stating this, Mishra (1972) still suggests Hestia (Hastina or Hastinpura) area in modern Meerut district, Uttar Pradesh, India as the location of the Hindu Shahi's fourth capital (see chapter 2 for evidence given in support of this claim) (Figure 1.3). On the other hand, Rahman (1979a: 161) states that after the conquest of Nandana the capital was shifted to "some other place". Though, in view of Tohi battle Rahman (1979a: 90, 163) suggests their retreat to Siwalik Hills (see chapter 2).

The boundaries of the Hindu Shahi kingdom and the locations of their capitals changed over time due to changes in the political situation (for detailed political history see chapter 2). In view of this discussion, the territorial limits and the locations of the third and fourth capital centres are matters of confusion and controversy. Most of the suggestions about Hindu Shahi boundaries and the capital centres have been put forth primarily in the light of the historic information, while Dani (1968a: 31), Rahman (1979a: 305), Olivieri (1996: 74-75) and Olivieri et al. (2006: 138) have proposed their retreat to the present study region based on archaeological evidence. As outlined above, the known historic sources do not mention the study region, in such a scenario, the Hindu Shahi evidence here suggests gaps and inconsistency in the historical information.

During earlier archaeological surveys and excavations scholars identified Hindu Shahi sites mainly through their coins, inscriptions, ceramics and distinctive styles of architecture and pottery (see the following chapters). In Pakistan, Hindu Shahi period sites have been reported from the Vale of Peshawar (Ali 2003; Ali et al. 2005; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Khan 1995; Miller and Ali 2010), Dera Ismail Khan (Ali and Jan 2005; Cunningham 1882; Masih 2002; Meister 2010a), Bannu (Cribb 2002; Khan et al. 2002; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie 2002), Kohat (Ali et al. 2005; Stein 1905) Bajaur Agency (Ali and Rahman 2005; Rahman 1997), Mohmand Agency (Muhammadzai 2002), Mansehra (Ali et al. 2011), Haripur (Dar 2002,

2003; Durrani et al. 2010; Khan 2000), Taxila (Dar 1980) and Nandana (Masih 2002; Stein 1937) attesting their occupation over an extensive territory (see chapter for further details). In almost all these areas, researchers have interpreted the sites as Hindu Shahi forts and temples (see chapter 2). In other parts, such as Dera Ismail Khan and Nandana, three to eight temples have been reported and studied in relation to their architectural parts and decoration (Masih 2002; Meister 2010a). Their settlements have also been identified in Dera Ismail Khan, Nandana, Kohat, Vale of Peshawar but they have been greatly ignored lacking detailed study. However, the previous work in the present study region identified a much higher concentration of Hindu Shahi period sites than other areas and the majority of these sites were interpreted as forts (Ali et al. 2010; Dani 1968a, Deane 1896; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Qamar 2004; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1927, 1980, 1995; Tucci 1958). Conversely, the present study region also exhibits a relative lack of Hindu Shahi temples and up to the present study, only one temple had been reported (Dani 1968a, Deane 1896; Meister 2011; Rahman and Khan 2008; Stein 1980). The high concentration of forts and relative scarcity of temples in the study region indicate another significant difference in types of sites from other Hindu Shahi areas (e.g. Dera Ismail Khan, Nandana and so on) to the current study region (see chapters 4, 5 and 7).

In the absence of any historic narrative, the discovery and notably high concentration of Hindu Shahi forts in the present study region is highly significant. Based on the archaeological data, Dani (1968a), Olivieri (1996) and Rahman (1979a) argue that the study region was marginal during the height of the Hindu Shahi dynasty and only became critical and central during their declining years. They believed that Hindu Shahi retreated to an area approximately equivalent to the present study region and continued their rule from here after the assault and capture of the Vale of Peshawar (Dani (1968a: 5, 30-31; Olivieri 1996: 73-75; Rahman 1979a: 305).

Thus, the present study region, offers a key opportunity to explore and study Hindu Shahi settlement patterns and activities. During the previous investigations, a considerable number of Hindu Shahi sites were brought to light in the study region. These sites were understood as representing a concentration along the communication routes and include multiple

watchtowers and fortified structures ranging from 30 centimetres to 1.5 meters in size (Ali et al. 2009; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Rahman 1979a; Stein 1995). These characteristics of the sites were interpreted as forts and they were associated with safety concerns of the Hindu Shahi in the study region (Dani 1968a; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rahman 1968; Stein 1898, 1927, 1995; Tucci 1958). The high concentration of sites in the form of forts in the study region appears to be distinctive and separates this region from other parts of Hindu Shahi kingdom (see below). Dani (1968a: 31) Olivieri (1996: 37-75), Olivieri et al. (2006: 138), Rahman (1979a: 305) and Scerrato (1986: 57, 59) believed that study region became critical during the decline of Hindu Shahi rule and that the Hindu Shahi presence in the study region was largely defensive in nature. Exploring evidence about the types of site and site function, site hierarchies and sizes can provide more information about the Hindu Shahi activity here in comparison to other areas controlled by them. The previous archaeological models of the Hindu Shahi period from the study region are summarised below, whilst the archaeological evidence itself is discussed in chapter 2.

As outlined above, information about the Hindu Shahi period sites in the study region and elsewhere mainly comes from general archaeological surveys or the excavation of selected multi-period sites. These investigations were primarily carried out to investigate the cultural profile, a particular issue, or a period of interest of the region (see chapters 2 and 3 for further details). Therefore, relatively little is known about the extent of Hindu Shahi material culture, settlement patterns, types of structures and chronology here. Up until now, no detailed study has been conducted to determine the extent of Hindu Shahi occupied area, site densities, or their function or nature. Prior to beginning this research work, knowledge about the Hindu Shahi in the present study region was largely confined to lists of the number of sites attributed to the period or notable structures.

In order to obtain new and original information about Hindu Shahi activity, a landscape survey was carried out in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (the study region) (see chapter 3 for details). During the course of survey, detailed information about Hindu Shahi sites was recorded while selected surface material was picked up. As noted above, the survey data has been analysed and interpreted alongside information about the

previously recorded sites (see chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7). This is the first time that a landscape survey approach has been employed for understanding the settlement patterns of a specific period with a focused research issue in either the study region itself, or in Pakistan more generally. The main purpose of this approach was to characterise the settlement patterns and understand the sites, artefacts and landscape relationships and to move beyond the traditional approaches of exploring single sites in isolation (see chapter 3). The present study is highly significant as it explores and records detailed archaeological information of the Hindu Shahi which could be used in future for advancing the existing knowledge. More importantly, this study investigates the period in light of the newly recorded archaeological data as well as drawing on other published sites and historic accounts, contextualising Hindu Shahi occupation and activity in the study region in its possible historical and chronological perspectives.

1.3 Previous Understanding of Hindu Shahi Period

In Lower Dir and Malakand Agency the Hindu Shahi period was mainly studied by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar, and in Swat by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan. The University of Peshawar team included Professor Ahmad Hassan Dani (the founder of Pakistan archaeology), and Professor Abdur Rahman, who carried out survey and excavations in the early 1960s in Lower Dir and reconnaissance work in Malakand Agency (Dani 1968a; Rahman 1968, 1979a). During the investigations, Dani (1968a, b, c, d) and Rahman (1968) briefly studied Hindu Shahi sites along with the Gandhara Grave Culture, the Achaemenids, and the Buddhists sites, which were the main themes of their investigations.

The Italian Archaeological Mission team included Professor Umberto Scerrato and Dr Luca M. Olivieri. The mission has been working in Swat valley since the mid-1950s and has studied material from Neolithic to the Historic periods (e.g. Stacul 1967: 185-219; Stacul and Tusa 1975: 291-321). Tucci (1958) was the first to carry out survey in Swat valley. He was followed by a series of other scholars, who studied different chronological periods. Most of these scholars have mentioned the Hindu Shahi period in their work; however, Scerrato and Olivieri discussed the dynasty in relatively greater detail in their works. Scerrato (1985,

1986) refers to the Hindu Shahi period during the excavation of a Ghaznavids period mosque, located close to Raja Gira's Castle (a well-known Hindu Shahi period site) (Stein 1927; Tucci 1958). Olivieri (1996) speaks about the Hindu Shahi in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner, while investigating Alexander's route through the study region.

1.3.1 Dani's archaeological model

Dani based his understanding of the Hindu Shahi period in this region on a brief analysis of the locations of the sites identified as Hindu Shahi period sites, and the presence of a significant number of watchtowers (Dani 1968a: 4-31). According to this model, during the 9th and 10th centuries the Hindu Shahi established a chain of forts to the north and south sides of the Swat River in an attempt to keep the region secure when the Vale of Peshawar was invaded and captured by the Ghaznavids (Dani 1968a: 5). As a result, the Hindu Shahi protected all the routes and passes that might have provided access to the study region from the Vale of Peshawar, Bajaur Agency and Upper Dir (Dani 1968a: 4-31). Dani states that all Hindu Shahi sites were located on high mountains at a considerable distance from the lower plain, in difficult topography (Dani 1968a: 5-12, 28-31). He further explains that it is unusual that all Hindu Shahi settlements were situated in mountains and this pattern of mountain fortification is entirely new during that period (Dani 1968a: 29, 31). The majority of the sites included fortified structures of thick walls with watchtowers and arrow-slits, suggesting they were probably used for military purposes (Dani 1968a: 3-12, 27-31).

Dani argued that the distribution of the Hindu Shahi forts in the study region suggests that they were constructed to stop attacks from the Vale of Peshawar (Dani 1968a: 30). According to Dani (1968a: 31), the Hindu Shahi retreat from the Vale of Peshawar to the protected mountain tops of the study region is a totally new trend in the archaeology of the region.

1.3.2 Rahman's archaeological model

Rahman's understanding of the Hindu Shahi period is quite similar to Dani. Rahman (1968: 103-250) interpreted and associated Hindu Shahi settlements with their safety concerns in the study region. He argued that the Hindu Shahi paid special attention to the supervision

and protection of all routes and passes in order to maintain an effective defence system in the region (Rahman 1968: 104). Rahman stated that an effective defence system could be achieved only through a firm control of all risky points that may give access to the study region and this was a key concern for the Hindu Shahi administration. In response, a series of forts were constructed, each occupying a strategic location over a pass or passage. Rahman claims (1968: 105) that the general features of all Hindu Shahi sites in the study region were similar. According to Rahman, settlements were located close to each other, certainly within normal visibility. He further states that the similar plans and locations of Hindu Shahi sites suggest their military function while the tall structures were designed as watchtowers and were used for conveying signals to nearby sites. According to Rahman, the locations and swift construction of Hindu Shahi forts within a short span of time suggest to their defensive roles.

During the archaeological campaign in Lower Dir in the 1960s, Rahman (1968: 103-250) wrote about the fortified nature of sites but not about the Hindu Shahi's retreat. It was later during his PhD research that Rahman (1979a: 305) suggested that probably the Hindu Shahi retreated to this hilly region after their defeat in the plains and continued their rule from here for some time.

1.3.3 Scerrato's archaeological model

In 1985 Scerrato (1985, 1986) carried out excavations on a hill slope below the Hindu Shahi period site of Raja Gira's Castle in Udegram, Swat. During the excavation, Scerrato unearthed the Ghaznavids period mosque, which is believed to be the oldest mosque in the north of Pakistan. Some time prior to this excavation, a local found a Ghaznavids period inscription believed to be from the same mosque which was studied by Mohammd Nazir Khan (see Khan 1985: 153-166). According to the inscription the mosque was constructed by the Ghaznavids in 1048-49 CE. Before the discovery of the inscription and mosque, information about the arrival and appearance of Islam in Swat was confined to the oral traditions with no known archaeological or historical evidence (Scerrato 1986: 57-62). These discoveries in the region were considered to be very critical. At this time, Scerrato (1986: 57, 59) refers to the Raja Gira's Castle, saying that local tradition considers it the final seat

of the last Hindu ruler, who was defeated by the Ghaznavids. In 1926, Stein (1927: 437, 434) came across the same tradition while conducting survey in Swat, stating that the Udegram site (Raja Gira's Castle) is known to the local Pathans (native tribe) as "King Gira's Castle". Swati (1998: 90), Ali and Khan (2007: 188) and Sardar (2001: 95) also note that Ghaznavids defeated the local Hindu ruler Raja Gira, who established his capital on top of the mountain at Udegram, Swat. Raja Gira is considered to be the corrupt form of Rajagarh i.e. the capital (Rahman 2011: 23; Swati 1998: 90).

1.3.4 Olivieri's archaeological model

According to Olivieri (1996: 45-78), the Hindu Shahi organised and controlled the Swat region by establishing a series of forts along the access routes. These forts in Malakand Agency, Swat, Lower Dir and Buner were placed within signalling range of each other and were connected through watchtowers (Olivieri 1996: 74). Olivieri (1996: 75) explained that the entire control system was set up on the high mountains in order to keep the access routes under close vigilance starting from the Panjkora valley to the Buner River, while the eastern frontier of Swat was left largely unguarded. According to Olivieri (1996: 73-74) after the invasion and capture of Kabul and the Vale of Peshawar by the Ghaznavids, Swat region faced a reverse. Before the Hindu Shahi retreat to the study region, the Hindu Shahi controlled Swat from the Vale of Peshawar, but after the invasion of Kabul and the Vale of Peshawar by the Ghaznavids, the Swat region became a stronghold of the Hindu Shahi dynasty Olivieri 1996: 74). At this time Swat was turned into a strong defensive region and the Hindu Shahi exerting control over the Vale of Peshawar (now occupied by the Ghaznavids) from here (i.e. Swat) (Olivieri 1996: 74-75). According to Olivieri et al. (2006: 138), Swat saw a major change in the settlement patterns, where Udegram and Barikot cities were abandoned in favour of the watchtower structures and fortified settlements in the mountains.

1.4 Research Context

From the above extant models, it is clear that almost all scholars working in the study region have understood the Hindu Shahi period on the basis of the spatial distribution of sites in

relation to passes, and the presence of heavily fortified structures (Dani 1968a; Olivieri 1996; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rahman 1968, 1979a). The distinctive and unprecedented nature of Hindu Shahi settlements in the present study region was considered to be a consequence of the prevailing political situation and scholars associated this phenomenon with the Ghaznavids conflicts and with the safety and security of the region. These suggestions are based on the sporadic studies conducted in different parts of the study region, and brief analysis of the apparent nature of the sites. Until this study, no detailed investigation has been carried out which has analysed the Hindu Shahi period in more depth on a wider regional scale and in the landscape context.

All the previous studies summarised here investigated Hindu Shahi sites along with other periods of their main focus. As a result, the previous studies were preliminary in nature and Hindu Shahi settlement sites and their organisation was poorly understood. It is also worth highlighting that Hindu Shahi archaeological sites have been assigned to one broad period i.e. 9th to 11th century CE and there is no scientific dating of Hindu Shahi material culture. From the field survey, it is hard to date sites. However, this study adopts multi-layered data analyses which might signify some chronological differences in different sites and regions which could be further investigated. An integral part of this research was to test the existing archaeological models with my new survey data. In light of the results of the analysis, I then developed new interpretations and have proposed an updated model explaining Hindu Shahi settlement and activity in Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner districts. This approach has allowed me to understand the political position of the study region during the Hindu Shahi period on a regional level, which is the major driving force of this research.

1.5 Geography of the study region

Previous suggestions about the Hindu Shahi's supposed retreat to the study region were proposed mainly on the basis of the heavily fortified nature of many sites and their geographical distribution, focusing along the access routes and passes that connect the neighbouring regions (Dani 1968a; Olivieri 1996; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rahman 1979a; Scerrato 1986). Therefore, it is vital to understand the geography of the study region in relation to its key features and the neighbouring regions. The landscape features are as

important as the settlements themselves and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to understand Hindu Shahi settlement while excluding the landscape.

Geography plays a critical role in the location and development of settlements and the potential inhabitants may consider various characteristics which could be beneficial to them at certain times and in specific circumstances. There could be several characteristics that might attract a population to settle in a particular area, including fertile land, availability of water, raw materials, accessibility, and along with such functional aspects, there could be concerns of safety, a spiritual and religious focus and so on. The study region is situated in the northwest of Pakistan in modern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (former North West Frontier Province) (Figure 1.2 and 1.4).

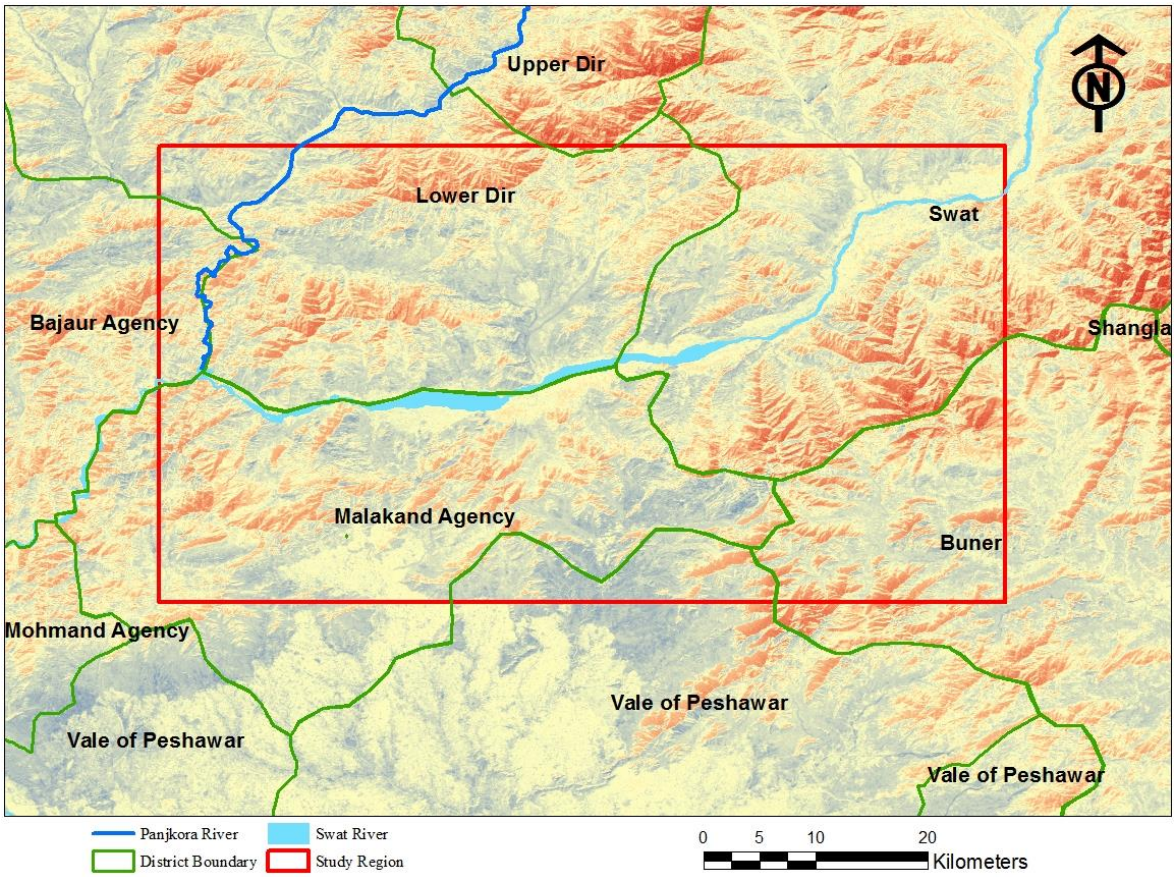


Figure 1.4. Map of the study region and its relationship with the neighbouring regions (Ijaz Khan).

To the north side, it is bounded by lofty offshoots of Himalayas with some peaks exceeding 5486 meters in height (Swati 1998: 87). It holds an important location on the routes connecting Tibet and China in the north, Afghanistan and Central Asia in the west, the Vale of Peshawar in the south while the Punjab via Hazara in east (Ali and Khan 1998: 184-185; Rahman 1968: 105; Swati 1998: 88). Due to its strategic location, the region is historically and archaeologically known to have close cultural, political and religious links with the neighbouring regions (Tucci 1958: 280, 282). To the north side of the study region are Upper Dir and Chitral districts and to the south and southwest side is the Vale of Peshawar (comprising the five districts of Peshawar, Mardan, Charsadda, Swabi and Nowshera (Figure 1.4). To the west side of the study region are Bajaur and Mohmand Agencies and Afghanistan, while to the east side is Shangla (Figure 1.4) (Ali et al. 2009: 30).

The study region encompasses a range of different natural features including mountain ranges, foothills of varying heights, passes, terraced fields, plain areas and rivers (Swati 2008: 89). The Swat and Panjkora rivers are the major rivers of the study region. At the south-western corner of Lower Dir, the Swat River turns to the north and joins the Panjkora River in the hilly part of Pingal, Bajaur Agency (Figure 1.5) (Barger and Wright 1941: 14; Dani 1968a: 4). The Swat River divides the study region into two sections where the entire Malakand Agency, Buner and parts of Swat are located on its south side and Lower Dir and parts of Swat districts to its north side (Figure 1.5). On the other hand, in the north-west of the study region, the Panjkora River divides Lower Dir from Bajaur Agency (Figure 1.5). Most of the agricultural land of the study region is watered by the Swat and Panjkora Rivers and their numerous subsidiary torrents. The plentiful water resources, building material in the study region are thought to have attracted communities over a long period of time (Ali and Khan 2007: 185; Khan 2004: 1). It was an important centre of cultural activities and has remained part of large empires, such as the Greeks, Mauryans, Kushans, Hindu Shahi, Ghaznavids, Mughals and British (Qamar and Khan 1992: 173; Swati 1998: 90). This is supported by the identification of sites ranging from Neolithic to the British periods, located in close proximity to the water resources (Ali et al. 2009: 30-37; Dani 1968a: 3; Stacul 1967: 82).

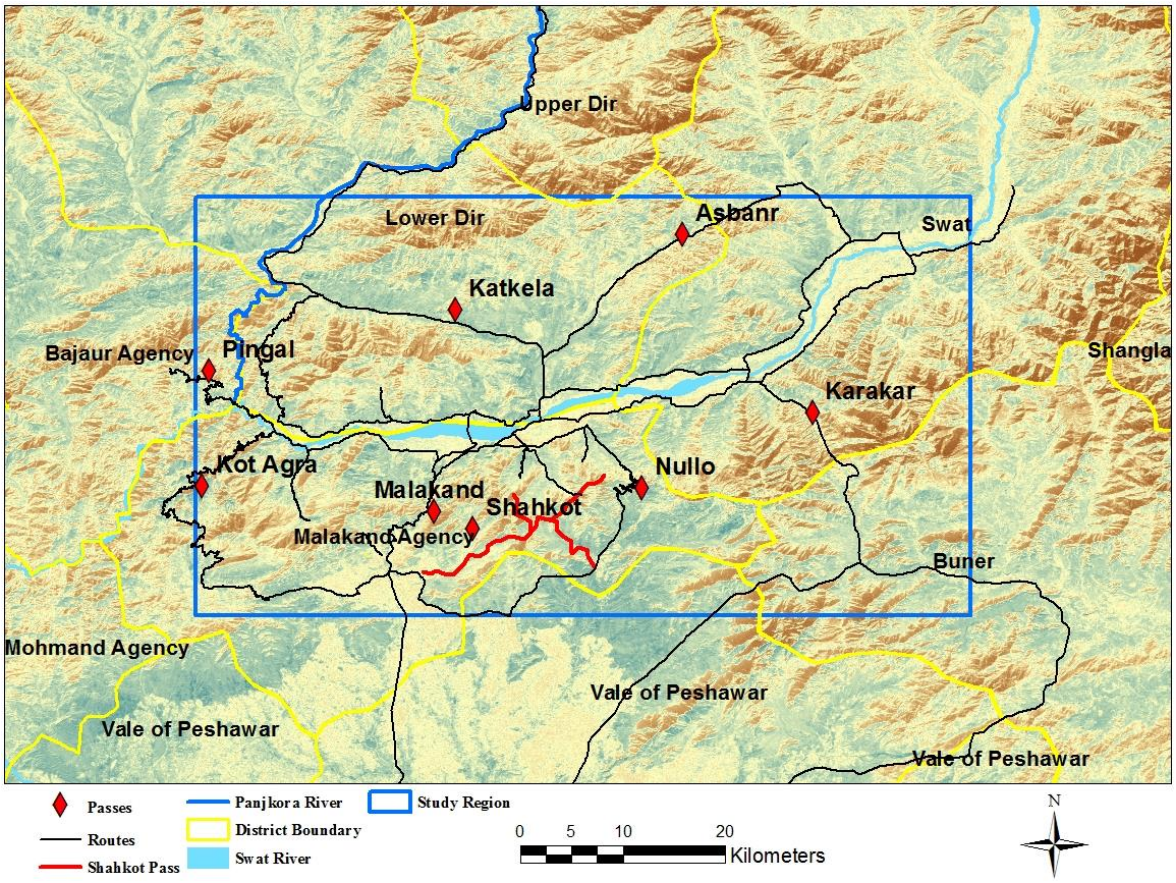


Figure 1.5. Map of study region with rivers, access routes and passes (Ijaz Khan)

The study region is largely hilly, surrounded by towering mountain ranges on either side, forming natural boundaries with the neighbouring regions and within the study region. Its elevation varies from place to place ranging from 2000 feet to 22000 feet (Khan 2004: 1). On the south side the study region is enclosed by the Malakand Range, on the north side by the Adinzai-Talash and Laram Ghar and on the west side by Pingal (Figure 1.5). The Malakand Range with an average height of 1524 meters separates the study region from the Vale of Peshawar, while the Adinzai-Talash and Laram Ghar ranges mark the boundary between Timergarah and Adinzai Tehsils, Lower Dir district (Rahman 1968: 103-104; Swati 1998: 87; Stein 1927: 418). To the west side, the Pingal range forms border between Bajaur Agency and Lower Dir while on the east side of Chakdara, the Ouch-Shamozai range forms border between Lower Dir and Swat districts (Figure 1.5). Nevertheless, the mountain ranges do not entirely isolate the study region from its neighbouring regions (Rahman 1968: 104). There are various gaps or passes that connect the study region with the neighbouring regions

as well as with one another. It is important to understand these passes and access routes, as they may help in the interpretation of site concentrations at particular locations.

The Malakand Range has four main passes known as the Malakand, Nullo, Kot Agra and Karakar, connecting the study region with the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 1.5). Today, the Malakand Pass is the major pass in the region connecting the Vale of Peshawar (and the Khyber Pass beyond) with Swat, Dir and Chitral (Figure 1.5). Karakar is the second major pass linking Swat and Buner districts, whereas Kot Agra and Nullo passes are currently less used due to their long distance and steep nature (Figure 1.5). Shahkot is another ancient pass, which is believed to have connected the Vale of Peshawar with Malakand Agency (Figure 5.1) (Deane 1896: 660, 663; Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478; Khan 2014: 111; Olivieri et al. 2006: 119). Shahkot Pass (roughly drawn in light of the description of scholars and with the help of Google Earth) was a major access route until the construction of the modern Malakand road (Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478; Stein 1980: 21).

On the other hand, Upper Dir, and Bajaur Agency are connected with the study region through Katkela and Pingal Passes respectively (Figure 1.5) (Dani 1968a: 3, 12; Olivieri 1996: 61). Along with the major passes and routes, there is a network of minor routes and passes that link different areas within the study region (Figure 1.5). Due to the large number of minor routes within the study region, for simplicity and ease, specific references will be made to the individual routes when appropriate.

The study region is occupied by the Pathans. They are divided in sub-tribes who are believed to have come to the modern Pakistan primarily to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province from Afghanistan with Mahmud Ghaznavi around 1000 CE, mainly serving soldiers in his army (Khan 1993: 17). After the invasion, Mahmud Ghaznavi allotted lands of the region to the Swatis and Dilazak tribes (Ali and Khan 2007: 188). Swatis settled in the study region. However, around 1500 CE another Pathan tribe the Yousafzai started moving to this area (the study region) from Afghanistan (Hay 1934: 236; Khattak 1997: 31, 45). In 1515 CE, the Yousafzai held control of Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts and soon they displaced the Swatis tribe to Hazara in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Ali and Khan 1998: 188; Khan 1993: 17; Khattak 1997: 44-45). Since then the Yousafzai is the main tribe living in

Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts who are divided into different sub-tribes (Ali and Khan 2007: 188; Hay 1934: 235-236).

1.6 Outline of thesis

In this introductory chapter, I have presented my research question i.e. exploring and investigating the settlement archaeology of the Hindu Shahi dynasty in order to gain insights into their activities and the possible political position or status of the study region. I have outlined the historic sources and archaeological evidence that provide partial information about the Hindu Shahi and issues around them. I have also briefly introduced the Hindu Shahi dynasty, their duration, territorial limits and major capital centres which have relevance to this research. This has been followed by the extant archaeological models, developed by scholars regarding Hindu Shahi defences and political activity in the study region. I have also explained the importance of my study in consideration to the previous research results, understanding and historical information. I have also introduced the local population and location of my study region i.e. Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts in relation to the neighbouring regions and main access routes.

In chapter 2, I present a detailed summary of the Hindu Shahi dynasty based on existing published information. The first section focuses on the historical information about the dynasty, explaining their political history, kings and major events. During the discussion, issues and gaps in the historical accounts are identified and their implications for Hindu Shahi political history are highlighted. The second section covers the archaeological evidence that has been explored and studied in various parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom.

Chapter 3 briefly covers the importance of landscape archaeology and the pivotal role of landscape in wider archaeological understanding through selected case studies. I then summarise the approach and coverage of the earlier surveys conducted in the study region. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the present landscape survey project, explaining the methodologies and strategies used during the survey which allowed me to collect and analyse data appropriately, and then develop new understandings and interpretations in order to address my research question. Subsequently, the data analysis approaches used for the survey data are discussed.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the analysis of the data recorded during the two field work seasons in the study region. In chapter 4, I analyse the geographical distribution of the sites and their physical locations and elevations, exploring the relationship between sites and their physical settings. This is followed by investigation of the settlement patterns, identifying main trends across the study region. During the analysis, the strategic and political importance of different sites and areas is highlighted. In chapter 5, I analyse the settlement sites, exploring types of structures and sites sizes. Chapter 6 covers a brief and preliminary analysis of the artefacts (mainly pottery) discovered during the landscape survey and their comparison to other published Hindu Shahi sites within the study region and other parts of their kingdom. During the analysis, the similarities and differences in the data are identified and their results are discussed in chapter 7.

Chapter 7 presents my discussion of the results of the fieldwork and analysis of data in relation to the research question focusing on the Hindu Shahi activity in relation to the political position of the study region (Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts). The results from chapters 4, 5 and 6 are compared with other published sites from other parts of Hindu Shahi kingdom and the Buddhist period within the study region. The results of data analysis are also discussed in light of the historic information, offering a much wider context to the archaeological data from the study region. I then conclude the chapter, addressing whether Hindu Shahi settlements indicate a significant activity or retreat (as suggested by previous researchers) to the study region at some time or not.

In chapter 8, I present my main conclusions and my understandings of the research in relation to the main research question outlined in chapter 1. In addition to that, future work is suggested based on the results of the present survey.

1.7 Summary

The main objective of this research is to explore the settlement archaeology of the Hindu Shahi dynasty in order to gain idea about their activity and the political position of the study region (i.e. Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts, Pakistan) during their occupation. The dynasty is largely known from the historic sources; however, this

information is very fragmentary, causing serious problems in terms of understanding Hindu Shahi political history, duration of their reign, territorial limits and so forth. In general, the period has received little archaeological attention and the information we do have mainly comes from the general archaeological surveys and multi-period sites excavations, carried out primarily for other research aims. Hindu Shahi sites in the study region were identified as forts and interpreted to have been built after their retreat from the Vale of Peshawar. These suggestions were put forth on the apparent nature of sites and on the basis of brief and sporadic analysis. Nevertheless, the period has been evaluated on a regional scale which could throw more light on Hindu Shahi settlement patterns, organisation and chronology. This thesis investigates the period on a broad regional scale and in consideration to the landscape features, understanding Hindu Shahi settlement sites and gaining an idea about the political position of the study region.

Chapter 2 The Hindu Shahi Dynasty

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and summarises existing historical and archaeological information about the Hindu Shahi dynasty. The first section of the chapter focuses on the historic sources, describing the major political events of the Hindu Shahi, although archaeological data and its interpretation will be included where appropriate. The purpose of this exercise is to gain an insight about the rise and fall of the Hindu Shahi dynasty, their political history, territorial limits, and political centres through historic information. The other aim of this section is to explore whether there is a correspondence between classical accounts and modern scholarship on the Hindu Shahi affairs, and to consider where and why any discrepancies might arise. I will discuss the results further in chapter 7 as part of the wider insights in to the political position of Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (the study region) during Hindu Shahi occupation here.

The second section deals with the archaeology of the Hindu Shahi period, however references will be made to the historic sources here too, if needed. This archaeological material includes a wide range of data from different parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom, as well as the present study region. The aim of this discussion is to consider the distribution of Hindu Shahi material culture, summarise and assess the archaeological evidence. This will demonstrate the current state of Hindu Shahi archaeological investigations, hypotheses and understandings of different scholars. This will also highlight similarities and differences between the material culture of different areas and throw light on the chronology and political events in comparison to the historic accounts. Such information will then be compared with the archaeological data from the study region presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6 and discussed in chapter 7. The purpose of this is to explore whether Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner were marginal or less important from the political point of view.

2.2 Rise of the Hindu Shahi dynasty

As noted in chapter 1, the date of Kallar's (the founder of the Hindu Shahi dynasty) succession is not recorded in any historic account. As a result, different dates have been suggested for the start of his ruler aging from c. 822 to CE 865. Rahman (1979a: 90-94) proposed c.843 CE on the basis of a Hindu Shahi Sarada inscription, having studied a copy in 1970 (afterwards published, see Rahman 1980: 55-59). Later, Rahman (1998) re-calculated the unknown era on the basis of a Ghaznavids period bilingual inscription bearing Persian and Sarada texts. As outlined in chapter 1 the dates mentioned on the Hindu Shahi inscriptions do not correspond with any known period; as a consequence, the relevant scholarship call it the 'unknown' or unspecified era. This inscription mentions completion of a tomb by Arslan Jadhib in Hijri year 401 (= 1011 CE) in Persian and year 189 of the unknown era in Sarada (Rahman 1998: 470-73, 2002a: 11). As the Hijri is a known Islamic era, on this basis Rahman (1998: 473) suggested that 0 of the unknown era might start in c.821-822 CE (Hijri 401= CE 1011-189= 822 CE). In view of this inscription, Rahman (1998) suggested a new date, c. 822 CE, for the start of Kallar's rule and the dynasty. Rahman (1980: 58, 1998: 473) calls this era "The Hindu Shahi era".

Other scholars suggest relatively later dates for the start of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. Pandey (1973: 67, 82) suggested that Kallar started his rule in c. 860 CE. The Muslim historian Alberuni (Sachau 1964) records that Kallar imprisoned the last Turk Shahi king for some time. In light of this statement, Pandey (1973: 67) believed that during this period Kallar ruled in the name of the Turk Shahi king and in c.860 CE declared himself as an independent ruler. On the other hand, Mishra (1972: 9) proposes c. 865 CE for the start of Kallar's rule referring to the Kashmiri writer Kalhana's narration. Kalhana (Stein 1900) has identified Kallar with Lalliya, who according to him started his rule in c. 865 CE. This identification has been questioned by various scholars (e.g. Rahman 1979a), however, Mishra (1972: 11-12) takes a more rigid line claiming Lalliya's name was not mentioned by Alberuni, and possibly the name of Kallar is a contracted word of Kala-Lalliya. Due to these factors, a broad period between c.822-865 CE has been suggested for the start of the dynasty.

2.3 Political history of the Hindu Shahi Dynasty

As outlined in chapter 1 that only partial and fragmentary information is available about the territories the Hindu Shahi controlled and the main political events of their rule. According to Mishra (1972: 5), in the beginning the Hindu Shahi ruled over an area between Kabul, Afghanistan and Punjab, Pakistan but in the later years extended their rule and included Uttar Pradesh, India (Figure 2.1). Rahman (1979a: 5-21) believed that the Hindu Shahi ruled a total of 11 districts; nine in Afghanistan and three in Pakistan (Figure 2.1), though Rahman (1979a) uses the broad (and problematic) term "Shahis", making it difficult to distinguish between the areas controlled by the Turk Shahi and the Hindu Shahi. In modern Pakistan, these districts included Gandhara (refers to the Vale of Peshawar, Swat, Dir districts), Western Gandhara (Kohat Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan Districts), in what is now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and Takeshar (Taxila) in what is now Punjab (Figure 2.1). During the last decade of the Hindu Shahi dynasty, they occupied the Siwalik Hills, but he does not name a particular area (Rahman 1979a: 90, 163).

There is no clear historical boundary for the Hindu Shahi, and the suggested territorial limits have been developed by the modern scholars in the light of historic records of events. Almost all the scholars agree that Hindu Shahi had ruled the area between Kabul and Punjab which changed over time, due to the political situation in the region. No detailed, specific and reliable historic information is available about the political history or leadership of the dynasty. The Hindu Shahi king lists from the classical writers Alberuni and Kalhana appear to be incomplete as they have discussed them in relation to the Ghaznavids and Kashmiri kings, providing only partial information (Table 2.1). Other problems lie in the identification of certain kings; e.g. Alberuni designates Kallar as the founder of the dynasty while Kalhana considers Lalliya to be the founder (Table 2.1). Additionally, the titles or unclear designations of kings are also a source of problems. For instance, Kalhana (Stein 1944) mentions the second king as a rebellious Sahi in a vague manner without mentioning his name. These issues have created uncertainty regarding the political history of the dynasty from its start to the end.

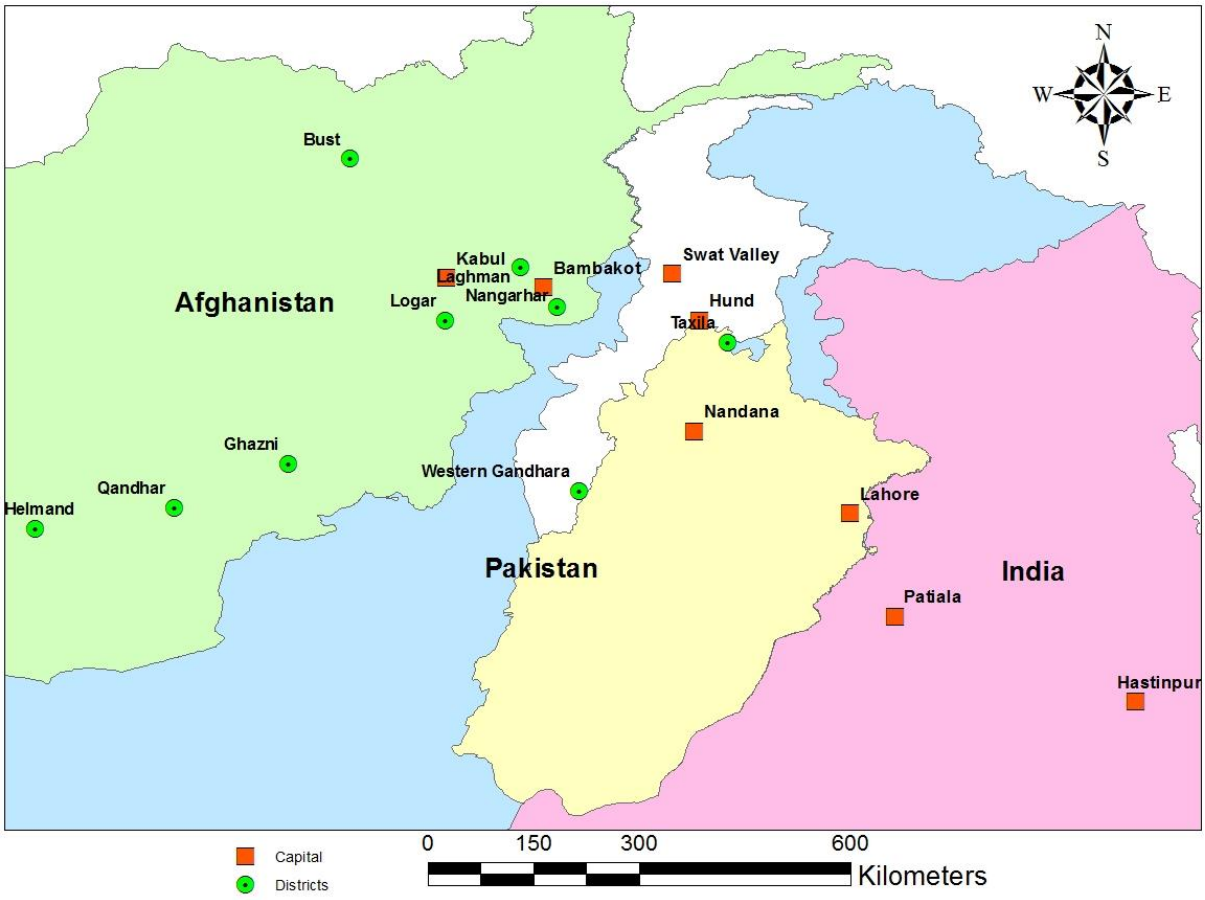


Figure 2.1. Suggested locations of Hindu Shahi districts and capitals (within Pakistan white and yellow colours indicate the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab provinces) (Ijaz Khan)

S. #	Alberuni (Sachau 1964)	Kalhana (Stein 1889)
1	Kallar	Lalliya Sahi
2	Samand	a rebellious Sahi (no proper name is documented)
3	Kamalu	Kamaluka/ Toramana
4	Bhima	Bhima Sahi
5	Jayapaladeva	Trilocanapala Sahi
6	Anandapala	
7	Trilocanapala	
8	Bhimapala	

Table 2.1. the names of the Hindu Shahi kings, recorded by Alberuni and Kalhana

In chapter 1, I explained that the different designations or unclear descriptions of early writers do not match with the names found on the Hindu Shahi coins (Macdowall 1968: 190; Mishra 1972: 3). Dani (1968a) believed that Alberuni has recorded the actual names of the kings, while in reality their coins bear their royal titles. The misperceptions of coins and ambiguities of the classical sources have resulted in confusion among modern scholars, who have suggested as many as 9 to 13 kings for the dynasty, relying either on the coin's legends or the historical sources, or both (Table 2.2).

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 clearly show the discrepancies among the classical writers and the modern scholars on the identifications, number of kings and their dates. Therefore, only notable events of the earlier kings that have some relevance with the present research will be presented while the last four kings will be discussed in more detail. The purpose of this discussion is to highlight the unusual events and chronological issues, and I will discuss and interpret their implications in chapter 7 in connection to the present research aims.

In c. 870 CE, Yaqub ibn Lais invaded and captured the Hindu Shahi capital centre of Kabul, and the ruling king Samantadeva was overthrown (Dupree 1980: 313; Khan et al. 2000: 24). Yaqub's rule over Kabul is not documented, although he is believed to have made Khudarayaka either a king or governor of Kabul (Pandey 1973: 87; Rahman 1979a: 107). With the invasion of Kabul, the Hindu Shahi are believed to have shifted their capital centre to Hund, in the Vale of Peshawar (Khan et al. 2000: 24; Mishra 1972: 7; Pandey 1973: 121-122).

According to Rahman (1979a: 106) the relative lack of Khudarayaka's coins in Gandhara, Pakistan, suggests that his rule was possibly confined to Kabul, while parts of what is now modern Pakistan remained under the control of prince Lalliya. This suggests that the Hindu Shahi kingdom might have been ruled by two kings at the same time from c. 870 to 880 CE. Although, a later historic description mentions that Lalliya's rule commenced in c.880 after the death of Khudarayaka (Table 2.2). Nothing is known about the rule of Khudarayaka and he is thought to have died in c. 880 CE.

S. no	Rahman (1979a: 89-167)	Pandey (1973: 80-114)	Mishra (1972: 9-223)
1	Kallar (CE c. 843-850)	Kallar (CE c. 860-862)	Lalliya/ Kallar (CE c.865-895)
2	Samantadeva (CE c. 850-870)	Spalapatideva (CE c.862-867)	Kamaluka–Toramana First rule (c.895 only few months p. 41
3	Khudarayaka (CE c. 870-880)	Samantadeva First Rule (CE c. 867-869 or 870)	Samantha or Samand (CE c. 895-902)
4	Lalliya (CE c. 880-902)	Khudarayaka (CE c. 869 or 870 - 871 or 872)	Kamaluka–Toramana Second rule (CE c. 902-921)
5	Toramana/ Kamalu (CE c. 903-921)	Samantadeva Second Rule (CE c. 871 or 872- 880)	Bhima (CE c. 921-960)
6	Bhimadeva (CE c. 921-964)	Lalliya (CE c. 880- not mentioned)	Jayapaladeva (CE c. 960-1002)
7	Jayapaladeva CE (c. 964-1002)	Kamalvarman or Kamalu (start unknown- ending date CE 905)	Anandapala (CE c. 1002-1013)
8	Anandapala (CE c. 1002-1010)	Bhimadeva (CE c. 905-957)	Trilocanapala (CE c. 1013-1021)
9	Trilocanapala (CE c. 1010-1021)	Thakkana (CE c. 957-962)	Bhimapala (CE c. 1021-1026)
10	Bhimapala (CE c. 1021-1026)	Ishtapala (unknown date of ruling)	
11		Jayapaladeva (CE c. 962-1002)	
12		Anandapala (CE c. 1002-unknwon)	
13		Trilocanapala (start unknown- end c. 1021 CE)	
14		Bhimapala (CE c. 1021-1026 CE)	

Table 2.2. Suggested names and dates of the Hindu Shahi kings

With the death of Khudarayaka, Lalliya was raised to the throne and the capital was shifted from Kabul to Hund (Figure 2.1). Hund is located on the right bank of the Indus River and is said to have been established by Alexander the Great during his Indian campaign at a location where he offered sacrifices to the gods (Abbot 1854; Azeem 2005; Court 1836; Cunningham 1871; Khan 1995). It became central in the 7th century CE, when the Turk Shahi made it their winter capital centre (Ali 1999b; Ali et al. 2005; Rahman 1979a; Shakur 1946). Hund is also believed to have served the winter capital of the Hindu Shahi, before the invasion and capture of their capital at Kabul (Rahman 2002a: 13, 2011: 21).

Due to the advancement of the Muslims from Afghanistan, Lalliya made an alliance with the local Rajas. However, this alliance was considered a threat to the Kashmir sovereign, and as a consequence, Lalliya was attacked and overthrown by the Kashmiri troops in c.902 CE. He was succeeded by Toramana/ Kamalu, who ruled until c. 921 CE.

Scholars agree that Toramana/ Kamalu was succeeded by Bhimadeva, despite the differences regarding the dates of his reign (Table 2.2). Bhimadeva established a good relationship with Kashmir and established matrimonial relations with the Kashmir royal family (Dani 2001a: 11; Mishra 1972: 80-82). In c.962-963 CE two important territories of the Hindu Shahi kingdom, Kabul and Ghazni in Afghanistan, were attacked and captured by Alaptigin (founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, see chapter 1 for details) who then established himself as a ruler of Ghazni (Ali and Sehrai 1998: 57; Dani 2001a: 6; Dupree 1980: 313; Shah 2012: 40). Alaptigin was followed by his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, who was a weak administrator and Ghazni was taken back by Bhimadeva, and the Kabul valley once again became a stronghold of the Hindu Shahi. Bhimadeva is thought to have dedicated himself to the Hindu god Siva and committed a ritual suicide in c. 964 CE in Hund (Rahman 1979a: 130). The name and association of King Bhimadeva with the capital city of Hund in the Vale of Peshawar is evident from the Hund Sarada inscription, though it does not mention the date (see Rahman 1980: 57).

A local tradition refers to Bambakot, Darra-I Nur, Jalalabad as Bhimadeva's capital centre (Figure 2.1) (Ovesen 1984: 400). According to this tradition, the native Kafirs (non-believers) were invaded and converted to Islam by the Muslim hero Deishamir Baba ten

generations ago and at this time Bhima Raja of Bambakot surrendered and accepted Islam. To understand this tradition, Ovesen (1984: 401) carried out further investigation and discovered that the name of Deishamir Baba does not exist in any historic source. Ovesen (1984) also calculated the generations (assigning thirty years to each generation) as well as checked a written genealogy. On the basis of these investigations, Ovesen (1984) suggested that the invasion and conversion of local Kafirs took place here in the first decade of the 18th century CE at the time of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Dani (2001b: 81-86) studied a Sarada inscription which is believed to have been collected from Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan. The inscription mentions the rule of Shah Veka and the establishment of a temple in year 138 of the unknown era (Dani 2001). Dani (2001b: 81-82) followed Rahman's (1998) suggested date for the start of the Hindu Shahi dynasty i.e. c. 821-822CE (CE 821+ 138= 959) of the bilingual inscription and thus assigned the Mazar-i-Sharif inscription to 959 CE, which falls in the period of Bhimadeva's reign. It is evident from the historic accounts that at least until 977 CE different parts of Afghanistan were under the control of the Hindu Shahi and so the association of Bhimadeva with the particular locality is not surprising.

Bhimadeva was succeeded by Jayapaladeva. King Jayapaladeva's name is frequently mentioned in the historic accounts. He is said to have engaged in battles against the Ghaznavids right from his accession to his death (Table 2.2) (Pandey 1973: 102-103). During Jayapaladeva's reign, a new Ghaznavids ruler, Sabuktigin, came into power in c. 977 who was the son in law of Alaptigin as well as an accomplished army general (Pandey 1973: 103). Sabuktigin declared an Islamic religious war against the Hindu Shahi and the other non-Muslim neighbouring states. This campaign attracted many volunteer soldiers and with their help he recaptured Ghazni and the Kabul valley from the Hindu Shahi (Rahman 1979a: 130-134). After this conquest, Sabuktigin proceeded towards India in order to invade the rest of the Hindu Shahi kingdom and began fighting a series of battles.

In order to regain Ghazni from Sabuktigin, the Hindu Shahi king Jayapaladeva sent an army of nearly forty thousand troops to fight against the Ghaznavids. As a result, the battle of Charkh was fought and the Hindu Shahi were defeated (Rahman 1979a: 134). This defeat made Jayapaladeva more concerned about other parts of his kingdom in Afghanistan. Thus,

he planned another battle, and again marched with a huge army towards Ghazni, Afghanistan. Near Ghuzak or Ghazak, Khyber Pass, Pakistan, the two armies fought a battle and the Hindu Shahi were defeated again (Baloch 2001: 2). Due to the large number of casualties, Jayapaladeva negotiated a treaty with the Ghaznavids at the cost of one million Shahi dirhams, surrendering several frontier forts, fifty elephants and appointing Ghaznavids officers in areas under his control (Mishra 1972: 105; Shah 2012: 49-50). But Jayapaladeva breached the treaty as soon as he found himself safe within the frontiers of his own kingdom and put the Ghaznavids officers in prison (Rahman 1979a: 135-136).

In response, Sabuktigin marched towards the Hindu Shahi territory with a large army (Mishra 1972: 103). Upon receiving the news of Sabuktigin's march, Jayapaladeva made an alliance with the local rajas and once again headed towards Ghazni along with a huge army (Mishra 1972: 110-114: Rahman 1979a). The two armies fought near Kindi, Lamghan, Afghanistan, but the Hindu Shahi forces were defeated (Dani 2001a: 9; Pandey 1973: 103-104). The Hindu Shahi lost a great amount of wealth, and the entire region between Lamghan, Afghanistan and the Vale of Peshawar and it was annexed into the Ghaznavids Empire (Figure 2.1) (Mishra 1972: 105; Rahman 1979: 136-139). Sabuktigin died around 997 CE and was succeeded by his son Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi in c.998 CE, who carried out at least seventeen successful campaigns against India (Dupree 1980: 314; Pandey 1973: 103).

The constant defeats of the Hindu Shahi encouraged the Raja (ruler) Bharat of modern Lahore (now located in Pakistan), who marched towards the Hindu Shahi kingdom (Nazim 1927: 491; Rahman 1983: 174). Raja Bharat was defeated by the then Governor of Punjab Trilocanapala (son of Jayapaladeva) near Taxila and the area he controlled up to Lahore was incorporated into the Hindu Shahi kingdom (Figure 2.1) (Baloch 2001: 1; Masih 2002: 4-5; Rahman 1979a). But the situation nearer to the Vale of Peshawar was further threatened by the Ghaznavids. In November 1000 CE, Mahmud Ghaznavi proceeded towards Peshawar city and fought a battle with Jayapaladeva who led an army of 12,000 horses, 30,000 foot soldiers and 300 war elephants (Baloch 2001: 2; Mishra 1972: 119; Rahman 1979a: 141-143). In the battle, Jayapaladeva, along with fifteen other family members and several chiefs was made prisoner (Nazim 1927: 495; Pandey 1973: 105). The captives' necklaces were

confiscated; Jayapaladeva's necklace was set with rubies, pearls and diamonds and is said to have been worth around 200,000 dinars (Mishra 1972: 120; Pandey 1973: 242). King Jayapaladeva was released by the Ghaznavids in return for 250,000 dinars and 50 elephants (Ali 1999a: 278; Mishra 1972: 123; Nazim 1927: 495; Pandey 1973: 105).

After the defeat of Peshawar city, Mahmud Ghaznavi marched towards the capital centre of Hund and captured it around 1002 CE (Ali et al. 2011: 2; Dani 2001a: 9-10; Rahman 2011: 23; Swati 1998: 27). Before his arrival in Hund, the Hindu Shahi are said to have retreated to the neighbouring hilly passes and the forests, where Mahmud Ghaznavi sent an army and defeated them (Mishra 1972: 123; Rahman 1998: 462; 2002a: 14). However, after the invasion of Hund, the historians do not provide information about the immediate Ghaznavids events and do not speak about these neighbouring regions (Rahman 1998: 472). Due to the lack of historical records it is not clear to which neighbouring regions they retreated.

With the invasion and capture of Hund, the entire Vale of Peshawar was integrated into the Ghaznavid Empire (Ali and Sehrai 1998: 57). It is worth highlighting that none of the historic source at this time refer to the conquest of Swat, Dir (parts of the present study region) or Bajaur Agency (Rahman 1979a). The relative absence of Swat, Dir and Bajaur Agency in the historic accounts (particularly at the time of the invasion of Hund and rest of the Vale of Peshawar) suggests that probably these territories were still under the control of the Hindu Shahi and were probably invaded during the subsequent Ghaznavids attacks (Mishra 1972: 123; Rahman 1979a: 144-146). A Sarada inscription of the Hindu Shahi period in Bajaur Agency (adjoining the study region) mentions the year 197 of the unknown period, which is believed to have been written in 1019 CE (Ali and Rahman 2005: 71; Khan et al. 2000: 15). A Ghaznavids inscription mentions the date of the construction of a mosque in 1048-1049 CE in Swat (Khan 1985; Scerrato 1985, 1986). It is believed that the mosque was built at the time of the invasion of Swat to mark the Ghaznavids power and authority in this newly invaded region (Faccenna et al. 1985: 439). These inscriptions, the historic retreat of the Hindu Shahi to the neighbouring hilly region, the relative absence of Dir, Swat and Bajaur Agency in the historic accounts and the mention of these areas in later Ghaznavids campaigns by scholars all appear to be critical and are further discussed and interpreted in chapter 7.

After the capture of Hund, the entire Vale of Peshawar was annexed into the Ghaznavids Empire and the Hindu Shahi shifted their capital centre to a new location. The location of this new capital centre is nowhere documented explicitly (Mishra 1972: 129). This led scholars to suggest different contenders according to their understandings, mainly in light of the events recorded in the historic accounts. Khan (1976: 98) believed that Jayapaladeva shifted the capital city to Bhatinda, modern Patiala, in Indian Punjab; however, he neither explained this further nor supported his suggestion with evidence. Mishra (1972: 129) noted "an alternative capital this time not on the bank of the principal river of the kingdom but in a protected mountain range had been found out". Mishra (1972) does not mention the names of the major river and the protected mountain range, though Hund is located on the west bank of the Indus River, which appeared to be the main river of the Hindu Shahi kingdom during the rule of Jayapaladeva. After the fall of Hund in c.1002 CE Jayapaladeva committed suicide (Azeem 2005: 226; Mishra 1972: 107; Nazim 1927: 495; Pandey 1973: 105; Rahman 1979a: 74).

Some scholars (e.g. Baloch 2001: 2; Ali and Qazi 2008: 10; Azeem 2005: 226, Nazim 1927) believed that after the capture of Hund, the new capital was established at Nandana in Punjab, while others (e.g. Khan 1986; Vaidya 1926; Ray 1931 Elliot 1966) believed it was established at Lahore (Figure 2.1) (cf. Mishra 1972: 128-129). On the other hand, Dani (1968a), Rahman (1979a), Olivieri (1996), and Olivieri et al. (2006) suggested that after the Hindu Shahi defeat in the Vale of Peshawar they shifted to the protected hilly region of Swat, Dir, Buner and Malakand Agency (the study region). Dani (1968a: 31), Rahman (1979a: 305), Olivieri (1996: 73-75), and Olivieri et al. (2006: 138) suggested the retreat of Hindu Shahi based on the archaeological evidence they observed during their investigations in this region. Others (e.g. Ali and Khan 2007: 188; Sardar 2001: 95; Scerrato 1986: 57, 59; Stein 1927: 434, 437) refer to the oral tradition calling Raja Gira's Castle in Swat (a Hindu Shahi site) as the last seat of the Hindu sovereign. According to the local Pathans, the Hindu ruler was defeated by the Ghaznavids under the command of Pir Khushal Baba now buried under Raja Gira's Castle (Stein 1927: 435).

Jayapaladeva was succeeded by his son Anandapala in c.1002 CE who began his rule from Nandana, Punjab. Anandapala earlier served as a governor in Punjab under his father and

Nandana was probably his principle seat (Rahman 1979a: 147-148). In c.1006 CE, Mahmud Ghaznavi was on his way to conquer Multan, Punjab, and asked Anandapala to allow him to march through his territory but his request was rejected. As a consequence, in the same year the Indus Battle was fought and the Hindu Shahi were defeated. In c.1008 CE, Anandapala again sent a huge army to the battle known as the Battle of Chachh, including contingents from the local Rajas (rulers) under the leadership of his son Trilocanapala, but they were again defeated and his son was taken prisoner (Azeem 2005: 226; Mishra 1972: 134, 139-147; Rahman 1983: 175, 2002a: 13). After the Chachh battle, Mahmud Ghaznavi marched towards Bhimanagar fort (a Hindu Shahi fort also known as Nagarkot) (Baloch 2001: 2; Dani 2001a: 10; Rahman 1983: 175, 2002a: 13-14). The fort also included a Hindu temple from where the Ghaznavids collected 70,000,000 Shahi dirhams, 700,400 maan (maan is equivalent of 50 kg) of silver and gold bricks, a heavily decorated throne of King Bhimadeva, costly clothing and other valuables (Mishra 1972: 139, 149-154; Rahman 1979a: 153-157).

In the following year, 1009 CE, Mahmud Ghaznavi conquered other Indian states. At this point the Hindu Shahi king Anandapala realised the strength of the Ghaznavids and made a treaty with them, accepting a tributary status that included a large sum of money, 50 elephants, and deployment of the troops of 2000 horsemen in the Ghaznavid's capital (Mishra 1972: 162; Rahman 1983: 175). Anandapala died sometime before c.1014 CE and was succeeded by his son Trilocanapala (Mishra (1972: 165-166).

Trilocanapala is believed to have begun his rule at Nandana, Punjab and honoured the treaty during the early years of his rule (Rahman 1979a: 157-166). However, later he adopted a hard line against the Ghaznavids and stopped delivering the tributes to them. In response, around 1013 CE Mahmud Ghaznavi left his capital city Ghazni with a huge army to resolve issues with Trilocanapala. Upon receiving the news, Trilocanapala handed charge of Nandana to his son Bhimapala and rushed to Kashmir for additional help (Dani 2001a: 11-12; Mishra 1972: 184). A battle was fought with the Ghaznavids at Nandana under the leadership of his son Bhimapala, but the Hindu Shahi were defeated. The Hindu Shahi capital centre of Nandana was captured, and a significant number of elephants and other treasures were seized.

After the fall of Nandana, the Hindu Shahi shifted their capital centre to another place (Masih 2002: 5; Rahman 1979a: 161). The location of the new capital is historically unknown (Mishra 1972: 129), though, scholars have proposed different locations. After the invasion of Nandana, Trilocanapala along with the allied forces (Hindu Shahi and Kashmir) fought the Tohi Battle (the River Tohi is a tributary of the River Jhelum) with the Ghaznavids but again faced defeat. After this battle, Trilocanapala is believed to have retreated to the Siwalik Hills, whilst his territory up to River Tohi in Punjab was incorporated into the Ghaznavids Empire (Baqai 1948: 20; Mishra 1972: 188; Rahman 1979a: 162).

Trilocanapala is said to have made an effort to expand his control in the Siwalik Hills. This effort involved him in battles with the Rai of Sharwa, (the modern town of Sarawa, Meerut District, Utter Pradesh, India) (Mishra 1972: 189: Rahman 1979a: 163). Battles between them are thought to have continued until Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded the territory of the Rai of Sharwa in 1018 CE. Neither the Hindu Shahi involvement nor their whereabouts are recorded during this battle, though Rahman (1979a: 163) assumes "Trilocanapala was probably still licking his wounds somewhere in the Siwalik Hills", but he does not mention a particular locality.

A similar suggestion comes from Mishra (1972: 90), who outlines the following preferences and choices of Trilocanapala for the selection of a new capital after Nandana:

1. Trilocanapala's new capital should be located towards the east, which was the natural direction for his advance.

2. It should be located on the bank of a river, which can be used for transport and other facilities.

3. The new location should be of historical importance like their earlier capital centres Hund and Nandana.

4. The new location should be suitable for maintaining the elephant force.

Mishra (1972: v, 172-173) states that in light of these preferences it is reasonable to suggest that Trilocanapala established his new capital centre and base of operations against the

Ghaznavids at Hastika (modern Hastinpur) in Meerut district, Uttar Pradesh (Figure 2.1). Mishra (1972: v, 5) supports this with the argument that Trilocanapala fought his last battle with the Ghaznavids near the Rama-Ganga River (see below), believing this meant Hastika was Trilocanapala's capital centre and base of operation.

Dani (2001a: 12) says that in c.1021 CE, the Hindu Shahi king Anandapala was ruling Lahore when the Ghaznavids invaded and captured it. Although it is not clear whether Dani (2001a) refers to Lahore as a capital centre or simply considered it a part of the kingdom. As mentioned above Lahore was invaded and incorporated into the Hindu Shahi kingdom in c.999 (Rahman 1983: 174), and because of this Mishra (1972) argues that Lahore could have not been the kingdom's capital centre, but it might have served as a provincial capital.

In the following year, October 1019, Mahmud Ghaznavi was on his way to face the allied forces of the Indian states. At this time, Trilocanapala is said to have come out of the Siwalik Hills and joined the allied forces (Rahman 1979a: 163-166). Near the River Rahib (generally identified with River Rama-Ganga, India) Trilocanapala encountered the Ghaznavids but as usual he was defeated. Two years later in c. 1021 CE, Trilocanapala is believed to have been killed by his own Hindu soldiers and was succeeded by his son, Bhimapala (Khan 1976: 97).

Bhimapala started his rule in c. 1021 CE and is thought to have been murdered like his father in c.1026 CE (Dani 2001a: 12; Khan 1976: 97; Macdowall 1968: 211; Mishra 1972: 221-222; Stein 1973). However, no information is known about his political activities or the location of his capital centre. After the River Rahib battle (c.1021 CE) no further engagement between the Hindu Shahi and the Ghaznavids is documented. With the death of Bhimapala, the Hindu Shahi dynasty is historically recorded as having declined (Sachau 1964), although Rahman (1979a: 90, 63) believes that they continued ruling a vastly contracted area as petty chieftains in the Siwalik Hills for some time.

The historic information about the history of the Hindu Shahi, their leadership, political events and their capital centres is limited. Classical writers are largely split on most affairs of the dynasty right from the beginning until the decline. The vague and partial information of the historic accounts has also divided modern scholars, with each following different information in ancient accounts regarding the king's names, titles and so forth. Therefore,

the chronology, identification and the number of kings, the political centres and the events of the dynasty all are subject to controversy. These gaps have great impact on the history of the dynasty and most aspects of the dynasty are unclear and uncertain.

2.4 Material culture of the Hindu Shahi period

This section examines the material culture from different parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom. Compared to Pakistan, a very limited information is available about the archaeology of Hindu Shahi in Afghanistan, and this relative lack could be the result of limited archaeological work there. In Pakistan, Hindu Shahi material culture has been reported from both the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab provinces that are historically known to have remained under Hindu Shahi control. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Hindu Shahi sites have been documented from different districts spreading over a large area (Figure 2.2). However, the published reports largely exclude information about the locations of Hindu Shahi sites (coordinates or major area name) and rather focus on their distribution across the region.

2.4.1 Vale of Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

In the Vale of Peshawar, Hindu Shahi sites were recorded during various investigations (Figure 2.2) (Ali 2003; Khan M. 2001b, 2006; Khan S. 1995: Khan et al. 2003: Khan and Batool: 2011). Little information is available about the structures, their types and possible role in the area. It is noteworthy that these investigations were carried out with different research aims and the partial nature of information could be the consequence of scholars' disinterest in the Hindu Shahi period.

During his survey of the Vale of Peshawar, Professor Ihsan Ali (2003: 209-287) of the University of Peshawar, recorded a total of 1184 sites, of which 84 were assigned to the Hindu Shahi period. Out of these 84 sites, 63 sites included material culture of multiple periods, while Hindu Shahi material alone was identified limited to only 21 sites. These sites were identified on the basis of pottery and coins collected from the surface, while no architectural structures were described in enough detail to be suitable for comparison.

Another survey was conducted in Mardan, Vale of Peshawar by Professor Taj Ali (2001: 56-97) of the University of Peshawar. During his survey, Ali (2001) recorded a total of 402 sites, of which 7 were assigned to the Hindu Shahi period. Hindu Shahi sites included a well, a watchtower and an unidentified structure of considerable height in rough masonry (Ali 2001: 63, 72, 80, 85, 87, 159). Ali (2001: 72) also collected Hindu Shahi coins and arrowheads from one of these sites, although he has not ventured any interpretations of this material culture.

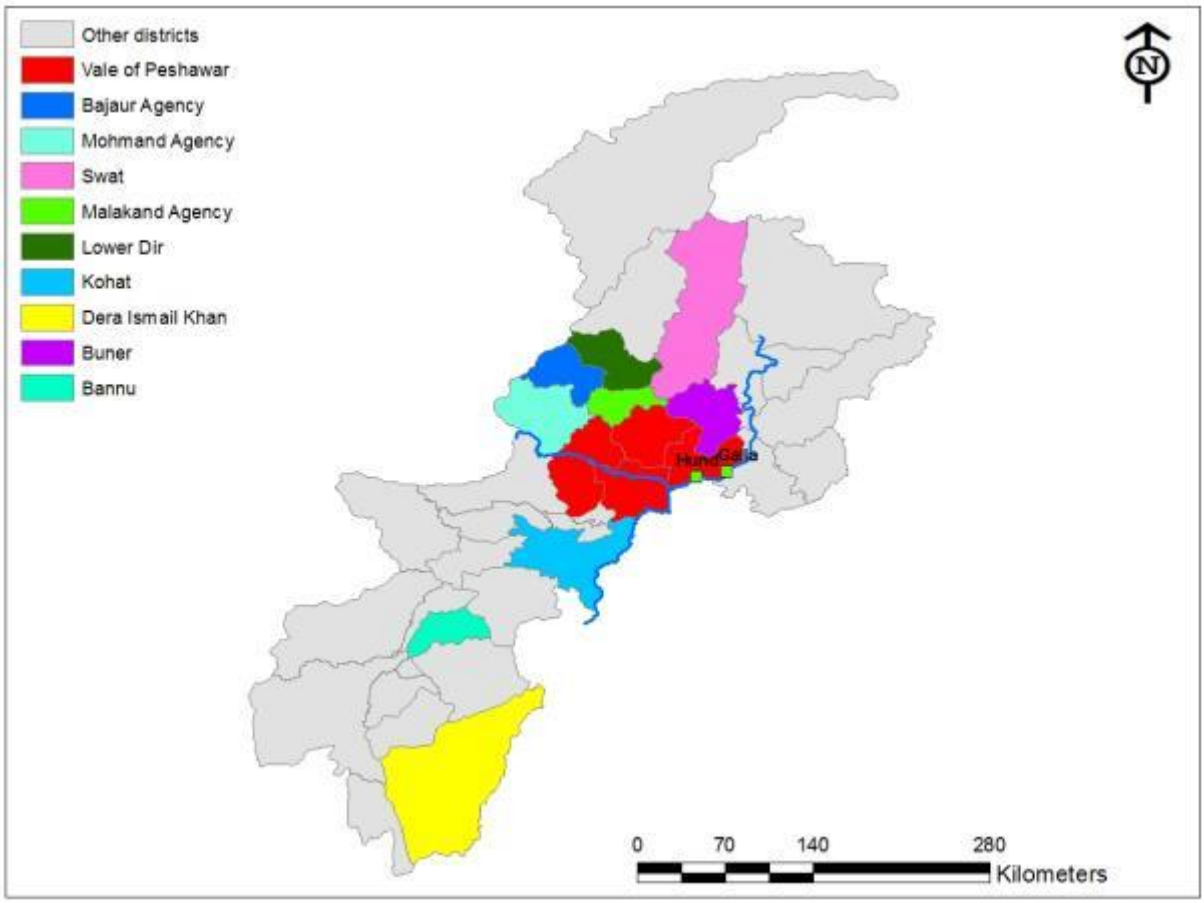


Figure 2.2. Map showing locations from where Hindu Shahi material culture has been reported (Ijaz Khan)

Among the Vale of Peshawar sites, Hund (a purported Hindu Shahi capital city and site linked to Alexander the Great) in modern Swabi district has received somewhat more attention and is thought to be the most significant Hindu Shahi period site of the region (Figure 2.2) (Dani 2002: 234; Jaffar 2008: 35; Khan 1995: 100; Sehrai 1979: 1). Despite

this, information about Hund is limited to the visible structures, coins and the inscriptions reported from the site. It is a large site, covering nearly 2 square kilometres' area and includes ruins of Kushans, Hindu Shahi and Mughal periods (Azeem 2005: 222; Mughal and Nazir 2004: 169-170). There are Hindu Shahi period structures and two wells visible on the surface (Khan et al. 2012: 77). The site is square in plan, including four gates, constructed during the Mughal period (Hargreaves 1924: 68-70; Khan 1995: 88; Mughal and Nazir 2004: 168).

In 1996, Hund, a multi-period site with Hindu Shahi material, was excavated by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. A preliminary report of the excavations has been published, identifying different chronological periods and their associated material culture e.g. coins and figurines (Ali 1999a). The detailed analyses of the material culture are yet to be carried out and published, which may shed light on the Hindu Shahi presence at the site.

Two Sarada inscriptions are believed to have come from Hund, mentioning year 146 and years 158-159 of the 'unknown period', bearing information of the temple dedication in Hund (Rahman 1980: 56-58). Hargreaves (1924: 69) believed that a semi-circular platform on the Hund site is of a possible temple, however, due to the lack of a detailed study its identification is yet to be confirmed. Hindu Shahi coins were also reported from Hund which also include Hindu Shahi gold coins (Ali 1999a: 269, 280-282, 2003: 135-170; Cunningham 1871: 56; Dani 1968a: 28).

Galla fort is another purportedly important Hindu Shahi site, located to the north side of Hund on some 20 kilometres' distance in Swabi district (Figure 2.2) (Khan and Batool 2011: 115). It is a of considerable size site and its fortification wall includes semi-circular and rectangular bastions (Batool 2011: 115, 119; Khan et al. 2003: 81-82). It is believed that Hindu Shahi built this fort to supervise the route leading from west (Dani 1995; 236; Khan 1995: 113; Khan et al. 2003: 81-82). Other scholars (Dani 1997; Iqbal 2014) also speak of Hindu Shahi sites and coins in the Vale of Peshawar, however, information is very basic and largely limited to the list of sites and material culture.

2.4.2 Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Modern Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts have also been associated with the Hindu Shahi material culture. In Kohat district, this includes a fort and a temple (Figure 2.2) (Ali et al. 2005; Stein 1905). The fort is locally known as Aad-e-Sammud and includes Buddhist and Hindu Shahi periods material (Ali et al. 2005: 111). No further details are available about the Hindu Shahi period structures and chronology. The recorded temple is said to have been constructed inside a cave (Ali et al. 2005: 113) and appears to be the only known example of Hindu Shahi temple in a cave.

In the Bannu region, Akra is considered an important multi-period site (see Khan et al. 2000; Magee et al. 2005; Petrie 2002; Petrie et al. 2008). Due to its rich and long history, Akra is believed to have remained the ancient capital of Bannu region (Khan 1986: 184; Vogelsang 1992: 81). During the excavations, material culture of Bactrian Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, Sassanians, Huns, Hindu Shahi and Ghaznavids was reported from this site (Khan et al. 2000: 13). In addition, the excavations have revealed a fortified structure assigned to the Hindu Shahi period (c. 900 CE), which was later on used by the Ghaznavids around 1000 CE (Petrie et al. 2008: 05). Other Hindu Shahi material includes pottery and coins (Cribb 2002; Khan 1986; Magee et al. 2005, Petrie 2002, 2005; Petrie et al. 2008). Hindu Shahi period silver and bronze coins bear the legends of Spalapatideva and Samantadeva (Cribb 2002: 65, 73).

A broken Sarada inscription of the Hindu Shahi period is said to have come from Mir Ali (a tribal area adjacent to Bannu); however, due to its poor condition it was not translated (Khan and Azeem 2000: 35). Bannu and the neighbouring region of Waziristan (a tribal area) are also mentioned in the historic accounts in relation to the Ghaznavids. Mahmud Ghaznavi is believed to have carried out his first campaign in Bannu and Waziristan around 999 CE and incorporated Hindu Shahi territories into his empire (Mishra 1972: 117).

