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A Note on the So-Called 'State Functionary' found in some Relief Panels from Shnaisha (Swat)

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Abstract: This paper examines a distinctive corpus of twenty one schist relief panels recovered from the Buddhist site of Shnaisha in Upper Swat Valley and now housed in the Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar. The reliefs repeatedly depict a prominent figure seated on a curule chair and surrounded by donors, attendants, messengers and local rulers presenting gifts and symbols of authority. While this figure has hitherto been treated as an unidentified 'state functionary', a reappraisal of the archaeological, iconographic, numismatic and epigraphic evidence suggests a more specific identification. By correlating the visual narratives preserved in the reliefs with the Tirāt gold-leaf inscriptions of the Uḍi rulers Ajitaseṇa and Seṇavarma, as well as the numismatic evidence from Shnaisha, the study argues that the seated figure represents the Uḍi king Seṇavarma, a local ruler who governed Uḍḍiyāna under Kushan suzerainty during the first century CE. In view of the archaeological and epigraphical evidence cited in the article, the case of the 'state functionary', viz. Seṇavarma, Uḍi rājā, appears to be highly credible. But since it has not been mentioned in documentary form, it will still remain hypothetical.

Keywords: Shnaisha, Uḍi rājās, Uḍḍiyāna, Ora, 'state functionary', papyrus scroll, ring or circlet, epigraphs, Seṇavarma, Tirae (Tirāt), Ajitaseṇa, Sadaṣkaṇa

Introduction

The Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar (SSAQ Museum) has a unique set of twenty one stone relief panels from Shnaisha (a fairly large Buddhist site partially excavated in 1989-90) portraying in the centre, or at one end, an imposing human figure, clad in proper Indian dress comprising *dhoti* and shawl.

He is seated in the European style on a *curule* (cf. Hope 1962 pl. 270), a kind of folding chair used by senior magistrates in ancient Rome and is flanked by donors carrying gifts in various forms. An attempt will be made in the following pages to identify him but at present he is designated as "state functionary" for the sake of convenience. Both archaeological and epigraphical evidence suggests that he was in fact an Uḍi *rājā*.

The Uḍis after whose name the land they occupied came to be known as Uḍḍiyāna, also written as Uḍiyāna, were not absolute sovereigns and often had to pay allegiance to bigger powers in control of Gandhāra and the Kabul valley. During the Kushan period, they functioned under the Kushan overlords as feudatory or satrap. How was the royal power delegated to them by the Kushan emperors is nowhere written, but as visualized by the sculptor of these panels, it is aptly described in the language of stone.

The detail is as follows:

Fig. 1(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 21x26 cm;
Field Reg. No. 4.

In this much damaged relief the central figure clads in appropriate Indian dress comprising *dhoti* and shawl, is depicted majestically seated on a curule chair. He appears to be imposing and impressive in all respects. His physical superiority, mien and bearing, as envisioned by the sculptor suggest royal descent. He is here conveniently designated as the "state functionary". He has curly hair and wears no jewellery other than bracelet. In his left hand he has a scroll[1] (cf. Hope 1962: pls. 238-39),

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his right hand and feet are missing. Above his head are the leaves and branches of a grape vine. He is looking towards his right and appears to be in conversation with a donor who is presenting a gift held in both hands. The donor is clad in Iranian caftan[2] and over coat locally known as *Chogha*. On the right is a standing princely figure wearing knee-length belted tunic[3], bracelet and ear-pendant. His right arm, bent at the elbow upwards, touches his right shoulder. He was probably wearing stockings but due to the poor state of preservation of the relief only dim traces are visible.

Fig. 1(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 27x35 cm;
Field Reg. No. 9.

