

6 The collection of Gandharan art in the residence of the Malakand Political Agent, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan

Pia Brancaccio

The collection of Gandharan art from the residence of the Malakand Political Agent in Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan, consists of fifty-three sculptures collected between 1895 and the early 1930s still on display in the house garden (Figure 6.1). These Buddhist sculptures were virtually unknown to the public until a recent documentation project was carried out by Dr. Luca Maria Olivieri, director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.¹ An analysis of the newly recovered colonial correspondence preserved in the agency illuminates the history of the Malakand collection as well as the processes by which early collections of Gandharan art, now in Indian and Pakistani museums, were formed.

The sculptures from the Malakand Political House were re-discovered in the summer of 2008 by Luca Maria Olivieri who was invited by Arshad Khan, the then District Coordinator Officer – Commandant Malakand Levies, to assess the historical relevance of all archival and archaeological material kept in that office since its establishment. A total of about 600 archival folders dating between 1895 and 1947 were reviewed, containing a variety of documents shedding light on the modern history of the region with references to colonial political matters. Three folders providing information on surveys and archaeological explorations conducted in Swat prior to the year of partition of British India, as well as letters referring to visits by personalities and diaries of political agents with immediate bearings on the history of collecting, were analyzed by Olivieri in a volume entitled *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches*²; the book also includes a catalogue of the Gandharan sculptural fragments from the Malakand House completed by the present author.³ These pieces have been damaged by prolonged weather exposure and by defacement, yet they are



Figure 6.1 View of the garden with sculptures set in the wall, Malakand Political House, Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan

Source: All photographs are by Luca Maria Olivieri. Used with permission

extremely important because of their direct link with archaeological materials that ended up in major museum collections in the colonial and post-colonial period.

The collection of Gandharan Buddhist sculptures

The Political House, the official residence of the Malakand Political Agent, is a compound located immediately below the fort overlooking the Malakand Pass (Figure 6.2). Alfred Foucher, who visited the place in 1896, described it in 1901 as a small house tastefully decorated with 'trinkets' coming from different parts of the region.⁴ Today fifty-three Buddhist sculptures still remain within the compound, set in the walls adjacent to the Guesthouse and the Residence (Figure 6.1). Sculptures nos. 1 to 40 are cemented into the north wall in proximity of the Guesthouse; a beautiful, large Bodhisattva (no.41) is placed along the steep staircase leading to the offices (Figure 6.3); and the remaining pieces (nos. 43 to 51) are affixed into the east wall next to the Residence.⁵ A special placement has been reserved for three *harmikas* creatively assembled to form a sundial in the centre of the garden that represents an interesting example of colonial reuse of Gandharan art (Figure 6.4).

The Political House sculptures are for the most part without provenance. They consist of stupa architectural fragments such as *harmikas* and broken cornices collected from Buddhist sacred areas in Swat and adjacent valleys (Figure 6.5), a few damaged narrative panels of the Buddha's life (Figure 6.6), and a number of fragmentary images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, both seated and standing (Figure 6.7). Most impressive is the Bodhisattva sculpture measuring 1.2 metres in height, attached to a corner of the garden (Figure 6.3). The imposing figure depicted in *abhayamudra* is adorned with exquisite jewellery and has curly hair flowing down onto the shoulders; it has a broad and muscular chest, and is wearing the traditional garments *paridhana* and *uttariya*. When Luca Olivieri saw the piece, the lower part of the sculpture was buried under a few centimetres of debris that, once removed, revealed the base of the sculpture with the exquisite treatment of the feet.⁶ The Malakand Agency sculptures today constitute the leftovers of a significant assemblage of sculpture dispatched over time to major museums such as the Indian Museum in Calcutta, the Lahore Museum, the Peshawar Museum, and, most recently, the Swat Archaeological Museum in Saidu Sharif, Khyber Paktunwa province of Pakistan.