Modern Dera Ismail Khan district is another area where Hindu Shahi material culture has been brought to light (Figure 2.2). Here, a total of eight Hindu Shahi temples were described within two Hindu Shahi forts (Ali and Jan 2005; Dani 1968a; Masih 2002; Meister 2010a).

A series of three temples is located in Billot Sharif fort (also known Kafirkot south), while another series of five temples is situated within Malot fort (Ali and Jan 2005: 16).

Scholars have paid much attention to the architectural features of these temples. Various architectural details of Billot and Malot temples demonstrate close resemblance with the Katas temple in Punjab (Masih 2005: 44). Study of their comparative and stylistic features made it possible to propose new tentative chronology of these and other temples found in Punjab (Masih 2005: 40). It is thought that Billot and Malot temples were first built by the Turk Shahi in the 6th-8th centuries CE and were later expanded and developed during the Hindu Shahi period in c. 9th-10th centuries CE (Meister 2005a: 41, 2005b: 201, 2010b: 67). However, most of the scholars assign temples here in Dera Ismail Khan and in Punjab to a broad date between the 8th and 10th centuries CE (Masih 2005a: 43).

Compared to temples, the respective forts (where temples are located) have received little archaeological attention. According to available information the Billot Sharif fort is located on a hill with difficult access and includes a platform and a fortification wall with bastions (Ali and Jan 2005: 16; Masih 2002: 78). The architecture style and designs of the Billot and Malot forts show similarity with Kashmiri style architecture (Masih 2002; Meister 2010a). Dani (1968a: 27) believes that the Hindu Shahi built these forts to stop invaders coming from the west side.

2.4.3 Bajaur Agency and Mohmand Agency

From Bajaur and Mohmand Tribal Agencies Hindu Shahi period inscriptions, coins and settlements were recorded (Figure 2.2) (Ali and Rahman 2005: Muhammadzai 2002; Rahman 1997). The Bajaur Agency, seven Hindu Shahi sites and six Sarada inscriptions have been assigned to the 10th -11th centuries CE (Ali and Rahman 2005; Rahman 1997). Only two sites include structures while the remaining five were identified and assigned on the basis of Hindu Shahi coins and pottery (Ali and Rahman 2005: 69-71). The published report though does not provide enough details of their coins and ceramic assemblage to gain an idea of the chronology, designs or other features. One of the inscriptions mentions its

writer name and year of 197 of an unknown period, which is believed to have been written in 1019 CE (Ali and Rahman 2005: 71; Khan et al. 2000: 15).

If Rahman's (1998) proposed date i.e. 822 CE for the beginning of the unknown era is correct or even if the figures on the inscription e.g. 197 represent years, it is then the latest known inscription of the Hindu Shahi, indicating their late occupation of Bajaur Agency compared to the Vale of Peshawar, Bannu, or Afghanistan from where their inscriptions are known (Dani 2001b; Khan and Azeem 2000; Rahman 1980). This signifies that Bajaur Agency was not lost to the Ghaznavids at the time of the invasion of the Vale of Peshawar and probably was still under the Hindu Shahi control. Another Sarada inscription of the Hindu Shahi was also reported from Mohmand Agency along with their coins (Muhammadzai 2002: 187, 189) however, the published report does not provide further details.

2.4.4 Malakand Agency

In Malakand Agency Hindu Shahi sites are located on both sides of the Malakand Range in close proximity to major access routes and mountain passes (Figure 2.3) (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Khan et al. 1999; Olivieri et al. 2006). The sites on the southern side are located along the Palai and Kot Agra passes (Figure 2.3) (Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Rahman 1979a; Stein 1980). In Haryankot near Kot Agra Pass, the sites are distributed over nearly 1.5-kilometrearea in a naturally fortified valley, all demonstrating quite similar features (Figure 2.3) (Dani 1968a: 31; Rahman 1979a: 277-278). These sites are located on hilltops and slopes with difficult accessibility and most have solid bases of watchtowers with arrow-slits (Dani 1968a: 31). The masonry of the sites is rough but architecturally similar, suggesting a military function (Dani 1968a: 31; Rahman 1979a: 278).

Other sites are located over the Malakand Range close to Malakand Pass, Shahkot Pass and Batkhela (Figure 2.3). Through Shahkot Pass it is easy to travel to Palai and Dargai along the ancient road i.e. the Hathai Darra that is still accessible, linking the Vale of Peshawar with Malakand Agency (Deane 1896: 660, 663; Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478; Khan 2014: 111; Olivieri et al. 2006: 119). According to Deane (1896: 663) the local Pathans believed that this ancient road was constructed especially for the elephants and is still known as Hathi-

lar (Elephant passage). These passes were the major access routes until the construction of the modern Malakand road (Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478; Stein 1980: 24).

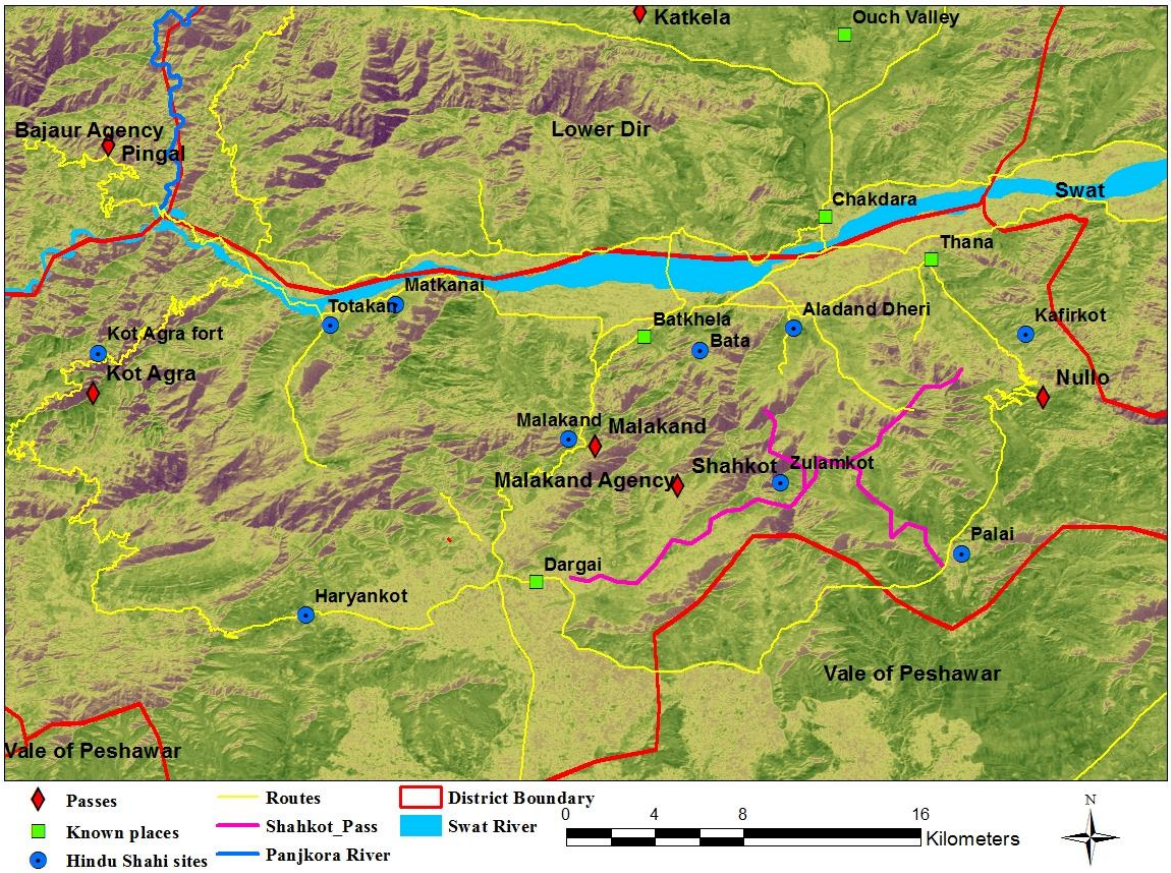


Figure 2.3. Map showing the locations (approximate) of Hindu Shahi sites in Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Several Hindu Shahi period forts have been reported along these passes and routes (Dani 1968a, Deane 1896; Foucher 1901, 1915; Khan 2014; Khan et al. 1995; Khan et al. 1999; Swati et al. 2002). Near Zalamkot (Pinjin) these forts are located close to the Shahkot Pass which opens towards the Vale of Peshawar and include watchtowers enclosed by semi-circular bastions (Figure 2.3) (Khan et al. 1995: 334; Vidale and Olivieri 2002: 212). Other forts are located close to the Charat pass and Hathidarra that link Shahkot Pass (Dani 1968a: 5, 30; Deane 1896: 663; Khan et al. 1995: 334; Swati et al. 2002: 230-231). Near Hathi darra the forts overlook the ancient road and appear to have monitored movement in the area (Swati et al. 2002: 231). The Kafirkot and other forts located close to Nullo Pass, protecting

the passages coming from the Vale of Peshawar ((Figure 2.3) Dani 1968a: 5, 30; Deane 1896: 672). Other eight Hindu Shahi forts are distributed in Aladand Dheri, occupying the hilltops and slopes and mostly include watchtowers (Khan et al. 1999: 1-28) (Figure 2.3, exact locations of the sites are not identifiable from the report). One of these forts (Girro Tangai) includes eight watchtowers while the Koto Manzray fort includes a watchtower along with a storage room that might have been used for storing ammunition (Khan et al. 1999: 15, 19).

More Hindu Shahi forts are located on top of the Malakand Pass (Figure 2.3) (Dani 1968a: 5; Godfrey 1912: 51). The Malakand fort (now occupied by the Pakistan Army) occupies a strategic location, overlooking the Vale of Peshawar and the Swat valley and protects route coming through the pass (Dani 1968a: 6). Bata fort is located almost in the middle of the Malakand and Shahkot Passes over a hilltop, suggesting a defensive role (Figure 2.3) (Dani 1968a: 5-6).

Other Hindu Shahi forts are located on the southern side of Malakand Agency close to the Kot Agra and Pingal Passes over the hilltops and slopes (Figure 2.3) (Barger 1938; Dani 1968a; Rahman 1979a). These fortified structures with watchtowers are believed to have been designed to protect the route leading to Malakand Agency (Barger 1938: 109).

2.4.5 Lower Dir

In Lower Dir, Hindu Shahi sites are located in close proximity to the Swat and Panjkora Rivers and along the passes and routes (Figure 2.4) (Ali et al. 2009, 2010: Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Rahman and Khan 2008; Stein 1980). Among them, Damkot fort, a multi-period site (including Hindu Shahi material) has been excavated (Figure 2.4) (Rahman 1968: 103-251). The site is situated to the north side of Swat River close to modern Chakdara town, in a strategic location dominating the neighbouring valleys and defending the routes leading from Batkhela, Swat and Mayar valley (Figure 2.4) (Rahman 1968: 104, 108). Due to its prime location and considerable height on a hilltop it surveys an extensive area towards the Malakand and Shahkot Passes and Barikot, Swat. During excavation, material culture representing five periods ranging from the first half

millennium BCE to the end of the 10th century CE was unearthed. The fifth layer (the latest) was attributed to the Hindu Shahi period on the basis of architectural remains, coins, pottery and other artefacts. The structures included a fortification wall, bastions and a pit. The artefact assemblage included chisels, hammers, sickles, arrowheads and stone objects.

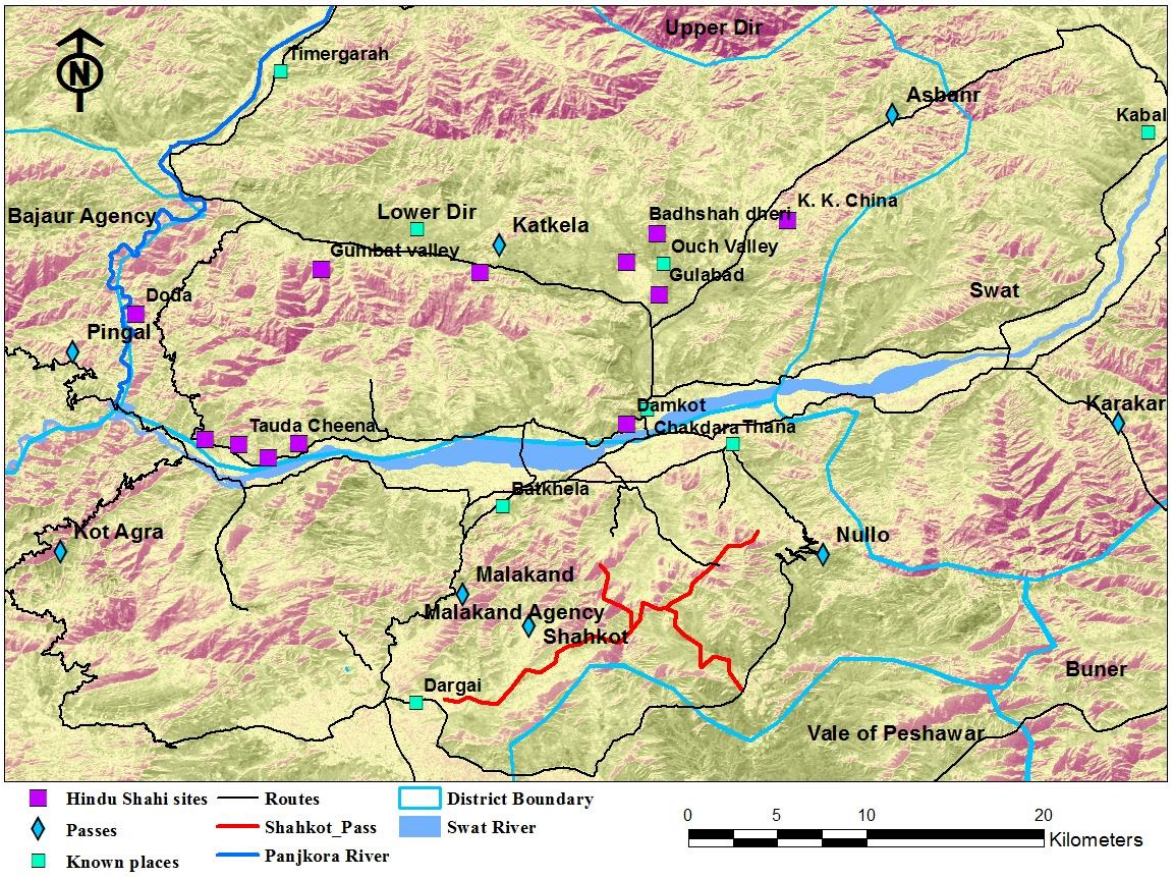


Figure 2.4. Map showing the locations (approximate) of Hindu Shahi sites in Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Damkot is said to have initially served a religious role, which developed into a defensive role during the Hindu Shahi period (Dani 1968a; Rahman 1979a). The structures were built using rough diaper masonry, comprising unfinished dressed stone blocks (Dani 1968a: 7-8). The chronology for Damkot was outlined based on the coins stretching from the start of the 8th century CE to the end of the 10th century CE. The excavation of the Hindu Shahi layers at Damkot fort have been very influential, and the resulting broad chronology is still followed for Hindu Shahi sites in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner.

Other Hindu Shahi period forts are located to the north side of Swat River at Tauda Cheena and Katkela Pass (Figure 2.4) (Ali et al. 2010: 141-142; Dani 1968a: 30; Imperial Gazetteer 1885: 53). In Tauda Cheena, these include eleven forts, occupying hilltops and slopes with watchtowers (Figure 2.4) (Ali et al. 2010: 141-142; Dani 1968a: 30). Further Hindu Shahi sites are concentrated in the Talash and Ouch valleys in Lower Dir, covering an area between the Panjkora River and Ouch Valley (Figure 2.4) (Ali et al. 2010; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Rahman and Khan 2008; Stein 1980). In the Talash valley, thirteen sites are located along the Katkela Pass over the hills, while others are concentrated to the west side reaching up to Panjkora River (Figure 2.4).

To the northwest side of Katkela Pass, the Hindu Shahi period temple was located in the naturally protected valley of Gumbat some 1.5 kilometres' distance from the main road (Figure 2.4) (Dani 1968a: 11; Meister 2011: 118; Rahman and Khan 2008: 53; Stein 1980: 21). It is commonly known as Gumbat (meaning dome) due to its large dome (Dani 1968a: 11; Stein 1980: 21). The temple has been demolished and does not exist any longer. It was surrounded by towering mountains and several fortresses (Dani 1968a: 12; Rahman 1979a: 280). The temple was said to have included decoration similar to Hindu Shahi temples in Katas, Punjab (Dani 1968a: 11-12; Stein 1980: 22-23). Its stylistic similarities with other Hindu Shahi temples led Stein (1980: 23) to assign a date ranging from 7th to 9th century CE. Another group of forts is located to the west side of Gumbat temple, occupying the hills right up to the Panjkora River (Figure 2.4) (Dani 1968a; Godfrey 1912). Most of the access routes and passes in the area have been protected with forts (Rahman 1968: 105). According to Stein (1980: 22) the Katkela sites were constructed to overlook the Ouch valley and Swat.

During a trial trench excavation at Gumbat, material culture of four periods was recovered (Rahman 1979a: 279-281). From the upper-most layer, Hindu Sahi period Sarada inscription and coins were collected. The inscription is yet to be deciphered, presently held in Dir Museum Chakdara, Lower Dir. Its study could throw important light on the Hindu Shahi occupation in the region which is entirely unknown from the historic sources.

In Ouch valley, the Hindu Shahi forts are located close to the routes and mountain passes coming from Swat to Lower Dir (Figure 2.4) (Dani 1968a: 10-11; Rahman 1968: 103-104).

These forts guard the mule paths and the main access routes linking Ouch valley, Lower Dir with Shamozai, Swat (Dani 1968a: 7, 10, 11; Rahman 1968: 104). From one of these forts (Badshah Dheri) a broken Sarada inscription and coins of Hindu Shahi were collected (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896), however, their details are not included in the survey report.

2.4.6 Buner and Swat

In Buner Hindu Shahi sites have been reported from different areas, concentrated in the hills near passes and routes (Figure 2.5) (Khattak 1997; Rehman et al. 1996; Samad and Khan 2016; Stein 1898). The sites were constructed of rough masonry with thick walls and some include watchtowers (Khattak 1997: 50-53; Stein 1898: 5-8). Their locations above high mountain ridges indicate that a large workforce was involved in the construction of these buildings suggesting a defensive role (Khattak 1997: 96). Due to their locations in difficult topography, Stein (1898: 4) believed that the clusters of such sites with watchtowers and rough masonry indicate that they were probably used only during threats but not for everyday living. According to Khattak (1997: 54), Hindu Shahi sites in Buner show great affinity with Jalala and Landakai sites, in Malakand Agency (Stein 1927: 435, 1995: 24-25).

Several similar Hindu Shahi sites are located over the Ilam range, forming a natural and administrative boundary between the modern Swat and Buner districts (Figure 2.5) (Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996; Stein 1898, 1927; Tucci 1958). Their locations, massive walls and watchtowers suggest they probably served a defensive function (Tucci 1958: 286). Olivieri (1996: 70) states that the Ilam range is suitable for defensive purposes but not for permanent occupation. Other forts are located along the Daggar pass, showing similarity in terms of their locations with the Malakand Pass forts (Figure 2.5) (Godfrey 1912: 51). During the survey, Khattak (1997) also recorded an underground pit and associated it with grain storage. Khattak (1997: 90) believed that the invaders possibly burnt the settlements and as a result the granaries and other supplies were stored and covered below the room floor level to keep them away from fire. Although, he has not provided any further evidence or detail in support of his claim. Previously, almost all Hindu Shahi sites in Buner were linked with a defensive role by those who recorded them; however, the contextualisation and the interpretation of these sites remained incomplete. The sites are further discussed in chapter 4, 5, 6 and 7.

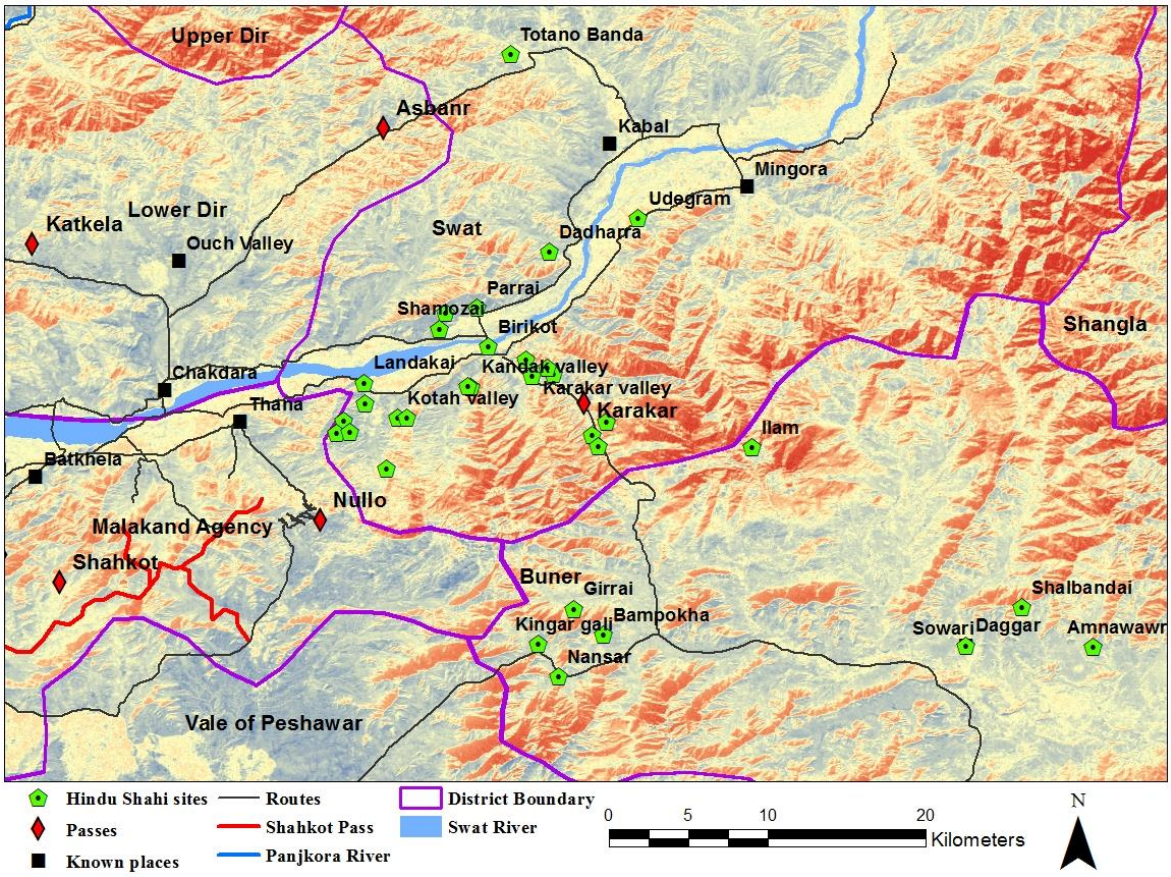


Figure 2.5. Map showing location of Hindu Shahi sites in Buner and Swat (Ijaz Khan)

In Swat, Hindu Shahi sites are located on both sides of the Swat River, though the concentration is higher close to the Karakar Pass and the valleys nearby (Figure 2.5). On the south side of Swat River, sites are clustered in Kotah, Kandak, Najigram and Karakar valleys, Barikot, Swat (Figure 2.5) (Barger and Wright 1941; Faccenna et al. 1993; Qamar 2004; Olivieri 1996; 2003; Olivieri and Vidale 2004; Olivieri et al. 2006; Stein 1927, 1995; Tucci 1958, 1963). These sites are located on hills and include watchtowers which are also referred to as ‘tower-houses’, or ‘tower-house complexes’ or ‘tower-house settlements ‘in the relevant literature (Olivieri et al. 2006: 36). The difference between the terms has not been explained, nevertheless the published figures and descriptions seem to refer to what I am categorising as watchtowers in this study. Watchtowers are square and rectangular in plan and include beams still present inside of the buildings (Faccenna et al. 1984: 493, 496; Olivieri et al. 2006: 17-18; Stein 1995: 24; Tucci 1958: 318).

The locations of sites with watchtowers and huge walls clearly demonstrate their defensive function (Stein 1995: 24-25). Their high concentration close to the Karakar Pass and in its surrounding valleys strongly suggest that they were established to control the movement (Olivieri et al. 2006: 139). The construction of such large settlements on a considerable distance from the valley floors must have engaged substantial labourers (Stein 1995: 25).

To the north side of the Swat River, the Hindu Shahi forts were placed at close intervals covering area between Totano Banda and Shamozai valley and were protected by large walls and watchtowers (Figure 2.5) (Faccenna et al. 1993; Tucci 1958). The Shamozai valley and its nearby fortress of Bar Tangai looks over the confluence of Dadaharra and Swat valleys, forming a defence system (Figure 2.5) (Faccenna et al. 1993: 263).

The Hindu Shahi period sites in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Buner and Swat were all associated with the safety and security of these regions (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Faccenna et al.1993; Godfrey 1912; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Stein 1898, 1927, 1980, Tucci 1958, 1963). According to Dani (1968a: 5), after the invasion of the Vale of Peshawar, the Hindu Shahi established a defence system on both sides of Swat River in order to keep the region protected. Consequently, the Hindu Shahi assumed control over all the routes and passes that could provide access to the study region from the Vale of Peshawar, Bajaur Agency and Upper Dir (Dani 1968a: 4-31; Rahman 1968: 104-105). The forts were set on high mountain ridges, at a considerable distance from the valley floors to keep the surrounding areas and access routes under close surveillance (Dani 1968a: 5-12, 28-31; Olivieri 1996: 74). Dani (1968a: 31) believed that the Hindu Shahi's retreat from the Vale of Peshawar to the hilltops was a new feature of settlement occupation. The majority of sites were placed within visual range of each other and connected through watchtowers (Rahman 1968: 105; Olivieri 1996: 74). The watchtowers provided a platform for the soldiers and were also used for conveying messages to other nearby sites (Dani 1968a; Rahman 1968). The thick walls, watchtowers, arrow-slits and similar masonry of Hindu Shahi sites suggest largely their military function (Dani 1968a: 3-12, 27-31; Olivieri et al. 139; Rahman 1968: 105, 1979a: 278).

According to Olivieri (1996: 74-75) after the invasion of the Vale of Peshawar Swat became a stronghold of the Hindu Shahi. At this time, cities were abandoned in favour of watchtowers settlements (Olivieri et al. 2006: 138). With the establishment of the watchtower settlements major cultural and economic changes occurred (Olivieri et al.2006: 141). The geographical distribution of Hindu Shahi forts suggests that they were trying to stop military assaults from the Vale of Peshawar and it was only possible when the Vale of Peshawar was captured by the Ghaznavids and this region was still under their control (Dani 1968a: 30; Olivieri 1996: 74-75).

2.4.7 Punjab, Pakistan

Hindu Shahi material culture has also been reported from Nandana, Punjab, which is known to have been capital centre of the Hindu Shahi. The material culture at Nandana includes a fort which is located on the mountain rises to approximately 457 meters in height (Meister 2003: 124; Mughal and Nazir 2004: 168; Stein 1937: 63-43). Its fortification wall covers an area of nearly 274 square meters and is made of large rough stone blocks comprising bastions and buttresses (Iqbal et al. 2006: 170; Mughal and Nazir 2004: 169-170). Inside the fort there is a temple constructed on a terrace of stone blocks of irregular sizes which includes trefoil arches, niches and plaster. Three other temples inside a fort at Amb, Punjab, are also said to have been built by the Hindu Shahi between 800-900 CE (Cunningham 1882: 33; Sarwar 1996: 152).

The archaeological publications of Hindu Shahi sites demonstrate that Hindu Shahi temples received more attention than the settlements. These temples have been studied in relation to architecture and decoration while little thought was given to determine the possible factors behind large numbers of temples constructed at certain localities. The Vale of Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan and Nandana are historically and archaeologically known to have several temples and been assigned to a broad chronological period i.e. 9th-10th centuries CE (Masih 2002; Meister 2010a; Stein 1980).

In contrast, only one Hindu Shahi temple has been identified within the study region. In other parts their temples are located in politically important areas such as Hund, Nandana

and Dera Ismail Khan. However, in the study region the lone temple is located in a remote, isolated fortified valley far away from dense settlements. Scholarship so far has failed to account for the relative lack of temples in the study region and the location of Gumbat temple in a fortified and desolated valley. These issues are further discussed in chapter 7.

In most cases, Hindu Shahi settlements have been reported through general surveys and multi-period sites excavations. Among them, Hund is considered to be the most important site of the dynasty. Though, it requires more investigations to understand its various aspects and chronology Presently, information about Hindu Shahi settlements is largely limited to the visible structures and almost all of them have been identified and interpreted as forts.

The Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts are entirely missing in the relevant historic accounts and have not been linked with any historic political or military activity. However, archaeologically these areas have been related with a considerable number of Hindu Shahi settlements that include large and often multiple watchtowers. These settlements were interpreted as forts and have been associated to the Hindu Shahi retreat from the Vale of Peshawar following the invasion by the Ghaznavids. Like all other regions, these forts were assigned to the broad period ranging from the beginning of 8th century CE to the early years of 11th century CE. In light of the above archaeological studies, it is fair to say that the settlements of the Hindu Shahi period lack a detailed study and the chronological phases remain uncertain.

2.5 Summary

The Hindu Shahi period is mainly understood from historical sources, referring to notable events in relation to the Ghaznavids and the Kashmiri kings. There are no reliable Hindu Shahi sources which record the political history or other important events of the dynasty. Presently, only fragmentary historic information is available, demonstrating differences on most aspects of the Hindu Shahi. This information has been studied and interpreted by modern scholars resulting in confusion about their chronology, kings and important political events.

The archaeology of the Hindu Shahi period has also received relatively little attention. Their temples have been investigated in relation to their architecture and decoration while little attention has been paid to their locations, numbers and roles in the landscape. Hindu Shahi settlements have been reported from various parts of Pakistan; however, due to the limited investigations the existing information is largely confined to their prominent structures. In the study region, Hindu Shahi sites interpreted as forts and have been related to their retreat after the fall of the Vale of Peshawar around 1002 CE by the Ghaznavids. Historic accounts are entirely silent about the Hindu Shahi activity in the study region, while archaeological evidence shows their substantial and significant activity here, indicating possible gaps in the historic information.

Chapter 3 Field Survey and Data Analysis Methodologies

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the survey methodologies and analytical approaches utilised during the present landscape survey to obtain record and analyse new datasets. The meaning of landscape and why its study is critical for investigating and understanding settlement patterns, and social, economic, political, and other perspectives of ancient communities, is an important consideration for my studies. A summary of three surveys that have been carried out in different parts of the world will be presented in order to evaluate the benefits of investigating different perspectives of sites, artefacts and landscape features and how these have allowed the researchers to address their research questions.

Previously, Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (the study region) have been archaeologically studied with different degrees of coverage. Swat and Buner were frequently recorded in the accounts of both travellers and invaders mentioning various religious and secular sites and notable events over different times (e.g. see Giles 1959; Lahiri 1986). As a result, Swat and Buner have been the focus of intense archaeological investigations showing material culture from the Neolithic to the present time (Arif and Hassan 2014; Khan 2011a, 2011b; Olivieri 1996, 2011; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1973; Swati 2008; Taddei 1998; Tucci 1958). This is particularly evident from Swat, where the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan has been engaged in archaeological explorations and excavations since mid-1950s (see chapter 1) (e.g. Filigenzi 2006, 2011; Olivieri 1996, 2011; Stein 1898; Taddei 1998; Tucci 1958). Besides the Italian Archaeological Mission, many other national and international scholars have also been involved in explorations and excavations (e.g. Young 2003).

On the other hand, Malakand Agency and Lower Dir have been relatively little explored and understood, though these areas have been associated with a considerable Hindu Shahi material culture (Ali et al. 2009, 2010; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1980). These studies have primarily focused on the Buddhist and Gandhara Grave Culture sites (see Dani 1968b, c, d; Dean 1896; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Zahir

2012). Keeping in view the partial and sporadic investigations of Malakand Agency and Lower Dir, during the present survey these areas were intensively investigated while relatively little attention was paid to Swat and Buner districts (see below).

Therefore, the earlier research work carried out in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir is briefly discussed in the following pages to assess the techniques, coverage and the survey objectives. The main purpose of this is to analyse the earlier work and discuss the results alongside the new survey datasets gathered by this researcher, for a wider regional context. Another purpose of this discussion is to explore the extent and coverage of the previous surveys and hence to design an effective survey project in consideration to the previous surveys coverage and the research question raised in chapter 1.

The present landscape survey project includes discussions about the systematic survey techniques and approaches (i.e. sampling, transect and so on) that were adopted and used during the fieldwork for this research. Besides this, local community engagement was critical to the present survey due to the current geo-political situation and for collecting information about archaeological sites. This is followed by a discussion of data recording, collection and analytical approaches. In this section, I explain as to what elements of the data were recorded, and collected during the present survey and later analysed and how they helped me to gain an insight into the political position of the study region during the Hindu Shahi period, which is the main aim of this thesis.

The present research explores and analyses Hindu Shahi settlements in relation to their political activity which needs extensive investigation. For this reason, the systematic landscape survey approach was critical for this research to understand the Hindu Shahi period on a regional scale. The primary objective of this survey was to explore the extent of Hindu Shahi material culture, its relationship with the landscape and thus to characterise the settlement patterns and gain insights of the political position of the study region during their occupation.

3.2 Importance of the landscape and landscape survey

In the last few decades, the concept of 'landscape' has received considerable attention in archaeology and other disciplines (Ashmore 2002: 1173; Renes and Kolen 2015: 22). Landscape is a broad and complicated term and has been defined in variety of ways. Landscapes are fundamental places for human life where people carry out economic, social, religious, political and other great range of activities (Renes and Kolen 2015: 21; Tilly 2008: 272). Landscapes keep records of these activities in the form of material culture; therefore, the landscape and the human activities have their own significance in archaeological interpretations (Casey 2008: 44). Landscape archaeology has been included in the curricula of many universities of the world and more particularly in Europe, but in Pakistan, this subject is relatively new and practicing archaeologists have never paid any attention to it.

According to Alcock and Cherry (2004: 3) and David and Thomas (2008: 27) landscape is understood not just as the location of a site but as a central part of archaeological investigations. Landscape archaeology focuses on the entire region well beyond the particular site (David and Thomas 2008: 38), recording, collecting and understanding diverse evidence of ancient people. It as an approach as well as a technique that considers and examines both the natural features and the material culture together (Metheny 1996: 384). There is possibility that settlements have been influenced by the landscape features such as water resources, access routes, mountains, agriculture land and so forth. Through landscape archaeology, the relationship between settlements and the surrounding land or other features is understood and explained (Wilkinson 2003: 3). The landscape study is concerned with what lies beyond the site (Johnson 2005: 116). Like modern time, ancient people might have carried out various activities outside their settlements (Given 2004: 13; Richard 2008: 552; Wilkinson et al. 2004: 192). In the light of the above-mentioned interpretations about landscape archaeology, it can be concluded that landscape archaeology helps in gathering and understanding these activities on a regional scale thoroughly.

An extensive literature deals with the methods and assessment of landscape investigation (see e.g. Fleming 2012; Politis 2003; Stabbetorp et al. 2007). Due to its usefulness, the landscape study approach or landscape archaeology is widely practiced across the world

where scholars investigate and understand political (e.g. Casana 2009; Claessen and Bakel 2006; Cosmopoulos 2006; Norman and Kelly 2004), social (Ashmore 2007; Decorse and Spiers 2009; Shipek 1982; Stevens 2014), defensive (Shackel 2003), religious (Mack 2004), economic (Coningham et al. 2006) and other aspects of ancient communities.

3.3 Mesopotamia landscape survey

Pollock (1999: 67-75) conducted survey in Mesopotamia to understand the settlement patterns of the Ubaid, Uruk, Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods. She included both the urban centres and hinterlands in her study and divided the primary survey region into three sub-regions. Pollock gathered information from her study region about the geographical distribution of sites, their density, and sites structures. During the analysis, Pollock noticed variations and similarities in the settlement patterns, number of sites and their physical details (structures, sizes and so on). These variations and similarities led her to calculate the approximate population and identify the probable factors that caused a population shift from the rural areas to urban centres during different periods. Considering the results of analysis, Pollock suggested that during the Early Dynastic period conflicts between the different cities posed some serious threats to the local population which resulted in the settlement shift. Besides this, Pollock also suggested that the development of irrigation systems, fertile land and the threats of flood were other factors that forced or attracted the population to shift from one place to another during different periods. Investigations of different geographical zones, i.e. the hinterlands and the urban centres, enabled Pollock to understand the political and economic relationships of sites with each other and thus she characterised the urban and rural centres.

3.4 Vijayanagara landscape survey

Sinopoli (2004b: 257-279) carried out a systematic (transect) field survey in Vijayanagara, India. Her purpose in carrying out the survey was to understand settlement history, the economic organisation, the religious and the defensive sites of Vijayanagara. The earlier researchers mainly focused on the main Vijayanagara city while its surrounding areas were omitted, thus, information about the sites was mainly confined to the main city. Considering

the current state of archaeological investigations, Sinopoli expanded her investigations and included both the main city and its surrounding areas, covering a total of 450 square kilometres' area. This approach proved very useful and she was able to record 730 sites that included 67 new sites around the city wall (Sinopoli 2004b: 270-271). She analysed the site sizes and identified 16 different activity scale areas ranging from 0.5 hectares to 60-75 hectares. The analysis of site sizes enabled Sinopoli to understand and establish the hierarchy and organisation of the settlements. Her approach of studying diverse geographical zones of both the small and larger areas helped her to observe variations between sites and to identify the factors that shaped and influenced locations of the settlements sites over time.

3.5 Allahabad District Survey, India

Erdosy (1988) investigated the second urbanisation period in India through a systematic field survey in Ganges valley, Allahabad from 1000 BCE to 300 CE. During the survey, he recorded settlements and later analysed their sizes and structures in order to explore the possible status or position of their occupants. Along with the settlements, Erdosy also analysed the collected ceramics and other artefacts to understand the functions of individual sites. The results of settlements and artefacts analysis enabled him to gain an idea about the growth of urbanisation and the political hierarchy of sites. Based on the results of the survey, he concluded that during the Mauryan period, the administrative centres became hubs of craft production, monumental architecture and trade. According to Erdosy, these developments attracted populations from other places who then started settling in these administrative centres. The city of Patiliputra became central and was declared the Mauryan capital while the earlier largest centres of Matura and Kausambi now became the dynasty provinces (Erdosy 1988: 131-132).

3.6 Summary of the above surveys vis-à-vis the present work

The results of surveys from India and Mesopotamia showed that field survey is critical for understanding broader issues such as social, economic, political organisation, settlement patterns and so on. During the surveys, appropriate data from extensive survey regions and diverse geographical zones was collected which was crucial for the investigators research

aims. During the analysis, researchers observed similarities and differences between the settlements details such as site sizes, structures, location, density, ceramics and other artefacts. Such approaches enabled them to characterise the settlement patterns and periods based on a regional investigation and thus understood the organisation of settlements. The study of various geographical and topographic zones also enabled the researchers to explore the possible factors influencing settlement shift from one place to another place due to political, economic and security reasons during different periods.

Drawing upon the survey examples from Mesopotamia and India, it appears that the landscape survey and analysis approach applied in those surveys would also be suitable for my research. The aims of the current research are quite similar to that of Pollock (1999), Sinopoli (2004b) and Erdosy (1988) to explore Hindu Shahi settlements and understand their activities and possible shift or retreat to the study region as suggested by scholars (Dani 1968a; Olivieri 1996; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rahman 1979a; Scerrato 1986). Therefore, it was crucial to carry out survey in the study region and record and collect information about Hindu Shahi material culture and their geographical expanse. The approach applied by Pollock (1999), Sinopoli (2004b) and Erdosy (1988) for investigating different parts within their study regions proved to be useful and showed a much broader picture of archaeological activities across the landscape. The study of different geographical and topographic zones also reflected changes in the sites concentration, structures and locations which in turn helped them to understand the settlements patterns and hierarchy. The study of wider landscape also showed that shift in the settlements over time occurred due to the political situation, natural resources and natural disasters.

As outlined above, in the present study region, Malakand Agency and Lower Dir have received relatively little attention compared to Swat and Buner. Information about Hindu Shahi activities in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir is limited to particular localities, while their larger parts remained archaeologically unknown. For this very reason, during the present survey, my aim was to cover as much of the study region as possible and explore its various geographical zones and gain a wider understating of Hindu Shahi occupation across Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts. Considering the importance of the analysis of sites geographical location, physical location, elevation, structures and their

sizes, I also intend to analyse these aspects of the survey data along with some other important aspects and thus address the research question.

3.7 Methods and coverage of the earlier archaeological surveys in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir.

In chapter 1, the archaeological models that were developed about the Hindu Shahi were presented and in chapter 2 the archaeological evidence was summarised and presented (Ali et al. 2009; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al.1999; Khattak 1997; Samad and Khan 2016; Scerrato 1985, 1986; Stein 1898, 1927, 1980, 1995; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006). Here, the techniques and coverage of the earlier surveys carried out in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir are discussed (Ali et al. 2009; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Khan et al.1999; Stein 1980). As outlined above, the purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate aims, methods, and covered areas of the earlier surveys and their implications on the present survey project designing.

3.7.1 H.A. Deane's survey, Lower Dir

During his tenure as a Political Officer of Swat and Dir, H. A. Deane (1896) carried out a survey in Lower Dir and Malakand Agency. His objective was to locate and take brief notes of Buddhist period sites in light of the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang's travel account (Deane 1896: 655). As Deane was not an archaeologist, he did not adopt a systematic approach and simply followed Xuanzang's descriptions, thus locating sites in a random fashion. The publish report does not include anything about the field survey methodology (either it was conducted through a vehicle or foot). During the survey, he noticed Hindu Shahi period sites in Talash (near Katkela Pass) and Ouch valleys, Lower Dir and near Shahkot and Nullo Passes in the Malakand Agency (Deane 1896: 659, 664, 671). As the main focus of his interest was Buddhist material, Deane did not study and record details of Hindu Shahi sites but only mentioned their locations in the respective areas.

3.7.2 Aurel Stein's survey, Lower Dir

Aurel Stein (1980) was the first archaeologist to carry out an archaeological survey in 1906 in the Talash and Ouch valleys, Lower Dir. The purpose of his survey was to trace the route taken by Alexander the Great based on the records left by his historians. During the survey, Stein followed the historical descriptions and surveyed the possible routes and sites of his interest in the Talash and Ouch valleys, Lower Dir (Stein 1980: 21). Later, in 1926 during his trip to Swat, Stein (1927) visited Thana in the Malakand Agency. During both surveys, Stein followed only what he believed to be the routes described by classical historians, and carried out investigations without any defined methodology. It is not clear whether he surveyed the respective localities within Lower Dir, Swat and Malakand Agency on foot or in a vehicle. During the surveys, Stein (1927, 1980) occasionally mentioned Hindu Shahi sites in Talash valley near Katkela Pass and Thana, largely due to their enormity and prominent appearance. It is not worthy; neither Stein mentions the total number of Hindu Shahi sites nor their precise physical details (e.g. size, type and number of structures and so on).

3.7.3 Ahmad Hassan Dani's survey, Lower Dir and Malakand Agency

In early 1960s, the first detailed field survey was carried out by Professor Dani (1968) from the University of Peshawar in Lower Dir. It is worth noting, that his research aim was similar to Stein's in aiming to trace Alexander the Great's route in the region. During the survey, Dani (1968a) mainly surveyed the Talash and Ouch Valleys and area along Swat River. However, the published report indicates that Dani travelled extensively through main routes and passes within Lower Dir and Malakand Agency. Through his study in Lower Dir and a reconnaissance trip in Malakand Agency, Dani (1968a) mentioned certain structures, masonry, physical location and geographical distribution of Hindu Shahi sites both within Lower Dir and Malakand Agency (see chapter 2 for details).

He carried out the survey with the help of local government officials and did not adopt a particularly systematic approach, but appears to have randomly surveyed the area. In the published report, it has never been made clear that either the survey was carried out with a

vehicle or field walking. Despite these constraints, his survey proved to be very useful and for the first-time highlighted significant material culture and considerable potential of Hindu Shahi period in Lower Dir and Malakand Agency (Dani 1968a: 7-31). As noted above, the primary aim of Dani's (1968a) survey was to locate Alexander's route in this region; thus his work lacks detailed information about a range of Hindu Shahi structures, sizes and overall plan.

3.7.4 Bahadar Khan et al.'s survey, Malakand Agency (1999)

In 1999, Bahadar Khan et al. of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, conducted a survey in Malakand Agency, covering area between Batkhela Town and Landakai (Khan et al. 1999: 1-28). The published report does not mention the explicit aims or techniques of the survey. From the description of the sites it appears that the aim of the survey was to investigate the settlement history of Malakand Agency and it was probably conducted in a village to village fashion. The survey report also does not mention anything about the field walking or use of vehicle. The report also largely excludes information about Hindu Shahi sites (total number of sites, structures and so on). Bahadar Khan et al. (1999) for the first time recorded Hindu Shahi sites in the surroundings areas of Aladhand Dheri, Malakand Agency. The report speaks of a Hindu Shahi site with eight watchtowers, which was entirely a new evidence in the study region (see chapter 2 for detail).

3.7.5 Ali et al.'s Survey, Lower Dir (2005)

More detailed survey was conducted in 2005 (Ali et al. 2009, 2010) in Adinzai Tehsil, Lower Dir, in the area earlier surveyed by Dani (1968a) and Stein (1980). The purpose of the survey was to record multi-period sites ranging from prehistoric to the historic periods and to locate new Gandhara Grave Culture sites (Ali et al. 2009: 30) (see Zahir 2012 for detail information on Gandhara Grave Culture). During the survey, a total area of 20x10 kilometres was covered through 21 transects. The published report does not provide information about the areas that were walked through transect, which could help in planning the present and future archaeological projects. Based on the survey results, these areas either could be excluded or more systematically and intensively investigated. Unlike the earlier surveys (i.e. Dani 1968a;

Deane1896; Stein 1980), this survey includes information about the sizes of sites (Ali et al. 2009: 33, 2010: 141-159). During the survey a total of 294 sites were recorded. Among them 37 sites (13% of the total) were assigned to the Hindu Shahi period. It was a useful contribution which not only recorded important Hindu Shahi sites in Lower Dir but also gave some idea about their sizes.

The earlier field surveys carried out in Lower Dir and Malakand Agency (Ali et al. 2009, 2010; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Khan et al. 1999; Stein 1927, 1980) recorded a significant number of Hindu Shahi period sites and important structures. The majority of these surveys were carried out unsystematically and in most cases at the same localities i.e. Talash and Ouch valleys (modern Adinzai Tehsil), Lower Dir and Thana, Malakand Agency. As a result, the larger area of Malakand Agency and Lower Dir remained archeologically unknown and information about the Hindu Shahi period was very preliminary. Also, the relationship between settlements and the landscape feature across the study region in general remained uncertain.

As note in chapter 1 and above, that compared to Lower Dir and Malakand Agency, Swat has been a focus of intensive archaeological research. However, most of the scholars have examined Hindu Shahi period only alongside with their primary interests (Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Stein 1927, 1980, 1995; Tucci 1958). A similar situation is observed in Buner, where the Hindu Shahi period sites have been reported through general surveys, carried out for other aims (e.g. see Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Khattak 1997; Rehman et al. 1996; Samad and Khan 2016; Stein 1898). Despite the considerable material culture of the Hindu Shahi in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner, it has largely been neglected in favour of other periods. Until this study, no detailed and intensive investigation of Hindu Shahi period has been undertaken.

The political position of the study region during the Hindu Shahi period can be understood and established through the analyses of settlements and their relationships with each other. The survey will shed light on the site density, their geographical distribution and changes in settlement patterns in terms of different scale areas from outlier or isolated areas to densely populated areas. Such changes in the settlement patterns will enhance our understanding

about the various activities of the Hindu Shahi. The earlier recorded sites have rarely been studied and contextualised in the regional and landscape contexts. During the present survey, an attempt has been made to trace and locate the earlier recoded sites with the help of Google Earth and published maps (see below). This has helped me to explore the expanse of the Hindu Shahi occupation, develop the overall patterning and mapping and contextualise the location and structures across the study region.

3.8 Methodology of the present survey project

A systematic field survey approach is one of the techniques that archaeologists use to record data from a landscape (Smith 2005: 836). Field survey is a key technique for investigating, collecting and documenting archaeological information and it needs to be designed in advance and according to the research needs, time, team members and geography (Dyson and Rowland 1992: 204; Mattingly 2004: 174; Wandsnider and Camilli 1992: 169). While planning a survey project, it is also important to consider size, previous researches, weather, resources and the political situation of the survey or study area/ region. The systematic survey comprises a group of techniques that are used to provide a thorough coverage to the ground surface and explore the extent of material culture (Matthews 2003: 47-48; Sinopoli 2004a: 156).

Field survey is considered an effective tool and is widely carried out by archaeologists (e.g. see Berryman 2009; Bradbury and Creasman 2008; Efstratiou and Ammerman 2004; Kvamme 2003). With the help of field surveys, archaeologists have been able to study and understand settlements and human interaction with the surrounding landscape (see Peterson and Drennan 2005), identify and establish relationship between the core and peripheral areas (Bintliff 1997), examine damage to sites (Cunliffe 2014; Smith 2001), understand site hierarchies (Duffy 2015) and social aspects (Knapp and Given 2004) along with other numerous perspectives. A considerable literature also deals with the survey methods and strategies (see e.g. Banning 1996; Banning et al. 2006; Howard 2007; Tartaron 2003; Tartaron et al. 2006) explaining data collection, recording and so forth.

During the present survey, two fieldwork seasons were conducted each from the start of November to mid-January in 2012-13 and 2013-14. During these months of the year, weather in the study region remains mild and the fields are largely cleared from crops. This on one hand enhances the visibility for spotting archaeological material (Banning et al. 2006: 723) while on other hand no permission is required for carrying out the survey in agricultural lands.

3.8.1 Selecting the study region

Selecting a suitable sized survey area relevant to the research question is the first and the most challenging step in any field survey design (Honeychurch 2007: 369). During the present survey, an area of approximately 2542 square kilometres (62 x 41 kilometres) was chosen and investigated with the help of Google Earth and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in consideration of my research question and the previous work (Figure 3.1). It is worth highlighting that the selected area includes both the earlier studied localities (Ali et al. 2009; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Khan et al. 1999; Stein 1927, 1980) and the new localities. As noted above, my main emphasis was on Malakand Agency and Lower Dir, and intended to cover approximately 918 square kilometres (34 x 27 kilometres) which were relatively little explored and known in terms of Hindu Shahi material culture, and do so quite intensively (Figure 3.1).

The usage of spatial display has a wide range of applications and can be a powerful way to communicate information from across many disciplines. For the kind of survey project, the seemingly unrelated disciplines come together to allow users to view the topic of Hindu Shahi period built heritage with their landscape from a new perspective. The goal of this project was to produce maps that would-be user friendly, widely accessible, and can convey important historic, architectural and spatial information about the sites from the study region. The final product would be a Google Earth file which can be uploaded to the internet and shared with anyone who has access to a computer running Google Earth. During the process of producing the data there were two clear purposes in mind. Firstly, to use Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software to provide a new dimension of spatial analysis for the important sites of the Hindu Shahi dynasty within the study region and allow users to explore

the spatial relationships and significance of the chosen sites. Secondly, to use academic research to supplement the geographic analysis and allow for a more in-depth analysis of the spatial significance of the built heritage of the Hindu Shahi dynasty within the study region.

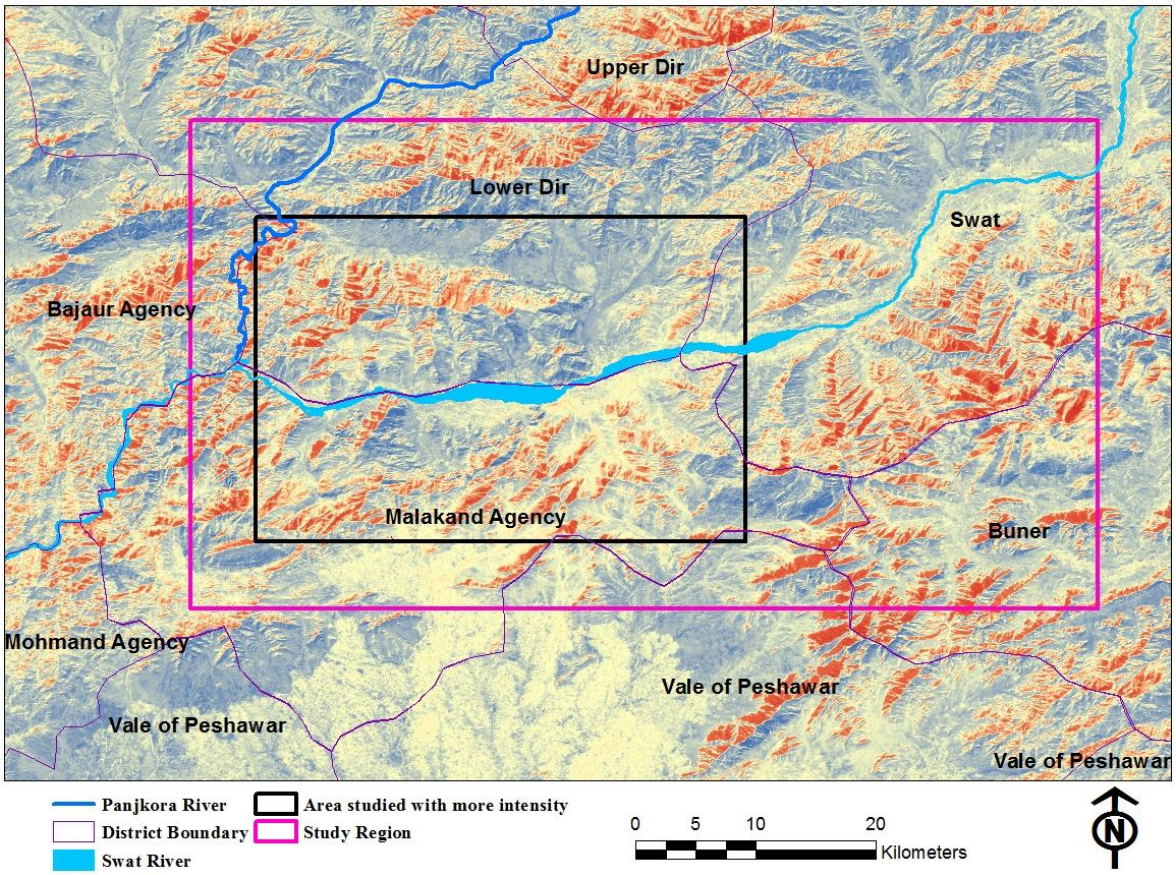


Figure 3.1. Map the study region and area covered with more intensity within Malakand Agency and Lower (Ijaz Khan)

Before creating the Google Earth map or performing the desired GIS analyses, the sites of the Hindu Shahi period had to be identified. These sites were identified based on a combination of factors. First, the author's previous knowledge of the art and architecture of the Hindu Shahi rulers were used to get a general idea of areas of focus. Next, various journal articles and other scholarly works about the Hindu Shahi rulers and their strongholds were used to add to the existing list and attempt to select prominent settlements with their potential usage by the ruling class and political elites. Thereafter, I started visiting the sites of the Hindu Shahi period within the study region and practically recording them with minute

details with the active assistance of a dedicated team of volunteers. Members or volunteers were carefully selected from three universities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan teaching archaeology as one of the major subjects i.e. University of Peshawar, Abdul Wali Khan University (Mardan), and Hazara University (Mansehra). The volunteer students were studying MA (Archaeology) and pursuing their MPhil studies. Their fresh knowledge of the subject was an asset for success of the research project. Hundreds of young and educated people from the study region also volunteered themselves to join us in our cause. The knowledge of the local people about ancient settlements was of great help, apart from their guidance to lead us to those places, and provide security to the survey team.

The kind of latest techniques now being applied in survey and documentation of archaeological sites were not available to the earlier researchers or in some cases, they lacked the required expertise to use the technologies. As a result, the number of sites recorded by them is less in number and lack important information about various aspects of sites and the surrounding landscape. Further, with the developments of roads and bridges over the difficult terrains and rivers and with the availability of dependable modes of transport, the job of the present survey team was relatively easy and comfortable as compared to the task of those scholars who worked in these areas during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Finally, all these aspects and the data secured during the fieldwork were taken into consideration when constructing the final list of recorded settlement sites of the Hindu Shahi. Though, all the sites of the period were recorded, however, only important settlement sites with their environment were described in great length to address the research question. The settlement sites of the period were then entered into an Excel file along with the decimal degree coordinates (see appendix 1 and 2).

In Swat and Buner significant material culture of the Hindu Shahi period was reported mainly through general surveys and associated it with an important Hindu Shahi political event (Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rehman et al. 1996; Stein 1898, 1927, 1995; Tucci 1958). As highlighted in sections 3.7.1 to 3.7.5, that information about the Hindu Shahi in Swat, Buner, Lower Dir and Malakand Agency was basic and preliminary in nature. For this reason, it was critical to analyse and interpret the Swat and

Buner sites along with the Malakand Agency and Lower Dir sites in order to explore similarities and differences between the Hindu Shahi material culture, site concentration, location and thus offer a broad understanding of the period. The purpose of incorporating the earlier recorded sites was to document them in more detail and to expand the survey and explore the Hindu Shahi activities in new areas. Collecting information in this manner was important for understanding the organisation and hierarchy of Hindu Shahi settlements in a wider region. This approach proved to be very useful in terms of understanding the Hindu Shahi activities in the study region (see chapter 7).

3.8.2 Division of the study region

Before conducting the field survey, further help was sought from Google Earth and for convenience and better understanding the study region was divided into six areas (i.e. A, B, C, D, E and F) with two critical considerations in mind (Figure 3.2). The foremost and critical purpose of this was to record, analyse and interpret the survey data in meaningful way in relation to its landscape features. By landscape features I mean mountains, passes, routes, rivers, fields and so on. Secondly, to describe sites well beyond the modern administrative boundaries and villages, ownerships names, which might have been different in antiquity. Presently, very small localities and even closely located individual sites in the study region have been differently named causing confusion in the identification and interpretation of sites.

The division of the study region into six areas i.e. A, B, C, D, E and F facilitates the understanding of the study region for convenience of reference. Figure 3.2 clearly shows that all these areas are closely linked to each other and further shows that the settlement sites within a larger landscape are either located close enough or shows close association and resemblance with a similar landscape features, e.g. passes, terraces, tops, rivers and so forth. The division of the study region into different areas also facilitates comparison of the areas with one another. Within these areas (A-F) different localities were surveyed with the help of different methods (see below). This division enabled me to understand, interpret and represent the data clearly and effectively and in the landscape contexts (see chapters 4-8).

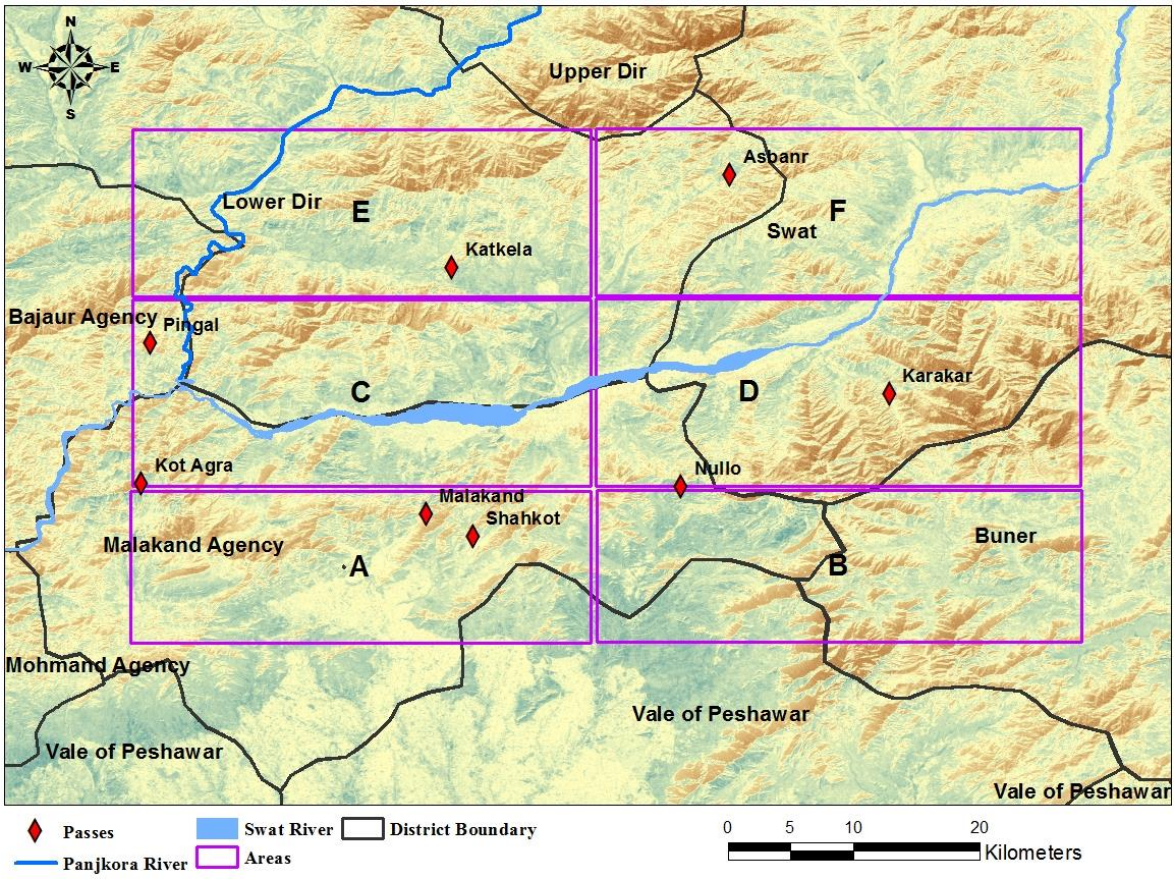


Figure 3.2. Map showing the division of the study region into six areas (Ijaz Khan)

3.8.3 Site and off- site definition

Archaeologists are likely to record large amount of archaeological data during a field survey. Therefore, it is important to clearly establish the site and off-site definitions to differentiate the two different types of activities. Site and offsite have different meanings and might affect the overall interpretation of the data analysis. Site generally refers to a permanent occupation area e.g. a settlement (Wilkinson 2003: 38) or to a permanent location of an activity which has meaning and context e.g. a smelting area (Haggis 2005: 28). In contrast, off-site, also known as background noise is referred to a short term or temporarily occupied areas or the places with less intense human activities (e.g. hunting or agricultural areas) (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988: 507-8; Rhoades 1992: 198). Both places are useful in understanding the great range of human activities across a landscape (Cherry 2004: 23; Sullivan III 1992: 99). Because people were not confined to their settlements but moved across the landscape and

marked it with structures and other great range of activities (Given 2004: 13; Richard 2008: 552; Wilkinson et al. 2004: 192).

During the present survey 'site' was defined as any structure or ceramic scatter of five potsherds (of more than one pot) or more per one square meter. The same definition was used during the previous survey in Lower Dir as well as in the Tehran Plain and Kashmir (Ali et al. 2009: 32; Coningham at el. 2006: 55; Yatoo 2012: 128).

3.8.4 Sampling Strategies

Sampling plays an important role in surveys and reflects a broader picture of archaeological activities (Burger et al. 2004: 411). It is impossible to survey all the study region especially in short-term projects and as a result sampling strategies are applied. Through these strategies, representative samples from a specific area or part of the study region are collected when the entire study region cannot be surveyed (Orton 2000: 18). This sample represents the entire sampling unit and allows archaeologists to make interpretations about the total study region or part of it through extrapolation. Sampling is a cost-effective (Smith 2001: 37) and efficient approach for exploring the study region within a short time. There are four different sampling strategies (see Sinopoli 1991 and Terrenato 2004 for details), however, it is suggested that suitable strategies should be selected at the beginning of the survey in consideration to the research needs and aims (Alcock and Cherry 2004: 3; Cherry 2004: 28; Tartaron 2003: 30).

During the present survey, I used probabilistic and non-probabilistic strategies primarily in consideration to the coverage of the earlier surveys and my research question. Non-probabilistic strategy (also known as non-random or judgmental) is useful in those areas that have been previously investigated or where the surveyors use their own experience or judgment that the material culture might be found (Orton 2000: 21; Richard 2008: 555). This strategy is also very useful for focusing on a particular site or a particular aspect of interest (Sinopoli 1991: 48). I applied this strategy mainly in those areas which were surveyed during the previous investigations (Figure 3.3) (Ali et al. 2009; Dani 1968a; Deane; 1896; Rahman 1968, 1979a, Khan et al. 1999; Stein 1980). The purpose of the application of this strategy

was to document the earlier recorded Hindu Shahi sites more intensively and understand their locations within the landscape. Detailed information about these sites was missing from earlier reports, and understanding these things was critical for my research.

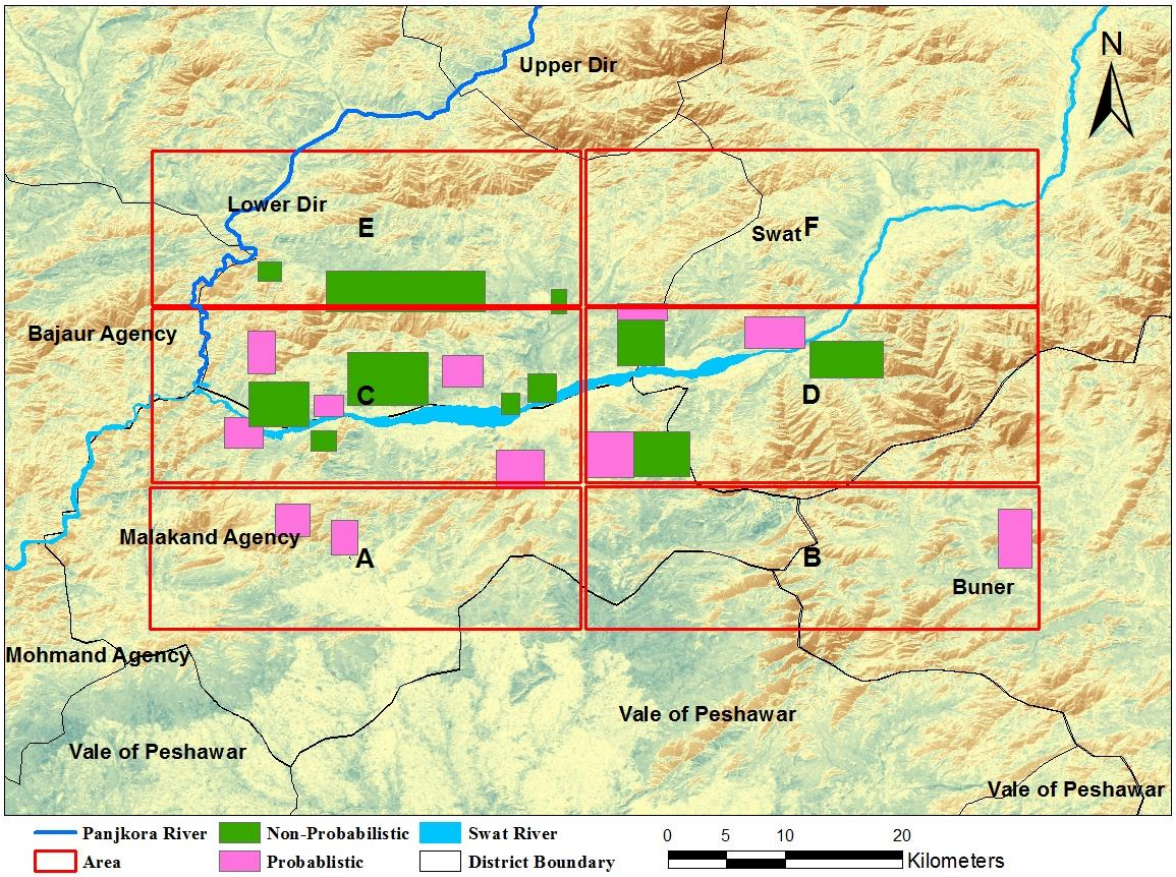


Figure 3.3. Map showing areas investigated through probabilistic and non-probabilistic strategies (Ijaz Khan).

The probabilistic sampling (also known as simple random) approach is useful in those areas where surveyors have no prior knowledge and the sample units are randomly chosen purely on a probability basis (either the material culture is found or not) (Richard 2008: 555). I applied it mainly in new areas that were excluded during the previous surveys or only briefly surveyed (Figure 3.3). The main objective of the application of a probabilistic strategy in the new area was to explore whether the Hindu Shahi material culture is distributed over different geographical and environmental zones or concentrate only in certain parts of the study region.

During the present survey, areas C and D were intensively investigated through both probabilistic and non-probabilistic strategies, due to two reasons. Firstly, other areas (A, B, E, F) were mostly located on the main access routes that linked the study region with the neighbouring regions. Consequently, they were heavily occupied by the Pakistani armed forces due to the prevailing political situation in order to monitor the movement of so-called Taliban in the region (see below). Therefore, it was relatively easy for the survey team to carry out investigations in area C and D whereas in other areas special permission was needed to carry out such activities. Secondly, areas C and D appeared much richer in terms of Hindu Shahi material culture and provided more opportunity for understanding the period. Other areas except area F were also investigated using either one or both strategies, however, compared to areas C and D, little investigation took place in these areas. The present survey team also visited area F, but due to the sensitive and endangered political situation the team was not allowed by the local authorities to conduct survey there.

During the present survey, a total of 240 square kilometres (9 % of the total 2542 square kilometres) area was covered through probabilistic and non-probabilistic strategies. This is relatively a very small proportion of the entire study region. It is suggested that more surveys shall be conducted in the study region as there might be more Hindu Shahi sites, which could further broaden our knowledge about their extent, type of activities and political organisation. Despite the investigation of a small portion of the study region, probabilistic and non-probabilistic survey strategies showed encouraging results in terms of discovery of new sites in new and earlier surveyed areas (see chapter 4).

3.8.5 Transect survey

With the concept of landscape archaeology, transect or systematic walking has emerged as an effective and widely practiced approach. Due to the flexible nature of transects, they can be walked at varying spatial intervals, though, space between the team members is generally decided according to the ground surface and the research objectives (Mattingly 2000: 8; Orton 2000: 19; Tartaron 2003: 29; Ur Hammer: 2009: 38). If high visibility is required to detect tiny objects, space between the team members is kept narrow but if the target is visible structures or large artefacts, space is increased (Richard 2008: 554; Ur 2009: 38). Both the

ground visibility and spacing have considerable impact on locating a great range of archaeological material (Banning et al. 2006: 723-724; Sullivan III et al. 2007: 322). Transects intense and flexible ground coverage help to locate both the ephemeral or short-term activities and the visible structures (Richard 2008: 555). Walking transects is very useful especially in those areas that are little known archaeologically or if the research question depends on the results and findings of the field survey (Tartaron 2003: 31-33; Todd 2004: 43).

During the present survey, a total of eight transects were walked in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir (Figure 3.4). According to the results of the previous research, Hindu Shahi settlements were located only over the mountain tops and slopes while no settlements were located in the plains. In order to understand this situation in more depth, four transects (T2, T3, T7 and T8) were walked at 5 meters spacing in the lower plains and valley floors, mainly in areas C and D where the political situation was more stable and they also appeared rich in terms of Hindu Shahi material culture (Figure 3.4).

The other four transects (T1, T4, T5 and T6) were walked with 10 meters spacing mostly in the hilly areas. The aim of these transects was to provide intensive coverage to particular areas and record and collect substantial evidence about settlements, and understand their relationships with each other and the surrounding landscape features (Figure 3.4). However, while walking the transects, space between the team members changed from time to time due to the cliffs and rough terrain. In such cases, more attention was paid to relatively flat surfaces where the chance of locating structures and artefacts was higher. Details of the transects and located sites were recorded on two separate forms (see appendix 4) that included key and useful information about sites and landscape feature needed for the analysis and interpretations.

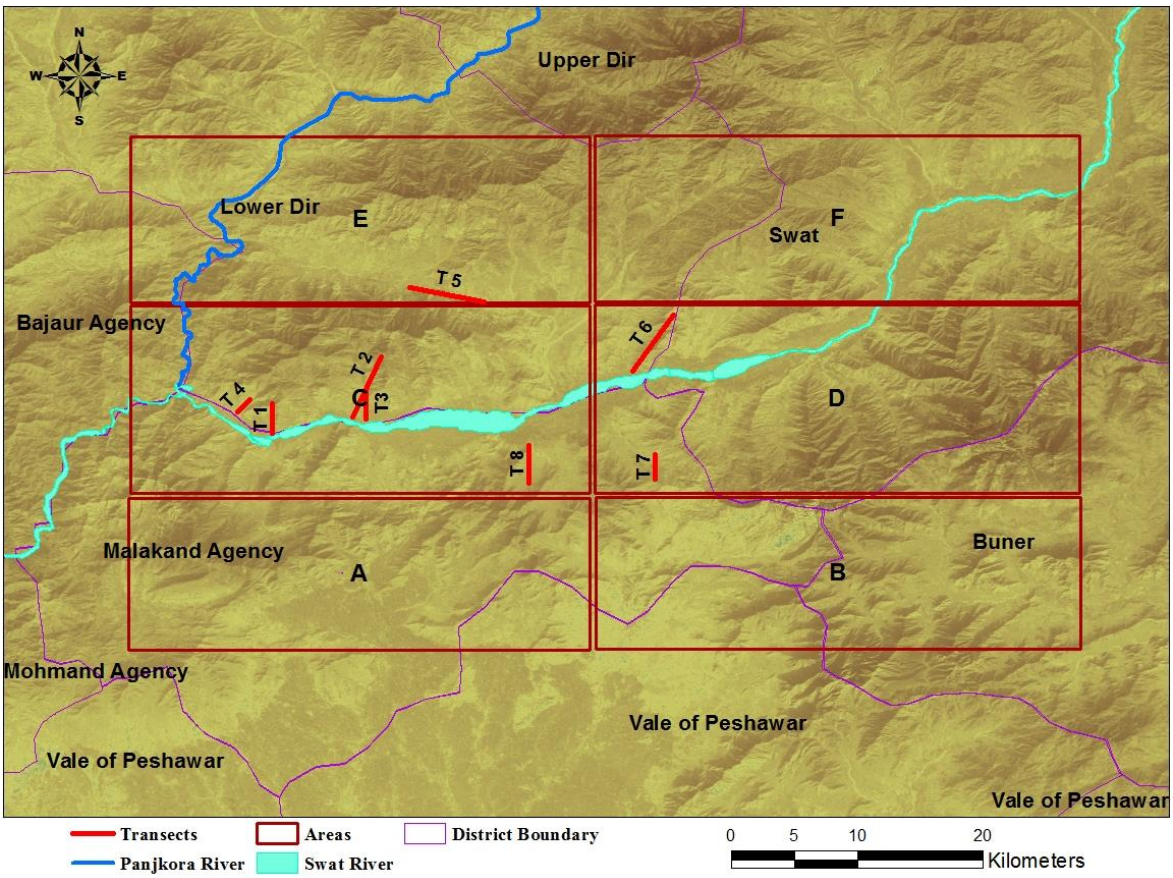


Figure 3.4. Map showing transect lines in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

3.8.6 Community engagement

Local communities have been involved in archaeological activities for some time. Their participation and contribution in archaeological investigations is regarded as Public Archaeology e.g. in Australia (Greer et al. 2002; Owen and Steele 2005), America (Agbe-Davis 2010) Egypt (Moser at el. 2002) and Africa (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). The local community knowledge about the history of sites is sometime very useful (Fredericksen 2002: 289) especially where they settled for a long time. In Pakistan, the engagement and contribution of local communities in archaeological investigations is largely confined to information about the location of sites or occasionally the oral history of sites (e.g. Ali et al. 2009; Ali et al. 2013; Dani 1968a).