Relief panel, damaged on the left, portraying at the right end an imposing human figure seated frontally on *curule*[4], feet resting upon a stool (only the front legs of the chair are visible). He too, like the one mentioned above, is clad in a befitting Indian costume comprising *dhoti* and shawl of which the two ends, after covering the upper body, fall down near his knees. He is moustached and his jewellery consists of a simple necklace, ear-pendant and bracelet. Above his head are the leafy branches of a grape vine and behind the head a winding tendril. He is reading from a papyrus scroll which is supported by his left hand and unfolded by the right. His mouth is completely shut, nor is he making any gesture tantamount to indicating his inner feelings. He appears to be fully focused on studying the scroll and the consequent impact of the message written in it.

On the left stand two figures, both clad in almost identical clothes comprising a tight fitting full-sleeved tunic and skirt not properly rolled on the top and tucked under the waist band as its edges (pleats) forming tiny little drapery folds can be seen above it. Both wear stockings dimly visible under the knees and the shawl. They hold the hilt of their swords in the left hand. The right hand of the one who stands near the state functionary and is facing him is placed under the chin in an attitude of expressing astonishment. The right hand of the one standing behind him holds a (beribboned) ring or circlet[5] and is raised to the level of his shoulder. Both have curly hair and ear pendant. They carry no donations and thus appear to be playing the role of messengers who have brought an important message, (perhaps an imperial proclamation) from higher authority, written in the scroll, just handed over to the state functionary.



Figure 1a. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā holding papyrus scroll receives donation.



Figure 1b. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā studies the papyrus scroll.

Fig. 2(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x48cm;
Field Reg. No. 157

The headless state functionary in this relief clad in trousers, shawl, necklace, armlet and bracelet sits in the folding chair as above. He is flanked by eight princely donors, four on each side, whose heads are completely missing or defaced. In his left hand he holds the stem of a large flower reclining against his left shoulder. In the upraised right hand he has an indistinct object. All the donors are clad in full-sleeved belted woollen tunics and trousers. The folds of drapery are indicated by incised curved or vertical lines. From right to left these are: on the extreme right, the donor in baggy trousers holds a bouquet of flowers in both hands. The next holds a lance in the left and hilt of sword in the right hand. His trousers show vertical incised lines. The third stands facing with left hand akimbo and right hand holding a bouquet resting against his right shoulder. Drapery folds are indicated by curved incised lines. The fourth has something indistinct in the upraised right hand; in the left he has a small object resting against his right abdomen.

Of the donors standing in the left half, the one nearest the state functionary holds a long conical object in both hands and appears to be ready to hand over the donation. His trousers show vertical incised lines. The one standing behind him has the hilt of sword in the left and lance in the right hand. The donor standing next to him has a long sleeve and holds something round in the left hand. The one on the extreme left is much damaged.



Figure 2a. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā flanked by donors.



Figure 2b. The Uḍi rājā and donors. The one standing near him on the right holds fasces (?), another on the left a large shield.

Fig. 2(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x26cm;
Field Reg. No. 164

A much damaged relief showing the state functionary seated as usual on *curule*. He wears *dhoti* and shawl of which only the part lying across the lap is visible. The upper part of his body appears to be naked unless he wears an extremely thin and diaphanous garment leaving the navel uncovered. The jewellery consists of a long necklace, armlet and bracelet. He is flanked by six donors, three on each side, clad in full sleeved girdled caftan except one who wears a *chogha* held in place by a waist band. Moreover, all wear knickers type of loose breeches pulled up over the trousers and visible above the knees. The donor on the extreme right is represented by merely a trace. The next has a large bouquet in the right and bowl in the left hand. The third holds a barrel-shaped object perhaps fasces (bundle of rods carried by lictor before the magistrate for the execution of sentence on the offender in ancient Rome) (cf. Hope 1962: pl. 270).

In the left half of the relief the figure facing the 'state functionary', head and right hand missing, holds the edge of a large shield resting on the ground and decorated with a full blown lotus at the back side. The drapery folds of his trousers are indicated by curved incised lines. The next is clad in belted *chogha* and holds a small object in the left hand. His right hand and head are missing. The one at the end stands likewise but happens to be in a bad state of preservation.