Figure 6.2 View of the Malakand Pass, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan



Figure 6.3 Sculpture of a Bodhisattva, Gandharan art (1st–3rd c. CE), Garden of Malakand Political House, Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan

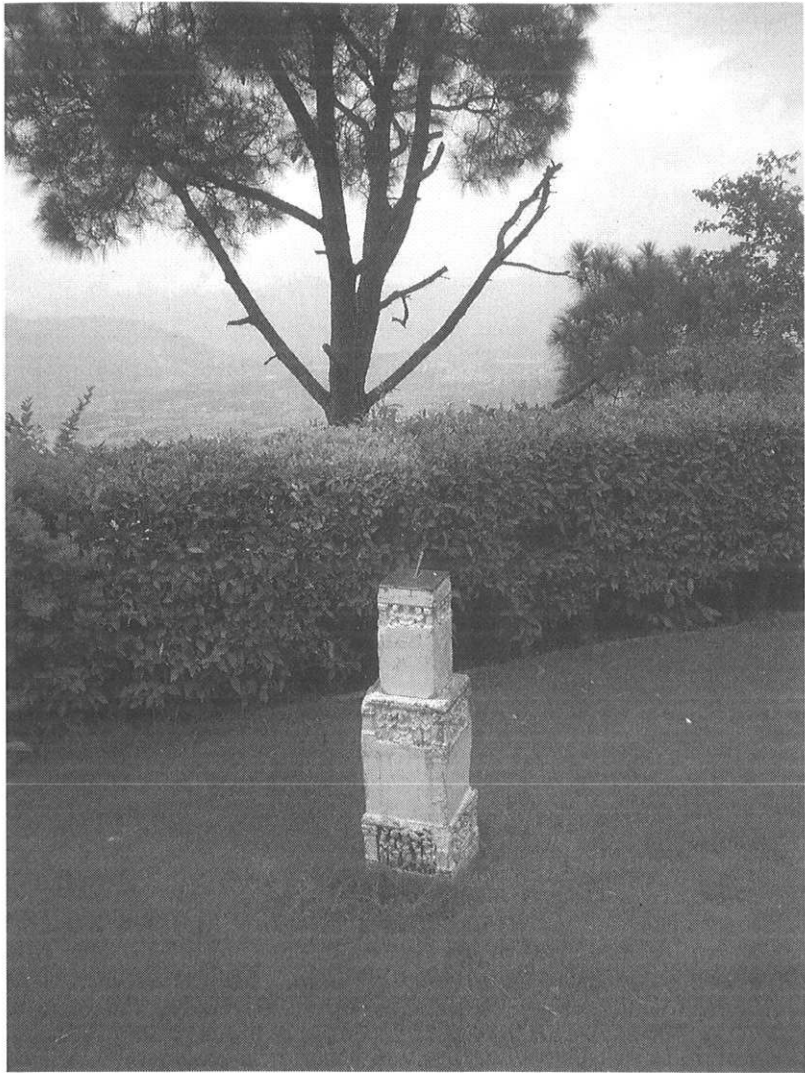


Figure 6.4 Sundial built with reused Gandharan sculptures, Garden of Malakand Political House, Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan



Figure 6.5 Architectural element from a Buddhist stupa, Gandharan art (1st–3rd c. CE), Garden of Malakand Political House, Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan



Figure 6.6 Fragment of a relief depicting the Buddha's Parinirvana, Gandharan art (1st–3rd c. CE), Garden of Malakand Political House, Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan



Figure 6.7 Headless sculpture of a seated Buddha, Gandharan art (1st–3rd c. CE), Garden of Malakand Political House, Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan

Archival information related to the Malakand Political House collection and its relationships with early museum collections of Gandharan art

Archival information uncovered in the Political House sheds light on the long history of the fragments that still remain in the garden, beginning with Major Arthur Harold Deane, who was appointed as the first Political Agent in Malakand in 1895. Deane was a prominent personality in the colonial history of the Northwest Frontier, ending his career as the first Chief Commissioner of the Northwest Frontier reporting directly to the Viceroy of India, a post he held until the time of his death in 1908.