During the present survey, the local community was involved for two reasons. Firstly, since 2008 the study region (Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner) has been suffering from the growing activities of Taliban (e.g. see Maley and Danspeckgruber 2009; Schmidle 2009). This has greatly affected archaeological, educational and other routine activities in the region. Since 2008, hundreds of killings, kidnappings and humiliation incidents have occurred. The Pakistani armed forces have greatly eliminated the Taliban networks and activities, although, the situation still remains dangerous and uncertain. Such movements have also caused disruption in the past when archaeological activities were suspended (Callieri at el. 2000: 191). In such a situation, carrying out a field survey without the local community engagement was extremely risky and almost impossible.

Secondly, information about the locations of sites and the geography e.g. routes and passes was critical for analysis and interpretations of the survey data (see chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7). During the survey, help was received from the local community which included local archaeologists, social workers, government officials, senior citizens, and students ranging from primary school to university level. The purpose of a diverse community engagement was to seek views about the locations of sites and history as well as to inform them about the importance and protection of their heritage which risk disappearance due to the natural and human calamities. The approach of local community engagement turned out to be very useful in terms of the survey team safety, locations of sites, nomenclature and information about sites that have passed from generation to generation (see chapter 7).

3.8.7 Pilot survey

Pilot surveys are usually carried out at the beginning of a project in order to obtain information about the geography, distribution and types of sites. For example, in the Tehran Plain, Iran, a vehicular pilot survey was carried out to gain information about the distribution and density of sites and to select important sites for future excavations (Coningham et al. 2004: 1). In Inglefield and Italy, the pilot surveys were carried out through aeroplanes to explore sites in the region and to identify richer areas in terms of archaeology for more intensive field surveys (Darwent at el. 2007: 54-55; Vermeulen and Verhoeven 2006: 397, 399).

During the present survey, I also carried out a vehicular pilot survey in parts of Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner districts. The present research investigates the settlement patterns and activities of the Hindu Shahi which required regional investigation to explore their control and form of occupation. During the short period of my PhD, it was really hard to carry out a detailed investigation across the extensive and wider study region. In order to tackle this problem, I utilised the pilot survey approach covering main routes. Previously, it has been suggested that Hindu Shahi sites are not found beyond the Talash valley in Lower Dir and Udegram, Swat (see chapter 4 and 7 for data analysis and discussion) (Deane 1896; Olivieri 1996; Rahman 1968). As a result, areas up to Timergarah in Lower Dir and Mingora in Swat were investigated and an idea was gained about the Hindu Shahi activity and the impact of the presence or absence of sites in these areas on their overall organisation. Also, areas around the Kot Agra Pass in the Malakand Agency have received little archaeological attention. It was important to explore this route and understand its probable role in the broad region and interpret the results in relation to Hindu Shahi occupation (see the following chapters).

As shown in chapters 1 and 2, in Swat and Buner a considerable number of Hindu Shahi sites have been reported and linked with the Hindu Shahi retreat and security concerns of the study region (Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996; Olivieri et al. 2006; Scerrato 1986; Stein 1898, 1927, 1980, 1995; Tucci 1958). However, little information was available about these sites; therefore, during the present survey, Hindu Shahi sites were located and recorded at certain localities within these regions. The data documented in these areas was then compared with the data from Lower Dir and Malakand Agency. This demonstrated useful results and enhanced my understanding about the settlements organisation and chronology of the Hindu Shahi over a large area (see chapter 7).

3.9 Recording and analysis approaches

Material culture is the main medium for understanding the past communities and has its own use, meanings, styles and functions (Hodder 1994: 67). The analysis of material culture provides information about the social, economic and religious systems of the past communities. According to Longacre (2000: 278), structures and ceramics are thought to be

useful tools to explore the political activity and organisation of past communities. According to other scholars (Maisels 2010; Pollock 1999; Trigger 2003), written records, the urban and hinterland relationship and hierarchy of sites can also be useful to define the political activity and form of organisation.

During the present survey, information about the geographical distribution of sites, physical locations, elevations, structures, masonry and sizes was documented and later analysed (see chapters 4, 5 and 6). Documentation and analysis of these things was critical for understanding the settlement patterns, their organisation and the sites functions.

3.9.1 Settlement sites

Special attention was paid to the documentation of settlements and their several aspects were recorded. This included information about the sites physical details (structures, sizes, masonry) and their locations in the landscape (geographical distribution, physical location, elevation). Recording information in this manner was vital for understanding the relationship of sites with each other and the immediate neighbouring landscape. In this section, first I will discuss the recording and then the analysis strategies and methodologies of both the sites location in the landscape and their physical details.

In order to understand sites in relation to the landscape features, information about sites geographical distribution, physical locations and settlement patterns was recorded. While recording the sites, more attention was paid to the geographical distribution of sites to understand their association with surrounding landscape features i.e. routes, waterways, fields, passes and so on. The overall aim of the landscape features recording was to identify main trends both in the physical details of the sites and landscape features.

3.9.2 Physical location

Information about the physical location of sites was recorded on the site recording form (see appendix 4). By the physical location of sites, I mean the particular topographic feature on which site was established (e.g. plain area, mountain or so forth).The purpose of this recording was to understand whether the location of site was influenced by possible

environmental, economic, religious, political factors or otherwise, and thus to gain insights into the Hindu Shahi considerations (e.g. social, religious, defensive, economic and so on) for selecting or occupying the specific topographic feature.

3.9.3 Elevation

Information about site elevations was recorded with the help of a handheld GPS. This meant to obtain information about the height of sites from the mean sea level and from the surrounding ground surface. This information was then divided into three categories in relation to similar details. The aim of recording the elevation information was to explore whether sites or particular groups of sites were developed at certain heights in relation to physical features or whether they show diversity and what this means in terms of Hindu Shahi overall activity. This analysis has helped me to understand whether sites elevation was influenced by economic, security, religious, social and political consequences or otherwise. This information was compared with other Hindu Shahi sites outside the study region and with pre and post Hindu Shahi period sites in the study region. The recording of elevation data and its further analysis helped me to explore main trends and put the sites into context in consideration to other characteristics.

3.9.4 Structures

As outlined above, transect is an effective technique for locating a great range of archaeological material. For this reason, settlements were walked in the transect manner to locate and record maximum information about the structures and artefacts. During this process, various structures were located and discussion was made among the survey team members about their identification and possible function. The distribution and layout of structures was thoroughly investigated and if the survey team was allowed by the locals or owners, their plans were drawn with accurate detail. In total, nearly forty sites were measured and drawn on the spot with accurate details and later finalized at the base camp for analysis and interpretation (see chapter 5 and appendix 3 for site plans).

If the survey team had a limited time due to certain reasons (e.g. political situation, local community aggression and so forth), in such a case the survey team either drew rough plans

(structures were measured approximately, and their overall layout and plan were recorded) or identified and calculated the total number of various structures (see appendix 2 for sites total number of structures and types). The purpose of recording structures was to explore different types of sites and their possible role in the overall organisation of the Hindu Shahi in the study region. Secondly, the aim of structures recording was to obtain maximum information about these sites which are subject to serious threats due to development of new settlements and expansion of agriculture. This information (provided in appendix 2) can be used in future studies for advancing the existing knowledge about the Hindu Shahi occupation in this region.

Later, during the analysis, this information was utilised for several purposes. Some sites were in good state of preservation and the survey team was able to recognise structures and these were assigned to different categories i.e. sites with bastions, pits and so forth. During the course of data analysis, different types of structures were considered and compared within the present study region to draw similarities and differences between the sites. They were also compared with the Buddhist period structures within the study region and with other published Hindu Shahi sites outside the study region (see chapter 7). This allowed me to understand different structures possible functions, distinctions and gain an idea about the sites socio-political importance in the respective area and in the wider landscape. This has also shed light on the chronology and the political activity of the Hindu Shahi period.

3.9.5 Site sizes

During the survey, sites were recorded according to the site definition outlined above (see section 3.8.3) and were measured with the help of visible structures, which marked clear boundaries. During the analysis, the site sizes were divided into three categories and each category was then plotted on the map to see whether there is any patterning in their locations or otherwise. Each category was then further analysed in relation to the different types and number of structures. The aimed to explore variations and similarities between the sites and to understand their probable role and locations in the given landscape. This analysis has allowed me to understand the possible hierarchy and functions of sites.

3.10 Pottery assemblage

Potsherds were the only artefacts noticed and collected from sites during the present survey. Pottery plays an integral role in understanding or contextualising the human past. It provides a great range of information about past such as identifying a group of people, establishing trade links and other various types of activities (Miller and Ali 2010; Sinopoli 1991). The composition, designs and surface finishing of ceramics are obvious and important signs for dating (Matthews 2003: 51). Pottery also provides information about the duration and functions of sites as well as inter-sites relationships (Stone 2004: 137). In archaeological studies, pottery has been used for understanding, social, political, economic, religious, and other dynamics of ancient societies.

During the survey, diagnostic potsherds, i.e. rims, bases, handles, pieces with decoration or writing were collected from the sites where appropriate. In general, pottery was in lesser quantity and spread over the sites surface in low density. Except for two sites (106 and 174), the distribution of potsherds on sites surface was less than 5 potsherds per square meter. The frequency of potsherds over sites 106 and 174 was high due to digging of trenches by illegal excavators. At these sites a high concentration of ceramics was observed and calculated within 1x1 meter radius and the diagnostic potsherds were collected. The infrequent finding of potsherds and other artefacts from majority of sites was probably due to their location on high hills suffering from a high degree of erosion caused by monsoon rains. In fact, most of the potsherds on these sites were found in secondary contexts, mostly at the end slope of the sites and edges of the structures or within the structures. Recent agricultural activities and construction of farmlands have also disturbed the upper layers of the sites and have re-distributed the potsherds on sites. Illegal excavations and looting of antiquities from sites might have also contributed to the uneven distribution of potsherds over sites. This relative scarcity of artefacts also suggests that either they are either covered by the mud and other debris or these sites were occupied for a short period. Though, these are tentative ideas and only systematic excavations could give us more clearer information.

The collected potsherds were washed, marked and later placed in typological sequence e.g. bowls, jar, vase, cup and so on. They were further categorised based on their characteristics

such as size, style and decoration. Among them, pieces were selected and drawn from a range of types.

Later, of the total recorded sites, 62 sites (28% sites of 225) were chosen for analysis which included sites from almost all localities within the study region (see chapter 6). During the analysis, the whole range of designs were entered in the Excel spread sheet to learn about pottery types and their presence or absence on different sites and in different areas within the study region. Consequently, I compared them with each other and then with the earlier published sites to draw the similarities and differences. This allowed me to characterise different sites and localities within the study region.

3.11 Use of Google Earth and GIS

During the present study, Google Earth was extensively used for the data collection, analysis and interpretation. Before carrying out the field survey, Google Earth was used in order to gain an idea about the topography of the study region. As outlined above, it was used to determine the size of the study region and further divide it into six areas i.e. A-F (see section 3.8.2). Google Earth was also used to locate sites in the study region; however, due to the geopolitical situation and terrorists' activities in the study region, it did not give a closer view of the ground surface and blurred information for security reasons, probably at the behest of the Pakistani state. Only at one locality i.e. Qulangai in Malakand Agency which was clear from the bushes and other wild plants sites were located. Apart from Qulangai, no other site was observed or clearly located on Google Earth.

Despite these limitations, the use of Google Earth has been very productive throughout this study. As noted above, the study region has been a disputed territory lacking detailed information about passes, routes and waterways. This information was collected from Google Earth in the form of coordinates and was later utilised for presentation, analysis and interpretation though GIS. This proved to be very useful in understanding and contextualising the sites. Google Earth has also been used to locate the earlier recorded sites, using villages or localities names as an initial guide. With its help, an idea was gained about the approximate locations of sites and this information was further presented, analysed and

interpreted through GIS (see chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7). This greatly contributed in understanding the settlements patterns, their organisation and the individual sites role across the study region. The results of the analysis were then combined and the settlement patterns were characterised based on a more detailed and comprehensive study. After the detailed analysis of settlements, pottery and landscape features the possible chronology and political position or status of the study region during the Hindu Shahi period have been explored and discussed (see chapter 7 for details).

3.12 Problems faced during the survey

During the survey, certain threats were also there for me and my team. The study region has remained the centre of extremist elements and the so-called Taliban, who are deadly opposed to the kind of activities, particularly related to archaeological sites connected with the infidels. As such, it was not an easy job to work there. However, thanks to the great efforts of the armed forces of Pakistan, the will of the people and the great sacrifices in the war against terror, the area has come to relatively a normal situation, but the threats have not yet been fully eliminated. Thanks to the volunteers from the study region, who not only provided the much-needed security to the survey team members, but also helped in exploring and recording settlement sites of the Hindu Shahi period.

The study region is mostly consisting of rugged and difficult terrain and mountains. Most of the settlement sites were located either on the hilltops or on the difficult slopes and terraces, taking much time and requiring much energy to be reached. Sometime, only one settlement site was visited and recorded during the whole day. Another difficulty was to arrange food and water for the number of volunteers accompanying me, particularly if we had to go to a place on foot requiring 4 – 5 hours of walk from one side. Then the possibility of accidents due to difficult and slippery terrains and thorny bushes was always there. Convenient accommodation with civic amenities was also a problem in the region, where the concept of hotels or hiring houses is not common and prevalent. While I faced many difficulties even with modern facilities, I must give credit to the earlier researchers (e.g. Barger 1938; Barger and Wright 1941; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Foucher 1901, 1915; Godfrey 1912; Rahman 1968; Stein 1898, 1927, 1930; Tucci 1958) who had to walk for miles in absence of roads

and availability of transport. Without their hard work and dedication this study would have not taken place.

3.13 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the importance of landscape and the role of landscape archaeology in exploring and understanding ancient communities. The earlier work in the study region has been discussed in relation to the research aims, techniques and the area coverage. This has been followed by a discussion of the survey and study region and the present survey methods. I have set out the survey aims and objectives in consideration to the previous work and my research aims. I have also presented the techniques and approaches that were utilised during the survey work at the heart of this research, and provided the rationale for the methods and approaches used. Finally, the recording and analyses techniques have been presented, describing particular aspects of the data that have been analysed and how these have led me to understand and address my research question.

Chapter 4 Analysis of Hindu Shahi Settlements in the Landscape

4.1 Introduction

This chapter and the following chapters 5 and 6 present the analysis of the data collected during the landscape survey of Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts. First, I will analyse the distribution of Hindu Shahi sites across the study region and their association with the landscape features. This will be followed by the analysis of physical location of sites to learn whether sites are situated over one topographic feature (e.g. hilltop, plain) or otherwise and explore possible reasons of Hindu Shahi criterion for the selection of the particular features. I will then investigate the height of Hindus Shahi sites from the average altitude of the respective districts (Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner) as well as from the surrounding plains to understand the probable reasons of sites locations on particular elevations.

This will be followed by the analysis of the settlement patterns of the Hindu Shahi across the study region in order to gain more in depth understanding about the sites concentration and their relationship with each other and the nearby settlements. The locations of sites will also be analysed with regard to topography, surrounding routes, passes and the neighbouring regions to explore whether the location of sites shows uniformity or they were randomly placed. This may help to learn about the site hierarchy in consideration to the number of sites and what this means in terms of the Hindu Shahi activity and organisation in the study region.

The overall aim of this chapter is to analyse the location of Hindu Shahi sites in the landscape, noting trends in site location in relation to a range of natural and human made features such as topography (e.g. hilltops, hill slope, valley floor, water resources, passes and access routes) that might have had influenced the site locations. Once these trends have been identified and explored, the results of all the analyses will be discussed in depth in chapter 7.

4.2 Classification of sites recorded during the present survey

Given the limited previous work in the Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts in relation to the Hindu Shahi period, the results of the present survey demonstrate a significant and wide distribution of sites over a large area. The earlier researchers in the study region have characterised different periods on the basis of structures, pottery, coins, inscriptions and other artefacts. This provided a strong base for the identification and classification of Hindu Shahi and other periods sites. During the present survey, a total of 267 sites including 225 sites of the Hindu Shahi period were recorded in light of the site definition given in chapter 3, falling into 6 categories (Table 4.1, Figure 4.1).

Period/ type of site	Sites	%	Material culture
Hindu Shahi	222	83	Structures and pottery assemblages
Buddhist	29	11	Structures, pottery, sculptures/ decorative art fragments
Multi period (Buddhist /Hindu Shahi)	3	1	Structures, pottery
Undated pottery scattered	3	1	Unknown pottery
Undated caves	3	1	Unknown pottery
Undated/ structures	7	3	Structures
Total	*267*	*100*	

Table 4.1. Sites classified by chronological periods and artefact types recorded during the survey

The Buddhist sites, shown in Table 4.1, include rock painting and carvings, stupas and monasteries. There were some cave sites, which were lacking sufficient diagnostic ceramic, other material or evidence to be assigned to specific periods. Even the scattered potsherds

collected from the surroundings were of no help to even tentatively assign them to any known period. Further, the seven undated structural sites were in bad state of preservation (largely converted into agriculture fields and new houses) thus lacking identifiable structures and pottery.

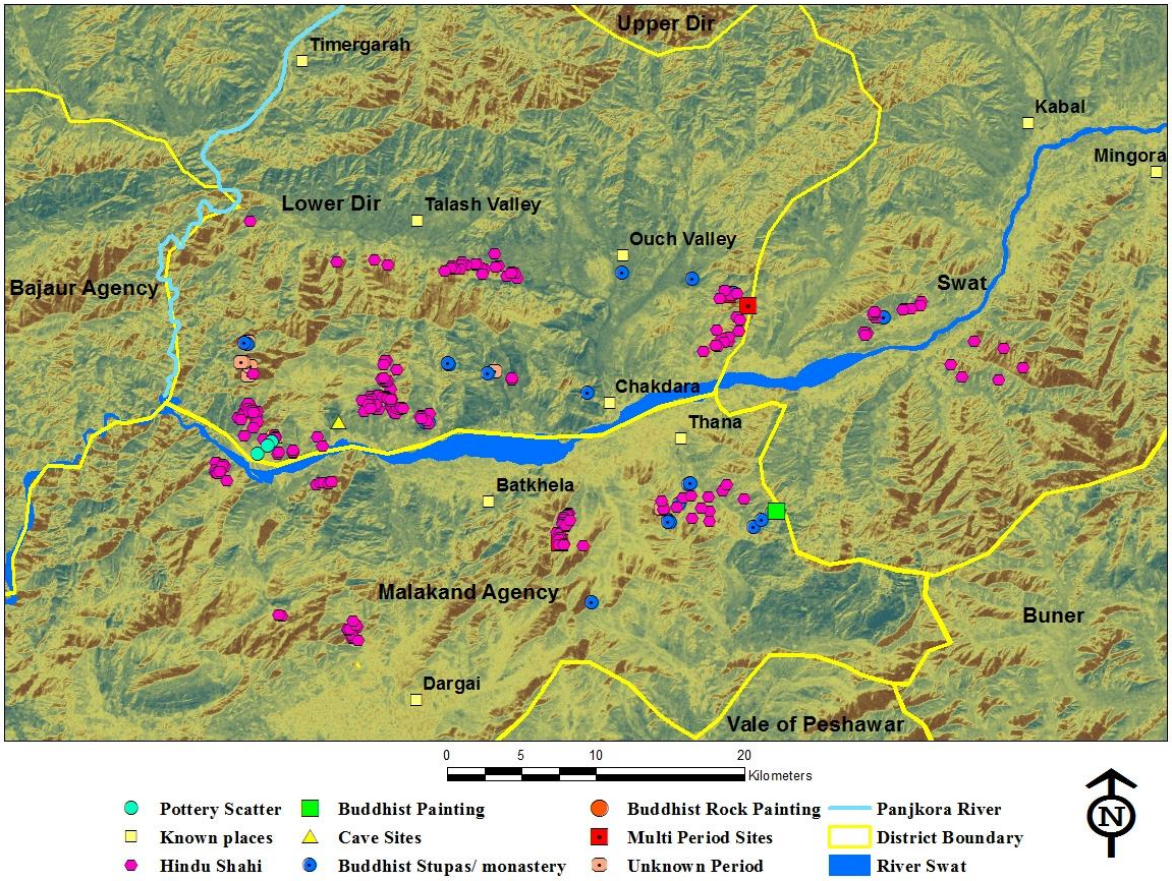


Figure 4.1. Distribution map of various types/ periods sites recorded during the present survey (Ijaz Khan)

The recorded 225 Hindu Shahi sites (including 3 sites with material from both Buddhist and Hindu Shahi periods) include some sites that were documented during previous investigations (Ali et al. 2009, 2010; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Faccenna et al. 1984; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1898, 1927, 1980; Tucci 1958). As outlined in chapter 2, earlier scholars working in this region refer to Hindu Shahi sites without mentioning their definite or approximate numbers.

Only Ali et al. (2009, 2010) and Khan et al. (1999) note specific numbers (i.e. 33 and 8 sites respectively) of Hindu Shahi sites, though the exact locations of sites are not known.

4.3 Geographical distribution of Hindu Shahi sites

The geographical distribution of sites shows two main trends. Firstly, the sites are located along the main routes and hilly passes either coming from the neighbouring regions or connecting different areas within the study region (Figure 4.2). Secondly, sites are located in isolated valleys relatively far away from the main routes and passes, either in terms of distance or as a result of topography (Figure 4.2). A clear difference can be observed in the distance of these areas particularly from the neighbouring regions. For instance, sites located along the Swat River are more distant from the Vale of Peshawar and Upper Dir, though they are still accessible from these neighbouring regions (Figure 4.2). This distinction has probably played a crucial role in the function of sites and the overall activity and organisation of Hindu Shahi in the study region (see chapter 7).

Within the study region, Mayar valley (an area to the north side of Swat River) holds slightly a different location from the rest of other localities. Mayar valley, with high distribution of Hindu Shahi sites, is the only area located at a considerable distance from the main access routes and passes (e.g. Kot Agra, Pingal, Malakand and Katkela) that link the neighbouring regions of the Vale of Peshawar, Bajaur Agency and Upper Dir (Figure 4.2). Similarly, other sites located close to Kot Agra, Shahkot, Nullo and Karakar passes along the Swat River or in its nearby valleys (e.g. Qulangai, Tauda Cheena, Pinjin, Gunyar, Darra, Shamozai valley and Barikot) are also somewhat distant from the Vale of Peshawar and Upper Dir, compared to other areas e.g. Katkela and Qaldara (Figure 4.2). Despite the difference in distances, except Mayar valley, all sites occupy quite similar locations close to the passes and access routes that connect neighbouring regions or areas within the study region.

The second group of sites that occupy the isolated valleys slightly away from main access routes and passes also show similarities in locations (Figure 4.2). These sites are situated close to the valley passes that presently are not much known or used like other major passes e.g. Malakand or Katkela (Figure 4.2). Majority of these sites are divided by the mountains

from the nearby settlements (e.g. see Mekhband and Inzaro) (Figure 4.2). This suggests that probably these valleys (where sites are located) were used as access routes during the Hindu Shahi period and connected different areas within the study region.

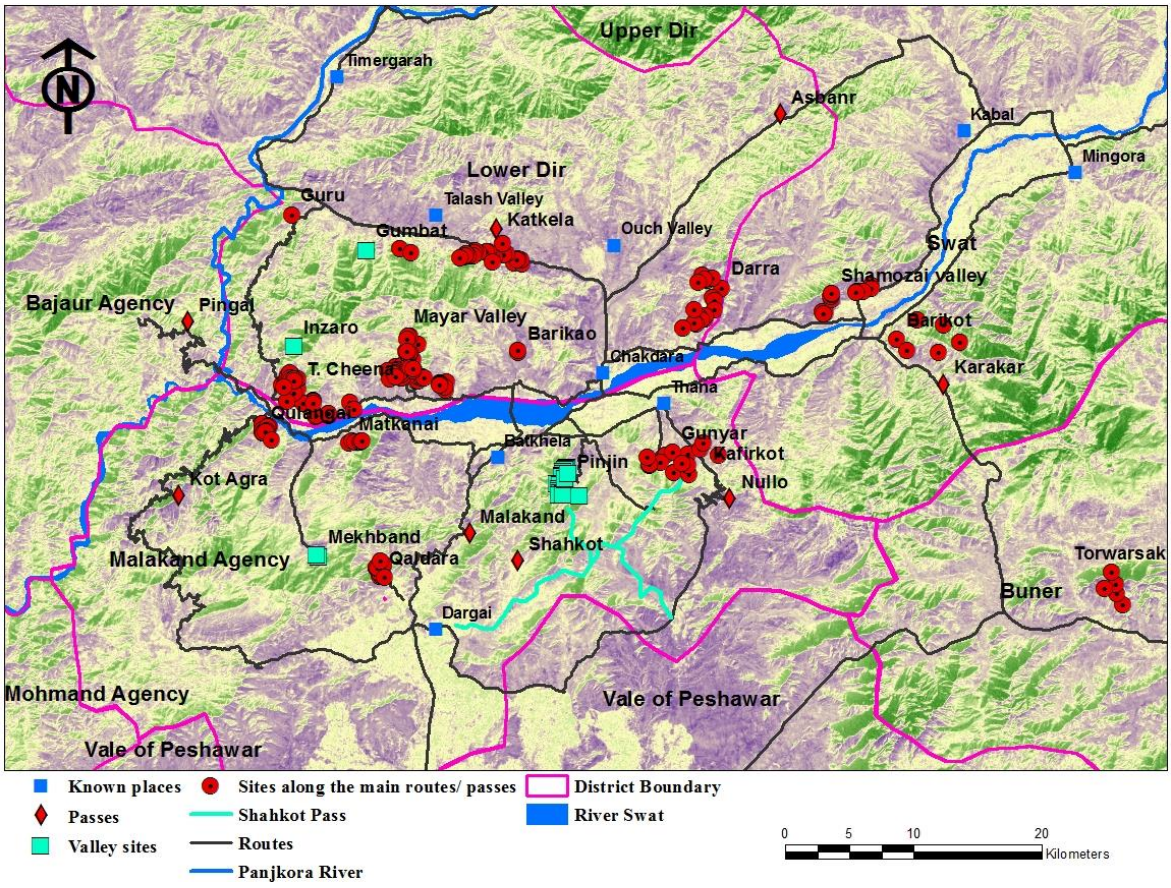


Figure 4.2. Map showing the locations of sites recorded during the present survey close to the access passes, routes and in the valleys (Ijaz Khan)

The results of the present survey show a clear difference in sites coverage in association to the neighbouring region. For example, the Malakand Range which divides the study region from the Vale of Peshawar is extensively occupied at several intervals on both sides (Figure 4.2). According to Deane (1896: 665), the extensive and wide occupation of sites over Malakand Range marks a boundary with the Vale of Peshawar. In contrast, on the north side, sites cover relatively a smaller area and notably not found beyond Talash valley in Lower Dir and Udegram in Swat (Figure 4.2) (Deane 1896; Olivieri 1996; Rahman 1968). During previous investigations, areas beyond (to the north side) Talash valley in Lower Dir and

Udegram in Swat have been investigated (see Dani 1967; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Stacul 1970; Swati 2008), but no Hindu Shahi site has been identified or located there. Even during the present survey, areas up to Timergarah and Mingora were investigated through pilot survey (see chapter 3) but no Hindu Shahi sites or material culture was reported. According to Deane (1896: 659), this relative lack of sites suggests that the people of Talash valley and the surrounding areas were less connected with the north side areas. On the other hand, Rahman (1968: 105) describes this absence as curious. A similar situation can be observed towards the Bajaur Agency, where sites are located at three locations (Figure 4.2). In Bajaur Agency, only seven Hindu Shahi settlements have been reported (Ali and Rahman 2005; Khan et al. 2000; Rahman 1997). The available information suggests that probably areas towards the Vale of Peshawar were more critical and consequently they were widely and densely occupied (see section 4.6 for detail discussion).

Previously, the geographical distribution of Hindu Shahi sites has been associated with the safety and security of the study region (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1927, 1980; Tucci 1958). According to the results of the present analysis, throughout the study region, Hindu Shahi sites are concentrated along the access routes and passes, showing similarities in their locations. This suggests the Hindu Shahi political involvement in the selection of sites locations and their concern of the safety of the study region. The distribution of Hindu Shahi sites at key locations close to the neighbouring regions forms a clear boundary with the neighbouring regions thus appearing relatively a small but well-defined entity (Figure 4.2). The distribution and organisation of sites also suggest that probably Hindu Shahi made efforts to cover and protect the study region on either side. However, more attention was paid towards the Vale of Peshawar where sites are located over the Malakand Range at several intervals covering almost all routes that could provide access to the study region.

4.4 Physical location of sites

Analysis of the physical location of Hindu Shahi sites reveal that they are located over three topographic features i.e. flat tops of the hills with natural contours, terraces or slopes of the hills and valley floors that are secured by high mountains (Table 4.2). All the settlements are located between the altitude range of 511-1272 meters above sea level (see below). Fifty-six settlements were found on the relatively flat surfaces of top of the hills with difficult approaches. Similarly, one hundred and sixty-seven settlements were found on slopes and natural terraces reinforced at times by human made terraces to gain suitable land for construction and occupation. Only two wells for drinking water were found in the valleys that are still in use. The most important aspect of the settlements located on top of the hills and on the slopes and terraces is that they were all built on strategic and commanding locations which allow the inhabitants to overlook the access routes and passes in the surrounding landscape (Figure 4.3).

Topographic location	Type of site	Number of sites	% of 225
Hilltop	Settlements	56	25
Hill slope	Settlements	167	74
Valley floor	Wells	2	1

Table 4.2. Physical location of sites over the natural topography

The tops of the hills did not provide extensive flat surface for construction and the structures followed natural contours of the hill, giving irregular shapes and inconsistency in their heights and appearance (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). A similar situation is evident on the slopes and terraces of the hills where settlements are found. Due to the lack of flat surfaces for construction activities, the buildings over the slopes and terraces also followed the natural contours of the ground surface. Human agency certainly played a major role in construction on the slopes to gain as much suitable land for construction as possible. Natural terraces were further reinforced by human made terraces with the help of dry masonry to secure

expanded flat areas. The structures started from the highest points and extended towards the lower valley (Figure 4.4).

The surface on top of the hills and slopes are generally rough and irregular, greatly affecting the orientation of structures and sites. It is worth mentioning that out of 225 Hindu Shahi sites; only one site (site number 28) is square in plan while the rest are rectangular in plans. This suggests that probably the structures and sites plans were mainly dictated by the rough topography, peculiar to the region. In the absence of flat land for large-scale constructions, the inhabitants made the best use of the hills and slopes, leaving levelled land in the valleys for cultivation purposes. Throughout the study region, the buildings appear to have been constructed in a disorganised manner, simply because there were no flat plains available for large scale building activities in these hilly areas. The inhabitants utilised whatever land was available for construction dictated by certain important aspects including security, water sources, food security, and communication with other settlements and so on.

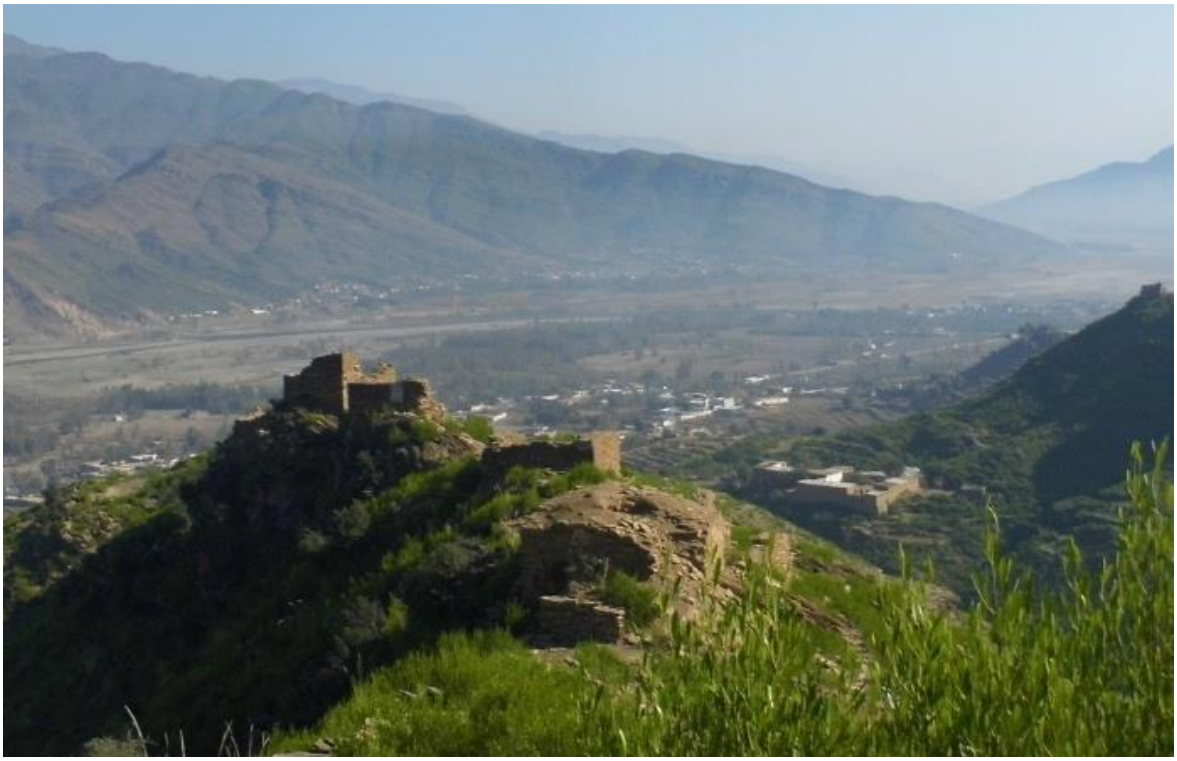


Figure 4.3. Location of site over the hilltop, site 1, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

It is noteworthy that despite their different locations on hilltops and slopes, Hindu Shahi sites share common characteristics throughout the study region. Apart from the two wells in the plains, almost all the settlements were secured by steep ascents, providing a strong natural fortification and protection (Figure 4.5). They occupied high and rough terrain, making them very difficult to access from the lower valley floor. The settlements were raised at such locations over central and strategic points that allowed the occupants to keep a vigilant eye on all the access routes and passes.

Figure 4.4. Structures built over the hill slope, site 12, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

The locations of settlements over considerable heights from the ground surface and rough topography suggest an extremely restricted access to these settlements. This also enabled the inhabitants to dominate and command the neighbouring landscape on either side. This pattern would also have allowed settlements dwellers to establish visual contact between them, particularly important for settlements with more restricted views (Figures 4.6). The similarity in the patterns of the settlements and physical locations across the study region indicate that visual contact with the surrounding localities was a common and important

feature. It could be reasonably deduced that these settlements were probably established with a clear purpose and under guidance from some central authority. Considering the results of the present analysis, it is suggested that Hindu Shahi settlements were consciously established over such strategic locations for the security and defence of the regions.

Figure 4.5. Settlement built over the highest point of the hill with rough steep slopes, site 15, Tauda Cheena, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

All Hindu Shahi settlements recorded during the previous investigations were located either on hilltops or slopes (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Samad 2016; Stein 1898, 1927, 1980, 1995). In other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom e.g. the Vale of Peshawar their settlements are found both in the plains and on the hills (see Ali 2003; Ali et al. 2005; Khan 2001a, b, 2006 for details). But it is worth consideration that despite several archaeological investigations in the study region including the present survey, not a single Hindu Shahi settlement has been identified in the plains. In light of the results of the present and earlier investigations, the entire absence of settlement sites in the plains suggest that probably the Hindu Shahi only occupied the hills

while the plains were avoided. Until this study, there is no example of such occupation in Pakistan, thus it appears entirely a new phenomenon. There could be many reasons for this phenomenon but the possible reason could be the shortage of plain areas, which were probably utilised primarily for cultivation purposes. However, presently, the plain land in the study region is used both for agricultural activities and the construction of new settlements (attention is drawn to Figures 4.3 and 4.5). It is possible that the Hindu Shahi also constructed sites in the plains, which now possibly have been covered or removed by the growing agricultural and construction activities or covered by modern settlements. Another important aspect was the security and defence, for which construction on difficult hilltops and slopes was the most feasible and appropriate option.

Figure 4.6. Showing the visual interaction of sites with each other, looking towards the south side Qulangai from site 174, Tauda Cheena, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

The occupation of hilltop and slopes probably have provided additional advantages to the inhabitants. It has enabled them to visually interact with the inhabitants of other nearby settlements over such positions and to come together at a short call in peace or war times and discuss important matters of collective importance and interest. It has given them

immense cover and protection to be accessed or harmed from the lower valleys. The positioning of settlements on hilltops enabled the inhabitants to keep a vigilant eye over all the approaching routes and passes in the surrounding landscapes and launch an effective attack on the potential attackers down in the valleys. The location of settlements over such heights might have been very challenging and possibly required a greater political power, labour management and resources to plan and execute such mega projects. Probably, such projects could not have been achieved without the support of an effective and elaborate central authority or control. The central authority probably exercised the power in influencing and enforcing its policies and decisions. For achieving all such ends, there was probably some sort of political organisations with essential infrastructure under political leadership. Thus, a new phenomenon appeared which was not witnessed in other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom. This drastic change in settlement pattern in the present study region might have been influenced by the prevailing political situations, which engaged the Hindu Shahi in conflicts with the Ghaznavids. In view of the results of this analysis, the Hindu Shahi probably occupied the hills to protect themselves and the study region from a potential attack and consequently they preferred to live on difficult terrain away from basic necessities (e.g. crops).

The two wells of the Hindu Shahi period were documented in area C at Mayar valley in Lower Dir and at Pinjin in Malakand Agency. In Mayar valley, the well is located below the largest site in terms of structures in the entire study region, so there might have been a connection between well and settlement. At Pinjin, the well is also located close to several Hindu Shahi settlements and it is still being used for drinking water by the local people. During the present survey, at almost all localities several water springs were observed around Hindu Shahi sites. In this respect, it is stated that wells were critical for the population at these localities and without them their survival might have been difficult. At Hund and Mardan in the Vale of Peshawar, the Hindus Shahi period wells have also been reported (Ali 2001; Khan et al. 2012).

4.5 Elevation of Hindu Shahi sites in relation to the ground level

The present study region includes four districts of Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner, encompassing different topographic features with significant differences in sites' altitudes. During the analysis, it was learnt that sites were constructed at elevations between 511-1272 (divided into three categories for ease and understanding, see below) meters above sea level (hereafter masl). The altitudes of sites were compared with the average altitudes of Malakand Agency (531 masl), Lower Dir (757 masl), Swat (875 masl) and Buner (688 masl). This comparison brought forth some interesting results. It was observed that 25% (56 of 225) sites are located below the average height while 75% (169 of 225) above the average height of Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (Table 4.3). This indicated that majority of Hindu Shahi sites were constructed above the average height of the respective districts on high altitudes.

The topography and altitude of the study region vary from area to area ranging from 610 meters to 6705 meters (Khan 2004: 1). For this reason, the altitudes of sites were further analysed from the surrounding ground surfaces in order to get an idea about their height from the ground level. As mentioned above, sites were recorded between 511-1272 masl range, leaving a significant gap of 761 meters from lowest to highest site. To gain an insight of the altitude of sites from the ground level, the gap of 761 meters was divided into three categories with equal proportion i.e. 254 meters (Table 4.3). The purpose of this analysis was to highlight major trends and understand the locations of sites on different altitudes and discuss the results in chapter 7.

While analysing the distribution of sites between the altitude range of 511-765 masl, it was observed that majority of the sites are concentrated along the Swat River, particularly to the north side in Mayar valley and Tauda Cheena (Figure 4.7). In other parts of the study region, especially in those parts that are located close to the neighbouring regions or access routes and passes, the sites are either entirely absent or limited to few sites (Figure 4.7). Despite these variations, when the altitudes of sites were analysed from the ground surface in the respective areas, it demonstrated great similarity throughout the study region. It was noted that sites within 511-765 masl range are located between 20-152 meters from the ground

surface. Although, the ratio of sites between 20-50 meters is low as most sites situated between 51-152 meters from the ground surface. It appears that construction of sites close to the neighbouring regions between the altitude range of 511-763 masl was largely avoided probably due to security concerns. The high tendency of sites within this category along the Swat River suggests that probably Mayar valley and Tauda Cheena were comparatively more secured. Despite their geographical locations, most of these sites are situated on considerable distance from the ground surface, dominating the surrounding landscapes.

District/ Region	Average altitude	Below average altitude	Above average altitude	Sites between 511-765 meters	Sites between 766-1020 meters	Sites between 1021-1272 meters
Malakand Agency	531	1	66	below (1), above (22)	43 (all above)	1
Lower Dir	757	53	84	below (53), above (1)	64 (all above)	17
Swat	875	2	14	below (1)	1 (below), (11 above)	3
Buner	688	x	5	x	5 (all above)	x
	Total	*56*	*169*	*78*	*126*	*21*

Table 4.3. Altitudes of sites and their details below and above the average altitude in the respective districts/regions

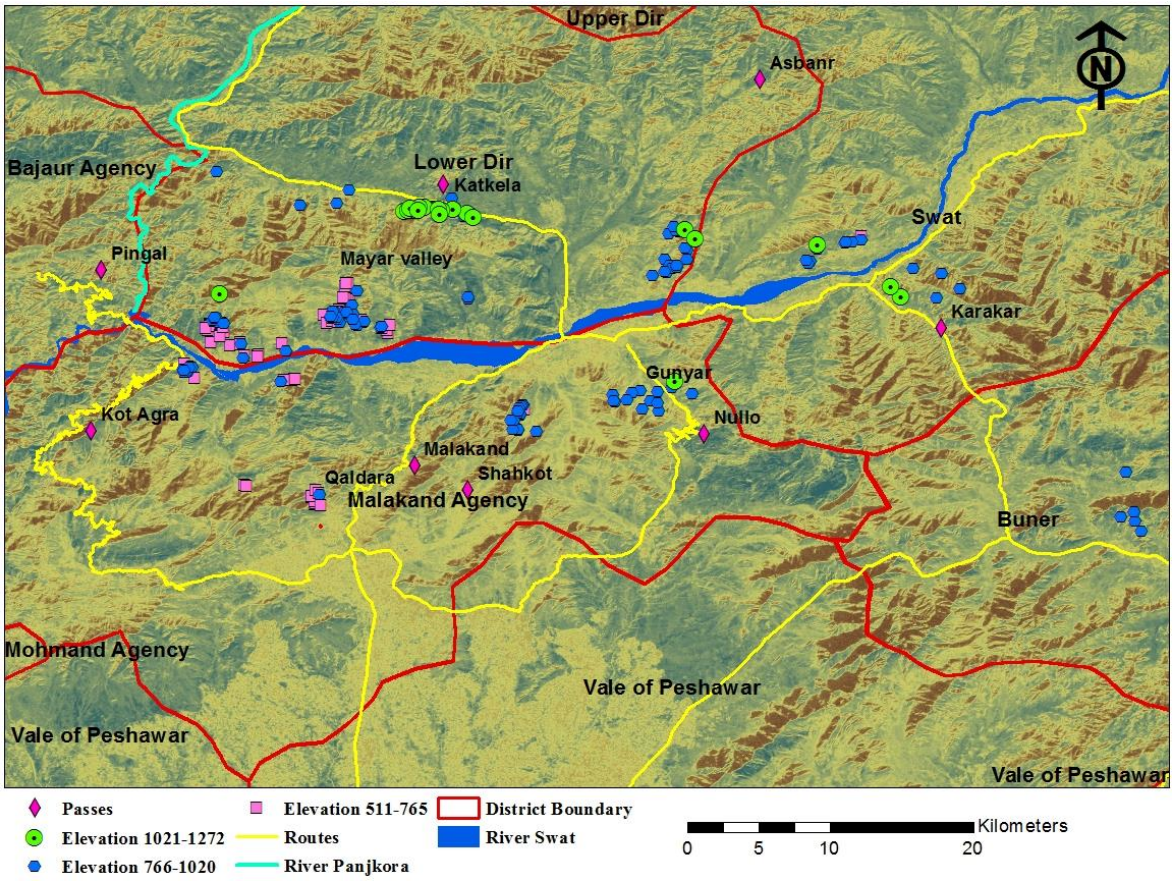


Figure 4.7. Map showing elevation details of sites (Ijaz Khan)

Hindu Shahi sites between the altitude range of 766-1020 masl are widely distributed occupying almost all localities across the study region (Table 4.3 and Figure 4.7). However, their high concentration was observed close to the access routes and passes that allow access to the study region from the neighbouring regions. While analysing the height of sites from the ground surface, it was learnt that sites are located from 40-393 meters from the ground surface. An obvious difference was noted between the Mayar valley sites and the sites located close to the neighbouring regions and the passes (e.g. Katkela, Nullo, Shahkot, Karakar and Kot Agra Passes). In Mayar valley sites are located on relatively lower altitudes while near the neighbouring regions and passes they occupy higher altitudes. The relative height (i.e. 103-196) of sites in Mayar valley from the ground surface indicates that probably it was relatively safer and that this region might have housed political elites or important social or religious figures and consequently sites were set on relatively lower altitudes to avoid difficulty in their accessibility. The locations of sites on considerable altitudes and

prime locations was meant to establish a visual contact with other sites and it might suggest Hindu Shahi concerns or fear of possible attacks from the neighbouring regions.

Twenty-one sites (9%) occupy the altitudes between 1020-1272 masl, mainly concentrating close to the passes or access routes that link the neighbouring regions (Figure 4.7). Along the Swat River, sites are either totally absent (e.g. Mayar valley) or limited to 1 site (Figure 4.7). Twenty sites are located between 1021-1141 masl while one site (site number 77) was located over 1272 masl. Most of these sites are closely located over strategic and prime locations, suggesting visual interaction between them. Due to their locations on considerable altitudes, they could also oversee extensive areas in different directions.

During the previous investigations, the setting of Hindu Shahi sites over high altitudes has been associated with the supervision of nearby access routes and the safety concerns of the study region (Barger 1938; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1927, 1980, 1995; Tucci 1958). The results of the present analysis revealed the same functions, suggesting that the Hindu Shahi dynasty occupied these key locations to observe activities and defend the study region from potential raids.

The analysis of sites elevation has revealed some major trends that need to be highlighted. The Hindu Shahi principally established settlements on the high altitudes and at considerable height from the ground surfaces or valley floors. Within the 511-765 masl range, sites are largely concentrated along the Swat River, particularly in the northern side of Mayar valley and Tauda Cheena. Sites located at altitudes between 766-1020 masl range, show more wider distribution where sites occupy key locations close to the access routes across the study region. Sites with higher altitudes (1021-1272 masl) are chiefly confined to the neighbouring regions, highlighting their defensive and supervisory roles.

Despite the variations in the altitudes of sites, almost all sites are located at considerable height from the ground surfaces or valley floors. It might have enabled their inhabitants to visually interact with each other in the respective localities and with the nearby settlements and as well as to overlook the surrounding landscape. Throughout the study region, the locations of sites at a considerable height show similarities and suggest the involvement of

the Hindu Shahi in their planning and management. It is clear that the sites located near the main access routes and passes and the neighbouring region occupy high altitudes while along the Swat River, particularly in Mayar valley, they are located over relatively lower altitudes. Considering the results of this analysis, it is argued that the locations of sites over high altitudes have possibly close linkages with the visual interaction, landscape surveillance and the safety of the study region.

4.6 Settlement patterns of the Hindu Shahi across the study region

In the above sections, I have analysed the distribution, physical location and elevation of Hindu Shahi sites. In this section, I will analyse the settlement patterns of the Hindu Shahi to learn more about the possible reasons of the occupation of particular localities, the relationship of sites with each other and with the landscape features and thus understand their possible role in the wider study region. The results of the analysis will be discussed and interpreted in chapter 7 in relation to the Hindu Shahi activity. A substantial and significant Hindu Shahi activity is witnessed from the sheer number of 225 sites. While analysing the concentration of sites, it was observed that 130 sites (58% of 225) are concentrated in area C to the north and south sides of Swat River, showing the highest Hindu Shahi activity in the entire study region (Figure 4.8 and Table 4.4). This concentration is certainly much higher from all other five areas, dominating alone all other five areas (A, B, D, E and F).

In area C, 130 sites are located to the north and south side of Swat River mainly in close proximity to Kot Agra and Pingal passes while some sites close to Shahkot Pass in Pinjin (Figure 4.9). Though, their concentration is much higher to the north side, particularly in Mayar valley, with a total of 54 sites (24% of 225), thus appearing a central location in terms of Hindu Shahi settlements and activity (Figure 4.9). Mayar is a small valley at the foothills of the Khadakzai-Talash Range. Compared to other localities, it is situated at least 15 kilometres away from the neighbouring regions and 10 kilometres from the major passes, (Figure 4.9). The Mayar valley and its nearby settlements in Tauda Cheena, Inzaro and Barikao are enclosed by landscape features. On the south, they are enclosed by Swat River, on north by Khadakzai-Talash Range, while on west by Panjkora River, all forming natural barriers in their accessibility as well providing immense protection to them from various

directions (Figure 4.9). Mayar is a spacious valley with plenty of water resources including Swat River, where presently different crops are cultivated.

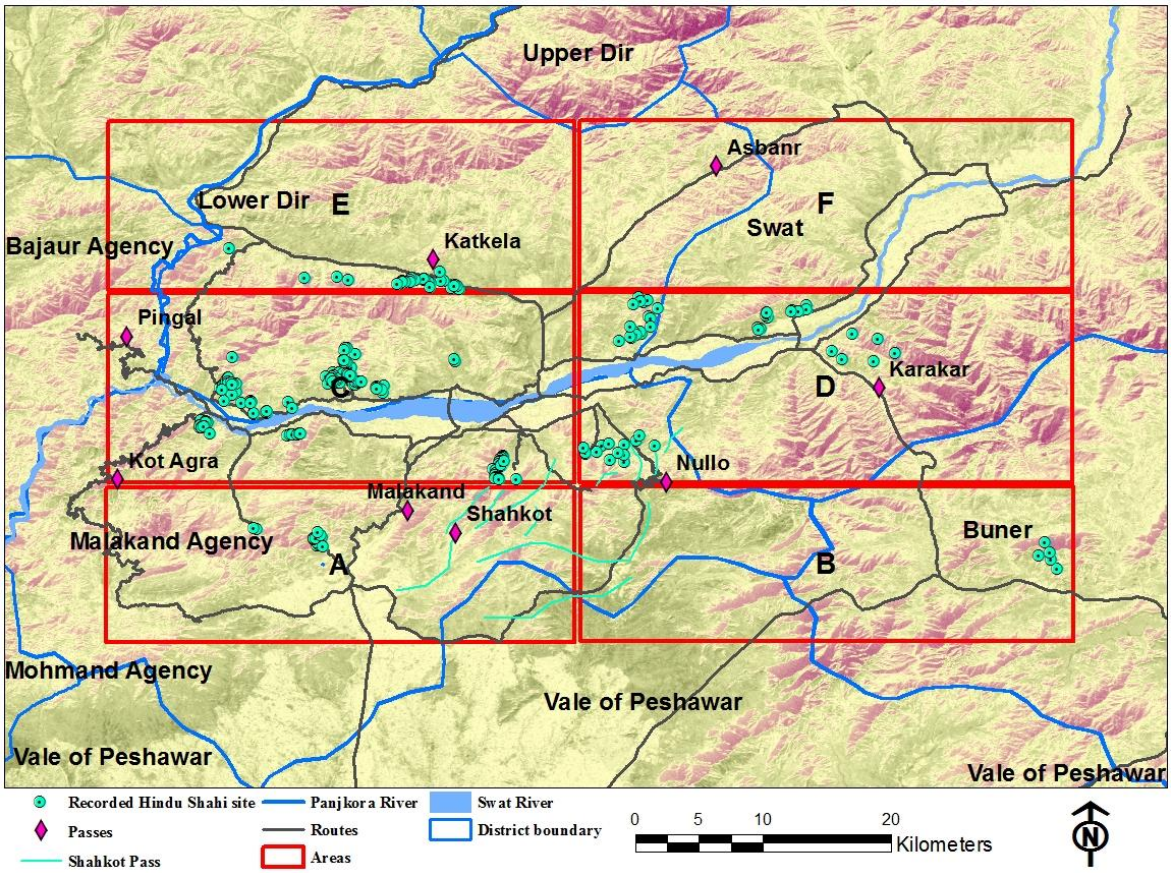


Figure 4.8. Map showing distribution of Hindu Shahi sites recorded during the present survey (Ijaz Khan)

It is worth mentioning that in other parts of the study region, Hindu Shahi sites are located close to the routes and passes, while in Mayar valley majority of the sites are located more towards the north side showing relatively little association with access routes on the southern side (Figure 4.9). These sites are located to the east and west sides of the Mayar valley. This organisation allows sites to visually interact with each other in their respective sub-valleys and the nearby settlements (e.g. Matkanai), as well as to overlook all the surrounding routes leading from Batkhela, Chakdara and Tauda Cheena (Figure 4.9).

Area	Number of sites	% of 225
A	14	6
B	5	2
C	130	58
D	49	22
E	27	12
F	x	x
Total	*225*	*100*

Table 4.4. Number of sites in different areas within the study region

Compared to other localities, Mayar valley holds a more central location in the study region and appears easily accessible from other Hindu Shahi settlements (Figure 4.9). In contrast, all other localities in the study region not only appear peripheral (situated close to the neighbouring regions and major access routes) but also more distant from one another (Figure 4.9). This shows that Mayar valley appeared to be central and protected from other localities. Mayar valley also includes a relatively more plain land and plentiful water resources, which might have been exploited for agricultural and domestic activities. In view of these distinctions, the high concentration of sites here may suggest that it was more suitable for a range of activities (e.g. socio-political, religious, economic and so on) and thus it was densely occupied, dominating the entire study region. Mayar valley has been surrounded by other settlements such as Tauda Cheena, Qulangai and Katkela (Figure 4.9). This on one hand shows association between these areas while on the other hand provides protection to the Mayar valley.

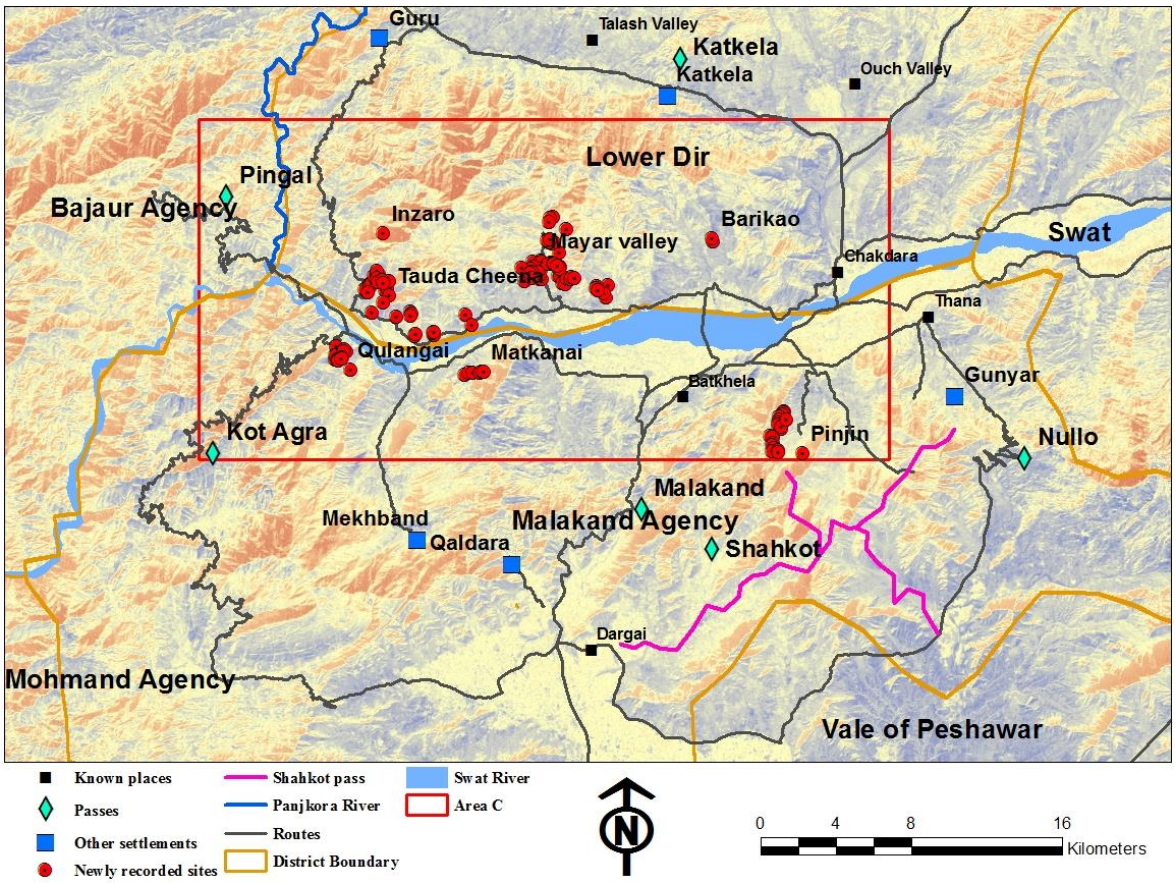


Figure 4.9. Location of sites in area C (Ijaz Khan)

Barikao is located to the east side of Mayar valley where two Hindu Shahi sites were documented (Figure 4.9). These sites are situated more towards the north side, demonstrating association with the valley passes that link Katkela in the north and the route coming from Chakdara in the south (Figure 4.9). The location of Barikao sites suggests that these were probably established to observe movement leading from Chakdara and Katkela (see chapter 7). Damkot is another Hindu Shahi period site, holding a strategic location to the north side of Swat River near Chakdara (Dani 1968a; Rahman 1968, 1979a). It is said to have protected Swat River crossing in south from Batkhela and the route leading towards Mayar valley (Figure 4.9) (Rahman 1968: 103-105).

Forty-eight sites are located to the north and south side of Swat River close to Pingal and Kot Agra passes (Figure 4.9). The northern side (Tauda Cheena) appears much richer in terms of sites, including a total of 34 sites, while twenty sites are situated to the south side

in Qulangai (14) and Matkanai (6) (Figure 4.9). The Tauda Cheena sites are distributed along the routes that link Guru and Katkela in the north and Chakdara in the south (Figure 4.9). During the earlier surveys, scholars (Ali et al. 2009, 2010; Dani 1968a) have mentioned Hindu Shahi sites in Tauda Cheena. The location of sites almost each other across the Swat River allow sites to visually interact with each other and the Mayar valley on east (Figure 4.9). This setting of sites forms a constant visual interaction on both sides of Swat River between the Mayar valley, Tauda Cheena and Qulangai. This distribution of sites suggests they were deliberately placed at these strategic and key locations to keep the whole area under close observation. This on one hand indicates safety concerns of the study region from the neighbouring regions while on the other hand the Hindu Shahi involvement in possible conflicts during their occupation in the region.

Inzaro site (66) is located to the north side of Tauda Cheena in the middle of the mountains (Figure 4.9). It occupies a very strategic location from where several routes lead in different directions. According to locals, these routes link Mayar valley, Tauda Cheena, Guru and Katkela (Figure 4.9). It seems the Hindu Shahi occupied Inzaro possibly to monitor movement in this area particularly leading from west and north sides towards Tauda Cheena and Mayar valley.

Qulangai holds an important location close to Pingal and Kot Agra Passes that connect the study region with Bajaur Agency and Vale of Peshawar respectively (Figure 4.9). The sites are located at central locations viewing an extensive area, including Tauda Cheena and Matkanai (Figure 4.9). It was observed that sites are largely concentrated to the south side of Qulangai, demonstrating more association with the routes coming from the east and southeast Batkhela and Mekhband respectively (Figure 4.9). The location of sites close to the south-eastern route suggests that it was possibly more critical, which might have connected the Vale of Peshawar via Mekhband and Qaldara where other Hindu Shahi sites are located (see below and Figure 4.9). Probably Kot Agra route was less favoured due to its steep ascending and descending nature, and its relatively long 30 kilometres' distance to access Dargai which onward links the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 4.9). According to Barger (1938: 109), Qulangai sites were established to protect this very important entry point to the region. The results of the present analysis support Barger's (1938: 109) explanation;

however, it is also added that along with the Kot Agra and Pingal Passes the Qulangai sites also protected the route leading from Mekhband (Figure 4.9). Compared to other passes, the location of Tauda Cheena and Qulangai sites opposite each other show greater activity in the entire study region after the Mayar valley.

Matkanai holds a very central location and can be accessed from Bajaur Agency through Pingal Pass and through Malakand and Kot Agra Passes from the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 4.9). It is also accessible from the Vale of Peshawar via Mekhband (Figure 4.9). The Matkanai sites are located to the south side of Swat River inside the valley over high altitudes, viewing an extensive area in each direction. The location of Totakan (Dani 1968a: 6) and Matkanai sites close to the route that links Mekhband suggest that possibly the Hindu Shahi developed these sites to observe activities leading from the Vale of Peshawar through Mekhband and Qaldara (Figure 4.9). These sites clearly establish a visual interaction with the Mayar valley and Tauda Cheena sites across the Swat River, demonstrating their crucial defensive roles.

Matkanai and Qulangai are comparatively more distant from the Vale of Peshawar but they still show a close association with the routes that link it either through Kot Agra Pass or Mekhband. Qulangai also occupies a very strategic location, where Kot Agra and Pingal Passes open and it also gives further access to Tauda Cheena and other parts of Lower Dir. Despite the variations in number of sites, both the north and south side demonstrate close association with Kot Agra and Pingal Passes. Variations in the number of sites could be the result of the geographical locations of these localities. For instance, the south side sites are more exposed where the Pingal and Kot Agra passes open from Bajaur Agency and the Vale of Peshawar respectively, while the Tauda Cheena sites are separated by Swat River from these routes.

Nineteen sites of area C are located in Pinjin (Figure 4.9). It is an important area and is accessible from the Vale of Peshawar through Shahkot Pass (Khan et al. 1995: 334; Vidale and Vidale and Olivieri 2002: 212). Fifteen sites are located to the west of the valley in south-north direction, whereas four sites to the south in east-west direction, overlooking almost all the routes and passes in the landscape (Figure 4.10). To the east side of Pinjin,

other Hindu Shahi sites are located in Gunyar (area D, see below) (Figure 4.9). Shahkot Pass is believed to have been in much use during the Hindu Shahi period (Dani 1968a). The high concentration of Hindu Shahi sites in Pinjin and to the east side in Gunyar (area D) suggest both localities were critical in terms of the safety of the study region, probably due to their locations close to Nullo and Shahkot Passes that allow access to the Vale of Peshawar.

Other Hindu Shahi sites have been reported in the surrounding areas of Pinjin in Zalamkot (Hathi darra or Elephant Pass) and Aladand Dheri, situated close to the valley passes that further link the Shahkot Pass (Figure 4.9) (Deane 1896; Khan et al. 1999; Swat et al. 2002). The Zalamkot sites face towards the Shahkot Pass and appear to have been constructed to supervise the neighbouring area (Swati et al. 2002: 231). Other sites are located to the south side of Malakand Range in Palai, Malakand Pass and Bata (Batkhela), protecting the routes leading to the study region from the Vale of Peshawar (Dani 1968a; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Godfrey 1912; Stein 1980). According to Dani (1968a: 30), wherever there was a gap which could provide access to this region, Hindu Shahi have protected it with a fort.

Figure 4.10. Location of site (206) in front of a valley pass, looking towards southwest side, Pinjin, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

According to results of the earlier and present investigations, area between the Malakand Pass and Nullo Pass is occupied at several intervals on both sides of Malakand Range. Though, a high concentration of sites can be observed around the Shahkot Pass in Pinjin (area C) and Gunyar (area D, see below). It is relatively short and easy to travel to Palai and Dargai (Deane 1896: 660, 663; Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478; Khan 2014: 111; Olivieri et al. 2006: 119) and onward to the Vale of Peshawar. Shahkot and its surrounding passes were the major access routes until the construction of the modern Malakand road (Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478; Stein 1980: 21). In such a situation, the locations of Hindu Shahi sites on both sides of Malakand Range near Shahkot, Nullo and Malakand Passes suggest strong linkages with the Vale of Peshawar and probably had safety concerns. This aspect is further discussed in chapter 7.

In area D, forty-nine sites are located to the north and south sides of Swat River close to Nullo, Karakar Passes and the route linking Swat and Lower Dir (Figure 4.11). A cluster of seventeen sites is situated in Darra over Khadakzai-Talash Range, presently marking administrative boundary between Swat and Lower Dir district (Figure 4.11). These sites are located on a parallel line in south-north direction, positioning close to the valley passes that give access to Shamozai valley (Figure 4.11). They are divided by a ridge; fourteen sites are accessible from the south side route, linking Shamozai valley and Chakdara, while three sites from the north side route linking Swat district via Asbanr Pass (Figure 4.11). This division enable sites to observe movement from Swat either coming through Asbanr Pass or the southern route along the Swat River (Figure 4.11). Two of these sites include material culture of the Buddhist and Hindu Shahi periods. One of them, (site number 77), occupies a very strategic location on a ridge, dividing the sites into two clusters. It is the highest elevated recorded site within the study region located over 1272 masl. Due to its considerable height and prime location, it visually connects the two clusters of sites in the given area as well as views an extensive area towards Shamozai valley in Swat, Chakdara and Ouch valley in Lower Dir while Thana in Malakand Agency (Figure 4.11).

Previously, Hindu Shahi sites have been reported from Ouch valley (for approximate locations see Figure 4.11) (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Rahman 1968). One of these sites (K. K. China fort) is situated over Chakdara-Shamozai range and a mule passage passes in the

middle of this site, connecting Ouch valley, Lower Dir and Swat (Dani 1968a: 10-11; Deane 1896; 660). Other sites are concentrated along the route linking Swat and Dir districts via Asbanr Pass (Dani 1968a; 10; Rahman 1968: 104). Rahman (1968: 104) believes that the Hindu Shahi established these sites to protect the routes leading from Swat to Ouch valley.

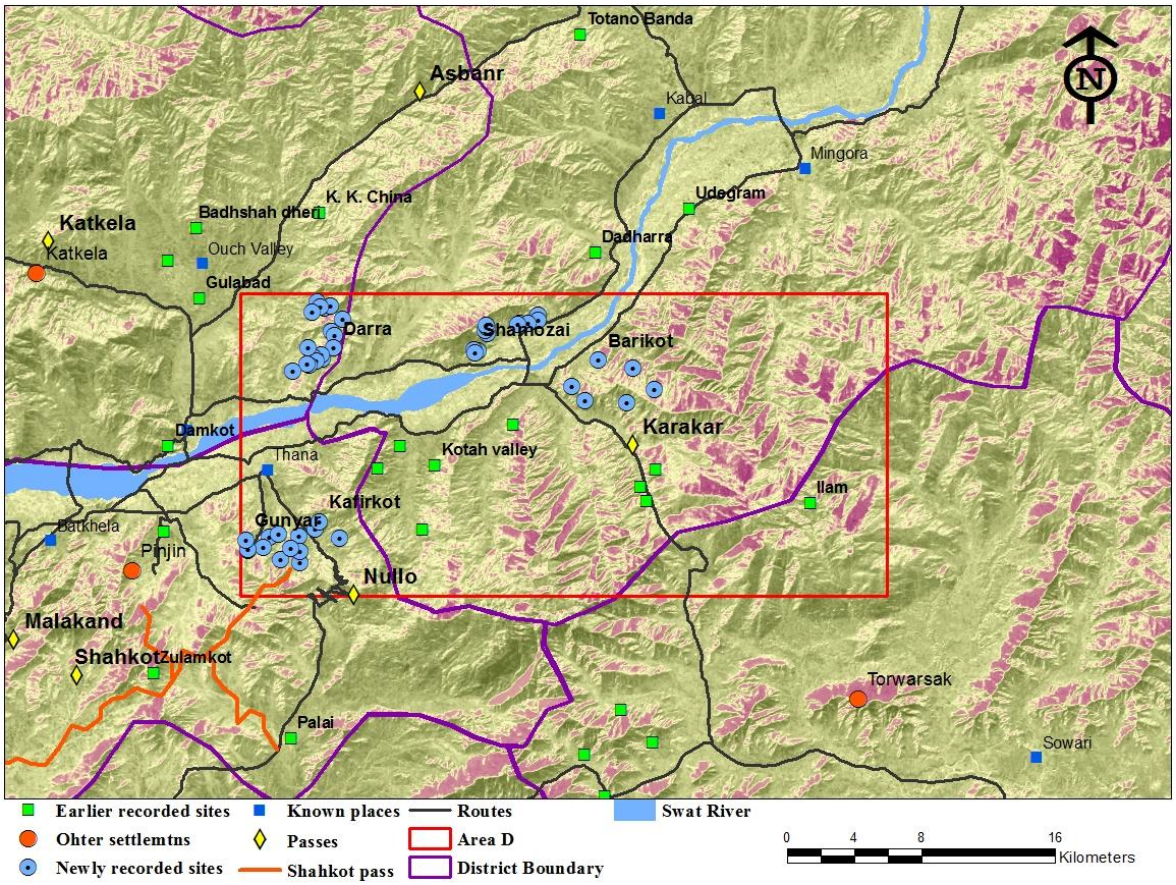


Figure 4.11. Location of sites in area D (Ijaz Khan)

Twelve sites are located to the east side of Darra in Shamozai valley at close intervals almost opposite to the Karakar Pass (Figure 4.11). Most of these sites have been recorded during the previous investigations (Faccenna et al 1993; Tucci 1958). The location and distribution of these sites on both sides of Swat River show similarity to Tauda Cheena and Qulangai in area C; however, here the site concentration is low. Other sites tend more towards the northern side of Swat Valley, reaching up to Totano Banda and Kabal, Swat (Figure 4.11), occupying the hills close to the valley passes that link Swat and Lower Dir districts (Tucci 1958: 320-21).

It is worth mentioning that to the east side of Swat River, Hindu Shahi sites have only been discovered near Udegram (Figure 4.11) (Olivieri 1996), while to the north side they extend up to Totano Banda (Tucci 1958). This distribution and number of sites show more Hindu Shahi activity towards the north side of Swat River, suggesting that they were established to oversee the movement between Lower Dir and Swat. This is particularly evident from the location of sites in Totano Banda, Swat, concentrating along the route that opens into Ouch valley via Asbanr Pass, where other Hindu Shahi period sites are located (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Rahman 1968). Similarly, the Shamozai valley sites protect the route along the Swat River towards Lower Dir, where Darra sites are located. The distribution of Hindu Shahi sites to the north side of Swat River is indicative of supervision and control of most access routes that may link Lower Dir. This is further discussed in chapter 7.

Other sites are located around Karakar Pass and its surrounding valleys (Kotah, Kandak Najigram) that open to Buner (Figure 4.11) (Olivieri et al. 2006: 130; Stein 1927: 427). During the present research, relatively little investigation was conducted in Swat; however, previous investigations have recorded a considerable number of Hindu Shahi sites in Barikot, the Karakar Pass and its neighbouring valleys (Faccenna et al 1984: 484; Micheli 2007: 101; Tucci 1958: 315). Barikot holds an important strategic location, controlling Karakar Pass and its nearby valley (Olivieri 1996: 70; Stein 1927: 427). The strategic location of Karakar Pass offers a firm and practical control of Swat Valley (Olivieri 1996: 70).

Fourteen sites are concentrated close to Nullo and Shahkot Passes over the hills covering approximately 3 kilometres' area (Figure 4.11). Most of these sites have been documented during the previous studies (e.g. Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Foucher 1901; Khan 2014; Khan et al. 1995) (Figure 4.11). Three sites are located in Kafirkot (generally Kafirkot forts) on the eastern side of the modern road linking Thana with the Vale of Peshawar while eleven sites are concentrated to the western side of the valley (Figure 4.11). The west side sites are positioned in Gunyar close to the valley pass (locally known Charat Kandao i.e. Pass) onward connecting Shahkot Pass, Dargai and the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 4.12). The organisation of sites allows them to overlook all the surrounding routes and passages coming either through Nullo or Shahkot Passes (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.12. Sites 111 and 181 location in front of the Charat pass, photo taken from site 114 looking towards southwest, Gunyar, area D, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

The Kafirkot sites are situated almost in front of the Nullo Pass over a hill, currently forming administrative boundary between the Malakand Agency and Swat (Figure 4.11). Due to their commanding locations and considerable heights, these sites provide extensive views of a large area on either side. The location of Gunyar, Kafirkot and Pinjin (area C) and earlier recoded sites to both sides of Malakand Range (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al. 1995, 1999; Swati et al. 2003) show a strong association with the Vale of Peshawar. The results of previous investigations revealed that Hindu Shahi occupied an extensive area in close proximity to the valley passes and main routes (e.g. Karakar). The area between Nullo and Karakar Passes is occupied on both sides of Malakand Range covering parts of Buner and Swat (see Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Godfrey 1912; Khattak 1997; Rehman et al. 1996; Samad and Khan 2016; Stein 1898, 1980). The high concentration of sites along the Karakar Pass and in its neighbouring valleys (Olivieri

1996; 2003; Stein 1927, 1930) suggest that they were probably the access routes and the Hindu Shahi established these sites to monitor movement at and along these localities.