Fig. 3(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 17x26cm;
Field Reg. No. 48.

Fragment of a panel relief showing lower half of the figure of the state functionary and those of the two donors standing on the left. Both wear belted caftan and stockings. An edge of the upper garment is visible under the left hand of the donor standing next to the state functionary. With the same hand he holds the grip of his sword suspending from an additional girdle. The state functionary is seated as above but with one foot slipping down.

Fig. 3(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x31cm;
Field Reg. No. 152.

A much worn off relief of which the right side is completely missing. The state functionary (left leg and stool missing) is seated in the folding chair as above, his face turned to the right suggesting that in the missing portion there were some more donors.

In the left side are five donors, all walking towards him. Two of them carry large gifts packed in boxes held under the left arm. They are clad in the usual tunic and trousers. The one in the middle has his hands clapsed in adoration.



Figure 3a. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā and donors.



Figure 3b. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā and donors carrying box-like gifts.

Fig. 4(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x48cm;
Field Reg. No. 156.

In this relief the state functionary, flanked by eight donors – four on each side – is sitting as usual on the *curule* and holds a lance or spear just below its blade with his upraised right hand. The lower end of the lance is resting upon the ground. The donors are clad in the usual full sleeved belted tunic and trousers. The one on the extreme right has an unusually long sleeve, the next with a bouquet in the right hand and a small object in the left. The third from right wears a long sleeved cloak (*chogha*) open on the front. The one standing near the state functionary holds a bouquet in right hand, with the left akimbo.

In the left half of the relief, the figure standing on the extreme left is defaced. The next, clad in full sleeved tunic, holds a wreath in right hand and a little handled vase in the left. The third from left has both hands clasped in adoration. The one standing near the state functionary and inclined towards him is comparatively bigger and heavier in stature. From his bearing and look he appears to be a god (*deva*) poised to present a circlet or ring – symbol of royal authority to the state functionary.

Fig. 4(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x50cm;
Field Reg. No. 158.

In this relief the state functionary holds the ring in his upraised right hand and looks at if completely composed and quietly jubilant. His left hand, with the arm bent at elbow, is resting upon his left knee. All the seven donors are clad in appropriate Indian costume – *dhoti*, shawl and crested headdress – and look like princes (rājās). The one on the extreme right has a small chaplet in his hands. The next holds a conical vase (water-flask) in the left hand. The third, with the left hand akimbo, has a bunch of flowers in the right hand. The fourth, inclined towards the state functionary, has a small object in the raised left hand.

In the left half of the relief, the donor standing next to the state functionary holds a large bowl in both hands and is looking towards him. The one standing behind him has turned his face to the left and holds a bunch of flowers in the right hand with the left akimbo. Similarly turned to the left is the one at the extreme end. He wears an additional cloak and holds a garland.

Fig. 4(c)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 17x57 cm;
Field Reg. No. 159.

The greatly worn off relief portrays in the centre state functionary seated as usual in *curule* with a round object in right hand. He is flanked by eight donors – four on each side. The one at the extreme right has a bouquet of flowers in the right hand, in the left he holds a small bowl. The next two appear to be discussing a partly unrolled scroll. The one standing next to the state functionary holds the hilt of a sword in the left hand; in the upraised right he has a small object.

Of the donors in the left half of the relief, the one standing near the state functionary is inclined towards him and is poised to offer a garland. The one behind him holds a bouquet of flowers resting against his right shoulder. The next, like No. 2 from the right in the right half, wears trousers and looks inwards. The fourth (marked by a drilled hole) is much worn off. On the extreme left are traces of an encased honeysuckle (cf. Ingholt 1957: pl. 5).

Fig. 5(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x45cm;
Field Reg. No. 160.