Major Deane was seriously interested in Gandharan art and archaeology, as shown in his *Note on Udyana and Gandhara* published in 1896 by the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England and Ireland.⁷ A manuscript of this work was also found in the Malakand Political House,⁸ and its opening lines read:

As the Swat valley, and neighbourhood, which constitute the principal portion of the old province of Udyana, have hitherto been inaccessible for archaeological research, the following rough notes (made during the little time at my disposal as Chief Political Officer with the Chitral Relief Force, and lately as Political Officer for Dir and Swat) may induce others better qualified to devote some attention to this interesting neighbourhood. They are principally connected with the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Huan Tsiang, as given in Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World'.

Much like Homer's epics ignited early archaeological research in the Aegean Sea, the travel accounts of the Buddhist Chinese monks Xuanzang and Song Yun, published in English by Samuel Beal, respectively, in 1883 and 1884, elicited interest in the Buddhist archaeology of the Swat valley. Arthur Harold Deane, prior to becoming Political Agent, had already shown a keen interest in documenting the artistic and historical heritage of the Northwest. While holding the post of Assistant Commissioner in Mardan, Deane had become fully aware of the relevance of archaeological material from Pakistan and Afghanistan. The task of recording new Gandharan archaeological finds fell within the competence of his office between 1884 and 1895, and it was Deane who in 1888 first reported the discovery of the Buddhist site of Sikri; after the Archaeological Survey inspected it, Deane excavated the site in 1889, bringing to light the well-known Sikri stupa

now in the Lahore Museum.⁹ Deane also documented many objects of epigraphic relevance, often seeking the expert opinion of illustrious Indologists like Emile Senart.¹⁰

Major Deane's appointment as first Political Agent in Malakand marked the establishment of British control over the turbulent Frontier region, even if tribal opposition continued strong until 1917, when the creation of the Yusufzai State of Swat by Miangul Badshah pacified *de facto* the region. As a Political Agent, Major Deane held administrative and judiciary functions that included the supervision of a police force known as the Swat Levies, as well as the engagement with tribal groups residing in Swat and adjacent valleys.

It is to Major Deane that we owe the first initiatives concerning the protection of the archaeological heritage of the Swat valley. The British campaigns in the independent tribal territories had opened up new opportunities for archaeological explorations. The ruling law at Deane's time in Malakand, the Treasure Trove Act of 1878, was weak and not applicable to the Frontier territories; therefore, many sites had already been looted and destroyed. In his note on Uddiyana published in 1896, Deane is already lamenting "the considerable damage done in places by irresponsible digging" especially in the Kafirkot area of the Swat valley, from where a few sculptures had already been sent to the Imperial Museum in Calcutta.¹¹ When he was assigned to Malakand in 1895, the protection of the artistic and archaeological heritage of Gandhara had already become an issue of significant proportions. In his correspondence dated a few months after he became Political Agent, Deane notes:

In addition to the looting of archaeological objects to feed to the antiquities market there is the locals' lack of consideration for antiquities; in fact they smash it up wherever they find it. Another threat is the attitude of the very men in the service of the army or the British administration: There are 2 classes of men who damage ruins by hunting for sculptures. Sepoys who like to take a piece or 2 for their officers [. . .]. As regards officers and others, if they have the opportunity they have no hesitation in pulling places to pieces or pieces of sculptures for themselves or their Messes. The harm done is in the destruction of a ruin without having a proper plan or record made of it.¹²

Deane's role as Political Agent from 1895 to 1901 represents a key moment in the history of archaeology in Swat: for the first time an attempt was made to control excavations and to regulate the

unrestrained harvest of Gandharan sculpture. Deane started confiscating looted sculptures, gathering many of them in the Political House; he then became the official conduit through which many of such pieces ended up in colonial museums. Correspondence from the Malakand archive shows that just a few months after Deane took office, the government of Bengal acquired many sculptures collected by Deane and Major Maisey of the 30th Punjab Infantry based in Dargai. This acquisition consisted of about 200–300 architectural pieces and Gandharan sculptures from Swat, as well as 47 fragments found in the southern slopes of Malakand.¹³

With the goal of making the Calcutta Museum worthy of the capital of British India, the secretary general of the government of Bengal dispatched Surgeon-Major L.A. Waddell to carry out archaeological research in Swat. In his report, Waddell expresses great respect for Major Deane whom he describes as “a well-known archaeologist who for many years has been zealously and most successfully exploring the Buddhist remains of Peshawar and its frontier countries”.¹⁴ Waddell confirms that Deane had generously offered to the Indian Museum several sculptures from the Swat valley already in his possession – likely kept in the Malakand Political House or in the nearby fort.