A similar situation is evident from Darra and Ouch valley sites, where sites are positioned close to the valley passes and routes (i.e. Asbanr and Shamozai), probably out of concern for accessibility to Lower Dir from Swat (Figure 4.11). Swat is accessible from the Vale of Peshawar via Buner and Malakand Agency through Karakar, Nullo and Shahkot Passes and several other valleys between them (Figure 4.11) (Olivieri 2003: Stein 1927, 1995). The organisation of Hindu Shahi sites in Darra and Ouch valley suggests that probably these and all other localities between the Karakar and Shahkot Passes were occupied to oversee movement, probably leading from the Vale of Peshawar (see chapter 7).

During the present survey, a total of 27 sites were recorded in area E (Figure 4.13). Previously, scholars have mentioned numerous Hindu Shahi sites in this area (e.g. Caroe 1958; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1980). Twenty-five sites are located along the Katkela Pass, whereas Gumbat and Guru localities each have a single site (Figure 4.13). Katkela Pass links the neighbouring regions of Upper Dir and Bajaur Agency and Ouch valley and Swat via Asbanr Pass. The sites are spread over approximately 8 kilometres' area in east-west direction, concentrating to the east and west sides of Katkela Pass (Figure 4.13). The east side sites show association with Ouch valley while the west side sites with Talash valley (Figure 4.13). These sites are situated to the north side of Talash-Khadakzai Range which forms a boundary and a natural barrier between Katkela and area C sites (i.e. Mayar valley and Barikao) (Figure 4.13). It is worth mentioning that almost all sites in Katkela are positioned close to the valley passes that lead towards area C (Figure 4.14). These valley passes are still used by locals for movement to and from area C.

During the present survey, one of these valley passes (known as Khan Baba pass) was walked by the survey team to understand the location of Katkela sites in more depth as well as their relationship with area C sites (Figure 4.14). The pass opened into Barikao where Hindu Shahi sites are located (Figure 4.13). According to the locals, these passes also link Mayar valley and other localities right up to Tauda Cheena and Inzaro. The locations of Katkela sites show linkage with area C sites (Figure 4.13). In Katkela Hindu Shahi sites

occupy prominent and strategic locations over high altitudes, which allowed the inhabitants to visually interact with each other and to keep an eye on both the Talash and Ouch valleys.

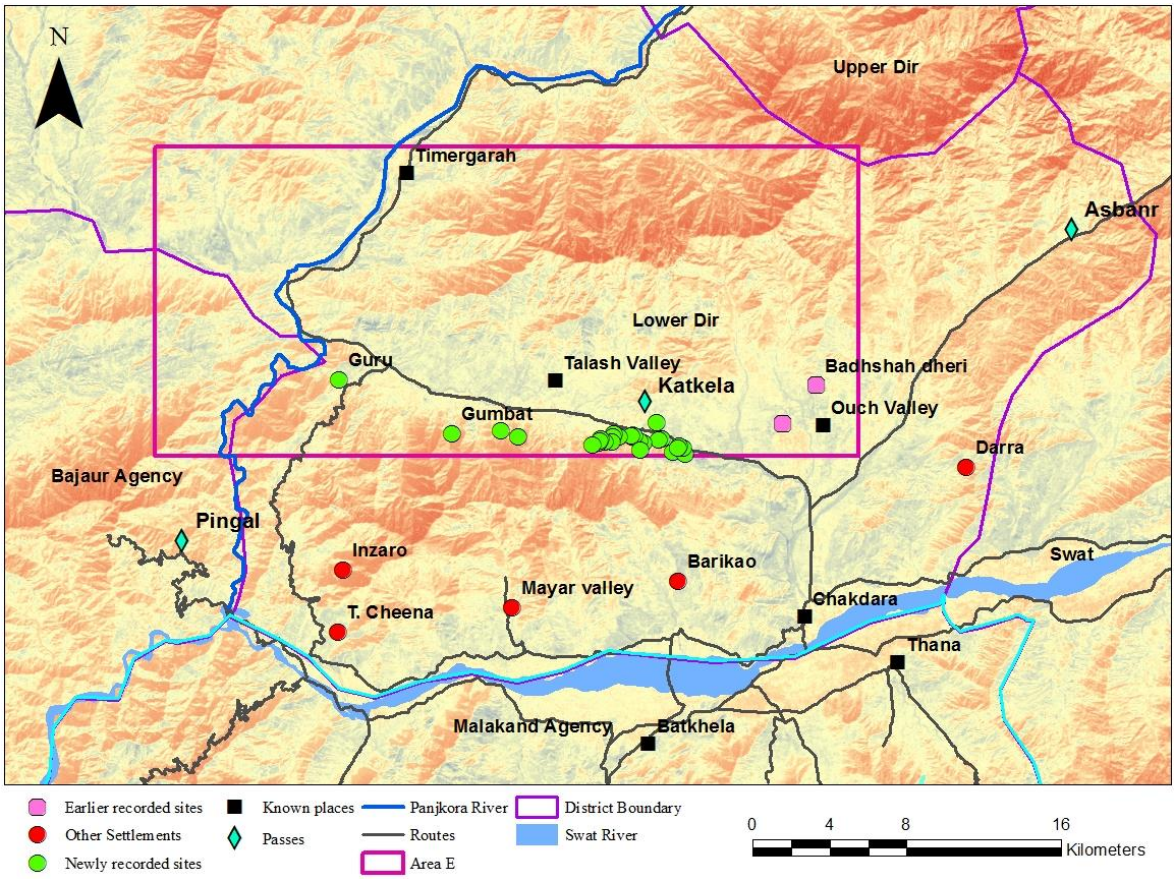


Figure 4.13. Locations of sites in area E (Ijaz Khan)

Stein (1980: 21) believed that the Katkela sites in the east overlooked Ouch valley and areas up to Swat, whereas Rahman (1968: 104) believed that they guarded the pass from the west i.e. the Talash valley. The locations of sites on both sides of Katkela Pass is suggestive of a more robust association with Ouch valley in the east and the route linking Swat via Asbanr Pass (Figure 4.13). Their locations close to the valley passes (that link Barikao and Mayr valley) also suggest that Katkela sites were probably established to provide extra layer of coverage to area C sites in general and the Mayar valley sites (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.14. Location of site (129) in front of Khan Baba pass, linking Barikao (area E) and Katkela (area E), looking towards the south side Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

During the present survey, due to the aggression of the locals, only one site (Hindu Shahi period temple) was documented to the west of Katkela Pass in a naturally fortified valley of Gumbat (Dani 1968a: 11; Stein 1980: 21) (Figure 4.13). However, during the earlier investigations, several Hindu Shahi sites have been reported located around the Gumbat temple (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Rahman 1968, 1979a). According to Dani (1968a: 11-12) and Rahman (1968: 105), Hindu Shahi sites (e.g. Bash Qala, Dhob and so forth – their locations are not known) can be observed up to Panjkora River (Figure 4.13). Rahman (1968: 105) stated that Hindu Shahi sites have occupied almost all valley passes in the area. Previously, Gumbat temple and other sites in its surrounding areas have been linked with the safety of the study region (ibid). The location of Gumbat temple and other sites to the west side of Katkela Pass suggest little concern of the Hindu Shahi from Bajaur Agency and northern areas i.e. Upper Dir. Probably that is why the Hindu Shahi established the lone temple to the extreme north of the study region in a remote and isolated valley. The location of Gumbat is further discussed in chapter 7.

Guru site (Dani 1968a) occupies a central location over a hilltop at the front of the valley that leads towards Panjkora River (Figures 4. 13 and 4. 15). From Guru, there is no known route to Bajaur Agency; however, according the locals, a small community bridge connected Guru and the Bajaur Agency for decades. Due to the growing activities of Taliban in 2008, this bridge was dismantled by Pakistani armed forces in order to restrict movement between the two regions. In close vicinity of Guru (i.e. Bagh), other Hindu Shahi sites have been identified occupying locations close to Panjkora River (Dani 1968a; 11; Godfrey 1912: 51). It is generally believed that Alexander the Great entered to this area from Bajaur Agency after crossing the Panjkora River (Caroe 1958; Dani 1968a; Rahman and Khan 2008; Stein 1980, 1995), though the exact point of his entry is yet to be identified. The lactation of Hindu Shahi site in Guru suggests a possible accessibility link between the Bajaur Agency and Lower Dir and consequently it was occupied probably to monitor activities originating from Bajaur Agency. Tauda Cheena (area C) and Guru hold almost similar locations, bordering with Bajaur Agency (Figure 4.13). Though, a high concentration of sites in Tauda Cheena and Qulangai suggest that these localities were more critical probably due to their locations close to Kot Agra and Pingal Passes that allow access to Vale of Peshawar and Bajaur Agency respectively (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.15. Taken from site 250, looking to the east side Panjkora River and Bajaur Agency, Guru, area E, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

These considerations suggest that Katkela was regarded a secured location possibly due to its geographical location and a considerable distance from the Vale of Peshawar. According to the results of the present and earlier investigations, routes that lead towards Lower Dir from Swat are occupied at several intervals (see Figure 4.11 for detailed information) (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Faccenna et al. 1993; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Tucci 1958). This on one hand suggests the Hindu Shahi's security and safety concerns from Swat, while on the other hand highlights the immense importance of Lower Dir, which has been covered and protected on either side (see chapter 7).

In area A, a total of fourteen sites were documented at two localities Qaldara (12) and Mekhband (2) (Figure 4.16). Qaldara is a small valley located to the west side of Malakand road (further linking Malakand Pass), on approximately 2 km distance (Figure 4.16). It is the only area located at the verge of the study region, sharing a direct boundary with the Vale of Peshawar. These sites are concentrated along the route coming from the Malakand road and the valley passes (Figure 4.16). According to the locals, the north-eastern valley pass allow access to Batkhela while the north-western valley pass to Mekhband, where two Hindu Shahi sites are located (Figure 4.16). This distribution across the Qaldara enabled the inhabitants of the sites to oversee large areas in different directions (Figure 4. 17). The locations of Hindu Shahi sites in Qaldara close to the Vale of Peshawar appear to be critical. They were probably established at this strategic point to monitor activities within and outside of the study region and to stop an unauthorized entry from the Vale of Peshawar further to the north side localities where other Hindu Shahi sites are located (e.g. Qulangai, Matkanai) (Figure 4.16).

Previously, Dani (1968a) and Rahman (1979a) have mentioned Hindu Shahi sites to the south-west of Qaldara in Haryankot (Figure 4.16). They are spread over a mile area, occupying commanding locations and have been enclosed by lofty hills (Dani 1968a: 30; Rahman 1979a: 278). The scholars (Dani 1968a; Rahman 1979a) have provided no further information to understand the locations of Haryankot sites in more detail. However, the location of Haryankot seems more similar to Qaldara, showing association with Kot Agra and the valley passes that might have given access to the study region over the Malakand Range (Figure 4.16). The geographical positions of Qaldara and Haryankot close to the Vale

of Peshawar appear very important, suggesting their probable defensive roles in terms of the safety and security of the study region from the Vale of Peshawar.

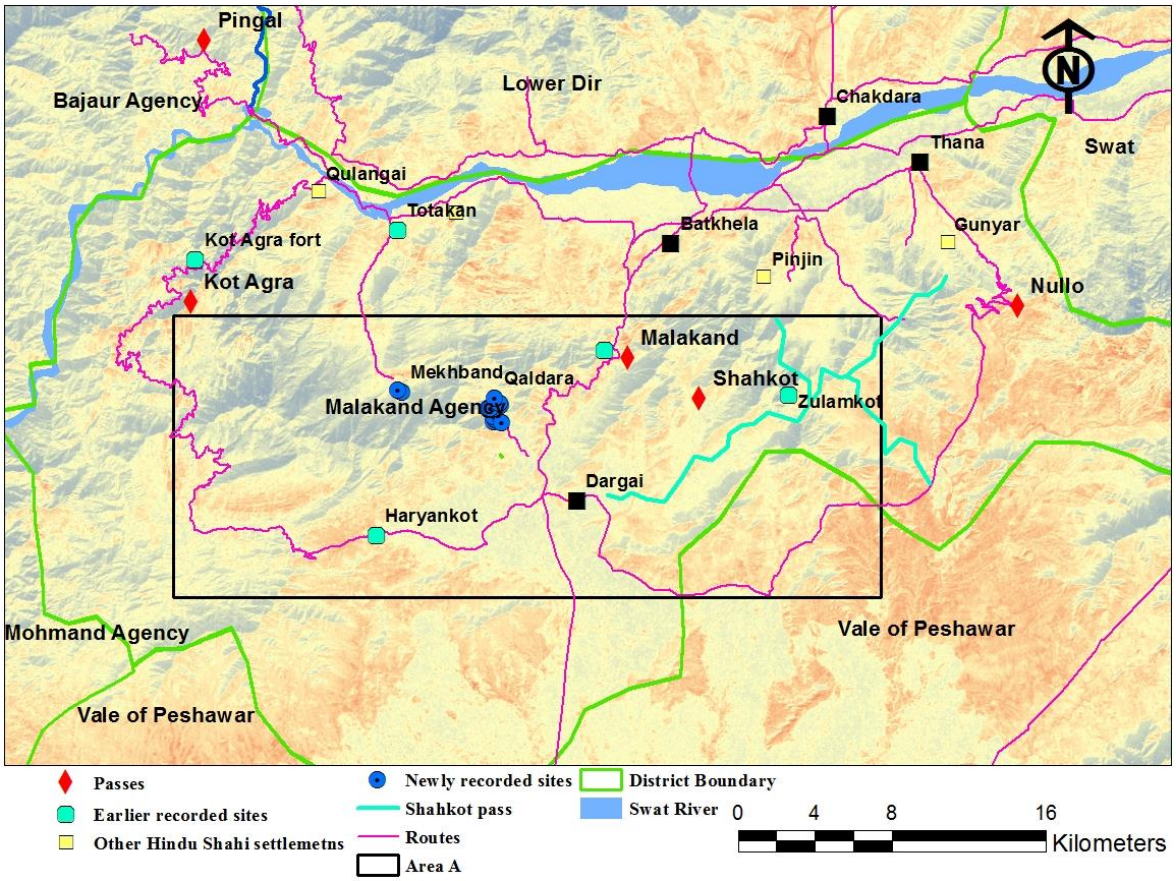


Figure 4.16. Location of sites in area A (Ijaz Khan)

In Mekhband the two sites are located in front of the valley passes that link Haryankot on south, Qaldara on southeast and Totakan on north, where Dani (1968a: 6) has mentioned Hindu Shahi sites (Figure 4. 16). The locations of sites in Mekhband suggest that probably the valley passes were in use during the Hindu Shahi period and gave access to Qulangai, Haryankot and Qaldara (Figure 4.16). Mekhband appears to be an important locality in terms of communication (with nearby settlements), surveillance and defence in the wider landscape.

Figure 4.17. Looking to the southeast Malakand road, site 247, Qaldara, area A, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

During the present survey, in area B, at Torwarsak, Buner only five sites were documented due to a very limited investigation (Figure 4.18). During the previous investigations, a considerable number of Hindu Shahi sites have been reported in Buner district (Figure 4.18) (Godfrey 1912; Khattak 1997; Rehman et al. 1996; Samad and Khan 2016; Stein 1898, 1927). These sites are located close to the main routes and the valley passes that connect parts of Swat and the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 6.18). The earlier sites are interpreted to have occupied locations in close proximity to passes and major routes that link Karakar Pass, in a largely a defensive role (Khattak 1997; 45-53: Stein 1898: 4-8). Some sites are located over the Ilam range, presently forming a boundary between Buner and Swat (Khattak 1997: 53; Olivieri 1996: 65).

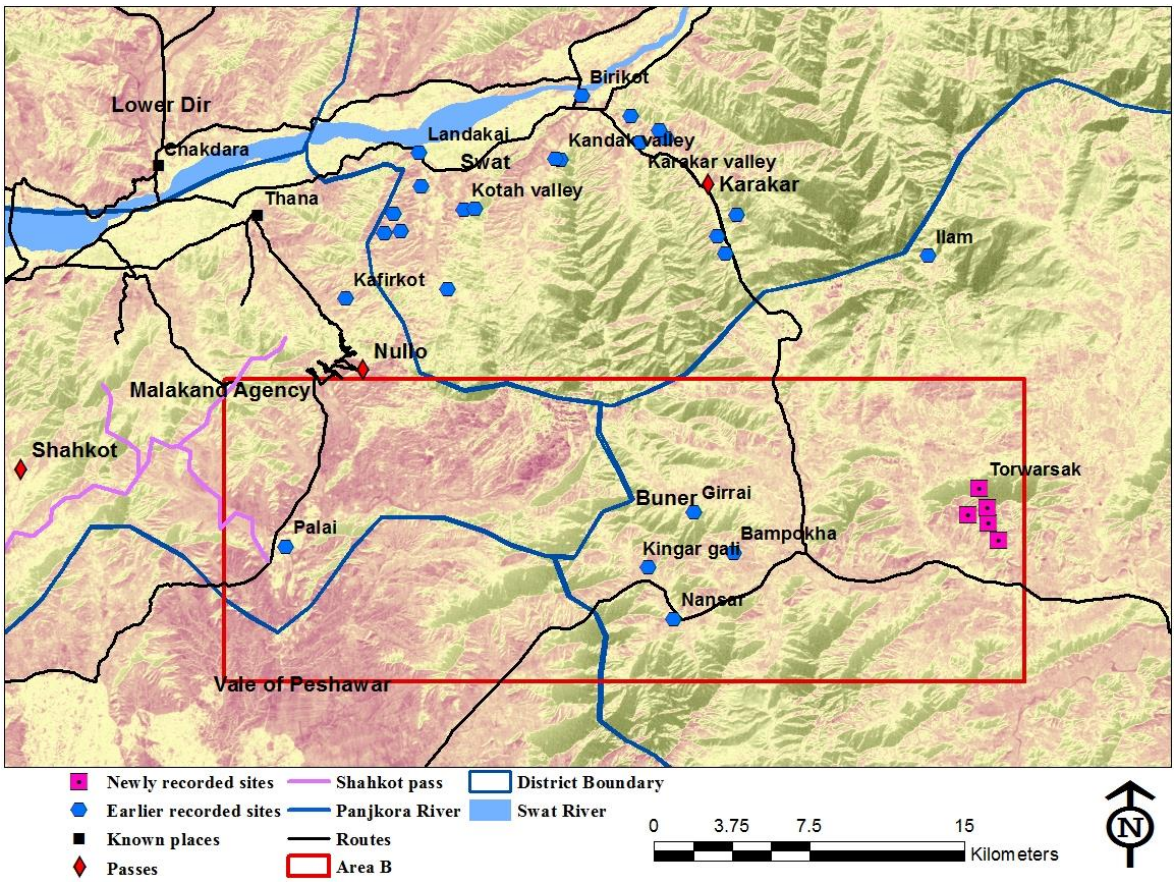


Figure 4.18. Location of sites in area B (Ijaz Khan)

Results of the earlier and present investigations demonstrate that almost all Hindu Shahi sites are located along the key access routes that may give access to the study region from the Vale of Peshawar. The locations of Haryankot (Dani 1968a; Rahman 1979a) and Qaldara at the boundary of the Vale of Peshawar appear to be more critical, suggesting their important roles in the safety of the study region (see chapter 7). However, this does not mean that areas A, B and F are poor in term of the sites of this period. During the recent survey, I had face tremendous difficulties due to poor security situation and threats from the Taliban. The presence of large number of armed forces personnel's in the study region also restricted free movement and access to many areas that were virtually occupied by the armed forces. The previous surveys have recorded a significant number of Hindu Shahi sites in Buner (Godfrey 1912; Khattak 1997; Rehman et al. 1996; Samad and Khan 2016; Stein 1898), confirming it was an important area that played a crucial role in the safety and security of the study region (see Figure 4.18 and chapter 7 for further discussion).

4.7 Summary

In the study region, Hindu Shahi sites are distributed over an extensive area, showing two major trends. They are clustered along the major access routes and less known valleys that might have been used as access routes during the Hindu Shahi period. In both cases sites show great similarities in their locations and association with access routes. The distribution of sites suggests that they were deliberately constructed on key strategical and tactical locations at high altitudes in order to observe activities in the surrounding landscapes and protect themselves in case of an attack. The results of the analysis demonstrate that Hindu Shahi sites are distributed over a large study region. However, a high concentration of sites was observed to the north side of Swat River in area C where sites are located in dense clusters particularly at Mayar valley, showing the highest Hindu Shahi activity in the study region. Compared to the other neighbouring regions, Hindu Shahi sites are widely and densely occupied to the south side of Swat River along the Vale of Peshawar at close intervals, covering all the access routes and passes that could give access to the study region from this direction.

Chapter 5 Analysis of Hindu Shahi Structures and Settlements

5.1 Introduction

The main focus of my thesis is to explore the Hindu Shahi period settlements in the Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, in order to gain insights of their activities and the political position of these regions during their rule. I hope to achieve this through in-depth analyses of such characteristics as sites hierarchies, sizes and locations of sites as well as types of sites. In Chapter 4, I have analysed the geographical distribution, physical location and elevation of Hindu Shahi sites and their settlement patterns across the study region. This chapter deals with the analysis of the sites recorded during the present survey in situ or in its original plan. For a greater understanding, the results of the previous work from the study region will also be presented at the end of the analysis of the present survey data in each section. Initially, I will analyse the sites' structures to gain insight of their possible function and to identify different types of sites. I will then analyse the distribution of different sizes sites in relation to the number of structures to explore their possible role at particular locations in the landscape.

The overall purpose of this chapter is to learn about trends with regard to sites structures and sites sizes and understand what these things indicate about the Hindu Shahi activities in the study region. During the analysis, data from the study region will be compared with other published sites of the Hindu Shahi outside the study region and evidence from historic sources to gain ideas about their tentative chronological order. Although, it is not the main purpose of this thesis and can be achieved broadly from the scientific excavations and dating for determining whether settlements were developed at a particular time or during the long dynastic period of Hindu Shahi. In order to accomplish these objectives, structures and sizes of the sites will be analysed, applying the analytical approaches outlined in chapter 3.

5.2 Analysis of the structures/ types of structures

Of the total 225 sites recorded during the present survey, four types of sites were observed during the analysis (Table 5.1). It is noteworthy, that the division of sites into those with

watchtowers and those without watchtowers was my starting point for understanding and classifying site function. The total 140 (62% of 225) sites include watchtowers along with rooms while the 82 (36% of 225) sites include only rooms. It was also observed that sites include 1-8 watchtowers per site and when calculated their total number reaches 217 (see section 5.3.1). I will analyse these different types of sites in turn to learn about their locations and roles in the landscape.

Types of sites	Total sites
Watchtower	140
Non-watchtower	82
Well	2
Temple	1
Total	*225*

Table 5.1. Showing different types of Hindu Shahi period sites

Both the watchtower and non-watchtower sites also include bastions and pits. These different types of structures were documented on the basis of visual evidence and position in the landscape. The presence of different structures in sites is suggestive of the fact that they were probably interconnected with the overall stature of sites, depending on their roles in the landscape. For this reason, the analysis is carried out into two stages. Firstly, plan of the watchtower, bastions and pits are analysed to understand their construction method and possible functions. Secondly, their distribution is analysed across the study region to explore trends in their locations, orientations and discuss the results in chapter 7. The aim of the analysis in this manner is to highlight the similarities and differences between the sites and different localities and explore their role in the study region in relation to the research question.

5.2.1 Masonry

Before proceeding to the analysis of the different types of sites and structures I analyse the construction method of walls that form different types of structures. Close observation of the structures shows that stone blocks were directly placed over the rough surface of bedrock without digging a foundation and the available topography was skilfully utilised (Figure 5.1). It would have been a difficult task to dig foundations into the hard-rocky surface while much easier to erect walls between the different elevated parts of the selected pieces of land. The natural contours appear to have provided little plain land for building activities but it has served natural advantage for erecting strong buildings on the tops and slopes. The elevated portions strongly held the human made structures between them and this placement seems much stronger compared to independent standing buildings on tops and slopes, which were more prone to human and natural hazards. This suggests that the natural topography largely helped the Hindu Shahi to raise buildings at such difficult places which otherwise would have been greatly unfit for construction activities. From a close look at Figure 5.1, it can easily be gleaned that how the builders have utilised the rocky spur throughout the study region for support and strength of standing structures. In the absence of rough topography utilisation, it would have been very difficult if not impossible to erect structures at such difficult spots.

All over the study region, blocks of various shapes and sizes were used in the construction of walls, ranging from 15 centimetres to 1.2 meters in width and 15 centimetres to 2.1 meter in length. As a result, almost all Hindu Shahi buildings or sites across the study region give an irregular or rough but quite similar look. The thickness of walls falls in a broad category from 70 centimetres to 1 meter, elaborating the highly fortified nature of sites. During the present survey, it was noted that almost all structures have partially fallen down for variety of reasons including aging, natural calamities, human negligence and vandalism. According to the available evidences, watchtowers were found approximately 3-11 meters in height while other structures (mainly rooms) between 2-8 meters' height.

Figure 5.1. Utilisation of rough topography, site 1, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

The results of the earlier and present investigations greatly correspond with each other. According to Olivieri et al. (2006: 138), the walls of Hindu Shahi sites had no foundation trenches and they had been directly constructed over the rock surface. The construction technique shows that builder did not consume energy on levelling the rough topography of the hills but expertly utilised the available irregular topography (Dani 1968a: 29; Rahman 1968: 105). The masonry is rough, made of different sizes and shapes of stone blocks ranging in size approximately 30 centimetres wide and 1.20 meters long (Faccenna et al. 1984: 493; Stein 1898: 36). Masonry of Hindu Shahi sites is rough (Olivieri et al. 2006: 117; Rahman 1968: 105; Stein 1927: 427), which might have been built by inexperienced masons (Qamar 2004: 185). The masonry is quite poor but all the same appearing a new type of military architecture (Dani 1968a: 31).

The thickness of walls varies from site to site ranging from 30 centimetres to 1.5 meters (Faccenna et al. 1984: 493; Rahman 1979a: 276). This contradicts with the results of the present survey which demonstrate the wall sizes between 70 centimetres to 1 metre. On the other hand, the present results correspond with the earlier researchers' conclusions of labelling the Hindu Shahi masonry as largely rough masonry. Building material, needed for the construction of these huge structures, is abundantly available around these sites. Shaping stone blocks might have been a difficult task to make them useable. The thickness of the walls, utilisation of irregular topography and uneven nature of stone blocks indicate that probably sites were built in haste to meet the Hindu Shahi demands and requirements, which is further evidenced from their heavily fortified appearance and sheer number of watchtowers.

5.2.2 Watchtowers,

Of the total 140 watchtowers, only on six sites they were found comparatively intact, showing evidence of upper storeys, while on remaining sites only their platforms were recorded. In most cases, the upper storeys of watchtowers have crumbled down while their platforms still survive due to their firm construction. The available six comparatively intact watchtowers show evidence of platforms and three upper storeys, still standing to approximately 11 meters' height despite their partial collapse (Figure 5.2). The close examination of watchtowers shows that the builders had first built solid platforms (filled with mud and stone blocks) and above that the upper storeys were constructed (Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

As outlined above that sites include one or more multiple watchtowers. In most cases, the multiple watchtowers have been built detached but in certain areas they have been built consecutive ranging from 2-4, suggesting different functions (e.g. socio-political, strategic and so forth). The first storeys were built above the platforms and were accessible through narrow doorways ranging from 70 centimetres to 80 centimetres in width (Figure 5.4). They were more than three meters high from the ground level, a height certainly much higher for a normal doorway (Figure 5.4). No signs of permanent means of accessibility (e.g. staircase) were observed neither at the platform levels nor in the surviving walls. This phenomenon

suggests that these watchtowers were accessed through removable staircases, perhaps made of wood. The height of the doorways up to three metres, further suggests that probably the staircases used to be removed to keep the watchtowers protected and only utilised when required.

Figure 5.2. General view of a watchtower, site 111, Gunyar, area D, Malakand Agency, (earlier recorded by Foucher 1901) (vertical stick above the watchtower was probably used for flag) (Ijaz Khan)

The upper three storeys have revealed very interesting features, including beam slots, flooring slots (for supporting wooden planks), arrow-slits and windows (Figures 5.2-5.4). The beam and flooring slots one above another in crisscross pattern (e.g. beam slot east and west x flooring slots south and north) demonstrate the construction of three storeys above the platform. According to the available evidence, the first storey was of two meters' height, while second and third storeys range from 3-4 meters. The relative lower height of the first floor could be the result of the fallen debris from the upper storeys, as observed on the floors. Most of the platforms were built rectangular ranging from 1.3-7 meters in width and 1.3-8.5 meters in length. The number of three storeys and recorded sizes appear to have provided

adequate space for human movement, living and different activities. The second and third storeys were accessed through open spaces provided in the left side of watchtowers (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.3. Solid platform of watchtower and the upper structures, site 153, Tauda Cheena, area C Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

The upper storeys were equipped with arrow-slits, opening in various directions. They fall in one broad category in terms of sizes; 30-40 centimetres in width and 60-70 centimetres in length (Figure 5.4). The arrow-slits were constructed at around 1.5 meters' height from the floor level (normal human height for viewing the outside surroundings) and 1-2 meters away from the corners of watchtowers providing enough space for their use (probably during attacks and to lookout for surveillance and communication) (Figure 5.4). These arrow-slits were built in a curve pattern turning to one side within the walls. Inside the floors their sizes range from 30-40 centimetres in width and getting narrow while extend towards outside, squeezing to approximately 20 centimetres. This method of construction on one hand

provides enough space for viewing and probably shooting arrows while on the other hand enhances the occupant's security making it hard to be targeted from outside.

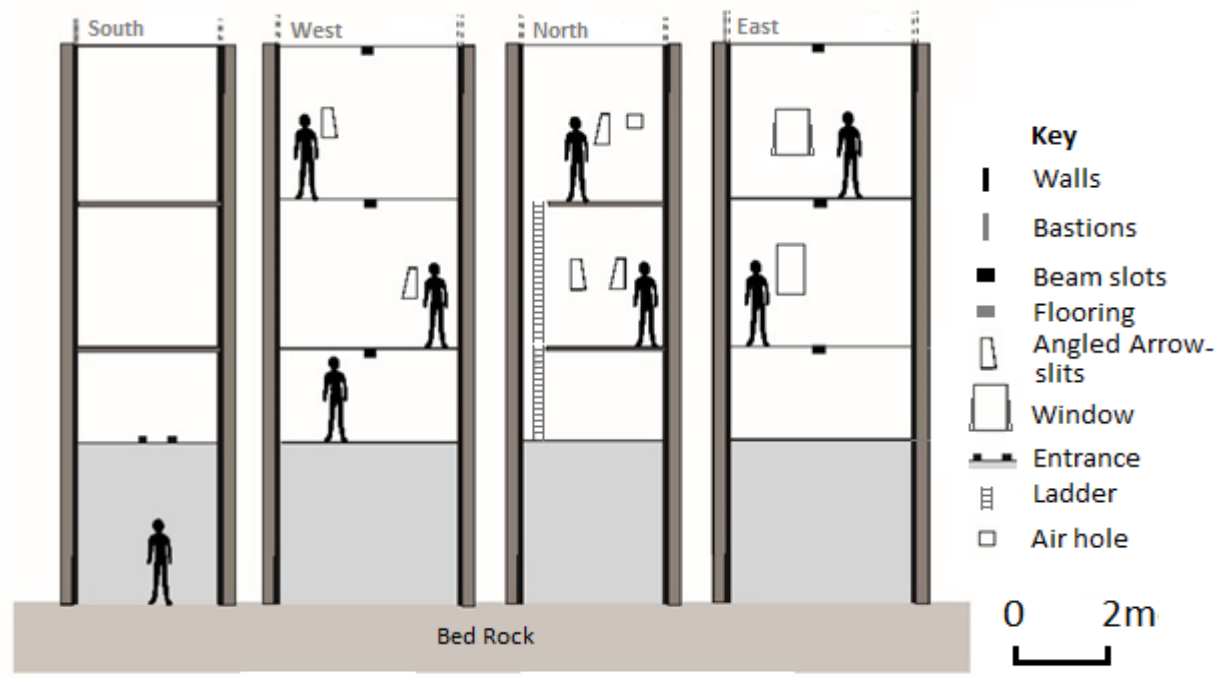


Figure 5.4. Details of watchtower, site 111, Gunyar, area D, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

The second and third storeys were provided with a window ranging in size from 82 centimetres to 1.1 meters in width and 1 meter to 1.2 meters in height (Figure 5.4). No window was observed on the first floor on any watchtower. The overall plan of watchtowers appears very compact and robust. The windows sizes suggest that they were probably meant for providing the occupants with light, fresh air, wider view as well as to communicate with the population in the lower or the nearby settlements. These windows show similarity with the arrow-slits, included on approximately 1.5 meters' distance from the corners and the ground floor, making them useable from both sides. They are wide enough inside the floors where their walls taper to both sides, becoming more spacious which can be used by two persons at one time. These features also indicate the windows defensive and offensive roles along with light and fresh air. The absence of windows on the first storeys suggests safety consideration, as the first storeys were probably used by the servants, guards for rest, living

and other usages such as cooking and so on, which were more prone to hazards from outside compared to the second and third storeys.

Previously recorded datasets of watchtowers show broad similarities with the results of the present survey. The platforms of watchtowers were built solid between 3 to 4.5 meters high from the ground level, which accommodated a group of soldiers (Dani 1968a: 31; Rahman 1968: 105; Stein 1995: 24). The upper storeys are built above the platform (Faccenna et al. 1984: 496). The narrow doorways are equally located on the first storey with square holes that accommodated wooden bars to block access to the watchtowers (Olivieri et al. 2006: 138; Stein 1995: 24). The first storeys were accessed through a detachable staircase, which could easily be withdrawn in case of an attack (Olivieri et al. 2006: 138; Stein 1995: 24). The upper storeys include beam holes and arrow-slits (Dani 1968a: 30; Olivieri et al. 2006: 117). The windows are very narrow like the arrow-slits from the outside while wide enough from inside, providing maximum light and protection to the occupants suggesting defensive function (Stein 1995: 24). These watchtowers are square in plan and might have been in height from 10-12 meters (Faccenna et al. 1993; Foucher 1901; Olivieri et al. 2006; Tucci 1958).

Due to the gigantic appearance and defensive nature of watchtowers, they have been variously named i.e. damdama, tower-house, picket, tall structure, fortified structures, and watchtower and associated with the safety of their occupants and the region (Barger 1938: 109; Dani 1968a: 5; Faccenna et al. 1993: 266; Olivieri 1996: 74; Rahman 1968: 105; Tucci 1958: 286). All these designations were probably given due to their enormous and militaristic appearance, suggesting defensive functions. According to Deane (1896: 657) and Olivieri et al. (2006: 139), these watchtowers were built for military purpose and were used for controlling the access routes. They were placed close enough within visual range and possibly used for conveying signals through flaming fire with the nearby sites (Rahman 1968: 105). These watchtowers provided safety to their occupants from local or external enemies and for throwing concentrated fire on the enemy down below (Dani 1968a: 31; Stein 1995: 24). Stein (1995: 25) believed that the construction of these colossal structures has involved an un-paralleled labour and resources and could only have been constructed by rulers or elites.

The present evidence suggests that the overall plan of the watchtowers was meant for defensive role. The construction of the first storeys and the location of narrow doorways much higher from normal contemporary ground levels suggest extremely restricted and controlled access to the upper storeys. The available sizes of the upper storeys suggest that they were spacious enough to accommodate a sizeable group of people. Constructing such massive structures across the study region might have involved the organisation of a substantial labour force for lifting the stone blocks to those considerable heights particularly on a difficult topography (see chapter 4 for the physical locations and elevation of sites). The construction apparently required a greater political power, expertise and labour management plans; a prerequisite for the commissioning and execution of such massive scale projects.

The height of watchtowers, their locations over hills at considerable height from contemporary ground level suggest that they might have dominated the neighbouring landscapes. These characteristics also appear to have enabled their occupants to keep the nearby access routes, passes and the lower valleys under close observation. The gigantic appearance of watchtower might have been used to demonstrate the power and authority of the Hindu Shahi in the study region. This lead us to question the rationale of Hindu Shahi endeavour to construct such an impressive network of tall structures? We know from the historic accounts that the Hindu Shahi were involved in conflicts with the Ghaznavids since 963 CE (Ali and Sehrai 1998: 57; Dani 2001a: 6; Dupree 1980: 313; Shah 2012: 40). In such a situation results of the analysis suggest that probably security and defence concerns appear to be of paramount consideration which necessitated and forced the Hindu Shahi to establish a network of such structures in the study region. The historic accounts (Brigss 1958; Elliot 1966; Sachau 1964; Stein 1900) also record that Hindu Shahi maintained a huge army and paid huge sums in the form of plunders, ransoms and treaties to their traditional opponents i.e. Ghaznavids (see chapter 2). These events indicate the prosperous economic position of the Hindu Shahi; however, they were probably worried about the military strength of their Ghaznavids rivals who constantly defeated them. The Hindu Shahi appears to have invested their wealth and other resources in these ventures to protect themselves, their citizens and the territories, rather than exposing themselves and their territories to potential risks. These issues are further discussed in chapter 7.

5.2.3 Bastions

During the present survey bastions were recorded on 40 sites (18% of the total 225), ranging from 1-10 per site (Figure 5.5). The construction of bastions certainly involved more construction materials, labourers and resources compared to the non-bastion sites. Their construction on sites indicates two possible purposes. Firstly, they provide additional strength to the structures. Secondly, they enhance the overall beauty and appearance of sites, making them more elegant and distinctive from the non-bastion sites. However, the present study suggests their symbolic role rather than their use for structural strength. As evidenced from Chapter 4, all known Hindu Shahi settlements are located over rough terrain of hills, needing additional structural support; though, a limited number of sites were provided with bastions. This reinforces the idea that the sites with bastions had probably some sort of socio-political and economic importance and meanings apart from strategic significance and were thus made distinct and prominent in the landscape. These points are further discussed at length in chapter 7.

Bastions were attached to watchtowers, fortification walls, rooms, and terraces while in one case the attached structures could not be identified due to bad state of preservation (Table 5.2). Compared to other structures, watchtowers received relatively significant attention, suggesting they were much taller than other structures and probably needed extra strength and support.

I may suggest that the second option appears more possible and plausible; otherwise in the first case, all watchtowers would have been supported with bastions. Compared to watchtowers, other structures received little attention probably due to their low height and less prominence (Table 5.2). Despite these considerations, throughout the study region, bastions face the valleys and nearby access routes from where they are clearly visible and accessible. This suggests that they were consciously and deliberately constructed towards the valleys to be clearly noticed in the landscape, due to their prominence and distinctiveness and might have some association with the status of sites occupant's (e.g. socio-political and economic).

Figure 5.5. Bastion attachment to an enclosed chamber, site 34, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Bastions attached to	Number of sites	% n = 40
Watchtowers	27	67
Fortification	2	5
Room	2	5
Terrace/ platform	6	15
Unknown/ demolished	3	8
Total	*40*	*100*

Table 5.2. Attachment of bastions to various structures

During the previous investigations, bastions were reported form Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat districts (Dani 1968a: 8; Faccenna 1964: 22; Faccenna et al. 1984: 493, 495; 1993: 263; Khan et al. 1995: 334; Olivieri et al. 2006: 139; Rahman 1979a: 277; Stein 1927: 428; Tucci 1958: 318). They have also been reported at Topi in the Vale of Peshawar, at Kafirkot forts in Dera Ismail Khan and Nandana in Punjab (Ali and Jan 2005; Khan and Batool: 2011; Masih 2002). Their presence both in the study region and in the Vale of Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan and Punjab suggest that probably bastion was the most common characteristics of the Hindu Shahi period beyond and within the study region, whereas pits and watchtowers are only found in the study region. The role of bastions on sites have not been explored and explained neither in the study region nor in other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom. The earliest evidence of bastions in Pakistan has been discovered at Indus Valley Civilisation sites i.e. Harrapa and Mohenjardaro (2600 - 1700 BCE) (Mughal and Nazir 2004: 166). The tradition might have continued; however, there is no published literature that speaks of the bastions attachment at any pre Hindu Shahi periods. The study region is largely known for Buddhist art and architecture but there is no mention of bastions attachment to their settlements and monasteries. It is the only structural feature of the Hindu Shahi period which is found in all known parts of their kingdom.

5.2.4 Pits

During the survey, pits were recorded on 27 sites (12% of 225 sites). They were either built adjacent to other structures (rooms and fortification walls) or in their close association, suggesting that their construction was carried at the same time. Like the watchtowers and bastions, pits were also found in multiple numbers on sites ranging from 1-5 per site. A total of 39 pits were discovered during the survey of the study region. They were built in oval and rectangular shapes; however, despites their various shapes, pits show great similarities in sizes (Table 5. 3 and Figures 5.6 and 5.7).

The presence of oval and rectangular pits on one site (multiple pits) or at one locality suggests both shapes were probably constructed side by side and were contemporary. The sizes of the pits suggest they were not very spacious to accommodate big supplies, but still had the capacity to be utilised for various purposes. One of these pits was recorded with a

stone slab on its top suggesting that they were covered (Figure 5.8). This slab has a hole in the centre, which was probably used as handle for removing and placing it back on the top of pit after its usage. It is also possible that the slab with hole was re-used from nearby Buddhist sites, where the *chitras* or Umbrellas on top of the Stupa are circular in shape with a hole in the middle.

Pit shape	Number	% of 39	Width	Length	Depth
Oval	27	72	80cm-1.1m	80cm-1.1m	90cm -1.2m
Rectangular	11	28	70-80cm	80-90cm	1m- 1.1m

Table 5.3. Percentages and sizes of oval and rectangular shape pits

Figure 5.6. Oval shape pit, site 194, Pinjin, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Figure 5.7. Rectangular shape pit, site 87, Darra, area D, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

During the present survey, pits were documented at four different locations on sites (Table 5.4). Most of them were found disturbed and filled with mud and no object or artefact was spotted inside these pits. From the survey, it is almost impossible to gain an idea about their function and only systematic excavations could be useful to further explore their possible function. Nevertheless, the different locations of pits within structures (i.e. rooms, terraces, and watchtower) suggest that they were possibly used for storage purpose. The various locations of pits also suggest different degrees of control in terms of their accessibility. For instance, the location of pits on terraces show more open access to all occupants and were probably used for ordinary items. In contrast, their locations inside the rooms, an enclosed fortified chamber and on the platform of watchtower suggest more restricted and controlled access and were probably used for worthy item storage in the use of the occupants only.

Figure 5.8. A stone slab on top of a pit, photo taken from bottom, site 111, Gunyar, area D, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Pits location	Number of pits	% n= 27
Terrace	17	63
Room	5	18
Room and terrace (sites with multi pits)	4	15
Watchtower	1	4

Table 5.4. Location of pits over sites in different numbers

Previously, pits were recorded on Hindu Shahi sites in Buner, Swat and Lower Dir (Khattak 1997; Rahman 1968; Stein 1995). According to Stein (1995: 24-25) and Khattak (1997: 90) they were used for grains and other necessary items storage and were covered from the top to keep them safe from invaders. During the excavation, Rahman (1968: 105) also unearthed

a pit at Damkot, Lower Dir and interpreted it to have been used for storage of water. Considering the present analysis, they were probably used for storing necessary items like weapons, food and other valuables for use in case of emergency (see chapter 7). It is noteworthy that Hindu Shahi period pits have been only reported from the study region (Khattak 1997: 90; Rahman 1968: 105; Stein 1995: 24), while in other parts they are entirely missing (e.g. see Masih 2002, 2005; Meister 2010a), suggesting a different phenomenon during their occupation in this region.

The earliest evidence of pits in the study region was recorded at Leobanr III and Kalko-deray in Swat district (Stacul 1977, 1987, 1996). They were in circular and oval shapes and were assigned to a date between 1700 and 1400 BCE (Stacul 1977: 229, 1996: 435). These pits were interpreted to have been used for dwelling and storage (Stacul 1977: 227).

5.3 Spatial distribution of watchtowers

The 140 sites with watchtowers are widely distributed in all parts of the study region, demonstrating an organised defence system (Figure 5.9). Their highest concentration was observed in area C, where 76 (54% of the total 140) sites are located on both sides of Swat River, covering roughly nine kilometres' area (Figure 5.9). While analysing the distribution of watchtower sites in area C, it was noted that twenty-nine sites (38% of 76) are located to the north side of Swat River in Mayar valley, towards the north side with relatively little association with south side route linking Chakdara and Tauda Cheena (Figure 5.9). Other 31 sites are distributed across the Swat River at close intervals almost opposite to each other in Tauda Cheena, Qulangai and Mekhband (Figure 5.9). This is strategically an important area where Kot Agra and Pingal passes descend from the Vale of Peshawar and Bajaur Agency respectively (Figure 5.9). The concentration of sites in front of these passes suggests that the watchtowers were established probably in relation to the accessibility, safety and security form these neighbouring regions.

Other sixteen sites are located in close proximity of Shahkot Pass in Pinjin (Figure 5.9). Shahkot Pass is known to have been the principal ancient route between the Vale of Peshawar and Malakand Agency, Swat and Lower Dir via Thana and its adjoining localities (Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478; Olivieri et al. 2006: 120) (Figure 5.9). Thana has a very

central location, diverting traffic towards Chakdara in Lower Dir and Swat. The organisation and concentration of sites close to this ancient pass suggest that it was a critical area and hence it was protected with numerous watchtowers in relation to the safety of the study region, which was closely linked with the Vale of Peshawar (see chapter 7).

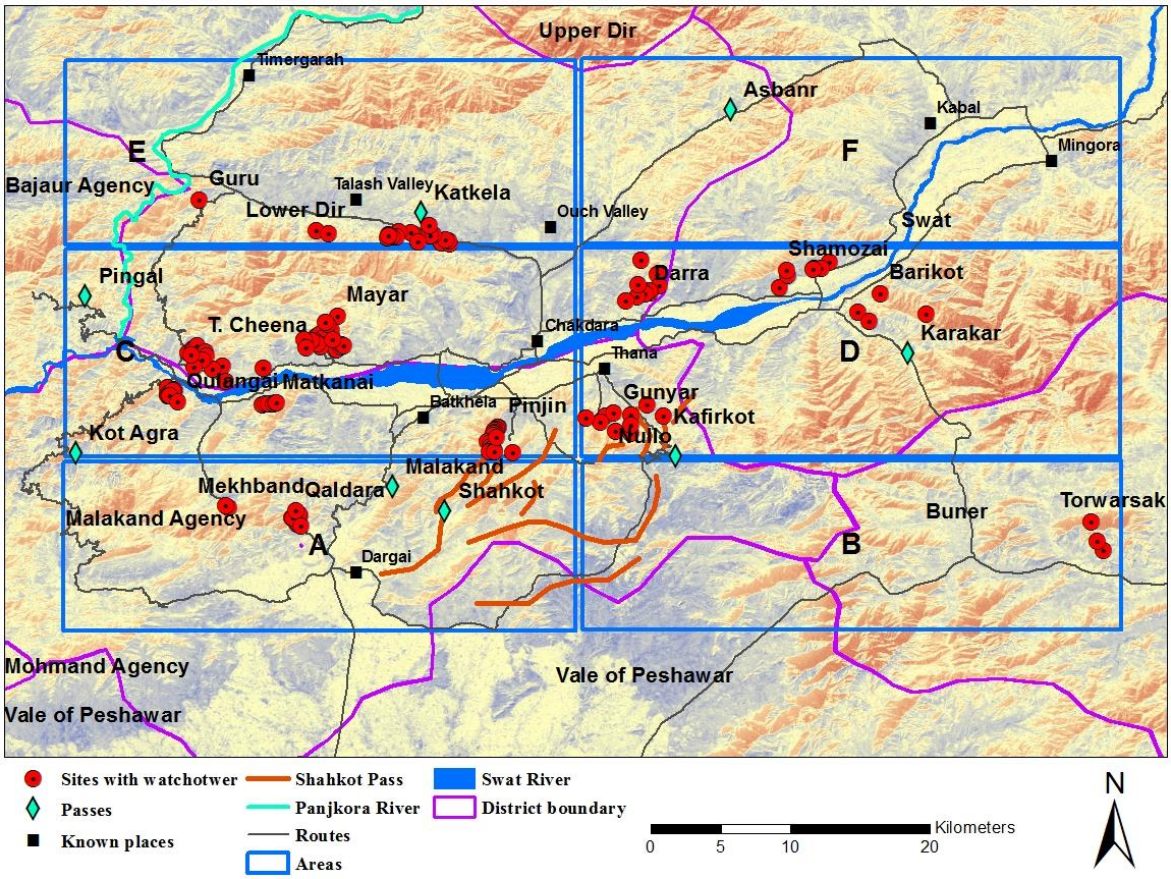


Figure 5.9. Distribution of sites with watchtowers (Ijaz Khan)

Area D has the second highest concentration of watchtowers, housing a total of 31 sites, located along the Swat River and close to Nullo, Shahkot and Karakar passes (Figure 5.9). Of the 31 sites, seventeen are located to the north side of Swat River at close intervals in Darra (10) and Shamozai valley (7) (Figure 5.9). The location of Shamozai valley sites almost opposite to the Karakar Pass suggests their close association with the said pass and the route coming from the northeast side (Figure 5.9). Darra holds an important location connecting Swat and Lower Dir within the study region and when its location is analysed in relation to the Shamozai valley and Karakar Pass sites, a firm and constant control of this

important internal route is observed. This suggests that probably the Shamozai valley and Darra sites were established to keep the route open and to protect Lower Dir in case of an attack from east and south side areas via Karakar Pass (see chapter 7). Karakar and its surrounding areas hold a strategic location in the wider landscape, allowing access to different areas through various historically known hilly passes. However, the location of sites almost opposite to each other across the Swat River indicates that the Hindu Shahi made an attempt to monitor all the access routes linking Buner, Malakand Agency and onward the Vale of Peshawar. Ten sites are concentrated at two locations i.e. Gunyar (8) and Kafirkot (2), showing association with Shahkot and Nullo Passes (Figure 5.9). The locations of these and Pinjin sites in area C suggest that the Hindu Shahi probably occupied these localities in connection to the accessibility from the Vale of Peshawar.

In area E, twenty sites with watchtowers were recorded (Figure 5.9). Nineteen sites are concentrated along the Katkela Pass with one site located to the extreme west, close to Panjkora River in Guru (Figure 5.9). Dense concentration along the Katkela Pass highlights its strategic importance and, consequently, it was heavily fortified. The single site (Guru) close to Panjkora River is situated slightly away from Katkela Pass but it yet occupies an important location with possible access form northern areas and Bajaur Agency (Figure 5.9). The relatively high concentration of watchtower sites along the Katkela Pass suggests more concern from Ouch valley and Swat via Asbanr Pass (Figure 5.9). This aspect is evident from the locations of sites to the east side of Katkela Pass, overlooking Ouch valley and areas beyond.

In area A, ten sites with watchtower are concentrated at two locations. Eight sites are clustered in Qaldara close to Malakand road (further links the Malakand Pass) and other hilly passes that link the study region with the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 5.9). Qaldara is the only locality, situated to the south side of Malakand Range, sharing a direct boundary with the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 5.9). Other Hindu Shahi settlements in the study region are not only distant from the neighbouring regions but also enclosed by the landscape features such as rivers and mountains, forming natural boundaries and barriers. The location of sites in Qaldara on one hand appears to be strategically critical in terms of the safety of the study region, while on the other hand highly vulnerable and fragile to external threats. Their

locations show a close association with the access routes linking the Vale of Peshawar and were probably established to oversee and, if needed, to stop such threats leading to northern parts of the study region from the Vale of Peshawar (see chapter 7). Other two sites (in Mekhband) are located in the middle of the valley, which appeared to have connected Qaldara and on east while Matkanai and Qulangai sites (area C) on north (Figure 5.9).

In area B, three sites with watchtowers were recorded at Torwarsak, Buner (Figure 5.9). As noted in Chapter 3, during the present survey the eastern parts of all three areas B, D and F were briefly investigated. The absence or relative lack of such sites in these areas could be the result of limited investigations. Previously, a considerable number of sites with watchtowers have been located along the Karakar Pass and its surrounding valleys, overlooking Buner and Vale of Peshawar (Barger and Wright 1941; Faccenna et al. 1985; Foucher 1901; Godfrey 1912; Khan 2014; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rehman et al. 1996; Stein 1898; 1927; Tucci 1958). These sites were interpreted to have occupied and controlled the valley passes and routes linking areas within the study region as well as with the Vale of Peshawar (Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 478, 481; Godfrey 1912: 51; Khattak 1997: 50-108; Stein 1898: 4-8, 14-15, 1927: 428; Tucci 1958: 286). The results of present and earlier investigations show similar patterns and thick concentration of sites in this area as observed in area C along the Kot Agra, Malakand and Shahkot Passes.

5.3.1 Sites with single and multiple watchtowers

The importance of watchtowers is evident from their wide distribution and total number. As noted above that sites include 1-8 watchtowers per site and when calculated their total number reaches 217 (Table 5.5). The high concentration of sites with single and two watchtowers suggests that they were common, while sites with more watchtowers are limited to certain localities. These variations indicate some sort of importance of these sites and localities in the study region (Figure 5. 10 and Table 5.6)

The sites (3 in total) with three watchtowers in areas A and C are showing differences in their geographical locations and number of structures. For instance, the area C sites are located in Mayar valley away from the neighbouring regions and major passes while the area

A site is located at the extreme verge of the study region sharing a direct boundary with the Vale of Peshawar, appearing critical and vulnerable (Figure 5.10). Similarly, at area C site, the three watchtowers are built adjacent and enclosed by four bastions and also includes two pits inside the rooms, suggesting restricted access and storage of high value or status items (Figure 5. 11) while at area A site, the watchtowers are built detached at three various locations and also missing pits and bastions. These variations indicate that probably the area C sites served socio-political roles while the area A site was meant for defensive role only (see chapter 7).

Watchtowers per site	Number of sites	% of total 140 sites	Total watchtowers
Single	96	69	96 x 1 = 96
Two	29	21	29 x 2 = 58
Three	3	2	3 x 3 = 9
Four	9	6	9 x 4 = 36
Five	2	1	2 x 5 = 10
Eight	1	1	1 x 8 = 8
Total	*140*	*100*	*217*

Table 5.5. Details of the number of watchtowers per site

The distribution of nine sites with four watchtowers shows somewhat a uniform pattern, largely concentrating along the access routes (Figure 5.10). Though, their high concentration was observed in area C (7 sites) mainly close to Kot Agra and Pingal and Shahkot Passes while one site in Mayar valley (Figure 5.10). It is noteworthy, that in area C not only the numbers of sites are higher but the form or orientations of most watchtowers are different from the other areas. For instance, the Mayar valley site also include the second largest number of four pits of the study region; two inside the rooms and two at terraces, indicating different degrees of control and storage of important or precious objects (Figure 5.12). Its four watchtowers are built in two pairs which might have been used as gateways; the east side opened towards the valley passage while the west side opened to other sites located in its close vicinity. In addition to that it is the only site of the entire study region, which was built on square plan.

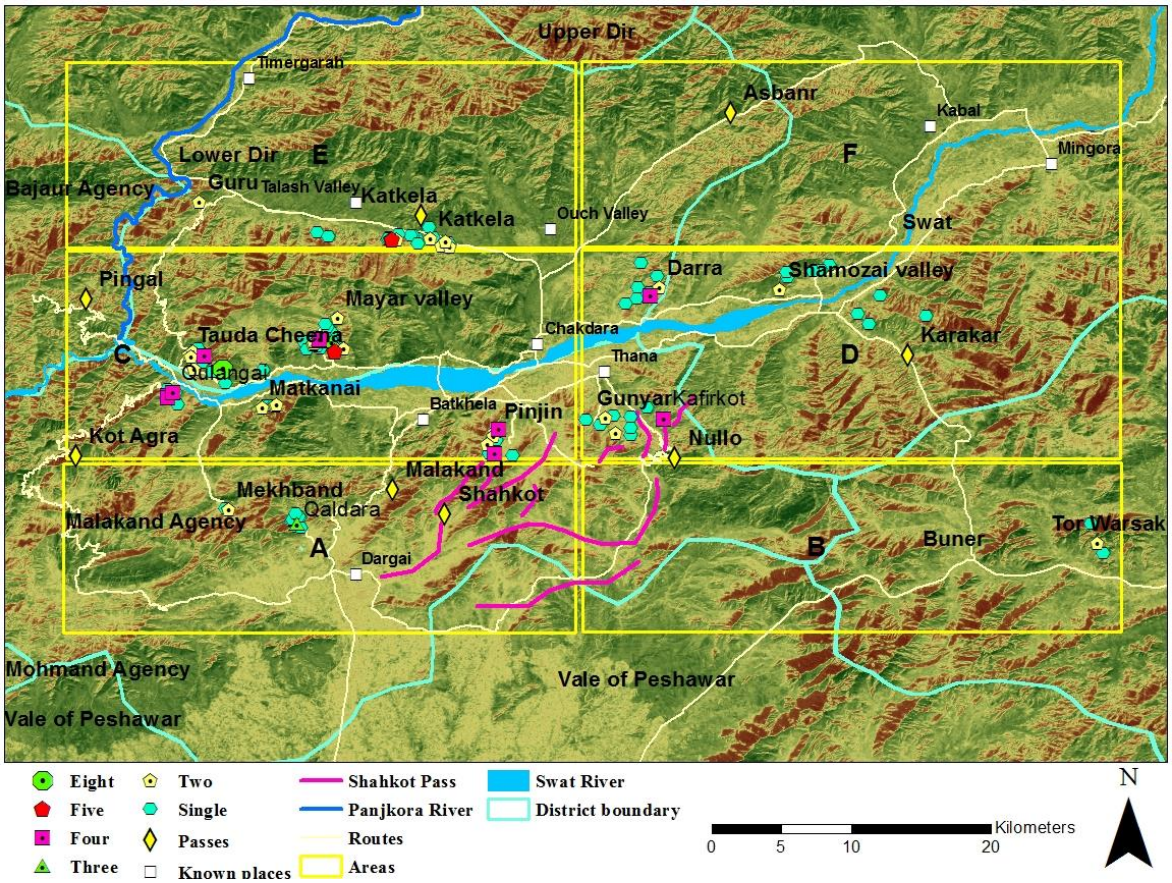


Figure 5.10. Distribution of sites with single and multiple watchtowers (Ijaz Khan)

Area	Single	Two	Three	Four	Five	Eight	Total sites
A	8	1	1	x	x	x	10
B	2	1	x	x	x	x	3
C	48	17	2	7	1	1	76
D	25	4	x	2	x	x	31
E	13	6	x	x	1	x	20
F	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Total	*96*	*29*	*3*	*9*	*2*	*1*	*140*

Table 5.6. Number of sites with single and multiple bastions in major areas

To the south side of Swat River (Qulangai), the three sites are closely located relatively away from the access routes on high altitudes at approximately 300-400 height from the valley floor Figure 5.10, appendix 3). At two sites, the four watchtowers are built adjacent, the

only examples in the entire study region. Due to their considerable height and prime locations on the hilltop, they oversee the nearby sites as well as the surrounding landscape. In area D, the four watchtowers have been built at different locations and do not include bastions or pits (appendix 3). Variations in the site structures, orientation and geographical location suggest other important functions along with its sole military use (see chapter 7).

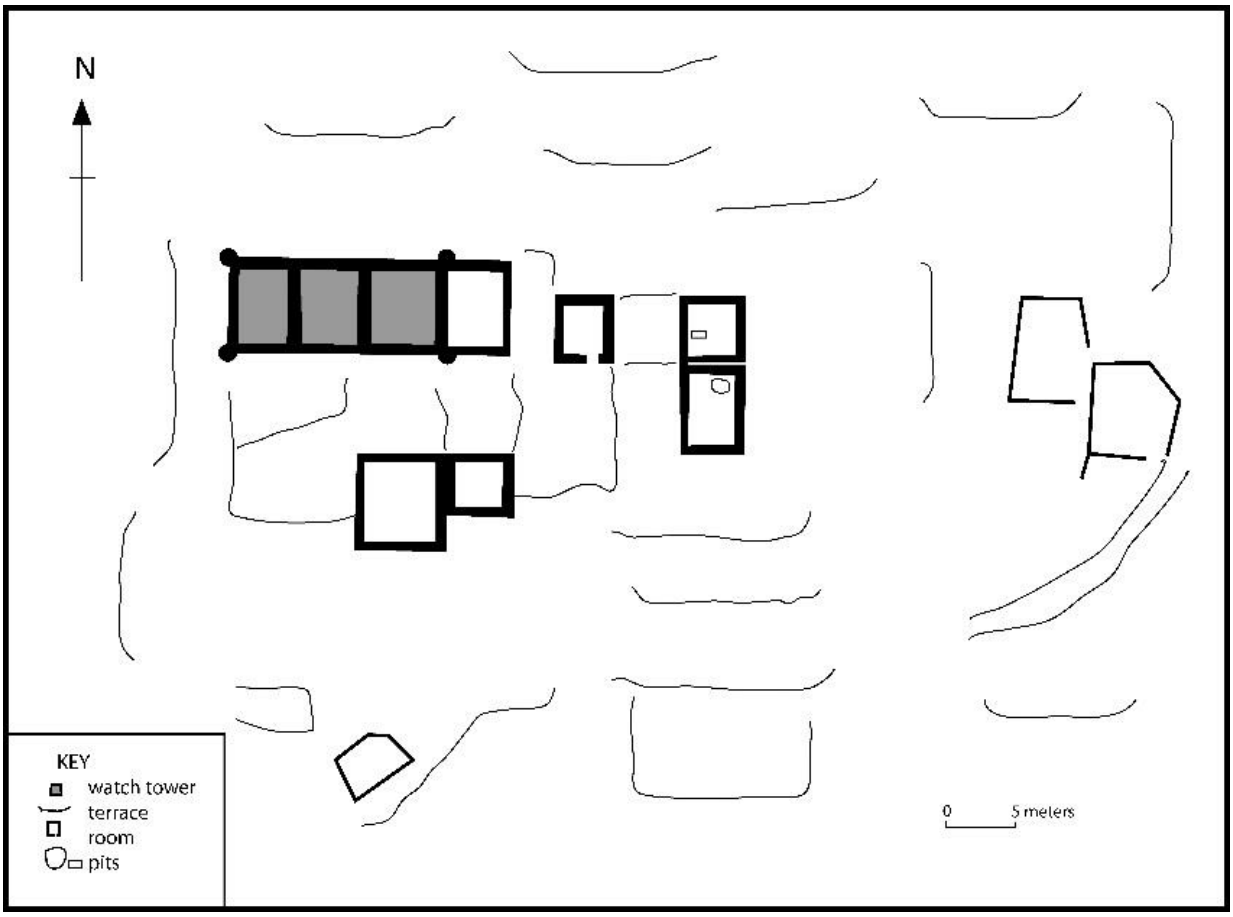


Figure 5.11. Site with three multiple watchtowers, site 26, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Two sites with five watchtowers are situated in area C and E, showing differences in locations and structural details (Figure 5.10). The area C site is located at the start of the valley towards the Swat River and is the first site to be seen while approaching the main Mayar valley, where other sites are located in a thick cluster. This site also includes the largest number of surviving structures in the entire study region (see below) including rooms, bastions and pits along with the watchtowers. It is also worth mentioning that it is the second

largest site of the study region in terms of size. Its location at the start of the valley with such a large number of structures and considerable size indicates its critical defensive role in the protection of Mayar valley, which probably included important buildings. The presence of five watchtowers with a significant number of other structures highlights the important position of Mayar valley in particular while the area C in general in the study region (see chapter 7 for further discussion).

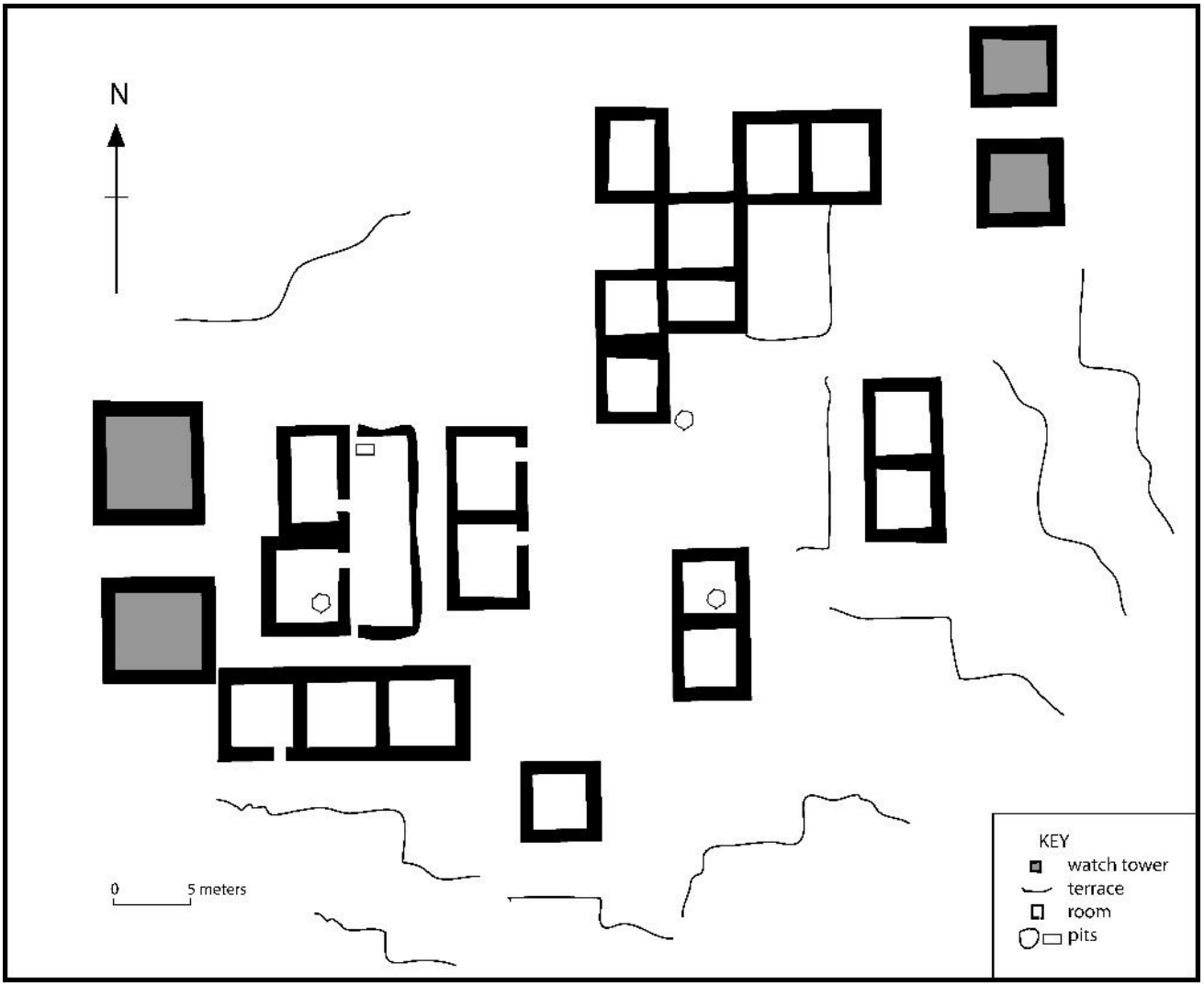


Figure 5.12. Site (28) with four watchtowers, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

In contrast, the area E site is situated almost in the middle of other larger sites and include only 3 rooms along with its five watchtowers, reflecting largely a symbolic role (appendix

3). These distinctions appear to have some linkages with the importance of the respective localities and were developed accordingly.

The site with eight watchtowers is located to the north side of Swat River in Tauda Cheena in area C (Figure 5.10). It is noteworthy that it is located at some distance (approximately 7 kilometres) from Kot Agra and Pingal Passes, showing more association with Mayar valley settlements and the route linking Chakdara (Figure 5.10). The high concentration of watchtowers suggests that they were probably established to stop an unwanted entry leading from Kot Agra and Pingal Passes and protect the population and settlements to the east, probably the Mayar valley (Figure 5.13). Its four watchtowers are closely located on top of the site while the remaining four at the lower terraces, dominating the surrounding landscape. This site is still clearly visible from the south side route despite having been substantially damage. The monumental and symbolic appearance of watchtowers is witnessed from their massive plan, still dominating the landscape and the new settlements (Figure 5.2 of site 111). The wide distribution and thick concentration of watchtowers on one hand exhibit the Hindu Shahi wealth, dominance and authority whilst on the other hand suggest their pivotal military and political roles in the safety and organisation of the study region (see chapter 7).

Lastly, the division of total 217 watchtowers was analysed to explore heavily and less fortified areas and discuss the results in chapter 7. In the study region, area C appears a highly protected area, housing 129 watchtowers (Table 5.7). Within this area, Mayar valley includes the largest number of 45 (21% of total 217) watchtowers and it appears to be the most fortified locality throughout the study region. The presence of such a large number of watchtowers along with other extraordinary features in area C suggests its importance as potential core area for a variety of activities. Apart from the human made efforts to secure and efficiently defend this area in the broader landscape in case of any threat, rivers and mountains also provide immense natural protection to it on either side. Thus, it appears a super defensive locality despite its relatively safe location away from the neighbouring regions and the major access passes and routes.

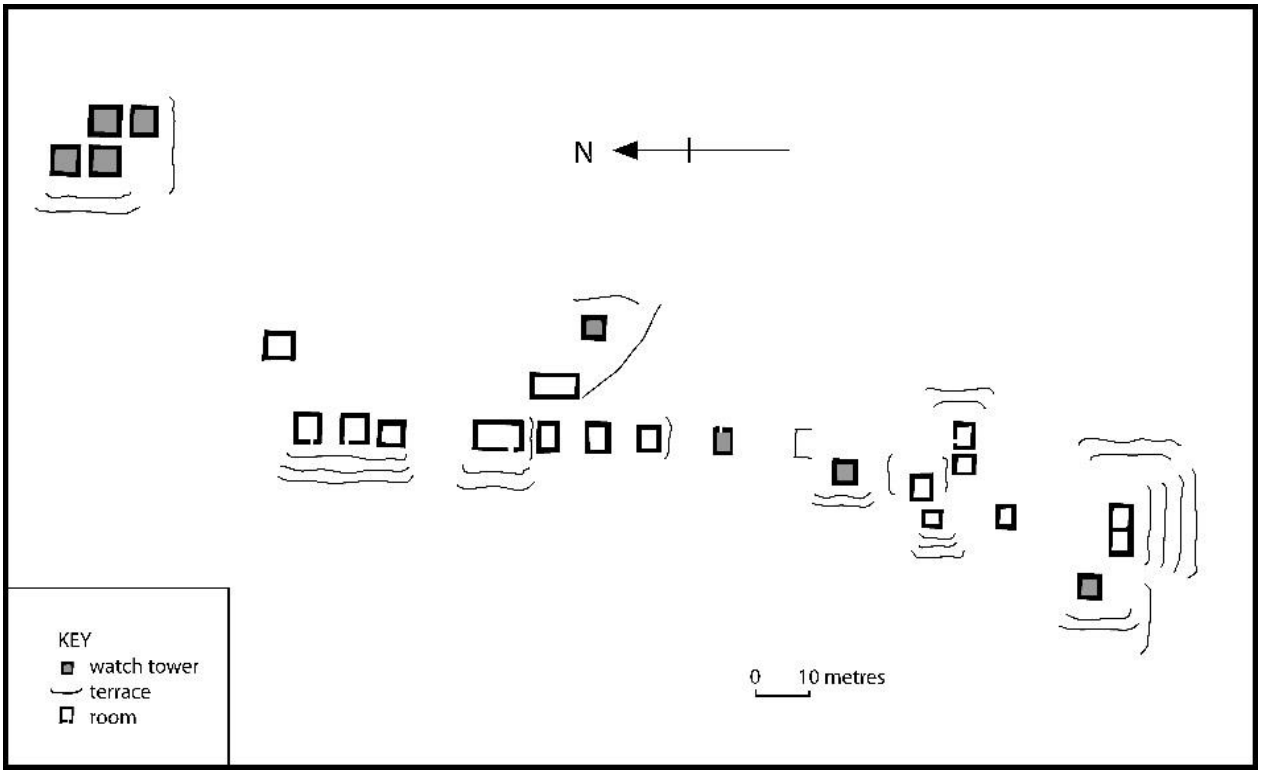


Figure 5.13. Site (15) with eight watchtowers, Tauda Cheena, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Area D is the second heavily fortified area with 41 watchtowers. This area includes two important main passes i.e. Karakar and Nullo Passes, linking Buner and onward the Vale of Peshawar. The organisation of sites near Nullo and Karakar Passes suggest that they were probably set to stop an undesirable entry to the study region. While sites along the Swat River and particularly in Darra and Shamozai valley suggest that they were established to stop similar undesirable access to Lower Dir district leading probably from the Vale of Peshawar through these and several other valley passes.

Area E is the third protected area where 25 watchtowers are concentrated mainly along the Katkela Pass (Table 5.7). Areas A and B with 18 and 4 watchtowers follow Area E respectively; the discovery of relatively fewer watchtowers may be biased due to the limited investigation during the present survey in these regions. Although, previous investigations report a large number of watchtowers in these areas particularly along the Karakar Pass and its nearby access routes that link Buner and the Vale of Peshawar (Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003, Olivieri et al. 2006; Rehman et al. 1996; Stein 1898, 1927; Tucci 1958).