This relief is damaged on the left and totally defaced on the right. The extant five donors, clad in belted tunic, skirt and stockings are moving to the right carrying box-like donations. The second from the left holds a papyrus scroll in right hand (cf. Hope 1962; pls 238-39). (Two drilled holes are found on the panel)

Fig. 5(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x48cm;
Field Reg. No. 165.

In this partly damaged and worn off relief the defaced state functionary holds a lance in his right hand as in Fig. 4(a) above., the left rests upon his



Figure 4a. Shnaisha. A god offers ring or circlet to the Uḍi rājā.



Figure 4b. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā holds the ring aloft and looks at it.



Figure 4c. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā and donors. Two of them (on the right) discuss the scroll.



Figure 5a. Shnaisha. Donors carrying gifts.

left knee. The donors, eight in all, are clad in full sleeved chitons and stockings. The one on the extreme right is much defaced; the next holds his gift aloft in right hand. The one standing near him has a lance, lower end resting on the ground, in his right hand. The figure standing near the state functionary appears to be ready to offer a bouquet of flowers.

In the left half of the relief, the one at the extreme left end is much defaced. Similarly defaced is the shape of the gift held by the figure standing next to him. The third (backside view) holds his gift aloft in the right hand with bouquet of flowers in the left. The figure standing near the state functionary is slightly inclined towards him but the donation he carries is indistinct.

Fig. 5(c)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x56cm;
Field Reg. No. 166.

In this relief, defaced at the right, the state functionary, like the one mentioned above, holds a lance in the right hand and looks towards the right where traces of some standing figures are dimly visible.

In the left half of the relief are three donors of which the one standing near the state functionary holds the edge of a shield decorated at the back with a full blown lotus (as in Fig. 2(a) above). The next holds a large bowl supported by his left hand and secured at the top by the right. The one at the extreme left end has a bunch of flowers in the left and bouquet in the right hand. All of them are clad in chiton, shawl and stockings. The left end is occupied by an encased conventionalized lotus (cf. Ingholt 1957: pl. 444).



Figure 5b. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā and donors.



Figure 5c. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā and donors.

Fig. 6(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x36cm;
Field Reg. No. 151.

In this roughly executed and slightly worn off relief, the state functionary holds a lance just under its blade as in the above mentioned relief; the left hand resting upon the left knee. He is clad in *dhoti*, a tight fitting garment to cover the upper part of the body, and shawl, one end of which makes a loop upon his left shoulder. The jewellery consists of a long necklace, earring and bracelet. His crested headdress is only faintly visible. His face is turned to the right and he appears to be in conversation with the princely figure clad in woollen caftan and tight trousers or stockings, standing near him. The prince wears a crested headdress and holds the hilt of a long sword in his left hand. With the opened right hand as indicated by erect fingers, with the palm turned to the state functionary, he appears to be making a gesture assuring him of his loyalty. The prince is followed by two more rājās who likewise tender their allegiance and ensure their loyalty by raising their right hand. They are clad in proper Indian costume and show crested headdress.

On the left the state functionary is approached by a donor holding a large gift packed in the form of a box held under his left arm. He wears tunic and stockings but no headdress. The one on the extreme left is defaced. (one drilled hole for fixing).

Fig. 6(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x30cm;
Field Reg. No. 155

In this much corroded and worn off relief the state functionary is sitting on the extreme left end while the donors, carrying gifts are moving towards him. The right end of the relief is marked by a highly stylized framed lotus.

Fig. 7(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 20x13cm;
Field Reg. No. 11

This relief portraying two standing figures clad in full-sleeved belted tunics, is damaged on three sides – right, left and bottom. In addition to the tunic, both the figures wear shawls of which the ends fall behind the shoulders after making a wide loop upon the chest. Both have bushy curly hair. The one on the right prominently holds a large ring and is facing towards the right. The one on the left is also holding a ring, but smaller in size, resting upon his chest. In the left hand he grasps the hilt of a dagger or sword. Legs below the knees are missing. Drapery folds are indicated by parallel curved incised lines.