The delegate of the government of Bengal who delivered in 1896 the Deane-Maisey collection to the Indian Museum in Calcutta was Alexander Caddy. While in the region, Caddy completed a survey of the Swat valley, took several photographs, and got involved in the excavation of an ‘Ionic’ temple in a military encampment at Malakand.¹⁵ Photos taken in 1896 by Alexander Caddy, now in the British Library, constitute precious documentation of many Gandharan artworks that left the Malakand Political Agency destined for major colonial museum collections.¹⁶

This gives us a sense of the incredible amount of Gandharan sculpture from Swat that was originally assembled by Deane in the Malakand Political House. The correspondence kept in the agency also reveals that such large shipments of Gandharan art from Malakand to Calcutta were justified by the fact that the relatively new Imperial Museum had little Buddhist art in its collection if compared to the Lahore Museum established in 1865.¹⁷ However, additional documents show that the Lahore collection continued to grow with Deane’s support, as ‘4 crates with 11 stones’ were received by the Lahore Museum in November 1895.¹⁸ An entry in Deane’s diary dated April 1896 explains that a provision was established by which the museums of Lahore and Calcutta were given preference of choice over any archaeological objects found in the Malakand Agency.¹⁹ A certain

rivalry must have existed between these two colonial museums over appropriation of Gandharan sculptures.

The second important phase in the development of the Malakand collection took place in the early 1900s. Having been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1900, Deane left the Malakand Agency in 1901 to become the first Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province reporting directly to Viceroy Lord Curzon. The departure of Deane from Malakand did not mean that the Political Agency ceased to be involved in the supply of Gandharan art to colonial museums. Later archival documents from the agency show that in 1907 Dr. D. B. Spooner, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Frontier, requested the then Political Agent F. C. Minchen to send ethnographic material and other material kept in the House to the newly formed Peshawar Museum.²⁰ Several sculptures were sent from Malakand to the Peshawar Museum sometime before 1922 and then again in 1924²¹; this shipment includes reliefs that are still on display in the Peshawar Museum.²² It should be noted that most of them consist of narrative panels of the Buddha's life, a genre conspicuously scarce from the Malakand collection as it is today. One can surmise that perhaps the intact narrative panels of the Buddha's life left the Political House for Peshawar, whereas fragments of broken sculptures and architectural elements remained there.

The last dispatch of sculptures to Peshawar in 1924 is linked to a third important phase in the history of the collection in the Malakand Political House associated with the appointment of Lt. Colonel H. Stewart as Political Agent between July 1922 and October 1924. As indicated by a letter dated November 1923, it appears that Stewart carried out several archaeological excavations in Swat without properly consulting with the Archaeological Survey of India or following the instructions of the central government. He was badly scolded in a semi-official letter that instructed him to report to the local government all discoveries of objects of archaeological interest.²³ The letter also ordered him not to remove objects which were still "in situ" and that "statues, etc. worthy of preservation of which the provenance is unknown, should be removed to a Museum". The same communication also made clear that Stewart had to stop digging and had to compile two inventories of objects – one of the archaeological material excavated by him, and another list of all the Gandharan pieces (statues, etc.) that were already in the House by the time he became Political Agent. This clearly shows that when Stewart moved to Malakand in 1922, a Gandharan art collection existed within the residential compound.