Due to the presence of large number of watchtowers and the fortified nature of sites, previously almost all Hindu Shahi sites have been identified and interpreted as forts (Ali et al. 2009, 2010; Barger 1938; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Godfrey 1912; Khan et al. 1999; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Rahman and Khan 2008; Stein 1927, 1980), but their precise or approximate number is not known. It is the present survey that clearly identified their widespread distribution across the landscape and high concentration of watchtowers marking the study region to be the most fortified region across Pakistan in the Hindu Shahi period.

Area	Total watchtowers	% n=217
A	18	8
B	4	2
C	129	59
D	41	19
E	25	12
F	0	0
Total	*217*	*100*

Table 5.7. Percentages of watchtowers in areas across the study region

The overall plan of the watchtowers demonstrates highly defensive features. The first storey and the narrow doorways with considerable height between 3-4 meters from the ground level with no proper access suggest a very restricted approach to these structures. The provision of several arrow-slits on upper floors in various directions would have enabled the occupants to keep surveillance and target intruders in case of a threat. The construction method of windows suggests they could have been used for throwing fire, hot water, stones and arrow shooting on the potential intruders along with their primary purpose of natural light and fresh air. The relative absence of windows on the first storeys indicates security measures possibly to avoid an easy access into the watchtowers in case of attack.

The distribution of watchtowers across the study region suggests a very organised and strong defensive system along the central and strategic locations and the access routes. The results show that area C is the most fortified area dominating alone all other five areas, highlighting its immense importance. It is worth remembering that Mayar valley in area C is located relatively away from almost all main access routes and passes but it was still heavily fortified. The high concentration and extensive occupation of such sites along all passes and access routes that link the Vale of Peshawar suggest more concern from this direction as against other neighbouring regions. The distribution of sites shows an organised and deliberate pattern, establishing a strong defensive system across the study region.

5.3.2 The distribution of sites with bastions

During the present survey bastions were recorded on 40 sites (18% of total 225 sites). Their distribution across the study region demonstrates two main trends; occupying locations along the Swat River and the access routes that connect the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 5.14). Of the total 40 sites, 29 sites (72.5%) with bastions are situated in area C (Figure 5.14). Nevertheless, the north side of Swat River appears much richer with 22 sites, where 17 sites are clustered in Mayar valley, dominating the entire study region (Figure 5.14). To the south side the seven sites are located close to Kot Agra and Shahkot Passes (Figure 5.14). The meanings and significance of this phenomenon is discussed in chapter 7.

Area C is followed by area D, where six sites are located at two localities; four close to Nullo and Shahkot Passes and two to the north side of Swat River opposite the Karakar Pass (Figure 5.14). Similarly, the four sites in area A are located at two locations, though their highest concentration was observed in Qaldara (4) (Figure 5.14). It is worth highlighting that area E has a considerable number of watchtowers but only two bastions were discovered at one site, located in Gumbat valley (Figure 5.14). This distribution suggests that probably areas A and D in general whereas C in particular had some sort of significance and was made distinctive in the wider landscape. To the south side of Swat River in area A, C and D, the number of sites with bastions is relatively low; however, remarkably they are found in all localities. This suggests that areas located towards the south side near the Vale of Peshawar were important.

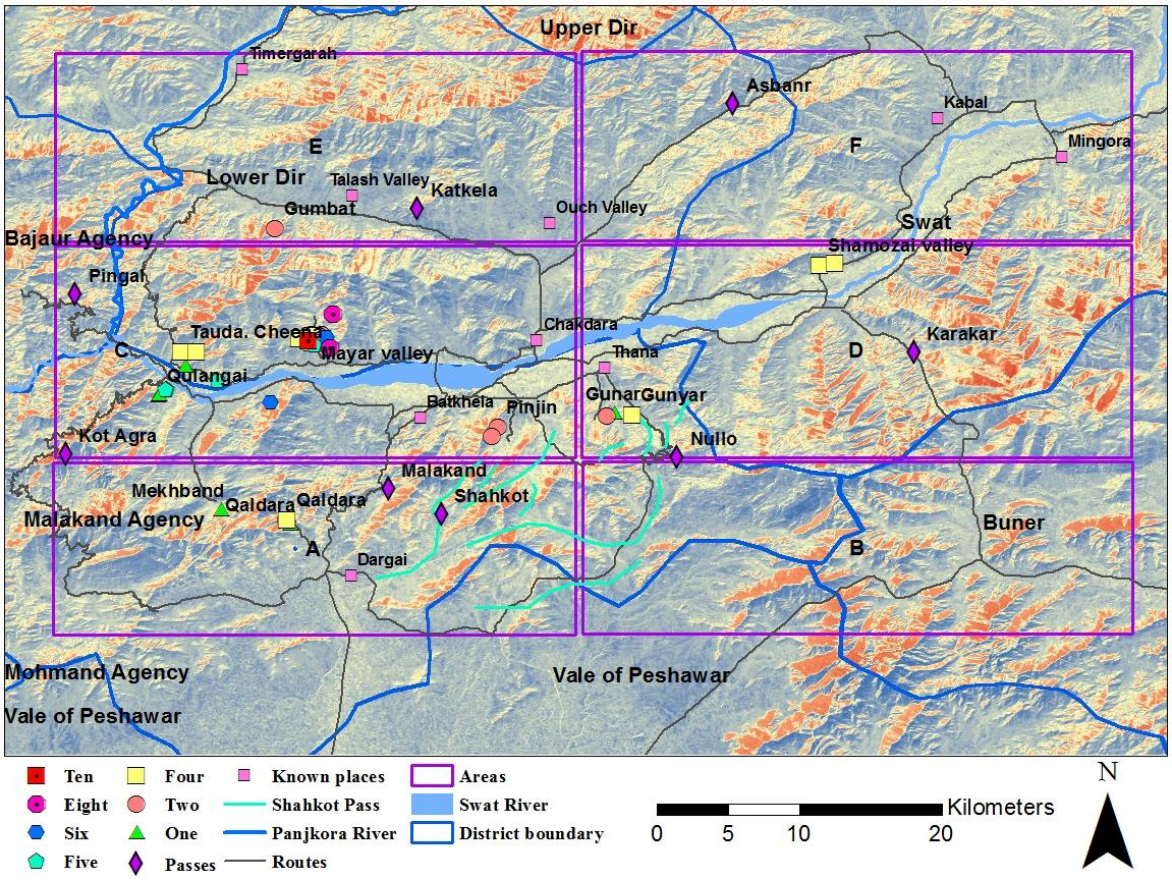


Figure 5.14. Distribution of sites with bastions across the study region (Ijaz Khan)

As noted above that sites include 1-10 bastions per site (Figure 5.15), which would have involved more human and material resources. The different numbers of bastions probably indicate to the respective sites and their occupants' importance. Sites with one and two bastions are found in almost all areas from where they were reported, showing similarity in their locations (Figure 5.14). Bastions have quite a similar plan; however, in area A, (in Qaldara) the two bastions have been constructed relatively bigger in diameter from the rest of the study region (Figure 5.16). This site occupies a very central and prominent location in its respective valley and is clearly visible in the landscape. The location of this site right at the boundary of the Vale of Peshawar indicates their largely symbolic role, reflecting the Hindu Shahi power and control at this strategic location. The central location of the site with larger size bastions somewhat marks a boundary with the Vale of Peshawar. The single site with three bastions occupies much similar location (Qaldara, discussed above) in area D at

Gunyar, close to Shahkot Pass, making the area prominent and representative (Figure 5.14). These aspects are discussed in chapter 7.

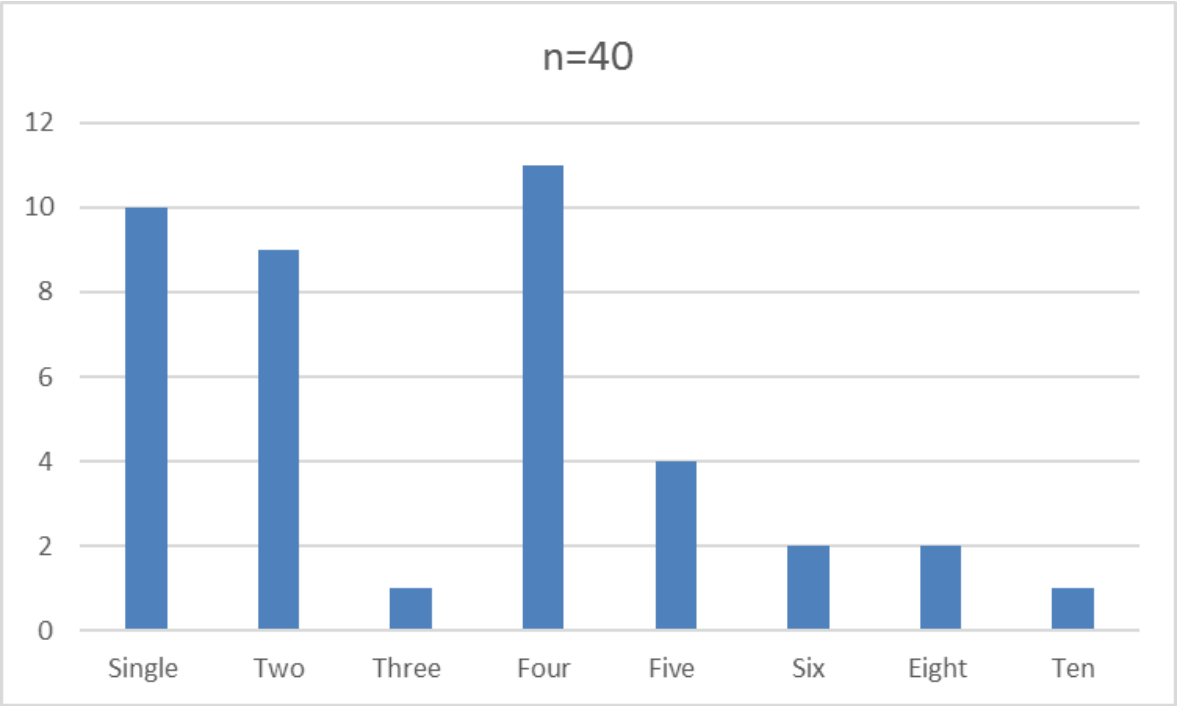


Figure 5.15. Concentration of sites with bastions (Ijaz Khan)

Of the total 11 sites with four bastions, seven sites are located to the north side of Swat River in area C, followed by areas D and A with 3 and 1 sites respectively (Figure 5.14). One of these sites in area C is worth mentioning, where four bastions are attached to three consecutive watchtowers, greatly changing the appearance of the site (Figure 5.11 for site details). These distinctions along with the multiple watchtowers enhance the overall look of sites, making them dominant and special in the landscape.

Sites with more than 4 bastions are confined only to area C and are particularly located in the Mayar valley (Figure 5.14). On majority of the sites with five bastions, four bastions are attached to watchtowers and the fifth one either to a room or fortification wall. However, two sites (3 in Qulangai and 23 in Tauda Cheena) are entirely distinct where five bastions are attached to a watchtower and its enclosed chamber (Figures 5.14 and 5. 17). Site 23 in Tauda Cheena holds an important location to the north side of Swat River right on top of the route linking Mayar valley and onward Chakdara and Swat (Figure 5.14). Site 3 in Qulangai

is also located relatively close to the route linking Qulangai and Batkhela. This pattern of bastions attachment makes them clearly visible and noticeable in the surrounding landscapes, demonstrating their considerable symbolic role.

Figure 5.16. Relatively bigger bastions, site 247, Qaldara, area A, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

The two sites with six bastions are located almost opposite each other across the Swat River in area C at Matkanai and Mayar valley, showing differences in the bastions attachment strategies (Figure 5. 14). The south side site (Matkanai) appears to be ordinary where the bastions are attached to two watchtowers (2 and 4). In contrast, at the north side site (Mayar valley) the bastions are attached to three consecutive watchtowers and their enclosed fortification wall (Figure 5.18). It is worth noting that during the present survey, only four

sites were documented in this style and importantly all of them are located in area C (see e.g. Figures 5.17-5.19). The attachment of bastions in this manner makes sites entirely unique and extraordinary in the landscape. This site (36, Figure 5.18) is not only important in terms of bastions, but its enclosed chamber has no permanent entrance into the chamber and was probably approached through the watchtowers, demonstrating immense security and privacy of the site occupant (s). This site also includes a pit **(**site was largely demolished only watchtowers were drawn), highlighting its overall significance in the study region.

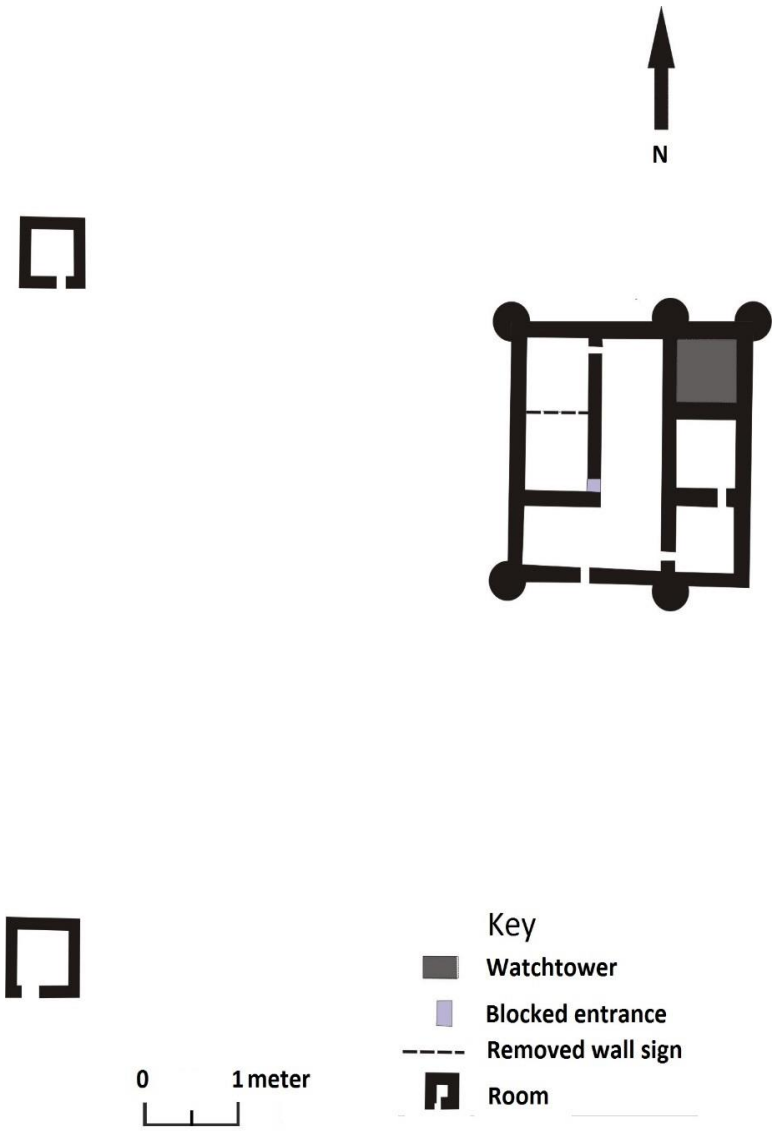


Figure 5.17. Attachment of five bastions, site 23, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir, area C, (Ijaz Khan)

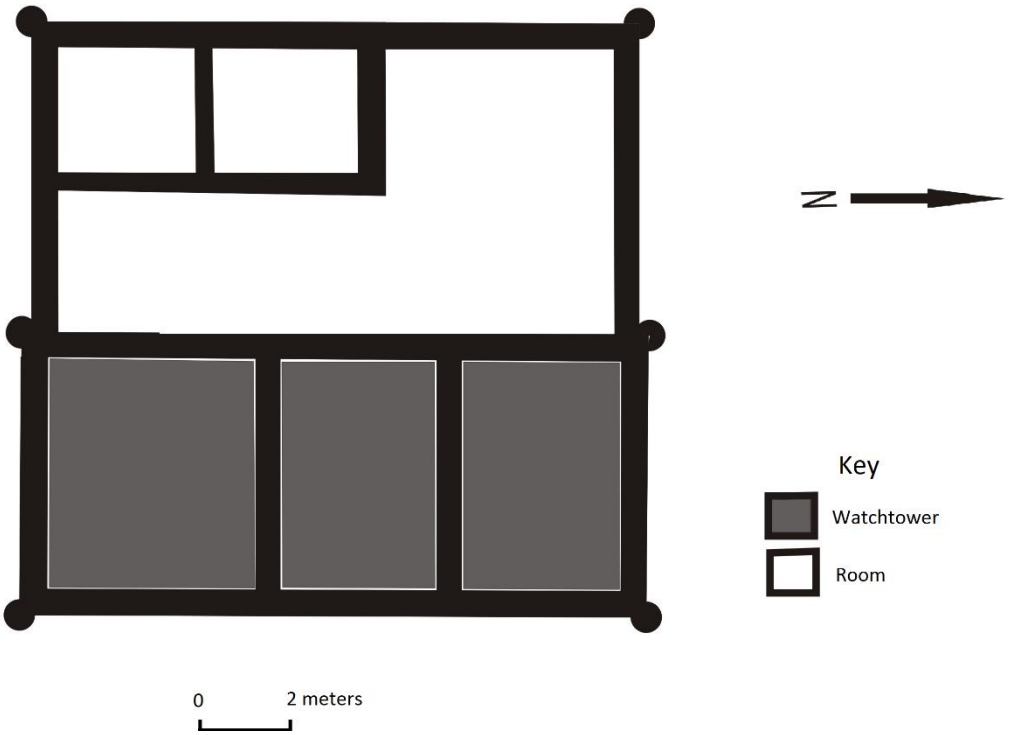


Figure 5.18. Showing attachment of six bastions at site 36, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir, (Ijaz Khan)

The categories of sites with eight and ten bastions are also located exclusively in Mayar valley (area C) (Figure 5. 14). Of the two sites with eight bastions, one site (34) is worth mentioning where the bastions are attached to two consecutive watchtowers and their enclosed chamber (Figure 5.19). This shows great similarity with sites 3 (Qulangai), 23 (Tauda Cheena) and 36 (Mayar valley), all located in area C (discussed above) (see Figures 5.17-5.18). This site (34) has also no proper entrance into the chamber like 36 and appears to have been approached through watchtowers. Inside the fortified chamber a pit was also recorded in one of the two rooms. The presence of a pit inside the fortified chamber suggests a very restricted access and the storage of worthy items and basic food supplies to be utilised for some time in case of an attack or blockade (Figure 5.19). Both sites with eight bastions were important and might have played key roles in the study region management, security, defence and sustainability (see chapter 7).

The single site (48) with ten bastions holds a very central location in the middle of several sites (Figure 5.14). The eight bastions are attached to two closely located watchtowers while

the remainder two to what now appear to be terraces (Figure 5.20). It is the only example in the whole study region where both watchtowers have been adorned and made prominent with four bastions. The bastions attachment to apparent terraces, indicate that they probably accommodated numerous structures, where the walls are still seen stretching in different directions. The site is now converted into agriculture field, thus making it difficult to evaluate its actual layout, but from its central location and highest number of bastions it might have been an important site of the study region (see chapter 7).

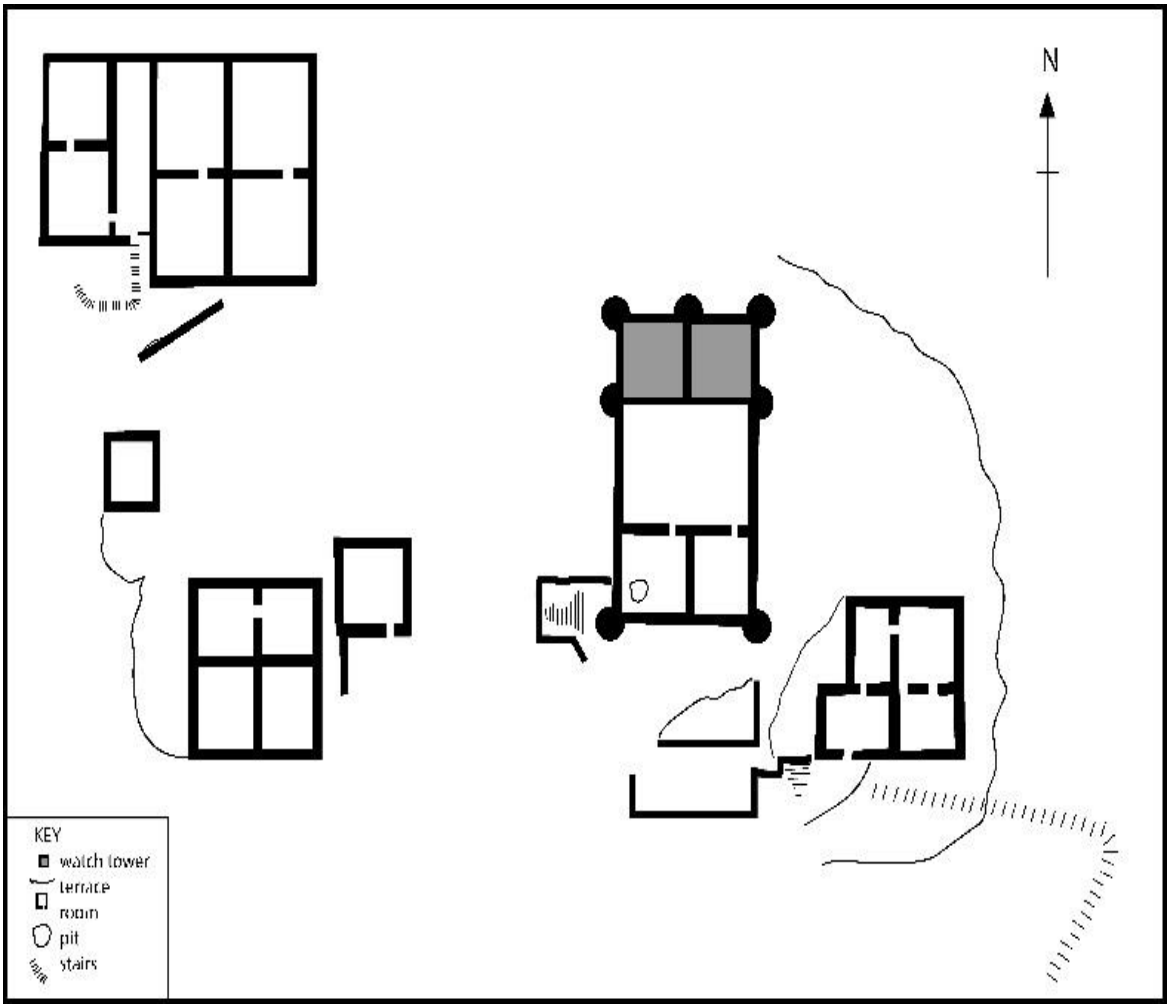


Figure 5.19. Attachment of eight bastions at site 34, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

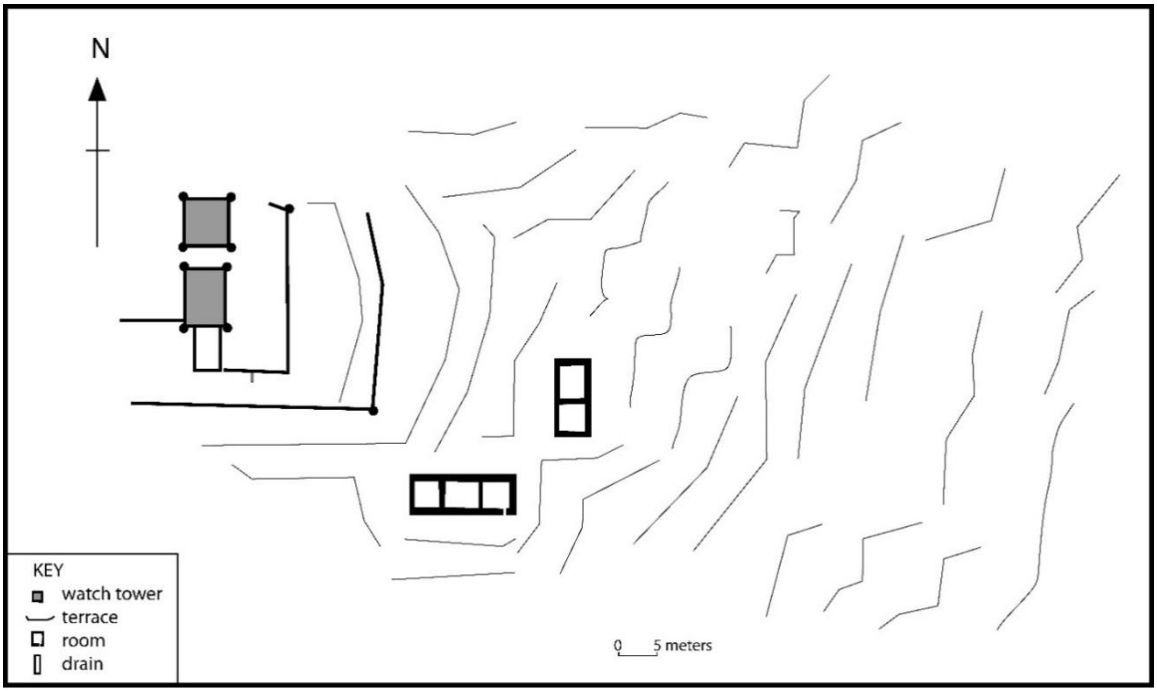


Figure 5.20. Attachment of ten bastions at site 48, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Analysis has shown that sites with bastions are largely concentrated along the Swat River in area C; however, their high concentration was observed in Mayar valley. It is noteworthy that Mayar valley includes a large number of sites with high concentration of bastions in the entire study region. It was noticed that to the south side of Swat River all localities include bastions that link the Vale of Peshawar. In contrast, in area E (located to the north side of the study region) bastions are limited to only one site, which borders Upper Dir district. Sites with bastion appear entirely different and prominent, demonstrating their symbolic role and reflecting the sites and their occupants' as prosperous economic and socio-political status. The relative lack in area E suggests that probably this area was not very significant because it was remote, secure and had relatively little threats from the Vale of Peshawar, which is historically known to have been invaded and captured by the Ghaznavids (see chapter 7).

5.3.3 Sites with Pits

Pits were documented on 27 sites (12% of 225) mainly located along the Swat River in area C and D (Figure 5.21). Their high concentration was observed to the north side in area C

where sixteen sites (60% of total 27) are located whilst area D includes eleven 11 (40%) sites. Of the total 16 sites in area C, 11 sites are situated in Mayar valley. No pit was noticed in other areas. Variations in number of sites in areas C and D and their entire absence in other four areas indicate each locality had its particular role in the landscape and were developed accordingly. It is also possible that all areas had pits that might have been filled or covered by debris, making them less visible during the field survey. It is worth mentioning that during the present survey all sites were investigated with equal attention. Area C appears very rich in terms of number of sites, watchtowers, bastions and pits, suggesting that it was probably the hub of various important activities including political.

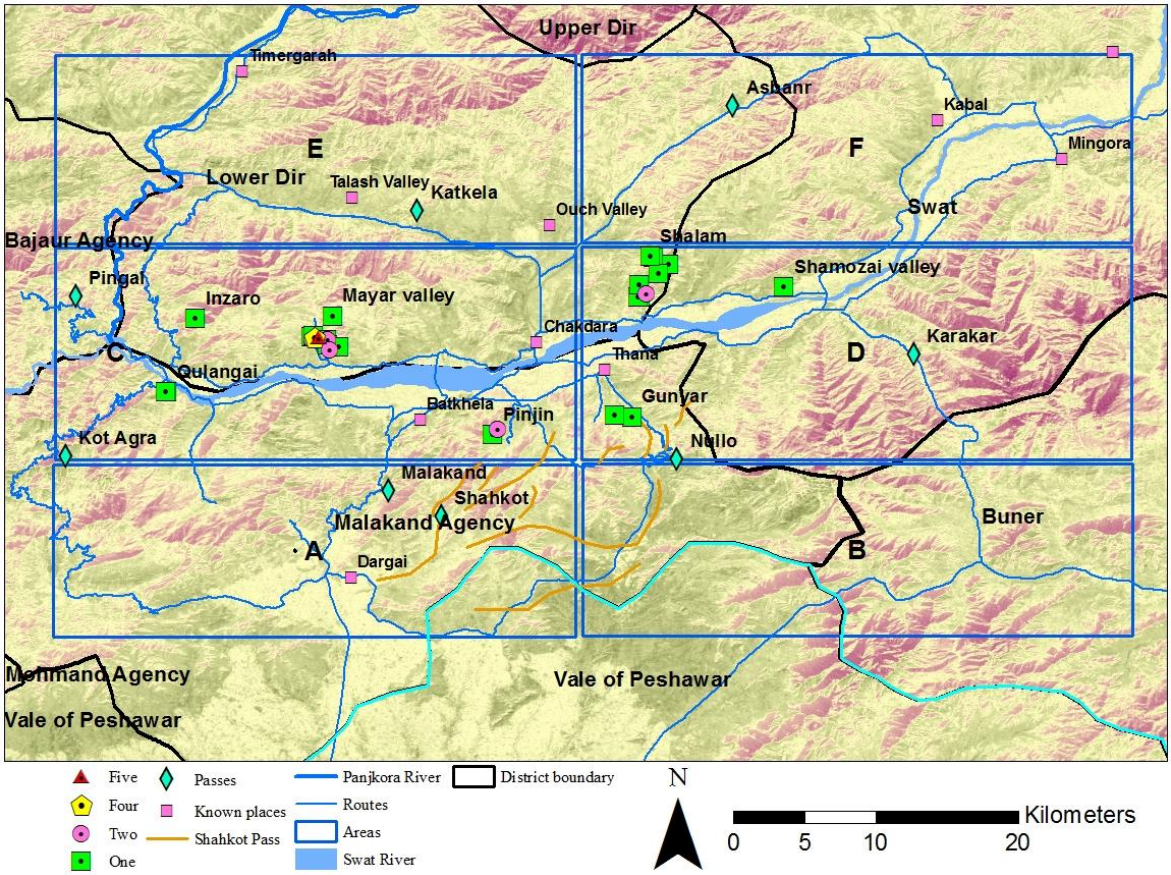


Figure 5.21. Distribution of sites with pits (Ijaz Khan)

Analysis shows that majority of the sites included a single pit while a limited number of sites multiple ranging from 2-5, reaching to 39 in total (Figure 5.21 and Table 5.8). Sites with

single and two pits are widely distributed across the study region; whereas, sites including four and five pits are confined to Mayar valley (area C) (Figure 5.21).

Number of pits	Number of sites	% of 27
Single	20	74
Two	5	18
Four	1	4
Five	1	4
Total	*27*	*100*

Table 5.8. Percentages of pits on various sites

5.4 Non-watchtower sites, wells and temple

Analysis shows that non-watchtower sites were largely established along the Swat River, located close to large size sites (Figure 5.22). Out of 82 non-watchtower sites, 51 are located in area C followed by area D with 18 sites, in other areas they range from 2-5 (Figure 5.22). Among the non-watchtower sites, only eight include more than 10 structures, while the remaining sites have one to two structures. Of the total sites, four include pits while only one site includes bastions, highlighting limited architectural activities. It is noteworthy that majority of the non-watchtower sites were found either demolished or converted into agriculture fields. They may have included watchtowers, pits and bastions, which now do not exist due to the variety of reasons. Analysis shows that most of these sites appear less significant in terms of structures. Their locations close to the large size sites indicate that they might have assisted them in various activities.

It is worth mentioning that along the major passes and access routes, the non-watchtower sites are either entirely absent or limited to 2-5 (Figure 5.22). Even in area C where they are found in large numbers, they are largely concentrated to the north side of Swat River away from the nearby passes (Figure 5.22). This phenomenon suggests that their construction was

largely avoided along the routes particularly that link the Vale of Peshawar probably due to the prevailing security concerns. The two wells were documented below Hindu Shahi settlements in area C to the south and north sides of Swat River, still used by the locals (Figure 5.22). The south side well is located below Hindu Shahi settlements, presently also surrounded by new settlements. The north side well is located below the largest site of the study region in terms of structures which were probably interconnected.

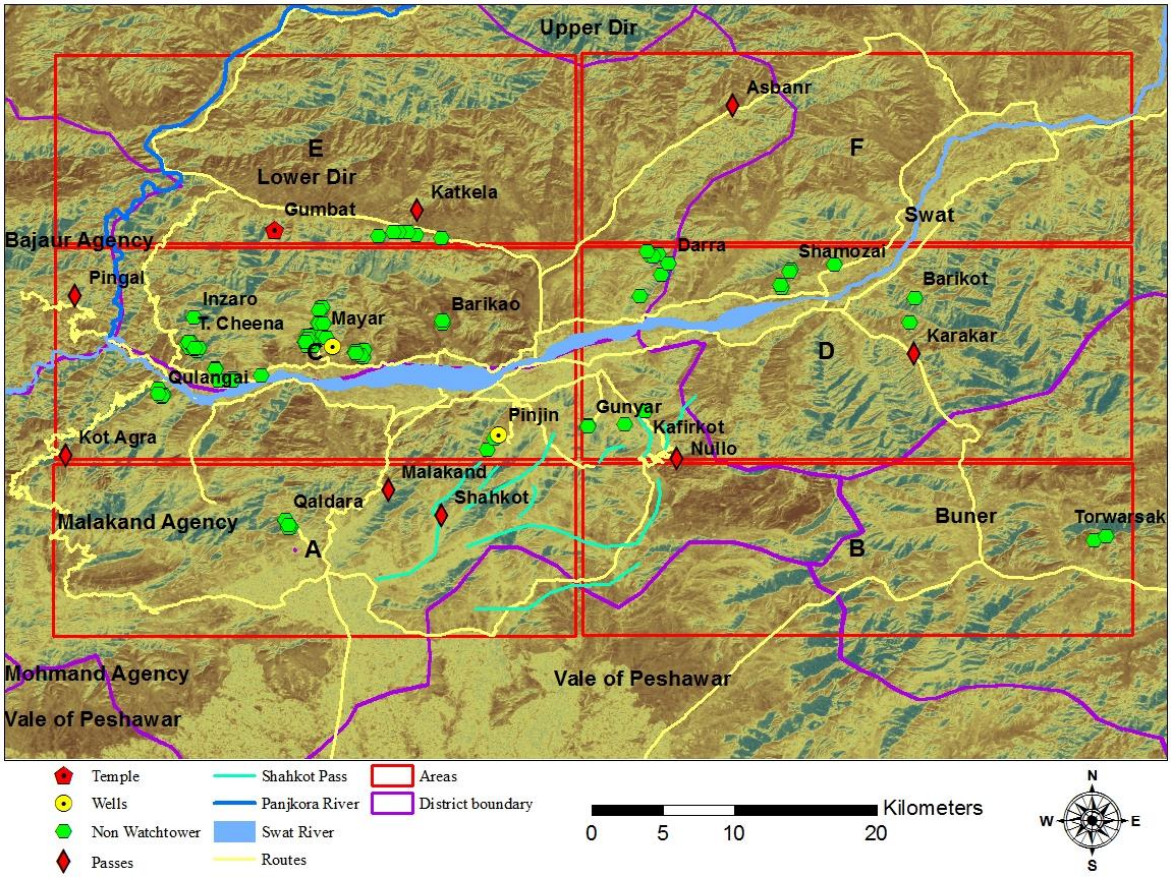


Figure 5.22. Distribution of non-watchtower sites, temple and wells (Ijaz Khan)

The single temple of Hindu Shahi period is located to the extreme north of the present study region in Gumbat valley (area E), earlier mentioned by several scholars (Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Rahman and Khan 2008; Stein 1980) (Figure 5.22). In other parts of the Hindu Shahi ruled areas (e.g. Dera Ismail Khan and Nandana), the number of temples is much higher (Masih 2002; Meister 2010a), demonstrating a major difference in types of sites with the study region. Gumbat temple is placed in a naturally fortified and isolated valley on a

considerable distance from the nearby Katkela Pass (Figure 5.22). The geographical location of Gumbat temple away from dense areas such as Mayar valley or Katkela is very strange and is further discussed in chapter 7.

5.5 Site sizes

During the present survey sites were recorded according to the site definition (see Chapter 3) and were measured though structures, that marked clear boundaries of sites. It is noteworthy that the site sizes are analysed in relation to structures to explore whether similar patterns in the number of structures and sizes appear or otherwise and what these results indicate about the Hindu Shahi activity. The site sizes fall between16 meters to 45625 square meters' range, which is a very large range. Due to the enormity of data and for a clearer understanding, the sites have been divided into three categories (Table 5.9). The majority of 147 sites appear to be relatively of smaller sizes i.e. between 16-3000 square meters. The subsequent categories show a sudden decrease in the number of sites whilst increase in their sizes (see Table 5.9). Each category is presented to identify main trends across the study region and discuss the results in chapter 7 in relation to the research question.

Site sizes in square metres	Total sites	% n = 225
16-3000	147	65
3001-9000	62	28
9001-45625	16	7
Total	*225*	*100*

Table 5.9. Percentage of sites and their sizes

Sites between 16-3000 square meters are found in all localities across the study region (Figure 5.23). It is noteworthy that 47 sites (32 % of 147) of first category were largely disturbed, occupied or converted into agriculture fields. The survey team recorded their available sizes and visible structures as they were observed on ground surface. Of the total

47 demolished sites 33 (70%) were recorded in area C while in other areas they range from 2-8 sites. It is possible that their actual sizes and structures varied from what are presently visible. The demolished sites might influence the overall results of the study region and particular locality where they are found in abundance. This is worth considering and is further discussed in chapter 7 while summing up the main results and addressing the research question.

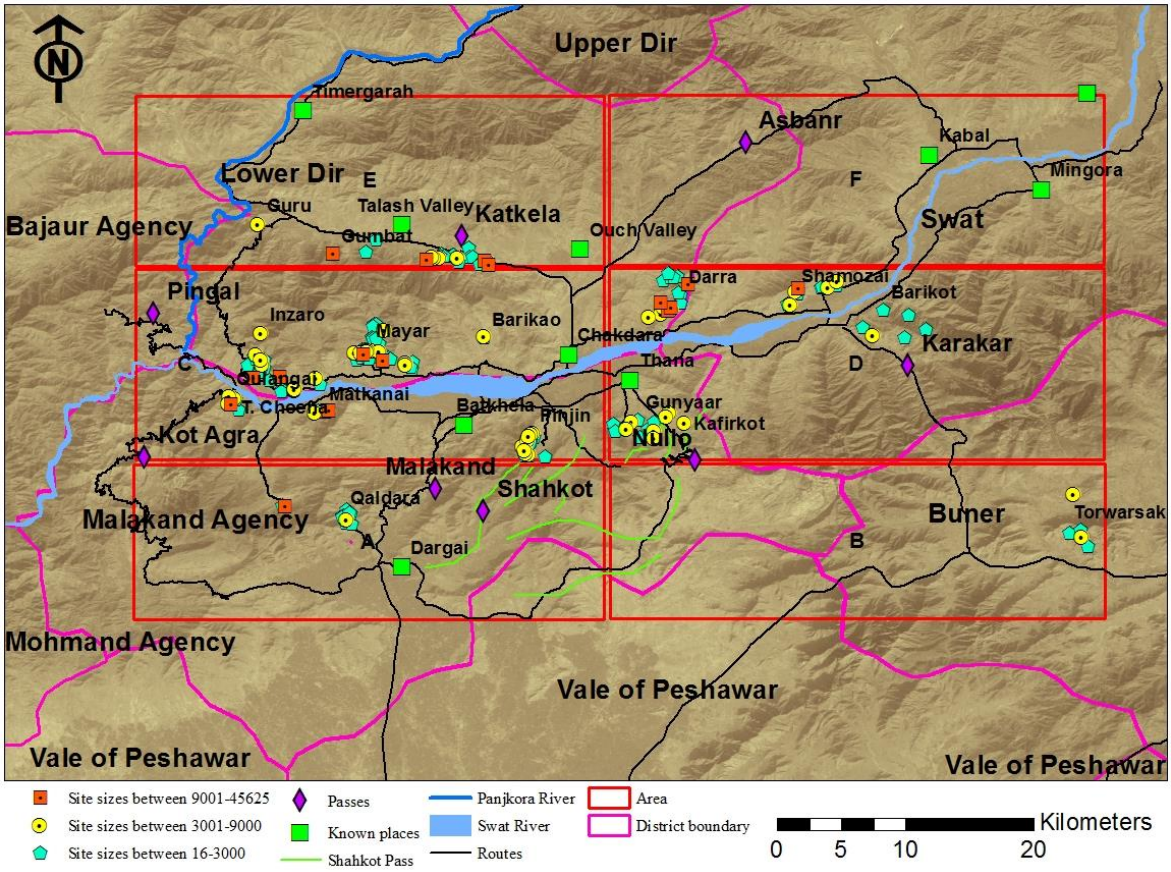


Figure 5.23. Location of different sizes sites (Ijaz Khan)

Analysis shows that the first category of site sizes (16-3000 square meters) are located mainly along the Swat River in area C (89) and D (28), whereas in other areas they are found in limited numbers (3 to 15) (Figure 5.23). Of the total 147 sites, 142 (97%) include structures from 1-10 while the remainder 5 sites (3%) 11-15 structures. Within this category, only two sites include four watchtowers whilst the remainders 1 to 2. The sites with four watchtowers appear significant located in Qulangai (area C) along the Kot Agra Pass, suggesting to a largely defensive role. The majority of sites with limited structures appear

relatively weak in terms of its defence strength. Probably, due to this reason, they were largely established along the Swat River, while close to the neighbouring regions their construction was avoided, particularly the Vale of Peshawar, suggesting security concerns.

The second category (3001-9000 square meters) shows a wide distribution and demonstrates a quite similar pattern (Figure 5.23). They occupy key points that allow access to the study region from various directions and all localities include at least one site. This uniformity shows a calculated and deliberate phenomenon, suggesting the Hindu Shahi political engagement in the settlements organisation and at the same time highlights the strategic, socio-political and religious importance of respective localities.

Area C appears to be the most concentrated part of the study region, with 35 sites along the Swat River where 19 sites are distributed to the north side mainly in Mayar valley (10) and Tauda Cheena (7) (Figure 5.23). To the south side, they cover area between Kot Agra and Shahkot Passes; however, a notable dense cluster of eleven sites is concentrated near Shahkot Pass (Figure 5.23). Seven sites of area D (see below) also show close linkages with Shahkot and Nullo Passes, making the area much stronger and fortified (Figure 5.23). This area is a key location in the landscape, linking the neighbouring region of the Vale of Peshawar on south while parts of Swat and Lower Dir on north. The high concentration of sites close to Shahkot and Nullo passes suggests this was strategically an important area and consequently it was protected with several large size sites structures probably due to its proximity with the Vale of Peshawar (Table 5.10).

Close to Kot Agra and Pingal Passes five sites are located at two intervals i.e. Qulangai (3) and Matkanai (2) (Figure 5.23). These and sites to the north side of Swat River in Tauda Cheena show relatively greater activities, overseeing the access routes connecting the Vale of Peshawar and Bajaur Agency via the said passes. In area E, eight sites are located: seven along the Katkela Pass and one near Panjkora River in Guru (Figure 5.23). Katkela holds an important location in the study region linking Upper Dir, however, here compared to Shahkot and Kot Agra Passes the number of sites is low (Figure 5.23). This suggests routes allowing access to and from the Vale of Peshawar were critical and consequently heavily protected. It is also worth elaborating that sites along Katkela Pass largely tend towards the Ouch

valley, showing relatively more association with the Asbanr Pass that links Swat (Figure 5.23).

Area A						
Site #	Locality	Room	Watchtowers	Bastions	Pits	Size
244	Qaldara	19	3	x	x	5270
Area C						
5	Qulangai	10	4	x	x	5070
28	Mayar valley	19	4	1	4	5625
34	Mayar valley	19	2	8	1	4500
36	Mayar valley	14	3	6	1	3825
95	Inzaro	12	0	x	1	8400
165	Tauda Cheena	12	4	4	x	4320
226	Matkanai	16	2	x	x	4675
Area D						
113	Gunyar	23	2	2	x	5781
178	Kafirkot	17	1	x	x	7125
179	Kafirkot	24	4	x	x	8400
Area E						
66	Guru	15	2	x	x	3600
106	Katkela	18	1	x	x	5390
131	Katkela	28	1	x	x	7245
132	Katkela	23	1	x	x	5415

Table 5.10. Distribution and site density of sites within the sizes between 3001-9000 square meters

The locations of sites in Katkela and around the Asbanr Passes suggest they were probably established to monitor activities in the respective areas approaching from Swat. If they were meant to monitor activities leading from the north i.e. Upper Dir, there would have been

more sites in Guru near River Panjkora, which occupies a much similar location like Katkela (Figure 5.23). However, according to the results of present and previous investigations, the number of sites in Guru are few and scattered (see e.g. Dani 1968a; Godfrey 1912; Rahman 1968). This relative scarcity of sites indicates little concern of the Hindu Shahi from Upper Dir as well as Bajaur Agency compared to the Swat, which is further connected to the Vale of Peshawar. This is further discussed in chapter 7.

The single site of area A is situated to the south side of Malakand Range in Qaldara, much closer to the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 5.23). It holds an important location at the start of the valley from where it is accessible from the Malakand road. It includes 19 rooms along with 3 watchtowers, suggesting its critical defensive role at the forefront of the study region.

In area D sixteen sites are located along the Swat River, near Shahkot and Nullo Passes (Figure 5.23). Near Shahkot (Gunyar 4) and Nullo Passes (Kafirkot 3) these sites are positioned close to the valleys that link Dargai and onward the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 5.23). The locations of sites around the valleys and passes with numerous structures suggest largely their supervisory and defensive roles (Table 5.10). Sites to the north side of Swat River in Shamozai valley and Darra show close association with the surrounding routes (Figure 5.23). The organization of these sites suggests that they were established to stop or hinder unwanted access to Lower Dir from Swat and Buner most likely coming via Karakar Pass and its nearby valleys.

During the previous investigations, several Hindu Shahi period sites have been recorded and interpreted to have served defensive functions in Karakar and its neighbouring valleys (e.g. see Barger and Wright 1941; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Stein 1927, 1930, 1995). In the light of the results of the previous investigations, the locations and organisation of sites clearly demonstrate the Hindu Shahi effort of protecting the study region largely from the Vale of Peshawar. A much similar phenomenon is observed when the location of sites in Buner (area B) at Torwarsak, Kingargalai, Bampokha and Ilam is analysed, they all establish strong linkages with routes connecting the Vale of Peshawar (Khattak 1997; Rehman et al. 1996; Samad and Khan 2016; Stein 1898).

The results of site sizes between 3001-9000 square meters show both similarities and differences in their locations, sizes and structures (Table 5.10). In most cases, they are positioned at the start of the respective valleys/ localities from where they are accessible. Their distribution suggests a deliberate and organised strategy of the Hindu Shahi in relation to the safety of the study region (Table 5.10).

While analysing the third category of site sizes (9001-45625 square meters), it has been gleaned that area C includes relatively a larger number (six) of sites, with multiple structures (Figure 5.23 and Table 5.11). In most cases, they are positioned at the start of the valleys. For instance, site 40 is the largest site of the entire study region in terms of structures with 82 rooms and 5 watchtowers (Figure 5.24). Similarly, sites 12 and 174 close to Kot Agra and Pingal Passes are occupying critical locations at the mouth of valleys from where they are approached (Figure 5.25 and appendix 3). Two other important sites (227 and 15) tend more towards the east side i.e. Matkanai and Mayar valley on the routes linking Batkhela and Chakdara respectively (Figure 5.23). This is strategically an important area with accessibility form the Vale of Peshawar via Kot Agra, Malakand Passes and other smaller valley passes via Mekhband (Figure 5.23).

The distribution of sites in area C indicates a thorough control of all access routes in relation to the safety of the study region, highlighting its socio-political importance. The strategic and central locations of sites might have enabled the inhabitant of sites to overlook activities leading from the Vale of Peshawar and Bajaur Agency via nearby passes. The same possible concern is evident from site (228) in area A, occupying another critical location in Mekhband (Figure 5.23). Mekhband valley opens and allows access towards Swat River, highlighting its firm supervision and control of another possible route linking south side areas right up to the Vale of Peshawar (Figure 5.23).

In area E, three sites (99, 101, 134) are concentrated along the Katkela Pass while one site (123) in Gumbat valley, which is believed to have included a temple (which does not exist anymore) (Figure 5.23). Along the Katkela Pass, site 134 (Figure 5.26) is the second largest site of the study region with multiple structures, while sites 99 and 101 have relatively limited structures, but they had the capacity to house a sizeable population (Table 5.11 and

appendix 3). Their locations to both sides of the Katkela Pass enabled these sites to overlook both Talash and Ouch valleys (Figure 5.23). They also appear to have provided protection to Mayar valley from northeast, which might house substantial and important activities.

Area A						
Site #	Locality	Room	Watchtowers	Bastions	Pits	Size
228	Mekhband	11	2	1	x	10720
Area C						
15	Tauda Cheena	17	8	x	x	14950
174	Tauda Cheena	28	2	1	x	23100
12	Qulangai	41	1	x	x	19500
227	Matkanai	20	2	6	x	13580
40	Mayar valley	82	5	8	2	35000
48	Mayar valley	6	2	10	x	27840
Area D						
85	Darra	18	1	x	2	14350
83	Darra	18	1	x	x	14421
89	Darra	28	2	x	1	27060
77	Darra	45	0	x	x	45625
147	Shamozai valley	5	1	x	x	11200
Area E						
134	Katkela	70	0	x	x	34060
101	Katkela	21	2	x	x	9230
99	Katkela	22	2	x	x	12600
123	Gumbat	15	0	2	x	10000

Table 5.11. Distribution of sites with dense structures within the site sizes between 9000 – 45625 square meters

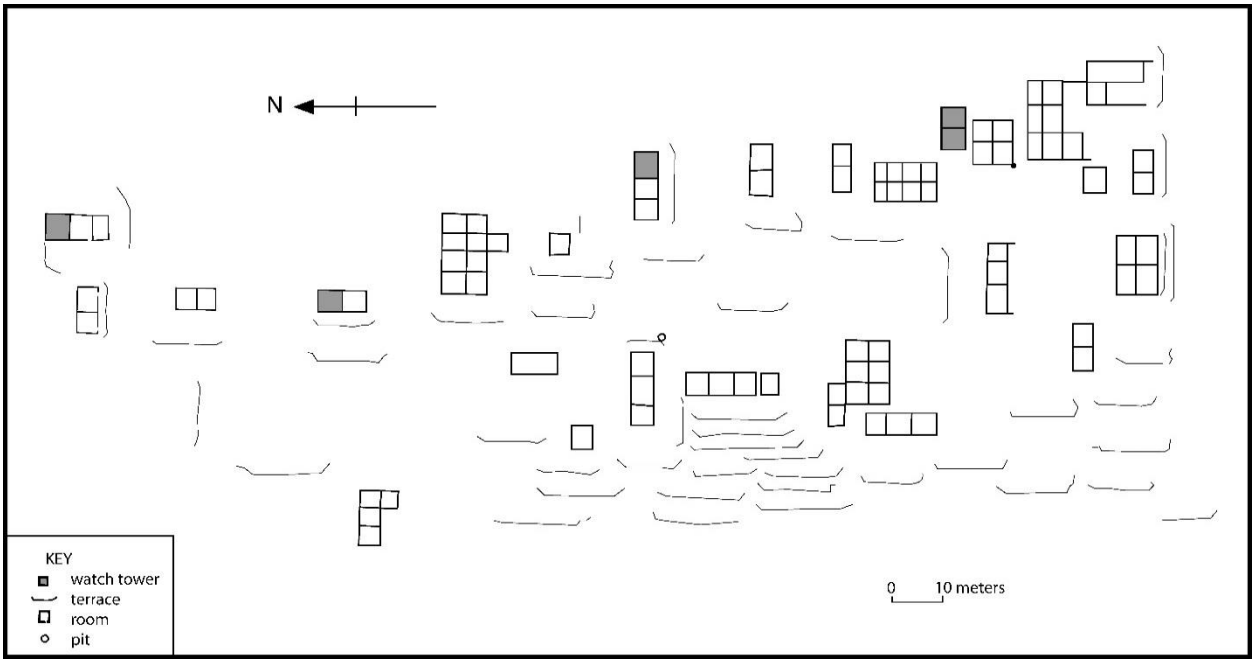


Figure 5.24. Site 40, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

A higher concentration of large size sites in area C is very significant, suggesting the Hindu Shahi probably occupied it due to its secured location in the study region (Figure 5. 23 and Table 5.11). These sites were established in different directions, possibly to restrict access to this area from either side in case of an emergency or attack (see chapter 7). These also appear to have served important administrative and residential functions, evident from the presence of a wide range of structures, with no parallels in the study region.

The results of analysis show that sites within the first category (16-3000 square meters) are largely located along the Swat River in area C, away from the neighbouring regions. Their limited number of structures indicates an inadequate strength, probably that is why their construction was avoided close to the neighbouring regions, which were prone to assaults, or invasions. The second category (3001-9000 square meters) shows more intensity and wide distribution, occupying all routes and passes that allow access to the study region from different directions. The large similarities in geographical distribution, sizes and structures suggest their similar role of defence and strengthen the idea of Hindu Shahi political engagement in their planning, execution and management. It also suggests a concern or threat of an invasion to the Hindu Shahi regime.

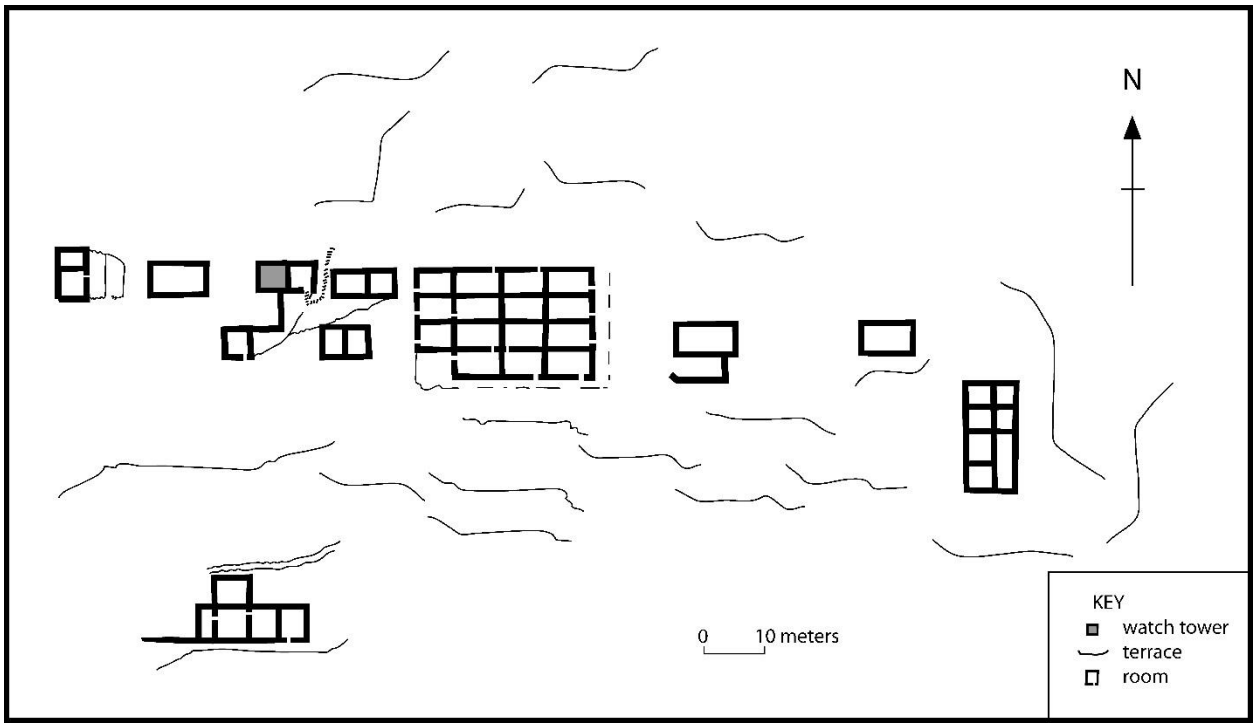


Figure 5.25. Site 12, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

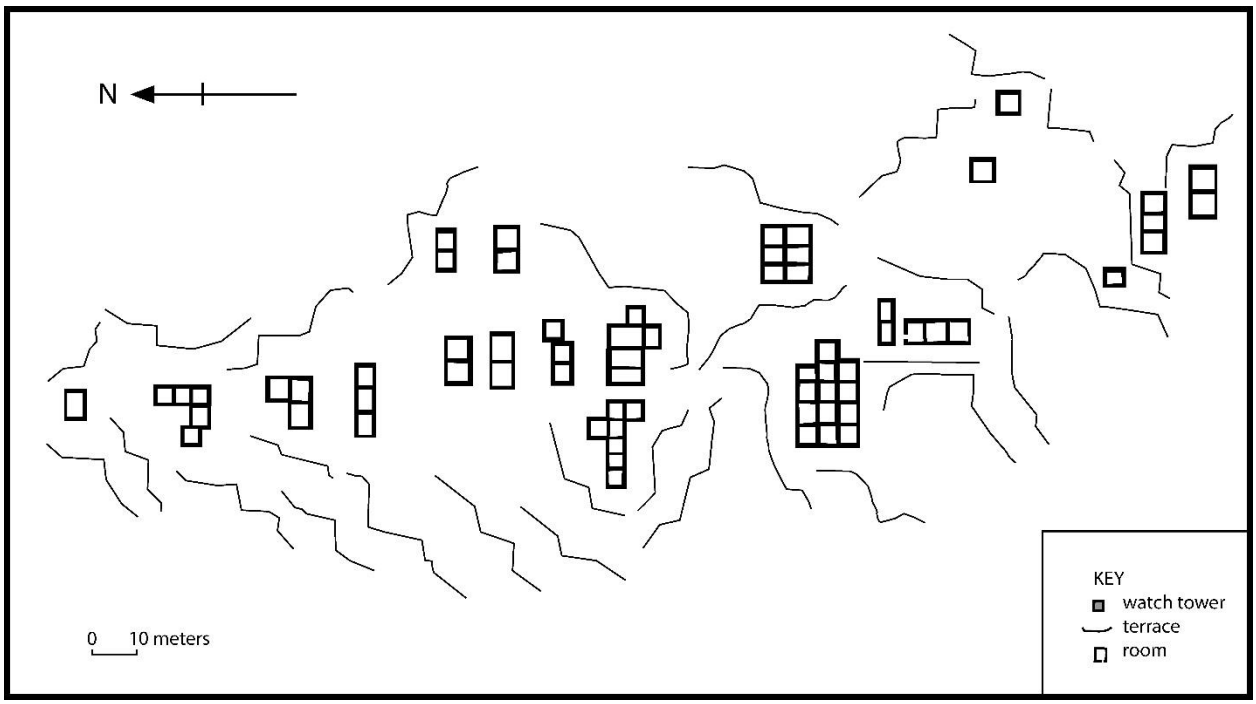


Figure 5.26. Site 134, Katkela, area E, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

The third category (9001-45625 square meters) sites are concentrated along the Swat River, mainly close Kot Agra, Pingal and Katkela Passes, suggesting a deliberate and conscious strategy. Their distribution in various directions suggests that the Hindu Shahi made efforts to protect the study region in general while area C in particular by establishing a network of forts at key points, thus covering it from all sides. This is evident from the location of the largest site (40) of the study region, positioning at the mouth of the valley, that provides access to the main Mayar valley where other important sites are situated. The large sizes sites with a significant number of structures probably meant to defend the study region from possible raids or invasions. The organisation and concentration of large size sites with dense structures in area C and in its bordering areas indicate that it might have accommodated high ranking political, social or religious figures or elites. As a result, they were established at key locations for stopping or hindering unwanted or unwarranted entry or intrusion to this area in general and Mayar valley in particular.

5.6 Summary

The results of the present analysis have shown a substantial and significant scale of Hindu Shahi activity in the study region in the form of tangible archaeological evidence. Hindu Shahi sites include important structures such as watchtowers and pits, which are greatly missing in other parts of their kingdom. This difference indicates new and a different way of life of the Hindu Shahi probably at a different time from other parts of their kingdom. The analysis has also shown main trends in the location of sites, where the majority of important sites are located along the Swat River and the main routes. The analysis revealed that area C received a special attention in general whereas Mayar valley in particular, dominating the rest of the study region in all respects.

The results show that areas close to the Vale of Peshawar were heavily occupied or settled with multiple watchtowers and other numerous structures. Throughout the analysis, similarities have been observed in sites structures and construction method. These similarities suggest the development of sites under some sort of political patronage and possibly within a short span of time. The similarities also suggest the Hindu Shahi involvement in the sites planning, development, organisation and management. Until this

study, such an enormous corpus of Hindu Shahi sites and archaeological datasets have not been reported from any other part of their kingdom, such as the Vale of Peshawar and Nandana which are historically known to have remained their main political centres and strongholds. This new, interesting and a significant scale Hindu Shahi activity is of great importance, particularly when all the relevant historic accounts are silent about their presence and activity in the study region. No such evidence or parallel exists elsewhere across the known Hindu Shahi kingdom, making the study region their possible stronghold in desperate times or at the time of war.

Chapter 6 Analysis of Pottery Assemblage

6.1 Introduction

This chapter covers preliminary analysis of the Hindu Shahi pottery collected during the present landscape survey from Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts. As noted in chapters 1 and 3, in most cases the Hindu Shahi material culture has been reported through general surveys and excavations of multi-period sites. The nature and chronology of the Hindu Shahi pottery is affirmed by distinctive pottery tradition, stratigraphic location within multi-period excavated sites, and associated coins and other artefacts, inscriptions and structures within the study region and beyond (see chapter 2). The Hindu Shahi period pottery has been briefly studied and its major features has been elaborated, in the Vale of Peshawar, Haripur, Lower Dir and Swat. What has been achieved so far particularly in the study region provides a starting base for understanding the main characteristics of their pottery. Although, due to the lack of intensive and detailed study, the Hindu Shahi pottery tradition is poorly understood particularly in relation to its typology, chronology, social, political and economic aspects.

The purpose of this preliminary analysis is to understand whether the recorded sites were only occupied by the Hindu Shahi or they also include pottery of other pre or post chronological or historical periods. Other purpose of the analysis is to explore similarities and differences in the forms, fabric, ware and decoration and thus gain ideas about the possible chronology and function of Hindu Shahi sites. In order to achieve these goals, first the collected pottery is analysed, identifying major varieties of potsherds and decorations and then it is compared with other Hindu Shahi published sites within the study region. Subsequently, the pottery is compared with Galla and Hund sites in the Vale of Peshawar that were visited by this researcher to collect diagnostic potsherds for comparison (see chapter 3). This analysis is aimed to gain a wider understanding of pottery tradition of the Hindu Shahi and discuss and interpret the results in chapter 7 in relation to the research questions.

In the study region, the collection of potsherds from sites was non-random and was based upon the collection of diagnostic potsherds, primarily rims, bases and body-sherds with decorations. The quality and quantity of potsherds varied from site to site and not a single complete pot was discovered during the survey. While selecting the 62 sites (28% of total 225 recorded sites) for the pottery analysis, special care was taken to include sites from all areas within the study region where appropriate (Figure 6.1). This aimed to collect a maximum information about the forms, decorations, designs and texture of the Hindu Shahi pottery from a wider landscape.

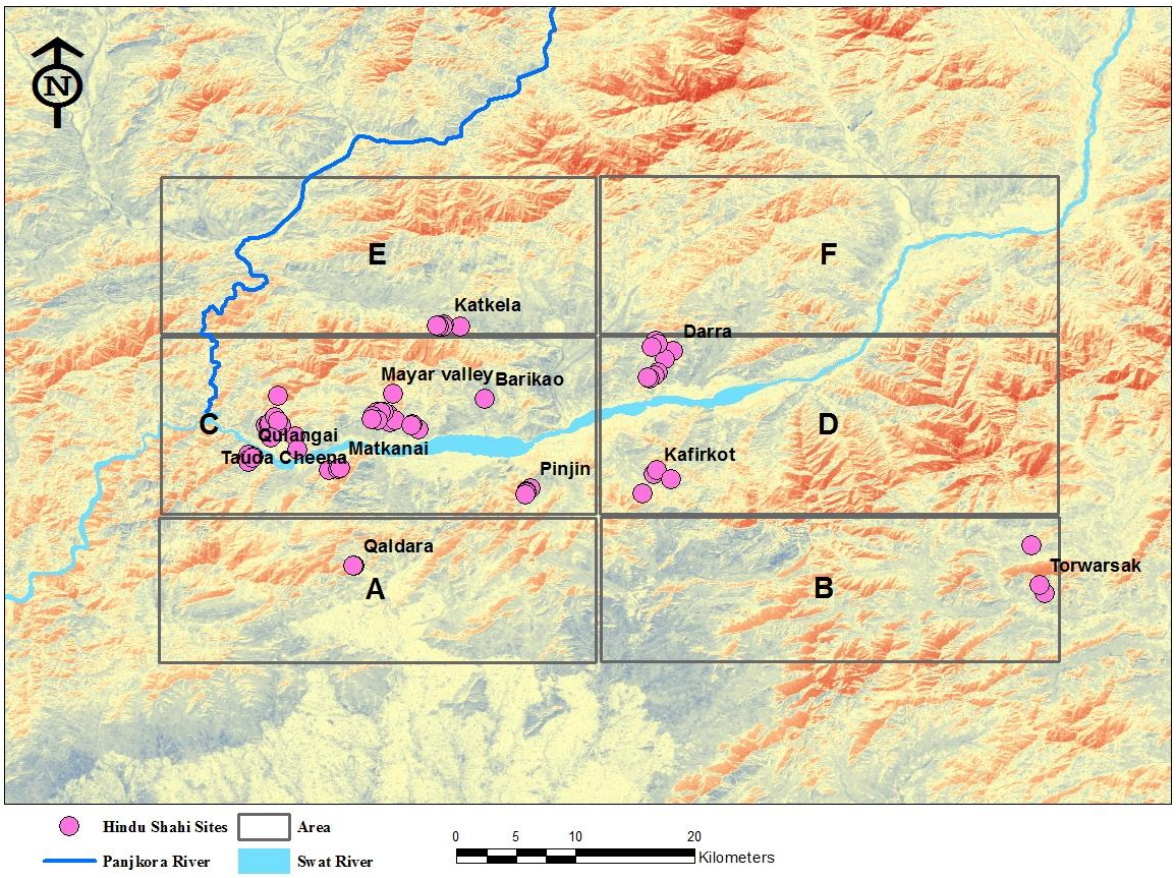


Figure 6.1. Distribution of 62 analysed sites for pottery assemblages in the study region (Ijaz Khan)

While analysing the manufacturing technique of the pottery, it was observed that all the potsherds, except with few exceptions, were made on either slow or fast wheel (see appendix 3). Some handmade, or hand-modelled potsherds, especially concerning large size pots or

ovens, were also discovered from some sites. Almost all the potsherds were made of well-levigated clay, with a high proportion of sand, mica, pebbles, grog (grounded potsherds), chaff and other organic inclusions. All the potsherds were well fired and were red in colour with red and dull-red slip (Figure 6.2). Some of the potsherds' sections are of grey colour, suggesting that some of the pots were fired within de-oxidizing environment within the kilns. Based upon the fabric, the potsherd could be tentatively divided into three categories i.e. thin (6 or 10% of the 62 analysed sites), medium (56 or 90%) and thick (19 or 31%). Medium texture potsherds constituted the major share of the assemblage and these were discovered from all sites, showing similarity across the study region.

Figure 6.2. Fabric and red ware of the pottery, site 8, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

As outlined above, the Hindu Shahi period pottery was reported during the excavations of multi-period sites from Swat (Faccenna et al. 1984; Qamar 2004) and Lower Dir (Rahman 1968) within the study region as well as Haripur (Dar 2002, 2003; Durrani et al. 2010; Khan 2002). The Hind Shahi material culture was mainly identified and assigned on the basis of architecture, pottery and coins (Faccenna et al. 1984: 493; Rahman 1968: 217, 245). During the survey, Khan et al. (2003) also collected Hindu Shahi period pottery from Galla fort (located close to Hund site). Galla is considered the second most important site of the Vale of Peshawar after Hund due to its large size and massive architecture remains (see Khan 1995; Khan and Batool 2011; Khan et al. 2003).

According to the previous results from the study region, the pottery assemblage was fired under excellent firing environment and were constructed of well-levigated clay, with a good percentage of sand inclusions (Qamar 2004: 186; Rahman 1968: 244). Qamar (2004: 186) believed that clay and sand might have created a sensitive state for quick absorption of heat during the baking or firing process in kiln. Red colour is the main ceramic ware of the Hindu Shahi in Swat region (Qamar 2004: 215-217; Rahman 1968: 244). Dull-red ware slips are also found but relatively in a very limited number (Qamar 2004: 215). During the excavations, thin, medium and thick fabrics were reported; however, the medium size appear to be the most common (Qamar 2004: 215- 216; Rahman 1968: 244). At Galla site, the pottery is wheel made and includes mica and sand (Khan et al. 2003: 49-50).

The potsherds collection shows that the assemblage consisted of water pitchers, storage jars, mugglers, bowls, goblet neck, handles, lugs, lids, knobs, bases and saucers. It is noteworthy that the pottery assemblage was largely made of water pitchers and storage jars. Hindu Shahi pottery from Dir and Swat include water pitchers, lugs, drinking bowls, storage jars, dishes, handles and spouts (Olivieri et al. 2006: 141; Qamar 2004: 214, 217). Hindu Shahi pottery assemblages from Swat mainly include storage jars, drinking bowls and water pitchers (Faccenna et al. 1984: 491, 493; Qamar 2004: 214; Rahman 1968: 244). According to the previous and present investigations, the increased percentage of water pitchers and jars from the study region appear to have been linked primarily with water and food management. Considering the locations of sites on mountaintops and high slopes, the storage and transportation of water and food would have been a major concern for the inhabitants of the

sites. Almost all the pot-forms collected during the present survey do not seem to be ceremonial but rather utilitarian. A large number of drinking bowls at Damkot also suggests their utilitarian use (Rahman 1968: 244). Although, it is very difficult to distinguish between ceremonial and utilitarian nature of the pots, given the fact that modern Hindu communities in India and Pakistan mainly use the same utilitarian pots for ceremonial purposes.

6.2 Rims varieties

Broken rim-sherds were the most common of the potsherds collected from the study region. Based on their analysis, they could be tentatively divided into 9 categories, of which the pots with out-turned rim types were found from 84% of 62 analysed sites and represent the largest and most extensive distribution of pot forms from the study region (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.3). Triangular sectioned and pointed-type rims were the second and third largest groups of potsherds and were discovered from 22 sites (35%) and 16 (26%) respectively (Table 6.1 and Figures 6.4). The distribution of the various types of rims across different areas of the study region was not even. In terms of the rims varieties, area C is the most important, including a whole range of designs, followed by area D and to some extent by area E (Table 6.1). While on the other hand, area A and B only include the three major and most common (i.e. out turned, triangular section and pointed) types of rims that were found in all areas (Table 6.1) except area F, which was not surveyed due to the disturbed political situation of the study region (see chapter 3 for details).

Of the total 52 sites with out-turned rims, at 44 sites (85%), they are plain while at eight sites they include grooves, nails, stamped, ribs, ridges and denticulate decorations. Apart from decoration, no other major change was noticed, suggesting a greater similarity throughout the study region. Majority of these designs were observed in area C, and notably at Mayar valley, which received considerable attention in terms structures (see chapter 5 and Figure 6.1 for the location of different areas). Majority of the designs were applied on the shoulder of the rims and on the necks (see appendix 3).

Almost all of the triangular sectioned and pointed rims were simply made without any decoration. No variations were observed in their shapes and associated details, demonstrating similarity in the study region. Their wide distribution and larger similarities

across the study region is very important, suggesting the development of Hindu Shahi sites possibly under the supervision of a centralised political system and most likely during a short span of time.

Design	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D	Area E	*Total sites*
Out turned	4	5	24	13	6	*52*
Triangular section	1	2	12	6	1	*22*
Pointed	1	3	8	2	2	*16*
Inverted	x	x	7	2	x	*9*
Beaked	x	x	5	1	x	*6*
Nail headed	x	x	5	x	1	*6*
Flared	x	x	3	x	x	*3*
Flat toped	x	x	2	x	x	*2*
Obliquely cut	x	x	1	x	x	*1*
Total no. of designs	*3*	*3*	*9*	*5*	*4*	

Table 6.1. Distribution of different rim types across different sites and areas of the study region

The following categories (inverted, beaked, nail headed, flared, flat toped and obliquely cut) were recorded in certain areas and on a limited number of sites, primarily in area C. Inverted and flared shaped rims seem to be much similar and plain (Figure 6.5). Beaked rims were made with short and long concaved necks in a similar pattern (Figure 6.6). Similarly, nail headed shape rims were made in round and convex shapes, showing minor changes (Figure 6.7). Two flat topped rims were recorded in area C and D at sites 26 and 88 respectively. At site 26, a cable or rope pattern design was applied on the shoulder of the rim whereas at site

88 it was made with a concaved neck, grooves and ledge (Figure 6.8). Obliquely cut rim was only found at site 48 in area C at Mayar valley (Figure 6.9).