Figure 6a. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā and donors.



Figure 6b. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā and donors.
Much worn off.

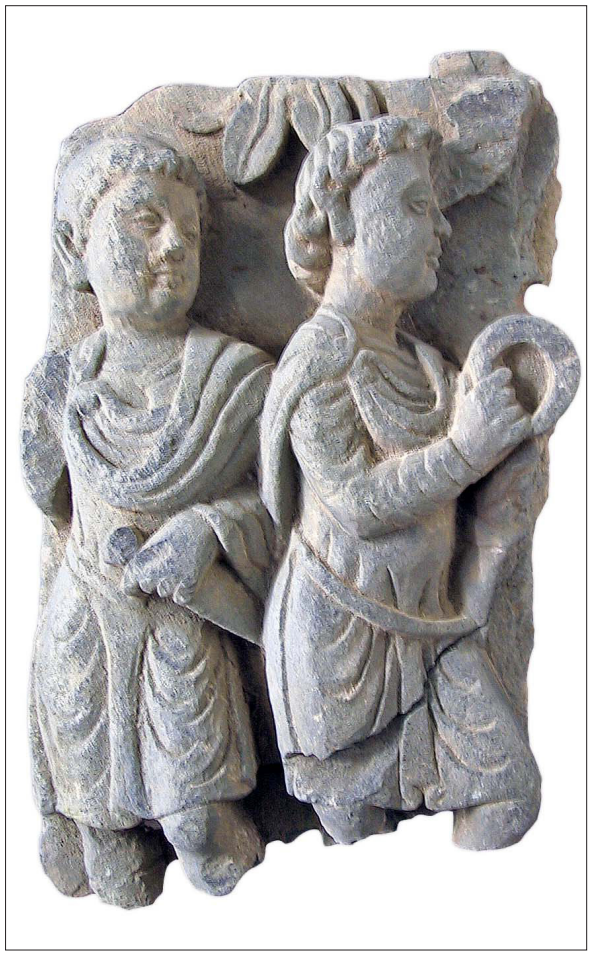


Figure 7a. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā (missing) is shown a large ring.

Fig. 7(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 28x33cm;
Field Reg. No. 30

Depicted in this much corroded and dim relief are five standing figures clad in full sleeved belted caftan and baggy trousers. The second from the right wears long sleeves hiding his hand. His right arm is twisted above the shoulder of a burly figure who stands in the middle of the relief and grasps a sword in the left. He appears to be talking to the figure standing next to him, who holds something unidentified in his upraised hands.



Figure 7b. Shnaisha. Donors with baggy trousers.

Fig. 8(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 26x24cm;
Field Reg. No. 46.

A much damaged relief showing the state functionary (Uḍi rājā) sitting as usual with the feet resting upon a stool. To his left stands a headless figure holding a barrel shaped object, perhaps fasces (bundle of rods meant for the execution of sentence on the offenders in ancient Rome). He wears skirt and stockings.

Fig. 8(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 23x25cm;
Field Reg. No. 55

Fragment of a relief divided into two registers by a framed row of acanthus leaves. The lower register, much damaged, shows traces of a seated figure (perhaps Maitreya) holding flask, flanked by devotees (traces only). In the upper register, marked on the top by a framed laurel wreath and on the right by an encased Corinthian column, is depicted haloed Buddha seated in *abhayamudrā* (reassurance pose) upon a raised platform, having mouldings at the bottom and top, with palm leaves at the back and front. Facing the Buddha on the left is a figure, seated European style (in a chair), with both the hands clasped in adoration. From his posture he appears to be an Uḍi rājā as seen in other reliefs.



Figure 8a. Fasces (?) presented to the Uḍi rājā.



Figure 8b. Shnaisha. In the upper tier the Uḍi rājā offers his thanks to the Buddha.

Fig. 9(a)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 20x23;
Field Reg. No. 162.