An interesting reference to the state of preservation of the Gandharan pieces from the Malakand Political House can be found in a letter dated January 1924 in which Stewart denied any involvement in 'illegal' digging.²⁴ Stewart claimed that when the General Commander-in-Chief, India, Lord H. S. Rawlinson (G.C.S.I.) visited Malakand he saw nothing of incredible value in the Political House – only “old remnants and debris which have been lying in the Political Agent's verandah for years, and which, owing to their mutilated state cannot be catalogued”.²⁵ This would suggest that sculptures collected by Deane and deemed too fragmentary to display in imperial museums were still sitting in the garden in 1924.

It appears that Stewart was not being honest about his archaeological activities and antiquarian interest – he was indeed a collector of Gandharan sculptures. Apparently he tried to blow smoke on the whole story by intentionally confusing his collection with these “old remnants and debris” lying at Malakand. His collection was quite large and partly deposited at Malakand. Another archival note from the Malakand Agency signed by Hargreaves, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, challenged Stewart's sincerity: apparently a British officer had seen Stewart's private collection of Gandharan art at Amandarra, not Malakand, and a few locals had testified to their involvement in Stewart's excavations at Gunyar and Malakand, as well as in an expedition to retrieve sculptures from Upper Swat, which refers to the state of Swat.²⁶ A large part of Stewart's private collection was eventually donated to Peshawar; however, he was allowed to retain forty minor fragments for his personal collection.²⁷

The standing Bodhisattva from the collection of the Political House in Malakand is the only piece that has secure provenance and can be associated with the figure of E. H. Cobb, Political Agent from mid-1932 to mid-1933. Correspondence between Cobb and Sir John Marshall dated November 1932 informs us that this Bodhisattva was found right by the Shahkot Pass.²⁸ In particular, Document 324 refers to Cobb's 'fresh discovery': “a life-size image of a man hewn out of solid stone with only the head and the arm missing, depicted as draped with cloth and wearing necklaces and armllets, otherwise in perfect condition”.²⁹ Cobb also points to the spot where the statue was found: the area of Palai located to the south of the Shahkot Pass, described as particularly rich in archaeological remains. He reports seeing there “a circle of enormous stone Buddhas still in situ”³⁰ and that the sculpture in question was excavated from a mound of broken images. In the same letter to Marshall, Cobb expresses his personal interest for Gandharan art and archaeology, requesting a bibliography on the subject;

in particular, having already read the works by Foucher and Stein who both passed through the Political House, respectively, in 1896 and 1903, he asks Marshall the whereabouts of Sir Harold Deane's notes that in fact were already kept in the agency's archive. Cobb concludes his letter by inviting Marshall to spend a week or so in Malakand to explore the Shakhkot Pass and nearby areas that were so archaeologically rich. In the summer of 2008, he surveyed the area in question and documented a large urban settlement of more than four hectares dating to the third and fourth centuries CE, as well as a Buddhist sacred area with a monumental stupa (Figure 6.8).

The final chapter of the Malakand Political House collection takes place in the 1990s when one last group of 134 sculptures was transferred from the agency to the Swat Museum in Saidu Sharif. These sculptures have been registered under the label MK, and some of them are now on display in Gallery no. 6.1 of the museum, which was recently rebuilt thanks to the efforts of the ACT project led by the Italian Mission (Figure 6.9).³¹ To sum up, the sculptural fragments remaining today in the garden of the Political House tell a long story