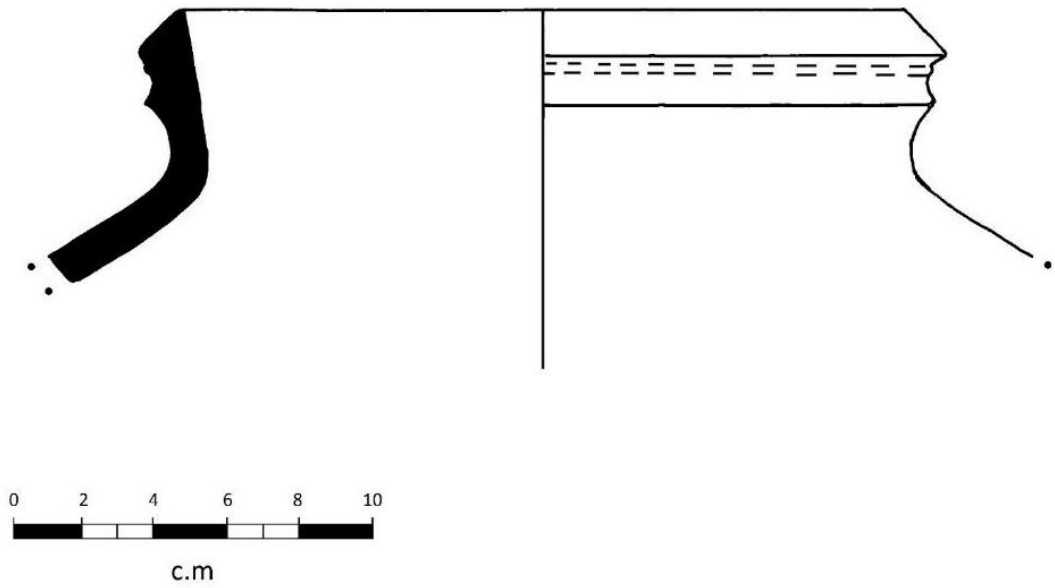


Figure 6.3. Out turned rim with ledge and grooves, site 5, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

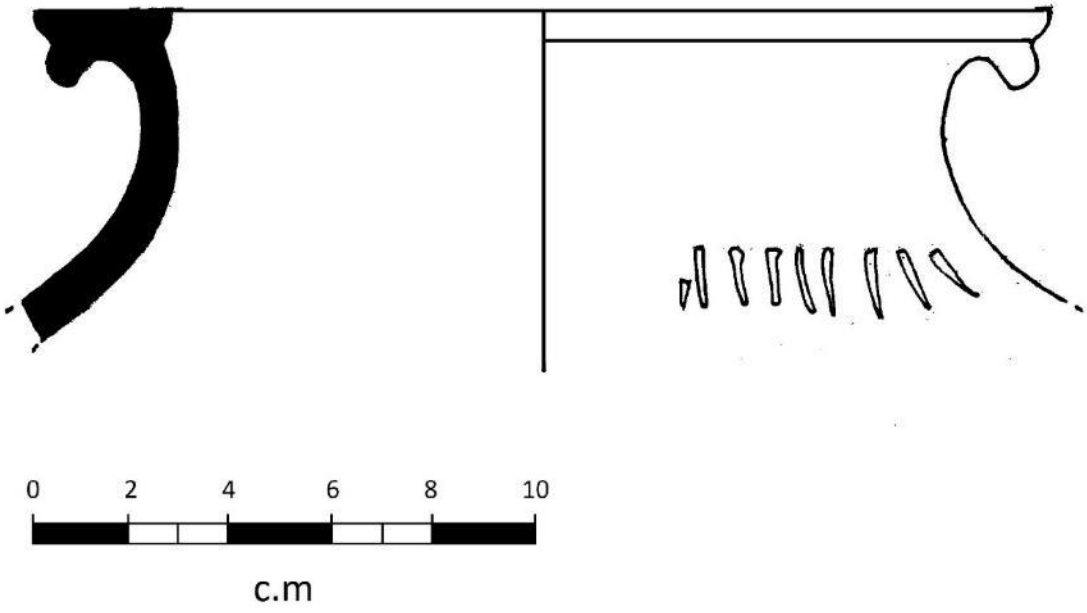


Figure 6.4. Pointed rim with concaved neck, single groove and incisions slashed like pattern (Ijaz Khan)

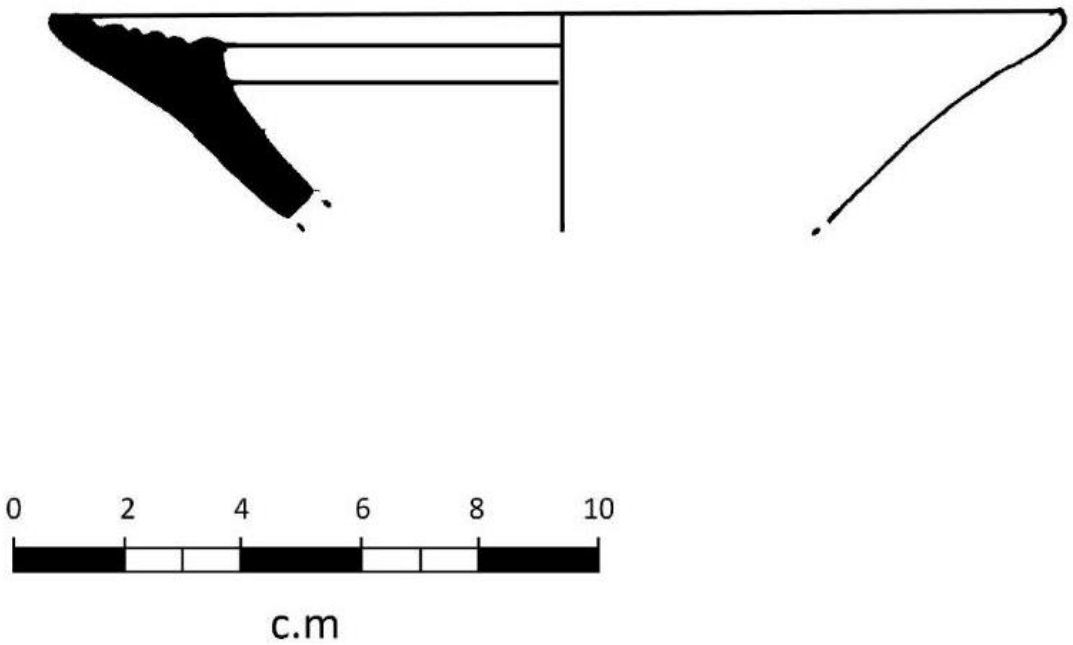


Figure 6.5. Flared rim with multiple internal grooves, site 28, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

In terms of the rims varieties, Mayar valley appears to be the most important locality in area C as well as in the entire study region. It is worth mentioning, that site 48 (Mayar valley) is the only site of the study region that includes all types of rims and in some cases with a kind of decoration. Its nearby sites (5, 8, 15, 25, 26, 28, 36, 47) also include 6-9 varieties, highlighting the important position of area C in the study region. It is noteworthy, that most of these sites house extraordinary structures, both in terms of their numbers and specifications (see chapter 5). The special nature of pottery and structures suggest that these sites were deliberately and purposely made distinct and unique, possibly due to the social, political or economic position of their inhabitants.

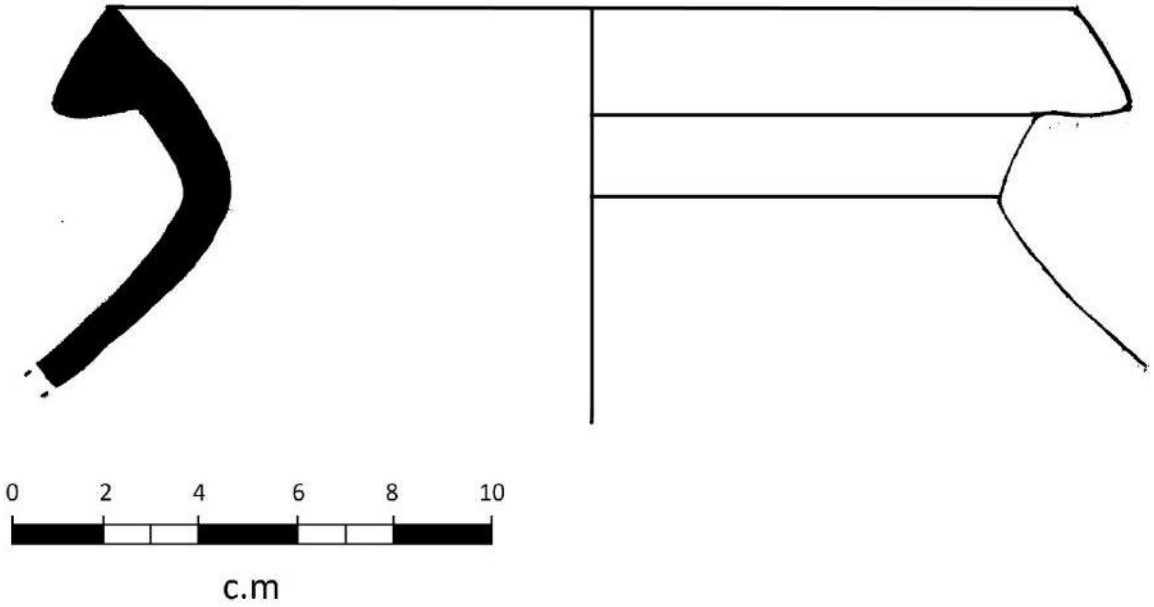


Figure 6.6. Beaked shaped rim with a short concaved neck, site 25, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

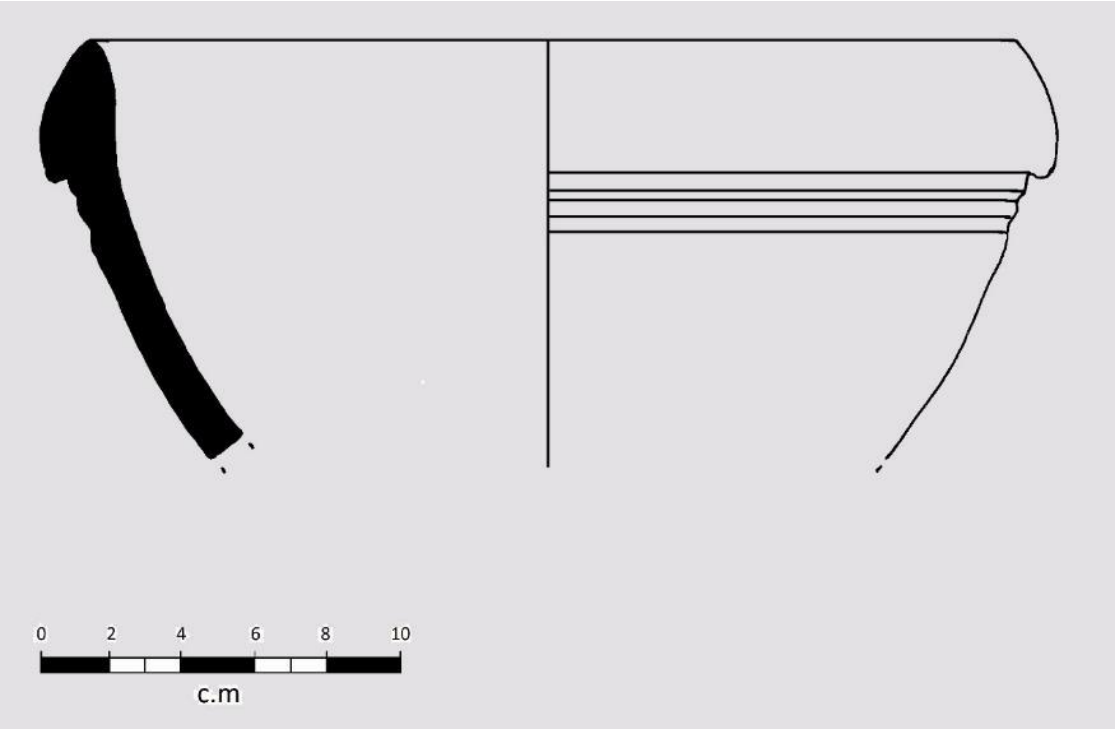


Figure 6.7. Nail headed rim having grooves on shoulder, site 8, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

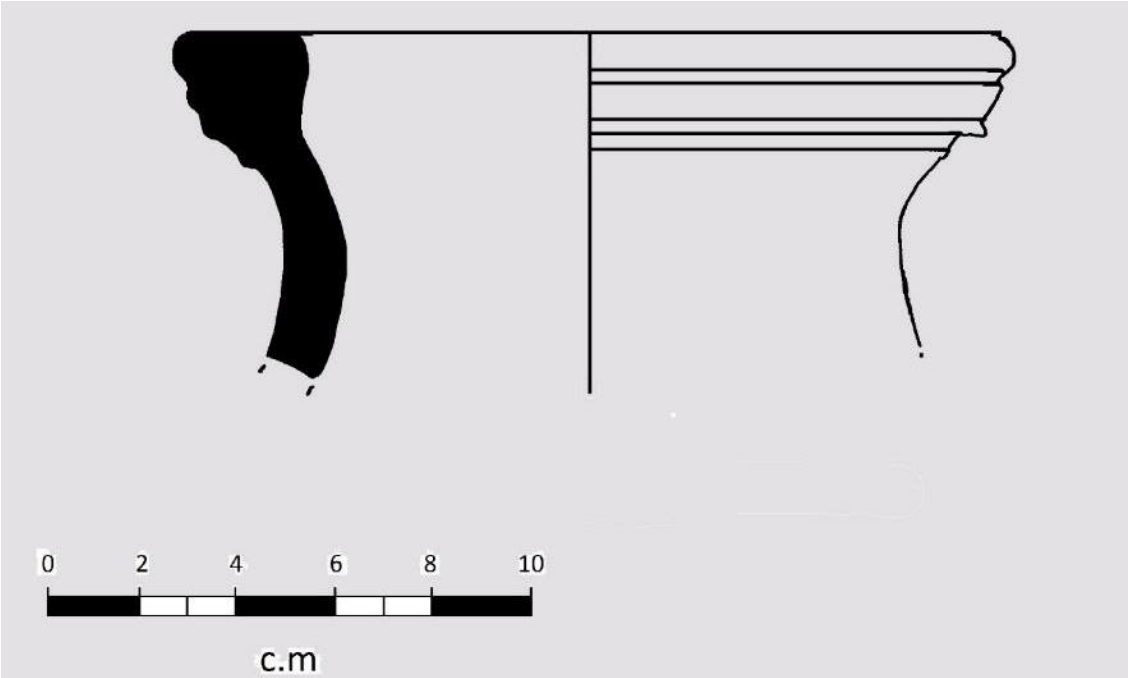


Figure 6.8. Flat toped rim with short concaved neck, grooves and tiny ledge, site 88, Darra, area D, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

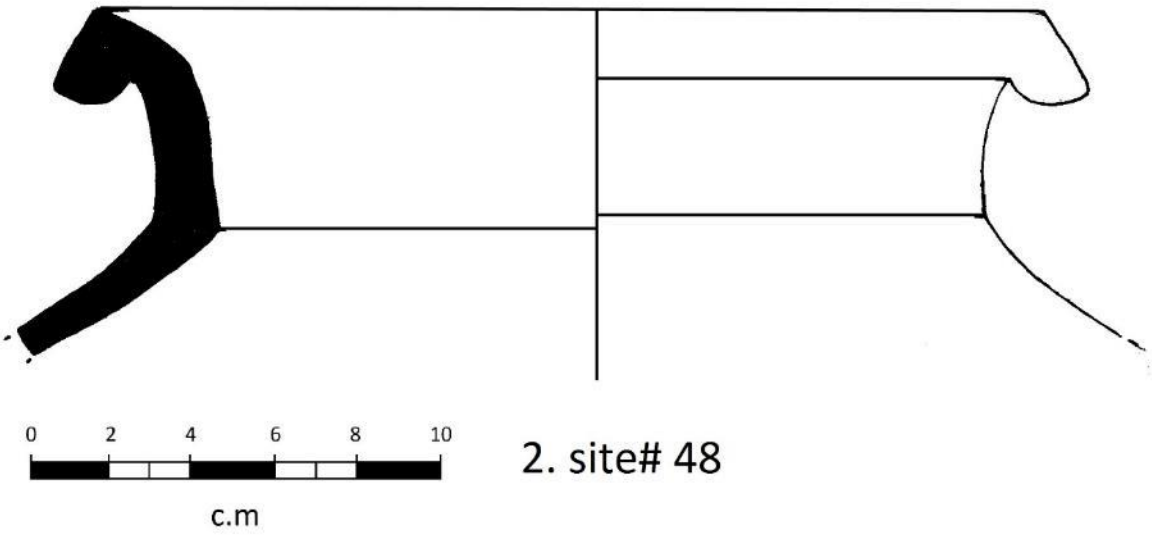


Figure 6.9. Plain obliquely cut shape rim, site 48, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

In the study region, only Rahman (1968) and (Qamar 2004) speak about the Hindu Shahi rims types in the study region. Rahman (1968: 245-249) mentioned four types of rims i.e.

flat topped, out turned, obliquely cut and beaked. Qamar (2004: 214-217) noted flared, everted, curved, corrugated and grooved rims. Most of these types were recorded during the present survey for this research. According to Rahman (1968: 247) some rims also included slashed cordoned and grooved decorations. The rims types from the study region were also compared with Galla and Hund sites in the Vale of Peshawar. Galla includes three similar types as of the study region (i.e. out turned, pointed and triangular) while Hund two similar types (i.e. out turned and triangular) section (see e.g. Figures 6.10 and 6.11 and appendix 3). One of the rims also included a single grooved decoration. Both, the rims varieties and the related decoration somewhat show similarity with the pottery from the study region.

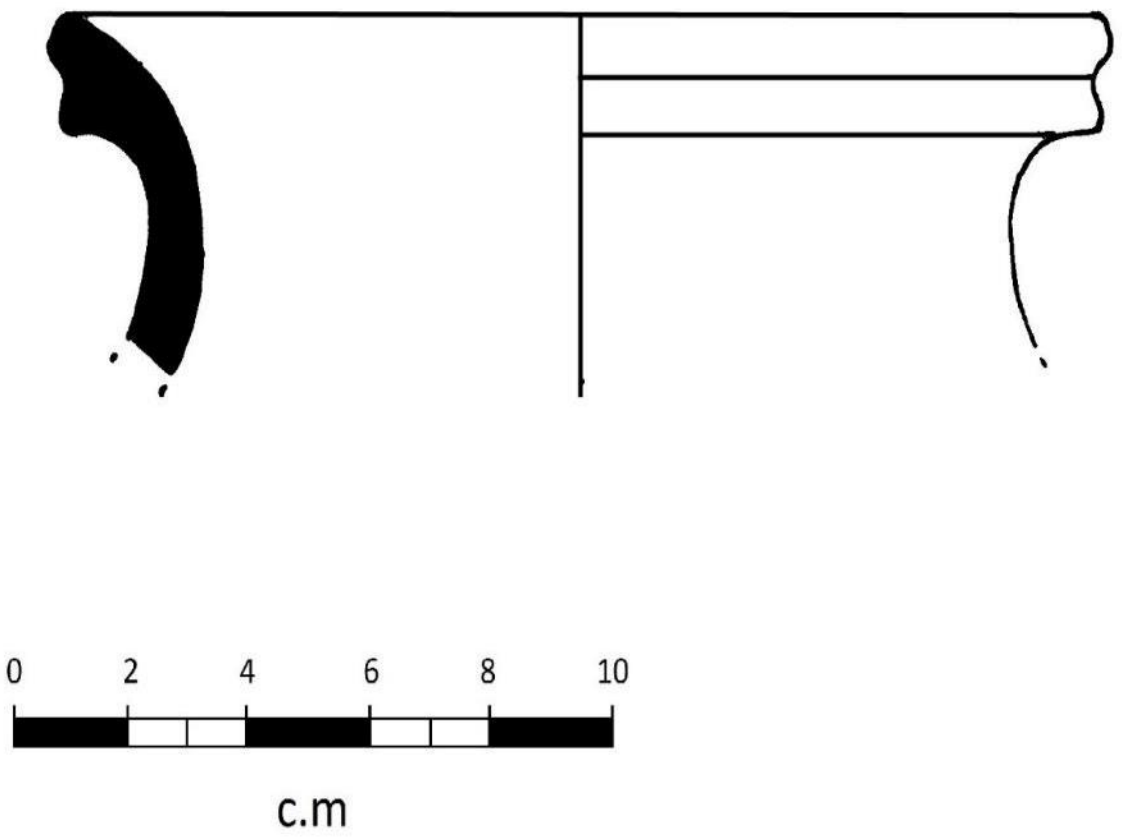


Figure 6.10. Out turned rim with single groove and a short concaved neck, Galla, Swabi district, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)

The presence of out turned, triangular section, pointed rims varieties and grooved decoration show much wider distribution both in the study region (found in all areas A-E) and the Vale of Peshawar. Although, it requires detailed and extensive study to learn more about the

similarities and differences between these regions and whether they flourished at one time or otherwise.

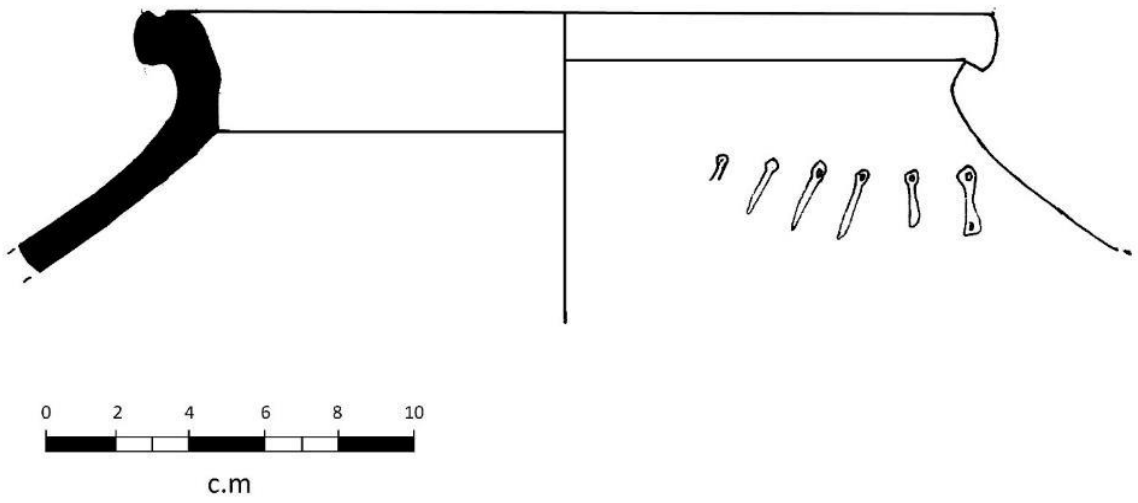


Figure 6.11. Out turned rim with a short concaved neck and single groove on top with nail headed incised slash designs on shoulder, Hund, Swabi district, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)

6.3 Body sherds

Body sherds were the second largest group of pottery collected during the present survey. Their analysis showed that they were made plain and sometimes with decorations. It was learnt that a total of ten types of decorations were applied on the body sherds. Among them moulded decorations were found at 27 sites (44 % of the 62 of the analysed sites) and represent the largest group of decorations from the surveyed region (Table 6.2). Single and double grooved, incised and stamped designs were reported from 14-20 sites, whereas the remaining types from 2-10 sites (Table 6.2). The results seem to be quite similar that to the rims, where majority of the decorations are concentrating in area C. The second largest number and variety of decorations were recorded from areas D and E, whereas areas A and B were relatively poor including a very limited number of decorations (Table 6.2 and Figure 6.1 for the locations of different areas). The designs include triangular notches, bands, floral motifs, square boxes, slash, pitted, wavy, cable or rope and chain patterns.

Moulded, double grooved, incised decorations were recorded in four areas, showing a wider distribution across the study region (Table 6.2 and Figures 6.12-6.13). The remaining types (i.e. stamped, denticulate, cable pattern, perforated, cordoned and nail impressions) were recorded either in one, two or three areas, suggesting they were not common and were confined to certain areas (Table 6.2 Figures 6.14-6.17). The distribution of some designs across four areas suggest a centralised control and the occupation of sites at one time. The relative absence of some designs in certain areas and on a limited number of sites might have some association with the socio-political and economic positions of the respective areas and sites.

Body sherds design	area A	area B	area C	area D	area E	*Total sites*
Moulded	x	1	18	5	3	*27*
Single Grooved	x	x	12	5	3	*20*
Double Grooved	x	1	9	6	3	*19*
Incised	1	x	12	2	2	*17*
Stamped impressions	x	x	11	2	1	*14*
Denticulate	x	x	9	1	x	*10*
Cable pattern	x	x	6	2	x	*8*
Perforated	x	x	3	1	1	*5*
Cordoned	x	x	4	1	x	*5*
Nails impression	x	x	2	x	x	*2*
Total no. of designs	*1*	*2*	*10*	*9*	*6*	

Table 6.2. Distribution of decorative designs on body sherds across different areas and sites from the study region

Single and double grooved designs were applied narrowly, broadly, and sharply on the body sherds, showing minor regional variations. Majority of them were recorded from area C and especially at Mayar valley (Table 6.2). Of the total 17 sites with incised decoration, 12 were reported from area C. Potsherds with stamped impressions were recorded from area C, D and E, though, most of them were observed in area C, mainly at Mayar valley. The stamped impressions were applied in the form of circles, pitted, notches, chevron and slashes.

Denticulate designs were applied in elaborated manner and were reported from areas C and D only, although area C includes 90% of the total sites, highlighting its importance. Cable or rope pattern designs were largely recorded from area C (75% of 8 sites) and D (25%). Perforations were finely made and perhaps were used for decoration purpose. Cordoned decorations were included in the form of grooves and raised bands and majority of the sites (4 of the total 5) are located in Mayar valley (area C). Nails impression designs were reported at two sites 8 and 28, located in area C at Qulangai and Mayar valley respectively.

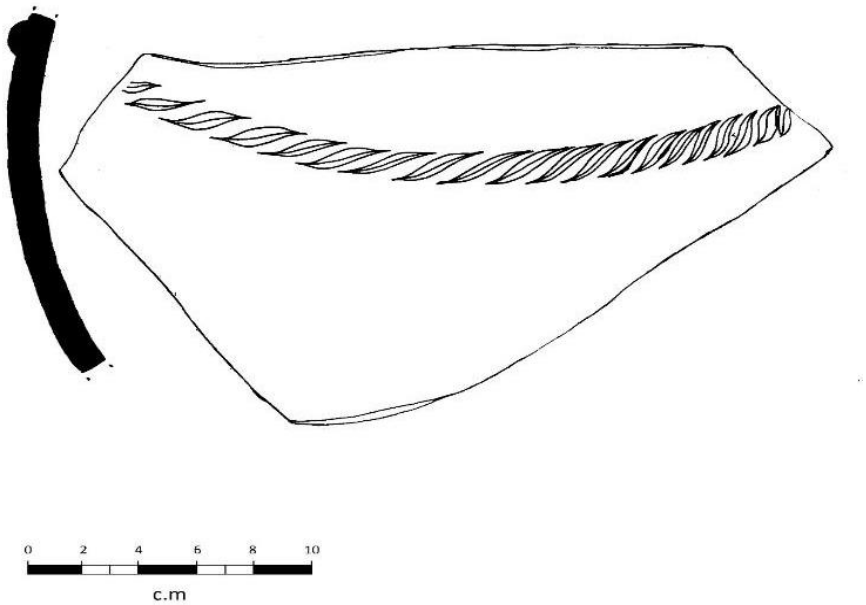


Figure 6.12. Moulded decoration with cable pattern, site 73, Tauda Cheena, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

The results of the analysis (Table 6.2) show that different areas include from 1-6 different decorations. Area A and B include either 1 or 2 types of decorations and appear to be quite

ordinary (Table 6.2). Many of the sites with 3-6 decorations are located in area C, highlighting its unique position and importance in the entire study region (Table 6.3).

No. of decorations	Total sites	area A	Area B	Area C	Area D	Area E
Three	12	x	x	8	3	1
Four	4	x	x	4	x	x
Five	6	x	x	4	1	1
Six	1	x	x	1	x	x

Table 6.3. Distribution and number of sites with different designs

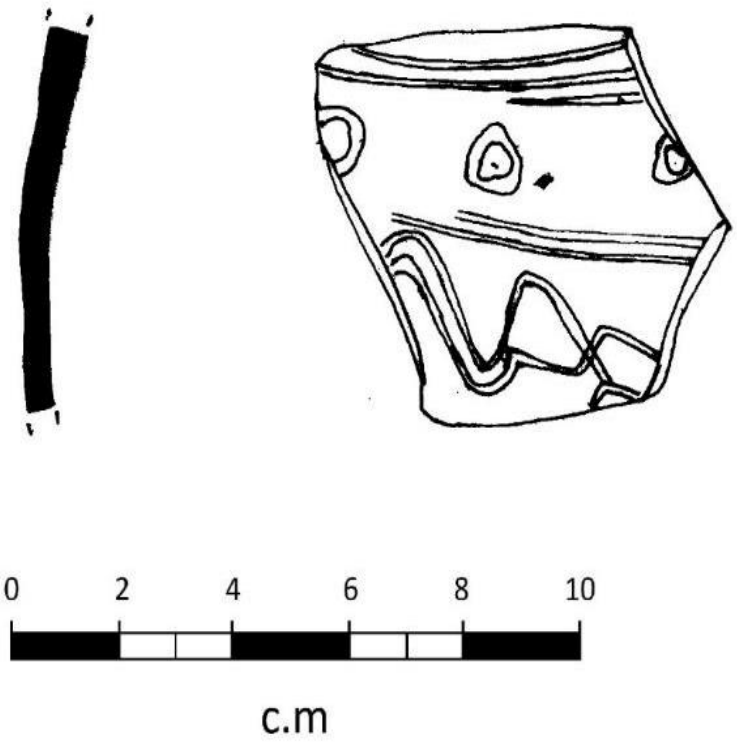


Figure 6.13. Potsherd with Incised wavy and pitted like design, site 79, area D, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

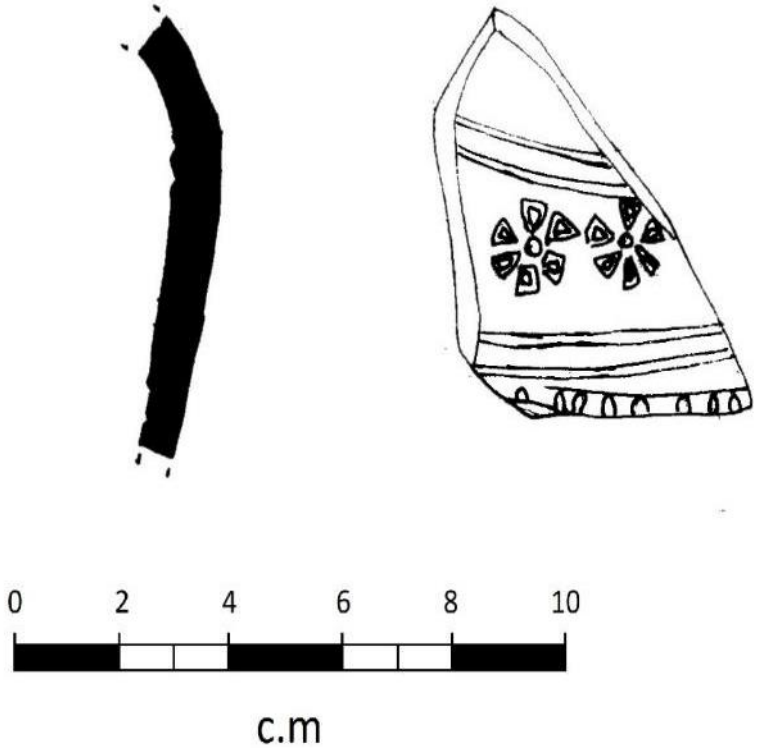


Figure 6.14. Stamped decoration with floral motifs and incised bands, site 79, Darra, area D, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

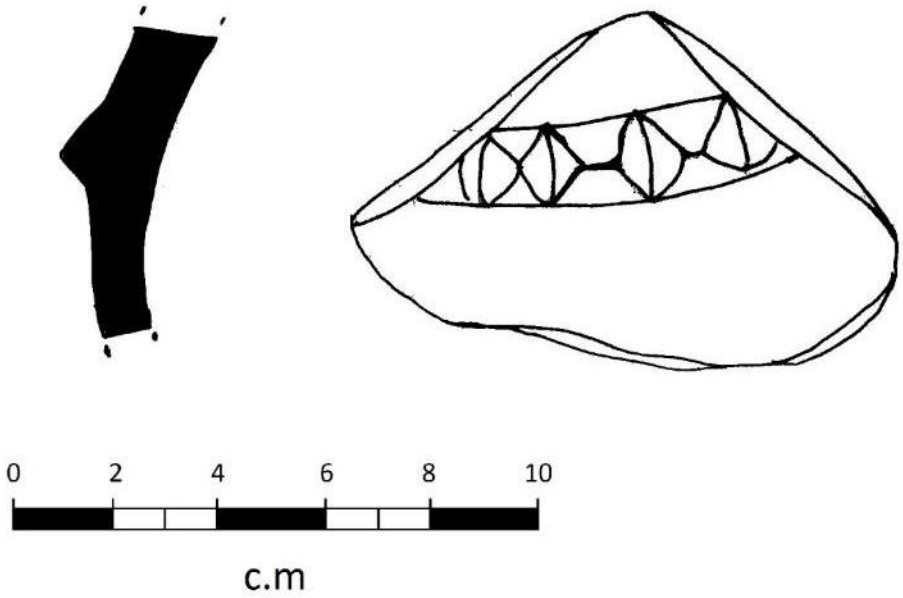


Figure 6.15. Body sherd with deeply elaborated denticulate design, site 25, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

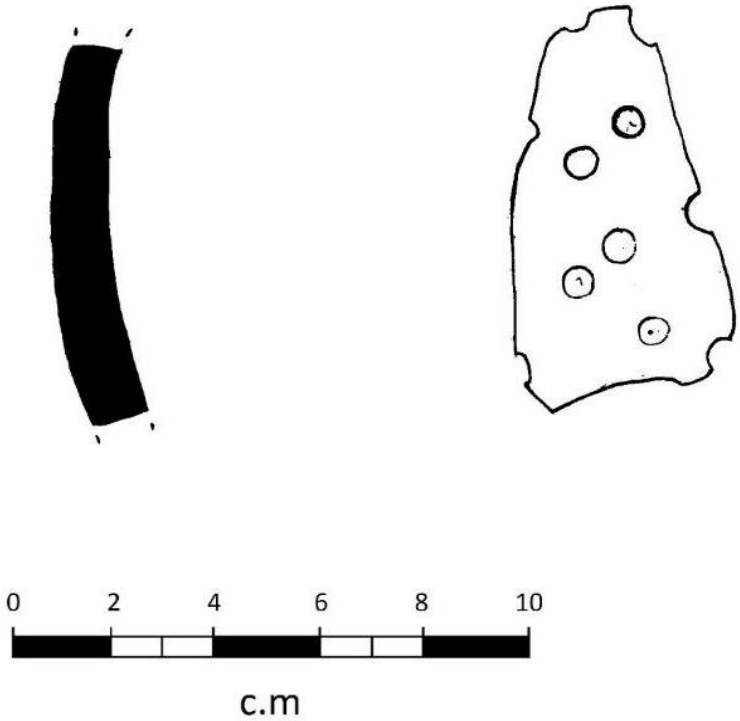


Figure 6.16. Simply made perforations, site 8, Qulangai, area C, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

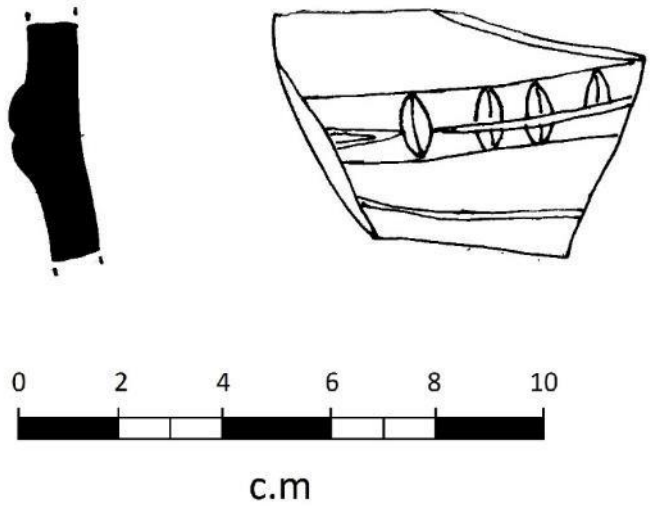


Figure 6.17. Body sherd in cordoned decoration with single groove and nails impressions, site 26, Mayar valley, area C, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 48 is the only site of the study region, located at Mayar valley (area C) that includes all six types of decorations. It is worth mentioning that it also includes a whole range of rims varieties and the highest number of bastions (see chapter 5). These variations from other sites suggest it was probably an important site and played a critical role in the study region (see chapter 7). Other sites with 3-4 decorations (i.e. 25, 26, 28, 34, 36, 47) are also located at Mayar valley and include a great range of rims and structures, suggesting they were also important sites (see chapters 5 and 7).

Rahman (1968: 246-248) and Qamar (2004: 215-217) noted stamped, concentric circles, triangular dots, dotted circles, rosettes, vertical and obliquely drawn strokes and nails head decorations at Nawagai site in Swat. According to Rahman (1968: 244), stamped decoration is the main feature of the Hindu Shahi pottery (Rahman (1968: 244). A fragment of a pot at Nawagai site, Swat also showed pairs of perforations at the neck level (Qamar 2004: 214).

The survey data was then compared with the collected potsherds from Hund. It included incised and stamped decorations (Figure 6.18-619). It is noteworthy that only rims were collected from Galla site while no other diagnostic potsherds (e.g. bases or decorated body sherds) were noticed. Though, Khan et al. (2003: 50) speaks of cordoned decoration at Galla. Pir Manakrai site at Haripur also includes quite similar decorations that to the study region including horizontal and vertical strokes, loops, triangles and stamped decoration mostly rosettes, concentric circles, dots and bars (Khan 2002: 89).

As noted above, the Hindu Shahi period pottery or other historical pottery traditions from the region, has not been studied in great detail, therefore little is known about their pottery tradition. Considering the size of the study region (2542 square kilometres) and the results of the present analysis, the pottery tradition of the Hindu Shahi in the study region is relatively simple, both in terms of functions and decorations. It is evident from area A and B with very limited number of rims and decorations varieties. This phenomenon was also noticed during the previous investigations (Faccenna et al. 1984; Olivieri et al. 2006; Qamar 2004; Rahman 1968). It is stated that the Hindu Shahi pottery include new forms but largely ordinary or simple while the painted decorations disappeared during this period, which was very common in preceding periods (Faccenna et al. 1984: 491, 493; Olivieri et al. 2006: 141;

Qamar 2004: 185; Rahman 1968: 217). These new forms also vary from both pre and post Late Kushans and Islamic periods (Olivieri et al. 2006: 141).

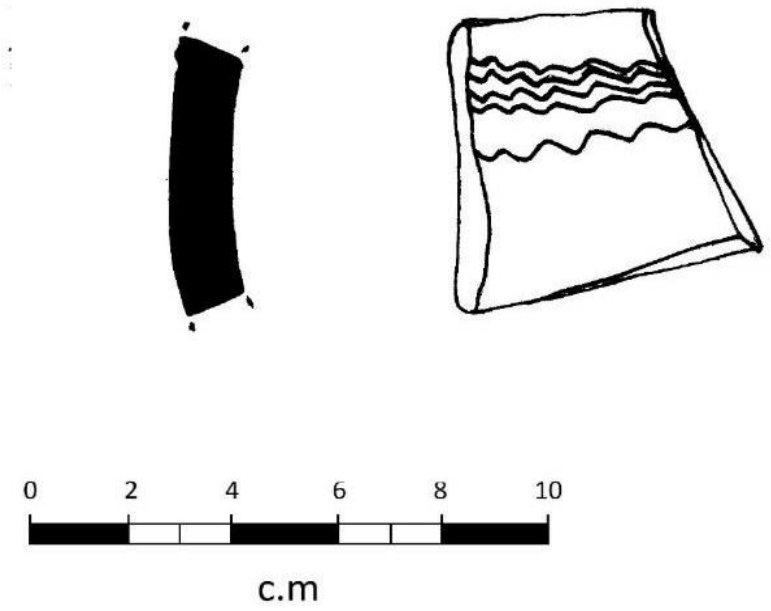


Figure 6.18. Body sherd with incised wavy decoration, Hund, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)

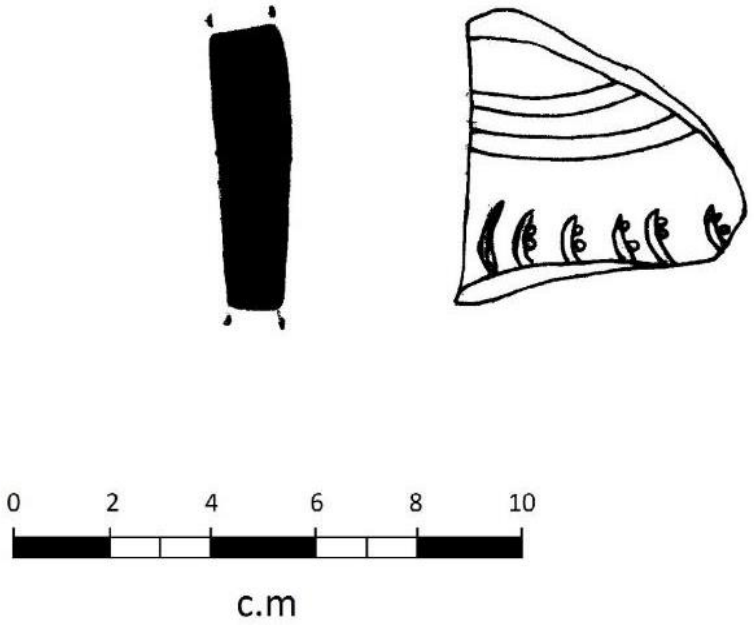


Figure 6.19. Stamped body sherd with bands and nails impressions, Hund, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)

According to the results, area C in general and sites (e.g. 25, 26, 34, 36, 47, 48) at Mayar valley in particular seem to be highly significant both in terms of pottery and structures. As outlined above, site 48 includes all varieties of rims and decorations, highlighting its probable high stature in the study region. There could be many reasons for this phenomenon. For instance, the differences in pottery across the study region suggest that each area had its own significance and was developed accordingly, perhaps in consideration to its socio-political and economic importance.

Throughout the study region the Hindu Shahi pottery is much similar in ware, fabric, rims and decorations. Sinopoli (1995: 143, 152) believes that some empires directly supervise the production and distribution of ceramics, resulting in a uniform centralized pattern throughout the respective empires with minor regional variations. This uniformity is observed in standard, size and decoration (Kenoyer 1998: 149). Administrative control over ceramics increases the scale of its production and decrease in the competition between producers (Sinopoli 1991: 144). Increase in the production results more standardization in ceramics where the potters adopt new techniques to meet the demand of population (Rice 1987: 180). On the other hand, decrease in the production effects its variety where certain vessels become rare and only limited types vessels are produced (Sinopoli 1991: 144). When the political administrative control is lost uniformity in ceramics is also lost and new styles and types are produced in the fragmented parts (Sinopoli 1991: 144-45).

Considering the above statements, the limited number of pottery types, decorations and standardisation of the Hindu Shahi pottery, it appears that some sort of political institution probably supervised the pottery industry. The distribution of certain rims types (i.e. out turned, triangular section, pointed) and the decorations (i.e. moulded, double grooved, incised) in all or most areas suggest a centralised political system and control. The limited number of rims varieties and decoration also indicate that demand of certain pots or the overall pottery types was higher where potters were not required to pay detailed attention to the decoration or rims varieties. As a result, potters produced pottery in simple or ordinary forms but in great quantity to meet the requirement of local population, mainly for functional purposes. This perspective is somewhat evident from the results of the present and previous

investigations that show a high percentage of storage jars, water pitchers and drinking bowls, demonstrating their utilitarian use.

This distribution also suggests the development and occupation of Hindu Shahi sites possibly at one time or during a short duration. It is also possible that perhaps the people of the study region were not able to enjoy the delicacies of a normal life due to constant warfare. It may also be possible that it were the artists or expert potters and designers, who bear the brunt of the warfare during the Ghaznavids invasion and could not relocate to the study region from the Vale of Peshawar during the retreat of the Hindu Shahi, as suggested by scholars (Dani 1968a: 31; Olivieri 1996: 74; Olivieri et al. 2006: 138; Rahman 1979a: 305; Scerrato 1986: 57, 59). It is also possible that the expert potters were stationed or resided at certain localities, which were probably important from social, political or economic point of view. It may also be possible that the decorative varieties of pottery were constructed by women, who were stationed at secured locations, away from the dangers of immediate warfare. These are tentative ideas and need to be further investigated to learn more about the larger similarities and the high concentration of rims and decorations in some areas.

As noted above and in chapter 1, Hindu Shahi sites have been identified and labelled through their coins, inscriptions, artefacts, art and unique rough architecture (e.g. see Ali 2003; Ali and Jan 2005; Ali and Rahman 2005; Ali et al. 2005, 2009, 2010, 2011; Barrett 1960; Cunningham 1882; Dani 1968a, Deane 1896; Durrani et al. 2010; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Khan 1995; Khan et al. 1999, 2003; Khattak 1997; Masih 2002; Meister 2010a; Muhammadzai 2002; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Petrie 2002; Qamar 2004; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1905, 1927, 1937, 1980, 1995; Tucci 1958). However, this study is the first systematic effort to understand the Hindu Shahi period pottery on such an extensive scale, throwing light on its distribution, density, manufacturing technique, types and decorations. As noted above, that Hindu Shahi pottery in the study includes new forms, which are different from pre and post periods (Faccenna et al. 1984: 491, 493; Olivieri et al. 2006: 141; Qamar 2004: 185; Rahman 1968: 217). These results further affirm and strengthen the identification of Hindu Shahi sites in the study region.

6.4 Summary

The analysis has shown that almost all Hindu Shahi pottery in the study region is wheel made, using well-levigated clay, in red colour, ranging from thin to thick fabric, with red ware and medium fabric seem to be main features. A total of nine types of rims and ten different decorations were observed; though, their distribution across the study region is uneven. Certain types of rims and decorated potsherds were reported either from all or most areas of the study region, suggesting a centralised political authority or control. A large number of rims and decorated potsherds were recorded from area C and was followed by area D and E. Area A and B are very poor in terms of pottery decorations and varieties.

Mayar valley in area C seems to be the most important area. Majority of its sites include a great range of rims and decorations. Though, site 48 received a special attention and include all types of rims and decorations, highlighting its immense importance in the study region. The results of the analysis also showed great similarities with the results of the earlier studied sites from the study region, suggesting the development and occupation of sites at one time. The survey data also shared some similarities with the Galla and Hund sites in the Vale of Peshawar; however, a detailed study is needed to gain more in-depth understanding of the pottery types, similarities, differences and its possible meanings.

Chapter 7 Discussion

7.1 Introduction

There is limited historical information about the Hindu Shahi dynasty. We have no known Hindu Shahi historic accounts which could provide information about their dynasty, political history, leadership, political events and so on. This available information is very fragmentary, and as a result the history of the Hind Shahi dynasty is obscure right from the beginning until their decline. There is no agreement among the classical writers about the names and number of the kings and the decline of the dynasty. Most of the information about the Hindu Shahi comes from the 11th century historian Alberuni through his work the Kitab-ul-Hind (The book of Hindustan/India), which was composed around 1030 CE. The information collected by Alberuni largely encompassed the events that took place during his presence at Ghazna, Afghanistan, including encounters of Mahmud Ghaznavi with the Hindu Shahi rulers. Though, it lacks vital details on socio-political, socio-economic, socio-religious events and customs, and even languages. Alberuni does not mention the exact ethnicity of the Hindu Shahi, though he refers to them as Brahman by caste. He does not deal with economy or agriculture; neither does he describe politics or commercial activities.

Kalhana, a Kashmiri historian also speaks about the Hindu Shahi in his work, Rajatarangini, in relation to the history of Kashmir or the Kashmiri kings (Stein 1900). Thus, if we take a realistic account of the information left by the earliest historians, we will arrive at the likely conclusion that all these accounts possibly have missed important aspects of the Hindu Shahi including their defence, economic, social fabric, religion, political infrastructure, and organisation and so forth. According to Kalhana (Stein 1900), the dynasty was ruled by five kings and it came to an end in 1021 CE, while Alberuni (Sachau 1964) records eight names and he believed that the dynasty declined in 1026 CE. These writers are believed to have recorded either the royal titles of the of Hindu Shahi kings (Ali 1999a: 269, 280-282, 2003: 135-170; Khan et al. 2000: 25; Rahim 1998: 50-51; Rahman 1979a: 205-6) or have recorded them in unclear way, which in some cases do not match with the names mentioned on the coins of the dynasty, causing problems in their identification. The gaps in classical sources have also resulted in differences among the

modern scholars who have relied largely on either the classical sources or the dynastic coins. This has led them to propose different names and dates for the Hindu Shahi kings. Similarly, there is no clear information about territorial limits and the political history of the Hindu Shahi in the historic sources. Modern scholars have, however, suggested various boundaries and sites marking the areas controlled by them, including their major political centres mainly based on their understanding of the historical events.

The archaeology of the Hindu Shahi has also received little attention in Pakistan or South Asian archaeology. The majority of the Hindu Shahi material culture was reported during the general surveys or during excavations of the multi-period sites. Among the reported sites, Hindu Shahi temples and inscriptions have mainly been studied, while their settlements have largely been excluded. Rahman (1968, 1979a) who excavated at Damkot and also undertook research on the ethnicity of the Hindu Shahi could not suggest anything concrete to lead us to some probable conclusion on the socio-political dynamics of the Hindu Shahi. The extensive archaeological investigations in the study region by prominent archaeologists and scholars (e.g. Azeem 2005; Bagnera 2006, 2010, 2011; Dani 1968a; Filigenzi 2006; Giunta 2006; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Khan 1980; Manna 2006; Olivieri 1996; 2003; Rahman1968, 1979a; Scerrato 1985, 1986; Stein 1898, 1944, 1973, 1995; Taddei 1964) clearly show the research question raised in Chapter 1 was never addressed before.

Up until this research, no exclusive or detailed study of Hindu Shahi settlements has been carried out to explore different types of sites and their role in the landscape. Similarly, their pottery has only been briefly studied on the multi-period sites. As a result, the information about Hindu Shahi settlements and pottery is primarily confined to the visible structures and few pottery types. For this reason, a systematic landscape survey was carried out in Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner to explore the extent of the Hindu Shahi material culture and document original and detailed information and analyse it in relation to their activity. This exercise brought forward interesting and significant information about the Hindu Shahi presence and activities in the study region. The results of the analysis provided information about Hindu Shahi settlement patterns and activity across the study region. The analysis also showed similarities and variations in the concentrations, structures, size of sites as well as pottery in the wider landscape.

7.2 Previous archaeological models in the study region

Dani (1968a: 1-32) carried out a survey in Lower Dir and Malakand Agency to trace the route of Alexander the Great march in the region. During the survey, Dani also identified a considerable number of Hindu Shahi sites occupying the hilltops and slopes along the access routes linking these areas with the neighbouring regions. According to Dani, Hindu Shahi sites are heavily fortified and almost all of them include watchtowers with arrow-slits. In light of these characteristics, Dani(1968a) suggested that the Hindu Shahi shifted to this region after the invasion and capture of the Vale of Peshawar by the Ghaznavids in 1002 CE and continued their rule from here for some time. For this reason, they established a chain of forts to the north and south sides of Swat River to protect this region from further Ghaznavids attacks and invasion.

According to Rahman (1968: 103-250), the Hindu Shahi wanted to establish an effective defence system in relation to the safety of the region. As a consequence, they constructed a series of forts along the access routes and passes leading to the region. These forts were closely placed on the hills, each holding a strategic location and included watchtowers that could also be used for conveying signals. According to Rahman, the locations, commonality and swift construction of Hindu Shahi sites within the short span of time suggest that these had a military function. Later, Rahman (1979a: 305) proposed that probably the Hindu Shahi withdrew to this hilly region after their defeat in the plains and continued their rule from here for some time.

Scerrato (1985, 1986) carried out excavations on a hill slope below the Hindu Shahi period site of Raja Gira's Castle in Udegram, Swat. He also excavated a Ghaznavids period mosque from where an inscription was found. The inscription bears the date 1048-49 CE for the construction of the mosque by the Ghaznavids. These discoveries were thought to be very crucial and at this time, Scerrato (1986: 57, 59) refers to Raja Gira's Castle, mentioning that local tradition regards this site as the final seat of the last Hindu ruler, who was defeated by the Ghaznavids. Other scholars also speak of the same tradition (Ali and Khan 2007: 188; Sardar 2001: 95; Stein 1927: 434, 437).

According to Olivieri (1996: 45-78), the Hindu Shahi controlled Malakand Agency, Swat, Lower Dir and Buner by constructing a series of forts along the access routes. These forts were established over the hills and were connected thorough watchtowers. According to Olivieri (1996: 73-74) after the defeat of the Hindu Shahi in the Vale of Peshawar by the Ghaznavids, this region became their stronghold and now the Vale of Peshawar was controlled from here. For this purpose, the Hindu Shahi occupied the hills to keep the access routes under close observation.

In this chapter results of the analysis are further discussed to understand where this new information finds its place in existing historical and archaeological frameworks. During the discussion, the present survey data will be compared with other Hindu Shahi sites outside the study region to explore the variations and similarities in the settlements patterns, landscape features and pottery assemblages. The main purpose of this discussion is to address the research question, outlined at the start of this thesis and propose new interpretations about the political activity of the Hindu Shahi at the time of their decline. This study has mainly been accomplished by analysing the distribution of sites, settlements patterns, structures and pottery.

7.3 Proposed sites for the capital centre of the Hindu Shahi after their defeat at Hund

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Hindu Shahi dynasty is said to have ruled from many capital centres at various times i.e. Kabul, Afghanistan, Hund in the Vale of Peshawar and Nandana in Punjab (Ali and Qazi 2008: 10; Azeem 2005: 225, 227; Mishra 1972: 6-7; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a). Based on the historic and the archaeological evidence, majority of scholars agree on the location of Hund as a second capital centre (Ali 2003; Hargreaves 1924; Khan 1995; Khan et al. 2012; Rahman 1978, 1979a). It is believed that Hund was the last stronghold of the Hindu Shahi dynasty before the Ghaznavids forces routed them out at the dawn of the 11th century CE.

Presently, there are different opinions for the potential location of the Hindu Shahi new capital after their defeat at Hund. Ali and Qazi (2008), Masih (2002), Rahman (1979a),

Nazim (1927) and Pandey (1973) believe that after the invasion and capture of Hund, the new capital was shifted to Nandana in the Salt Range of Punjab province. Elliot (1966), Ray (1931) Vaidya (1926) and Khan (1986) think it was shifted to Lahore, the present capital of Punjab. Other scholars (Mishra 1972: 123; Rahman 1998: 462, 2002: 14) note that before the arrival of Ghaznavids at Hund, the Hindu Shahi are said to have retreated to the neighbouring hilly passes and forests, where Mahmud Ghaznavi sent an army and invaded them. Although, the historic sources do not provide further information about these neighbouring hilly areas (Rahman 1998: 472) and it yet remains a mystery.

Khan (1976: 98) is of the view that Jayapaladeva shifted the capital to Bhatinda, modern Patiala, in Indian Punjab state. According to another suggestion, the Hindu Shahi are believed to have retreated to the hilly regions of Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner (the present study region) on their defeat at Hund (Dani 1968a: 31; Olivieri 1996: 74-75; Rahman 1979a: 305; Scerrato 1986: 57, 59; Stein 1927: 437, 434). I will not question the reliability of information particularly about Nandana and Lahore as capitals of the Hindu Shahi after the defeat at Hund, as this is also beyond the scope of the present research. However, I will discuss on circumstantial evidences, that would explore the opinions that referred to Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner (Dani 1968a; Olivieri1996; Rahman1979a; Scerrato 1986; Stein 1927).

7.4 New Hindu Shahi settlement sites recorded during the present survey and their importance from defence and socio-political point of view

A significant Hindu Shahi activity is evident from the wide distribution of 225 sites recorded during the present survey. The results of the present survey have greatly advanced the existing knowledge about the Hindu Shahi and for the first time have thrown light on their settlement patterns and political activity across the study region. There is no mention of the study region in the historic accounts, and thus, the results of the present survey are critical, providing important information about the occupation patterns and the settlement organisation of the Hindu Shahi. The present and earlier investigations (Ali et al. 2009, 2010; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Stein 1927, 1980, 1995) attest to the Hindu Shahi strong presence and considerable

activity in the study region. The number of Hindu Shahi sites in the study region is much higher than the Vale of Peshawar, and Nandana, that are historically known to have remained their main capital centres. The results of the analysis are very important in two ways. Firstly, area C in general while Mayar valley in particular appear to be very critical, showing substantial Hindu Shahi activity, dominating the rest of the study region. Secondly, Hindu Shahi settlements are highly fortified in nature. I will discuss these factors and at last will explore its meanings that how they could be linked with present research question.

In the study region, Hindu Shahi sites are distributed over a large area demonstrating their occupation and utilisation of different geographical zones. In the manner Hindu Shahi sites are distributed across the study region, indicate their preferences and choices, which might have been influenced by several factors. Hindu Shahi sites are mainly concentrated along the access routes that link the study region with the neighbouring regions of Upper Dir, Bajaur Agency and the Vale of Peshawar as well as different areas within the study region. During the early and following historic periods, some of these locations have been used for defensive purposes. For instance, Udegram and Barikot in Swat have been identified with Bazira and Ora respectively, which are believed to have served defensive roles during the Alexander campaigns, and later occupied by the Hindu Shahi (Stein 1927: 417-440; Tucci 1958: 279-328).

During the British period, the Churchill picket at Chakdara, which incorporates walls of the Damkot fort (Hindu Shahi period), was established to keep the surrounding routes leading to Upper Dir and Chitral districts under close observation and visually communicate with the Malakand fort (Dani 1968a; Rahman 1968). Below the Churchill picket, a British period fort (now in utilisation by Pakistani armed forces) was built over the ruins of a Mughal period fort in order to restrict movement between Malakand Agency and Lower Dir (Dani 1968a: 1; Stein 1980: 21). The Malakand fort (currently used by Pakistani armed forces) has also been built above the Hindu Shahi period fort (Dani 1968a: 30).

As outlined in chapter 3, in 2008 the study region came under the strong influence of the Pakistani Taliban and anti-state agents and became their strong hub, from where they operated their terror cells all over Pakistan. In the same year (2008) the armed forces of

Pakistan launched a campaign against them and defeated them. Since then, there is a huge presence of Pakistani armed forces in the study region and many of the ancient Hindu Shahi sites are in use by them to monitor activities and restrict movement between different areas. The survey team was not allowed to document some of these sites.

The distribution of Hindu Shahi settlements with possible purposes of security and defence strategies on the main routes suggest that they probably occupied these key points to monitor and control movements from the neighbouring regions. These arrangements suggest a centralised control and presence of a strong military role for these strategically located sites. These also suggest the involvement of skilled and unskilled individuals and a possibility of a centralised political authority.

In the study region, all Hindu Shahi settlements are either located over the hilltops or slopes (Barger 1938; Dani 1968a; Khan et al. 1995; Khattak 1997; Faccenna et al. 1985; Foucher 1901; Swati et al. 2002). The possibility of finding Hindu Shahi settlements in the plains cannot be entirely ruled out; though, despites several investigations including the present survey, no settlement was located in the plains (see chapter 3). In contrast, in other parts of Hindu Shahi kingdom their settlements are found both over the hills and in the plains. Nandana fort in Punjab, the Balot and Malot forts in Dera Ismail Khan district and Galla fort in Swabi are located on top of the hills (e.g. see Ali and Jan 2005; Khan and Batool 2011; Khan et al. 2003; Masih 2002; Meister 2010a), while Hund and several other sites in the Vale of Peshawar are located in the plains (see Ali 2003). But it is quite unusual that in the study region Hindu Shahi settlements are located on difficult topography and on a considerable distance from the plains, demonstrating a new phenomenon. No such precedent of settlements occupation pattern exists neither during the early nor the succeeding periods.

The location of Hindu Shahi settlements are said to have strong linkages with the supervision of access routes, signalling or communication and the safety of the study region (Dani 1968a; Faccenna and Tusa 1986; Khan et al. 1999; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Rahman 1968, 1979a; Stein 1927, 1995). The location of sites over rough terrain also provides immense natural protection to them. This also gives an upper hand to their occupants to launch an attack or offensive on the potential rivals even if they succeeded in reaching the

main valleys. In that case the enemy could be surrounded and crushed before they could advance or reach to the strategically located defence establishments.

The presence of 217 watchtowers in the form of multiple numbers on 140 sites appears to be the most striking and key characteristic of Hindu Shahi presence in the study region. It is the first time that such a large number of watchtowers pertaining to only one period and notably in a relatively small area have been reported in Pakistan and probably in South Asia. The multi-storeys of watchtowers suggest that they might have accommodated several individuals in a well-secured environment with availability of necessities of life. The various forms and sizes of watchtowers indicate their multi functions and probably have been used simultaneously for military and administrative purposes. Their use for residential purpose cannot be totally excluded, though such aspects could be explored through systematic excavations.

The overall plan of watchtowers suggests their primary role of surveillance and defence. The construction of 3 metres high and relatively narrow doorways with no proper means of accessibility (e.g. staircase) suggest an extremely restricted access (Olivieri et al. 2006: 138; Rahman 1968: 105; Stein 1995: 24). This on hand ensured safety of the occupants while on the other hand gave them full control to allow or decline entry to these structures. The doorways were blocked with strong wooden bars (Olivieri et al. 2006: 138; Stein 1995: 24) to keep these structures protected even if left unguarded or unattended. The location of arrow-slits in different directions over three floors suggest each direction could be targeted from different floors simultaneously and importantly by more than one individual.

Mughal and British period's forts have been located in the study region; however, none of them include such buildings with highly defensive features. Even the Hindu Shahi period sites at Hund, Galla in the Vale of Peshawar, Nandana, Dera Ismail Khan and Kohat do not include such buildings (see Ali 2003, Ali et al. 2005; Dani 1968a, Khan and Batool 2011; Khan et al. 2003; Masih 2002; Meister 2005a). The wide distribution and thick concentration of watchtowers in the study region suggest a different political situation from other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom. It appears both the political leadership and military authorities

recognised a potential threat to the study region and consequently protected it with these highly defensive structures.

These watchtowers suggest surveillance and defensive roles (Barger 1938; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996; Olivieri et al. 2006; Stein 1927, 1980, 1995). They are said to have accommodated soldiers who could have launched concentrated fire over the enemies (Dani 1968a: 31). Rahman (1968: 105) believed that they were used for communication with other settlements through a flaming fire. Their central locations on hills meant to keep the routes and the neighbouring areas under a thorough supervision. The colossal appearance at prime locations yet dominates the surrounding landscape, reflecting the Hindu Shahi power, authority and control in the study region.

The results of the previous and present investigations demonstrate that five networks of the watchtowers were established across the study region forming strong lines of defence; the first three in east-west direction while the remainder two in north-south. One network was established to the south side of Malakand Range between the Kot Agra and Karakar Passes (Dani 1968a; Khattak 1997; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Olivieri et al. 2006; Qamar 2004; Rahman 1979a; Stein 1995; Tucci 1958). The second network was established on the south and north sides of Swat River, covering area between the Pingal and Karakar Passes. The third network was established to the extreme north of the study region between the Panjkora and Swat Rivers including Katkela Pass, Talash and Ouch valleys in Lower Dir and Shamozai valley in Swat. Compared to the first two networks, the concentration of sites is relatively low here and notably these do not extend beyond these areas (Talash and Ouch valleys) (Deane 1896; Olivieri 1996). Deane (1896: 659) believed that the south side inhabitants of Talash and Ouch valleys, Lower Dir were less associated with the north side inhabitants. Rahman (1968: 105) finds this phenomenon quite strange, though he does not provide any clue for this absence. The high concentration of watchtowers over the Malakand Range clearly marks a boundary between the Malakand Agency and the Vale of Peshawar (Dean 1896: 665).

Two networks in the north-south directions were established on the west side of the study region along the Bajaur Agency close to River Panjkora while the second one between the Karakar Pass and Kabal in Swat. Despite variations in number of sites and directions, all

networks included all principal and smaller access routes thus sealing and safeguarding the study region on either side. Their distribution patterns also suggest a well-defined entity, marking territorial limits with all bordering regions. The high concentration of watchtowers over the Malakand Range suggests the Hindu Shahi were more concerned with attacks from the Vale of Peshawar and probably this was the reason for all these elaborate arrangements to ensure the safety of the study region.

Considering the high density and enormous heights of the watchtowers, they dominated the landscape. Their prime purpose was probably to keep maximum vigilance in the study region and efficiently defend it in case of an attack. The wide distribution and dense concentration of watchtowers is of high importance in the study region in particular and in Pakistan in general, appearing entirely new evidence in the history of Pakistan archaeology. Keeping in view the dense concentration and highly defensive features of watchtowers it is likely to suggest that Hindu Shahi established them to protect the study region from further invasions of Ghaznavids, who had already defeated them in the Vale of Peshawar and Afghanistan. The study region is largely known to archaeologists, historians and general public for the wonderful Buddhist art and architecture but not for Hindu Shahi archaeology. However, the earlier and present investigations have brought forth more than 300 watchtowers to light, highlighting its defensive significance. There is high possibility of finding more Hindu Shahi sites and watchtowers, which could broaden our understanding about the period.

Hindu Shahi sites are spread over a large area; though, Mayar valley in area C appears to be highly important. Mayar is a spacious valley providing more space for settlements development, economic, social and political activities. It includes enough plain land for cultivation to meet the needs of the local population without looking for assistance from other areas. It has several water springs and a waterfall, and River Swat flows right in front of this valley. The Hindu Shahi might have exploited these water resources for agriculture and domestic use. River Swat was perhaps also utilised for transportation and seafood. Mayar valley holds a central and convenient location suitable for providing logistic and administrative support to other parts of the study region. Due to its central location, it overlooks the surrounding areas up to great extent in various directions (see section 4.6).

The geographical location of Mayar valley is highly protected by nature. It is situated away from all major access routes and passes and is surrounded by lofty mountains, and Swat and Panjkora Rivers. They all form natural defence barriers particularly from the Vale of Peshawar. Another remarkable feature of the Mayar valley is the finding of 45 watchtowers in the form of several multiple watchtowers. Important buildings with a great range of structures and fortified nature and wider views suggest it was probably the hub for socio-political and economic activities. According to the results of the previous and present investigations, no other locality (where Hindu Shahi sites have been documented) matches to its strength or importance in the study region.

Mayar valley includes highly fortified buildings of military nature. Site 34 is perhaps the most conspicuous site, occupying a very secure location to the northern end of the valley. Currently, new buildings have occupied some of its lower portion, making it difficult to explore its complete detail. However, it still houses great range of features i.e. 17 rooms, two consecutive watchtowers, one pit and eight bastions (see Figure 5.19). This site appears to be very important and distinct in many ways. The construction of its two watchtowers in enclosed chamber suggests that a single occupant was allowed into the chamber at a time, approaching through watchtowers. The pit (located inside the fortified chamber in one of the rooms) was probably used for storing precious objects or basic necessities (e.g. food, water jars) to be utilised for some time in case of an attack. The pottery assemblage from this site also includes 5 different types of rims and potsherds with 4 different designs, making it relatively unique in terms of collection and pottery typologies.

Site 36 appears to be another important site, sharing great similarities with site 34. Both sites (34 and 36) are located on some distance from other sites at quite similar altitudes (see appendix 2). This setting suggests their similar functions and might have provided privacy to the occupants. The attachment of bastions to the enclosed chambers makes them entirely different from the rest of settlements (see Figure 5.18). These distinctions suggest that sites 34 and 36 might have served residential roles for high-ranking political elites, who were probably responsible for operating and managing the affairs of the study region. Other sites 25, 26, 28, 47 and 48 are closely located to the west side of the valley with multiple watchtowers and other notable features. Site 26 includes three consecutive watchtowers, six

bastions and two pits (Figure 5.11). while site 28 four watchtowers and the second largest number of four pits (Figure 5.12). The watchtowers were placed in two pairs at the lower and upper end of the site, suggesting that they worked as entrance to the site. It is the first site to face while reaching the inner valley through a narrow passage. Its dense concentration of structures along with its location at the front line in the valley indicates that it was a strong military site and might have performed administrative function for the political elites. A total of 8 types of rims and 5 designs on the potsherds were also reported from this site, further highlighting its important position in the study region. Site 47 includes the largest number of 5 pits of the study region, suggesting several economic or storage activities at this particular locality (see appendix 3).

Site 48 is situated inside the valley and surrounded by numerous sites on either side (Figure 5.20). Presently, the site has been converted into an agriculture field but the surviving remnants attest to its past glory and strength. Its structures stretch down over the slope reaching to site 26 suggesting that it was possibly a huge site. It also occupies a key location overlooking all sites, access routes and modern settlements in the nearby landscape. It is located on a considerable height from the ground level suggesting that its setting on such elevation and in the centre of other sites with multiple watchtowers had considerable significance and as result it was protected from all direction. Its considerable importance is further attested by the pottery assemblage, including all range of rims' types and the highest number of designs on potsherds. This and its surrounding sites (e.g. 25, 26, 28) and other sites with notable features, both in terms of structures and pottery suggest that they probably served as military and important administrative centres such as the secretariat for the bureaucracy or the ministerial villa, accommodating the political functionaries of the state. However, site 48 appears to be the most important administrative site in Mayar valley as well as in the rest of the study region and might have served a leading role.

Site 40 is another important site of Mayar valley (Figure 5.24). Its 82 rooms, 5 watchtowers are large enough to house a large number of individuals. It is the largest site of the study region in terms of number of structures and the second largest site in terms of size. It holds a critical location at the start of the valley, close to the route linking Chakdara on east and Tauda Cheena on west. This site might have served as the headquarters of an important

ministry such as defence or military. It is the largest fort of the study region, which might have accommodated a substantial number of soldiers. Setting of such a large site with multiple structures at the entrance of the Mayar valley indicates that it was meant to stop any unwanted entry or intrusion to the north side sites (main valley), which appear to have housed high ranking figures. Most sites in Mayar valley are different from other sites of the study region, suggesting to a range of activities.

Below this site (40), a well is located that was probably dug during the Hindu Shahi period. During the survey, numerous water springs were documented around Hindu Shahi settlements. The Hindu Shahi is historically known to have had elephants and horses in their military (Rahman 1979a; Shah 2012). During the excavation at Damkot fort, Chakdara, Lower Dir, Rahman (1968) recorded horse tethering. It is possible that the well here and in Pinjin (also located below Hindu Shahi settlements), were used by patrolling soldiers and those working in the fields and animals that might have been used for transportation and logistic support to other sites. The presence of Hindu Shahi wells in Hund, Swabi and Mardan (Ali 2001; Khan et al. 2012), suggest to a similar situation in the Vale of Peshawar. It is possible that these particular locations within Mayar valley and Pinjin were either short of water or the wells were dug in the plains for convenience. However, these are tentative ideas as we have limited evidence and the location and placement of wells in the landscape need to be explored further and understood.

Mayar valley includes a significant number of 21 pits (54% of total 39). They were probably used for grain and water storage (Khattak 1997: 90; Rahman 1968: 105; Stein 1995: 24-25). Without proper excavations, it is hard to assign any definitive function to these pits; however, their locations on terraces, inside the rooms and at the platform of a watchtower (see chapter 5) suggest their primary function of storage. Considering the highly fortified nature of Hindu Shahi sites, the storage was possibly not confined to the grains and might have been used for storage of weapons, precious and valuable objects, and food, critical for survival of the inmates. The stored objects were secured with stone lids (see section 5.2.4) to safeguard different commodities for emergencies, particularly during threats and attacks. These possibilities are evident from the locations of pits inside the rooms that suggest much restricted access. Mayar valley appears to be highly important in many respects, so it is also

likely that pits were used for storing valuables including monetary which might have been used for running the affairs of the study region. The presence of a large number of pits in Mayar valley suggests that it was a possible centre of power and the abode of political elites and wealthy people. Sites with elaborate pits have not been reported from other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom.

Bastion is another important architectural feature that was documented at forty sites in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir and Swat. The absence of bastions in Buner might have been the result of the limited coverage during the present survey. The Hindu Shahi period bastions have also been reported at Balot and Malot forts in Dera Ismail Khan and Gala fort in the Vale of Peshawar (Ali et al. 2005; Masih 2002). Their distribution and concentration in the study region suggests to a largely symbolic role, giving a majestic look to the buildings and make them distinctive from buildings with no bastions. Their construction required more labour, skills and resources; the presence of bastions on 17 sites (42% of total 40) in Mayar valley and remarkably in multiple numbers (e.g. 5, 6, 8 and 10) is of high importance. The difference in number of sites and bastions from other parts of the study region suggests that Mayar valley was important from socio-political point of view and subsequently was made distinct to show stability in case of an attack and to showcase the power of Hindu Shahi.

The high concentration of non-watchtower sites in Mayar valley and its adjoining locality Tauda Cheena suggests two possibilities. Firstly, they were less significant in terms of their strength, so they were largely developed in area C particularly to the north side, which holds relatively a safe location in the study region. Secondly, workers or servants who might have carried out a variety of jobs at this important locality probably occupied these sites. The same possible conclusion can be reached while considering the high concentration of sites sizes between 16-3000 square meters at Mayar valley. It appears they were primarily used for surveillance and control as well accommodation of soldiers or other workers. The presence of non-watchtowers and the smaller sizes sites also suggest keeping the population nearer to these sites in order to be called and gathered on a short notice in case of a threat, attack or other tasks required by high-ranking figures.

Mayar valley was further augmented with a large number of watchtowers located around it on either side. The high concentration of sites, watchtowers and bastions to the west side of Mayar valley in Tauda Cheena, Qulangai and Matkanai show a close association with it. These sites were established to protect this area (Barger 1938: 109) and the Mayar valley from the Vale of Peshawar via Kot Agra Pass in case of an attack as well support it administrative affairs. Thirteen sites within 3001-9000-square meters' range while four larger sizes sites (9001-45625 square meters) are positioned at key locations at close intervals that allow access to Mayar valley, thus making this area much stronger and secured compared to other passes.