Relief panel in an extremely poor state of preservation divided horizontally in the middle into two registers. In the upper register are traces of a headless seated figure (Uḍi rājā) flanked on the right by two and on the left also by two donors of which the one on the extreme left is represented only by two feet and part of a leg. In the lower register, the same seated figure (Uḍi rājā) is hugging a donor whose head can be seen above his right shoulder. (The donor is apparently congratulating him upon his reinstalment as king of Swat. This fashion is still in vogue). Of the two standing figures on the right, the one nearest the Uḍi rājā holds by its ends a large garland forming a loop upon his front side. On the left side are traces of a standing donor near the encased stylized lotus. (Hole for fixing the relief).

Fig. 9(b)

SSAQ Museum; Schist; Size 18x30cm;
Field Reg. No. 170.

Relief panel showing an encased stylized lotus on the right and two donors clad in woollen caftan and trousers. Of these, the one with his left hand akimbo holds three bunches of flowers in his right hand. The other wears a long sleeve and grasps the hilt of a sword in his left hand. (Hole for fixing the relief).

Comments

The twenty one reliefs of which nineteen are described above come from the excavation of Shnaisha, fairly large Buddhist sacred site in upper Swat, carried out in 1989 by Nazir Khan, then curator of the Swat Museum, and then in 1990 by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, under the supervision of the present writer. Nazir Khan exposed the eastern side and centre of the main stupa, and some votive stupas in the adjacent level ground. The western and southern sides of the main stupa were excavated by the University team[6]. Thirteen of the reliefs under discussion were found by Nazir Khan and eight by the University team. A coin of Soter Megas[7] (Bust of king and horseman type) was found in the votive stupa area while clearing the floor level exposed in 1989. Two coins of Huvishka[8] came to light on the western and two more on the southern[9] sides in the floor associated with the main stupa. Other coins coming from



Figure 9a. Shnaisha. The Uḍi rājā embracing a donor.



Figure 9b. Shnaisha. Two donors, one showing long sleeve.

upper levels do not help in fixing the earliest date for the construction of this stupa (for details see Rahman 1993: 217). From the evidence of coins it can be fairly accurately concluded that the main stupa was founded sometime in the first century CE and finished in the time of Huvishka (c. 106-142 CE)[10].

The vastness of the ruins suggests that only a king of Swat who had the resources of state at his disposal, could undertake such a grand project. Who was the king of Swat in the first century CE is very well known from the two gold leaf inscriptions[11] of the Uḍi kings Ajitaseṇa and Seṇavarma found at Tirāt[12] in upper Swat. The Uḍi king contemporary with Kujula Kadphises who in the early part of the first century CE, had just established his rule in Gandhāra and had deputed his son Sadaṣkaṇa to get control of Swat by peaceful means or by overrunning it by the use of force, was Seṇavarma, son of Ajitaseṇa of the Iṣmaho family – a sub section of the Uḍi tribe.

The precise concordance of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence noted above naturally drives us to the conclusion that the state functionary who, in the reliefs, is sitting in the curule, an ancient symbol of authority, and to whom rājās from different parts of the country bring donations to show their allegiance, was no other than the Uḍi king Seṇavarma. In his inscription (see Salomon, R. 1986: 261-93) Seṇavarma panegyrically mentions the name of the Kushan prince Sadaṣkaṇa suggesting a feudatory status for himself. How were the negotiations, which finally relegated the Uḍi rājā to a subordinate position, conducted is nicely depicted in the reliefs described above.