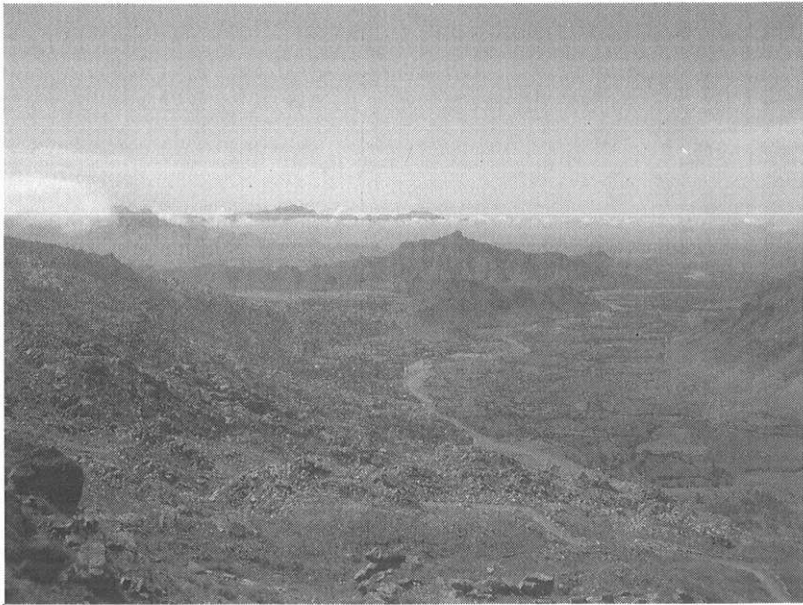


Figure 6.8 View of Palai, Shakhkot Pass, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan



Figure 6.9 Seated Buddhas from Malakand (MK 8, MK 9, MK no number), Gandharan Art (1st-3rd c. CE), Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan

made of discoveries, acquisitions, and displacements that begins with Major Harold Deane in 1895 and ends in the 1990s. The life of the Malakand collection is interwoven with some of the earliest and richest museum collections of Gandharan art – those in the Lahore, Calcutta, and Peshawar Museums and, most recently, the Swat Museum in Saidu Sharif.

The British reuse of Gandharan sculptures in the Malakand Political Agency garden

One last issue concerning the history of Gandharan sculpture from the Malakand Political House remains to be explored; it relates to the actual placement of the sculptural fragments into the garden walls – a practice that also raises interesting questions about the reception and reuse of Gandharan art among British officers residing in the colony. Unfortunately, no documents from the Malakand Agency explicitly mention the plastering of sculptures in the garden. The only information we have is recorded on the sundial of the Political House garden – it states that the clock was erected on May 12, 1937, to commemorate the coronation of George VI (Figure 6.10). The sundial pedestal made from three superimposed Gandharan *harmikas* was probably the work of E. H. Cobb, Political Agent in Malakand between 1936 and 1937, who also added the Bodhisattva to the collection when he was