Another thick cluster of sites is concentrated to the north side of Mayar valley to the east and west sides of Katkela Pass (Dani 1968a: 11-12; Rahman 1968: 105). The locations of these sites close to the valley passes that link Mayar valley and Barikao (area C) suggest that probably these valley passes were in use during the Hindu Shahi period. Rahman (1968: 104) believed that Katkela sites protected the route coming from Timergarah while Stein (1921: 28) believed they show more association with the east side overlooking Ouch Valley and areas towards Swat. The analysis of Katkela sites in a wider context showed more association with the route leading from the Swat via Asbanr Pass where other Hindu Shahi forts are located (Dani 1968a; Faccenna et al. 1993; Tucci 1958) guarding this important access route from Swat (Rahman 1968: 104) that further connects Buner and onward the Vale of Peshawar.

Other sites are located to the east and northeast of Mayar valley on both sides of Swat River in Shamozai valley, Darra and close to Karakar and Shahkot Passes, protecting the access routes that link the study region with the Vale of Peshawar via Malakand Agency and Buner (Khan et al 1999; Olivieri 1996, 2003; Stein 1927; Tucci 1958). The locations of these sites also show association with the routes that allow access to area C in general while Mayar valley in particular. Probably the Hindu Shahi established these sites with a considerable number of watchtowers to stop an attack from the Vale of Peshawar proceeding either via Malakand Agency or Buner. The location of settlements around Mayar valley (e.g. Katkela, Tauda Cheena, near Shahkot Pass, Darra) suggest that these were probably important political and social centres and provided support to other smaller or outliers settlements.

The location of lone temple to Gumbat valley away from thickly populated areas such as Mayar valley, Katkela, Tauda Cheena, Darra and so on suggests to keep it probably to the minimum on the face of potential threat to the kind of religious places from the Ghaznavids forces, who had already targeted their numerous temples (see Rahman 1979a). As a result, the Hindu Shahi not only established a single temple in the study region but also in a secluded and naturally protected valley far away from the Vale of Peshawar. The natural strength of the valley was further strengthened with many fortresses (Dani 1968a: 11; Rahman 1968: 105). This appears to entirely a different situation in the study region from other parts, suggesting the Hindu Shahi probably wanted to avoid more anger of the Ghaznavids, who decided to eliminate other religions and introduce Islam in the region. Otherwise, in other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom their temples are located in main or thickly populated areas e.g. the capital cities of Hund and Nandana (Hargreaves 1924; Masih 2002; Rahman 1979a). It is also noteworthy that in other parts, the number of temples is much higher from the study region. The Balot and Malot forts, Dera Ismail Khan include eight and five temples respectively (Ali and Khan 2005; Masih 2002, Meister 2010a). This phenomenon suggests that probably the existence of the Hindu Shahi and Hinduism were in great danger.

The Hindu Shahi involved in conflicts with the Ghaznavids around c. 963 CE, which is historically known to have continued until their decline in 1026 CE (Shah 2012). Several battles were fought between the two dynasties, however, the historical sources suggested that Hindu Shahi were always defeated and their territories were incorporated into Ghaznavids Empire (Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a). This situation probably forced the Hindu Shahi to shift their capital centres from time to time to new locations. It is worth mentioning that these locations are not recorded in the historic sources (Mishra 1972: 129). This absence led scholars to suggest different locations for the Hindu Shahi capitals based on the oral tradition, historical events and the archaeological evidence (see section 7.3 and chapter 1 and 2 for details).

The present study for the first time revealed such a dense concentration of watchtowers and new settlement trends across the study region (see chapter 4 and 5). When the results are compared with other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom, no such parallels are found. This phenomenon suggests that the prevailing political situation was not stable and it influenced

the settlements resulting in a dramatic and drastic change in the settlement history of the study region and Pakistan.

Based on the archaeological evidence Dani (1968a: 31), Olivieri (1996: 73-73), and Rahman (1979a: 305) suggested that the Hindu Shahi shifted to the study region after the invasion and capture of Hund, Vale of Peshawar and continued their rule from here. Until this study, this suggestion has not been investigated in more depth to test the hypothesis of the scholars. The results of the present survey show a significant Hindu Shahi activity and a vibrant presence particularly in Mayar valley and importantly with notable features, appearing the most important location in the study region.

A drastic change in the physical location of Hindu Shahi sites was probably the consequence of the continuous threats and offensives from the Ghaznavids forces. They had to observe constant vigilance, which was only effectively possible where nature also provided them the very secure environment and kept the enemies at a considerable distance. These elements are evident from the geographical and physical location of sites, their high concentration and the sheer number of watchtowers. These features on hand suggest the highly fortified nature of Hindu Shahi settlements indicating their involvement in the conflicts while on other hand larger similarities, suggesting their political involvement in the establishment and organisation of sites.

It appears the networks of forts with multiple watchtowers were developed to keep the area secure from attacks most probably from the Vale of Peshawar. The high concentration and varied nature of Hindu Shahi sites from other parts of their kingdom and other periods within the study region suggests a possible retreat of the Hindu Shahi. Based on the results of the present field survey, it is difficult if not impossible to link a significant number of Hindu Shahi sites with certainty to the Hindu Shahi retreat, especially when the historical records concern with the dynasty and particularly mentioning Nandana their next political centre after the fall of Hund. However, from the above discussion it is very much clear that Hindu Shahi sites in the study region are plentiful and more importantly highly fortified, suggesting a unique occupation in the study region that from the Vale of Peshawar, Nandana and other parts of their kingdom. There could be many reasons or explanations for this phenomenon.

I will discuss some possibilities for this distinct and significant Hindu Shahi activity and will again come back to the issue of their possible retreat to this region.

It is stated that Hindu Shahi had governors who were responsible for the administrative affairs of the respective areas (Masih 2002: 4-5; Rahman 1979a: 147-148). It is possible that the study region might have remained one of the governor seats, and the infrastructure was developed to govern the study region. Though, there is no mention of such political structure in the known historic accounts.

The Hindu Shahi rulers are historically known to have had summer and winters capitals at Kabul and Hund respectively (Masih 2002; Meister 2010a; Rahman 1979a). Around 870 CE, Kabul was invaded and captured by Yaqubi bin Lais (Dupree 1980: 313; Khan et al. 2000: 24). It is possible that after the fall of Kabul, the Hindu Shahi rulers might have established the study region as their summer capital. However, after the invasion of Kabul, no historic source refers to any other location that served their summer capital, suggesting that Hund was the only capital or important centre of the Hindu Shahi kingdom.

After the invasion and capture of Kabul in c. 870 CE, by Yaqubi bin Lais (Dupree 1980: 313; Khan et al. 2000: 24), a Hindu Shahi prince is believed to have come in good terms with the invaders and was made either the governor or king of Kabul (Pandey 1973: 87; Rahman 1979a: 107). Although, the relative lack of Khudarayaka's coins in the Vale of Peshawar suggests that his rule was possibly confined to Kabul valley only, while parts of modern Pakistan remained under the control of anther Hindu Shahi prince Lalliya (Rahman 1979a: 106). This situation suggests that between c. 870 to 880 CE the Hindu Shahi kingdom was ruled by two kings simultaneously, though from different regions. Nandana is historically known to have served the Hindu Shahi capital after the siege of Hund around 1002 CE (Rahman 1979a). It is also possible that after the invasion and capture of Hund, the Hindu Shahi have scattered in different directions. Some ruling class have moved to Nandana while some to Hund declaring themselves autonomous states of their own and two kings might have ruled the kingdom at the same time; one in the study region while other in Nandana. But again, there is no mention of such autonomous states or setting in the known accounts.

The published archaeological material dealing with Nandana hardly speaks of any substantial Hindu Shahi tangible evidence i.e. large settlements or elaborates arrangements needed for a seat of power. It is possible that Nandana might have continued the seat of governor when it was ultimately invaded and captured by the Ghaznavids around 1013-14 CE (Mughal and Nazir 2004: 168). The purpose of this research is not to challenge the historic information dealing with the dynasty. Although, the historians who recorded the Hindu Shahi primarily in relation to the Ghaznavids or the Kashmir history might have missed important events or notable places that were either inaccessible or developed at different times.

The substantial archaeological evidence supports the idea that the Hindu Shahi ruling elites might have preferred to shift their seat of authority to the study region. A clear scenario that emerges after such elaborate discussions and circumstantial evidences, there is a possibility that the defeated Hindu Shahi elites might have established their new seat of power most probably at Mayar valley. It is the most promising and naturally secured valley and most suitable for the purpose in the wake of continuous threats from the Ghaznavids. Its secured geographical location and distinctive archaeological evidence and all other factors critically analysed in chapter 4, 5, 6 and discussed in the preceding paragraphs reinforcing this tentative idea.

This possibility is evident from a wide distribution and dense concentration of Hindu Shahi sites in the study region with highly defensive nature, all referring to the importance of the study region. The present study region was already under the control of the Hindu Shahi even before their defeat at Hund (Bagnera 2006, 2010, 2011, 2015, 2016; Rahman 1979a). There was a greater possibility of retreat to an area that was much secure and already in their control. The Hindu Shahi rulers were probably aware of the natural strength and strategic importance of the study region. The study region is enclosed by high mountains, rivers, providing a natural protection to it on either side. There are few passes, which could easily be supervised, defended in case of an attack. The study region has a considerable plain land and plentiful water resources, which could easily be exploited for agriculture and domestic needs. There is plenty of building materials, which could easily be utilised for construction activities.

The study region was the most strategic region from where they could have easily operated in all directions, without arousing suspicions. The presence of the huge settlements, strong fortified buildings, considerable number of watchtowers throughout the study region make this area more secure and at the time flourishing one for occupation by important personalities. There were no such security arrangements even at Hund and Nandana. Even in case of ultimate defeat, the Hindu Shahi elites would have had many passes through which they could make their escape.

A considerable number of storage pits refer to effective storage facilities. Effective monitoring and surveillance through a large number of watchtowers and other structures at elevated places are other factors that refer to the study region as the most secure and appropriate for ruling elites and common citizens. There was an effective system of visual contact with surroundings and an effective interaction with the people of the entire valley to be gathered on a short call. Despite difficult terrain and few access routes through passes at high altitudes, they could easily operate from here in all directions and could maintain effective interactions with inhabitants of other areas. These considerations make it a potential area to be settled by political activities especially when it was already part of the Hindu Shahi kingdom and when they were facing a severe threat of invasion.

Along with the archaeological evidence, there are historical and oral clues that suggest a possible retreat or at least some activities after the fall of Hund. The invasion and capture of Hund and the entire Vale of Peshawar is clearly recorded in the historic accounts. Though, none of the account refers to the invasion or capture of Swat, Dir and Bajaur Agency at the time of the invasion of the Vale of Peshawar (Mishra 1972: 123). This relative absence of historic accounts suggests that probably Swat, Dir and Bajaur Agency were still under the control of the Hindu Shahi and invaded during the subsequent attacks of the Ghaznavids (Rahman 1979a: 144-146).

A Hindu Shahi period Sarada inscription in the neighbouring region of the study region in Bajaur Agency mentions year 197 of an unknown period (Ali and Rahman 2005: 71; Khan et al. 2000: 15). Rahman (1998) has calculated the unknown era based on a Ghaznavids period bilingual inscription, bearing Persian and Sarada texts. This inscription mentions

completion of a tomb in Hijri year 401 (= 1011 CE) in Persian and year 189 of the unknown era in Sarada (Rahman 1998: 470-73, 2002a: 11). The Hijri is a known Islamic era and on the basis of the Hijri date i.e. 40, Rahman (1998: 473) suggested that 0 of unknown era might have started in c. 821-822 CE (Hijri 401= CE 1011-189= 822 CE). In view of this suggested date, Ali and Rahman (2005: 71) and Khan et al. (2000: 15) suggested that the Bajaur Agency inscription was written in 1019 CE. This suggests to continuation of the Hindu Shahi dynasty after the fall of Hund (c. 1002 CE) in Bajaur Agency. The date of this inscription also corresponds with the suggestion of scholars (Raman 1979a: 144-146; Mishra 1972: 123) who believed a late invasion of Swat, Dir and Bajaur Agency by the Ghaznavids. This information shows much late occupation of the Hindu Shahi in Bajaur Agency. Bajaur Agency has received little archaeological attention and at present only seven settlements have been associated with the Hindu Shahi period (Ali and Rahman 2005; Rahman 1997); however, further studies could throw more light on the Hindu Shahi activity in this region.

Another important information comes from a Ghaznavids period inscription, mentioning the construction date 1048-1049 CE of Ghaznavids period mosque in Swat (Khan 1985; Rahman 1988; Scerrato 1985, 1986). It is believed that the Ghaznavids constructed this mosque at the time of their invasion of Swat in order to mark their control and authority in this newly invaded region (Faccenna et al. 1985: 439). The date of this inscription is very important, it on one hand pushes the history of the Hindu Shahi to at least 1048 CE as believed by Faccenna et al. (1985) while on the other hand marks the invasion of Swat by the Ghaznavids nearly five decades later of the Vale of Peshawar (i.e. 1002 CE). If this is true, it certainly contradicts with the historic accounts mentioning 1021 CE (Kalhana) and 1026 CE (Stein 1900) for the decline of the Hindu Shahi.

After the invasion of Peshawar city, Mahmud Ghaznavi marched towards the Hindu Shahi capital centre of Hund and captured it after a brief resistance (Dani 2001a: 9-10). Historically, it is known that before the arrival of Ghaznavids at Hund, the Hindu Shahi retreated to the neighbouring hilly passes and the forests, where Mahmud Ghaznavi sent an army in their pursuit (Mishra 1972: 123; Rahman 1998: 462, 2002a: 14). Although, the historic accounts do not furnish further details. Considering this reference, the present study region is located much closer to Hund as compared to other neighbouring hilly regions and

it is probably the most naturally secured and hilly neighbouring region. This historic reference also somewhat supports the Hindu Shahi retreat to the study region and cannot be fully ignored.

Stein (1927: 437, 434), Scerrato (1986: 57, 59), Sardar (2001: 95), Swati (1998: 90), Ali and Khan (2007: 188) also refer to the Raja Gira's Castle, noting that local tradition regards it the final seat of the last Hindu ruler, who was defeated by the Ghaznavids. During the present survey, locals clearly differentiated the Hindu Shahi and the Buddhist sites. Throughout the study region, the locals called the Hindu Shahi period sites as 'Kafiri Manrai'. Kafiri or Kafir means infidels. When they were asked about the meaning of 'Kafiri Manrai', some interpreted it as infidel's palace while some as infidel's forts. Additionally, throughout the study region, locals also speak about the battles of 'Kafirs' (infidels) and the Ghaznavids. As noted in chapter 1, the study region is presently occupied by one of the Pathans tribes i.e. the Yousafzai, who settled in this region around 1500 CE after expelling another local Pathan tribe the Swatis to Hazara (Ali and Khan 1998: 188; Hay 1934: 236; Khan 1993: 17; Khattak 1997: 31, 45). It is possible that all of Swatis were not expelled and the tradition appears to have passed from generation to generation or that the oral tradition continued even after the replacement of local population by the Yousafzai. The narration of the fights between the Kafirs or infidels and the Muslim armies of the Ghaznavids is an important part of the Muslim identity of the present population of the north-western Pakistan. During the survey, Deane (1896: 659) was also informed by locals about the Ghaznavids and Kafirs battles in Ouch valley in Lower Dir.

There are archaeological, historical, inscriptional and oral traditions that support the suggestion of the earlier scholars (Dani 1968a; Olivieri 1996; Rahman 1968) regarding the Hindu Shahi retreat to this region. During the course of analysis, similarities were observed in almost all respects. Throughout the study region, Hindu Shahi sites are concentrated along the access routes and passes showing similarities in distribution patterns. All of their sites are located on hills at quite similar elevations and heights from the surrounding ground levels. Hindu Shahi sites equally occupy strategic locations across the study region, showing similarities in their location and possibly their functions. Throughout the study region, Hindu Shahi watchtowers were built in quite similar details with few exceptions that were

constructed in various forms or orientations that probably have had some association with the social or political prestige of the sites and their occupants. However, no major difference was observed in the sizes and heights of doorways from the ground surface or other features on upper storeys. The upper stories were equipped with arrow-slits in various directions in similar patterns and sizes. Analysis of the pottery shows similarities, where certain rims types and designs are distributed in all or most parts of the study region. A large number of similarities appear to be highly important, suggesting that these sites were probably developed under the guidance and supervision of a central political authority who were most likely involved in their planning, funding and management.

The difference in number of watchtowers was possibly associated with the strategic and socio-political importance of the respective sites or localities. Throughout the study region, Hindu Shahi sites have been constructed with a similar rough masonry, suggesting mainly their military function (Dani 1968a: 3, 31). They were probably developed within a short span of time (Rahman 1968: 105) and in haste to meet the requirement of the Hindu Shahi and those associated with them. Pits also demonstrate great similarities in locations, shapes and sizes.

In Pakistan, Hindu Shahi sites have been identified through dynastic coins, inscriptions, temples, architecture and artefacts. They are entirely different from the Buddhist period sites, which largely include richly decorated stupas, monasteries and iconography. Additionally, Hindu Shahi sites do not share any resemblance with the post periods such as Ghaznavids, Mughals and later sites. These characteristics separate the Hindu Shahi period sites from the other periods; however, systematic excavations are critical to further confirm their identification and association with the dynasty and gain an idea about their chronology.

Ghaznavids involved in battles with the Hindu Shahi around 963 CE and defeated them on several occasions including at Hund around 1002 CE (see chapter 2, Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a). The Hindu Shahi probably already knew their position that they are unable to stop the Ghaznavids invasion of their kingdom. Perhaps, they also knew the intention of further advancement of Mahmud Ghaznavi invasion of Punjab in Pakistan and the mainland India, for which he undertook seventeen campaigns (Dupree 1980: 314;

Pandey 1973: 103). The widespread distribution and high concentration of Hindu Shahi sites over the Malakand Range was probably a deliberate effort to seal the whole strip along the Vale of Peshawar to ensure the safety of the study region. If not the case, one may ask why the Hindu Shahi would need to draw such an obvious boundary between the two regions, which were already in their possession. This demarcation probably happened when the Vale of Peshawar was captured while this region was still under the control of the Hindu Shahi, as result they occupied all access routes to protect it from further Ghaznavids inroads and invasion (Dani 1968a: 30).

The construction of sites and watchtowers over a rough terrain and high altitudes might have been extremely challenging in many respects. This includes financial resources, workforce (both skilled and unskilled), expertise, building and bonding materials, selection of sites, provision of access and provisions for sustenance. Such an extensive distribution and dense concentration possibly could not have been established without the financial support of a state and a central political authority. As chapter 2 explains that Hindu Shahi paid hundreds of kilograms of gold, silver, many worthy necklaces, hundreds of elephants, huge amounts in both cash and coins in treaties, ransoms and plunders (Ali 1999a: 278; Mishra 1972: 120, 123, 139, 149-154; Nazim 1927: 495; Pandey 1973: 105, 242; Rahman 1979a: 153-157). They had also employed a huge force in battles with the Ghaznavids (Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a; Shah 2012). This suggests that the Hindu Shahi were economically very strong and execution of such mega projects with abundant resources and huge workforce at such a critical time was not an impossible task for them.

Hindu Shahi with substantial work force and human power and skills could not have decided to shift the seat of power to an area that was under potential threat. As a result, they probably preferred to invest the available resources and expertise in an organised defence system rather losing it to the Ghaznavids, who had decided to eliminate them and their religion from this region. Therefore, the new archaeological evidence of Hindu Shahi based on similarities suggest that sites were developed over a short period of time and possibly during their retreat. The earlier scholars failed to investigate the period in more detail and gain more understanding of Hindu Shahi settlement patterns and activity neither before independence nor after independence of Pakistan.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has presented interpretations of Hindu Shahi sites recorded in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Buner and Swat. During the analysis and the discussion, comparisons were made with other Hindu Shahi sites beyond the study region, which showed variations in many respects. In the study region Hindu Shahi sites are concentrated along the access routes, occupying strategic locations over the hills, suggesting a firm control of all key points that may give access to the study region. The hill fortification during the Hindu Shahi period is an entirely new trend in the study region and the Pakistan. A high concentration of Hindu Shahi sites and watchtowers across the study region indicate a considerable and unparalleled Hindu Shahi activity and their possible involvement in the development and administration of these sites. The highly fortified appearance of sites suggests a severe threat to the Hindu Shahi regime which separates this region from other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom. Within the study region, area C in general while Mayar valley in particular appears to be entirely distinct in geographical location, sites and watchtowers density, pottery types and all other associated details. Mayar valley might have been the core area of the study region during the occupation of the Hindu Shahi. These distinctions were interpreted and linked to the possible retreat of the Hindu Shahi to this region, and were further supported by historical, inscriptional and oral traditions.

Chapter 8 Conclusion and Future Work

8.1 Introduction

This study presents the results of the systematic landscape survey carried out in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. The main aim of this study was to explore the Hindu Shahi period settlements and gain insights into their activities and the political position of the study region. This is the first time that landscape survey has been carried out in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Pakistan as a tool for understanding a specific chronological and historical dynastic period. The survey proved to be very useful and brought forth a great deal of new, comprehensive information about Hindu Shahi settlements, occupation and activity. During the survey, detailed data of the Hindu Shahi period was collected and recorded. Its analysis has allowed me to propose new interpretations about the period based on the original archaeological evidence.

8.2 Thesis Summary

In chapter 1, I introduced my research questions i.e. exploring Hindu Shahi settlements with the aim to gain an insight of their activity and the possible political position of the study region during their occupation. The chapter also included archaeological evidence and understanding of the earlier researchers who associated the Hindu Shahi political shift or retreat to this region after the invasion of the Vale of Peshawar in c. 1002 CE by the Ghaznavids. The present research question was developed to test the hypothesis of earlier researchers regarding the Hindu Shahi shift to this region through archaeological evidence as well as seeking help from inscriptions and historic accounts.

In chapter 2, the existing historical and archaeological knowledge about the Hindu Shahi dynasty was discussed. This showed that the Hindu Shahi dynasty was primarily discussed by Muslim and Kashmiri historians (i.e. Alberuni and Kalhana) in relation to Ghaznavids and Kashmiri kings. As a consequence, only patchy and inconsistent information is available about the dynasty political history, leadership, form of organisation, social and economic aspects. The historic sources do not furnish satisfactory information about the Hindu Shahi

political structure or position (different levels of hierarchy or types of political centre's) and territorial limit. Due to these factors, their numerous aspects are either largely unknown or ambiguous.

While presenting the earlier recorded archaeological evidence, the Hindu Shahi period structures, coins, artefacts and inscriptions demonstrated various scales of activity across Pakistan. The distribution and different types of Hindu Shahi structures and sites in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner Districts were thought to be highly significant and distinct from other parts. Since there is no mention of these areas in known historic accounts, the presence of Hindu Shahi material culture was thought to be highly significant. However, compared to other periods (e.g. Buddhist), the Hindu Shahi period has received relatively little archaeological attention both in the study region and beyond. Most of the Hindu Shahi period material culture was reported through general surveys and multi-period sites' excavations focusing on other research aims. Their temples have been studied (e.g. in Dera Ismail Khan and Nandana) in terms of their decoration and structural features (e.g. Masih 2002, Meister 2010a) but their settlements have largely remained neglected.

There is no example of excavation of an explicit Hindu Shahi settlement and its material culture. Therefore, throughout the Pakistan, Hindu Shahi sites have been assigned to the broad dynastic period i.e. 9th to 11th Century CE (c. 822-1026 CE). According to the results of the previous investigations, the Hindu Shahi material culture demonstrate geographical differences, which in turn suggest the development of sites possibly at different times. Despite this, most of the scholars appear to have been influenced by the historic information and the similarities of Hindu Shahi temples thus proposing a broad dynastic period. In contrast, scholars have given little attention to the details of sites, coins, inscriptions and pottery that could have been useful for understanding the developmental and chronological phases of different areas and political scenarios.

In chapter 3, the previous archaeological investigations carried out in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir and in Swat and Buner in general were highlighted to gain an idea about the current state of Hindu Shahi archaeological work. This showed that like other areas in Pakistan, Hindu Shahi sites have been reported through unsystematic general surveys and

multi-period sites' excavations principally conducted for exploring Alexander's route, Gandhara Grave Culture, Buddhist sites and the cultural profile of the study region (Ali et al. 2009, 2010; Dani 1968a; Deane 1896; Khan et al. 1999; Khattak 1997; Stein 1927; 1980; 1995). This discussion indicated that majority of scholars focused on certain parts within the study region while the larger area remained archaeologically unknown. For this reason, the present systematic landscape survey was conducted to collect and document a great range of information from a wider region and analyse it in consideration to the landscape features i.e. (passes, rivers, mountains and so forth) and gain a broader understanding of the dynasty settlements, controlled area and type of activity.

Chapters 4 covered the analysis of Hindu Shahi sites in the landscape, investigating their geographical distribution, physical location, elevations and the settlement patterns. The results showed a substantial Hindu Shahi presence and activity across the study region. It was observed that Hindu Shahi sites are concentrated along the key access routes, occupying central locations over the hills, and sharing similarities throughout this region. This is first time that such an organised pattern of Hindu Shahi occupation has been brought to light. This suggests their engagement in the sites selection, establishment and management and in the possible conflicts or threats from the neighbouring regions. The results demonstrated that the Hindu Shahi primarily occupied the hills, while no settlement was located in the plains. This phenomenon emerged an entirely new trend in the settlement history of the study region and in Pakistan resulting in a totally different Hindu Shahi occupation here. The results also revealed a much higher concentration of Hindu Shahi sites from other parts of their kingdom even the Vale of Peshawar and Nandana, which are believed to have been their major capital centres. This tremendous Hindu Shahi evidence and presence in the study region particularly in the absence of historic narrative appears to be of great importance, suggesting probable gaps in the historic information and timeline.

Chapter 5 covered the analysis of Hindu Shahi structures and site sizes. The structures included watchtowers, bastions and pits. It is worth explaining, that watchtowers and pits are only found in the study region whereas in other parts they are missing, suggesting a different way of life of the Hindu Shahi in the study region. A total of 217 watchtowers were documented in all parts of the study region with highly defensive features. Such a large

number of watchtowers with many security features have not been reported either of the pre or post Hindu Shahi periods. This information is critical, throwing important light on Hindu Shahi activity and the prevailing political situation in the study region during their occupation. The similar plans of the watchtowers indicated the development of settlements within a short span of time and the nature of Hindu Shahi rulers or elites' involvement in the settlement planning, establishment and management. It also indicated a threat to Hindu Shahi regime, alluding to their primary concern of invasion (s) of the study region from neighbouring regions, particularly from the Vale of Peshawar. The dense concentration of watchtowers, multiplicity and their various forms characterised different sites and areas socio-political significance within the study region.

During the present survey, bastions were reported at certain localities suggesting structural strength and symbolic character. Considering their similar location of sites and watchtowers over the hilltops and slopes, bastions were probably meant for symbolic manifestations of the power and role of Hindu Shahi. Watchtowers and other structures with bastions might have been a reflection of social, political or economic position of the inhabitants. The construction of elaborate pit structures was another unique and important feature, built in oval and rectangular shapes on sites. Their similar sizes suggested a possible storage function; though, their varied locations inside the rooms and watchtowers suggested to a more restricted access to these pits. These considerations indicate that pits were probably used for storage of water, grains, weapons and other precious or wealth related objects for utilisation in times of attack or blockade. The pits presence on Hindu Shahi sites only in the study region suggests the developments of Hindu Shahi sites probably at a different time from the other areas and demonstrates their different way of life, which might have been influenced by the prevailing political situation, and imposition of warfare by the Ghaznavids.

Chapter 6 covered a preliminary analysis of the pottery collected during the survey for this research. Almost all of the pottery appeared to be wheel made, red ware and medium in texture. The collected assemblage consisted of storage jars, bowls, water pitchers, bowls, goblet neck, handles, bases, lids, saucers. Although, it largely included the storage jars and water pitchers that might have been linked with the water and food transportation, storage and management. During the analysis, a total of 9 types of rims and potsherds with 10

designs were reported. Certain types of rims and potsherds were widely distributed and were found on all or most of the surveyed sites, showing huge similarities across the study region. Most of the rims types and decorative motives were found in area C and notably at a larger number of sites. Area C was followed by area D and E, whereas area A and B appeared to be much poorer in terms of pottery types, including a limited number of varieties. These variations were possibly associated with the socio-economic or socio-political importance of some sites and areas.

In chapter 7 the results of the analysis (carried out in 4, 5 and 6) were discussed. During the course of discussion, the survey data was compared with other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the similarities and differences and to explore whether such information indicate any significant Hindu Shahi activity which could be linked with their possible shift to the study region or otherwise.

After a thorough analysis of the archaeological data, inscriptions and historic accounts, I have offered some new explanations and interpretations about the possible Hindu Shahi activity in this region. This study thus presented archaeological evidence in the landscape and wider regional contexts well beyond this region. This approach brought forth new understanding about the Hindu Shahi activity and chronology in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner Districts which were largely unknown before this study.

8.3 New model of Hindu Shahi settlements and activity in the study region

The primary aim of this research was to conduct a systematic landscape survey in the study region (where relatively little work was done in the past) to explore Hindu Shahi settlement patterns and extent and to gain information about the kind of activity of the Hindu Shahi and the political status or position of the study region during their occupation. A total of 225 sites were documented during the present survey in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner Districts; making this region the first and most densely populated region in terms of Hindu Shahi presence and activity.

The results of the survey have greatly contributed in understanding the Hindu Shahi geographical distribution, settlement patterns and type of sites across the study region. The

results have also shown considerable Hindu Shahi tangible evidence, which helped me in understanding the sort of activity and way of living that were largely unknown before this study. These results have also thrown important light on the possible chronology of the Hindu Shahi placing their occupation in a wider context. This was mainly achieved by comparing the present survey data with other published sites outside the study region. For more thorough consideration, additional help was sought from the relevant historic accounts, the Hindu Shahi and Ghaznavids inscriptions from Bajaur Agency and Udegram, Swat respectively. This multi-layered analytical approach pointed out some possible chronological gaps in the history of the Hindu Shahi.

Kalhana records 1021 CE (Stein 1900) while Alberuni 1026 CE (Sachau 1964) for the decline of the Hind Shahi. The date of the construction of Ghaznavids mosque in 1048-49 CE and the very varied nature of Hindu Shahi sites in the present study region from other parts suggest their rule and survival here at least until c. 1048 CE (Khan 1985; Scerrato 1985, 1986). Despite the unprecedented, significant and substantial Hindu Shahi infrastructure none of the historic sources have referred to this region during or after the Ghaznavids invasion of the Vale of Peshawar. The Sarada inscription date i.e. 197 from Bajaur Agency, which is believed to have been written in 1019 CE, suggest a chronological later Hindu Shahi continuation, or possible end, of occupation here than the Vale of Peshawar and Nandana, which were invaded and captured by Ghaznavids in c. 1002 and 1013 CE respectively.

The Vale of Peshawar (Hund), remained a stronghold and capital centre of Hindu Shahi for approximately 132 years (from c. 870 CE to 1002 AD). However, despite its huge size and intense archaeological investigations (see e.g. Ali 2003), it does not house a significant activity as compared to the study region. Similarly, Nandana is historically known to have been their next seat of power after the fall of the Hund. The available archaeological evidence from Hund and Nandana is far smaller than the study region. In the absence of any scientific datasets, these areas have been assigned to a broad dynastic period (i.e. 9th to 11th CE) where Hindu Shahi sites are located both over the hills and the lower plains. In contrast, Hindu Shahi sites in the study region are located only on the hills and primarily concentrated along the access routes that links the neighbouring regions. These distinctions from other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom suggest a new political phenomenon in the study region.

Viewing the history of the Hindu Shahi from the historical accounts, there is no mention of invasion of any part of the study region or the neighbouring region of Bajaur Agency at the time of the invasion of the Vale of Peshawar. Scholars believed that the study region and the Bajaur Agency (neighbouring region) were invaded by the Ghaznavids during the subsequent raids (Raman 1979a: 144-146; Mishra 1972: 123). This suggestion is greatly supported by the Ghaznavids inscription mentioning the construction date i.e. 1048-49 CE of Ghaznavids mosque (Khan 1985). The Ghaznavids are believed to have constructed it at the time of their invasion of Swat, marking their victory in this region. Sarada inscription from Bajaur Agency bearing the date197of an unknown period is believed to have been written in 1019 CE. If the proposed date is correct, the late occupation of the Hindu Shahi in this region cannot be fully excluded. This date of the inscription also corresponds with the suggestion that Bajaur Agency and parts of the study region were invaded after the Vale of Peshawar during the subsequent attacks of the Ghaznavids (Mishra 1972; Raman 1979a).

Raja Gira (a corrupt form of Rajagarh i.e. the capital) is considered, though without valid archaeological and historical arguments, as the last seat of the local Hindu ruler who was defeated by the Ghaznavids (Ali and Khan 2007: 188; Rahman 2011: 23; Sardar 2001: 95; Scerrato 1986: 57, 59; Stein 1927: 434, 437; Swati 1998: 90). According to a local tradition, the Ghaznavid forces were led by Pir Khushal Baba, who was buried just beneath the Raja Gira's Castle (Stein 1927: 435). These are important sources that indicate the late invasion of Swat and the encounters of the Ghaznavids and the Hindu Shahi in this region.

The study region includes only one Hindu Shahi temple while in other parts (e.g. Dera Ismail Khan and Nandana) they are found in multiple numbers. This drastic change in the type of sites appears to have been the result of possible threat and invasion of the Ghaznavids, who were determined to introduce Islam. These considerations might have forced the Hindu Shahi to establish a lone Hindu temple (only evidence until this study) in a remote and isolated Gumbat valley (area E) to the extreme north of the study region away from the Vale of Peshawar.

The choice of the landscape setting of Hindu Shahi sites in relation to their size varied within the study region; small sizes sites within 16-3000 square meters' range were mainly located

along the Swat River while areas near the neighbouring regions and the access routes were largely avoided. The possible reason of this seems to have some safety concerns, as they were comparatively weak due to their small sizes with few structures. The second category of sites i.e. 3001-9000 square meters showed larger similarities in their geographical distributions and number of structures. Each area which provided access to the study region from either side included at least one site and with more than 20 structures. These similarities indicated their defensive role in their respective areas and these were probably established to stop unwanted entry into the study region in case of an attack. Their large presence along the Vale of Peshawar and locations close to access routes highlighted the Hindu Shahi's fear of an attack from this direction. The larger sites between 9001-45625 square meters were primarily found along the Swat River in area C, holding key locations close to Kot Agra and Pingal passes that link the Vale of Peshawar and Bajaur Agency respectively. They were probably established to protect area C in the study region, which might have accommodated important political and social Hindu Shahi rulers or elite figures.

The results of present and earlier investigations show enormous Hindu Shahi archaeological evidence in the study region, highlighting some kind of important activity. The results also show that in the study region the distribution, physical location, elevation, structures and organisation of Hindu Shahi sites are hugely different from all other known areas of their kingdom. For instance, watchtowers and pits have not been reported from any other region outside the study region. Hindu Shahi sites are also different in most details from pre and post periods both within the study region and beyond. These distinctions suggest an entirely different situation in the study region during the Hindu Shahi occupation. There could be many reasons for this situation; however, if we sum up the whole historic information and results of the survey data, the most obvious conclusion could be the retreat of the Hindu Shahi to this region. The study region was already part of the Hindu Shahi kingdom (Mishra 1972; Pandey 1973; Rahman 1979a). The high concentration and locations of sites at key locations with fortified structures suggest that they retreated to the study region after the invasion and fall of the Vale of Peshawar in 1002 CE (Dani 1968a; Olivieri 1996, Olivieri et al. 2006, Rahman 1979a; Scerrato 1985, 1986). The study region holds a secured and strategic location away from the main routes that connect Punjab and onwards India. The Hindu Shahi were probably well aware of the intention of further advancement of the

Ghaznavids and they seem to have settled the study region to avoid further encounters in their way towards Punjab and India.

According to the results of the present analysis, area C in general while Mayar valley in particular appears to be most critical and distinct region for Hindu Shahi presence in the study region, both in terms of its location and archaeological evidence. It holds the most secured and central location within the wider landscape and includes extraordinary archaeological evidence, dominating the rest of the study region (see chapter 4, 5 and 6). The Hindu Shahi might have established their seat of power at Mayar valley and continued their rule from here for some time until the Ghaznavids finally defeated them. This invasion brought the Hindu Shahi dynasty to an end and the dynasty disappeared forever from the pages of the history. However, these are purely tentative and provisional ideas based on the results of the present landscape survey and need to be further investigated and tested through systematic excavations and dating.

The present study is an important contribution towards the Hindu Shahi dynasty archaeology, history and the settlement history of the study region opening new avenues of research through more scientific and in depth studies. The study region is generally known for the Buddhist period, but it is the present research that shed light on the strategic and defensive significance as exploited by the Hindu Shahi rulers and its elites, making it perhaps the most heavily defended region in South Asia at the beginning of the second millennium CE.

8.4 Future work

Through the present research a significant progress has been made in understanding Hindu Shahi settlement patterns in the Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner District. Though, it remains a preliminary study of the Hindu Shahi period. The present research was carried out within constraints of resources, time and in endangered political situation. This work has clearly explored and identified several areas within the present study region, which could be useful for further investigations. Some of these key areas are drawn below.

1. More extensive and intensive systematic field surveys need to the carried out across the Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner Districts to document and collect further Hindu Shahi evidence and gain an insight of their control and settlement organisation i.e. political hierarchy or structure.

2. The neighbouring regions i.e. Bajaur Agency, Mohmmand Agency, Upper Dir and District Chitral shall be thoroughly investigated through systematic field surveys for Hindu Shahi presence. This will give a new insight to the existing information that whether the material culture in these regions show affinity with the study region or otherwise. In both cases, the results will be of great importance and will open new areas of future research.

3. Given the apparent lack of detailed scientific excavations on Hindu Shahi sites, it is recommended that sites (4, 5, 25, 26, 28, 34, 36, and 48) in area C (Qulangai and Mayar valley) while site (123), which is the only temple of the study region, shall be excavated. This may provide new insights into the possible chronology of the study region as well as the position of the Mayar valley.

4. Besides the above sites, other localities shall be investigated through trial trenches. This would enhance our understanding of the sites development and chronology where the material culture will be largely in its actual or original contexts. This might throw light on other new and important aspects of the Hindu Shahi in the study region, which have not been reported till this date. It would enable the researcher (s) to development and propose an updated chronological timeline for Hindu Shahi settlements in this region.

5. Hindu Shahi period Sarada inscriptions from Talash valley (Rahman 1979a) and Ouch valley (Dani 1968) from Lower Dir need to be thoroughly studied, currently held in Dir Museum, Chakdara, Lower Dir. They might bear important information about their social, political, religious and economic aspects. They may also include dates or names of rulers or other notable dignitaries which could be helpful to understand the political history and chronology of the Hindu Shahi in this region.

6. Pits on Hindus Shahi sites are already subject to various threats. It is strongly recommended that through trial trenches their possible purpose shall be investigated and the

resultant material culture shall be collected and studied. This will provide more useful and concrete information about these unique structures, which are only found in this region.

7. The significant and critical role of the watchtower is evident from their total number (217) recorded during the present survey. Due to the growing activities of settlements, agricultural and illegal diggings, archaeological sites in the study region are in great danger. During the present survey, six sites with watchtowers were found intact but in different states of preservation. It is suggested that these and relatively other intact watchtowers shall be properly studied and immediately preserved which can be studied in future with different research questions in mind.

8. Pottery and other artefacts need to be studied in much greater details to gain information about the social, political and economic aspects of the Hindu Shahi. It will help to learn more about the development, chronology and function of sites, which could be helpful to understand the Hindu Shahi period on a much wider scale (structures and artefacts).

Certainly, these are few and only selected research issues that have been identified during the present study. There are several other issues that can be highlighted and discussed, but the most serious concern is the rapid disappearance of sites due to variety of reasons. During the second fieldwork season, several structures were either fully disappeared or faced considerable damage that were recorded during the first fieldwork season. In the manner, in which these sites are vandalised in the study region, it is certain that they would be lost forever in the near future. Archaeological sites in the study region require immediate and due attention to be properly recorded and preserved before they are gone.

8.5 Summary

The present research was carried out with the aim of contributing and understanding the Hindu Shahi period in the study region, which in turn will help to learn more about Pakistan archaeology. During the present survey, suitable and up-to-date systematic techniques have been used for investigating the landscape and settlements. This the first time that such systematic techniques have been adopted and applied in Pakistan, thus making this research an original contribution to the history and archaeology of Pakistan.

The present study has brought forth very informative, fascinating and relatively new results. A total of 225 sites recorded during the present survey in the Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts have shown for the first an enormous scale Hindu Shahi activity. These sites are positioned on the hilltops and high slopes close to the main passes and access routes that allow entry to the study region from the neighbouring regions. Furthermore, they include thick walls and multiple watchtowers with three storeys, providing enough space to house a sizeable group of people. The analysis of sites and the watchtowers largely a defensive role. The sites also include pits which might have been used for storage purpose. Throughout the study region, greater similarities were observed in the geographical locations, elevations, physical locations, structures and pottery, suggesting the development of the sites possibly within a short span of time and under the supervision of bureaucracy or some sort of political patronage and probably at one time. Data also showed differences in types of structures and their numbers as well as in pottery. It was noticed that Mayar valley appears to be highly significant including the largest number of sites, watchtowers and also include a whole range of structures and pottery types.

The Hindu Shahi dynasty is primarily known from the historic accounts; however, despite few hundred sites and gigantic watchtowers, there is no mention of their presence in the study region. In the light of the available archaeological evidence and its varied nature from other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom, it has been suggested that the study region might have witnessed a possible retreat or a similar kind of important activity. It is very difficult if not impossible to determine a possible date for this possible retreat or a kind of activity especially through a field survey. However, the dates of the Ghaznavids period mosque i.e. 1048-49 CE and Sarada inscription i.e. 1019 CE and the varied nature of Hindu Shahi sites in the study region suggest that probably the region was occupied sometime after the fall of Hund in the Vale of Peshawar. The high concentration of Hindu Shahi sites, watchtowers, bastions, pits and pottery types at Mayar valley suggest that it was probably made a seat of power and from here they appear to have controlled the whole study region. The present research has also identified the immense archaeological potential of the Hindu Shahi for future research.

I have successfully addressed my research question through field survey and detailed analysis, which has allowed me to explore and identify a significant Hindu Shahi activity in the study region. The available archaeological evidence itself attests a vibrant and unparalleled Hindu Shahi activity which appears to have been the result of their possible shift or other similar activity i.e. governor seat or seasonal capital (e.g. winter or summer). In the absence of historic narration, the Sarada and Ghaznavids inscriptions from Bajaur Agency and Udegram Swat and importantly the extensive and dense concentration of heavily fortified sites at various intervals along the Vale of Peshawar and major routes largely support the first suggestion. I have also identified the possible contender or possible seat of Hindu Shahi power at Mayar valley, Lower Dir.

Appendix 1

List of the Earlier Recorded Sites of the Hindu Shahi Period in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner Districts

The following is a list of the earlier explored/ published sites (50) of the Hindu Shahi dynasty within Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (the study region), in north-western Pakistan. The list is presented in the form of a table where S. No means the general order of the sites within this list (corresponding to their respective order in the regional maps in my chapters 1-5 where appropriate). Location refers to the respective local areas and the districts where sites are located. Longitude and latitude are the geographic coordinates that specify the east-west and north-south positions in the study region. Information about longitude and latitude was largely obtained through Google Earth, using the scholars' descriptions i.e. name of the area (see chapter 3). I have used this information to create GIS maps (chapters 1-5) for the published sites in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Pakistan primarily for analysis and interpretation purposes. However, due the current political situation in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner, Google Earth does not provide a great range of information about the location of different areas. The Google Earth also does not give a closer look of the regional topography, making it difficult to differentiate the new settlements and archaeological sites. As noted above, this information was mainly obtained with the help of the scholar's narration, so the location (coordinates) of the sites is tentative and approximate.

S. No.	Location	Longitude	Latitude	Author
1	Kot Agra Fort, Malakand Agency	71.7339	34.6006	Dani 1968a: 31
2	Badhshah Dheri, Lower Dir	72.0339	34.7453	Dani 1968a: 11
3	Totakan, Malakand Agency	71.8283	34.612	Dani, 1968a: 6
4	Kamal Khan China, Lower Dir	72.1001	34.7519	Dani, 1968a: 10-11
5	Nansar, Buner	72.2528	34.4932	Khattak 1997: 53
6	Kingargalai, Buner	72.2416	34.5117	Khattak 1997: 53
7	Bampokha, Buner	72.2786	34.517	Khattak 1997: 53-54
8	Landakai, Malakand Agency	72.1424	34.6603	Stein 1927: 435, 1995: 24-25

9	Aladand Dheri, Malakand Agency	72.0162	34.6106	Khan et al. 1999: 8-13
10	Haryankot, Malakand Agency	71.8185	34.4941	Dani 1968a: 31; Rahman 1979a: 277-278
11	Bir-kot ghwandai, Swat	72.213	34.6808	Olivieri et al., 2006
12	Damkot fort, Lower Dir	72.0186	34.6485	Rahman 1968: 103-105
13	Doda fort, Lower Dir	71.7702	34.7043	Dani, 1968a: 11 Olivieri et al. 2006: 130; Stein 1927: 427
14	Karakar valley, Swat	72.2381	34.6639	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
15	Karakar valley, Swat	72.2342	34.6736	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
16	Karakar valley, Swat	72.2498	34.6655	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
17	Karakar valley, Swat	72.2467	34.6686	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
18	Karakar valley, Swat	72.2801	34.6381	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
19	Karakar valley, Swat	72.2718	34.6306	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
20	Karakar valley, Swat	72.2753	34.6243	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
21	Kandak valley, Swat	72.2035	34.6579	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429

22	Kandak valley, Swat	72.2016	34.6582	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
23	Kotah Valley, Swat	72.1618	34.6401	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
24	Kotah Valley, Swat	72.1666	34.6403	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
25	Kotah Valley, Swat	72.1431	34.6484	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
26	Kotah Valley, Swat	72.1549	34.6116	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
27	Kotah Valley, Swat	72.1311	34.6385	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
28	Kotah Valley, Swat	72.1271	34.6315	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
29	Kotah Valley, Swat	72.1343	34.6324	Olivieri et al. 2006: 130-138; Stein 1927: 427-429
30	Zalamkot, Malakand Agency	72.0109	34.5481	Swati et al. 2002: 231
31	Ilam Ghar	72.3632	34.6234	Tucci 1958: 286
32	Dadaharra, Swat	72.2478	34.7345	Faccenna at el. 1993: 263
33	Totano Banda, Swat	72.2257	34.8469	Tucci 1958: 320-21
34	Udegram, Swat	72.2983	34.7536	Ali and Khan 2007: 188; Sardar 2001: 95; Stein 1927: 434, 437
35	Kamala, Lower Dir	71.8222	34.6382	Ali et al. 2010: 141-142; Dani 1968a: 30

36	Katkela, Lower Dir	71.9442	34.7255	Dani 1968a: 10-11; Stein 1980: 21-22
37	Gumbat temple, Lower Dir	71.86391667	34.72677778	Dani 1968a: 11; Rahman 1979a: 280; Stein 1980: 21
38	Nagwa, Swat	72.18861111	34.70016667	Faccenna at el. 1993: 262-263
39	Parrai, Swat	72.2066	34.7027	Tucci 1985: 320-321
40	Shamozai valley, Swat	72.18513889	34.69097222	Faccenna at el. 1993: 263
41	Kafirkot, Malakand Agency	72.1105	34.60816667	Dani 1968a: 5, 30; Deane 1896: 672
42	Malakand fort, Malakand Agency	71.9313	34.5644	Dani 1968a: 5-6; Godfrey 1912: 51
43	Bata fort, Malakand Agency	71.9783	34.6019	Dani 1968a: 6
44	Sogyar, Lower Dir	71.83725	34.63172222	Ali et al. 2010: 141-142
45	Tairoona, Lower Dir	71.8525	34.63913889	Ali et al. 2010: 141-142
46	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	71.805	34.641	Ali et al. 2010: 141-142
47	Ouch valley, Lower Dir	72.0186	34.7305	Ali et al. 2010: 141-145
48	Matkanai, Malakand Agency	71.8546	34.6204	Ali et al. 2010: 141-145
49	Gulababd, Lower Dir	72.0352	34.7142	Ali et al. 2010: 141-142
50	Palai area	72.15794444	34.45960556	Faccenna and Tusa 1986: 477-478

Appendix 2

List of Hindu Shahi sites recorded during the present survey in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner Districts

The following is a list of the Hindu Shahi period sites (225 in total) recorded during the present survey from Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (the study region) in north-western Pakistan. I have presented this list in the form of a table, including important information about the recorded sites. As noted in appendix 1, the S. No, means the general order of the sites within this list (corresponding to their respective order in the regional maps in my chapters 1-6). Location refers to the area or place where sites are situated. The first name in the location column refers to the particular place or locality, while the following names to larger areas (e.g. Mayar valley or Shamozai valley, used for convenience and ease during the analysis and interpretation) and the respective district. The longitude and latitude explanations do not need to be repeated here (see appendix 1). The provided longitude and latitude information (appendix 2) was collected during the present survey with a handheld GPS and shows the exact location of the sites. This information has been used to create GIS maps (chapters 1-6) for the analysis and interpretation of survey data. Other columns contain information about the different structures (i.e. rooms, watchtowers, bastions and pits) and their numbers, identified and recorded in situ on sites during the survey. Blank cells in the respective columns (e.g. watchtowers, pits) mean that the structure was not found on the particular sites. The column of the site sizes provides information about the total sizes (length x width) of the Hindu Shahi. The elevation information is provided in meters and shall be considered in MASL (i.e. meter above sea level). This information was recorded during the survey with a handheld GPS. The main aim of appendix 2 is to provide a great range of information about the locations, structures, elevation and sizes of Hindu Shahi sites to be utilised in the future for advancing the existing knowledge through more intensive, detailed and systematic studies.

S. No.	Location	No. of Rooms	No. of Watchtower	No. of Bastions	No. of Pits	Elevation (in meters)	Site Size	Longitude	Latitude
1	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	8	1			747	4620	71.79121111	34.62664167
2	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	Demolished				728	46	71.79077778	34.6265
3	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	2	1	5	1	800	860	71.79586111	34.62469444
4	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	12	4			911	1680	71.79111111	34.62283333
5	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	10	4	1		892	5070	71.79072222	34.62147222
6	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	Demolished				794	1200	71.79063611	34.623025
7	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	3	1	1		732	910	71.79147222	34.62155556
8	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	8	1	5	1	773	3710	71.79491667	34.62530556
9	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	5	4			841	522	71.79441667	34.62458333
10	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	11				787	594	71.79372222	34.62219444
11	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	2				781	380	71.79222222	34.62144444
12	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	41	1			836	19500	71.79202778	34.62111111
13	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	Demolished				797	864	71.79325	34.62194444
14	Qulangai, Malakand Agency	2	1			734	690	71.79766667	34.61722222
15	Kamala, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	17	8			690	14950	71.82636111	34.64025
16	Kamala, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2				775	180	71.82677778	34.63933333

20	Kamala, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	0	1			681	116.2	71.81969444	34.63813889
23	Kamala, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	6	1	5		814	2500	71.82813889	34.63047222
24	Kamala, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	1				721	15.54	71.82869444	34.63144444
25	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	11	1	4		731	7150	71.88805556	34.65819444
26	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	6	3	4	2	743	5525	71.88730556	34.658
27	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	1	1	4		755	300	71.88775	34.65891667
28	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	19	4	1	4	729	5625	71.88853611	34.65879722
29	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	1	2	1	765	165	71.88669722	34.659475
30	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2				808	55	71.88571111	34.65944444
31	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2				836	54	71.88441667	34.65969444
32	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	1		1	739	340	71.88847222	34.66030556
33	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2				715	54	71.88888889	34.66002778
34	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	19	2	8	1	788	4500	71.90019444	34.67269444
35	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	12	1		2	799	945	71.89730556	34.65786111
36	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	14	3	6	1	795	3825	71.89680556	34.65766667
37	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	6	1			769	360	71.89680556	34.66341667
38	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	1			800	91	71.89647222	34.65441667

39	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	8	2	1	1	832	2838	71.89747222	34.65438889
40	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	82	5	8	2	794	35000	71.89855556	34.65136111
41	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	4	1			769	162	71.89988889	34.65108333
42	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Well				646	2.56	71.90025	34.6535
43	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	4	1			720	630	71.90222222	34.65288889
44	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	1			730	675	71.90275	34.65386111
45	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	8	2		1	775	1302	71.90422222	34.65327778
46	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	1	2		808	682	71.89336111	34.65944444
47	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	8	1	2	1	805	3150	71.8915	34.65891667
48	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	6	2	10		827	27840	71.88472222	34.65577778
49	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	2			740	1092	71.88558333	34.65644444
50	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				744	1080	71.88483333	34.658
51	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				719	247	71.89427778	34.67744444
52	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				722	1320	71.89455556	34.66725
53	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2	1			728	500	71.89375	34.667
54	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				732	680	71.89233333	34.66744444
55	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				757	525	71.89122222	34.66827778
56	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				731	117	71.89288889	34.67722222

57	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				727	330	71.89233333	34.6755
58	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	1			709	312	71.8925	34.66855556
66	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	15	2			817	3600	71.81138889	34.74733333
67	Surayi Payan, Katkela, Lower Dir	4	1			873	2100	71.89455556	34.73636111
68	Surayi Payan, Katkela, Lower Dir	3	1			875	1540	71.887	34.72764722
69	Kagan, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	4				755	300	71.888	34.653
70	Kagan, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2	1	5		773	3000	71.889	34.653
71	Kagan, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	4	1	4		809	525	71.88761111	34.65466667
72	Kagan, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	1				821	864	71.88705556	34.65577778
73	Kagan, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	1	1	2		862	6325	71.88344444	34.65694444
74	Karkarain, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2	1	4		624	6000	71.87902778	34.65744444
75	Karkarain, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	3	1			690	150	71.88044444	34.65222222
77	Darra, Lower Dir	45			1	1272	45625	72.11258333	34.70513889

78	Darra, Lower Dir	4			1	941	750	72.10252778	34.70977778
79	Darra, Lower Dir	3	1		1	893	1350	72.10613889	34.6995
80	Darra, Lower Dir	3				833	450	72.10783333	34.69797222
81	Darra, Lower Dir	1	2			963	900	72.10752778	34.69227778
82	Darra, Lower Dir	1	4			927	5100	72.10141667	34.68727778
83	Darra, Lower Dir	18	1			947	14421	72.10086111	34.68897222
84	Darra, Lower Dir	8	1			863	8400	72.09663889	34.6885
85	Darra, Lower Dir	18	1		2	904	14350	72.09813889	34.68663889
86	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	2	1			791	118	71.89686111	34.65702778
87	Darra, Lower Dir	13			1	867	3696	72.09452778	34.6845
88	Darra, Lower Dir	6	1		1	925	2565	72.09325	34.68505556
89	Darra, Lower Dir	28	1		1	786	27060	72.09355556	34.69255556
95	Inzaro, Lower Dir	12			1	1115	8400	71.81336111	34.67103889
98	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	7	2			827	825	71.96708333	34.71958333
99	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	22	2			1047	12600	71.97280556	34.71880556
100	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	6	1			1005	3600	71.97180556	34.72125
101	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	21	2			1011	9230	71.97008333	34.72180556
102	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	1				1023	100	71.96927778	34.72122222
103	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	1	1			1002	80	71.96202778	34.72461111
104	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	N	2			1037	72	71.96019444	34.72416667

105	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	1				1086	35	71.95322222	34.72305556
106	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	18	1			1112	5390	71.95130556	34.72375
107	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	N	1			1002	44.89	71.95927778	34.73094444
108	Ausakai, Katkela, Lower Dir	2				995	300	71.94802778	34.72540833
111	Charat, Gunyar, Lower Dir	4	1	4	1	842	2400	72.089	34.609
113	Charat, Gunyar, Lower Dir	23	2	2		839	5781	72.07316667	34.60847222
114	Charat, Gunyar, Lower Dir	6	1	1	1	811	2250	72.07813889	34.60994444
117	Barikot, Swat		1			1100	1728	72.2355	34.6753
118	Barikot, Swat		1			1057	3760	72.24238889	34.6691
123	Gumbat Valley, Lower Dir			2		975	10000	71.86391667	34.72677778
124	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	1	1			991	544	71.94893056	34.72580833
125	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	Demolished	1			994	169	71.94775	34.72588889
126	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	Re-occupied				1053	660	71.94197222	34.72530556
127	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	Demolished	1			1007	180	71.93972222	34.72658333
128	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	Demolished				1053	1218	71.93902778	34.72536111
129	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	12	2			1141	5610	71.93838889	34.72344444
130	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	3	5			1094	7150	71.93522222	34.72347222

131	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	28	1			1113	7245	71.93327778	34.72466667
132	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	23	1			1106	5415	71.93225	34.72311111
133	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	2	1			1070	5525	71.93291667	34.72388889
134	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	70				1091	34060	71.92941667	34.72236111
135	Kalu Manrai, Katkela, Lower Dir	7	1			1125	2000	71.952	34.72047222
136	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				707	414	71.89416667	34.65897222
137	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				705	108	71.89469444	34.65886111
138	Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				773	1232	71.89630556	34.65811111
139	Tairoona, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished	1			712	3500	71.8525	34.63913889
140	Tairoona, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				993	204	71.85539722	34.63489444
141	Gumbatoona, Shamozai Valley, Swat		2		1	816	7150	72.18513889	34.69097222
142	Gumbatoona, Shamozai Valley, Swat	Demolished				868	600	72.18283333	34.69155556
143	Gumbatoona, Shamozai Valley, Swat	Demolished				830	400	72.18361111	34.69011111
144	Nagwa, Shamozai Valley, Swat		1			878	180	72.18988889	34.69866667

145	Nagwa, Shamozai Valley, Swat	Demolished				952	5200	72.18861111	34.70016667
146	Nagwa, Shamozai Valley, Swat	Demolished				1073	414	72.18977778	34.70130556
147	Nagwa, Shamozai Valley, Swat		1			996	11200	72.18958333	34.70205556
149	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Swat	Demolished				780	1750	71.88380556	34.65569444
150	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Swat	Demolished				778	567	71.88316667	34.65552778
151	Musa Tangai, Mayar Valley, Swat	Demolished				729	384	71.88419444	34.65341667
152	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	4	2	4		746	1134	71.80441667	34.64902778
153	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	1	1			703	120	71.80677778	34.64997222
154	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Re- occupied	1			698	1008	71.80705556	34.65061111
155	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	3	2			694	825	71.80713889	34.65119444
156	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished	1			673	1036	71.80816667	34.65158333
157	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	Re- occupied	1			812	2555	71.87619167	34.544225
158	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	4				809	510	71.80883333	34.65436111
159	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				860	4800	71.81016667	34.65552778
160	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	4				846	408	71.81043889	34.65538056
161	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	2				878	2800	71.81144444	34.65502778
162	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	2				913	744	71.81030556	34.65613889
163	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir		1			752	2800	71.81027778	34.65327778

164	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				693	945	71.81066667	34.65186111
165	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	12	4	4		665	4320	71.81438889	34.64863889
166	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	2				684	187	71.81513889	34.65036111
167	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	3	2			737	672	71.81541667	34.64933333
168	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Re occupied	1			709	204	71.81597222	34.64666667
169	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir		1			709	1035	71.81325	34.64402778
170	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				971	1900	71.816	34.65222222
171	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				725	7280	71.81377778	34.65197222
172	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				768	2077	71.81291667	34.65266667
173	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				706	1215	71.81322222	34.65136111
174	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	28	2	1		695	23100	71.80786111	34.63969444
175	Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir		2	1		694	450	71.80594444	34.64766667
177	Kafirkot, Thana, Malakand Agency	Demolished				766	8580	72.09766667	34.61208333
178	Kafirkot, Thana, Malakand Agency	17	1			1051	7125	72.1	34.61533333
179	Kafirkot, Thana, Malakand Agency	24	4			939	8400	72.1105	34.60816667
180	Gunyar, Thana, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1	3		857	6000	72.06958333	34.60408333
181	Charat, Gunyar, Malakand Agency	1	2			834	286	72.07911111	34.59836111

182	Parrai, Shamozai Valley, Swat	Terraces	1			863	2800	72.2073	34.7034
183	Charat, Gunyar, Malakand Agency	23	1			895	6420	72.08944444	34.59713889
184	Charat, Gunyar, Malakand Agency	4	1			943	5084	72.08919444	34.60227778
185	Charat, Gunyar, Malakand Agency	Demolished				812	980	72.08463889	34.60363889
189	Gunyar, Malakand Agency	Demolished				955	210	72.06177778	34.60255556
190	Gunyar, Malakand Agency	Demolished				993	30	72.06163889	34.60313889
191	Gunyar, Malakand Agency		1			947	42	72.06055556	34.60716667
194	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	3	4	2	2	788	5520	72.00420278	34.60104722
195	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	5	1			842	2080	72.00357778	34.60065833
196	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	2			851	6300	72.003	34.59997222
197	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	2			894	8280	72.00163889	34.59908333
198	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1		1	887	6650	72.00152778	34.59791667
199	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	5	2			898	4500	72.00094444	34.59672222
200	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1	2		892	7881	72.00088889	34.59561111
201	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	2			990	5580	71.99702778	34.59158333
202	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1			893	3185	71.99886111	34.59108333
203	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1			818	8065	71.99858333	34.58872222
204	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished				804	220	71.99833333	34.58777778

205	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Re occupied	1			825	3978	71.99905556	34.5865
206	Pinjin, Malakand Agency		1			859	234	71.99830556	34.58547222
207	Pinjin, Malakand Agency		4			831	3380	72.00122222	34.58561111
208	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1			830	1568	72.00136111	34.58508333
209	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1			770	1363	72.00241667	34.59422222
210	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Demolished				772	378	72.00272222	34.59488889
211	Pinjin, Malakand Agency	Well				743	2.5	72.00491667	34.59769444
212	Kamala, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				713	2585	71.82655556	34.63852778
213	Sogyar, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				622	4731	71.83738889	34.63119444
214	Sogyar, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir D	Demolished				617	7630	71.83725	34.63172222
215	Sogyar, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir	Demolished				617	6111	71.8375	34.63241667
217	Shalam, Darra, Lower Dir	Demolished				1000	800	72.09897222	34.71272222
219	Shalam, Darra, Lower Dir	Demolished				1068	209	72.10597222	34.71097222
220	Shalam, Darra, Lower Dir	Demolished				992	420	72.10058333	34.71036111
221	Shalam, Darra, Lower Dir		1			965	234	72.09580556	34.70830556
222	Matkanai, Malakand Agency	12	2			806	4560	71.85177778	34.61530556
223	Matkanai, Malakand Agency	3	1			723	264	71.85388889	34.61627778
224	Matkanai, Malakand Agency	1	1			667	108	71.85588889	34.61611111

225	Matkanai, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1			694	1118	71.85919444	34.61608333
226	Matkanai, Malakand Agency	16	2			712	4675	71.86047222	34.61669444
227	Matkanai, Malakand Agency	20	2	6		729	13580	71.86113889	34.61675
228	Mekhband, Malakand Agency	11	2	1		725	10720	71.83041667	34.5495
229	Mekhband, Malakand Agency	Demolished	1			704	1938	71.82852778	34.55033333
230	Barikao, Lower Dir	Demolished				790	234	71.97011111	34.66769444
231	Barikao, Lower Dir	Demolished				826	5301	71.96986111	34.66902778
234	Bhagai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	12				753	1652	71.92022222	34.65077778
236	Bhagai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				660	204	71.91941667	34.64597222
238	Bhagai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				664	2280	71.91844444	34.64761111
239	Bhagai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	12				775	3977	71.91505556	34.65019444
240	Bhagai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				772	1368	71.91469444	34.64933333
241	Bhagai, Mayar Valley, Lower Dir	Demolished				748	5120	71.91525	34.64863889
242	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	Demolished				511	720	71.87309167	34.53812778

243	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	Demolished				605	672	71.874	34.53866667
244	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	19	3			581	5270	71.87397222	34.54008333
245	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	8		1		625	2580	71.87294444	34.54002778
246	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	12	1			620	2656	71.87094444	34.5425
247	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	5				713	560	71.87080556	34.54302778
248	Qaldara, Malakand Agency	Demolished				617	560	71.87091667	34.54316667
249	Qaldara, Malakand Agency		1	4		567	1320	71.87177778	34.54288889
250	Parrai, Shamozai Valley, Swat		1	4		702	5270	72.21734444	34.706925
251	Parrai, Shamozai Valley, Swat	Demolished				795	350	72.2172	34.7047
252	Parrai, Shamozai Valley, Swat		1			802	3120	72.2116	34.7033
253	Parrai, Shamozai Valley, Swat		1			767	1500	72.2066	34.7027
254	Barikot, Swat		1			794	980	72.2497	34.6869
255	Barikot, Swat	Demolished				803	1710	72.2678	34.6835
256	Barikot, Swat		1			780	1500	72.2795	34.6739
257	Barikot, Swat	Demolished				813	532	72.2646	34.6679
259	Qaldara, Malakand Agency		1			759	2800	71.8758	34.5451
260	Qaldara, Malakand Agency		1			735	1200	71.8737	34.5472
261	Qaldara, Malakand Agency		1			748	1188	71.8769	34.5374

262	Pinjin, Malakand Agency		1			988	660	72.0129	34.5845
263	Darra, Lower Dir		1			800	5700	72.08576944	34.68215556
264	Torwarsak, Buner		1			801	78	72.3935	34.5216
265	Torwarsak, Buner		2			815	7800	72.3893	34.5278
266	Torwarsak, Buner	Demolished				846	1645	72.3886	34.5334
267	Torwarsak, Buner		1			853	5200	72.3836	34.5584
268	Torwarsak, Buner	Demolished				812	910	72.3806	34.5307

Appendix 3

Pictures, plans, drawings of Hindu Shahi Settlements and Pottery

Sites and pottery details from the two seasons of fieldwork in Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner districts (the study region). This information is provided in two sections. Section 1 deals with the Hindu Shahi period settlements while section 2 deals with their pottery, primarily pictures and plans/ drawings.