Seṇavarma first receives an imperial proclamation written in a papyrus scroll (Fig. 1a) concerning perhaps his reinstalment as a satrap under the Kushan umbrella. He opens the scroll (Fig. 1b) and sitting *compos mentis* reads to know about the terms and conditions; while the messenger standing nearby looks in amazement at his dull and spotless face indicating not the slightest hint of approving what was offered to him. The messengers who had apparently come to re-install him as a sub-king by conferring upon him the ring, a symbol of royal authority, held by his attendant standing behind him, decides in dismay to defer the occasion. The proud Uḍi, perhaps for a while, did not like bowing his head in servility. Holding the ring more prominently (Fig. 7a) the same person reappears and presumably tells the Uḍi that in the light of the imperial proclamation he would certainly be reinstalled as the king of Swat. The Uḍi king, it seems, was still adamant. The matter had not yet reached a conclusive stage when the news with regard to negotiations spread around and the people in general began discussing the scroll amongst themselves (Fig. 4c and Fig. 7b). Finally the great god (*deva*) himself appears to assuage his fears and confer the ring upon him (Fig. 4a).

After this the Uḍi king appears with a lance, a symbol of coercive power of the state. In

Fig. 4b, he happily holds the ring aloft in his right hand and looks at the miraculous object in quiet jubilation, while princes from different *darrās* (valleys) of Swat clad in Indian costume (Fig. 4b) or wearing Turkish caftan (Fig. 7b) flock to him in great numbers to assure him of their loyalty. In Fig. 8a, the headless standing figure brings a barrel shaped object looking like fasces of ancient Rome.

Everything went very well by the special grace and blessings of the Buddha, the faithful Uḍi must have muttered to himself. The hour of thanksgiving has now arrived. In the upper tier of Fig. 8b, the Uḍi rājā most reverently sits before the Buddha with hands clasped in adoration. The unknown sculptor, it may be admitted, has immortalized the Uḍi king by paying him rich tribute in the language of stone.

Conclusions

The general scheme of presentation in the reliefs is throughout the same. The human figure clads in Indian costume sitting in the collapsible Roman chair, the *curule*, in an impressive and stately manner was Uḍi king Seṇavarma, a contemporary and subordinate of the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises who in about the first half of the first century CE had just established his rule in Gandhāra. A highly significant aspect of the reliefs is however the depiction of a vast variety of costumes – full or sleeveless belted Scytho-Parthian tunic, Turkish or Iranian caftan, Greco-Roman hemmed chiton, long sleeved open *chogha* (still in use in Swat, Chitral and Gilgit Baltistan), European style skirt, trousers, stockings, knickers – all indicating the cosmopolitan and universal character of the Kushan Civilization.

Notes

1. The Romans preserved their writings in rolls of papyrus or parchment called *volumina* (see Hope 1962: xlvi)
2. Long belted tunic. Originally Turkish and Iranian caftan, also written as Ḳaftan.
3. The undergarment – and the actual indoor dress – of the Romans was 'tunica' (see Kohler, C. 1963: 116)
4. The curule chairs were wrought in ivory (Hope: op.cit)
5. For the 'ring' or 'circlet' (see R. Ghirshman 1963: Pls. 37, 43.
6. The preliminary Report of this excavation was published in *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. VIII (see A. Rahman 1993: 1-222)
7. Field Reg. No. 195 (cf. P. Gadener, 1886: 115, No. 10; R.B. Whitehead 1914: 160)
8. Field Reg. Nos. 202, 203.
9. Field Reg. Nos. 204, 205.
10. For the computation of Huvishka's dates the year 78 CE is taken as the reference point. In the dated inscriptions of Mathurā, Huvishka is first mentioned in the year 28 and last in the year 62 (see Puri 1965: 229-251). But Rosenfield, J. (1993: 59) mentions 28 as the initial year and 64 or 67 as the last.
11. The gold leaf inscription of Ajitaseṇa was published by G. Fussman (1986: 1-14) and that of Senavarma was first of all published by H. W. Bailey (1980: 21-29). It was re-edited by G. Fussman (1982: 1-46) and then by R. Salomon (1986: 261-293).
12. A sacred Buddhist pilgrimage site visited by A. Stein and G. Tucci before the footprints were removed to the Swat Museum.

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