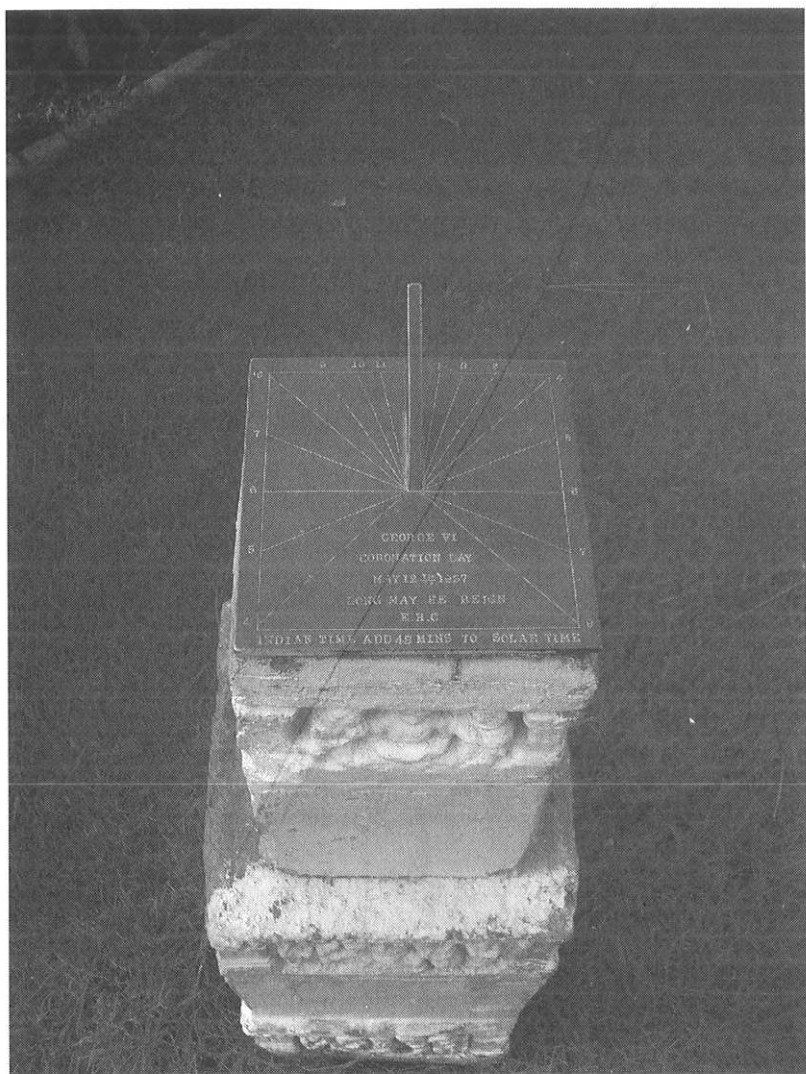


Figure 6.10 Close-up of a Sundial built with reused Gandharan sculptures viewed from above, Garden of Malakand Political House, Malakand District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan

previously posted there in 1932. It is likely that the Malakand sculptures were cemented in the current position prior to Cobb's arrival in 1932, yet this remains pure speculation. Certainly Major Deane was not responsible for it; in a letter dated in 1895, he condemns the custom of reusing of Gandharan fragments, making special reference to British officers who like to put sculptures in their messes – an allusion to the Mardan Guides Mess where Gandharan art had been plastered in the officers' dining hall.³² A sundial was also installed in the mess garden, as the practice of reusing Gandharan sculpture in gardens within military grounds must have been an established custom: in the Northwest Frontier Province Gandharan sculptures were installed in the Peshawar Residency Garden before 1888, in the Guides Mess at Mardan, and in the Political House at Malakand. Documentation from the British Library shows another remarkable example of sculptural reuse outside the northwestern regions in the Artillery Mess Garden in Sagar, Madhya Pradesh, where officers erected pavilions made of repurposed Gupta pieces.³³

To conclude, I hope that this brief discussion of sculptures from the Political House at Malakand has contributed another small piece of evidence to the early history of museum collections of Gandharan art. In addition to tracing links between the Malakand collection and pieces from Swat now in the holdings of Lahore, Calcutta, Peshawar, and Swat museums, the wealth of archival material from the Malakand Political Agency sheds further light on the history of archaeology and museum building in British India.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Dr. Luca Maria Olivieri for his tireless work conducted in the Swat Valley of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan, and for allowing me to study the sculptures from the Political House in Malakand.
- 2 L.M. Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2015.
- 3 P. Brancaccio, Catalogue of the Malakand Gandhara Collection, in L.M. Olivieri edited, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2015: 285–305.
- 4 'décorée avec goût de divers bibelot du pays [. . .] des étendards prix aux Suâtis, en passant par les longs pierre à fusils dont se servaient jadis les Afghans [. . .] et les longs poignards triangulaires, en forme de couteaux de boucherie [. . .]'. A. Foucher, *Sur la Frontière Indo-Afghane*, Hachette, Paris, 1901: 126.
- 5 The sculptures are numbered as in P. Brancaccio, Catalogue of the Malakand Gandhara Collection, in L.M. Olivieri edited, *Sir Aurel Stein and the*

- Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2015: 285–305.
- 6 P. Brancaccio, Catalogue of the Malakand Gandhara Collection, in L.M. Olivieri edited, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore: 2015: 298.
 - 7 A.H. Deane, Note on Udyana and Gandhara, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England and Ireland*, 1896: 665–675.
 - 8 Document no. 10 in L.M. Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2015: 38.
 - 9 For a thorough discussion of Deans' involvement in Gandharan archaeology and collection see E. Errington, *The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhara and the Finds of Jamalgarhi*, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1987, vol. 2: 363–366. and V. Sarkosh Curtis, *Persepolis to Punjab*, British Museum Press London, 2007: 226.
 - 10 In an 1889 note on Indian epigraphy Senart thanks Captain Deane for sending him six seals (two originals and four impressions) for study purposes; apparently the seals in question had been uncovered and acquired by Deane himself in the Kabul Valley. E. Senart, Sur Quelques Pierres Gravees Provenant de Caboul, *Journal Asiatique*, 58, April-June 1889.
 - 11 A.H. Deane, Note on Udyana and Gandhara, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England and Ireland*, 1896: 664.
 - 12 Document no. 17 in L.M. Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2015: 41–42.
 - 13 Document no. 2, *Ibid*, pp. 34–35.
 - 14 British Library, Buddhist Sculptures from the Swat Valley 10031163.
 - 15 K. Behrendt, Alexander Caddy's 1896 report: the Chakdara Ionic temple and other sites, in L.M. Olivieri edited, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore: 2015: 255–262.
 - 16 See for example the British Library photos nos. 10031166–70 taken by Alexander Caddy's in 1896, where one can easily identify Gandharan reliefs currently in the holding of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
 - 17 Document no. 2 in L.M. Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2015: 35.
 - 18 Document no. 7, *Ibid*, p. 36.
 - 19 Document 15, *Ibid*, pp. 40–41.
 - 20 See for example Document no.75, *Ibid*, p. 62.
 - 21 Document no.130, *Ibid*, pp. 80–81.
 - 22 Twenty-nine sculptures from Malakand are in the holdings of the Peshawar Museum. The following Malakand pieces are published in the museum catalogue: PM 01926, PM 02732, PM 02741, PM 00418, PM 02746, PM 01259, PM 01093, PM 00427. I. Ali and M.N. Qazi, *Gandharan Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, Hazara University Mansehra NWFEP, 2008.
 - 23 Document no.121 in L.M. Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2015: 75–76.

- 24 Document no.124, *Ibid*, p. 77.
 25 Document 124, *Ibid*, p. 77.
 26 Document 125, *Ibid*, pp. 77–78.
 27 Documents 128–131, *Ibid*, pp. 81–82.
 28 Documents 324–325, *Ibid*, pp. 160–163.
 29 Document 325, *Ibid*, p. 163.
 30 *Ibid*.
 31 The following Malakand sculptures are currently on display in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif: MK 20 in Gallery no. 5.1; MK 8, MK 9, MK NO NUMBER in Gallery no. 6.1; MK 25 in Gallery no. 6.7.
 32 For a thorough discussion of Gandharan art in the Guides Mess see E. Errington, *The Western Discovery of the art of Gandhara and the finds of Jamalgarhi*, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1987, vol.: 210–214. This is how the Guides Mess was described by Officer Colonel Jenkins in 1882: “There are at present four stone figures let into the wall of the mess room of the Corps of Guides. There is one head of a figure on a wooden stand and a stone slab which is used as a table. There are also several small pieces of stone carving, some of which have been built into the pedestal of a sun dial and some let into a fire-place.” E. Errington, *The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhara and the Finds of Jamalgarhi*, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1987: 212.
 33 British Library, Collection of Sculptures in the Artillery Mess Gardens Sagar 10031302 and 10031303.

References

- Ali, I., and M.N. Qazi. 2008. *Gandharan Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*. Mansehra: Hazara University NWFP.
 Deane, A.H. 1896. Note on Udyana and Gandhara. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 665–675.
 Errington, E. 1987. *The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhara and the Finds of Jamalgarhi*. Ph.D. Thesis. London.
 Errington, E. 2007. Exploring Gandhara, in E. Errington and V. Sarkosh Curtis (eds.), *From Persepolis to Punjab*. Cambridge, London: British Museum.
 Foucher, A. 1901. *Sur la frontière indo-afghane*. Paris: Hachette.
 Foucher, A. 1917. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology*. London: Humphrey Milford.
 Olivieri, L.M. 2015. *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lord of the Marches: New Archival Material*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
 Senart, E. 1889. Sur Quelques Pierres Gravees Provenant de Caboul. *Journal Asiatique* 58.