Section 1

Settlements photos

Site 1, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 3, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 4, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 4, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 8, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 9, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 11, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 12, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 15, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 16, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 25, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 26, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 30, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 34, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 48, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 71, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 74, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 77, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 82, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 87, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 88, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 99, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 101, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 104, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 111, Gunyar, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 111, Gunyar, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 124, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 127, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 129, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 130, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 131, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 132, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 133, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 135, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 139, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 142, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 144, Nagwa, Shamozai valley, Swat (Ijaz Khan)

Site 146, Nagwa, Shamozai valley, Swat (Ijaz Khan)

Site 147, Nagwa, Shamozai valley, Swat (Ijaz Khan)

Site 152, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 153, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 155, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 165, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 167, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 168, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 171, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 172, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 174, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 175, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 180, Gunyar, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 181, Gunyar, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 194, Pinjin, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan

Site 195, Pinjin, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

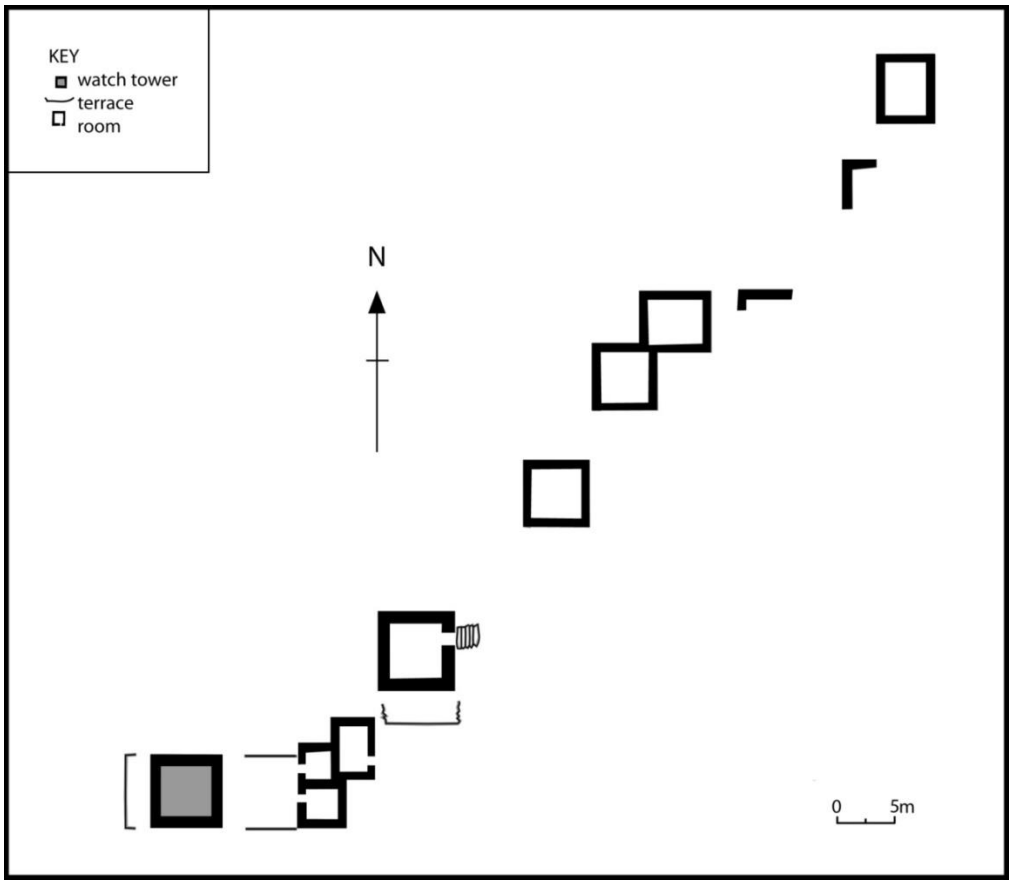
Site 214, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 222, Matkanai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

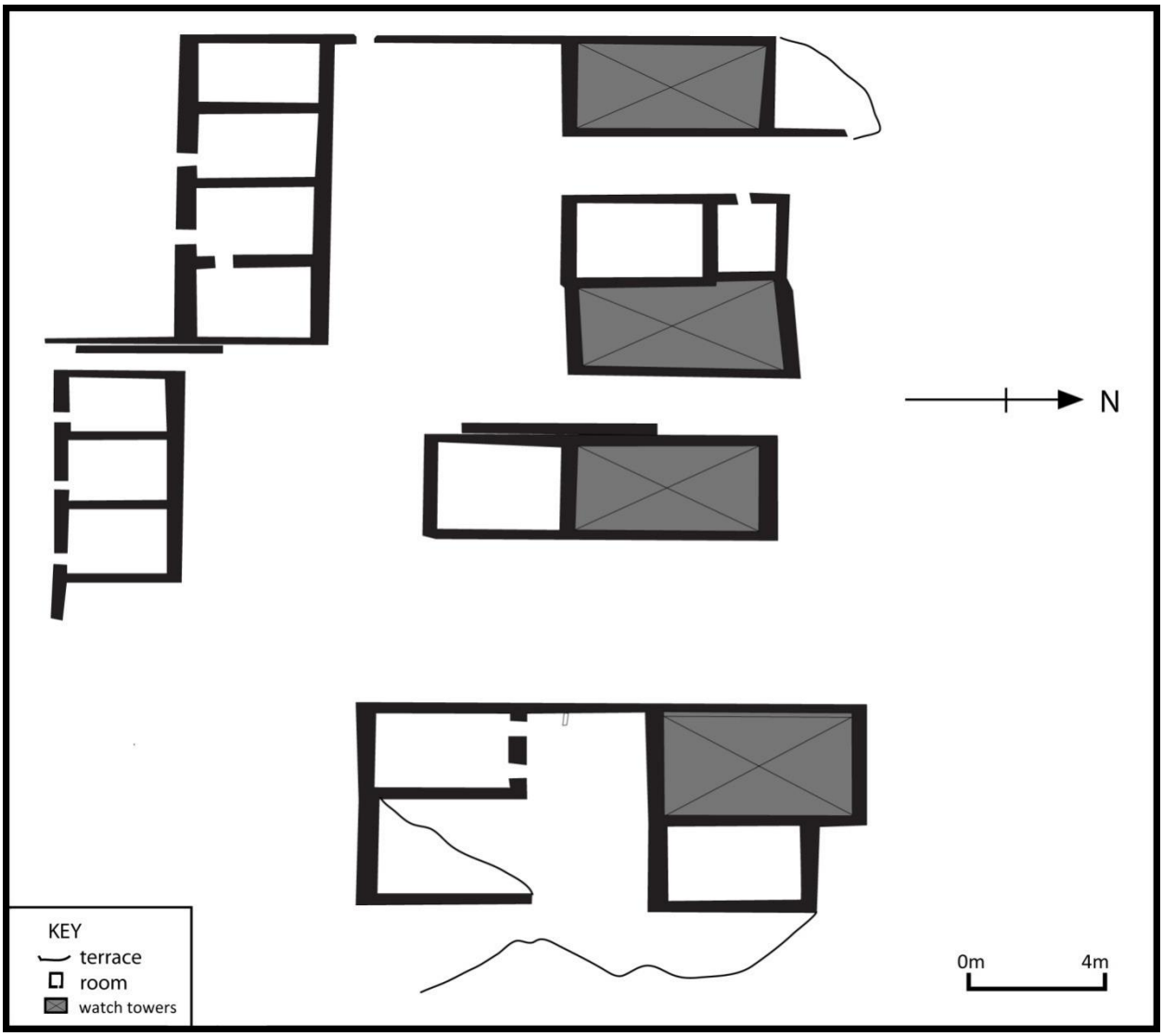
Site 228, Mekhband, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 247, Qaldara, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site sketches/ plan



Site 1, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)



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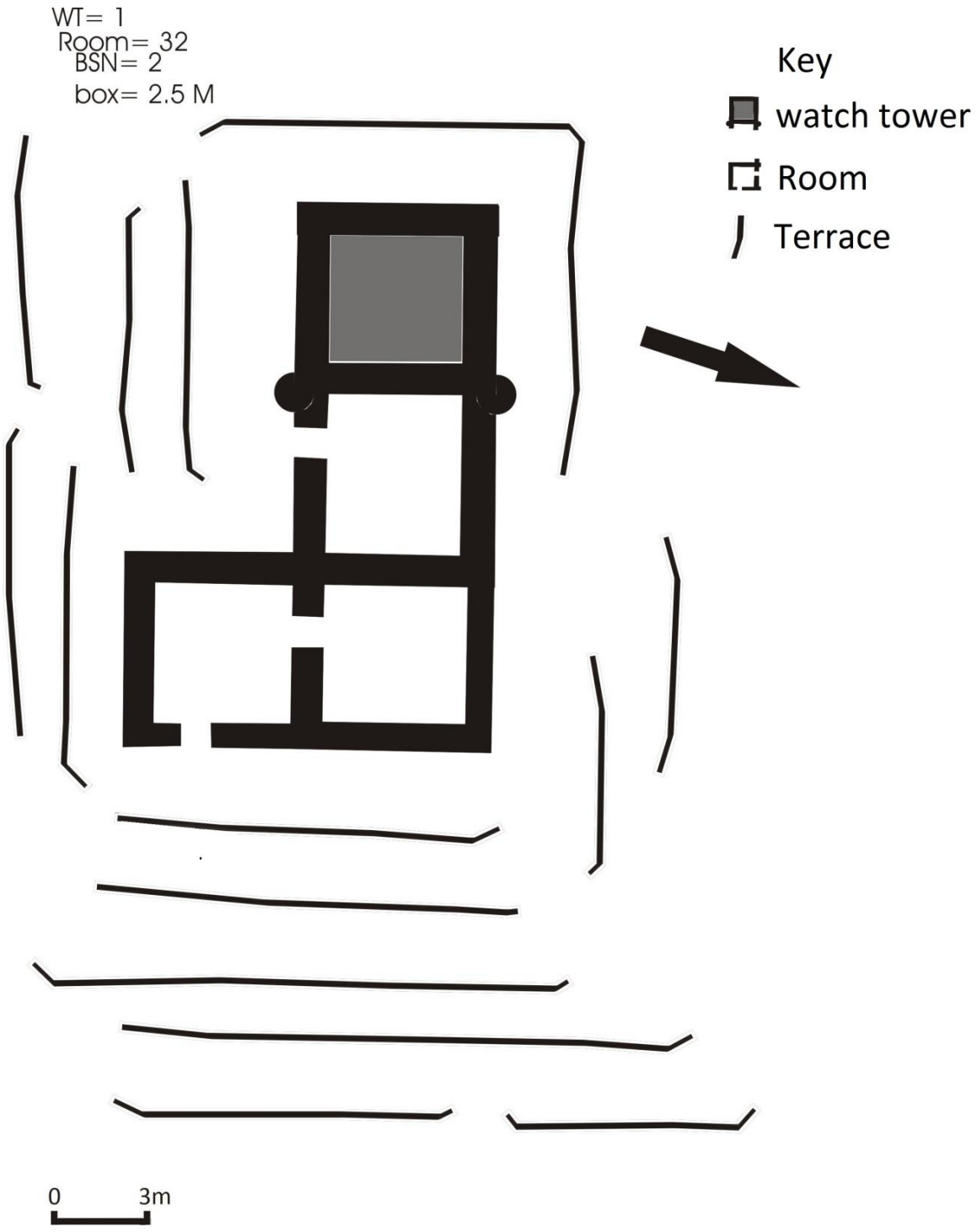
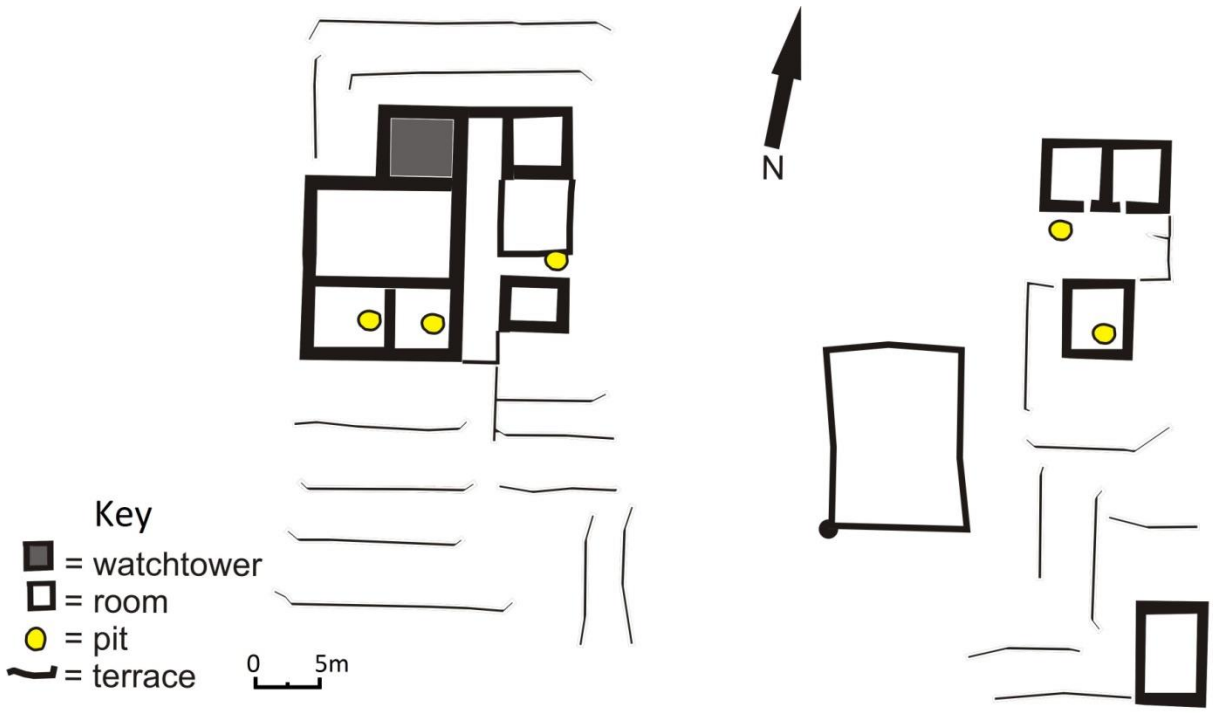
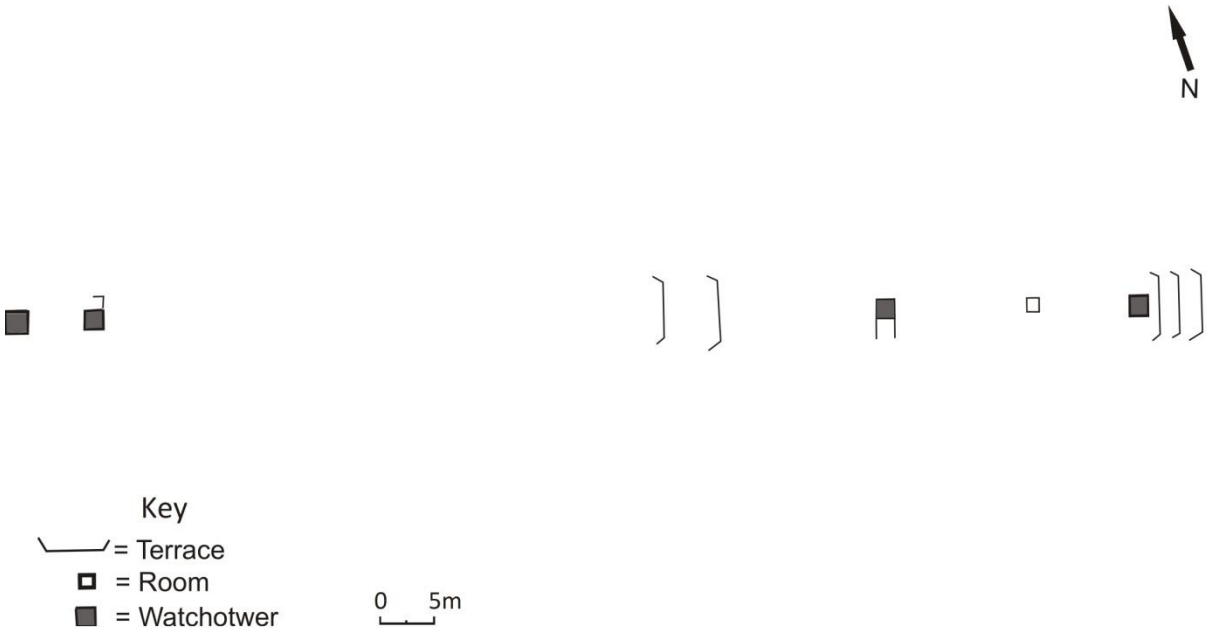


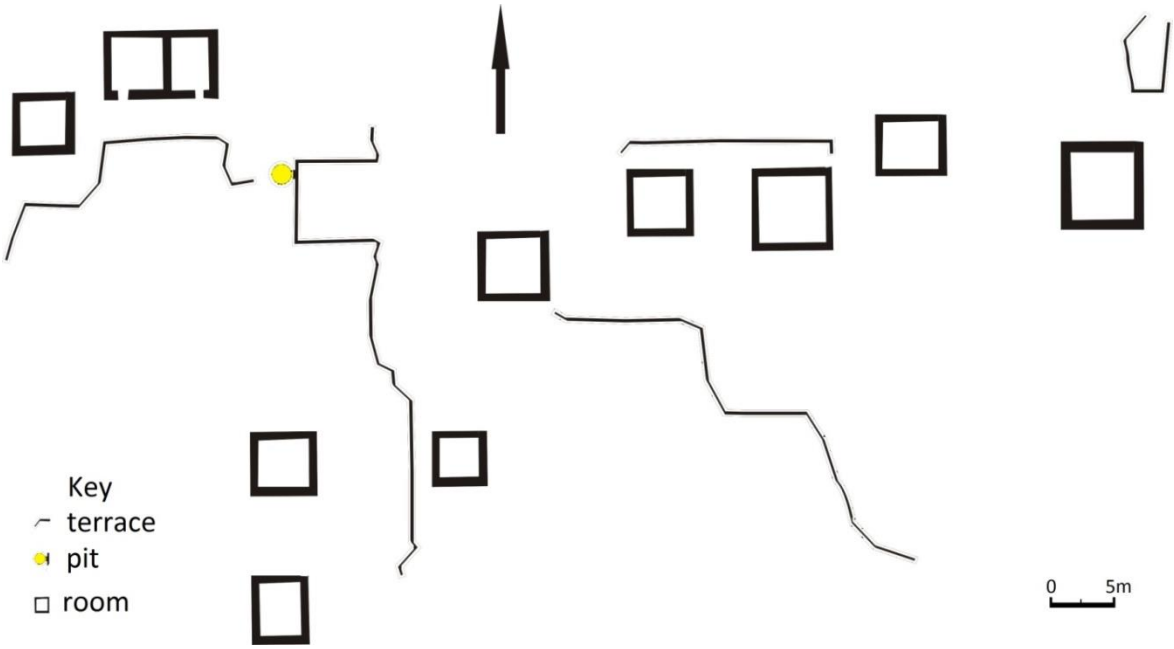
Site 46, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



Site 47, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



Site 82, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



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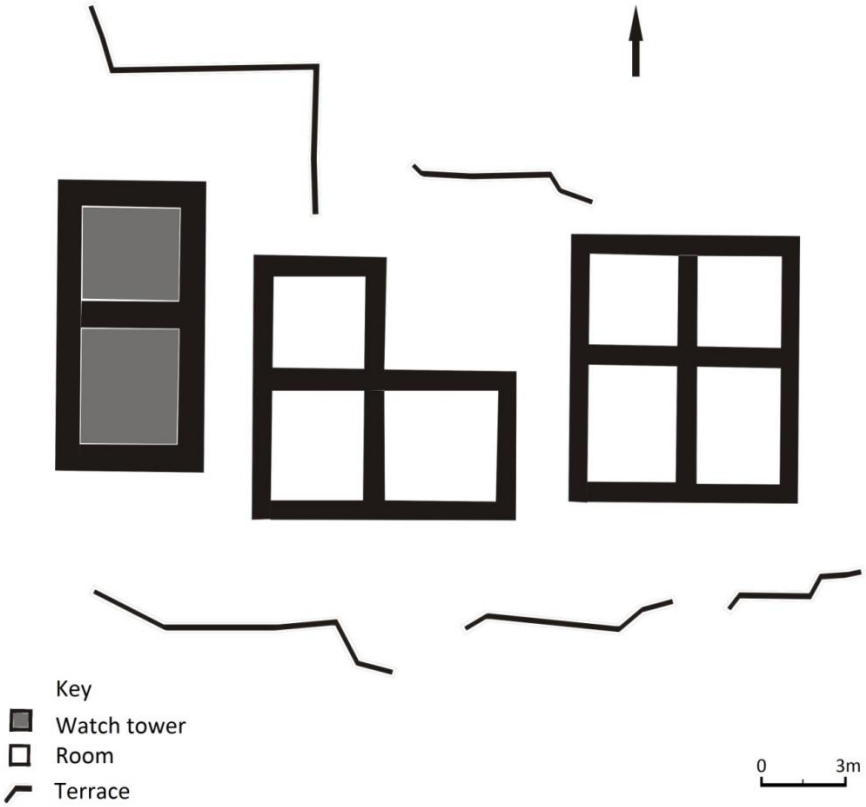
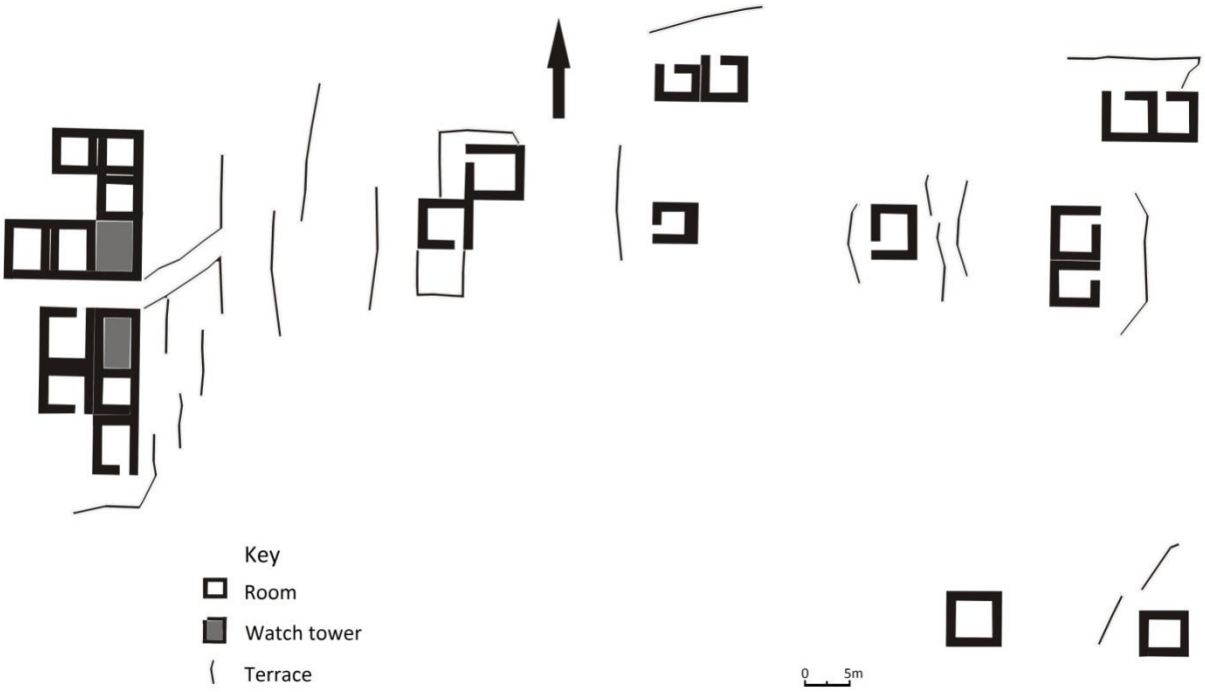


Site 98, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



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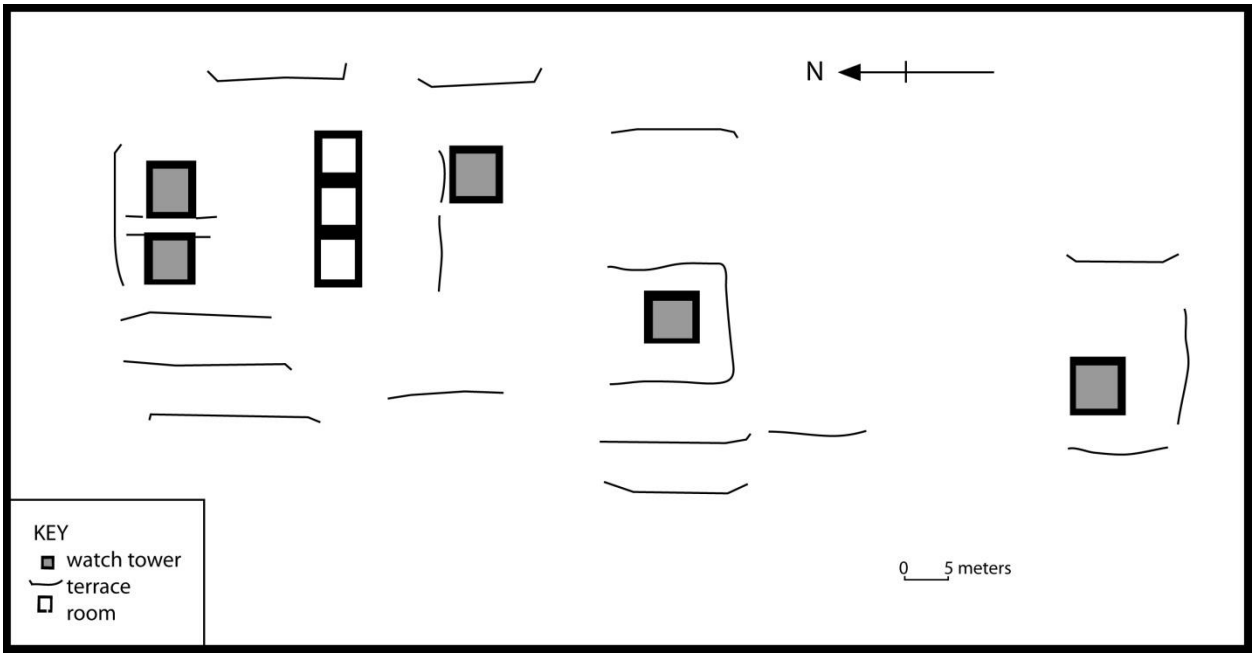
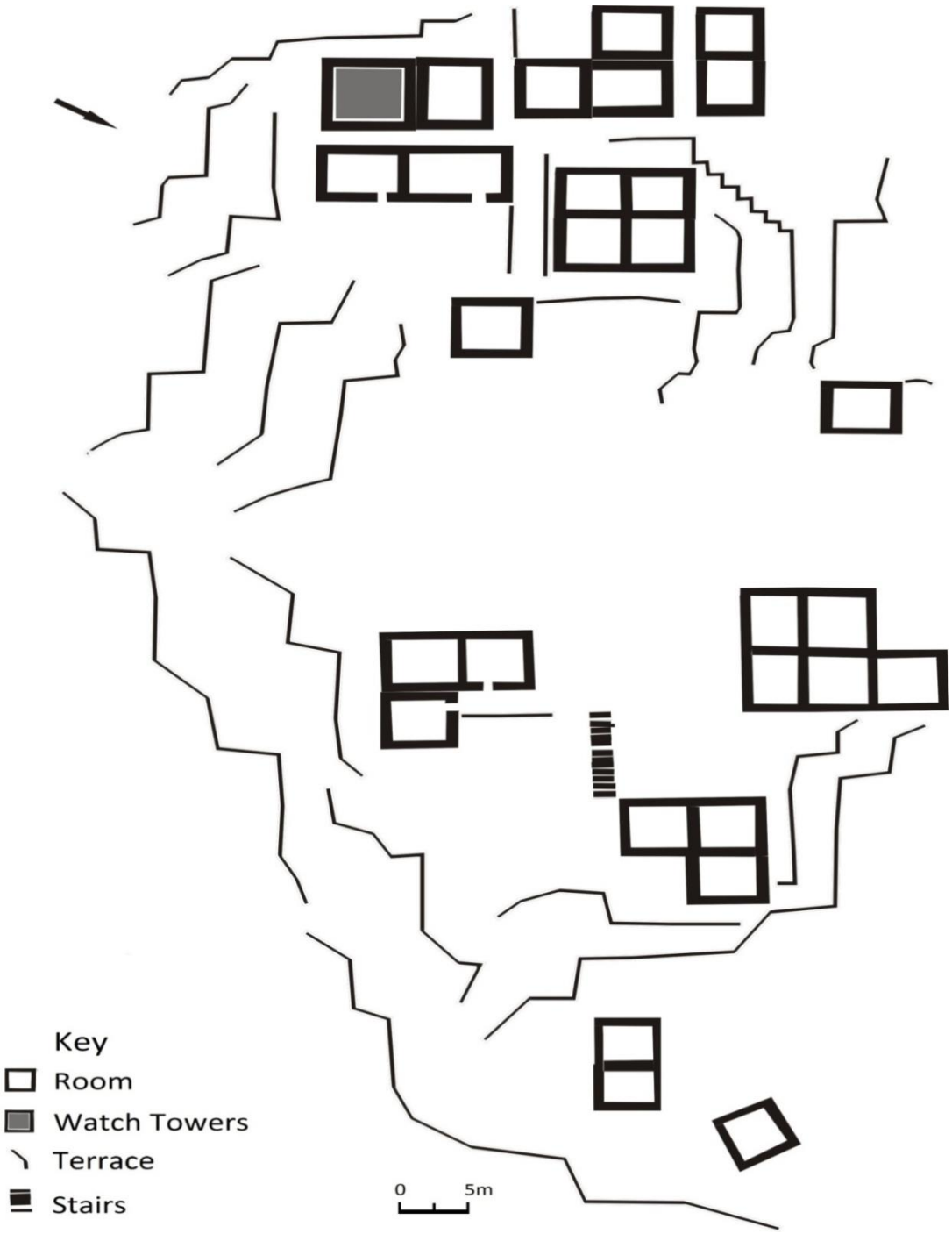
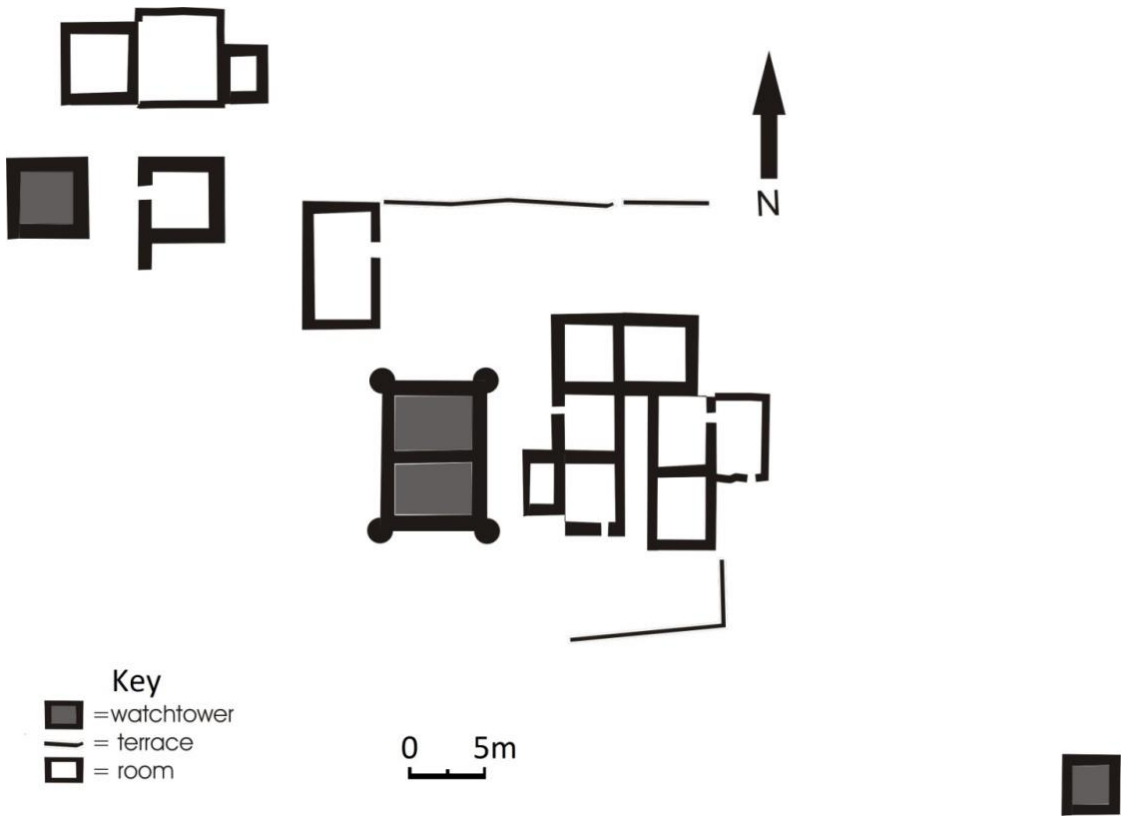


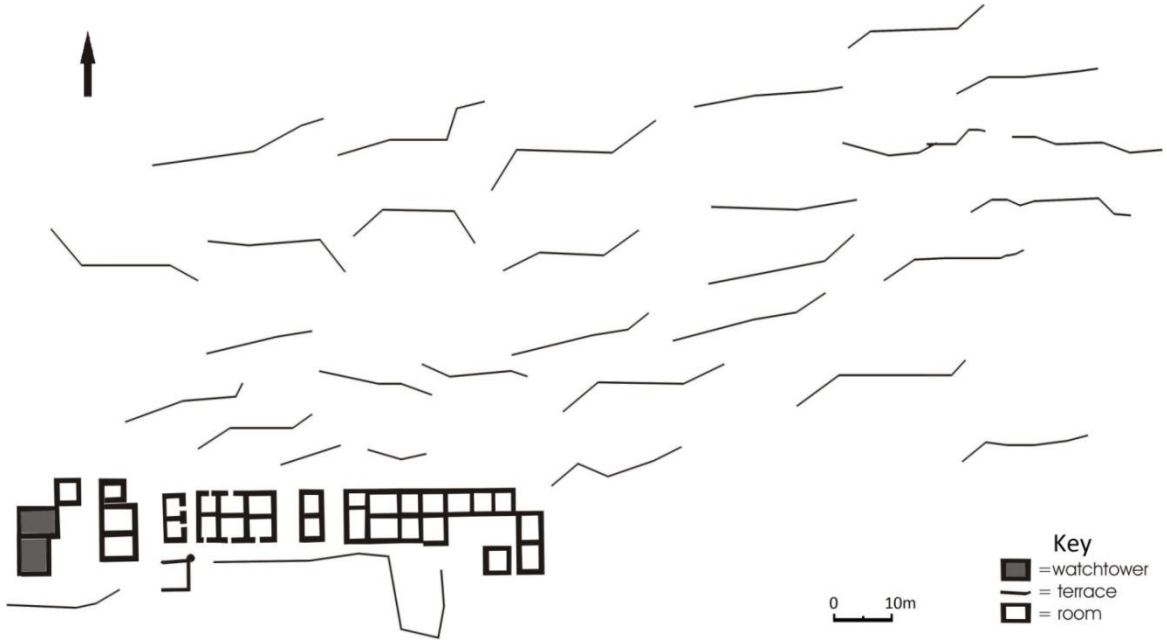
Site 130, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



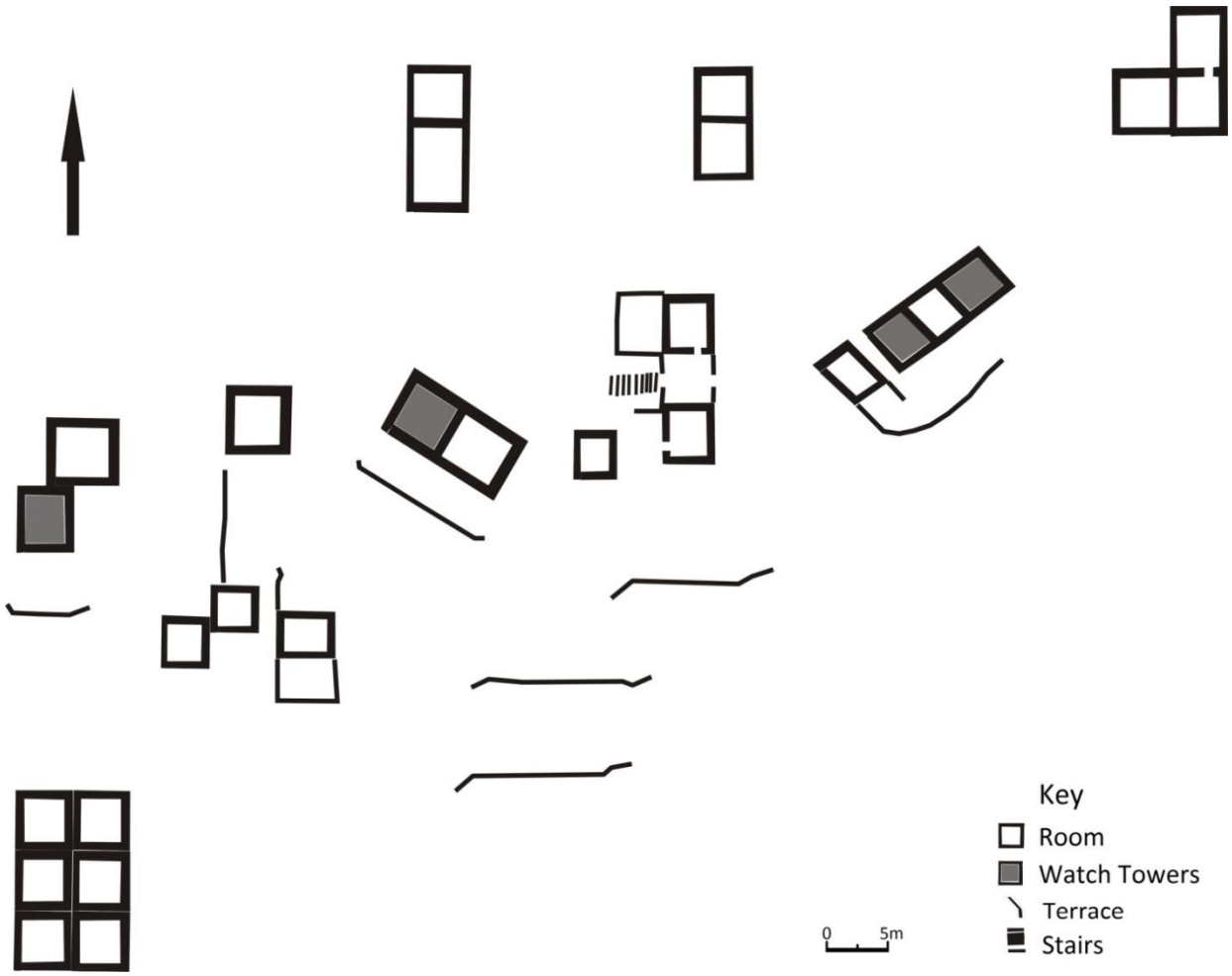
Site 131, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



Site 165, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



Site 174, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



Site 179, Kafirkot fort, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Pottery pictures

Site 1, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 5, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 8, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 15, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 26, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 28, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 34, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 36, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 47, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 48, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 77, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 88, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 95, Inzaro, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 106, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 128, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 129, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

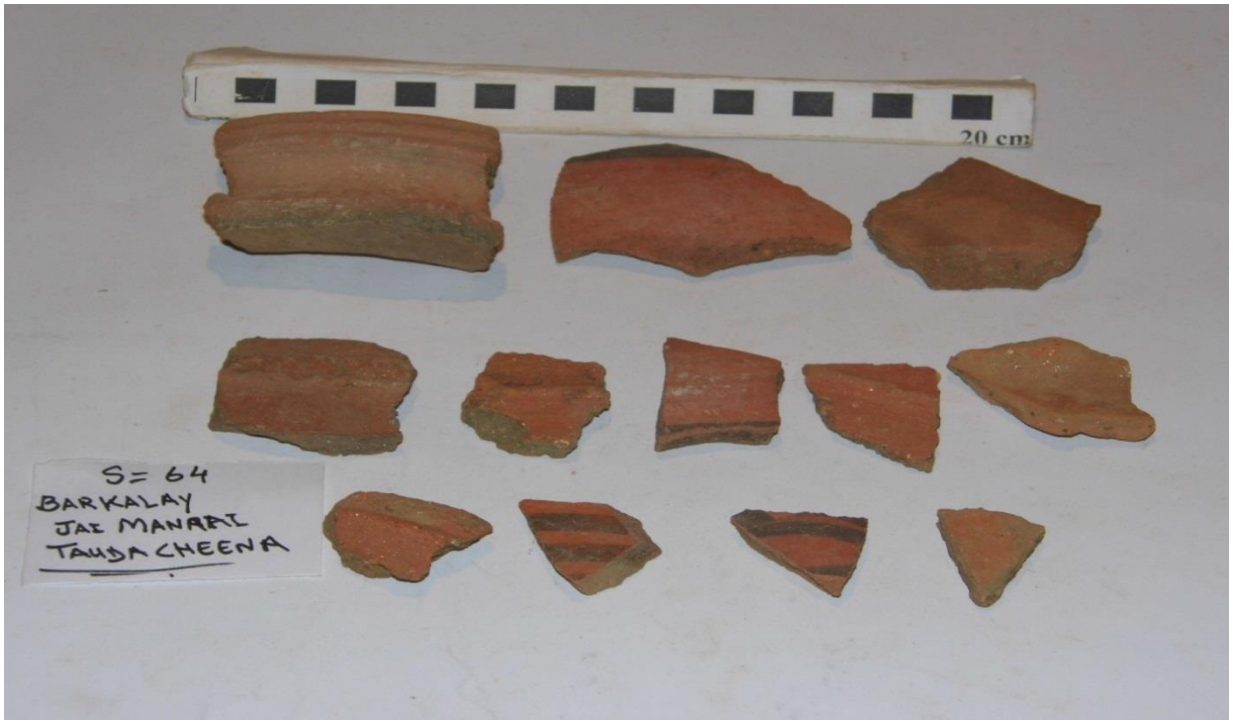
Site 130, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 131, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 151, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 152, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 161, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



Site 165, 152, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 171, 152, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 179, Kafirkot, Malakand Agency, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 183, Gunyar, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 194, Pinjin, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 197, Pinjin, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 198, Pinjin, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 217, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 220, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 222, Matkanai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 225, Matkanai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 226, Matkanai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 231, Barikao, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 239, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 240, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)

Site 246, Qaldara, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

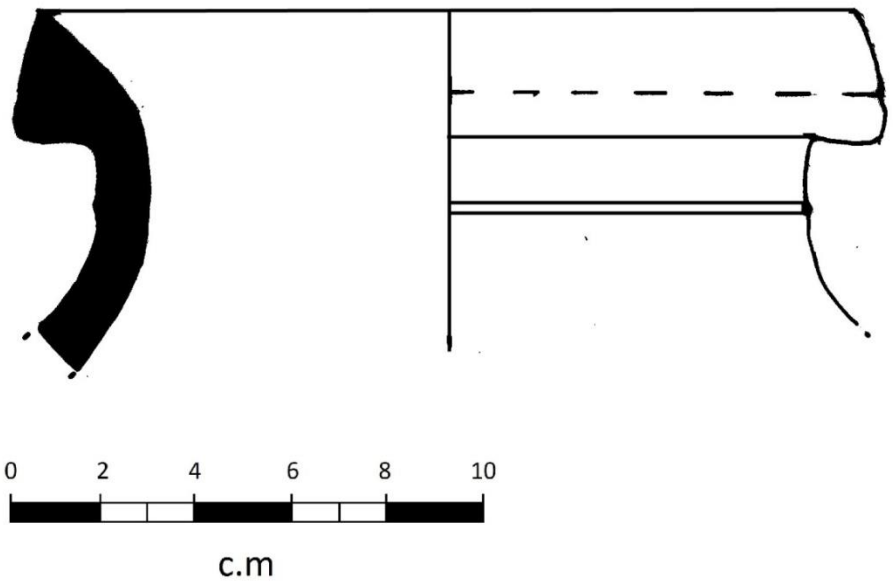
Site 247, Qaldara, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)

Site 265, Torwarsak, Buner (Ijaz Khan)

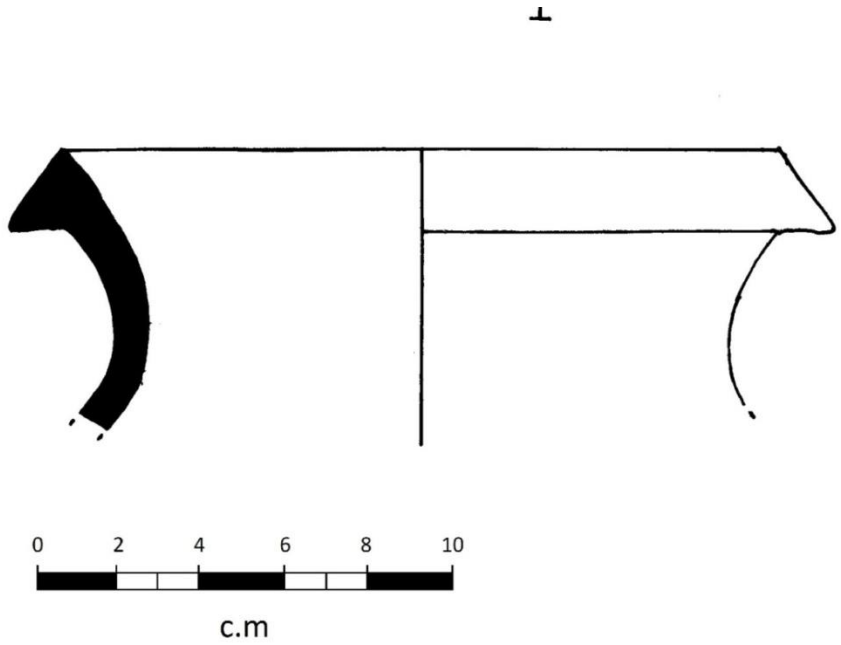
Galla, Swabi district, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)

Hund, Swabi district, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)

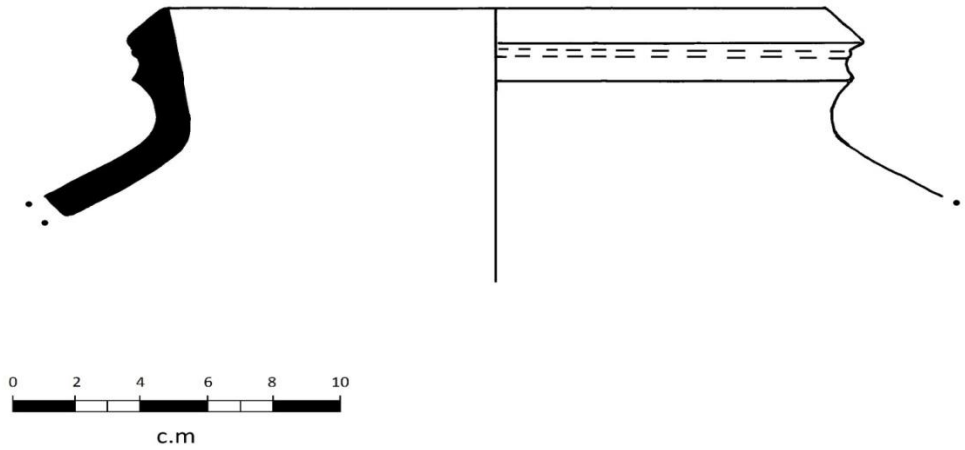
Pottery Drawings



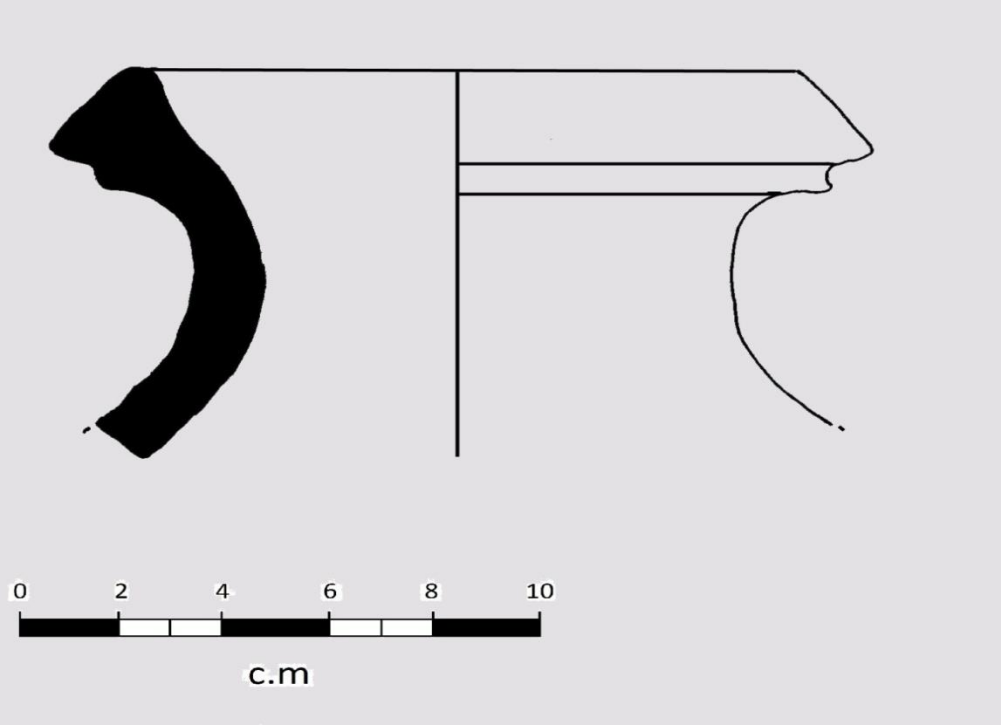
Site 4, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)



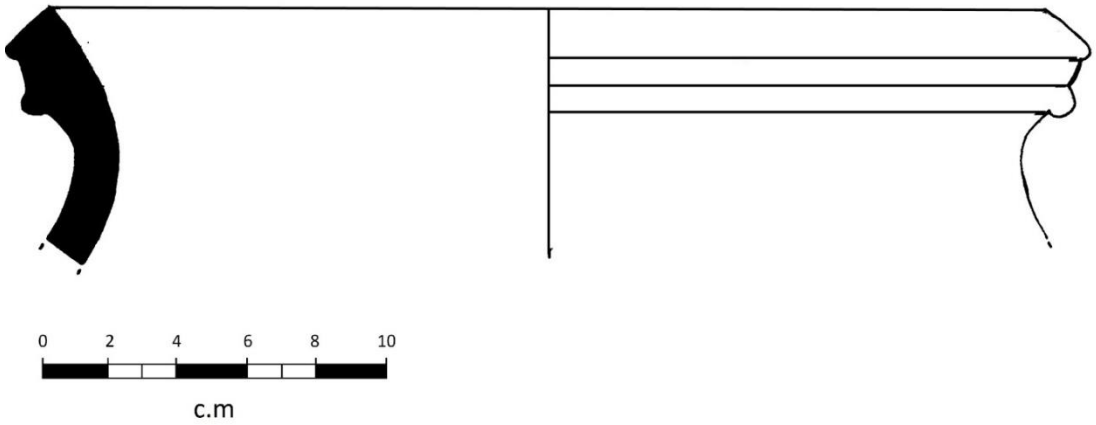
Site 4, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)



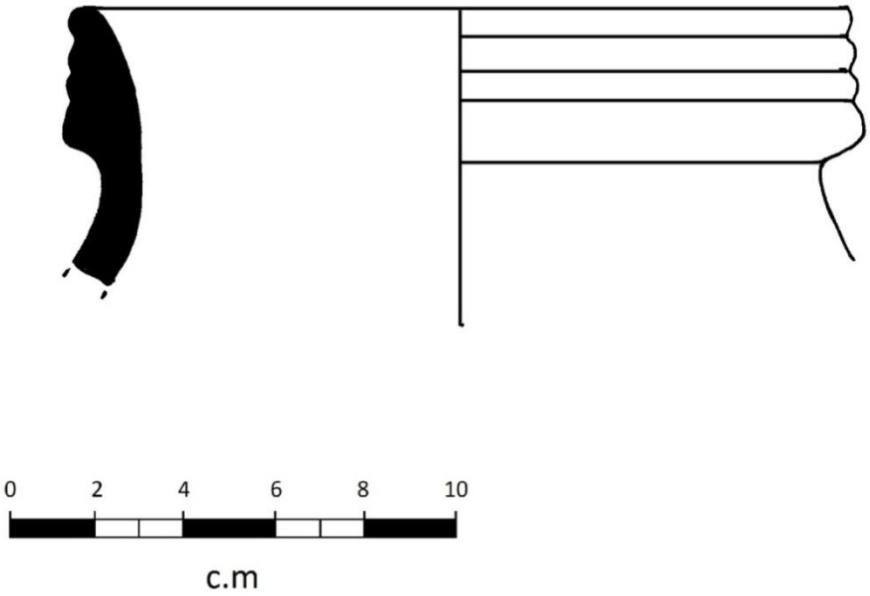
Site 5, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)



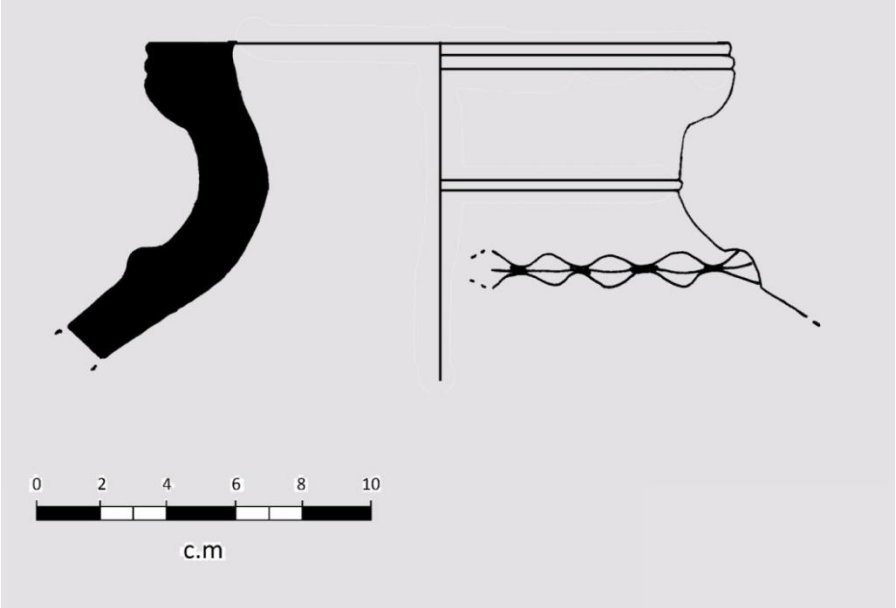
Site 5, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)



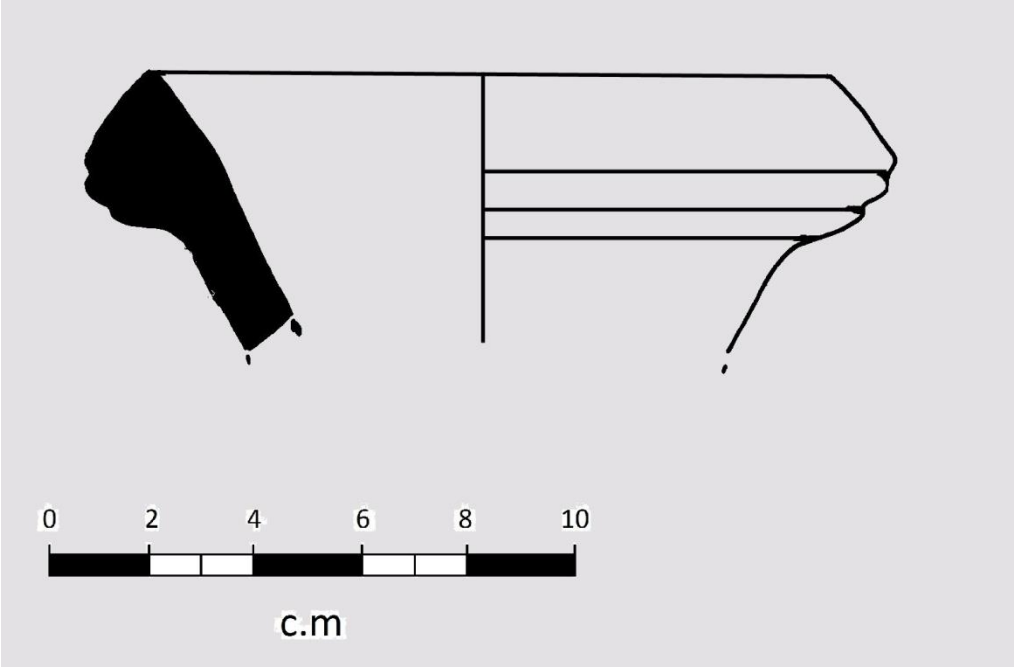
Site 5, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)



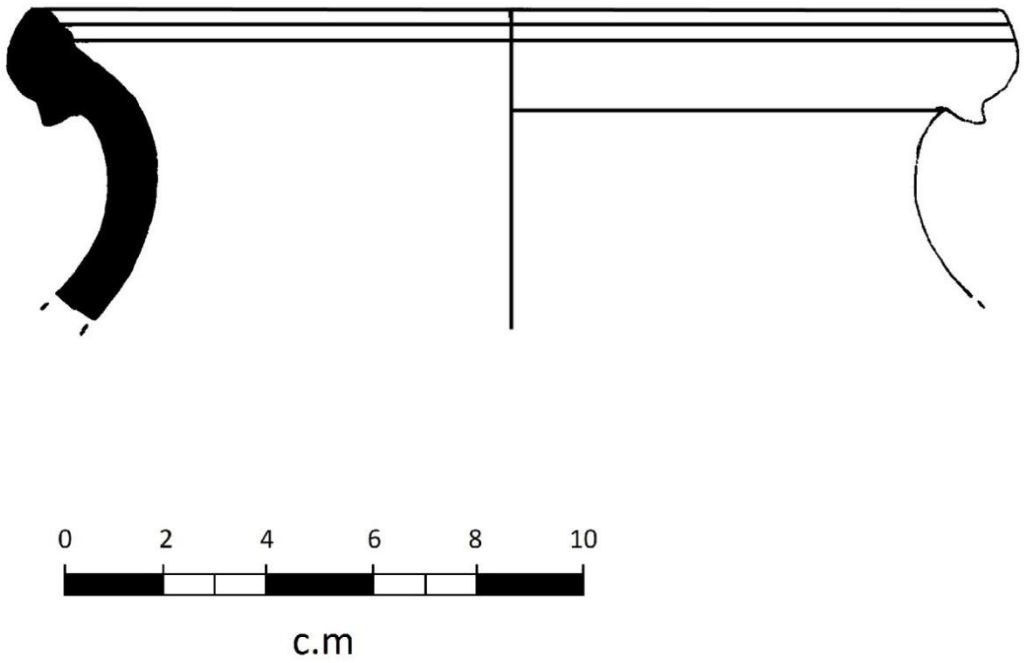
Site 13, Qulangai, Malakand Agency (Ijaz Khan)



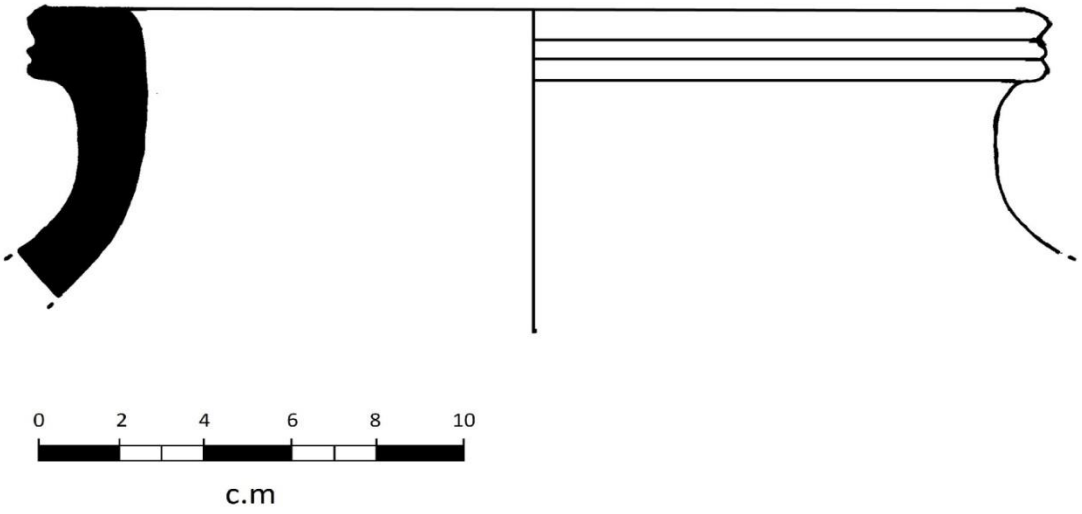
Site 26, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



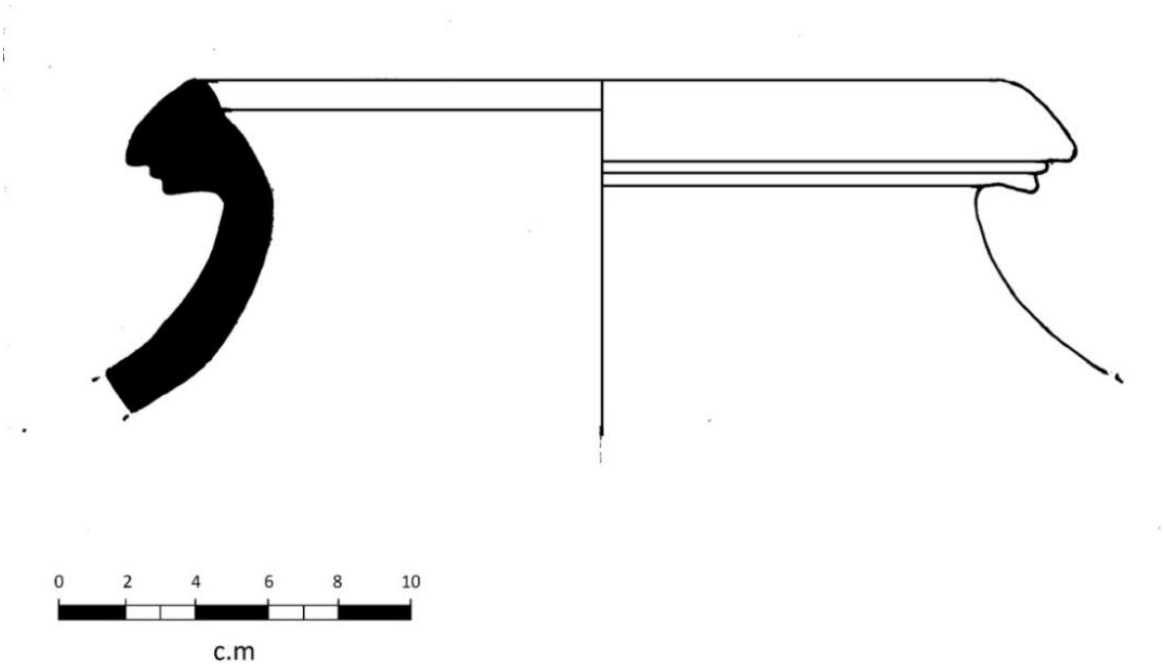
Site 28, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



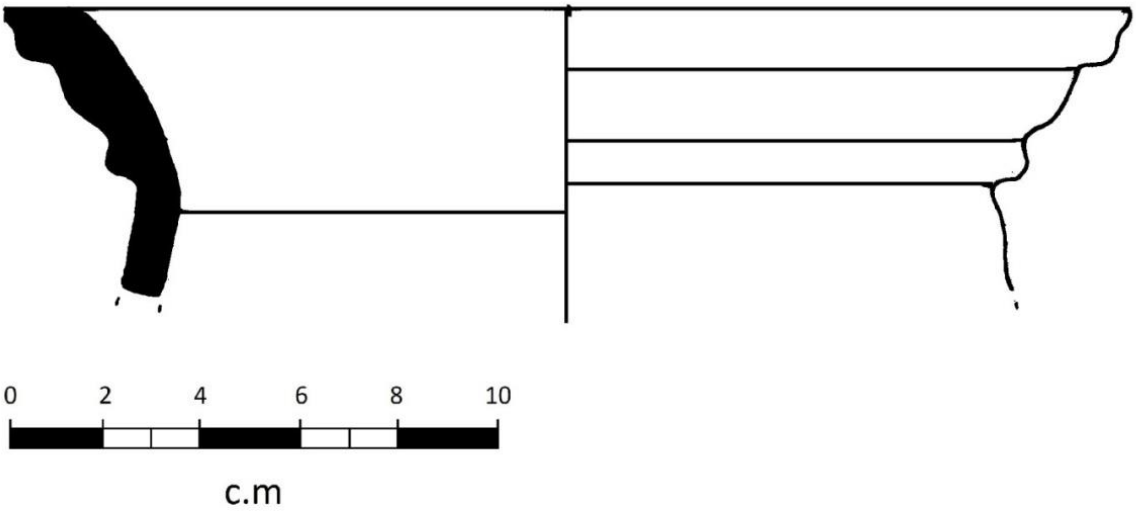
Site 47, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



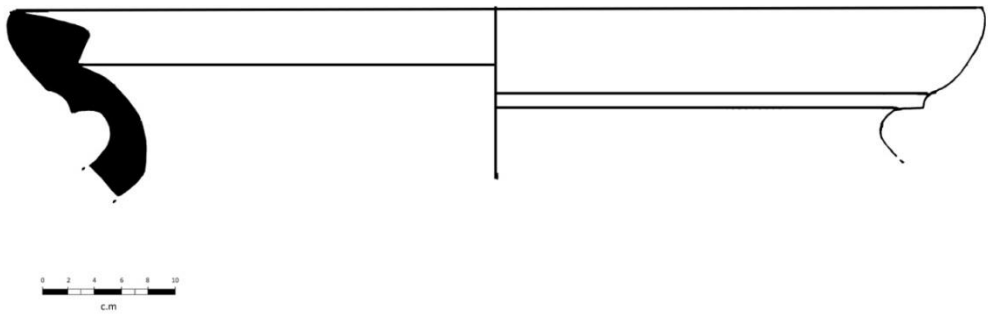
Site 51, Mayar valley, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



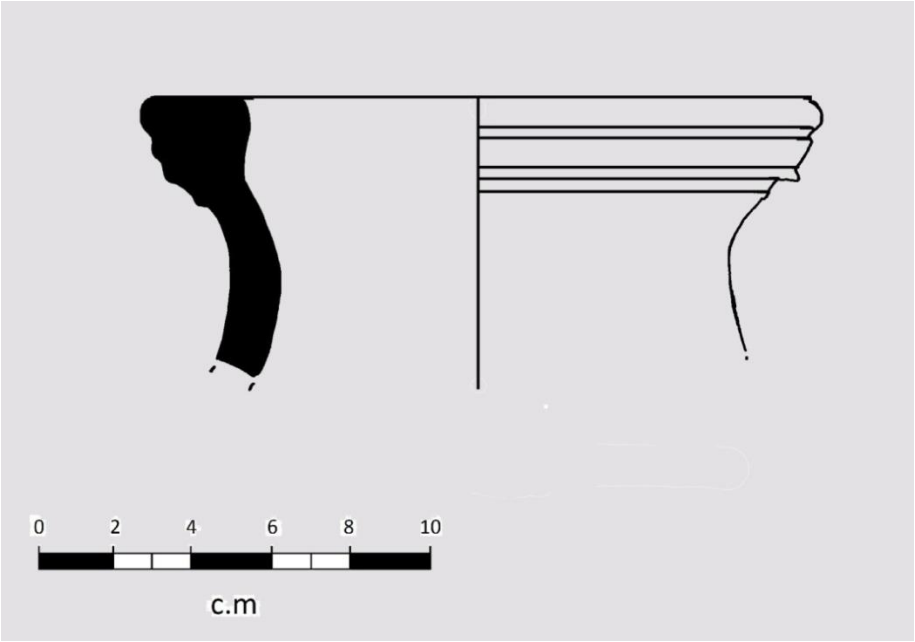
Site 79, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



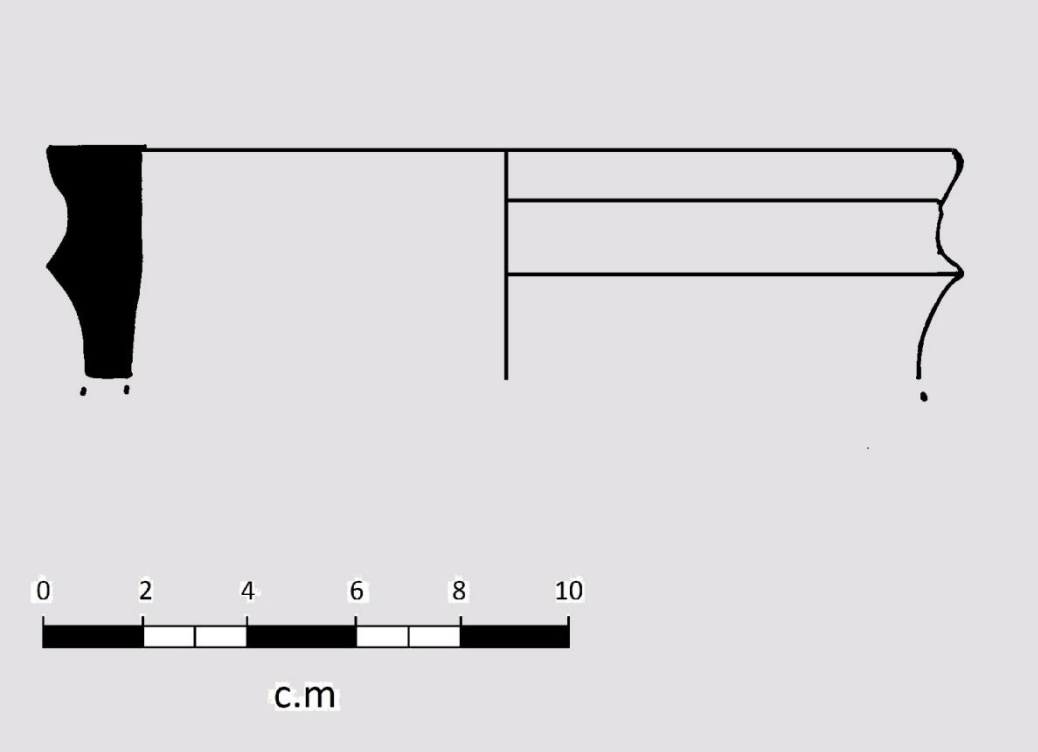
Site 83, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



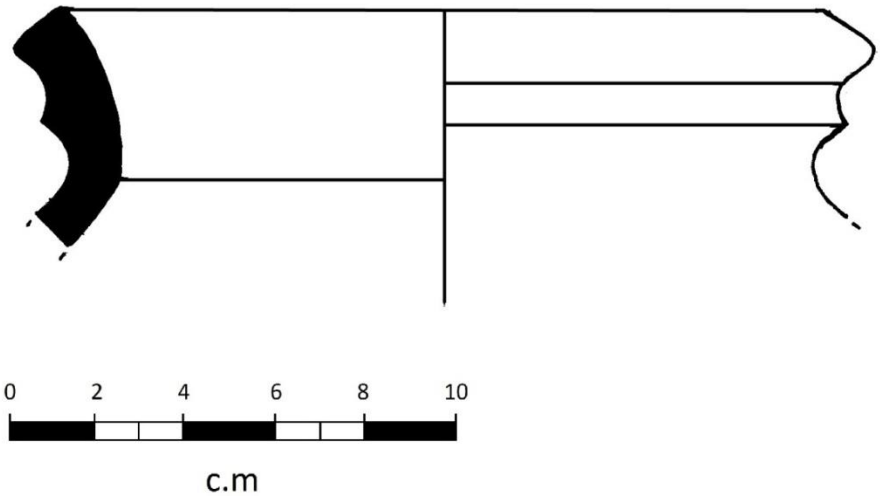
Site 83, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



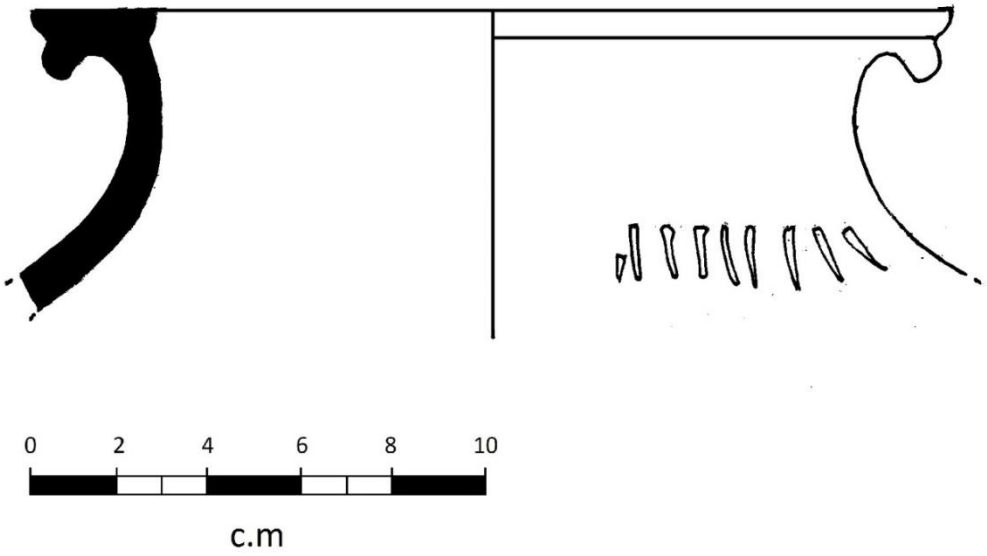
Site 88, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



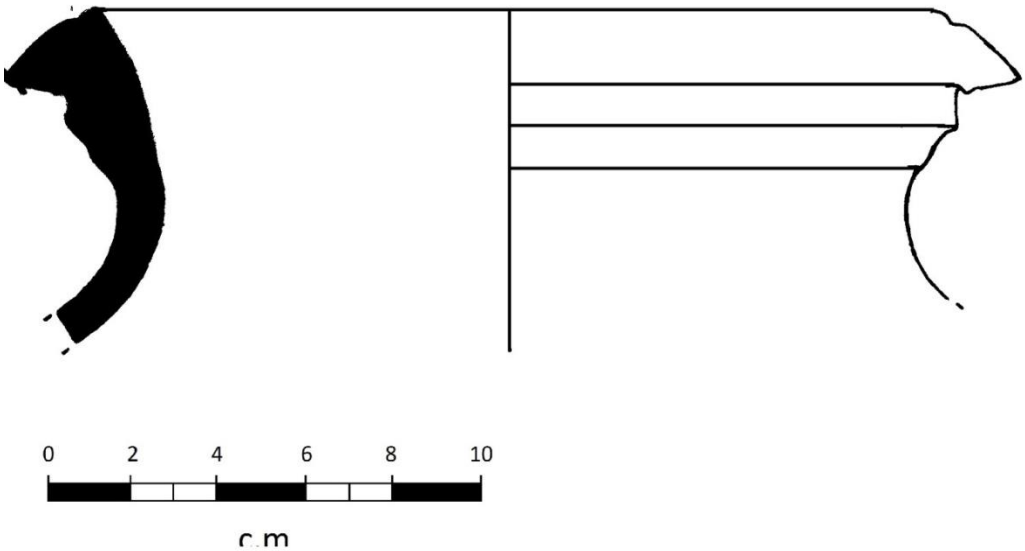
Site 88, Darra, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



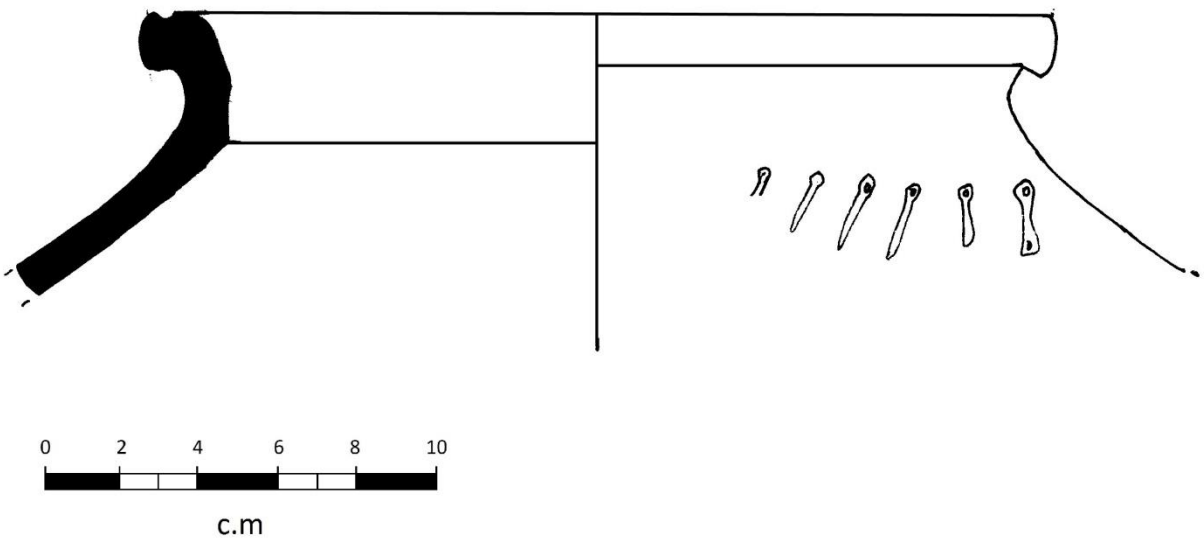
Site 98, Katkela, Lower Dir, (Ijaz Khan)



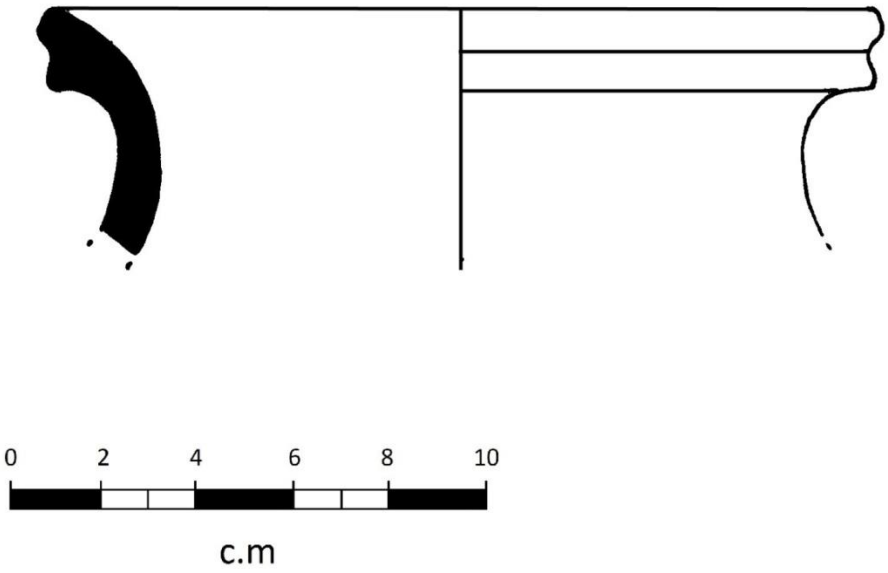
Site 98, Katkela, Lower Dir (Ijaz Khan)



Site Hund, Swabi district, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)



Site Hund, Swabi district, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)



Galla, Swabi district, Vale of Peshawar (Ijaz Khan)

Appendix 4

Settlements and transect recording forms

Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner Landscape Survey

Settlement Recording Form

Site # _____ Site name _____ Transect # _____ Date___/___/___

Owner _____ Present use _____ Vegetation on/ around site_____

E ____°____'____.____" N ____°____'____.____" Elevation _____M

Site nature: looted; re-occupied; agriculture Damage % _____Visibility % _____

Site exact location: hill top; slope; plain; ploughed; other _____ Fortification: Y; N

Site accessibility: N; W; S; E Entrance: N; W; S; E Site size L _____ W _____

Around site N ____ E _____ W _____ S _____ Tentative period _____

Strip Y; N Arrow slit location _____No of pit ____ Where located _____

No of Rooms _____ Any other structure/ feature _____ No of bastion _____

Where located ____Stone sample collected: Y; N Special find; N if Y what _____

No of W. Tower ____ Orientation _____ Where located: WT; F; E; Other _____

Pottery square sample	Counted potsherds	Bags number/s
1. _____m X _____ m		
2. _____m X _____ m		
3. _____m X _____ m		
4. _____m X _____ m		

Architecture sample: Y; N Site visibility with other sites (#) _____

General photos of site in context: Y; N Photos of nearby roads routes, valley: Y; N

Photos from highest point to show site location, plan, structures Y/ N

Photo No: _____ - _____ Photo subject _____ Sketch made: Y if N why ____

To what extent all directions seen: N _____ W _____ S _____ E _____

Major area elevation _____ Site sketch _____Y____N_____

Site Description

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Further remarks and recommendation

_____
_____
_____
_____

Entries verified by project Deputy Director_____ Deputy Director _____

Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner Landscape Survey

Transect Form

Transect # _____Location _____ Date ____/____/____

Starting coordinates: E _____°_____'_____._____" N _____°_____'_____._____"

Ending coordinates: E _____°_____'_____._____" N _____°_____'_____._____"

Walking direction: East-West North-South No of field walkers _____

Distance between 2 walkers _____ m Total sites recorded _____

Starting time: _____/_____ Ending time ____/_____ Visibility % _____

Segment # & Distance	Count Pottery	Collected Bag #	Site #	What is on left side	What is on right side
1. _____ M					
2. _____ M					
3. _____ M					
4. _____ M					
5. _____ M					
6. _____ M					
7. _____ M					
8. _____ M					
9. _____ M					
10. ____ M					
11. ____ M					
12. ____ M					
13._____ M					
14.____ M					
15_____ M					

Remarks:_____

_____

_____

_____

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